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MDCCLXXII



P R E F A C E.



THE following Volume, as it makes a Part of this great Work, the Reader will find to be properly divided in respect to Books, Chapters, and Sections ; but here we propose to consider it in another Light, and according to that natural Way of Division arising from the different Subjects that are treated in it. In the Beginning, more especially, we have largely consider'd the Nature of Settlements or Plantations ; in the Middle Part of the Book we have shewn from Examples, the Utility of Travelling through all Parts of the habitable World ; and we have elsewhere discoursed of the great Importance of new Discoveries, and the Advantages which a Trading Nation may derive from the opening fresh Channels of Communication with the Inhabitants of distant Countries, and consequently of disposing of their Commodities and Manufactures, in Places, where, perhaps, they were never seen or heard of before. In this Place we shall very succinctly mention some of the Capital Uses that may result from the Manner in which we have treated these several Branches of our Subject, and refer the inquisitive Peruser, for a more copious and circumstantial View of the Disposition and Connection of the several Parts of this Design, to the Conclusion, where we have Reason to hope they are so stated, as to give him entire Satisfaction.

BURCH
NAV. HIST.

The great Point with respect to Plantations, is to shew, that the Riches, Power, and Happiness of the Mother-Country, depends, in a great Measure, upon them ; and that, on the other Hand, this Connection is so far from being grievous, burthensome, or prejudicial to the Colonies, that, on the contrary, their Peace, Welfare, and Prosperity, are dependant upon this, and upon this only ; so that the Benefits and Advantages of Settlements and their Mother-Countries are always reciprocal ; whence arises the Tie of mutual Obligation, that renders it equally unnatural for one to regret the Share she pays out of the Profit of her Labours, or the other to repine at the Demands that are now and then made for Assistance and Protection. It is a Thing of the highest Consequence, that these Notions should be thoroughly disseminated, and all the Points before insisted on universally understood. The sending People abroad to settle for a Time in a Plantation, ought to be considered in the Light of publick Service, because so in Fact it is, since we have proved in the following Pages, that every Planter abroad, finds Employment for several Men, perhaps for several Families at Home ; there cannot therefore be any thing more unjust, than to give a Preference of any Kind to those whom he maintains, before him who maintains them. There is also nothing more absurd, than to fancy that well regulated Colonies tend to depopulate their Mother-Countries ; which is so far from being true, that the more populous any Plantations are, the better peopled their Mother-Countries must be ; for the more flourishing the Settlement, the greater Consumption of Manufactures and Home Commodities in that Settlement : Now these cannot be consumed unless they are furnished, and they cannot be furnished without a Multitude of Hands ; but Employment will always procure these, and consequently People in a Plantation, like Water in the Sucker of a Pump, sets the Machine in Motion, and by a Kind of political Attraction, produces that Circulation of Industry which is the Health of the Constitution. *Lastly*, Though all Trade is advantageous, the Trade between Mother-Countries and their Plantations is of all others most advantageous, because where-ever the Profit falls, the same People reap it, and little or nothing is diverted into foreign Channels. The large History ensuing may be considered as a practical Commentary upon this Text, in which, by innumerable Instances it is proved, that where these Notions are adverted to and followed, Mother-Countries and their Plantations thrive equally, and that both pine, dwindle and decay, where these Maxims are either neglected or despised.

In Regard to Travels by Land, the Benefits resulting from them are partly in common, and partly distinct from those which arise from Voyages ; we shall insist here only upon the latter. We derive from well-written Relations of these, Accounts that may be relied on as to the Natural History of Countries, their Climate, Soil and Produce, whether Vegetables, Animals, or Minerals, and are thereby enabled to form some Kind of Notion of those immense Treasures, which with a wise as well as bountiful Hand, the great Author of the World has distributed through all its Parts. We are next informed concerning the

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the State of our own Species in every Country, more or less distant, or however situated in respect to our own, their Manners, Customs, Religion, Government, Laws, Forces, Revenues, and Trade. Besides all this, we learn the Progress of Art in the Improvement of Nature, which is a Point of higher Consequence than is commonly imagined; since upon a strict Review it will be found, that even amongst the most uncouth and barbarous Nations, there are many ingenious Inventions to be met with, some taken from Accident, but most dictated by Necessity, which in neither Way have ever occurred, even to the most lively Imaginations, amongst People more civilized. As for Instance, The neat Cloaths of Skins, Hunting and Fishing Tackle without Iron, and Boats that cannot sink among the *Greenlanders*; their flying Prows amongst the Inhabitants of the *Marian Islands*; their Feather Works amongst the ancient *Mexicans*, &c. By reading as well as seeing these Things, the human Mind is vastly enlarged and improved; we become weaned and estranged from those little, narrow, and childish Notions which are the Effects of a sordid Education, and by which even the brightest Genius is held in Chains. Neither is this the only Benefit, for the Extension of true Science naturally heightens and improves our moral Notions, teaches us Affability, Kindness and Commiseration for Strangers, and puts us in this respect upon executing the Fundamental Maxim of the Christian Law, by doing unto others as we would wish to be done by in their Circumstances. It teaches us Wisdom also, enables us to find out Means for meliorating our own Soil and Climate, and introducing as well foreign Fruits and Timber, as Animals; and by Labour prudently directed, making them our own. In the same Manner we transfer their Arts also, which though invented in particular Countries, and indispensably necessary in some, are, generally speaking, useful and convenient in all. Whatever Books of Travels therefore treat of these Matters most copiously, circumstantially, and correctly, deserve most to be read, and best to be preserved; which Rule we have studied to follow for the Reader's Emolument, as well as in Discharge of our own Duty.

In Reference to new Discoveries, and opening fresh Channels of Trade, we have spared no Pains, nor have been deterred by any Hazards. We have considered every Quarter of the Globe, and after enquiring how far it is already known and visited, have pointed out how much farther and better it might be known, and what Advantages might probably be expected from thence. We have not stood in Awe, upon these Occasions, either of the Censures of hasty Criticks, or the Raillery of such as despise all Projects but those of Pleasure, or of the Resentment of Men who fancy that such Discoveries would be an Intrusion upon their Rights, though they never attempt to turn these, so much, as to their own Advantage. What we have offered, has proceeded from a right Intention, from a Desire of employing the Poor, of affording suitable Rewards to enterprising Minds; and in a Word, of contributing, so far as this Opportunity put it in our Power, to the Benefit of Society, which is a Tribute due from every Member of it, for the Protection, and other Blessings that he enjoys in that Capacity. We have in every Instance had Reason for our Guide at least, and sometimes also Experience. We have proposed the undertaking of nothing without shewing that there were probable Grounds of finding the Undertaking both beneficial and practicable. We have studied to be as clear in the one, and as certain in the other, as it was possible; neither have we pretended to dictate, but have contented ourselves with propounding fairly what appeared to us feasible. To this we were chiefly encouraged by observing, that the same noble and generous Spirit, which animated our Ancestors not only to attempt, but to perform so many and so great Actions, of which we feel the Benefit, began to revive in the present Age for our own Advantage, as we hope, as well as for that of our Posterity. What was in our Power we have done to cherish and keep alive this glorious Flame, and to enable it to mount as high in present as in past Times; and if in doing this we have sometimes digressed with some degree of Acrimony into exposing the opposite Humour of preferring Indolence and Pleasure to Activity and Industry, we hope the Warmth of our Zeal will at least excuse that of our Language. It is our Comfort however, that if it does not, it can offend only the Idle and Tasteless, whom, to say the Truth, we never had a Thought to please. They must look for a Library of this Kind elsewhere, for this is consecrated entirely to the Service of ingenious and intelligent Readers, who seek Improvement and Instruction, and have no Notion of being entertained at the Expence of their Time and their Understandings.

This we flatter ourselves will be found a fair Representation of the principal Matters that are to be met with within the Compass of this Volume; and having said this, we have nothing farther to add, than that we heartily wish the Perusal of it may, in some Measure, answer our Aim, and contribute to diffuse that publick Spirit which teaches Men not only to wish well to the World in general, and to their own Country in particular, but to express the Sincerity of their Wishes in their Studies, their Discourses, and their Actions. We shall then be amply rewarded for all the Anxiety and Labour with which the achieving so great a Work has been attended, and shall cheerfully leave it as a Monument to Posterity, that we have not been idle in our Generation, or unworthy of the Examples that have been set us in this Kind of Writing, by the great Men in the last Age; in our own, and in other Countries.

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Or, A Complete COLLECTION of

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

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An Account of the Circum-Navigators of the GLOBE, and of the Discoveries of the *East* and *West Indies*.


C H A P. III.

Comprehending the Discovery, Settlement, and Commerce of the WEST INDIES.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the Importance of the new-discovered Continent of America, the Nature of that Discovery, the Felicities attending it, the Advantages derived from thence to the Art of Navigation, and the principal Points to be treated of in this Chapter.

1. All Ages and all Nations have concurred in admiring such as have distinguished themselves by the Discovery of new Countries. 2. The Art of Navigation much improved in Columbus's time, and yet he had great Difficulties to struggle with in Theory and Practice. 3. By his Scheme he avoided the Imputation of Heresy, which had fallen upon all who maintained Antipodes before him. 4. No just Imputation on him that he did not find America exactly as he conjectured. 5. A succinct Account of the Subjects that are to be treated of in this Chapter.

I.  HERE are very few Points as to which the Judgments of different Times and several Nations have so well agreed, as in the Fame due to those who first discovered distant Countries. In respect to the fabulous History, *Bacchus* is highly celebrated for his *Indian* Expedition, and chiefly because he durst penetrate farther than any Man had ever gone before, he was reputed a Deity. The *Egyptians*, who were esteemed to be the wisest People of Antiquity, and with reason, since almost all the Sciences travelled into this part of the World from thence, paid the highest Tribute of Praise to such of their Monarchs as were supposed to have conquered the East, and to have penetrated into Countries where, before that time, no victorious Armies had ever come. It was for the same Cause that the *Tyrian Hercules* was so much magnified by his Countrymen; and it was the Glory which those Heroes had acquired, that

prompted *Alexander*, the most ambitious and most daring of the *Greeks*, to undertake his famous Expedition against the *Indians*, that he might not fall short of any whose Names were recorded in History; which Vanity of his transported him to such a Degree, that though, after the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire, he esteemed himself only the first of Men; yet, on his framing the Project of invading *India*, he conceived himself, and expected that others should conceive him, somewhat more than Man. In succeeding Times, we find this Humour far from being worn out, since even the *Romans*, who, if not a wiser, were most certainly a more moderate and better-judging People than the *Greeks*, esteemed the Invasion of *Britain* by *Julius Caesar* the most glorious of his Actions, and that which redounded most to the Honour of their Empire.

Upon the same Principle the famous Emperor *Trajan* was so extremely desirous of following the Example of *Alexander*, and carrying the Terror of the *Roman* Arms into.

into Countries which their Ancestors never knew. But, after all, this Notion of pushing their Conquests in this manner carries in it nothing so truly noble as the Project of discovering Countries far removed from other Parts of the World by vast Tracts of Sea; and this for many Reasons, but principally for these three. First, Because the former is the bare Result of Force; whereas the latter must be the Effect of Skill. To enjoy Courage only is common with other Animals; but Fortitude of Mind, with respect to Dangers not felt, but foreseen, is peculiar to us as Men; and so likewise is the Conduct by which Providence has enabled us to guard against them. Secondly, in attempting the Discovery of distant and unknown Regions, we not only combat those Difficulties which other Conquerors meet with; but, at the same time, attempt to subdue Nature, and to make her, who is the Mistress of Mankind, obedient to our Will, which, in ancient Times, was supposed to have somewhat in it of Divinity, because, to ordinary Minds, it seemed beyond the Reach and Power of Man. Thirdly, Whereas other Conquests tend only to the Benefit of this or that Nation; these are advantageous to the Species, and add Dominion not to a single People, but to the whole Race of Mankind.

2. We must allow that the Use of the Compass had brought about considerable Changes in the Art of Navigation, before any Attempt was made to discover new Countries by sailing Westward; but, however, there were great Difficulties to be overcome, before any Design of that sort could be accomplished. The Vessels then in use were very unfit for long Voyages, in Point of Form, Capacity, and Strength. The Seamen again had very little Experience, were naturally inclined to coasting, and knew not enough of their Art to be clearly satisfied what could, or what could not, be performed by it. Add to all this, that their Skill consisted rather in practising what they had seen before, than in the Knowledge of any settled Principle of Science, capable of directing them in any extraordinary Cases that might happen. And even as to their Observations, they were far enough from being exact, partly from the Meanness of their Instruments, and partly from the Narrowness of their Notions about the Use of them.

We may subjoin to these another Difficulty, as great, or perhaps greater, than any of the rest; which was their Proneness to Superstition, a thing incident to all Arts, while indifferently understood, which made them, on the one hand, liable to be surprized and confounded by every little Accident, and, on the other, rendered them so obstinate and intractable, that it was very hard, and, in some Cases, almost impossible, to force them out of their ordinary Road, notwithstanding their being directed by Persons of superior Abilities, and who, by a long Course of Study and Observation, had conquered all or most of these Difficulties. These Errors and Imperfections in such sort of People might, however, be very easily excused, when those who, both from their Parts and their Professions, ought to have been freer from these Foibles and Follies, entangled themselves, by their own Wilfulness and Vanity, in still greater Mistakes. Thus, for instance, it became a Point of Faith to deny that there were *Antipodes*, and the learned Bishop of *Saltzburg* was condemned as a Heretic for holding the contrary Opinion.

There has, indeed, been some Endeavours used to palliate this Matter, and to make the World believe that the Clergy, in those Days, were not quite so ignorant as they have been represented. With this View we are told, that *St. Augustin*, on whose Authority the Prelate before-mentioned was condemned, was far enough from believing, that the Earth upon which we live was flat, like a Trencher, which may be granted; but then let us hear how they explain the Matter, and in what manner they state the Case of the *Antipodes*, so as to render the Belief of them an Heresy. Why, say they, though the Church acknowledged the Earth to be a Globe, and that there was an inferior, as well as superior, Hemisphere; yet they denied that the latter was habitable, because, as it must be separated from us by a great Ocean, the Consequence they thought must have been, that, if it was peopled, the

Inhabitants could not have been descended from *Adam*, and therefore the asserting a World so peopled was, in their Judgment, a flat Contradiction of the Scriptures. This Position of theirs, though a little better Sense, was as effectual a Bar to Science, and as much calculated to prevent Discoveries, as the other Opinion of the Earth's being flat; so that, considering the Power of the Church in the fifteenth Century, one cannot help wondering how it came into the Head of so religious a Man as *Christopher Columbus* to maintain the Possibility of such an Enterprize; and one ought to wonder much more that, that after he did maintain such a Doctrine, it was not condemned as a Heresy.

3. At first sight, the examining this Point may seem to be a little wide from our Purpose; but I hope, before I have done with it, to convince the ingenious Reader that nothing can contribute so much to the perfect understanding the Subject of this Section. We have already shewn, at the Beginning of the former Volume, that, when *Columbus* first proposed his Scheme, it met with great Oppositions, more especially from the Learned, who, either not comprehending the Force of his Arguments, were resolved to conceal their own Ignorance the best way they could; or else, from a Principle of Envy, were assiduous in maintaining that what he asserted was false and absurd, merely because they had not Penetration enough to make such a Discovery themselves: But we never hear that they charged him with Heresy, and therefore I am inclined to think, that the Reason before assigned for condemning the Opinion of the *Antipodes* was the true one.

The Business then is to shew how *Columbus* avoided splitting upon this Rock, and maintained his Notion without running into that to which the Church was, in his time, as little reconciled as when the Bishop of *Saltzburg* was adjudged an Heretic. In order to clear up this, the Reader is to understand, that though *Columbus* discovered that great Continent, now called *America*; yet he was very far from declaring, at least, or perhaps from believing, before he undertook his first Voyage, that there was any such Continent; by which I mean, a Continent separated from *Europe* by so large a Part of the Ocean on one side, and as far separated from *Asia* in like manner on the other. For, had he so conceived, or, at least, had he maintained this Conception, however agreeable to good Sense and Truth, he had been most certainly esteemed a Heretic.

But the Principle he went upon, though not strictly true, exempted him from all Imputation. It was, in few Words, this, That the Earth being globular, it was reasonable to suppose, that the Continent and Islands of the *East Indies* extended themselves in such a Manner into the inferior Hemisphere, as that they might be reached very conveniently by sailing Westward. It is very evident that, by this Supposition, he entirely avoided the Heresy of maintaining, that there might be another Continent, inhabited by Men that were not descended from *Adam*. It is very true that he might maintain and publish this Doctrine, without believing it; but, as the Reader will hereafter see, this was not the Case; for he really spoke as he thought. Nor does it appear that he was deceived, even by the first Voyage that he made; but, on the contrary, firmly believed, that the Islands he had visited were such as lay at some Distance from the Continent of the most Eastern Part of *Asia*.

4. There is nothing in this Error of *Columbus* which can in the least prejudice him in the Opinion of a judicious and intelligent Person; but quite the contrary, since it was impossible for him, or, indeed, for any Man, to discover, by the Force of his Genius only, how the Divine Providence had distributed the Continent and Islands in that unknown Hemisphere. On the contrary, we learn, from hence, that there is always something magnificent and shining, and, if I may be allowed the Expression, a shadowy Resemblance of Truth even in the Mistakes of great Men. It was the Opinion of this able Person, that, after traversing a wide Sea, he should fall in with that Archipelago of Islands which *Marco Paulo* had described, and which he had called *Zipango*, or *Cipango*, which are what we call *Japon*; and, if the Continent of *America* had not lain in his way (which, as I said, it was impossi-





The Currents are observed to be generally near the Coast or in Straits &c. and more or less as they are affected by the Winds. Without the limits of the Trade Winds (which are included within 30 Deg. North & South of the Equator) the Sea is Subject to Variable Winds; tho' usually, a Stormy West Wind prevails here. Within the Trade Winds in this Ocean they are for the most part gentle & regular, which makes Sailing both safe & pleasant; hence it is that the usual Course to Virginia &c. is made so much to the Southward.

A New & Accurate Chart of the WESTERN or ATLANTIC OCEAN Drawn from Surveys and most approved Maps & Charts. The whole being regulated by Astronomical Observations By Eman. Bowen, Geographer to His Majesty.

The Columbus is generally supposed to have been the first Discoverer of the New World. Yet there is great probability that Madoc a Prince of North Wales sailed from thence & landed on the Coast of Florida (time & place of which may above p. 190. of this Work.)

ble for him to foresee) unquestionably it had been so; which is the true Reason why, at first, he fancied *Cuba* one of those Islands, and, after a little Reflection, pronounced that an Error; but still flattered himself that he should meet with these Islands, but in a higher Latitude.

It was from this Mistake of his, that the Countries which he discovered came to be called *West Indies*; for, upon his Return from his first Voyage, and bringing with him Spice, Parrots, and Gold, he made no question that the Countries he had visited made a Part of the *Indies*, that is, of the *Asian* or *East Indies*: But when, by his subsequent Voyages, he was convinced of his Error, and found that there was really a great Continent between him and the Countries he sought, he then chose to call the Islands he had discovered the *West Indies*. In Process of Time, when the Extent and Importance of the Continent to which those Islands belonged was better known, it came to be called by a more emphatic and significant Name, viz. that of the *New World*.

This, to say the Truth, was proper enough, since, on the first View of the Globe, it appears, that *America* is as it were a Balance to what was styled the World before it was discovered; and, as it lies from North to South, it occupies all the Zones, and, consequently, contains the same Variety of Climates which had been distinguished by Geographers in this Part of the World. It came afterwards to be called *America*, for Reasons which we shall assign, when we come to speak of *Americus Vespusus*, who was the first that published a tolerable Map of it, and in that Light only could be esteemed a great Discoverer.

5. We have, in the former Volume, spoken of *Columbus* as the first Circum-navigator, tho' he was not so in Fact, but in Idea only; however, as it was in Pursuit of his Notions that the Possibility of sailing round the World was first discovered, and has been since often performed, he had a just Right to be considered in that Light. In this Section we propose to speak of him as the First who visited this new World; and, after giving an Account of his Voyages thither, and of the Discoveries made by the *Spaniards*, who pursued his Tract, we shall next entertain the Reader with the History of the two great Conquests made by the *Spaniards* in *America*. The First by *Ferdinand*, or, as the *Spanish* Writers call him,

Hernan Cortes, of the great Empire of *Mexico*. The Second by *Frances Pizarro*, who subdued the no less famous Empire of *Peru*. This will afford us an Opportunity of entering into a Description of both these Countries, as they stood at the Time these Conquests were made; and of the Manners, Government, Laws, Learning, and Trade of their ancient Inhabitants.

We shall then speak of the Expeditions of our own Countrymen into this Part of the World, and of the Discoveries and Settlements made by them, from the first Voyage of *Cabot*, in the Reign of *Henry VII.* down to the Plantation of *Georgia*, which is the Last, at least of any Consequence, that we have made. The Discoveries and Settlements made by the *French* will next employ our Care. And, last of all, we shall speak of the few small Settlements which the *Dutch* and *Danes* enjoy in this Part of the Globe; which (with a View of the principal Advantages that *Europe* in general derives from her Commerce with this new World) will fill up the remaining Part, and complete the Design of this Chapter.

It may not, however, be amiss to take this Opportunity of observing, that, by this Means, our History of Discoveries will be entirely compleated; so that in our Third and Fifth Books we may, with the same Propriety, insert Travels by Land, in the most distant Parts of *Asia* and *America*, as in the most known Parts of the World; which could not however have been done, if in these two Chapters we had not shewn at large how these great Countries were first disclosed to the World, and their Commerce, in some measure, monopolized and secured to the Inhabitants of *Europe*. Hence arises the great Difference in Bulk between our First and our succeeding Books; the former being, strictly speaking, a compleat History of Navigation and Commerce, shewing the Connections between the different Parts of the World, as they now stand, as well as the manner in which those Connections arose, and have been continued: Whereas in the following Books the several Parts of the World are distinctly considered, and the Conditions of their Inhabitants particularly explained, from the Accounts given us by such as visited them for that Purpose. Thus much being said by way of Introduction, let us proceed directly to the Performance of what has been promised.

SECTION II.

The first Voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in which he discovered the Lucayan Islands, and afterwards Cuba and Hispaniola, which opened a Passage from Europe to America, with his Return to Spain, and Reception by their Catholic Majesties.

1. The Difficulties which Columbus met in concluding an Agreement with the Queen of Spain.
2. The Substance of that Agreement, together with an Account of the small Force with which he undertook this Expedition.
3. He sails from Spain on the 3d of August, 1492.
4. The remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage, and the various Troubles to which the Admiral was exposed.
5. The Seamen grow uneasy and suspicious, notwithstanding all the Endeavours used by Columbus to pacify and encourage them.
6. When his Patience was quite exhausted they at last discovered Land.
7. The Admiral gives Names to the three first Islands he met with in the new World.
8. He sails to and examines the noble Island of Cuba.
9. He proceeds from thence to that of Hispaniola.
10. An Account of his Reception by the Inhabitants, and of the State of that Island at the Time of his discovering it.
11. Loses his Ship upon that Coast, and resolves to settle a Colony there.
12. Takes proper Methods for that Purpose, and gives this new Colony the Name of *Natividad*, in Honour of Christ's Nativity.
13. Begins to dispose all things for his Return to Spain.
14. Begins his Voyage from the Port of the Nativity, and rejoins Martin Pinzon, who had deserted him.
15. Prosecutes his Voyage to Lisbon, where he has an Audience of the King of Portugal.
16. Returns safely to Palos, March 15, 1493, and proceeds from thence to Barcelona, in order to pay his Compliments to their Catholic Majesties.
17. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Voyage.

1. THE Family and personal History of Don Christopher Columbus have been so fully set forth in the Beginning of the First Chapter, that there is no Need of repeating them here; and, therefore, we shall observe, that after being slighted and abused in *Portugal*, he travelled into *Spain*, in the year 1484, in order to propose his Scheme of Discovery to King *Ferdinand* and

Queen *Isabella*, by whom he was referred to the Prior of *Prado*, afterwards Archbishop of *Granada*, who summoned an Assembly of such as were then esteemed learned, to consider of his Proposals. But there being few Cosmographers then in *Castile*, and those none of the best in the World, and, besides, as *Columbus* did not fully explain himself, lest he should be served as he had been

in *Portugal*, they came to a Resolution nothing answerable to what he had expected.

Some alledging that since in so many Ages as there were from the Creation of the World, Men so well versed in marine Affairs had known nothing of these Countries *Columbus* persuaded them must be found, it was not to be imagined that he could know more than all of them. Others, adhering more to speculative Reason, urged, that the World was so large that there would be no coming to the utmost Extent of the East in three Years, whither *Columbus* said he intended his Voyage. And in Confirmation thereof they alledged, that *Seneca*, by way of Dispute, said, That many discreet Men did not agree upon the Question, Whether the Ocean was infinite, and doubted whether it could be sailed; and, supposing it to be navigable, whether there was any Country inhabited on the other Side, and whether it was possible to go to it. They added, That no Part of this inferior Sphere was inhabited, except only a small Compass, which was left in our Hemisphere above the Water, and that all the rest was Sea; and that notwithstanding it was so, if it were possible to arrive at the extreme Part of the East, it would be also granted that from *Spain* they might go to the extreme Part of the West. There were still others who affirmed, That if *Columbus* should sail directly Westward he would not be able to return to *Spain*, because of the Roundness of the Globe; so that whoever should go beyond the Hemisphere known by *Ptolemy*, would fall down so low that it would be impossible ever to return, by reason it would be like climbing up a Hill. And though *Columbus* fully answered these Arguments, they could not apprehend him, for which Reason those of the Assembly judged the Enterprize to be vain and impracticable, and that it was not becoming the Grandeur of such mighty Princes to proceed upon so improbable a Scheme.

After much Delay, their Catholic Majesties ordered this Answer to be given to *Columbus*: That being engaged in several Wars, and particularly in the Conquest of *Granada*, they could not enter upon fresh Expences, but when that was over, they would cause further Enquiry to be made into his Proposal; and so they dismissed him. On receiving this Answer, *Columbus* went to *Sevil* very melancholy, after having been five Years at Court to no Effect. He caused the Affair to be proposed to the Duke de *Medina Sidonia*, and some say to the Duke de *Medina Celi* at the same time; and they also rejecting him, he wrote to the King of *France*, designing to go over into *England*, to look for his Brother, of whom he had heard nothing for a long time, in case the *French* would not employ him. With this Design he went to the Monastery for his Son *Don Diego*, in order to leave him at *Cordova*; and communicating his Design to Father *John Perez de Morchanta*, he put off his Journey at his Request, who, to be the better informed of the Grounds *Columbus* went upon, sent for *Garci Hernandez*, a Physician, and they three conferred together upon what *Columbus* proposed, which gave *Garci Hernandez*, as being a Physician, much Satisfaction. Whereupon Father *John Perez*, who was known to the Queen, as having confessed her sometimes, writ to her, and she ordered him to come to the Court, which was then in the Town of *Santa Fee* at the Siege of *Granada*, and to leave *Columbus* at *Palos*, giving him Hopes of Success in his Business.

Father *John Perez* having been with the Queen, she ordered 20,000 Marvedies in Florins for *Columbus*, by *James Piete*, an Inhabitant of *Palos*, for him to go to Court; where he being come, the Affair began to be canvassed again. But the Prior of *Prado*, and others who followed him, being of a contrary Opinion; and *Columbus* demanding very high Terms, and, among the rest, to have the Title of Admiral and Vice-roy, they thought he demanded too much, if the Enterprize succeeded, and looked upon it as a Discredit, if it did not. Whereupon the Treaty entirely ceased, and *Columbus* resolved to go away to *Cordova*, in order to proceed from thence to *France*, being resolved not to go to *Portugal* upon any Account. *Alonso de Quintanilla*, and *Lewis de Santangel*, a Clerk of the Revenue of the Crown of *Aragon*, were much concerned that this Enterprize should be

disappointed; and, at the Request of Father *John Perez* and *Alonso Quintanilla*, the Cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza* had heard *Columbus*, and looking upon him as a grave Man, had an Esteem for him. Besides, the adverse Party objecting, that, as *Columbus* ventured nothing himself in the Discovery, and made himself Admiral of a Fleet of their Catholic Majesties, he would not value being disappointed in the Enterprize. He offered, in answer to them, to lay down the eighth Part of the Expence, provided he should have his Quota of the Return; and yet nothing came of it. In *January*, 1492, he set out from *Santa Fee* for *Cordova*, the City of *Granada* being then in the Possession of their Catholic Majesties.

The same Day *Lewis de Santangel* told the Queen, He wondered she, who never wanted a Spirit for the greatest Undertakings, should now fail where so little would be lost, and so much might be gained; for, in Case the Affair succeeded, and fell into the Hands of another, as *Columbus* affirmed it was like to do, she might guess how prejudicial it would be to her Crown. And since *Columbus* appeared to be a discreet Man, and demanded no Reward but out of what he should find, and was willing to defray a Part of the Charge, venturing his own Person also; the thing ought not to be esteemed so impracticable. Besides, *Columbus* demanded only a Million of Marvedies to fit out his Squadron, and, therefore, he intreated her not to suffer so small an Expence to disappoint so great an Enterprize. The Queen, finding herself importuned on the same Account by *Alonso de Quintanilla*, who was in high Credit with her, thanked them for their Advice, and said she accepted it, provided they would stay till she could a little recover the Expences of the War. However, if they thought fit, it should be immediately put in execution; she would consent they should borrow what Money was requisite upon her Jewels. They kissed her Hand for this Favour; and *Lewis de Santangel* offered to lend as much as was necessary.

Upon this the Queen ordered an Alguazil of the Court to post after *Columbus*, to tell him from her to return. The Alguazil overtook him two Leagues from *Granada*, at the Bridge of *Pinos*; and, though much concerned, he returned to *Santa Fee*, where he was well received; and the Secretary, *John Colonna*, was ordered to draw up the Conditions, after he had spent eight Years in soliciting the Enterprize, and enduring in that Time many Crosses and Hardships. When *Columbus* and the Secretary had conferred about the Terms, they agreed upon the following Conditions, on the 17th of *April*, 1492.

2. First their Highnesses constitute *Don Christopher Columbus*, their Admiral, in all those Islands and Continents that by his Industry shall be discovered in the said Ocean, during his Life, and after his Death, to his Heirs, and Successors for ever, with all the Prerogatives to that Office appertaining, and in the same Manner as *Don Alonso Henriquez*, their high Admiral of *Castile*, and his Predecessors in the said Office enjoyed the same within their Districts. Item, Their Highnesses appoint the said *Don Christopher Columbus* their Viceroys and Governor General of all the Islands and Continents which he shall discover in the said Ocean, and that he may chose three Persons for the Government of each of them, and that their Highnesses take and make choice of one as shall be most for their Service.

Item, That all Commodities, whether Pearls, precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Spice, or other things whatsoever, or Merchandize of any kind, that shall be brought, exchanged, found on, or had within, the Limits of the said Admiral's Ship, their High Mightinesses, from this time, grant to the said *Don Christopher*, That he have, and enjoy the tenth Part for himself, deducting the Charges, so that of what shall remain clear and free, he have, and take the tenth Part for himself, and dispose of it at his own Will; the other nine Parts remaining for their Highnesses.

Item, In Case that on Account of the said Merchandize, which he shall bring from the said Islands, which shall be discovered, or of those which shall be taken in exchange for them of other Merchants, any Law-suit should happen to arise in the Place where the said Commerce shall be made and carried on; if by Reason of his said Office of Admiral,

Admiral, it shall belong to him to take Cognizance of such Controversy; it may please their Highnesses, that he or his Deputy, and no other Judge, shall try the said Cause, if it appertains to the said Office of Admiral as the same has been enjoyed by the Admiral Don *Alonso Henriquez*, or his Predecessors in their Districts, and according to Justice.

Item, That in all the Ships which shall be fitted out for the said Trade and Commerce, as often as they shall be fitted, the said Don *Christopher Columbus*, if he shall think fit, may lay out the eighth Part of what shall be expended in fitting them out; and that he accordingly have and receive the eighth Part of the Profits of such Ships.

These Articles were granted in the Town of *Santa Fee*, in the Plain of *Granada*, with which Dispatch and Money Don *Christopher Columbus* set out from *Granada* on the 12th of *May*, and leaving his Sons at their Studies in *Cordova*, he went to the Town of *Palos*, to undertake his Voyage; few at Court expecting that he would perform what he had promised. Their Catholic Majesties strictly enjoined him not to touch at the Mine in *Guinea*, or to come within one Hundred Leagues of the *Portuguese* Settlements. They gave him their Letters Patents to all the Kings and Princes in the World, for them to give him a favourable Reception as their Commander; he repaired to *Palos*, because there were able Seamen in that Place, and on Account of his Friendship with Father *John Perez de Merchena*, who helped him very much in the Dispatch of his Affairs; persuading the Sailors who were very backward to engage in an unknown Voyage. He carried with him Orders for that Town to furnish him with two Caravels, which by ancient Tenure it was obliged to find for the Service of the Crown, during three Months every Year.

He fitted out another Ship as Admiral, and called it *St. Mary*; the second was called *Pinta*, of which *Martin Alonso Pinzon* was Captain, and his Brother *Francis Martinez Pinzon* Master: The Third was named *Nina*, carrying square Sails, whose Captain and Master was *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was very helpful in this Affair, and laid down half a Million of Marvedies for the eighth Part of the Expence. He made use of the *Pinzons*, because they were principal Men in that Town, wealthy and skilful Mariners, and all the Men seeing them approve of the Voyage, were willing to undertake it.

3. The Ships being provided for a Year, having on board ninety Men, most of them Natives of *Palos*, and among them some Friends of *Columbus*, and some of the Kings Servants, they set sail on *Friday* the third of *August*, half an Hour before Sun rising, and got over the Bar of *Saltes*, directing their Course for the *Canary* Islands, after they had all (following the Example of *Columbus*) made their Confession, and received the Holy Communion. As they held on their Voyage, on the fourth of *August*, the Rudder of the Caravel *Pinta*, in which *Martin Alonso Pinzon* commanded, broke loose, as was suspected by the Contrivance of *Gomez Rascon* and *Christopher Quintero* Mariners, to whom the Caravel belonged, because they went the Voyage against their Will, and therefore they had endeavoured to disappoint it before their Departure: But *Martin Alonso Pinzon* being an able Sailor, the Rudder was fastened with Cables in such Manner, that they were able to sail till the *Tuesday* following, when it again broke loose, and they were all forced to lie by.

This Mischance happening to the Caravel *Pinta*, at their first setting out, would have startled any superstitious Person, especially considering how disobedient *Martin Alonso* afterwards proved to *Columbus*. Having mended the Rudder the best they could, on the 11th of *August* by Break of Day they discovered the *Canaries*, and not being able in two Days to put into grand *Canaria*, because the Wind was contrary, *Columbus* ordered *Martin Alonso* to procure some other Vessel as soon as he could get ashore, and he, with the other two, made for the Island *Gomera*, to endeavour the same; but finding none, he returned to great *Canaria*, and resolved to make a new Rudder to the Caravel *Pinta*, and to change the Sails of

the Caravel *Nina*, which were square, into those called Shoulder of Mutton Sails, that he might follow the other Ships more speedily, and with less Danger.

The 5th of *September*, in the Afternoon, he sailed, and arrived at the Island *Gomera*, spent four Days there, taking in fresh Water and Fuel, with the utmost Diligence; because, being informed that three *Portuguese* Caravels were hovering about these Islands to seize him, he apprehended some Trouble on Account of the King of *Portugal's* Concern, when he understood that Don *Christopher Columbus* had articulated with their Catholic Majesties, being apprehensive that God had taken that good Fortune out of his Hands. *Thursday* the 6th, which may be reckoned the Entry of the Undertaking, he sailed to the Westward, making but little Way. But the next Day they lost sight of Land, and many sighed and wept, believing they should never see it again: But *Columbus* encouraged and comforted them with Thoughts of Wealth and good Fortune. That Day they run eighteen Leagues, but the Admiral designedly reckoned but fifteen, thinking it convenient to shorten their Run, that the Men might be less afraid. On the 11th, being 150 Leagues from the Island *Ferro*, they spied a Peice of a Mast, which seemed to have been carried away by the Current. In the same Latitude, somewhat farther on, the Current set strong to the Northward, and 50 Leagues farther Westward.

On the 14th *Columbus* about Night-fall observed that the Needle varied to the North-west about half a Point, and that at Break of Day it did the like, somewhat above half a Point, by which he perceived that the Needle did not point directly to the Star called the North; but at another fixed and invisible Point. This Variation had not till then been observed by any Person whatsoever, which was much admired, and much more the third Day after, when he had advanced 100 Leagues farther, holding the same Course, because the Needles then at Night-fall varied to the North-west as before, and in the Morning again pointed upon the very Star.

On the 15th, being near 300 Leagues Westward of the Island *Ferro*, a Flame of Fire was seen falling into the Sea in the Night, four or five Leagues from the Ships towards the South-west; the Weather being calm and the Sea smooth, the Currents still setting to the North-east; and the Crew of the Caravel *Nina*, said they had the Day before seen a Bird called a Waterwagtail, which they admired, that being the first, and a Bird which they say never flies above fifteen or twenty Leagues from Land. The next Day they were more surprized to see Spots of green and yellow Weeds on the Surface of the Water, which seemed to have been washed from some Island or Rocks, and they saw much more the Day following, which made them conclude that they were near Land, and they were strongly confirmed in it, because they saw a little Grasshopper alive upon the Weeds; others fancied there might be Rocks or Lands under Water, and, being afraid, muttered against the Voyage; it was also observed, that the Sea-Water was not half so salt as that they had passed, and that Night they saw many Tunnies following the Ships so close, that the Men in the Caravel *Nina* killed one of them with an Harping-iron, and in the Morning they found the Air as warm as in *Andaluzia*, in *April*.

Being 370 Leagues to the Westward of the Island *Ferro*, they saw another Waterwagtail, and on the 18th *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, who had slipped before with the Caravel *Pinta*, which was a very good Sailer, lay by for the Admiral, and told him he had seen a Multitude of Birds making to the Westward, which made him believe he should see Land that Night, and find it to the Northward 15 Leagues from thence; nay, he fancied he had seen it: But the Admiral judging it was not so, would not lose Time to go in quest of it, though all were for it; because he did not think himself to be in the Place, where, according to his Notions, he expected to discover it. That Night the Wind freshened, after they had sailed eleven Days without handing their Sails, still sailing right before the Wind to the Westward; the Admiral continually noting down every thing that happened; observing what Wind blew; what his Course was; what

Fishes and Birds were seen; and sounding very frequently.

4. The Men being unexperienced in such a Course, seeing no Hopes, and nothing appearing but Sky and Water for so many Days, carefully observed every Token, being then farther from Land than any Men had ever been before. On the 19th, a Sea Gull went to the Admiral's Ship, and others came near in the Afternoon, which gave Hopes that some Land was near, as believing that these Birds went not far from it; and with this Hopes, the Weather being calm, they sounded with 200 Fathoms of Line, and though they found no Ground, they perceived that the Currents ran South-west. On the 20th, in the Forenoon, they saw two other Gulls near the Admiral; and some time after they took a Blackbird with a white Spot on the Head, the Feet like a Duck's; they also killed a small Fish, and saw Abundance of Weeds like what they had seen before; and the Ships making way through them, they became less afraid. The next Morning, at Break of Day, three other little Land Birds came on board the Admiral singing, and at Sun rising they flew away; which was some Comfort to the Men, as believing that the other Sea Fowls might easily go farther from the Land, but that the little Birds could not come from so great a Distance. Some time after they saw another Gull coming from the West North-west; and the next Day in the Afternoon more Weeds to the Northward, which was some Satisfaction to them, believing the Land was near. The Weeds at the same Time perplexed them, some Knots of them being so thick, that they hindered the Ships Way, and therefore they kept as clear from them as they could. The next Day they saw a Whale; and on the 22d they spied some Birds; and those three Days the Wind was at South-west, and though it was contrary, the Admiral said it was good, because the Men muttering and refusing to obey; and alledging among other things, that since they had so long run before the Wind, it would be hard for them to return to *Spain*, by Reason that though it had sometimes proved contrary, it had held but of short time, and was not steady: And though the Admiral answered that was occasioned by their being near Land, and urged some more Reasons for it; he stood in need of God's special Assistance, because the Discontents increased, the Men grew mutinous, and by degrees, paid him no Respect; reflecting on the King for having given Orders for the Voyage; and almost all of them agreed not to proceed in it.

The Admiral managed Things with great Addres; sometimes encouraging the Men, and assuring them of the Shortness and good Success of their Voyage; and sometimes threatening them with the King's Authority; but it pleased God, that on the 23d the Wind came up at West North-west, the Sea indifferent rough as they all wished; and three Hours before Noon a Turtle Dove flew over the Admiral; and in the Afternoon a Gull and other white Birds; and among the Weeds they found little Grasshoppers. The next Day came a Gull and some Turtle Doves from the Westward, and some small Fishes, which they struck. As these Tokens had hitherto failed, the Mens Fear increased, and they took occasion to gather Parties, saying, the Admiral in a mad Humour had thought to make himself great at the Expence of their Lives; and though they had done their Duty, and failed farther from Land than ever any Man had done before, they ought not to be instrumental to their own Destruction; still proceeding without any Reason, till their Provisions failed them, which, though they were ever very sparing, would not suffice to carry them back any more than the Ships, which were already very crazy; so that no body would think they had done amiss, and that so many having opposed the Admiral's Projects, the more Credit would be given to them: Nay, there wanted not some, who said that, to put an End to all Debates, the best Way would be to throw him into the Sea, and say he had unfortunately fallen in, as he was attentively gazing on the Stars, and no body would go about to enquire into the Truth of it; that was the best Means for them to return and save themselves.

Thus the evil Designs of the Men very much perplexed *Columbus*; but sometimes giving good Words, and

at other times putting them in mind of the Punishment they would incur if they obstructed the Voyage, he curbed their Insolence with Fear, and as a Confirmation of the Hopes he gave them of soon concluding the Voyage successfully, he often put them in mind of the above mentioned Signs, promising them they would soon find a very rich Country, where they would all conclude their Labour well bestowed. The Men were so anxious and disconsolate that every Hour seemed a Year, till on the 25th at Sun setting, whilst *Columbus* was talking to *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, he cried out Land, Land, Sir; let me not lose my Reward for this good News; and shewed towards the South-west a Body that looked like an Island, about 25 Leagues from the Ships. This, which was looked upon as an Invention concerted between them two, so much cheered up the Men, that they returned Thanks to God; and the Admiral, till Night, made as if he believed it to be so, steering his Course that way a great Part of the Night, to humour the Men.

The next Morning they all perceived they were Clouds, which often look like Land, and to the great Regret of of the major Part, they held on their Course Westward. But to return to the Tokens; they saw a Gull and a Wagtail, and other Birds; and the next Day they saw another Wagtail flying from the West Eastward, and many gilt Fishes appeared, which they killed; and a Wagtail flew very near the Ship, and they perceived that the Currents ran not so strong as before, but turned back with the Tides, and there were fewer Weeds; and the Day following they took many gilt Fishes. On the 29th they saw a Wagtail, which is a Sea-Fowl that never rests, pursues the Gulls till they empty their Bellies for fear, and catching their Dung in the Air feeds on it; and of these Birds there are many in the Islands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after two Wagtails appeared, and many flying Fishes, which having two little Wings, sometimes fly a Musket Shot, or a few Yards, above the Water; being about a Span in Length, and sometimes fell into the Ships. In the Afternoon they met with a great Quantity of Weeds, in a Line from North to South, and three Gulls and a Wagtail pursuing them; the Men still fancying that the Weeds were a Token that there was Ground near them under Water, and that they should perish.

On the 30th, four Wagtails flew near the Admiral, and by their being together, they guessed that they were near Land, and also because four more came soon after, and they saw many Weeds in a Line from West North-west, to East South-east, and many Fishes called Emperors, which have a very hard Skin, and are not fit to eat. Though the Admiral took notice of these Tokens, he did not forget those in the Sky. He observed, there, that the Polar Stars were, at Night, on the West Quarter, and when Day came on, they were at the North-east Quarter; by which he concluded that during the Night, they advanced but three Lines, which are nine Hours, and this he found every Night; he also perceived, that at Night-fall, the Needles varied one whole Degree, and in the Morning they were right with the Star; which very much troubled and confounded the Pilots, till he told them, that the Occasion of it was the Compass of the North Star about the Pole, and that gave them some Satisfaction; for, in reality, that Variation made them apprehensive of Danger, as being far from Land.

5. October the 1st, at Break of Day, a Wagtail came to the Admiral, as did others, two or three Hours before Noon; and the Weeds came from East to West, some believing they should fall in so near the Land, that the Ships would be a-ground and perish. The same Day, in the Morning, the Pilot told the Admiral that they were then 588 to the Westward, off the Island *Ferro*. The Admiral told the Pilot, that by his reckoning it was 584; but, in his own Thoughts, and according to his true reckoning, it was 607. The Pilot of the Caravel *Nina*, on the Third, in the Afternoon, said he found they had sailed 650 Leagues, and the Pilot of the *Pinta* said 634, wherein they were mistaken, for they had always sailed before the Wind: But *Columbus* still took no notice, lest the Men should be dismayed at the vast Run; for the greatest Sea, till then known, did not exceed 200 Leagues.

Leagues. On the 2d they killed a Tunny, and saw much other Fish, and a white Bird, and many grey ones, and the Weeds very much withered, and almost rotted to Dust; and having seen no Birds the third Day, they feared they had missed some Island on either Side, believing that the many Birds they had seen, went over from one Island to another; and the Men being desirous to turn to one Side or other to seek for these Lands, *Columbus* did not think fit to let slip the fair Weather that favoured him; he kept to the West, which was what he desired, because he thought he should lose the Credit of his Undertaking, if they saw him turning, at random, from one side to the other, to find out that, which he always affirmed he knew.

For this Reason, the Men began again to mutiny, which none will wonder at, who considers so many Men led by one of whom few of them had any Knowledge, exposed to so many Dangers, without seeing any thing for so many Days, but Sky and Water, or knowing what would be the End of such a long Voyage. But it pleased God to send new Tokens, which, in some measure, quieted their Minds; for on the 4th, in the Afternoon, they saw about forty Sparrows and two Gulls, which came so near to the Ships, that a Sailor killed one of them with a Stone, and several flying Fishes fell into the Ship; all which things, and the good Words the Admiral gave them, pacified them; the next Day there flew near the Ships a Wagtail and a Gull, and several Sparrows from the Westward. On the 7th some Signs of Land appeared to the Westward, but no Man durst speak of it because of the Thickness of the Weather, though they all wished for it, to gain the Reward of an Annuity of 10,000 Marvedies, their Catholic Majesties had promised for Life to the first that should discover Land; and to prevent their crying Land at every Foot, in Hopes of that Annuity, it was ordained, that whosoever said it, if the same were not made good in three Days, should be for ever excluded from that Reward, though he should afterwards really discover it. However, those aboard the Caravel *Nina*, which was much a-head, being so good a Sailor, concluding that it was certainly Land, fired their Guns and put out their Colours. But the farther they sailed, the more their Joy abated, till it quite vanished.

In the Midst of this Anguish, it pleased God to comfort them again with the Sight of many Birds, among which many were Land Fowl, flying from the West to the South-west; and *Columbus*, considering after he had sailed so vast a Length, that such small Birds could not be far from Land, concluded it must certainly be near, and therefore he altered the Course he had then held due West, and steered South-west; alledging, that though he altered his Course, he deviated but little from the first Design, and did it to follow the Rules and Method of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of the Islands by following the Flight of such Birds: Besides, that those they then saw took the same Way, he also concluded he should find Land, for as they well knew he had often told them he did not expect to find it till he had sailed 750 Leagues from the *Canaries* Westwards; at which Distance he had also told them he should discover the Island *Cipango*, and that he should certainly have found it, had he not known it was said to lie North and South, and that he had not turned to the Southward to avoid falling on it, and that he believed it lay among other Islands on the left Hand, and which Way those Birds flew, and that it was by reason they were so near Land, so many, and such various Sorts, of them appeared.

6. It pleased God, when Don *Christopher Columbus* could no longer withstand so much Contradiction, that on the 11th of October, 1492, in the Afternoon, he received some Comfort by the manifest Tokens they perceived of their being near Land; for the Men aboard the Admiral saw a green Rush near the Ship, and next a large green Fish of that Sort that creeps close about the Rocks. Those aboard the Caravel *Pinta* saw a Cane and a Staff, and took up one that was artificially wrought, and a little Board, and saw Abundance of Weeds fresh torn off from the Shore; for which Reasons, and, because they brought

up Sand upon founding; there was a Certainty of their being near Land, which was confirmed by the Shifting of the Wind, which seemed to come from the Shore.

Columbus being satisfied, after Night-fall, when they had said the *Salve Regina*, as is usual among Sailors; he discoursed the Men, telling them how merciful God had been to them, carrying them safe so long a Voyage; and that, since the Tokens were hourly manifest, he desired them to watch all Night, since they knew that, in the first Article of the Instructions he had given them when he came out of *Spain*, he told them, that when they had run 700 Leagues without discovering Land, they were to lie by after Midnight, till Day, and be upon the Watch, for he firmly believed they would find Land that Night: And that, besides the 10,000 Marvedies, an Annuity their Highnesses had promised the Person that should first discover it, he would give a velvet Doublet. Two Hours before Midnight, *Columbus* standing on the Poop saw a Light, and privately called *Peter Gutierrez*, Groom of the Privy Chamber to the King, and bid him look at it, and he saw it; then they called *Roderick Sanchez* of *Segovia*, Purser of the Fleet, who could not discern it; but afterwards it was seen twice, and looked like a little Candle raised up, and then taken down; and *Columbus* did not question but it was a true Light, and that they were near Land, and so it proved; and it was of People passing from one House to another. Two Hours after Midnight, the Caravel *Pinta*, was always a-head, and made Signs of Land, which was first discovered by a Sailor, whose Name was *Roderick de Trians*, but two Leagues distant. But their Catholic Majesties declared, that the Reward of 10,000 Marvedies Annuity belonged to the Admiral, and it was afterwards paid him at the Shambles of *Sevil*, because he saw the Light amidst Darkness, meaning the Spiritual Light that was then coming in amongst those barbarous People. When Day appeared they perceived an Island 15 Leagues in Length; plain, much wooded, well watered, and having a Lake of fresh Water in the Midst of it; well stored with People, who stood full of Admiration on the Shore, imagining the Ships to be Sea Monsters, waiting with the utmost Impatience to know what they were, as the *Spaniards* were no less eager to be upon Land.

The Admiral went ashore in his Boat, armed, and the Royal Colours flying; as did the Captains, *Martin Alonso Pinzon* and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, carrying the Colours of their Enterprize, being a green Cross with some Crowns, and the Names of their Catholic Majesties. Having all of them kissed the Ground, and on their Knees, with Tears, given Thanks to God for the Goodness he had shewn them; the Admiral stood up and gave that Island the Name of *San Salvador*, which the Natives called *Guana-ham*, being one of those afterwards called *Lucayo* Islands, 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*, discovered after they had sailed 33 Days. Then, with proper Solemnity, he took Possession of it, in the Name of their Catholic Majesties, for the Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*; a great Multitude of the Natives looking on.

The *Spaniards* immediately owned him as their Admiral and Viceroy, and swore Obedience to him, as representing the King's Person in that Country, with all the Joy and Satisfaction that so great an Event deserved; all begging his Pardon for the Trouble and Uneasiness they had given him, by their Inconstancy and want of Resolution. The Admiral, believing those *Indians* a gentle and simple People, gave them some red Caps, Glass-Beads, and such like Things, which they highly valued. The *Spaniards* no less admiring their Colour and Shape. When the Admiral returned on board, the *Indians* followed him: Some swimming, and others in their Boats, called Canoes, made of one Peice of Wood, like Trays. They carried along with them Skins and Bottoms of Cotton, Parrots and Javelins, the Ends of which were armed with Fish Bones, instead of Horn, and some other Things to exchange for Glass-toys, Hawks-bells, and the like; which they were so fond of, that they received even the broken Peices of earthen Plates as precious Relics, being a People in their original Simplicity.

They were all stark naked as they were born, Men and Women, and most of them young, or not above thirty Years of age. They wore their Hair down to their Ears, and some few to their Necks, tied with a String. They had good Faces and Features, though their extraordinary high Foreheads somewhat disfigured them. They were of a middle Stature, well shaped, and their Skins of an Olive Colour, like the Natives of the *Canaries*; some of them were painted with black, and others white, and others red; most of them on their Bodies, and some on their Faces and Eyes, or only the Nose. They were not acquainted with our Weapons, for when they shewed them naked Swords, they simply laid hold on the Edges.

They knew nothing of Iron, and wrought Wood with hard sharp Stones found in Rivers. Some of them having Scars about them, and being asked by Signs, answered, that People, from other Lands, came to make them Prisoners, and they received those Wounds in their Defence. They seemed to be ready of Tongue, and ingenious; for they easily pronounced the Words they once heard. No other Sort of Creatures were seen there but Parrots.

On the 13th many *Indians* came aboard the Ships in their Canoes, most of which carried forty five Persons; yet some were so small that they held but one. They rowed with an Oar like the Peel of an Oven, as if they had dug with a Spade; and their Boats are so artificially made, that though they over-set, the *Indians* swimming turn them up again, and empty the Water with dried Gourds they had for that Purpose. They carried Cotton to barter, and some for three Ceutis of *Portugal* (worth about a Farthing) gave as many Bottoms of Cotton as weighed a quarter of an hundred Weight. They wear no Jewels or other things of Value, except some little Plates of Gold they had hanging at their Noses. They were asked whence they had that Gold, and signified it came from the Southward, where a King had much of it. The Admiral understanding that there were other Lands, resolved to go in quest of them. The Ships were never clear of *Indians*; the whole Day was spent in bartering; their Generosity not extending to give what they had, but for the Value they put upon what they received in return; looking upon the *Spaniards* as Men come from Heaven, and therefore they would have something to keep as a Memorial of their being there.

7. On the 14th, in the Morning, the Admiral, with the Boats, took a View of the Coast to the North-west. The Natives followed by Land, promising Provisions, and calling others to see the People come from Heaven, who, wondring, lifted up their Hands, and some swimming, and others in Canoes, went to ask them by Signs, whether they came from Heaven, and praying them to go and rest in their Country. The Admiral gave them all Glass Toys, Pins, and other Baubles, being well pleased; at length he came to a Ridge of Rocks, where there was a safe and spacious Harbour, and where a strong Castle might have been erected, because it was almost encompassed with the Sea. In that Place were six Houses, with many Trees about them; and because the Men were tired with rowing, and he perceived the Country was not proper to make any long stay in, he took seven *Indians* to learn the *Spanish* Tongue, and returning to the Caravels, set out in quest of the other Islands; about an hundred appearing flat, green, and inhabited, the *Indians* telling the Names of them.

On the 15th, he came to one that was seven Leagues from the First, which he called *St. Mary of the Conception*. The Side whereof next to *St. Saviour* extends 50 Leagues along the Coast; but the Admiral took the Coast that lies East and West, being eighteen Leagues in Length; anchored on the West, and went ashore. The Natives flocked thither in great Numbers, with much Amazement, and he perceiving all alike thought fit to proceed no farther; a Canoe being aboard the Caravel *Nina*, one of the seven *Indians* of *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, threw himself over-board and went his Way, and though the Boat pursued, they could not overtake him; the Night before another made his Escape. Another *Indian* came in a Canoe, to exchange Cotton; the Admiral ordered a red Cap to be put upon his Head, and Hawks-Bells on

his Arms and Legs, and so sent him away very joyful, without taking his Cotton. The next Day he sailed away West to another Island, the Coast whereof stretched along 18 Leagues North-west and South-east, where he arrived on the 17th, in the Afternoon, by reason of the Calm.

On their Way they met an *Indian* in a Canoe, carrying a Piece of such Bread as they eat, and a Calabash or Gourd with Water; a little black Earth with which they paint themselves, and dry Leaves of an Herb they very much value, because it is wholesome, and has a sweet Scent, and in a little Basket a String of Glass-Beads and two Vintems, a small *Portugal* Coin, by which they knew he came from *St. Salvador*, had passed by the *Conception*, and was going to this Island, which the Admiral named *Fernanda*, in Honour of the King. They understood that the said *Indian* was going to carry Advice of the *Spaniards*, but the Way being very long, and he tired with rowing, he went aboard the Ships, where the Admiral ordered him some Bread and Honey to eat, and Wine to drink, and as soon as he arrived at the Island he ordered him to be set ashore with some Toys he gave him. The good Account he gave, caused the People to go aboard, and barter for such Things as they had met with in the other Islands, the Inhabitants of them being of one Nation. When the Boat went ashore for Water, the Inhabitants readily shewed it, and carried the little Tubs to fill the Pipes; but they seemed to be a more understanding People than the former; for they managed better in exchange of Commodities. These had Cotton Cloths in their Houses, and the married Women covered their Privities with a little Cotton Cloth, which the Maids did not.

This Island appeared to abound in Water, having many Meadows and Groves, and some agreeable little Hills, which there was not in the others; with an infinite Variety of Birds that sung sweetly, and flew in flocks, most of them different from what *Spain* affords; there were also many Lakes, and near one of them they saw a Creature like a Crocodile, seven Foot long, and they throwing Stones at him, he ran into the Water, where they killed him with their Spears, admiring its Largeness and frightful Shape; but Time afterwards made it appear, that these Animals being scaled and sleek, are good Meat; the Flesh of them being white, and much valued by the *Indians*; and in the Island of *Hispaniola* they call them *Yavanas*; in that Island they saw Trees that looked as if they had been grafted, as having Leaves and Branches of four or five different Sorts, and yet they were natural: They also saw Fishes of fine Colours, but no Land Creatures appeared, except large and tame Snakes, and Parrots, Alligators, and a Sort of little Rabbits, in Shape like Mice, but bigger, which they call *Uti*s. Proceeding towards the North-west, taking a View of this Island, they anchored in the Mouth of a fine Harbour, that had an Island before it; but they went not in, because it had not Water enough; nor would the Admiral go far from a Town that had covered them; whereas they had not yet seen, in any Islands, any bigger than of ten or twelve Houses like Tents, some round and others long, with an open Portal before them, as is usual in the Low Countries; covered with Leaves of Trees, well fitted for the Rain and Weather, with Vents for the Smoak, Ridges at the Top, handsomely made; and within them there was no other Household Stuff or Ornament, than what they carried aboard the Ships to barter. But their Beds were a Net, made fast to two Posts, which are called Hamocks. They also saw some little Dogs that did not bark.

They found an *Indian* who had a Bit of Gold in his Nose, with some Characters on it that looked like Letters; and the Admiral would have it taken from him, believing it had been a Coin, but it afterwards appeared there had never been any in the *West Indies*. Finding nothing more in *Fernanda*, than in *St. Salvador* and the *Conception*; he proceeded to the others that were nearest. The fourth Island he came to was called *Sasmoto*, and he named it *Isabella*, in Honour of the Queen; and took Possession on it before Witnesses, and the Notary, as he had done in the others. He perceived the Land was beautiful as the rest, and the People like the former. They killed another Alligator,

Alligator, and as they were going towards a Town the *Indians* fled, carrying away what they had. But the Admiral having forbid meddling with any thing, they soon came to the Ships to barter like the rest; and the Admiral gave them some Toys, and to try their Kindness asked for Water, which they carried to him in Calabashes or Gourds. He would not lose Time at the Island of *Isabella* or others; but resolved to go in quest of another, which they told him was very large, and called *Cuba*, pointing to the South; he believing it had been *Cipango*, by Reason of the Signs they gave of it, and their extraordinary Reports concerning it.

8. On the 28th he drew near the Coast, gave it the Name of *Juana* or *Johanna*; which seemed to be a better Country than the others, by Reason of the Hills, rising Grounds, and Variety of Trees, Plains, and Shores that appeared. He anchored in a great River he called *San Salvador*. The Woods appeared very thick, the Trees tall with Blossoms, and Fruits different from ours; and there were abundance of Birds. The Admiral, desiring to have Information, sent to two Houses, the People whereof fled, leaving Nets and fishing Tackle behind them, and a Dog that did not bark. He would not suffer any thing to be touched, but failed to another great River, which he called *de la Luna*, i. e. of the Moon. Another he saw, which he called *de Mares*, or of the Seas, the Banks of it were very well inhabited.

The *Indians* fled to the Mountains, which were covered with large and tall Trees of several Sorts. The *Indians* he carried with him signified to him that there was Gold and Pearls in *Cuba*; and he thought it very probable because he saw Muscles; they also said it was not ten Days Sail from thence to the *Continent*, according to the Notion he had. *Paul*, a Physician of *Florence*, having writ about it; however, though he was in the right, it was not the Land he imagined. Believing that if many Men went ashore, it would add to the Fear of the *Indians*, he sent two *Spaniards*, with one *Indian* of *San Salvador*, and one of *Cuba*, who came to the Ships in a Canoe. The *Spaniards*, being *Roderigo de Xeres*, an Inhabitant of *Ayamonte*, and *Lewes de Torres*, who had been a Jew, and spoke *Hebrew* and *Chaldaic*, and some say *Arabic*. He gave them things to exchange, and allowed them six Days to return in; directing them to go up into the Country, and enquire into all Affairs without doing harm to any body. In the mean Time he refitted the Ship, and they observed, that from all the Wood they burnt, there came a Sort of Gum like Mastic, resembling in the Leaf and Fruit the Mastic Tree, but much bigger. In this River of *Mares* the Ship had room to wind: It has 7 or 8 Fathom Water at the Mouth, and five within, with two Ridges of high Ground on the South-east, and a fine Cape to the West North-west, plain and running out; and this was afterwards the Port of *Barachoa*, which the Adalantado, or Lord Lieutenant *Diego Velasquez*, called of the *Assumption*.

When the Ship was ready to sail, the *Spaniards* returned, on the 5th of *November*, with three of the Native *Indians*, reporting they had travelled 22 Leagues, and found a Village of fifty Houses, built like them before mentioned, and that they contained about 1000 Persons, because a whole Generation lived in a House, and that the primé Man came out to meet them, led them by the Arms, and lodged them in one of these new Houses; causing them to sit down on Seats made of one solid Piece of Wood, in the Shape of a Beast, with very short Legs, and the Tail held up the Head before, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; and that all the *Indians* sat about them on the Ground, and one after another went to kiss their Feet and Hands, believing they came from Heaven, and gave them boiled Roots to eat, which tasted like Chestnuts; and intreated them to stay there, or at least, to rest five or six Days; because the *Indians* that went with them said many kind things. That Abundance of Women soon after coming in to see them, all the Men went out, and they, with the same Admiration, kissed their Feet and Hands, touching them as if they had been some holy Things, offering what they brought; and that many of

the Men would have come away with them, but that they would admit of none but the Lord and his Son, with one Servant.

They added, that, both coming and going, they found many Villages where the same Respect was paid them, but, that none of them had above five or six Houses; and that, by the Way, they met many People, each of them carrying a Fire-brand in his Hand to light Fire, and perfume themselves with some Herbs they carried along with them, and to roast their Roots, that being their principal Food; and the Fire was easily kindled, because they had a Sort of Wood, which, if they worked one Piece against another, as if piercing a Hole, took fire; they also saw a Multitude of several Sorts of Trees, such as they had not seen on the Sea-coast, and great Variety of Birds, different from ours, and among them Partridges and Nightingales; but that they had met with no four footed Creatures, besides those little Cur-Dogs that cannot bark. They had much Ground sowed with their Roots, and that sort of Corn called Maize, well tasted, either boiled or ground into Flower. They saw a vast Quantity of spun Cotton in Bottoms, and in one House they believed there was above 12,000 Pound Weight of it; the same growing in the Fields without being planted; and as the Roses blow of themselves, so does that, when ripe, though not all at the same Time; for, upon the same Plant, some were open and others still closed; and for a Leathern Thong, or a Piece of glazed Ware, or a Bit of a Looking-Glass, they would give a little Basket full of Cotton, which they did not make use of to cloath themselves, for they all went naked, but in making Nets for their Beds, and little Cloths to cover their Privities; and that being asked about Gold and Pearls, they said there was Abundance at *Bobio*, pointing Eastward.

9. The *Spaniards* still enquiring of the *Indians* for Gold, they answered, *Cubanacan*, which they thought had meant the great *Cham*, and that the Country of *Cathay* was not far off, because they also pointed out four Days Journey. *Martin Alonso Pinzon* said it must be some great City, that was four Days Journey from thence; but it was not long before they understood that *Cubanacan* was a Province in the Midst of the Island of *Cuba*, for *Nacan* signifies in the Middle, and that there were Mines of Gold. Having heard thus much, the Admiral would not lose any more time, but ordered some *Indians* to be taken, to be carried into *Spain*, from several Parts, that every one might give an Account of his own Country, as Witnesses of the Discovery: Twelve were taken, Men, Women, and Children, without giving Offence. As they were ready to sail, an *Indian*, who was one of the Womens Husband, and Father to two Boys that were aboard, came to the Ship, and desired they would take him along with his Wife and Children; the Admiral ordered him to be taken aboard, and all of them to be well used; and, because of the North Winds, he was obliged to return to a Port, which he called *del Principe*, or, the *Princes*, where he arrived on the 13th, and erected a Cross at the Mouth of it, made of two large pieces of Timber.

The next Day he stood to the Eastward, in quest of the Island *Hispaniola*, which the *Indians* called *Bobio*, and some of them *Babeque*; but it afterwards appeared *Babeque* was not the Island of *Hispaniola*, but the *Continent*, for they called it by another Name, *Carabina*. *Martin Alonso Pinzon* understanding now, that the *Indians* said there was much Gold in *Bobio*, being covetous to enrich himself, he left the Admiral on the 21st, without any strefs of Weather, or any other lawful Cause; and, his Ship being a very good Sailer, made the best of his Way thither. By the Name of *Bobio*, which was the Land of *Hispaniola*, it seemed the *Indians* would signify that it was a Land full of *Bobios*, that is, Cottages; the Admiral seeing, that, notwithstanding all the Signals he made, *Martin Alonso* was not to be found with the two Ships, and the Wind being still contrary, he returned to *Cuba*, to a large and safe Harbour, which he called *St. Catherine's*; there he wooded and watered, and saw some Stones with Tokens of Gold in them. On the Land there were tall Firr-trees, fit to make Masts, and perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hispaniola*,

niola, he sailed along the Coast more to the South-east 42 Leagues, where he found large and safe Harbours, and among them a River up the Mouth, whereof a Gally could easily pass, though the Entrance could not be perceived, unless very near to it. The Convenience of the River invited him to go in the Length of the Boat, where he found eight fathom Water, and proceeding still farther, he saw a Canoe of twelve Oars on the Land, under a sort of Arbour, and in some Houses close by they found a Mass of Wax, and a Man's Head hanging in a little Basket at a Post, the which Wax they carried to their Catholic Majesties, none being ever after found in *Cuba*, whence it was concluded to have been brought from *Yucatan*, either by stress of Weather in a Canoe, or some other way. They found no People to make any enquiry of them, because they all fled, but saw another Canoe 95 Spans in length, which could carry fifty Persons, made of one entire Tree, like the rest; and though they had no iron Tools to work them, the Instruments they made use of, for that Purpose, of Flints, proved sufficient, because the Trees were very large, and the Heart of them very soft and spungy, so that they easily hollowed them with Flints.

The Admiral arrived at the Eastern Point of it, and set out from thence on the 5th of *December* for *Hispaniola*, being eighteen Leagues over to the Eastward, but could not reach it till the next Day, by reason of the Currents. When he entered the Port he called it *St. Nicholas*, because it was that Saint's Day, and found it safe, spacious, and deep, encompassed with thick Woods, though the Land is hilly, and the Trees not very large, like those in *Spain*; for they saw Firrs and Myrtles, and a pleasant River ran into the Harbour; and on the Shore there were many Canoes as big as Brigantines of twenty-five Oars. However, finding no People, he proceeded farther to the Northward, to the Port he called the *Conception*, to the Southward of an Island he called *Tortuga*, ten Leagues from *Hispaniola*, and finding that this Island of *Bobio* was very large, and that the Soil and Trees were like those in *Spain*, as also that at one Draught of a Net, among other Sort of Fish, they had taken *Shads*, *Soles*, and other Sort of Fish known in *Spain*, which till then they had not seen in those Parts; and that they had heard the Nightingale sing, with other *European* Birds which they admired, about *December*, he styled the Island *la Espanola*, by us corruptly called *Hispaniola*. He thought fit the Name of *Spain* should have place, though some told him it would be more proper to call it *Castelana*, because only the Kingdoms *Castile* and *Leon* were concerned in that Conquest.

In regard that the *Indians* he had on board gave him so good an Account, he was earnest to see what Truth there was as to the Wealth of that Country, and to take a View of it; but the *Indians* flying, and giving one another Notice by Fires, he thought fit to send out six armed *Spaniards*, who having travelled far, returned without finding any People, saying wonderful things of the Delightfulness of the Land. Having ordered a great Cross to be erected near the Mouth of the Harbour, on the West-side, as three Sailors were in the Wood, seeking for proper Trees for that effect, they spy'd abundance of naked People, who fled as soon as they saw the *Spaniards*. The Sailors running after them took a Woman who had a little Plate of Gold hanging at her Nose. The Admiral gave her Hawks-Bells, Strings of Glass-Beads, and caused a Shirt to be put upon her, and so sent her away, with three of the *Indians* he had brought with him, and three *Spaniards*, to bear her company to her Habitation.

10. The next Day he sent nine *Spaniards*, well armed, with an *Indian* of *San Salvador*, which was four Leagues distant to the South-east; they found a Town of a thousand Houses abandoned, the Inhabitants being fled. The *Indian* went after them, and so much extolled the *Spaniards*, that they returned, and being somewhat astonished and trembling, laid their Hands on the Heads of the *Spaniards*, by way of Honour and Respect, and carrying them Provisions, desiring they would stay that Night; abundance of People then came up, carrying on their Shoulders the Woman to whom the Admiral had given the Shirt, with her Husband, who was going to return them Thanks. The *Spaniards* returned with an Account

that the Country abounded in Provisions; the People whiter and of better Countenances than those of the other Islands, more tractable, and that the Country which produced Gold was more to Eastward; that the Men were not so large, but strong boned, and gross, without Beards, their Nostrils very wide, and their Foreheads smooth and high, and that they made them so at their Birth, reckoning it graceful; for which Reason, and because they always went bareheaded, their Skulls were so hard, that sometimes a *Spanish* Sword would break upon their Heads.

The Admiral was informed that the Lord of that Territory, whom they called a *Cazique*, was coming with two hundred Men to see the Ships, and though young, they carried him on a Palankin, on their Shoulders, and he had several Counsellors; when he came on board it was observed, with Admiration, how great Respect they paid him, and how gravely he behaved. An *Indian* of the Island *Isabella* went and talked to him, telling him the *Spaniards* were heavenly Men. He went aboard, and when he came to the Quarter-deck, he made Signs for those that were with him to stay behind, excepting two who sat down at his Feet, and were his Counsellors. The Admiral ordered to give him to eat; he took a little of every thing, and having tasted it, gave it to the other two, and afterwards carried it to the rest. They gave him Drink, and he only put it to his Mouth; they all behaved themselves very gravely, said little; his Men looked at his Mouth, and spoke to him, and the Admiral, by means of the *Indian* Interpreter, gave him to understand that he was Commander for their Majesties of *Castile* and *Leon*, the greatest Sovereigns in the World. But, neither the *Cazique*, nor the rest, would believe any other than that they came from Heaven. They seemed to the Admiral to be a more rational People, than those of the other Islands; and because it grew late the *Cazique* returned ashore. The next Day, though the Wind was contrary, and blew hard, the Sea did not swell, by reason of the Shelter the Island *Tortuga* afforded to that Coast; and some Seamen went a-fishing, with whom the *Indians* were well pleased. Some Men went to the Town, and obtained little Plates of Gold for Glass-Beads, which much pleased the Admiral, because he was very desirous that some Gold might be found in prosecuting this Discovery, to shew that his Promises were not vain.

The King came again to the Shore, in the Afternoon, and then a Canoe arrived from the Island *Tortuga*, with forty Men to see the *Spaniards*; at which the *Cazique* appeared to be concerned; but all the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* sat down on the Ground, in token of Peace, and those in the Canoe went ashore; but the King stood up, and threatening them, they went aboard their Canoe again. The Admiral, being resolved to discover the Country, set sail, and during all the 19th of *December* could not get out of that little Bay between the two Islands, nor put into the Harbour hard by it. He saw many Mountains, Woods, and Groves, and a little Island, which he called *St. Thomas*. He judged that *Hispaniola* had many Capes and Harbours, and he thought the Temperature of the Air most pleasant, and the Soil delightful. On the 20th he put into an Harbour, between the little Island of *St. Thomas* and the Cape. Several Towns appeared, as also Fires; because the Season being dry, and the Grass there growing high, they burnt it to make Ways; for, as they were naked, the dry Weeds hurt them, and also to hunt the *Uti*s, which they took with Fire. The Admiral entered the Port with the Boats, and, having viewed it, said it was a very good one. He sent out to see whether there was any Town near, and they found one at a little Distance from the Sea; they saw *Indians* who kept a-loof from the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* that came aboard the Ships bid them not to fear; and immediately so many Men, Women, and Children came, that there was no seeing through the Throng. They carried Meat, Calabashes with Water, and good Bread made of Maize or *Indian* Wheat; they did not hide the Women, as had been done in other Parts, but all admired to see the Christians, and standing amazed, glorified God. They were whiter and better shaped, better natured, and more generous; and

and the Admiral took special Care that no Offence should be given them. He sent six Men to see the Town, where they entertained them as believing they came from Heaven. In the mean Time there came some Canoes, with Men sent by a King, who desired the Admiral to go to his Town, where he was waiting for him, with many People on a Point of Land.

He went in the Boats, though many had intreated him not to go, but to stay with them. As soon as the Boats came, the King sent the *Spaniards* Provisions, and seeing they accepted of them, they went to the Town for more, and for Parrots. The Admiral gave the *Indians* Hawks-Bells, Glass Baubles, and some of Tin; he returned to the Ships, the Women and Children crying out that he should not go away. Some that, out of Curiosity followed him in Canoes, he gave Victuals to, as he did to others that swam aboard from half a League Distance; though the Shore was covered with People, they could see abundance coming and going cross a large Plain, which was afterwards called *la Vega Real*, or the Royal Plain; the Admiral again commended the Harbour, and gave it the Name of *St. Thomas*, because he found it on his Day. The 22d, in the Morning, he was going in search of the Islands, which the *Indians* said had much Gold, but was hindered by the Weather, and sent the Boats a-fishing; and then one came from King *Guacanagari*, to desire him to go to his Country, and he would give him all he had, he being one of the five Sovereigns of the Island, possessing the greatest Part of it on the North-side, where the Admiral then was; he sent him a Girdle he wore instead of a Purse, and a Vizor, with Ears, Tongue, and Nose, of beaten Gold: The Girdle was adorned with small Fish-Bones, like seed Pearl, curiously wrought, four Fingers broad. The Admiral resolved to go thither on the 23d, though to please others, there went before six *Spaniards*, because the *Indians* were so much delighted every where to see them.

The foul Weather detaining the Admiral, he sent a Notary to King *Guacanagari*, to acquaint him with it; he also sent two of his *Indians* to a Town, to see if there was any Gold, guessing that there was Plenty of it; and it was believed for certain, that this Day above a thousand went aboard the Ships; every one of them gave something, and those who went not aboard from their Canoes cried, *Take, take*. The Notary went to *Guacanagari*, who came out to meet him. He thought that Town more regular than any he had seen before. All the People gazed on the Christians with Joy and Admiration, and the King gave them Cotton Cloths, Parrots, and some Pieces of Gold, and the People, what they had; valuing the Toys the *Spaniards* gave them like Relics. Thus the Notary and his Companions returned to the Ships, attended by *Indians*.

The 24th the Admiral went to visit *Guacanagari*; the Distance from Fort *St. Thomas* to the Place where the King was might be about four or five Leagues, and there he staid, till, seeing the Sea calm, he returned aboard, and went to bed, for he had not slept in two Days and a Night. The Weather being calm the Sailor who was at the Helm left it to a Cabin-boy, tho' the Admiral had, during the whole Voyage, forbid the Steersman ever to quit the Helm, and in reality they were out of Danger of Sholes or Rocks; for on Sunday, when the Boats went to carry the Notary to the Cazique, they had surveyed all the Coast, and the Sholes there are from the Point of Land to the East-south-east, for above three Leagues, and they had also observed which Way they might pass, and finding themselves in a dead Calm they went to sleep, and it happened the Current carried the Ship on very gently, till it struck on a Rock with such a dreadful Noise that it was heard a League off, and the Fellow that was at the Helm, finding the Rudder strike, roared out.

The Admiral, hearing the Cry, was first up, and then the Master, whose Watch it was, and he ordered him, since the Boat was out, to let fall an Anchor at the Stern, for by that Means they might, with the Help of the Captain, work out the Ship, and when he thought they were doing what he had ordered, he perceived that some were making way in the Boat to the Caravel that lay to

the Windward half a League from thence. Observing that the Water ebbed, and the Ship was in danger, he ordered to cut down the Mast, and lighten it, to see if it might be saved; but it could not be done; the Water falling away all at once, the Ship was every Moment left dry, and lay a-thwart the Sea; and tho' it was not rough, by reason of the Calm, the Ship sprunk a Leak between the Ribs, and lay down on a Side, opened near the Keel, and was soon full of Water; and if the Wind had blown, or the Sea been rough, not a Man had escaped; but had the Master done as the Admiral ordered him the Ship had got off safe. The Boat came again to their Assistance, for those in the other Ship understanding how the Case stood, not only refused to receive those that had fled, but with them sailed back to the Relief of the Distressed. There being no Possibility of saving the Ship, Order was taken for saving the Men; to which Purpose the Admiral sent *James de Arana* and *Peter Gutierrez*, to acquaint *Guacanagari* that by going to visit him he had lost his Ship a League and half from Land. *Guacanagari* lamented this Misfortune, and immediately sent the Canoes, which in a Moment carried off all that were on the Decks; and he came himself with his Brothers, and took particular Care that nothing should be touched, staying in Person to guard the Goods, and sent word to the Admiral not to be concerned, for he would give him all he had; and the Goods were carried to two Houses he had appointed to lay them up in. The *Indians* so affectionately gave their Help in this Distress, that it could not have been better done in *Spain*; for the People were gentle and loving, and their Language was easy to be pronounced and learned; and they had some commendable Customs, and the King was served with much State, and he was very sedate; and the People were so curious in asking, that they would know a Reason for every thing.

On the 26th of December *Guacanagari* went on board the Caravel *Nina*, where the Admiral was in great Affliction for the Loss of his Ship: He comforted him, and offered him all he had. Two *Indians* came from another Town, bringing Plates of Gold to exchange for Hawks-Bells, which were what they most valued, and the Admiral had a Stock of those Baubles, grounded on the Experience he had learnt from the *Portuguese* in *Guinea*. The Sailors also gave notice that others carried Gold, and gave it for Ribbons and other Trifles; *Guacanagari* observing what the Admiral valued, said he would cause some to be brought from *Cibao*; and going ashore, he invited the Admiral to go eat Axis and Cazabi, which was their chief Diet; and he gave him some Masks, with gold Eyes, Noses, and Ears, with some other small Things they wore about their Necks. He also complained to him of the *Caribes* who carried away his People, which was the Reason of his flying at first, supposing the *Spaniards* had been *Caribes*. The Admiral shewed him his Arms, and a Turkish Bow with which a *Spaniard* shot very dexterously; but what he most admired was the Cannon, for when they were fired, the *Indians* fell down as if they had been dead. The Admiral having found so much Affection, and such Tokens of Gold; and believing the Country was fruitful and wholesome, judged that God had permitted the Ship to be cast away to the end that a Settlement might be made there, and that the preaching and Knowledge of his most holy Name might be begun in that Island.

The *Indians* went and came for Hawks-Bells, which were the Things they most delighted in, and as soon as they came near the Caravel, they held up the Pieces of Gold, crying, *Cbuque, Cbuque*, that is, Take, Take. An *Indian* came to the Shore with a Piece of Gold weighing half a Mark, (that is, four Ounces) and holding it in his Left-hand stretched out the Right; and an Hawks-Bell being put into it, he let go the Gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the *Spaniard*. The Admiral resolved to leave some Men in that Country to trade with the People, and acquaint themselves with the Country, and learn the Language, that when he returned for *Spain* there might be some capable to give Directions for making of a Settlement there; and many offered themselves to that Purpose.

He ordered, for the Present, a sort of a Town to be built with the Timber of the Ship: And at this Time Advice came, that the Caravel *Pinta* was in the River, toward the Eastern Point, and *Guacanagari* sent to inquire into it. The Admiral carefully attended the Building, and the more for that there were daily greater Inducements to it, and because *Guacanagari* always shewed himself fearful of the *Caribes*; the more to encourage and to shew him the Effect of the *Spanish* Arms, the Admiral ordered a great Gun to be fired against the Side of the Ship that had been cast away, and the Ball passing clear-through fell into the Water: He shewed him what Harm our Weapons did, and told him that with them, those he designed to leave behind in his Country should defend him, because he designed to return into *Spain* to bring some Presents for him.

12. The Admiral hastened the building of the Fort; and to that purpose went ashore from the Caravel, aboard which he always lay. On the 18th, as he was going into the Boat, he thought he had seen *Guacanagari*, who went into his House perhaps for the more State, sending one of his Brothers, who received the Admiral with much Joy, and led him by the Hand to one of the Houses that had been given to the Christians, being the largest in the Town: In it they had provided for him a raised Seat, and made him sit on a Chair with a low Back the *Indians* used, and they were very neatly polished, and bright as if they had been made of Jet. As soon as the Admiral was seated, the Brother sent to acquaint the King, who presently came, and very joyfully hung a great Plate of Gold about his Neck, and staid with him till it grew late, and the Admiral went aboard the Caravel. He had several Motives for leaving a Colony in that Place; the chief whereof were, That when it was known in *Spain* that Men had been left there to settle, the People might be more inclinable to go over thither; and because all the Men left could not build another Vessel in time, and likewise could not be transported in the only Caravel he had; as also because he found those that were to stay very inclinable to it, encouraged by the Gentleness and Affability of the People; and because, tho' he had designed to carry to their Catholic Majesties some Natives of the Country, and other most valuable things there were in it, in token of the Discovery, and for the more Reputation of the Enterprize, it was convenient it should be known that Men had staid there of their own free Will.

The Fort had a Ditch round it; and, tho' built of Wood, was very strong against the Natives. It was finished in ten Days, because a vast Number of Men worked at it; and he called it the Town of the *Nativity*, because on that Day he came into the Port. On the 29th in the Morning a Nephew of the King's, very young and of good Sense, went aboard the Caravel; and the Admiral, being always solicitous to know where the Gold was found, learned all that's possible by Signs, and thought he understood some Words. Accordingly he asked the Youth about the Mines, and understood that four Days Journey from thence there was an Island to the Eastward, which he called *Guarinoex*, and others, *Macorix*, *Mayonis*, *Fumay*, *Cibao*, and *Coray*, in which there was a vast Quantity of Gold. The Admiral immediately wrote down those Names: And by this it appeared, that he understood nothing of the *Indian* Language; for these Places were not Islands, but Provinces in that Island, and Lands belonging to several Kings or Lords: *Guarinoex* was the King of that great Royal Plain before-mentioned; and the Youth meant to tell him, that in *Guarinoex*'s Country was the Province of *Cibao*, abounding in Gold. *Macorix* was another Province, which afforded little Gold: And the other Names were, as has been said, Provinces; the Admiral not knowing how to write them, because he did not understand them; and he thought the King's Brother, who was present, had reproved his Nephew for telling him those Names. At Night the King sent him a great Gold Mask, desiring he would send him a Bason and an Ewer, which it is likely were of Brass or Tin: He immediately sent them, and believed he asked for them to have the like made in Gold.

On the 30th the Admiral went to dine ashore; and it happened to be at the time when five Caziques or Princes,

subject to *Guacanagari*, were come, all of them with Crowns of Gold on their Heads, and with great State; and as soon as he landed, *Guacanagari* came to meet him, and led him by the Arm to the same House where he had been before, where the raised Place and the Chairs were. He caused the Admiral to sit down with great Courtesy and Respect, and then took off the Crown from his own Head, and set it on the Admiral's; who took off a Collar he had on of fine Beads of several beautiful Colours, and put it about the King's Neck, and took off an Hood of fine Cloth which he had put on that Day, and put it upon the King, and sent for a Pair of coloured Buskins, which he also drew on; he also put a great Silver Ring upon his Finger, because the Admiral had been told that they had seen one on a Sailor's Hand, and did all they could to get it of him; for it is certain that they put a great Value on any thing made of white Metal, whether it were Silver or Tin. With these Gifts the King thought himself much enriched, and was highly pleased. Two of those Caziques bore the Admiral company to the Place where he took Boat, and each of them gave him a great Plate of Gold; and these were not cast, but made of many Grains beaten together; for the *Indians* of this Island had not the Art of casting, but beat the Grains of Gold they found between two Stones, and by that means spread them.

13. When the Admiral returned to lie aboard the Caravel, and found that *Vincent Yanez* the Commander of it affirmed he had seen Rhubarb, and knew the Strings of it, and the Root, the Admiral sent for some Rhubarb, and they brought one Frail full of it, and no more; because they had no Spades to dig it up with; which was carried to their Catholic Majesties; but it did not prove to be Rhubarb. The Admiral looked upon the Pepper of this Island, which they call *Axi* or *Pimento*, as good Spice, saying it was better than the Pepper that they carried from the Eastern Parts; for which reason they fancied there were other Sorts of it. The Fort being finished, he ordered all to be provided for sailing, Wood and Water to be taken in, and other Preparations made. The King ordered as much as he would have of the Country Bread called *Cazabi* to be given him, as also of his Spice called *Axi*, salt Fish, and what he had besides. Tho' he would not willingly have gone away for *Spain* without coasting all that Country, which he thought extended very far towards the East, that he might have discovered its Secrets, and find the best Passage from it to *Spain*, for the safer bringing over of Beasts and Cattle, he durst not then attempt it, as thinking he had but one Caravel, and might run himself into Danger, and therefore it was not reasonable to venture farther in unknown Seas.

He complained very much of *Martin Alonso*'s forsaking him, as being the Cause of those Inconveniencies. He made choice of thirty-nine Men to stay in the Fort, such as were most willing, chearful, strong, and best able to endure Fatigues. He left with them for their Commander *James de Arana*, a Native of *Cordova*, Notary and Alguazil, with full Power as he had received it from their Majesties; and in case he should die, he appointed for his Successor in that Post *Peter Autichrez*, Groom of the Privy-Chamber to the King; and in case he died, the Place to go to *Roderic de Escovedo*, born at *Seville*; and also left with them a Surgeon whose Name was *John*, together with a Ship-carpenter, a Caulker, a Cooper, and a good Gunner who was very skilful for Fireworks. There likewise was a Taylor left, the rest were Sailors, whom he furnished with Bisket and Wine, and the other Provisions he had, for a Year; leaving Seeds to sow, and all the Goods and Things he had brought to barter, being a great Quantity; as also all the great Guns and other Arms that were in the Ship, and the Boat that had belonged to it.

When all things were ready, and he upon the point of departing, he called them together, and spoke to them to this Effect, "He bid them offer up their Prayers to God, and return Thanks to him for having carried them to such a Country to plant his holy Faith, and not to forsake him, but to live like good Christians," and

“ and he would protect them: That they should pray to God to grant him a good Voyage, that he might soon return to them with a greater Power: That they should love and obey their Captain, because it was requisite for their own Preservation; and he charged them so to do in the Name of their Highnesses: That they should respect *Guacanagari*, and give no Offence to any of his People; nor offer Violence to any Man or Woman, that the Opinion of their coming from Heaven might be confirmed: That they should not part, nor go up the Country, nor out of *Guacanagari*'s Dominions, since he loved them so well: That with his Consent they should survey the Coast in Canoes and their Boat, endeavouring to discover the Gold Mines, and some good Harbour, because he was not well pleased with that, where they remained, which he called the *Nativity*; and that they should endeavour to barter the most they could fairly, without shewing Covetousness; and endeavour to learn the Language, since it would be so useful to them, to gain the Friendship of the Natives, and very advantageous; and he promised to entreat their Catholic Majesties, to reward them, since they had opened the Way to that new World”. They answered they would punctually perform all he ordered them.

On the 2d of *January*, 1493, he went on Shore to take his Leave, dined with *Guacanagari* and his Caziques; recommended the Christians to him, whom he commanded to serve and defend him against the *Caribes*. He gave him a fine Shirt, and said he would soon return with Presents from the King of *Spain*. He answered with great Tokens of Sorrow for his Departure. One of the King's Servants then said, he had sent Canoes along the Coast to seek for Gold; and the Admiral answered, that if *Martin Alonso Pinzon* had not left him, he would have ventured to sail round the Island, and have carried a Ton of Gold into *Spain*, and would still do it, nevertheless, were he not afraid that the Caravel *Pinta* would get home safe, and give some false Information against him, to conceal their own Crime.

14. On the 4th of *January*, 1493, The Admiral left the Port he had called *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*, sailing Eastward towards a very high Mountain, without Trees, but covered with Grass, looking like a Tent, which he called *Monte Christo*, and lies to the East eighteen Leagues from the Cape he called *Santo*, that was behind, and four Leagues from the Port called *Navidad*. That Night he anchored five Leagues from *Monte Christo*; and on the 5th of *January* he proceeded to a little Island, where there were good Salt Pits; he entered the Ports, and was so much pleased with the Soil, the Plenty of Wood, and the Plains he saw, that he said that was the Island of *Cipango*; and had he thought he was so near the Mines of *Cibao*, whence so much Wealth was brought, he would have affirmed it more positively. On the 6th he sailed from *Monte Christo*, and soon after discovered the Caravel *Pinta*, sailing towards him before the Wind; they thought fit to return to *Monte Christo*, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* made his Excuse for having parted Company, and though there was no satisfactory Reason for what he had done, the Admiral passed it by, and understood he had bartered for much Gold, and that he had taken one half for himself, and the other half for the Seamen. *Alpeat River* runs down into this Harbour, which he called *Rio de Oro*, that is, the River of Gold; because the Sand looked like Gold, and there he watered. On the 9th he hoisted Sail, came to *Ponta Roxa* or *Red Point*, which is thirty-six Leagues East of *Monte Christo*, and there they took Tortoises as big as Bucklers, as they went to lay their Eggs a-shore. The Admiral affirmed he had thereabouts seen three Mermaids that raised themselves above the Water, and that they were not so handsome as they are painted, that they had something like a Human Face, and that he had seen others on the Coast of *Guinea*. He proceeded to the River *de Gracia* or of *Grace*, where *Martin Alonso* had been, and was also called by his Name, and caused four *Indians* *Martin Alonso* had taken Prisoners by Force to be left there.

On the 11th he sailed to a Cape he called *Balprado*,
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from a Mountain appearing, which being covered with Snow, as if it had been Silver, he called *Monte de Plata*, or the *Silver Mountain*; and a Port that is at the Foot of it, *Puerta de Plata*, or the *Silver Harbour*, which is like a Horse-shoe; and proceeding along the Coast, with the Currents and fair Weather, above ten Leagues, he discovered several Capes, which he called *Angel*, *Punta del Hierro*, or *Iron Point*, *el Rodondo*, or the *Round Point*, *el Frances*, the *French*, *el Cabo de Buen Tiempo*, the fair *Weather Cape*, and *el Tajado*, the *Craggy*. On the 12th he advanced thirty Leagues farther, admiring the Bigness of the Island, and called one Cape, *de Pedrey Hijo*, or *Father and Son*, and gave Names to *Puerto Sacro*, or the *Holy Harbour*, and *Cabo de Los Enamorados*, or the *Lovers Cape*, and coming up with it, he discovered a vast Bay, which was three Leagues in Breadth, and in the Midst of it a small Island. He stayed there to observe the Conjunction, which was to be on the 17th, and the Opposition of the Moon and Jupiter with Mercury, and the Sun in Opposition with Jupiter, which occasions high Winds.

He sent the Boat for Water, and they found some Men with Bows and Arrows. They bought a Bow and some Arrows, and desired one of the *Indians* to go and speak with the Admiral, to which he consented. He asked him for the *Caribes*, and he pointed that they were to the Eastward; and for Gold he pointed to the Island of *St. John*, saying, There was *Gunain*, that is, pale Gold with a purplish Cast, which the *Indians* value very much. He ordered him something to eat, and to give him two Bits of green and yellow Cloth, and some Glass Beads, and the Boat to set him ashore. Those who went with him found fifty-five naked *Indians* with long Hair, like the Women in *Spain*, Feathers, Bows, Arrows, Swords made of hard Palm Wood, and heavy Spears, with which they gave heavy Blows, lying in the Wood. These *Indians* made them lay down their Arms, and then came to the Boat; where the *Spaniards* bought two Bows of them by the Admiral's Order, and were so far from selling any more, that they began to lay about, to seize the *Spaniards*, who being but seven, fell upon them, gave one a Cut upon the Buttocks, and another a Cut on the Breast; whereupon they fled, leaving their Arms behind, and many might have been killed if they had pursued them. This was the first time that the *Spaniards* and *Indians* came to Blows in this Island. The Admiral was sorry for it, tho', on the other hand, it did not displease him, that they might be sensible of the Weight of the *Spaniards* Hands.

On the 14th, in the Morning, abundance of People appeared on Shore. The Admiral ordered the Boats-crew to be upon their Guard; but the *Indians* came as if nothing had happened, and among them the King of the Country, and the *Indians* that had been aboard the Caravel, whither the King came with three *Indians*. The Admiral ordered to give them Biskets and Honey to eat, and gave them red Caps, bits of Cloth, and Beads. The next Day the King sent his Gold Crown and Provisions: The Men were armed with Bows and Arrows, four Youths in Canoes came to the Caravel, and were Men of such good Sense, that the Admiral resolved to carry them into *Spain*; They acquainted him with many Particulars, and from thence shewed him the Island of *St. John*. He sailed from that Bay which he called *de las Flechas*, or of *Arrows*, on the 16th, and would not make any long Stay because the Caravels were very leaky.

He advanced with the Wind at West North-west, and when he had sailed 16 Leagues the *Indian* which he had aboard pointed to the Island of *St. John*, that of *Martinino* and the *Caribes*, where the *Indians* were that eat Men; and though he was willing to take a View of those Islands, yet for fear of disheartening the Men, the Wind freshening, he ordered to steer directly for *Spain*; during several Days advancing successfully, they saw many Sea-gulls, and the Air was very drying, and they met with abundance of Weeds, but being acquainted with it, they were not afraid: They killed a Tunny and a large Shark, which afforded them something to eat, for they had nothing but Bread and Wine. The Caravel *Pinta* was no good Sailer, because she had little Benefit of her Mizen, by reason the Mast was not good, and the Admiral being forced

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to lie by for her, they made little Way. Sometimes when there were Calms the *Indians* leaped into the Water, swam about and diverted themselves; having failed several Days changing their Course according to the Winds, they endeavoured to keep their Reckoning, and fancied they were to the Eastward of the Islands of *Azores*, because they reckoned more Leagues than they really failed. Being quite mistaken in the Way, they made to the Northward, so that instead of any of the *Azores* they would more likely have fallen in with *Madera*, or *Puerto Santo*.

15. The Admiral, being more skilful at reckoning the Run, found 150 Leagues less than the others. On the 12th of *February* the Sea began to swell with great and dangerous Storms, and he drove most of the Night without any Sail; afterwards he put out a little Sail; the Waves broke and wracked the Ships. The next Morning the Wind slackened, but the very next Night it rose again, which hindered the Ship's Way, so that he could not shift the Sails. The Admiral kept under a main Top-sail reefed, only to bear up the Ship against the Waves, but, perceiving how dangerous it was, he let it run before the Wind, there being no other Remedy. Then the Caravel *Pinta* began to bear away, though the Admiral kept his Light abroad the whole Night, and the *Pinta* answered. The 14th of *February*, after Sun rising, the Wind blew fiercer, and they were more afraid of perishing, with the Trouble of believing that the Caravel *Pinta* was already lost. The Admiral thinking himself near Death, to the End that some Knowledge might come to their Catholic Majesties of what he had done in their Service, he writ as much as he could of what he had discovered on a Skin of Parchment, and having wrapped it up in a Piece of Cere-cloth, he put it into a wooden Cask and cast it into the Sea; all the Men imagining it had been some Piece of Devotion; and presently the Wind slackened.

On the 15th he saw Land a-head, bearing from them East North-east: Some said it was the Island *Madera*, others, that it was the Rock *Cintra*, near *Lisbon*, but the Admiral always said they were the Islands *Azores*, and they plied to and fro with much Labour, but could not come up with the Island of *St. Mary*. The Admiral's Legs being very uneasy, because he had been out in all the Rain and Cold, he slept little; and on the 18th came to an Anchor on the North-side of the Island, which they found to be *St. Mary's*; presently three Men made a waft to the Caravel; he sent the Boat for them; they carried the Admiral Refreshments of Bread and Fowl from the Governor, whose Name was Don *John de Castaneda*. On the 19th he ordered one half of the Men to go out in Procession to an Hermitage there was near, to perform their Vow, and that when they returned he would go out with the other half; and desired the *Portuguese* to bring him a Clergyman to say Mass. While they were at Prayers in their Shirts, the whole Town on Horseback and on Foot, with their Commanders, fell upon and made them Prisoners.

They staying very long, the Admiral suspecting, either that they were detained, or that the Boat was staved, because the Island was enclosed with Rocks, and because he could not see the Hermitage, being covered by a Point of Land that runs into the Sea, he therefore brought the Caravel right before the Hermitage, and saw abundance of People come into the Boat, and make towards the Caravel. The Commander of the Island stood up and demanded Hostages, and though they were offered him, the *Portuguese* would not venture his Person. The Admiral asked him why he had sent him Refreshments and those *Portuguese* to invite him on Shore, and afterwards, notwithstanding the two Nations of *Castile* and *Portugal* were at Peace, he had so basely detained his Men, and that to convince him he was employed in the King of *Spain's* Service, he would shew him his Commission. The *Portuguese* answered, we here know nothing of their Majesties of *Castile*, nor their Commission, nor do we fear them. Some other Words passed between them, and the *Portuguese* bid him carry his Caravel to the Harbour, for all he had done was by the King's order. The Admiral took Witness of what he said, and answered: That if he did

not restore him his Men and the Boat, he would carry away an hundred *Portuguese* into *Spain*: This said, he returned and anchored where he was before, because the Wind blew fresh. He ordered the Cask to be filled with Sea-water to ballast the Vessel, and by reason of the foul Weather failed towards the Island of *St. Michael*, because there are no good Harbours in those Islands; and it is safest to keep out at Sea. He was in a great Storm all the Night, and having missed of the Island of *St. Michael*, he returned to that of *St. Mary*, and presently the Boat came with two Clergymen and a Notary, and five Sea-men; and upon Security given them they came aboard the Caravel, and required the Admiral to shew them the King of *Spain's* Commission, which he did, and they returned and released his Men and the Boat; and the Commander said he had Orders from the King of *Portugal* to seize the Admiral, and would give any thing to have him.

Having recovered his Men, and the Weather becoming fair, he ordered them to steer their Coast East. The next Day came to the Ship a large Bird, which the Admiral judged to be an Eagle. On the 2d of *March* there was so great a Storm, that he ordered to cast Lots for a Pilgrim to go to *St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva*, and the Lot fell upon the Admiral; so that it looked as if God had followed him, that he might humble himself, and not grow proud for the Mercies he had shewn him. They drove with all their Sails furled in the greatest Danger, without Hopes of escaping; but it pleased God that they discovered the Land and Rock of *Cintra*; and to avoid the Storm he resolved to put into the Harbour, not being able to stay at *Cascaes*. He returned Thanks to God for his Delivery, and all admired how he had got into the Port, affirming they had scarce seen such dreadful Storms. The King of *Portugal* was then at *Valparayso*, to whom he writ, signifying that their Majesties of *Spain*, his Sovereigns, had ordered him not to avoid entering his Highness's Ports, to get what he wanted with his Money, desiring he would give him Leave to come up to *Lisbon* for more Security, and that his Highness might know he came not from *Guinea*, but from the *Indies*.

Bartholomew Diaz de Lisboa Master of a Galeon, who was there in an armed Boat, went aboard the Caravel and ordered the Admiral to go up with him to give an Account of himself to the King's Officers and the Captain of the Galeon. *Columbus* answered, that he was Admiral in the Service of their Majesties of *Spain*, and was not obliged to give any Man an Account of himself; nor would he go out of his Ship unless he was compelled by Force. The *Portuguese* answered, he might send the Master of his Ship, but the Admiral would not send him neither; saying he would not do it unless compelled and could not resist it, for he looked upon it much alike to send another or go himself; and that it was the Practice of the Admirals of the Kings of *Castile*, rather to die than deliver up themselves or their Men. The *Portuguese* Master replied, that since he was so resolved, he might do as he pleased, but that he desired he would condescend to shew him his Commission from their Majesties of *Spain*, if he had any such: As soon as he had seen it he returned to the Galeon and reported what had passed; and the Captain, whose Name was *Alvaro Daman*, went aboard the Admiral's Caravel with Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys, and offered to serve him in whatsoever he should command.

As soon as it was known at *Lisbon*, that the Admiral was come to *Lisbon* from the *Indies*, such Numbers flocked to see him and the *Indians*, that it was wonderful to observe how they stood in Admiration. The next Day he received a Letter from the King of *Portugal*, by Don *Martin de Norbona* his Servant, by which he desired him to come to him, which he was obliged to do to avoid shewing any Mistrust; he went and lay at *Sacovam*, where he was well entertained; and the King had given Orders that they should give him all he had Occasion for at *Lisbon*, without Money. The next Day he came to the Place where the King was, and the Gentlemen of the Household came out to receive him, and bore him Company to the Palace. The King received him with much Honour,

Honour, bid him sit, and after having expressed much Satisfaction for the Success of his Voyage, and asked some Particulars about it; he said he was of Opinion, that according to the Articles stipulated with the Kings of *Castile*, the Conquest rather belonged to the Kings of *Portugal*, than to those of *Castile*. He answered he had not seen those Articles, nor knew any more than that their Highnesses had commanded him not to go to *Del Mina* or to *Guinea*, and that the same had been proclaimed in all the Ports of *Andaluzia* before he set out upon his Voyage.

The King graciously answered, he believed he would not stand in need of Vouchers in that Particular; he then ordered the Prior of *Crato* to entertain him, he being the principal Person present. The next Day the King told him that if he wanted any thing he should have it; and making him sit, asked him many Questions concerning the Voyage, the new Countries, the Latitudes, and the People, and other things relating to those Parts, being much concerned for having missed of that good Fortune; and there wanted not some who offered the King to kill the Admiral, that what he had discovered might not be known, but he would not consent to it. At length, on the 11th of *March*, the Admiral took his leave of the King, and all the Gentlemen of the Court attended him. He passed through *Villa Franca* where the Queen was in the Monastery of *St. Anthony*; he kissed her Hands, and having given her an Account of his Voyage, departed; and a Servant of the King's overtook him, and told him from his Majesty, that if he would go into *Castile* by Land, he would order him to be attended, find him Carriage, and all that he had occasion for.

On the 13th he sailed with his Caravel for *Seville*, and found himself the 16th off *Saltes*; and, at Noon, he passed over the Bar with the Flood into the Port from whence he at first departed, on *Friday* the 3d of *August*, the Year before; so that he spent six Months and an Half in the Voyage. Being informed their Catholic Majesties were at *Barcelona*, he had Thoughts of going to them by Sea in his Caravel. He landed at *Palos*; was received with a solemn Procession and much rejoicing of the whole Town, all admiring so great an Action, which they never imagined the Admiral could have performed. The Admiral having resolved not to go by Sea to *Barcelona*, sent Advices of his Arrival to their Catholic Majesties, with a Summary of what had befallen him, reserving a more ample Relation to be delivered by Word of Mouth. The Answer found him at *Seville*: The Superscription of the Letter was, *To Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean; Viceroy and Governor of the Islands that have been discovered in the Indies*. In his Answer he sent a Memorial of the Ships, Men, Ammunition, and Provision that were proper to return to the *Indies*, and then set out himself for *Barcelona* with seven *Indians*, for the rest died by the Way: He carried with him green and red Parrots, and other Things never before seen in *Spain*. He set out from *Seville*, and the Fame of this Novelty being spread abroad, the People flocked to the Roads to see the *Indians* and the Admiral.

Their Majesties having received the Memorial, ordered *John Roderiguez de Fonseca*, Arch-deacon of *Seville*, to furnish what the Admiral thought fit for the second Voyage he was to make to the *Indies*. The Admiral arrived at *Barcelona* about the Middle of *April*, where the whole Court and City flocking out, the Streets could not hold them, admiring to see the Admiral, the *Indians*, and the Things he brought, which were carried uncovered; and the more to honour the Admiral, their Majesties ordered their royal Throne to be placed in public, where they sat, and with them Prince *John*. The Admiral came in attended by many Gentlemen; when he came near, the King stood up, gave him his Hand to kiss, bid him rise, ordered a Chair to be brought him, and to sit down in the Royal Presence, where he gave an Account in a very sedate and discreet manner, of the Mercy God had shewn him in favour of their Highnesses, of his Voyage and Discoveries, and the Hopes he had conceived of discovering greater Countries; and shewed him the *Indians* as they went in their own native Countries, and the other

Things he had brought. Their Majesties rose, and kneeling down, with their Hands lifted up, and Tears in their Eyes, returned Thanks to God; and then the Choiristers of the Chapel began the *Te Deum*.

The Articles formerly concluded with the Admiral were only in form of a Contract; and as he had performed what he promised, their Majesties also, in the usual Form, passed Grants, making good what they had offered him in the Town of *Santa Fee*, on the 17th of *April* of the foregoing Year: And the Charters were passed at *Barcelona* on the 30th of the same Month in the succeeding Year 1493, and signed by their Highnesses on the 28th of *May*. They also gave him the Royal Arms of *Castile* and *Leon*, to bear with those of his Family, with other Additions expressing his difficult and wonderful Discovery. And their Majesties conferred some Honours on his Brothers, *Don Bartholomew* and *Don James*, tho' they were not then at Court. The King took the Admiral by his Side, when he went through the City of *Barcelona*, and did him much Honour other ways, and therefore all the Grandees and other Noblemen honoured and invited him to Dinner, and the Cardinal of *Spain*, *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, a Prince of much Virtue, and a noble Spirit, was the first Grandee that, as they were going one Day from the Palace, carried the Admiral to dine with him, and placed him at the Head of the Table, and caused his Meat to be served up covered, and the Essay to be taken, and from that time forward he was served in that manner.

17. We have given the History of this Voyage largely, and in a manner literally, from one of the best *Spanish* Historians, the rather because we esteem it single in its kind, both with respect to the Matter and the Manner of it, for the Discoveries hitherto made by the *Portuguese* were chiefly by creeping along Shore, and rather the Effects of Labour and Industry than of great Conduct, or an enterprising Genius; and the Discoveries that were made afterwards, had not only this Example but the Advantage also of all the Improvements which the great Skill, constant Affection, and wonderful Penetration of *Columbus*, enabled him to make in his own Art; so that Navigation grew in his Time quite another thing than he found it. In this Voyage the Reader will perceive that abundance of very trivial Accidents are very carefully recorded, which we have preserved, because taken from *Columbus's* own Journal, and because they shew how much he attended to, and what excellent Uses he made even of the most minute Circumstances, in order to keep up the Spirits of his Men, and to direct himself in the Prosecution of so hardy an Attempt, in which his Success depended intirely upon the Sagacity he shewed in those Observations, which therefore, however light and trivial they may seem to us, were of great Importance to him, and serve to shew by what light Helps Men of true Genius are able to execute the most difficult Enterprizes.

But there is one Observation of his which deserves to be particularly considered, and that is, as to the Variation of the Compass, which I find expressly set down by all the *Spanish* Writers of note, but more especially by *Herrera*, a very careful and judicious Author, and one who rarely took things upon Trust; as well as by *Don Ferdinand Columbus*, the Admiral's Son, who professes that he wrote from his Father's Papers. Upon these Grounds I make no Scruple of believing the Fact, and very much wonder that so knowing a Man as *Sir Thomas Browne*, in his *Vulgar Errors*, should positively assert, that *Columbus* was ignorant of the Variation, and that if he had observed it in his first Voyage, it must have confirmed him in his Hopes of finding a new World; because, since it turned towards the West, it manifestly proved, that there was a great Body of Land on that Side. This shews the great Danger of Theories; for, without doubt, if *Columbus* had depended upon this, he might have been mistaken, since sailing along the Coast of *Brazil* the Needle declines from the Land towards the Sea, which is a Fact that fully overturns that Hypothesis which *Sir Thomas Browne* looked upon as certain: But the Truth of the Matter is, that not only *Columbus* observed the Variation, but his Pilots also; and from thence they argued, not that they were near

near any other Land, but that they were in Danger of losing the best Guide they had, viz. the Certainty of the Compass; and therefore *Columbus* was forced to tell them, that the Reason why the Needle varied a whole Point to the North-west was, because the Star by which they discerned this Variation, took a Compass about the Pole, which gave them Satisfaction, tho' it could not give it him, who knew better than to take up with such an Opinion. This Turn, however, shews the Wisdom and good Sense of this great Navigator, who knew how to discover the Cause of most Things, and when he was at a Loss for a Cause to invent something that looked like one, in order to pacify those whose Fears were the constant Effects of their Ignorance.

It was this Talent of his that enabled him to maintain his Authority amongst such a Crew of wild and unruly Spirits, and put it in his Power to complete that Discovery which his great Parts had suggested to him. To say the Truth, consider him in what Light one will, as a Philosopher, a Seaman, a Commander in chief, a Governor, or a Legislator, he was alike great in all; and had that kind of Superiority of Mind which set him above those Events which common People, for want of a better Expression, call the Frowns of Fortune. He was not distracted in his Thoughts when his Companions despaired of ever seeing Land more; nor was he elevated by that sudden Turn of their Affections when they discovered the first Island; he knew how to pacify them when mutinous, and he knew likewise how to make a right Use of this sudden Return to their Obedience; his Behaviour towards the *Indians* was like a Father and a Friend; and it was this Magnanimity of his that induced those honest and simple People to believe that he and his Companions came from Heaven, and made them so desirous of their Company.

Neither are we to attribute his earnest and constant Search after Gold to any Self-interest, or Principle of Avarice; but to the earnest Desire he had of shewing that, by this Voyage, he had not only discovered new Countries, but Countries in which this precious Metal was found in Abundance, which in those Days passed for a Characteristic of the *Indies*. The same Notion made him listen with equal Attention to another Discovery, that one of his Commanders believed he had made of Rhubarb; which would have been a stronger Proof; for all that came

of that Drug into *Europe*, in those Days, was by the Way of *Alexandria*, and was therefore believed to come from the *Indies*, as indeed it did, tho' it grows chiefly in *Tartary*, and in those desert Countries, which, from the Frontiers of *Persia*, extend quite to *China*.

He shewed a becoming Spirit on his Arrival in the Harbour of *Lisbon*, and, in all probability, it was that Spirit that defended him from the Insults and Injuries that might have been offered him; for there wanted not some amongst the Nobility of *Portugal*, who suggested that this Discovery was to the Prejudice of their Country, and so possessed their Sovereign's Mind with this Notion, that he actually formed Pretensions to those Countries, notwithstanding he had relinquished all colour of Right to them, by rejecting the Proposals of *Columbus* when offered to him at first, and before he had made any Overtures to the Court of *Spain*. The same Greatness of Soul distinguished the Admiral in his Audience of their Catholic Majesties, in which he neither overvalued his Merit nor boasted of more than he had performed; but stated the Thing truly, and laid open the Consequences fairly, with that Penetration and Sagacity peculiar to himself.

This it was that determined their Catholic Majesties to send him again with a stronger Squadron, and better equipped, to perfect those Discoveries. He was then in the Zenith of his Favour and of his Reputation; for tho' he did greater Things afterwards, or at least such as redounded more to the Advantage of *Spain*, yet these were so far from raising him higher in Esteem, that, on the contrary, when others had made Voyages to the new World, not the Vulgar only, but some even of Quality and Figure, affected to lessen his Credit, and to treat that as a slight and easy Matter, which themselves had formerly represented, not as difficult only, but impracticable. But these Turns and Changes in other Men wrought none at all in him, and it is very remarkable, that the Instructions he gave for the Preparations of his second Voyage were so perfectly well adapted as exactly to answer the End of his Design, as will appear in the subsequent Section, in which we shall give the Reader a full and distinct Relation of that Voyage, tho' in fewer Words than were used in the Narration of the first, as well to avoid needless Repetitions, as that we may keep within the Bounds originally assigned to this Work.

SECTION III.

The Second Voyage of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, to the West Indies, including an Account of all the Discoveries made by him in that Voyage.

1. The Measures taken by their Catholic Majesties to secure their Properties in the first Discoveries made by their Admiral, and the Terms on which he sailed a second Time from Spain.
2. His safe Arrival in the West Indies, and the Information he received from the Natives as to the State of that Part of the World.
3. The Admiral continues his Voyage to the Island of Hispaniola, finds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards he had left behind destroyed by their own Folly.
4. The Pains he took to put things once more into a good Condition; a Mutiny against him, and the Manner of his Proceeding after it was quelled.
5. He proceeds to discover the inland Parts of the Country, to secure the Gold Mines, and to make an absolute Conquest of Hispaniola for the Use of their Catholic Majesties.
6. The Admiral having put all things in order, resolves to leave his Brother Governor of Hispaniola, and to sail again upon Discovery, which he performs accordingly.
7. The Consequences of that Voyage, the Discoveries made therein, particularly that of Jamaica, and the Hardships endured by the Admiral and his People.
8. His return to Hispaniola, the Condition in which he found things there, and the Regulations made by him for securing and promoting the Settlement.
9. The Grounds of those Jealousies and Un easinesses which disturbed the Admiral, and induced him to resolve upon returning back again to Spain.
10. An Account of his second return from the Indies, and of the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majesties.
11. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Section.

THE more the Discoveries made by Don Christopher Columbus were canvassed by the Spanish Council, the more important they appeared; and therefore to strengthen their Title in the best Manner possible, their Catholic Majesties dispatched an Ambassador to the Pope, who was at that time *Alexander VI.* requesting

him to exert his Apostolic Authority in their Favour, and by his Bulls confirm to them those Countries, Islands, &c. which their Admiral had discovered. This his Holiness most readily complied with, and indeed it cost him little; and by his Bull, dated May 2, 1493, granted the said Discoveries to them as fully as the Discoveries made by

by the *Portuguese* had been granted to the Crown of *Portugal*; and by another Bull dated the next Day, granted their Catholic Majesties all that had been, or should be, discovered, drawing a Line from Pole to Pole, at the Distance of 100 Leagues Westward from the *Azores*, or from the *Cape de Verd* Islands. As soon as these Bulls, whether important or impertinent we need not stay to determine, were once arrived from *Rome*, their Catholic Majesties were very desirous the Admiral should sail on his second Voyage, for which reason they hastened him away to *Seville*, where he found another Sort of a Fleet prepared than he had commanded in his first Voyage. For now there were seventeen Sail of Ships of several Sizes, and no less than fifteen hundred Men, many of them Gentlemen of good Families, offered to go over, and took an Oath of Obedience, not only to their Catholic Majesties, but to the Admiral Don *Christopher Columbus* likewise.

These Preparations, which could not be concealed from the King of *Portugal*, raised great Uneasiness at that Court, which was not to be quieted by the Pope's Bulls, his *Portuguese* Majesty apprehending that they were founded on undue Suggestions, and himself and his Subjects thereby much wronged. This he resolved to expostulate with their Catholic Majesties, and named an Ambassador for that Purpose; but they, having Intelligence of his Proceedings, sent an Ambassador to him under Colour of justifying the Measures they had taken; but, in Reality, to patch up Matters in any Manner, so as to hinder that Monarch from obstructing *Columbus* in his second Voyage. In the mean Time the Admiral being come to *Seville*, and having received with his last Dispatches his Commission, setting forth the Limits of his Government, which extended over all that the Apostolical Concession extended to; and having left his two Sons, Don *James* and Don *Ferdinand*, to be Pages to Prince *John*, he applied himself to pick out the ablest Pilots, and in mustering the Men that had been raised in the Presence of the Comptroller. For the sake of Discipline, all Persons were forbid carrying any Goods, and it was ordered, that all belonging to his Highness, and to private Men, should be entered before they left *Spain*, and the same to be done when they arrived in the *Indies*; and that all that should appear not to have been so entered, should be confiscated. The Admiral was ordered, as soon as he came to *Hispaniola*, to muster the Men, and after that, as often as he should think fit; and that they should be paid by his Direction; and that he should appoint Alcaldes and Alguazils in the Islands, and other Parts, to try civil and criminal Causes, and the Appeals from them to be to him, and that in Case it was requisite to appoint Regidores, Jurats, and Officers for the Government of the People, or of any Colony that should be planted, the Admiral should nominate three Persons to every Employment, for their Highnesses to choose one of them, but that the first time he might name them. That all Proclamations should be in the Names of their Highnesses; that he should have the eighth Part of all that was gained, paying the eighth part of all that was carried over, first deducting the tenth Part he was to have of the whole, pursuant to the Contract made; and that if it were requisite to send Ships and Men to any Parts, he might do it.

Whilst the Admiral was at *Seville* expediting his Affairs, he received a Letter from their Majesties, dated at *Barcelona*, directing him, before his Departure, to cause a Sea-chart to be drawn with the Rumbs and other Particulars requisite for the Voyage to the *Indies*, and to hasten his Departure, still promising him mighty Rewards, because that Affair of the Discovery daily appeared to be of so great Consequence; acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the King of *Portugal*, though it was believed he would be brought to Reason. The Admiral caused many Plants and Trees to be put aboard, and Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, and all Sorts of Seeds, as also Cows, Lime, Bricks, and all Sorts of Materials for building; and having embarked the Men, on the 25th of *September*, 1493, before Sun-rising sailed from the Bay of *Cadiz*: He steered South-west for the *Canaries*, and arrived at *Grand Canaria* on the 2d of *October*, and on the 5th anchored at

Gomera, where he staid two Days taking in Water, Wood, and Cattle, and eight Sows at the Rate of seventy Marvedies a-head, from which afterwards were produced all that have been since in the *Indies*. They also took in Hens and other Creatures, as also Seeds for salsading, and all other Sorts of Garden-stuff.

On the 7th of *October* the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having first delivered Instructions, sealed, to every Ship, commanding them not to open them unless they were separated from him by stress of Weather; for as in those Letters he gave an Account of the Course they were to steer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity*, in *Hispaniola*, he would not have that Course known to any unless necessary. Thus sailing with a fair Gale till the 24th, when being 400 Leagues West of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had seen the first Voyage; when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great Astonishment of them all. That Day and the next a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On *Saturday*, at Night, the Corps of *St. Elmo* was seen, with seven Lights, on the round Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. On the 2d of *November*, at Night, the Admiral, perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking notice of the heavy Rains, concluded that he was near some Land, and for this Reason caused most of the Sails to be furled; and ordered all to be upon the Watch, not without Cause, for that Night they spied Land seven Leagues to the Westward, which was a very high mountainous Island, and he called it *Dominica*, because discovered upon *Sunday* Morning. A while after he discovered another Island North-east of *Dominica*, and then another, and a third after that, more to the Northward, for which Mercy God had been pleased to bestow upon them, all the Men, assembling in the Poop, sung the *Salve Regina* and other Prayers, and Hymns, very devoutly giving Thanks to God, for that, in twenty Days after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that Land; judging the Distance to be about 750 or 800 Leagues, and finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the East-side of the Island *Dominica*, they stood over to another Island which the Admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here landing, he with all necessary Solemnity again repeated the Possession he had in his first Voyage taken of all the Islands and Continents of the *West Indies*, for their Catholic Majesties.

On the 4th the Admiral sailed from the Island *Marigalante* Northwards, by another great Island he called *Sta. Maria Guadalupe*, at the Request of the Friars of the House of that Name, to whom he had made a Promise to call some Island by the Name of their Monastery; before he came to it, by two Leagues Distance, they discovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence issued a Stream of Water, which falling, made such a Noise that it was heard aboard of the Ships, though many affirmed that it was only a white Vein in the Rock: The Water was so white and frothy by reason of its Fall. Going ashore in the Boat to view a Sort of a Town they saw from the Shore, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except some Children, to whose Arms they tied some Baubles to please their Parents when they returned; in the Houses they found Geese and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blew, and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they also found Pompions, and a sort of Fruit which look like our green Pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of solid Meat like a Mellon, and much sweeter both in Taste and Smell, which grow on long Sticks like Aloes wild about the Fields, and are better than those produced by Art. They also saw other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs, different from ours; Beds of Cotton Nets, that is, Hamocks, Bows and Arrows, and other things of which they took none, that the *Indians* might be the less afraid of the Christians. The next Day, which was the 5th of *November*, the Admiral again sent two Boats ashore to endeavour to take some body that might give an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which way, *Hispaniola* lay; each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that Island, but

of another called *Boriquen* (now *St. John de Porto Rico*) and that the Inhabitants of that Island of *Guadalupe* were *Caribes* or *Canibals*, and had carried them Prisoners from their own Island. Soon after the Boats, returning to take up some Christians they had left there, found six Women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribes*, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships.

The Admiral to invite the *Islanders* would not keep them on board, but gave them some Glass-beads and Bells, and made them be set ashore against their Wills. Yet this was done unadvisedly; for as soon as they landed, the *Caribes*, in Sight of the Christians, took away all the Admiral had given them: Therefore, either through the Hatred they bore the *Caribes*, or the Fear they had conceived of those People, a while after when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the said Women got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to understand by Signs, that those People eat Men, and made Slaves of them, and therefore they would not stay with them; so that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his Escape from the *Caribes*, thinking it safer to put themselves into the Hands of People they never saw, and such Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among those they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their Husbands and Children; and as they said, they do not kill and eat the Women, but keep them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South there were many Islands, some inhabited, others not, which she and the other Women called *Giamaetic*, *Cairvevo*, *Hunio*, *Buriari*, *Arubiari*, *Sixibei*, but the Continent which they said was very great, both they and the People of *Hispaniola* called *Zuanta*.

3. On the 10th of *October* the Admiral weighed Anchor, and sailed with the whole Fleet along the Coast of the Island *Guadalupe*, towards the North-west, for *Hispaniola*, and came to the Island *Montserat*, calling it by that Name because of its Height, and understood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribes* had depopulated it by devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *St. Mary Redonda*, so called because it is so round and upright, that there seems to be no getting up to it without Ladders, which the *Indians* called *Ocamaniro*. Next he came to *St. Maria la Antigua*, which is above 28 Leagues in extent, still holding on his Course North-west. There appeared several other Islands towards the North, and lying North-west and South-east, all very high and full of Woods, near one of which he cast Anchor, and called it *St. Martin*, where they took up Pieces of Coral sticking to the Anchor Hooks, which made them hope they should find other valuable Things in those Countries. Though the Admiral was very desirous to know every thing, yet he resolved to hold on his Course towards *Hispaniola*, to relieve those he had left there; but the Weather being bad, he came to an Anchor on the 13th, in an Island where he ordered some *Indians* to be taken to know whereabouts he was.

As the Boat was returning to the Fleet with four Men and three Children the Men had taken, they met a Canoe, in which there were four Men and one Woman, who perceiving they could not make their Escape, stood upon their Guard and hit two of the Christians with their Arrows, which they let fly with such Force and Dexterity that the Woman shot a Target quite through; but the Boat furiously boarding the Canoe overset it, so that they took them all swimming in the Water; and one of them swimming shot several Arrows as if he had been upon dry Land. The Admiral, departing hence, continued his Voyage West North-west, where he found above 50 Islands, which he left to the Northward; the biggest of them he called *St. Ursula*, and the others, the *eleven thousand Virgins*; next he came to the Island which he called *St. John Baptist*, but the *Indians* *Boriquen*; and the Fleet anchored in a Bay on the West-side of it, where they took several Sorts of Fish, as Scate, Soles, Pilchards, and Shads, and saw Falcons and Bushes like wild Vines, more to the Eastwards. Some Christians went to certain Houses, well built after their Fashion, with a

Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both Sides, and the Top of them curiously interwoven with Greens: At the End of it, next the Sea, was raised a large Gallery or Balcony, that could hold ten or twelve People, lofty and well built.

On the 21st the Admiral came up with the North-side of *Hispaniola*, and presently sent ashore, at *Samana*, one of the *Indians* born in that Part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then converted, who offered to reduce all the *Indians* to submit to the Christians.

The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of the *Nativity*; when he came to Cape *Angel*, some *Indians* went aboard to barter their Commodities with the Christians; coming to an Anchor, in the Port of *Monte Christo*; a Boat that went ashore, found near a River two dead Men, one of them seemed to be young, the other old; who had a Rope made of a certain Sort of Broom, or such Fuz that grows in *Spain*, called *Esparta*, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands tyed to a Piece of Wood in the Form of a Cross; but they could not discern whether they were Christians or *Indians*, but looked upon it as an ill Omen. The next Day, being the 26th, the Admiral sent ashore in several Places; the *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Christians, and touching our Mens Shirts and Doublets repeated their Names in *Spanish*, to shew they knew how those things were called, which delivered the Admiral from the Jealousy he had conceived on Account of the dead Men: Judging that if those People had misused the Christians left there, they would not have come so boldly aboard the Ships.

But the next Day when he came to an Anchor, near the Town of *Navidad*, after Midnight a Canoe came to the Fleet, and asked for the Admiral, and being bid to come on board, for he was there, they would not do it, saying they were resolved not to go aboard till they saw and knew him. The Admiral therefore was forced to come to the Ship-side to hear them, and then presently two went up with two Masks, which they gave to the Admiral, from the Caziue *Guacanagari*. They being asked by the Admiral concerning the Christians left there, answered, that some of them died of Distempers, some parted from their Company, and were gone into other Countries: But, that all of them had four or five Wives, though it appeared by their way of speaking, that all, or most of them were dead. Yet the Admiral, not thinking it fit to take any Notice at that time, sent back the *Indians* with a Present made of Tin, and other Baubles for *Guacanagari* and themselves, and so went away that Night. On the 28th, about Evening, the Admiral with all his Fleet, came into the Port of *Navidad*, found it all burnt, and no body was seen thereabouts. The next Day, in the Morning, the Admiral landed, very much concerned to see the Houses and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians, but only ragged Clothes and such like things, as is usual in a Place plundered and destroyed; and seeing no body to enquire of, the Admiral went with some Boats up a River that was near the Fort.

Whilst he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort to be cleansed, thinking to find Gold in it; because at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded those he left behind, to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well, but nothing was found in it; and the Admiral could lay hold of no *Indian*, because they all fled from their Houses to the Woods; having therefore found nothing but some of the Christians Clothes; he returned to *Navidad*, where he saw eight of the Christians, and three others in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Christians by their Clothes, and they seemed to have been dead about a Month; the Christians going about to seek some other Tokens or Writing of the Dead, a Brother of the Caziue *Guacanagari*, came with some *Indians* to talk with the Admiral. These could speak some Words in *Spanish*, and knew the Names of all the Christians that had been left there, and said that those *Spaniards* soon began to fall to Variance among themselves, and to take every one what Gold, and as many Women as they could; whereupon *Peter Gutierres* and *Escovedo*, killed one *James*, and then they,

they, and nine others, went away with their Women to a Cazique, whose Name was *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, who killed them all; then, many Days after came with a great many Men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with ten Men who had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the rest being dispersed about the Island. The Cazique, *Caunabo*, coming up by Night, fired the Houses where the Christians lived with their Women, for fear whereof they fled to the Sea; where eight of them were drowned, and three died on Shore; that *Guacanagari* fighting with *Caunabo* in Defence of the Christians, was wounded and fled.

This Account agreed with that given by other Christians sent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country; who went to a Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a Wound, which he said had hindered him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Christians; among whom, he said, soon after the Admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be Dissention, and every one would barter Gold for himself, and take what Women he thought fit; and not satisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave, and allowed to be given them; they divided into several Parties, and dispersed some one Way and some another: And that some *Biscayners* joining together, went where they were all killed; and this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral; desiring that he would come and see him, because he was in such a Condition, that he could not leave the House. The Admiral did so, going the next Day to visit him, and he with great Signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above; and that he, and his Men, had been all wounded in Defence of the Christians; as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given by Christian Arms, but with wooden Swords and Arrows, pointed with Fish-bones.

This Discourse being over, he presented the Admiral with eight Strings of small Beads, made of white, green, and red Stones; a String of Gold Beads; a Crown of Gold, and three little Calabashes full of Gold Sand: All which might have been about four Marks weight in Gold, each Mark being eight Ounces. The Admiral, in return, gave him abundance of Baubles, which might be worth three Ryals, and were valued by him at above a Thousand. Though he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to see the Fleet, where he was courteously entertained; and much pleased to see the Horses, of which the Christians had before given him an Account. And because some of those that were dead had misinformed him concerning the Faith, the Admiral was forced to instruct him in it; and afterwards would have him wear an Image of the Virgin *Mary* about his Neck, which, at first, he had refused to receive.

4. The Admiral reflecting on the Disaster of those Christians, and his own Misfortune at Sea; having lost the Men and Fort on Shore, and his Ship upon the Water; and that, not far off, there were better and more commodious Places, on the 7th of *December* he sailed with the whole Fleet Eastwards, and anchored not far from the Island of *Monte Christo*, and the next Day, at *Monte Christo*, among those seven low little Islands; which, tho' they are without Trees, yet are nevertheless very pleasant. Thence he went to anchor before a Town of *Indians*, where, resolved to plant a Colony, he landed with all the Men, Provisions, and Utensils he brought aboard the Fleet, in a Plain near a Rock; on which he built a Town, and called it *Isabella*, in honour of Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*; this Place was judged very convenient, as the Port was very large, though exposed to the North-west, and had a most delicate River within a Bow Shot of it, from which Canals of Water might be drawn to run through the middle of the Town; and beyond was an open Plain, from which the *Indians* said the Mines of *Cibao* were not very remote. For these Reasons the Admiral was so eager upon settling the said Colony, that what with the Fatigue at Sea, and what he here went through, he not only wanted time to write, Day by Day, what happened, but fell sick, which hindered his writing from the 11th of *December* to the 12th of *March*, in

the Year 1494; during which time, having ordered the Affairs of the Town the best he could, he sent one *Alonso de Hojeda* with fifteen Men, to seek out the Mines of *Cibao*; afterwards, on the 2d of *February*, twelve Ships of the Fleet returned to *Castile*, under the Command of one Captain *Anthony de Torres*, Brother to Prince *John's* Nurse, a Man of great Judgment and Honour, and in whom their Catholic Majesties and the Admiral much confided. He carried in writing an Account at large of all that had happened, as also the Nature of the Country, and what it required.

Not long after, *Hojeda* returned, giving an Account, that the 2d Day after he set out from *Isabella*, he lay at the Pass of a Mountain, which was very difficult of Access; that afterwards, at every League's Distance, he found *Caziques*, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his Journey, the 6th Day he came to the Mines of *Cibao*, where the *Indians* immediately took up Gold in a small River, as they had done in many others, in the same Province, where he affirmed there was great plenty of Gold. This News much rejoiced the Admiral, who was recovered of his Sickness, and he resolved to observe this Disposition of the Country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly, on the 12th of *March*, he set out from *Isabella*, for *Cibao*, to see the Mines, with all the People that were in Health, both Foot and Horse, leaving a good Guard in the two Ships, and three Caravels, the remainder of the Fleet; and causing all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel and seize them, as they had attempted to do whilst he was sick; because they having gone that Voyage upon the Belief, that as soon as they landed they might load themselves with Gold, and so return rich home, the thing not happening as they expected, they grew dissatisfied and offended; as also, because of building the new Town, and weary of Diseases that the Climate, and Change of Diet caused among them; they conspired to revolt from the Admiral; and taking the Ships that remained, by Force, to return in them to *Spain*. One *Barnard de Piza*, who had been an Officer of Justice at Court, and went that Voyage in the Quality of Comptroller, was the Ring-leader, and Head of the Mutineers; therefore, the Admiral, when informed of it, would not punish him any otherwise, than by securing him on board a ship, with a Design to send him afterwards to *Spain*, with his Process drawn up, as well for mutinying, as for having writ a false Information against the Admiral, which he had hid.

Having therefore ordered all these Affairs, and having left some Persons, together with his Brother Don *James Columbus*, to look to and secure the Fleet, he set forward towards *Cibao*, carrying with him all the Necessaries to build a Fort, to keep that Province under, and secure the Christians left there to gather Gold, against any Attempts or Designs of the *Indians*; and the more to terrify them, and to take away all Hopes, that they might do in the Admiral's Presence as they had done in his Absence with *Arana*, and the Thirty-eight Christians left among them, he carried with him all the Men he could, that they might, in their own Towns, see the Power of the Christians, and be sensible that whenever any Wrong was done to a single Man travelling through the Country, there was a Force of Men to chastise it; and to appear the more formidable when he set out for *Isabella* and other Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms in Rank and File, as is usual in time of War, with Trumpets sounding, and Colours flying. In this way he marched to the Side of that River which lay about a Musket-shot from *Isabella*; and a League beyond he crossed another River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off, in a Plain divided into pleasant Fields, reaching to the Foot of a craggy Hill, and about two Bow-shots high: This he called *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the Gentleman's Pass; because some Gentlemen went before, to order the Road to be made. And this was the first Road made in the *Indies*; for the *Indians* make their Ways but for one Man to pass at a time. Beyond this Pass he came into a large Plain, on which he travelled five Leagues the next Day, and

and went to lie near a great River, which the Men passed upon Floats and Canoës: This River, which he called of *Canes*, fell into the Sea at *Monte Christo*. In his Journey he passed by many *Indian* Towns, the Houses whereof were round, thatched, and with such a little Door as he who goes in must stoop very low. Here, as soon as some of the *Indians*, brought from *Isabella*, went into the Houses, they took what they liked best, and yet the Owners were not displeased; as if all Things were in common.

5. On the 14th, the Admiral set forward from the River of *Canes*, and a League and a Half from it found a great River, which he called the *River of Gold*; having passed it with some Difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but most of them fortified their Houses, barring their Doors with some *Canes*, as if they were a Defence to hinder any Body from coming in; for, according to their Custom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds so barred. Hence the Admiral went to another fine River, which he called the *Green River*; the Banks whereof were covered with bright round Stones, and there he rested that Night. Holding on his Journey, the next Day he passed by some great Towns, where the People had put Sticks a-cross the Doors, and the Admiral with his Men, being tired, they staid that Night, at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he called *Parbibao*, as the Province of *Cibao* begins behind the Mountain: From this, the first Mountain they passed was eleven Leagues distant, all which is a Plain, the Way directly South. Setting out the next Day, he travelled through a Path, where they were forced, with Difficulty, to load the Horses, and thence he sent back some Mules to *Isabella* to bring Bread and Wine, for they began to want Provisions, and the Journey was long, and they suffered the more because they were not yet used to the *Indian* Diet, as they are now, who live and travel in those Parts, who find the Food of that Country more easy of Digestion, and more agreeable to that Country, than what is carried from *Europe*, though it is not so great Nourishment.

The Admiral, passing over the Mountains, on the 16th entered the Country of *Cibao*, which is rough and stony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Grass, and watered by several Rivers, in which Gold was found. The farther they went into this Country, they found it encumbered more with Mountains, on the Tops whereof appeared Grains of golden Sand; for, as the Admiral said, great Rains carried it down from the Tops of Mountains to the Rivers in small Sand. The Admiral perceiving he was now 18 Leagues from *Isabella*, and the Country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a Fort to be built in a very pleasant and strong Place, which he called the Castle of *St. Thomas*, to command the Mines, and be a Place of Safety for the Christians that worked there. Here, breaking Ground to lay the Foundation, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathoms below the Stone, they found Nests made of Hay and Straw, and, instead of Eggs, three or four round Stones as big as Oranges, as artificially made as if they had been Cannon Balls. And in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill the Castle now stands upon, they found Stones of several Colours, some of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jasper. The Admiral, having given Orders for finishing the Castle, set out for *Isabella*, and near the *Green River* met the Mules, and staid there, sending the Provisions to the Port afterwards, endeavouring to find the Ford of that River, and of the River *del Oro*; he staid some Days in those *Indian* Towns, eating their Bread and Garlic, came well to *Isabella*, where Melons were already grown fit to eat, tho' it was not above two Months since the Seed was put into the Ground; so Cucumbers came up in 20 Days: A wild Vine of that Country, being pruned, produced Grapes which were good and large.

On the 30th a Husbandman gathered Ears of Wheat he had sown at the latter end of *January*; there were also Vetches, but much bigger than those they sowed, and all they sowed sprung up above Ground in three Days, and the twenty-fifth Day they eat of it. The Stones of Fruit

set in the Ground sprouted out in seven Days, and the Vine Branches shot out in the same time, and in twenty-five Days after they gathered green Grapes; the Sugar Canes budded in seven Days, which proceeded from the Temperature of the Climate; besides that the Waters there are very thin, cold, and wholesome. The Admiral was well enough pleased with the Air, the Soil, and the People of the Country. On the 1st of *April* there came a Messenger from Fort *St. Thomas*, who brought News that the *Indians* of that Country fled; and that a Cazique, whose Name was *Caunabo*, was preparing to come and attack the Fort. The Admiral knowing how inconsiderable the People of that Country were, made little Account of that Report, especially considering the Horses, by whom the *Indians* were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were so much afraid, that they durst not go into any House where a Horse stood; however, the Admiral thought fit to send more Men and Provisions, considering, that since he designed to go to discover the Continent with three Caravels he had left him, it was fit to secure all behind. Therefore, on the 2d, he sent seventy Men with Provisions and Ammunition to the Fort; twenty-five of which were to keep guard, and the others help to make another Road, the first being very troublesome, as were the Fords of the Rivers.

In the mean while, because the Bisket grew towards an end, and they had no Flour but Wheat, he resolved to make some Mills, though there was not a Fall of Water fit for that Purpose within a League of the Town, at which Work he was forced to stand over the Workmen, they all endeavouring to save themselves from Labour. After that, he resolved to send out all the People that were in health, except Handicraftmen and Artificers, to the *Royal Plain*; that, travelling about the Country, they might pacify it, strike a Terror into the *Indians*, and by degrees be used to their Food, since they daily felt more Want of that of *Spain*. *Hojeda* was sent to command these Men till they came to *St. Thomas*, there to deliver them to Don *Peter Margarite*, *Hojeda* himself to command in the Fort; he having taken the Pains the Winter before, to discover that Province of *Cibao* which in the *Indian* Language signifies *Stony*. *Hojeda* set out from *Isabella* the 29th of *April* towards *St. Thomas*, with this Party of Men, being above 400; and, having passed the River *del Oro*, apprehended a Cazique that lived there, and a Nephew of his, sending them in Irons to the Admiral, and cut off the Ears of one of his Subjects in the great Place in the Town, because, three Christians going from *St. Thomas* to *Isabella*, this Cazique gave them *Indians* to carry their Clothes over the River, at the Ford; and they, being in the Middle of the River, returned to their Town with them; and the Cazique, instead of punishing them, took the Clothes, refusing to deliver them. Another Cazique, who dwelt beyond the River, relying on the Service he had done the Christians, resolved to go with the Prisoners to *Isabella*, and interceed with the General for them, who entertained him courteously, and ordered the other *Indians*, with their Hands bound, to be publicly sentenced to die in the Market-place; which the honest Cazique seeing, with many Tears, obtained their Lives, promising they should never be guilty of any other Offence. The Admiral having discharged them all, a Man on Horseback came from *St. Thomas*'s, and gave an Account, that he had found in the House of that same Cazique, who had been Prisoner in his Town, five Christians, taken by his Subjects as they were coming from *Isabella*; and that he, frightening the *Indians* with his Horse, had released them, above 400 Men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the Pursuit; and that when he had passed the River, he saw they turned upon the said Christians, whereupon he made as if he would go back against them; but they, for fear of his Horse, all ran away, lest the Horse should fly over the River.

6. The Admiral being resolved to discover the Continent, appointed a Council to govern the Island in his Absence; the Sway it consisted of was, Dr. *James Columbus*, his Brother, with the Title of President; *F. Boyl* and *Peter Fernandez* Colonel, Regents; *Alonso Canabaz de Corvajal*, Rector of *Bacca*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, Gentle-

men to their Catholic Majesties. And that there might not want Meal for the Support of the People, he hastened the Building of the Mills, notwithstanding the Rain and Floods very much obstructed. As the Fruitfulness of the Soil appeared very extraordinary, so they daily received fresh Advices of the Wealth of the Country; for some of those the Admiral had sent out were always returning with Accounts of new Mines discovered, besides the Relations of the *Indians* concerning great Plenty of Gold found in some Parts of the Island.

The Admiral not so satisfied, resolved to go out to discover along the Coast of *Cuba*, not knowing whether it was an Island or Continent; therefore taking three Ships along with him, he sailed on the 24th in the Afternoon, and came to an Anchor that Day at *Monte Christo*, West of *Isabella*: Thence he went to *Guacanagari's* Port, thinking to find him there; but he seeing the Ships, fled for fear, tho' his Subjects falsely affirmed he would soon return. But the Admiral not caring to stay, departed on *Saturday* the 26th, and went to the Island *Tortuga*, which lies six Leagues to the Westward. He lay by it that Night in a Calm, with his Sails abroad, the Tide running back against the Currents. The next Day the North-west Winds and Currents setting to the West, obliged him to come to an Anchor in the River of *Guadalquiver*, which is on the same Island, there to wait for a Wind that would stem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run strong towards the East. On the 29th of the same Month, the Wind being fair, he came to *Cape St. Nicholas*, and then crossed over to the Island of *Cuba* running along the Coast of it. And having sailed a League beyond *Cabo Puerto* put into a large Bay, which he called *Puerto Granda*, or the *Grand Port*; the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and had much Water. Here he anchored, and took some Refreshment. On the first of *May*, he continued his Voyage along the Coast, where he found commodious Harbours, and fine Rivers, and high Mountains upon the Sea. After he left *Tortuga*, he met abundance of the Weeds he saw on the Ocean on his Voyage to and from *Spain*. And sailing close along the Shore, abundance of People came on board in their Canoes, to bring off their Bread, Water, and Fish; giving it all freely, without asking any thing for it; but the Admiral, to send them home well pleased, ordered them to be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and such like Baubles. On the 3d the Admiral resolved to sail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of plenty of Gold they had there was true; and the Wind being fair, and he half way over, he discovered it the next Day. Upon that he came to an Anchor, and thought it the best of any he had yet seen in the *Indies*; and such Multitudes of People in great and small Canoes came a-board, that it was astonishing. The next Day he ran along the Coast to find out Harbours; and the Boats going to sound the Mouths of them, there came so many Canoes with armed Men to defend the Country, that they were forced to return to the Ships, not so much for fear, as to avoid falling out with those People. But afterwards considering, that if they shewed Signs of Fear, the *Indians* would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the Port which the Admiral called *Puerto Bueno*, that is, Good Harbour; and because the *Indians* came to drive them off, those in Boats gave them such a Flight of Arrows from their Cross Bows, that sixteen of them being wounded, they retired. The Fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of Canoes from the neighbouring Places, in a peaceable Way to see and barter Provisions; and several things they brought, and gave for the least Trifle that was offered them.

In this Port, which resembles a Horse-shoe, the Admiral's Ship was repaired, being leaky: And that done, they set sail on the 9th, keeping so close along the Coast Westward, that the *Indians* followed in their Canoes to trade. The Wind being somewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make so much Way as he wished, till on the 14th he resolved to stand over again for *Cuba*, to keep along its Coasts, designing not to return till he had sailed 5 or 600 Leagues, and was satisfied whether it was an Island

or Continent. The Day he was going off from *Jamaica* a very young *Indian* came a-board, saying he would go; and after him came several of his Kindred and other People in their Canoes, earnestly intreating him to go back; but they could never alter his Resolution; and therefore to avoid seeing his Sisters cry, he went where they could not come at him. The Admiral admiring his Resolution, gave Orders that he should be used with the utmost Civility. The Admiral leaving *Jamaica* on the 15th of *May*, came to that Point of *Cuba* which he called *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or *Cape Holy Cross*; and running along the Coast, there happened a great Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which, together with the Flats and Currents, put him in no small Danger, and to very much Trouble, being obliged at the same time to struggle against two Evils, which required contrary Remedies; for it is a proper Remedy against Thunder to strike the Sails, and it was requisite to spread them to avoid the Flats. And had this Calamity lasted for eight or ten Leagues, it had been insupportable. But the worst of it was, that throughout that Sea, both North, and South-east, the farther they went, the more little low Islands they met with: And though there were Trees in some of them, yet others were sandy, and scarce appeared above the Surface of the Water: some a League, some more, and some less in Compass. True it is, that the nearer they sailed to *Cuba*, the higher and pleasanter the little Islands appeared. And being a Matter of Difficulty, and to no Purpose to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral called them all in general, *Jardin de la Reyna*, or the *Queen's Garden*.

But as many Islands as he saw that Day, he saw many more and bigger the next Day than he had before; and not only to the North-East, but North-west, and South-west, insomuch that they counted 160 Islands that Day, all parted by deep Channels, which the Ship sailed through. In some of these Islands they saw abundance of Cranes, in Shape and Bigness like those of *Spain*, but that they were red as scarlet. In others they found abundance of Tortoises, and of their Eggs, not unlike Hens, but that the Shells are very hard. The Tortoises lay their Eggs in a Hole they make in the Sand, and cover them, leaving them till the Heat of the Sun hatches and brings forth the Tortoises, which in time grow as big as a great Target. In these Islands they also saw Crows and Cranes like those of *Spain*, and Sea Crows, and infinite Numbers of little Birds that sung sweetly; and the very Air was as sweet as if they had been among the finest Perfumes in the World: Yet the Danger was very great, there being such Abundance of Channels, that much time was spent in finding the way through them.

In one of these Channels they discovered a Canoe of *Indian* Fishermen, who very quietly, without Concern, expected the Boat, which was making toward them; and being come near, made a Sign to them not to approach, till they had done fishing. Their Manner of fishing was so strange, that they were willing to comply with them: It was thus, They had tied some small Fishes they call *Reves* by the Tail, which run themselves against other Fish, and with a certain Roughness they have from the Head to the middle of the Back, stick so fast to the next Fish they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, they draw both up together: And it was a Tortoise the *Spaniards* saw taken by these Fishermen, the *Reve* clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that Means safe from the other Fish biting them; and sometimes are said to fasten upon vast Sharks. When the *Indians* in the Canoe had taken the Tortoise, and two other Fishes they had before, they presently in a very friendly manner came to the Boat to know what they would have; and by their Directions went alone a-board the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very courteously, and understood by them, that there was an infinite Multitude of these Islands in that Sea; and they freely gave all they had, tho' the Admiral would suffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fish, the rest being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabashes full of Water to drink. Having given them some Trifles, they went away very well pleased; and he held on his Course with a Design

not to do so long, because he began to be short of Provisions already; whereas had he been well stored, he determined not to have returned into *Spain*, but East about.

Tho' he was very much spent, not because he suffered Pain, but because he had not slept, or lain in Bed ever since he went from *Spain* till the 19th of *May*, except eight Nights (as appears by his Journal) when he was very much indisposed. And if he had much Care upon him at other times, it was doubled this Voyage, by reason of the innumerable Quantity of Islands among which he was sailing, which were so many, that on the 20th he discovered seventy-one besides many more he saw West-south-west at Sun-setting. Which Islands, or Sands, are not only frightful, by their Multitude appearing on all Sides; but what is yet more terrible is, that every Night there rises off them a great Fog, Eastward, so dismal to behold that it looks as if some great Showers of Hail would fall. The Thunder and Lightning is violent, yet when the Sun rises it all vanishes, Part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is so usual and natural in that Country, that it did not only happen all those Nights the Admiral was there, but the same was long after observed in those Islands by the *Spaniards* in their Return from the Discovery of *Veragua*. And generally here, at Night, the Wind is North, coming off the Isle of *Cuba*; and afterwards, when the Sun is up, it comes about East, and follows the Sun till it comes to the West.

7. The Admiral, still holding out his Course Westward among the Number of Islands, upon the 22d came to an Island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he called *St. Mary*; and, landing at a Town there, not one *Indian* would stay to talk to the Christians, nor did they find any thing in the Houses but Fish, which is all the Food those People live on, and several Dogs, like Mastiffs, who eat Fish too. Thus, without speaking to any body, or seeing any Thing remarkable, he sailed away North-east among many Islands, and abundance of those Weeds he saw on the Ocean when he discovered the *Indies*, which fatigued him very much; for sometimes he was forced to stand West, sometimes North, and sometimes South, according as the Channels would permit; for, notwithstanding his Care in sounding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top, to look out, yet the Ship often touched, and there was no avoiding it, there being no End of the Flats on all Hands. Sailing on in this manner he came again to *Cuba* to take in Water, whereof they had much need, and tho' there was no Town there, they put in because the Place was wooded, yet one of the Seamen that went ashore going up among the Trees with a Cross-bow, to kill some Bird or Beast, discovered thirty People armed with such Weapons as they use, that is, Spears and Staves, which they wear instead of Swords, and call *Macanas*; among them, he said, he saw one clad in a white Coat or Vest down to his Knees, and two that carried him, with Vests down to their Feet; all three of them as white as *Spaniards*, but that he had no talk with them; for being afraid of such a Number he began to cry out, and the *Indians* ran away without looking back.

The Admiral, the next Day, sent People ashore to know the Truth of it. They could not travel above half a League, because of the Thickness of the Trees and the Bushes, and because that Coast is marshy for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Mountains; so that they only saw Footsteps of Fishermen on the Shore, and abundance of Cranes like those in *Spain*, but bigger. Then sailing about ten Leagues Westward, they saw Houses on the Shore, from which some Canoes came with Water, and such Things as those People eat, which they brought to the Christians, who paid well. And the Admiral caused one of these *Indians* to be stopped, telling him and the rest, by his Interpreter, that he would let him go home as soon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given some Account of that Country. At which the *Indian* was very much pleased, and assured the Admiral, that *Cuba* was an Island, and that the King, or Cazique, of the Western Part of it, never spoke to his Subjects but by Signs; that all that Coast was very low, and full of Islands, which was found to be true. The next Day, being the 11th of *June*, to pass from one Channel to another, the Admiral was forced to have the Ships

towed over a Flat where there was not a Foot of Water, and all the Breadth of it was not above two Ships Length. Bearing up close to *Cuba*, they saw Tortoises of a vast Bigness, and in such Numbers, that they covered the Sea. At Break of the Day they saw such a Cloud of Sea-Crows, that they darkened the Sun, coming from the Seaward to the Island where they all lighted. Besides them, abundance of Pigeons and Birds of other sorts were seen. And the next Day there came such Swarms of Butterflies that they darkened the Air, and lasted till Night, when a great Rain carried them away.

On the 13th the Admiral perceived that the Coast of *Cuba* ran far West, and that it was a Matter of the greatest Difficulty to sail that way, by reason of Islands and Sands that were on all Sides, and that he already began to want Provisions, for which Reason he could not continue his Voyage as he had intended. He resolving to return to the Town he had begun to build at *Hispaniola*, and to furnish himself with Wood and Water, anchored in the Island of *Evangelista*, which is thirty Leagues in Compass, and seven hundred from *Dominica*. Having directed his Course South, hoping to get out better that way, and sailing through that Channel which looked clearest, after a few Leagues found it shut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify them, seeing themselves, as it were, hemmed in on all Sides, and destitute of Provisions: But the Admiral, who was wise and courageous, said with a cheerful Countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the same way he came; forasmuch as if they had continued their Voyage that way they expected to go, it might have, perhaps, happened they might have run themselves into some place, whence it would have been hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither Ships nor Provisions to go back, which at present they could easily do. Thus with great Satisfaction of all the Men he returned to the Island of *Evangelista*, where he had watered; and the 25th of *June* sailed thence North-west towards some small Islands that appeared five Leagues off.

On the 20th, as he was writing his Journal of the Voyage, his Ship run a-ground so fast, that neither Anchors nor other Inventions were able to get it off. It was by Boats drawn off a-head, tho' with some Damage because of beating on the Sand. However, with God's Assistance, they got off at last, and he sailed on as the Wind and shoal Water would permit, always through a very white Sea, and two Fathom deep. Besides which, every Day about Sun-setting he was troubled with mighty Showers which rise in the Mountains from the Morasses near the Sea, which was a great Fatigue to him till he came close to *Cuba*, toward the East, the way he came at first; whence, as he had found before, came off a most fragrant Scent of Flowers. On the 7th of *July* he landed to hear Mass, and there resorted to him an old Cazique, Lord of the Province, who was very attentive at Prayer. When it was ended, he expressed by Signs, it was very well done to give Thanks to God, because the Soul which was good would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth, but that the wicked Souls must go to Hell. And, among other things, said he had been in the Island *Hispaniola*, where he knew some of the chief Men: That he had been at *Jamaica*, and a great way towards the West of *Cuba*; and that the Cazique of that Place was clad like a Priest.

The Admiral sailing thence on the 16th, drew near to *Cape Cruz* in *Cuba*, where he was surprized by such a violent Storm as bore his Ship's Side under Water; But it pleased God they immediately struck all their Sails and dropped their Anchors, but yet they took in so much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, especially in the Condition they were, being much spent for want of Provisions, for they eat nothing but a Pound of rotten Bisket in a Day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unless they happened to catch some Fish, which yet they could not keep from one Day to the next, because the Weather was always more inclinable to corrupt than in other Countries. And this Want being common to all, the Admiral, in his Journal, speaks thus concerning it: "I am at the same Allowance, God grant it may be to his Honour, and your Highnesses Service; for I

" shall

“ shall never again, for my own Benefit, expose myself
“ to such Sufferings and Dangers; never a Day passing
“ but I see we are all upon the Brink of Death. ”

In this Danger and Distress he arrived at *Cape Cruz* on the 18th, where he was entertained by the *Indians*. They brought him abundance of *Cazibi*, so they call their Bread made of Roots grated, a vast deal of Fish, store of Fruit, and other things such as they eat. The Wind being contrary, so that he could not sail for *Hispaniola*, he stood over to *Jamaica*, and sailed along Westward, close under the Shore; the Country all along most delightful and fruitful, with excellent Harbours at every League Distance, and all the Coast full of Towns, the People whereof followed their Ships in their Canoes, bringing Provisions, which were better liked by the Christians than what they found in the other Islands; the Climate, Air, and Weather, were the same as the rest; for in this western Part of *Jamaica*, there gathered every Evening a Storm of Rain, which lasted about an Hour, more or less, which the Admiral said he attributed to the great Woods in those Countries, for that he knew this was usual, at first, in the *Canary Islands*, *Madera*, and the *Azores*, whereas now the Woods are cut down that shaded them, there are not so great and frequent Storms of Rain as there were formerly.

Thus the Admiral sailed on, though with contrary Winds, which obliged him every Night to seek the Shelter of the Land, which appeared green, pleasant, fruitful, abounding in Provisions, and so populous, that he thought none excelled it; especially near a Bay, which he called *de las Vacas*, because there are nine Islands close to the Land, which he said was as high as any he had seen; and yet it was peopled, and very fruitful and pleasant. This Island he judged to be 800 Miles in compass, and, when fully discovered, computed fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great mind to stay there, to be fully informed of the Nature of it; but the Want of Provisions, and the Leakiness of the Vessels, would not permit: Therefore, as soon as the Weather was a little fair, he sailed away Eastward; so that on the 9th of *August* he lost sight of that Island, standing over directly for *Hispaniola*, and called the most Eastward Cape of *Jamaica* on the South Coast *Cabo del Farol*.

8. The two Ships that had been missing, came in about six Days after, and the Admiral proceeded on his Voyage, and arriving on the Coast of *Hispaniola*, the *Indians* came in their Canoes, and said, that two had been there from *Isabella*, and that, at the Colony, they were all well. He held on his Course to the Eastward, where he discovered a great Town, and sent the Boats thither for Water. The *Indians* came out armed with poisoned Arrows; they threatened to bind the *Spaniards* with Cords they brought; and this was the Province of *Nigüey*, the Inhabitants whereof were the most warlike People of the Island of *Hispaniola*, and poisoned their Weapons; but when the Boats came ashore, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, and asked for the Admiral, and carried Provisions. He held on his Course, and they saw a great Fish, like a middling Whale, and it had on the Neck a large Shell, like that of a Tortoise, little less than a Target; the Head it held above Water was like a Pipe or But, the Tail like that of a Tunny-Fish, very large, and two vast Fins on the Side; by this Fish and other Observations in the Sky, the Admiral perceived there was like to be a Change of Weather, and endeavoured to get under a little Island, which the *Indians* called *Adamany*, and the *Spaniards* *Saona*, which makes a Streight a little above a League over, with the Island *Hispaniola*, and is about two Leagues in length.

There he came to an Anchor, and the two other Ships, not being able to get in, ran the greatest Hazard. That Night the Admiral observed the Eclipse of the Moon, and affirmed the Difference of Longitude, between that Place and *Cadiz*, was five Hours and twenty-three Minutes; he continued there on Account of the Storm eight Days; and the other Ships being come, he sailed thence on the 24th of *September*, and came to *Cape Engano*, in *Hispaniola*, which the Admiral named *St. Raphael*; they next touched at the Island *Mona*, which

is ten Leagues from *Hispaniola*, and eight from the Island of *Porto Rico*, or *St. John*; being six Leagues in Compass, and on it grow most delicious Melons, as big as a Jar of Oil that will hold six Quarts; being gone from *Mona*, and near *St. John*, the Admiral was seized with such a Fit of the Lethargy, that he lost all his Senses, so that it was thought he could not live; for which Reason the Seamen used the utmost Diligence, and arrived with all the Ships at *Isabella*, on the 29th of *September*, without any farther Certainty of *Cuba* being an Island, than what the *Indians* had told them.

As soon as they arrived, the Admiral understood that his Brother *Don Bartholomew Columbus* was there, and that the Natives of the Island were in Arms against the *Spaniards*. It is impossible to express how much the Admiral was pleased to see his Brother, and it will not be amiss, before we proceed, to give an Account of what befel him, from the time his Brother sent him to propose the undertaking of those Discoveries to the King of *England*. He was along time before he reached that Kingdom, and then learning the Language, the Methods of Court, and gaining Access to the Ministers, occasioned another Delay; so that after seven Years, when he had articulated and agreed with King *Henry VII.* of *England*, he returned into *Spain* to look for his Brother, who having heard nothing from him during that time, concluded he was dead: At *Paris* he heard of his having made the Discovery, and that he was declared Admiral; being told it by King *Charles*, who gave him 100 Crowns towards his Journey, and though he made all the haste he could, his Brother was gone on his second Voyage, with the seventeen Ships; but he had an Instruction, which was left by the Admiral, delivered to him. He went to kiss their Majesties Hands, and visit his Nephews, *Don James* and *Don Ferdinand*, at *Valadolid*, where the Court was; being then Pages to Prince *John*. Their Catholic Majesties did him much Honour, and ordered him to go away to the *Indies*, with three Ships that were to carry Provisions to the Admiral.

He arrived there in *April* 1494, and found he was gone upon the Discovery of *Cuba*. The Admiral thought he had some Comfort in his Brother, and gave him the Title of *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant; which their Catholic Majesties very much resented, saying, that it was not in the Admiral's Power so to do, but that it belonged to them to give that Title: Yet some Years after they confirmed it. *Don Bartholomew* was a very wise Man, and as expert in Sea Affairs as his Brother; somewhat harsh in his Temper, but very brave and free spoken, for which some hated him. The Admiral having established a Council for the Government of the Island, *Don Pedro Margarite*, Commander of the four hundred Men, went with them to *Vega Real*, or *Vale Royal*, ten Leagues from *Isabella*, and quartered them in the Towns there, where they lived without any Order or Discipline, ruining the *Indians*; for a *Spaniard* will eat more in a Day, than one of them in a Month. The Council reproving *Don Pedro*, because he did not check the Licentiousness of the Soldiers, he thereupon began to cavil, refusing to obey them, either in this Particular, or in marching through the Island, as the Admiral had ordered him; and fearing to be punished for those Disorders, he thought fit to embark aboard the three Ships that brought over *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, and return to *Castile*, and Father *Boyl* with him, besides some more of his Party. Being come to the Court, they gave an Account that there was no Gold in the *Indies*, and that all the Admiral said was mere Invention. The Soldiers being left without their Commander, dispersed themselves about the Country, living like Men without a Chief. Whereupon a *Cazique*, whose Name was *Guatiguanti*, who had a large Town upon the Bank of the great River, killed ten Christians, and privately sent to set fire to a House where some sick Men lay; and the *Indians*, in several Parts of the Island, killed six more; and Calumnies of the *Spaniards* being spread abroad every where, in such Sort, that all the People hated them, even them who had not seen them, and particularly the four principal Kings, *Guarinoex*, *Caunabo*, *Behechico*, and *Higuana-*
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nama, and all that followed and obeyed them, being an infinite Multitude, were very desirous to turn the *Spaniards* out of the Country.

Only *Guacanagari*, King of *Marien*, did not stir, but on the contrary, kept a hundred Christians in his Country, giving them Part of what he had, and treating them affectionately, as he had done from the beginning. Some Days after the Admiral's Arrival, *Guacanagari* went to visit him, expressing Sorrow for his Sickness and Troubles; and assuring him he knew nothing of the killing of the Christians; that he was his Friend, and for that Reason all the Natives bore him ill Will, and particularly those that were in Arms in the *Vale Royal*, and other Places. The Admiral resolving to take the Field, in order to disperse those People, and reduce the Island to Peace, *Guacanagari* offered to bear him Company with his Subjects; but before he went out in Person, he sent to begin the War with *Guatiguaniti*, who had killed the ten Christians, that the Punishment might not be delayed, and to prevent his growing bolder. They killed several of his Men, and took many Prisoners; and he fled, and some of the Prisoners were sent to *Spain*. But as *Caunabo* was the most potent Lord of all the Island, and brave in his Person, and had three valiant Brothers, being King of the Province they called *Maguana*, the Admiral had his Eye more on him; and thinking it would be the best to subdue him by Policy, because to do it by Force would be difficult, he contrived to send *Alonso de Hojeda*, with nine *Spaniards*, under Colour of carrying him a Present.

The *Indians* valued Tin more than Gold, and rejoiced when they got any of it, or of the other Metals they carried from *Spain*, thinking they came down from Heaven; and when the Bell at *Isabella* rung, and the *Spaniards* upon it went to Church, they thought it spoke, and the Fame of it reached *Caunabo*; who had often thought of begging it of the Adelantado, that he might see the Turey of *Biscay*, so they called the Tin; for Turey, signifies Heaven; and they so highly valued Tin and other Metals, that they called it Turey, and the *Spaniards* added of *Biscay*, and therefore they said the Turey of *Biscay*. *Hojeda* being come to the Province of *Maguana*, about 60 or 70 Leagues from the Colony of *Isabella*, the *Indians* were in a Consternation to see him on Horse-back, as believing that the Man and Horse were all of a Piece.

They told *Caunabo* that some Christians were come, being sent by the Admiral, whom they called *Guamiquini*, and that they had brought him a Present of that they called Turey of *Biscay*, which very much rejoiced him. *Hojeda* being introduced, kissed his Hand, as the rest did, and then shewed him the Present, being Fetters and Manacles, very bright and well polished, that looked like Silver: He told him the Kings of *Spain* wore them, because they came from Heaven, that they were wont to put them on at the *Areitos*, so the *Indians* call their dancing Matches; and that it would be proper for him to go with them to bath himself in the River *Taqui*, which was half a League off, that he would there put them on him, and he should come back on Horse-back, and then would look like the Kings of *Spain*. Accordingly he went one Day, attended by a few Servants, with *Hojeda*, to the River; little imagining that nine or ten Men should have a Design upon him, in a Place where he was so powerful, he washed and refreshed himself, and being very earnest to try on the Present, having ordered the *Indians* to keep at a Distance, though they always avoided being near the Horses; they set him up behind *Hojeda*, and put on the Fetters and Hand-cuffs, the King observing all very attentively; *Hojeda* took two turns about, the better to palliate his Design, and the third time rode off with the *Spaniards* about the Horse, till the *Indians* lost Sight of them; then they drew their Swords and threatened to kill him if he did not sit still whilst they tied him with Cords to *Hojeda*; and traveling with Expedition, they arrived at *Isabella*, and delivered him to the Admiral, who kept him in his House, fettered, and when the Admiral came in he never paid him any Respect, though he did *Alonso de Hojeda*; being asked why he did so, he answered, that the Admiral

durst not go to his House to seize him, and *Hojeda* did.

The Admiral resolved to send him into *Spain*, and being embarked with other *Indians*, there arose so great a Storm, that the Ship was cast away, and *Caunabo* and the *Indians* perished; upon which the Admiral ordered two Caravels to be provided, that he might not be left without Ships. But let us now look over to *Spain*.

The Return of *Anthony de Torres* was very pleasing to their Majesties, which they signified to the Admiral by his Brother, giving him Thanks for the Toils he underwent, promising always to support him. And forasmuch as their Catholic Majesties were willing to please the Admiral, and that this Affair of the *Indies* should prosper, they ordered the Dean *John Roderiguez de Fonseca* to fit out four Ships with Expedition, furnished with such things as the Admiral required: And they appointed *Anthony de Torres* to return with them; by whom they wrote to him their Letter, dated at *Segovia* the 16th of *August*, again repeating their Thanks for his good Services, promising to promote him to the utmost, because all he had said and proposed had proved as true as if he had seen it before he went upon the Discovery: And tho' they had received the Account he had sent them, yet they desired he would more particularly acquaint them what Islands he had discovered, the Names of them before, and those he had given them, with the Distances from one to another; what he had found in every one of them, what sort of Weather there was in those Parts every Month, and how the things that were sowed came up, because some said there were two Winters and two Summers, and various sorts of Birds: That all the several things he had asked for in his Memorial were sent him. And to the end that they might oftener hear from him, it was thought expedient that a Caravel should go from *Spain* every Month, and one return from the *Indies*. The Affairs with *Portugal* being adjusted, they had sent him a Copy of the Articles concluded, that he might know and observe them on his Part: That as for the Line of Partition that was to be drawn, that being a Matter of much Difficulty and great Trust, their Highnesses could wish, if it were possible, the Admiral should be present and draw it, together with those that were to be employed about it by the King of *Portugal*; and that in case he could not come himself, he should send his Brother *Don Bartholomew*, or some other intelligent Person with Draughts and authentic Relations, and his Opinion concerning what ought to be done in the Case with the utmost Expedition, that it might come in time, and not disappoint the King of *Portugal*.

The seizing of *Caunabo* very much incensed his Brethren, who resolved to make War upon the *Spaniards* with the utmost of their Force. The Admiral, perceiving that abundance of Men drew together, and all the Country armed, took the Field with two hundred Foot, twenty Horse, and twenty Wolf-Dogs; which, as the *Indians* were naked from Head to Foot, made terrible Havock among them. There were no more Soldiers, because the rest were sick. The Admiral set out on the 24th of *March* 1495, taking along with him his Brother, the Adelantado, *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, and the King *Guacanagari* with his Men. He entered the *Royal Plain*, and discovered the Enemies Army; in which King *Manicater* had a great Number of Men. And the whole seemed to amount to an hundred thousand. The Adelantado gave the Charge, and the Men and Horses and the Dogs so terrified them, that they were soon routed, and a vast Number of them were killed and taken, the latter being adjudged Slaves, and many sent into *Spain* on board *Anthony de Torres's* four Ships. The Admiral continued ranging round about the Island near ten Months, severely punishing those he found guilty, having some Encounters with *Caunabo's* Brothers, who made the greatest Resistance; but finding their Power too weak, they and *Guarinoex*, being the chief Kings in the Island, resolved to submit themselves to the Admiral.

The Admiral having thus reduced all the People under the Obedience of their Catholic Majesties, ordered they should pay Tribute in this Manner: The Inhabitants of the Province of *Cibao*, and those of the *Royal Plain*, and those

those near the Mines, above fifteen Years of Age, to pay a small Hawk's Bill full of Gold quarterly; and all other Persons, a Quarter of an hundred Weight of Cotton each; and only King *Manicatem* to pay every Month half a Gourd full of Gold, worth an hundred and fifty Pesos. A certain Coin made of Copper or Brass with a certain Figure on it was struck, and changed upon every Payment of the Tribute, that every tributary *Indian* might wear it about his Neck, in order to shew who had paid. Upon this Occasion *Guarinoex*, King of the great *Royal Plain*, offered the Admiral to sow Corn throughout the Country from *Isabella* to *Santa Domingo*, which is from Sea to Sea fifty-five Leagues Distance, which would furnish all *Castile* with Bread, provided he would not require any Gold of him, because his Subjects did not know how to gather it. But the Admiral being a Stranger, alone, and envied by the Ministers of their Catholic Majesties, and, like a discreet Man, being sensible that the Wealth he sent must be his Support, he pressed for Gold, tho' in other respects he was a good Christian, and feared God. And accordingly he moderated the Tribute, being sensible that it could not be paid; for which some had fled to the Mountains, and others wandered into remote Provinces.

This Oppression, and the *Indians* seeing there was no likelihood of the *Spaniards* leaving the Country, because there were no Ships in the Harbour, and they built Houses on the Land with Stone and Timber, made them melancholy; and they asked them, Whether they ever designed to return home? And having found by Experience, that the *Spaniards*, compared with them, were very great Eaters, they thought they had come thither only to eat; whereupon, observing that many of them were sick, and that the Provisions brought them from *Spain* were spent, many Towns conspired to contrive some Method that they might all perish, or, to avoid that, be obliged to depart the Island.

9. In order to push this Design with Effect, the *Indians* thought best to forbear sowing, that there might be no Corn, and to retire themselves to the Mountains, where they had many good Roots to eat, and might help out with hunting *Utias*, a sort of Rabbit, whereof there is a vast Plenty. This Contrivance little availed them; for though the *Spaniards* suffered much through Hunger, and in Pursuit of the *Indians*, they, however, went not away; but many dying through downright Want obliged them to eat loathsome things, so that all the Calamity fell upon the *Indians* themselves; for they ranging about the Mountains with their Wives and Children, enduring much Hunger, and having no opportunity to hunt, fish, and get Provisions, the Hills and Rivers about which they skulked being full of Damps, a pestilential Distemper reigned among them; so that what through this, and the Wars, till the Year 1496, one Third of the Inhabitants perished.

But let us now look over to *Spain*, where Father *Boyl* and Don *Pedro Margarite*, as they agreed to go away together without Leave, so they also combined in speaking ill of the *Indies*, and misrepresenting the Enterprise, because they had not found Gold for them to plunder, in Chests, or growing on the Trees. They also alledged that the Admiral did not behave well, not having been in the Island from his Return thither in the second Voyage, till he came back from the Discovery of the Island of *Cuba*, full four Months. And there being Letters also that gave an ill Character of the Admiral, by those who went on board the four Ships under the Command of *Anthony de Torres* (for there are always Malcontents) their Catholic Majesties, at the time the Admiral took the Field against the *Indians* in the *Royal Plain*, sent away *John Aguado*, a Native of *Seville*, Groom of the King's Bed-Chamber, to observe what was doing in the Island *Hispaniola*, taking with him four Ships laden with Necessaries for the Relief of the People there.

John Aguado carried with him Credentials, dated *April* the 9th, 1495, and arrived at *Isabella* about *October*, at the time when the Admiral was carrying on the War against *Caunabo's* Brother in the Province of *Maguana*. At *Isabella*, by Words, and even by Actions, he pretend-

ed to have extraordinary Authority, interposing in Matters of Government, seizing some Persons, and reproving the Admiral's Ministers, shewing little Respect to Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had been left Governor there during his Brother's Absence. Nor was it long before *John Aguado* thought fit to go after the Admiral, and took Horse and Foot along with him: And those who went with him by the way gave out, that another Admiral was come, who would put the former to death; and the Natives being discontented on account of the Wars and of the Tribute of Gold, they were much pleased with this News; and some *Caziques* met privately in the House of King *Manicatem*, whose Dominions were near the River *Yagui*, where they agreed to give in their Complaints against the Admiral, and to seek Redress from this new Minister.

The Admiral, being informed that *John Aguado* was looking for him, resolved to return to *Isabella*, where in the Presence of the People he read their Highnesses Letter, with Sound of Trumpet and great Solemnity: *John Aguado* could not forbear very soon discovering his Indiscretion, thrusting himself into many Affairs, without any Respect to the Admiral, and giving thereby an ill Example to others. His Conduct being pernicious to the Admiral, the bold Threats he made, and the People being discontented on account of the Troubles, and because they had nothing to eat but the Allowance given them out of the King's Stores, which was a Porringer of Wheat, ground in a Hand-mill by some, and by others eaten boiled, and a slice of rusty Bacon, or rotten Cheese, with a few Beans, or *Spanish* Peas, and no Wine, and the Admiral obliging them, as they were in the King's Pay, to work at the Fortifications, his own House, and other Structures, they complained to *John Aguado*; for as to those who were in health, by ranging about the Island they fared better; and he thought these Complaints sufficient to lay before their Majesties.

At this time the four Ships that had carried over *John Aguado* perished in the Harbour, in those Tempests which the *Indians* call Hurricanes, and there was nothing left to carry him back but the Admiral's two Caravels, who observing his Presumption, and being informed that others had misrepresented him at Court, where he had nothing to support him but his own Merit, he resolved to appear before their Majesties, to clear himself of all those Slanders, and at the same time acquaint them with what he had found, in his second Discovery, upon the Island of *Cuba*, and his Opinion as to the Partition that was to be made of the Ocean between the two Crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*: And to the end that all things might be thoroughly settled, he would first leave other Forts in a good Posture, which he had begun, besides that of *St. Thomas*, for the Security of the Country, being the *Magdalen*, called the *Lower Macorix*, in the *Royal Plain* belonging to the *Cazique Guanaconel*, three or four Leagues from the Place where the Town of *St. Jago* now stands; another called *St. Catherine*; another on the Bank of the River *Yagui* on the Side of *Cibao*, called *Esperanza*; another in the Kingdom of *Guarinoex*, in the *Royal Plain*, called the *Conception*. The *Caziques*, being much oppressed by the Burthen of the Tribute, discovered to the Admiral that there were good Gold Mines on the South Side, and that he might send his *Spaniards* for it.

Now as it concerned the Admiral to discover much of that Sort, to support his own Credit; and this coming at the time when he was resolved to return to *Spain*, he sent *Francis de Garay* and *Michael Diaz*, with some Men and the *Indian* Guides: They went from *Isabella* to the Fort *Magdalen*, and thence to the *Conception*, all the way over the *Royal Plain*: They next ventured through a Pass two Leagues in Length, which led them into another Plain, called *Bonao*: they advanced some Leagues farther along the Ridges of *Bonao*, and came to a great River called *Hayna*, very fruitful, and where they were told there was much Gold, as there was in all the Brooks, which they found true; for, digging in several Places, they met with such Plenty, that one Labourer, in a Day, could get above three Pesos: These they called the Mines of *St. Christopher*, from a Fort the Admiral ordered to be there built, and afterwards they were called the Old Mines.

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When the Caravels were equipt and provided, the Admiral appointed his Brother Don *Bartholomew Columbus* his Lieutenant, a Person capable of a great Command; and, in case he died, his Brother *James*; earnestly charging the People to be obedient to him: He also appointed *Francis Roldan*, a Man of good Understanding, and who also had behaved himself well in his Office of Alcalde, and others he had employed him in, chief Alcalde of the whole Island, to administer Justice; for tho' he was not a Lawyer, yet being his Servant, and a discreet Man, he thought fit to entrust him in that Place. He went aboard one of the Caravels, and *John Aguado* went in the other; and in regard that their Catholic Majesties had ordered that the most sickly, and others whose Wives and Kindred had complained that the Admiral would not permit them to return into *Spain*, should have Leave, he took on board to the Number of two hundred and twenty, or better. He sailed on the 10th of *March* 1496, and, going to take a View of *Puerto de Plata*, carried his Brother Don *Bartholomew* along with him, because he designed to settle a Colony there.

Don *Bartholomew* returned by Land; and the Admiral, by reason of contrary Winds and Currents, failed to the Eastward with much Difficulty, as far as Cape *Eganno*, and on the 22d he lost sight of it. On the 9th of *April* he came to an Anchor at *Marigalante*, and the next Day at *Guadalupe*, where many Women came with Bows and Arrows to hinder their Landing; and because the Boats could not come near the Shore, as the Sea ran so high, they sent out two *Indians*, having thirty aboard, from *Hispaniola*, who told the Women that they would do them no Harm, but only take in Provisions. They answered, they should go to the other Side of the Island, where their Husbands were; and when they came, a great Number of Men appeared, shooting Flights of Arrows; but they fell short; and the Boats firing some small Guns, they all fled to the Mountains, leaving their Houses and Goods, where the Christians took and destroyed all they found. Being acquainted with the Way of making Bread, they fell to work, and made enough to supply their Want. Among other things they found in the Houses, there were Parrots, Honey, Wax, and Iron, whereof they had Hatchets to cut Looms like those for Tapestry-work, in which they wove their Tents. Their Houses were square, and not round as is usual in the other Islands. While the Bread was making, the Admiral sent forty Men up the Country, to learn something of it; who next Day returned with ten Women and three Boys, the rest of the People being fled.

Among these Women was the Wife of a Cazique, whom a Man born in the *Canaries*, that was very nimble, had much Difficulty to overtake; and she had got from him, but, seeing him alone, she thought to take him, and closing she got him down, and had stifled him, but that others came to his Assistance. These Womens Legs were swathed with Cotton from the Ankle to the Knee, that they might look thick; which Ornament they called *Coi-ro*, and looked upon it as very genteel, and those they girded so hard, that, if it happened to slip off the Leg, that Part appeared very thin. The same both Men and Women used in *Jamaica*, who swathed their Arms up to their Armpits, that is, about the smallest Parts, like the old-fashioned Sleeves among us. These Women, as soon as their Children could stand upon their Legs, gave them a Bow, that they might learn to shoot; and they all wore their Hair long and loose upon their Shoulders; nor did they cover any Part of the Body. That Lady they took said, that the Island was only inhabited by Women, and that those who would have opposed them on landing were Women, except only four Men, who were there accidentally from another Island; for at a certain time of the Year they came to sport with them. The same was observed by Women of another Island, called *Matrimonio*, of whom she gave the same Account we read of the *Amazons*; and the Admiral believed it, by what he saw among those Women, because of their Courage and Strength. They also say these Women seem to be endowed with clearer Understandings than those of the other Islands; for in other Places they reckon the Day by the Sun, and the

Night by the Moon, whereas these Women reckon by Stars, saying, when such a Star is North, then it is time to do so and so.

When they had made Provision of Bread for twenty Days, besides what they had aboard, the Admiral resolved to continue his Voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving this Island was an Inlet to the others, he thought fit first to satisfy those Women with some Gifts for the Loss they had sustained, and then sent them all ashore, except the chief Lady, who chose to go into *Spain* with her Daughter, among the other *Indians* of the Island *Hispaniola*, one of whom was *Caunabo*, who, it has been said, was the chief Man in all the Island, and that because he was not a Native of it, but of the *Caribes*; and therefore the Lady was content to go into *Spain* with the Admiral, who having furnished himself with Bread, Wood and Water, set sail on the 20th of *April* from *Guadalupe*, with the Wind very scant, keeping near the Latitude of 22; for at that time they had not found out the Method of running away North, to meet the South-west Winds.

Having made but little Way, and the Ships full of People, on the 20th of *May* they all began to be much afflicted for want of Provisions, which was so great, that they had but six Ounces a Day for each Person, and less than a Pint of Water, without any thing else. And tho' there were eight or nine Pilots in those two Sloops, yet none of them knew where they were: But the Admiral was confident they were but a little West of the *Azores*. Thus continuing their Voyage, tho' all the Pilots were at a loss, on the 8th of *June* they were in sight of *Odemira*, between *Lisbon* and *Cape St. Vincent*, all the Pilots for several Days having still made for the Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before slackened his Sails for fear of Land, saying, he did so because they were near *Cape St. Vincent*, which all laughed at, some of them affirming they were near the *English Channel*; and even those that erred least said they were on the Coast of *Galicia*, and therefore ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to dye on Shore than starve miserably a Sea; the Scarcity being so great, that there were many, who like the *Canibals*, were for eating the *Indians* they had a-board: And others, to save the little Provision there was left, were for throwing them over-board; which they would have done, had not the Admiral used all his Authority to prevent it, considering they were human Creatures; and therefore it so pleased God to reward him with the Sight of Land next Morning, as he had promised them all; for which reason he was afterwards looked upon by the Seamen as most expert, and almost prophetic in Sea Affairs.

10. The Admiral being landed in *Spain*, began to prepare for his Journey to *Burgos*, where he was favourably received by their Catholic Majesties, who were there celebrating the Nuptials of Prince *John*, who married *Margaret of Austria*, a Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperor, who was conducted into *Spain*. The Admiral being come to *Burgos*, he presented their Majesties with several things he brought from the *Indies*, as well Birds and Beasts, as Trees, Plants, Instruments, and other things the *Indians* use for their Service and Diversion; also several Girdles and Masks, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; besides much Gold Sand, gross and small, as Nature produced it, some Grains as big as Vetches, some as Beans, and as Pigeons Eggs. This was not always so much valued, because in Process of time there were Pieces of Gold found that weighed above thirty Pounds: Yet at this time what he brought was much esteemed, in Hopes of what was afterwards found: And accordingly their Majesties received it in good part. When the Admiral had given them an Account of all that related to the improving and peopling the *Indies*, he was desirous to return with Speed, for fear some Disaster should happen in his Absence, especially because he had left the People there in great want of all Necessaries.

Though he pressed hard on this Account, yet the Affairs of that Court being subject to Delays, he could not be so soon dispatched, but that ten or twelve Months elapsed before he obtained two Ships; which were sent with Succours under the Command of *Peter Fernandez*

Colonel.

Colonel. These set out in *February*, 1498; and the Admiral staid to negotiate the obtaining such a Fleet as was requisite for him to return to the *Indies*. But he was forced to stay above a Year at *Burgos* and at *Maderia del Campo*, where, in the Year 1499, their Catholic Majesties granted him many Favours, and gave the necessary Orders for his Affairs, and for the Government and Settling of the *Indies*.

His Credit with their Catholic Majesties was still tolerably good, tho' he had met with some Enemies in *Spain*, as well as the *Indies*, who laboured all they could to decry his Merit, and to propagate an Opinion, that he had not done so much as he had pretended, or as at first, and upon his immediate Return from the *Indies*, was universally allowed him. For such is the Nature of Envy, that, though often struck dumb by the Lustre of true Merit, it is a Monster never to be slain, at least so long as the Hero lives against whom it directs its Rage. In time, therefore, and after brooding in Silence, Envy hisses again as loud as ever: And as Meanness is a Quality inseparable from the Multitude, those Hisses, tho' over and over exploded, are a-fresh listened to and regarded. This has been the Case of all the great Men that the World has produced, and therefore we need not wonder it was the Case of *Columbus*. But to vindicate his Memory, to support the Truth, and, as far as it is in our Power, to curb the Malice of succeeding Times towards Men of equal Worth, we will bestow a few Remarks upon this Section likewise, in order to render it more useful and instructive to our inquisitive, generous, and public-spirited Readers.

II. In order to explain clearly the Controversy between the Admiral and his Opponents, we are to observe, that they acted and reasoned upon very different Principles. The Admiral at first intended to discover Lands hitherto unknown to this Part of the World; which, from the Notion he had of their Situation, he believed to be a Part of the *Indies*, and consequently abounding in those Commodities which are brought from the *Indies*, and are most esteemed in *Europe*. His Conjecture, certainly, was not improbable, nor can it be said that he failed of Success, since he opened a Passage to the new World, and plainly made it appear that he had Skill sufficient to navigate a Ship to those Coasts, of which he had no Notice whatever, but from the Light of his own Reason. He brought over from those Countries Gold, some sorts of Spice, Birds of beautiful Colours, several kinds of rich Woods, both in Colour and Scent, and People of quite a different Complexion from the Inhabitants of *Europe*. In this second Voyage he had prosecuted and improved his former Discoveries to such a degree, as to be able to affirm, that there were innumerable Islands in these new Seas; that they were all of them Countries pleasantly situated, blessed, for the most part, with a rich Soil, and abundance of fine Rivers, plentifully stocked with Wood, and in all Appearance with Metals; inhabited by a Crew of weak, timorous, and slavishly-inclined People, who were able to make little or no Resistance against the *Europeans*, and who were likely, therefore, together with their Lands and Goods, to fall entirely into their Power, and become a Part of their Possession. He had formed a Scheme of Civil Government, and settled a very effectual Discipline among the Soldiers he left behind him, in order to secure all he had thus discovered, to the Use of their Catholic Majesties, as well as to search out and render manifest all the Advantages that might be derived to the *Spaniards* from his Discoveries. In this Light, to be sure, he had performed all he had promised; was well intitled to all the Grants that had been made him, and merited the

Favour of his Sovereigns, as well as the Applause of their Subjects.

But those who endeavoured to lessen his Merit, to obscure his Fame, and to bring him into Discredit with their Catholic Majesties, went upon this Pretence, that he had undertaken to discover a Country exceedingly rich, and that on his Return from his first Voyage he had boasted of entire Success in this respect; whereas they who went over with him in his second Voyage had found no such Matter, had not been able to collect any great Quantities of Gold, or to make vast Fortunes at once, as they had promised themselves. It is very remarkable that when their Catholic Majesties applied to the Pope for his Grant of these Lands which were already discovered, and of those that by the Skill and Industry of the Admiral, and such as prosecuted his Designs, should be discovered, the principal Reason assigned for the obtaining this Grant, was the converting these *Indian* Nations to the Christian Faith, and thereby enlarging the Bounds of the Church. It was therefore altogether absurd and ridiculous to pretend, that because there were not as many Gold Mines found as were expected, or that those Mines were not so rich as they at first flattered themselves they were, this Discovery should be either neglected or despised, inasmuch as such a Behaviour was altogether inconsistent with those high Professions of Zeal for the Christian Faith, from whence their Majesties had assumed the Title of Catholic. Yet, what was no less remarkable, the Person who was at the Head of the Admiral's Enemies, was Father *Boyl*, the very first Christian Priest that, in Compliance with the Reasons offered to the Pope, their Catholic Majesties had sent over to convert the *Indians*. This Man, with all his Heat and Malice, could not deny, but there were People enough to be preached to, and that they were tractable enough in point of Religion; his only Objection was, that it did not appear that there was so much Gold in the Country where he had been as he expected; and this Objection wrought so powerfully with many of the *Spanish* Clergy, that from being great Promoters of this new Discovery, and warm Admirers of this great Man who had made it, they began now to treat the thing slightly, and to misrepresent the Admiral as one who had not kept his Word.

The wise *Columbus* foresaw all this in the *Indies*, which induced him to take the Measures he did of putting the *Indians* under a Tribute, that he might send over considerable Quantities of Gold, that the Credit of this Discovery might be kept up, and that he might be able to perfect, for their Catholic Majesties Benefit and his own, that Design in which hitherto he had beyond all reasonable Expectation succeeded. This excessive and ill-timed Appetite for Gold produced all those Mischiefs and Inconveniencies in the first *Spanish* Colonies to which we have seen them exposed in the Course of this Section, and which there is no doubt the Admiral himself foresaw, at the same time that he was sensible he could not avoid them. It was to set these things in a clear Light, to justify his own Conduct, to prevent the new World from being lost again as soon as it was found; and to secure if possible a Reward for his past Labours, by obtaining the Means of rendering them effectual, that he came over to *Spain*; where we have seen how he was received, and what Difficulties he met with in procuring the Supplies that were necessary for undertaking a third Voyage to the *West Indies*, the History of which is to be the Subject of the next Section, and which will contain Events still more curious, and more entertaining, than those which have been already related.

SECTION IV.

The Third Voyage of Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, to the West Indies, in which he first saw the Continent of America, including the Troubles to which he was exposed, and his being sent home in Irons.

1. *The Difficulties the Admiral had to surmount, in procuring a Fleet sufficient for his intended Return to Hispaniola.*
2. *A complete View of the Transactions in the Spanish Colonies, and of the Rebellion that happened there during the Admiral's Absence.*
3. *What happened to the Admiral in the Prosecution of the Voyage, and the Measures he took for sending Supplies.*
4. *The Admiral steers a new Course for Discovery, and actually falls in with Part of the Continent, now called the Province of Paria.*
5. *Examines it, and enters into Correspondence with the Natives; and yet was not clearly convinced whether it was the Continent or not.*
6. *Passes through the Boca del Drago, and resolves to steer directly for St. Domingo.*
7. *The Arrival of the Store-ships before the Admiral, and his coming to the Island.*
8. *A succinct History of the Troubles in Hispaniola, and of the Admiral's Endeavours to pacify them; which however prove altogether ineffectual.*
9. *The Court of Spain, being alarmed at the many Complaints sent from the Indies, depute a Person to go thither, with full Power to hear and determine them.*
10. *In consequence of this extraordinary Commission, the Admiral is sent home in Irons, and his two Brothers with him.*
11. *His Arrival in Spain, and the Reception he met with.*
12. *The true State of the Discoveries made to this time by the Spaniards, and their Importance.*
13. *Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Section, and on the Accidents that prove commonly detrimental to Discoveries.*

1. **T**HE Accounts given by the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, both of the Indies in general, and of his own Conduct in particular, proved so satisfactory to their Majesties, and to the principal Persons who composed their Council, that 'twas resolved to send him back again, as he proposed, vested with such Powers, and furnished with such Supplies, as he judged requisite; for, when they came to be examined by competent Judges, the Complaints of his Enemies appeared to be as ill-founded, as the Calumnies invented by mean Minds against Persons of distinguished Merit usually are. But tho' his Enemies were not able either to deprive him of his Authority, or to hinder him from returning with a greater Measure thereof to the Indies than he enjoyed when there before, yet they had Interest sufficient to throw great Obstacles in his Way, and to delay from time to time the Performance of those Promises that had been made him. The Succours he demanded were, eight good Ships, five hundred Men, and a sufficient Quantity of Provisions of all Sorts, of which he gave in a very clear and particular Estimate, amounting in the whole to six Millions of Marvedies, which make something more than 4,500*l.* of our Money. But as he well enough knew that such an Embarkation could not be soon made, and was sensible also of the Distress to which the Spanish Colonies might be exposed by the Delays that might attend it, he desired that two Ships laden with Provisions might be first sent, and that he might go in Person with the other six, as soon as they could be got ready.

This as a thing reasonable in itself their Catholic Majesties very readily consented to, and yet it was a long time before he could procure the two first Ships to be sent away; and as for the other Ships, the equipping of them went on so slowly, and the Money necessary for that Service was issued so negligently, that the Admiral found even his large Stock of Patience almost exhausted before this Fleet was ready to sail. This was chiefly owing to the Ill-will of Don Juan Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville and afterwards Bishop of Burgos, who had been formerly one of the best Friends the Admiral had, but was now entirely gained over by his Enemies, chiefly by the Intrigues of Father Boyl, and proved afterwards himself the most violent Enemy the Admiral had. But how much soever these Discouragers might perplex and disturb the Mind of this great Man, they were far enough from diverting him from his Purpose, or even from lessening that Zeal and Diligence with which he had hitherto prosecuted this great Affair: On the contrary, the more Trouble he met with, the more Impediments were thrown in his Way, with so much the greater Vigor, with so much the more Constancy, he applied himself to the Performance of what was requisite to accomplish it.

It was with this View that he went himself to Seville, to hasten the Preparations that were making there, and to give such Directions as he thought might most contribute to render these Preparations effectual. Yet it is more than probable, that, with all this Activity and Diligence, he would scarce have been able to have carried his third Expedition into Execution, if it had not been for the Countenance and Protection afforded him by Queen Isa-

bella, who was a Princess of vast Understanding, and of a generous and magnanimous Disposition; whereas her Husband King Ferdinand, though he was undoubtedly a great Politician, yet there was such a Darkeness in his Temper, and such a Doubtfulness in his Conduct, that there was no great Cause to wonder that the Admiral was not much in his Favour, or that the King did not stand very high in his Esteem. But before we come to speak directly of the Admiral's Voyage, it will be necessary to give the Reader an Account of what passed in the Indies during his Absence.

2. The three Ships the Admiral sent from Cadiz arrived at Isabella about the Beginning of July 1496, to the great Joy of the People for the Provisions they brought, and the News of the Admiral's safe Arrival in Spain; for Hunger being the greatest Distemper among them, nothing so much rejoiced them as Ships coming with Provisions from home. Don Bartholomew Columbus dispatched the Ships for their Return, and sent aboard them three hundred Indian Slaves, because their Majesties having been informed that some Caziques killed the Spaniards, they ordered that all who were guilty should be sent into Spain. And forasmuch as the Admiral had also acquainted their Majesties, that upon his Return from his Discovery along the Islands of Cuba and Jamaica, as he sailed along the South Coast of Hispaniola, it had appeared to him a most beautiful Country, and that there were fine Inlets which he thought might be good Harbours, and could not be far from the best Mines he had discovered, which he called *St. Christopher's*, their Highnesses, in the Letter he found at Cadiz, answered him, that he might do as he thought best in that Case, which they would approve of, as done for their Service. Hereupon the Admiral wrote from Cadiz to his Brother Don Bartholomew, ordering him immediately to go over to the South Side, and find a convenient Harbour; and if the Place was good, to carry away all that was at Isabella, and abandon it.

Accordingly Don Bartholomew, leaving his Brother Don James in his Place, set out with the ablest Men for the Mines of *St. Christopher*, and arriving at the River *Ozama*, so called by the Indians, found it very agreeable, and inhabited on both Sides. He viewed and sounded, and found that Ships of above three hundred Tons Burthen might come up it. Whereupon he resolved to build a Fort of Earth on the marshy Part of the River, at the Mouth of the Harbour on the East Side. He sent for Men from Isabella to begin the Settlement, and gave it the Name of *Santa Domingo*, either because he came thither on *St. Dominic's Day*, or on a *Sunday*, called in Spanish *Domingo*, or because his Father's Name was *Dominic*; and tho' the Admiral always called it the *New Isabella*, yet the other Name has prevailed. There remained at the *Old Isabella* the People that were building two Caravels, and some other Men: The Work being begun, Don Bartholomew resolved to view the Kingdom *Xaragua*, of whose State and Government he had heard much Discourse. Having left *Santa Domingo*, thirty Leagues from thence he came to the great River *Neyba*; where a numerous Army of Indians were drawn up; for *Bobechico* King of *Xaragua*, being

ing informed that the *Spaniards* were coming, resolved to oppose them. Don *Bartholomew* gave them to understand, that he came not to make War, but to visit the King and his Sister, and was thereupon received with much Pomp and Rejoicing. Proceeding thence thirty Leagues farther, he came to *Xaragua*: All the prime Men of the Province received him with Dancing and Singing, and other sorts of Rejoicings; he was conducted to the King's Palace, where Supper was ready, being Bread made of Cazabi, Utias boiled and roasted, and a prodigious Quantity of Sea and Fresh-water Fish. After Supper they conducted all Don *Bartholomew's* Company to their respective Quarters, their Beds being Cotton Hammocks. The next Day, in the Square where the King, his Sister, and Don *Bartholomew* were present, there appeared two Parties of Men armed with Bows and Arrows, who made a Skirmish after the manner of *Spain*, practised with Canes instead of Spears; but by Degrees they began to grow hot, and many of them were wounded, and four dropped down dead; and all this with much Satisfaction, without regarding the Dead and Wounded; and many more had suffered, had not the King, at the Request of Don *Bartholomew* and the *Spaniards*, commanded them, when most furious, to give over.

After the Entertainment Don *Bartholomew* told *Bohechico* and his Sister, that his Brother, the Admiral, was gone to visit their Majesties of *Spain*, his Sovereigns, to whom many Lords of the Island were already become Tributaries; and that he came thither to the end that he should own and pay Tribute to them. He answered, That as no Gold was found throughout all his Dominions he could not pay Tribute. Don *Bartholomew* told him, it was not his Design that any one should pay Tribute any otherwise than what his Country afforded; upon which he said, he would give him as much Cotton and Cazabi as he would demand, and ordered his People to plant Cotton, because they were to pay Tribute of it to their Majesties of *Spain*, and, in their Name, to the Admiral, and to his Brother Don *Bartholomew*, who was then in his House. Having thus concluded with *Bohechico*, Don *Bartholomew* thought fit to return to the Mines of *Cibao* and Colony of *Isabella*, and found that near 300 Men had died of several Diseases, which troubled him very much; and the more, as no Ships came with Provisions; for which Reason he resolved to distribute the Sick and Infirm among the several Forts there were between *Isabella* and *Santo Domingo* and the *Indian* Towns; that having something to eat, they might have only their Distemper to struggle with, and not Hunger at the same time.

Then, having given Orders for the carrying on the Building of the two Ships, he went towards *Santo Domingo*, gathering in the Tribute as he proceeded. The *Indians* of the Plain, and those of *Cibao*, thinking it hard to pay Tribute, and entertain Soldiers at their own Expence, and such as did eat so much, besides other things, which they looked upon as Grievances, complained to the Cazique *Guarinoex*, representing, it was his Duty to endeavour to set himself and them at liberty. *Guarinoex* being a peaceable Man, and considering the Force of the *Spaniards*, the Swiftnefs of their Horses, and the ill Success *Caunabo*, and others of the Province of *Cibao*, had met with, refused to engage in a War; but being importuned by his People, who always persuaded him that they could get the better; and, as some say, being threatened they would chuse another Leader, he consented to commence the War. The *Spaniards*, in the *Conception*, perceived those Commotions, and gave notice to those at the Fort built at *Bonao*, by some *Indians* who remained faithful to those of *Bonao*, and also sent to Don *Bartholomew*, who was at *Santo Domingo*. The *Indian* made use of a Stratagem in carrying those Letters delivered to him in a Staff that was hollow at one End; for the other *Indians* having found by Experience, that the *Spanish* Letters spoke, endeavoured to intercept them; and the Messenger, falling into the Hands of the Guards posted on the Passes, pretended to be dumb and lame, answering them altogether by Signs and Limping, as if he was going with much Difficulty into his own Country, he escaped; because they thinking he had been

dumb, asked him no Questions; and supposing that the Staff had been to help him on they did not search it. And thus the Letter came safe to Don *Bartholomew Columbus*; which proved the Safety of the *Spaniards*. As soon as Don *Bartholomew* came to the *Conception*, he advanced with all the *Spaniards* to fall upon 15,000 *Indians*, *Guarinoex* had drawn together and attacked them by Surprise at Midnight, because they never fought in the Night. They killed and took many; several Lords, of which Number they executed the chief Ring-leaders of that War; and *Guarinoex* being carried to the *Conception*, above 5000 Men followed with loud Cries, demanding their King. Don *Bartholomew* pitying them, and he, being sensible of *Guarinoex's* peaceable Temper, gave him and the other *Caziques* up to them to their great Satisfaction, the less regarded by the *Spaniards*, as being vanquished and subdued.

At this Time Messengers came to Don *Bartholomew* from *Bohechico* and *Anacanona* with Advice, that the Cazabi and Cotton were ready; for when the Seeds of Cotton are planted, the Shrubs that sprout produce Fruit in six or eight Months, and the highest of them rise about a Fathom, tho' they begin to produce when much shorter. Don *Bartholomew* was resolved to go to *Xaragua*, to gather the Tribute, and leave his Men in that Country, to give them of the Plain, and others, Rest, tho' the Soldiers were in such Want of Clothes and other Things brought from *Spain*, that they grew very uneasy. He sent Orders to *Isabella*, for one of the Caravels to come to the Port of *Xaragua* to carry him, that Harbour being a large Bay, or Inlet of the Sea, dividing the Island into two Parts, the one of which forms Cape *St. Nicholas*, stretching out 30 Leagues; the other much larger, and ends in the Cape called *Tiburon*, and the Bottom of the Bay reached within two Leagues of *Bohechico's* Palace. Those at *Isabella* sent the Caravel, and when it came into the Port, *Anacanona* persuaded her Brother to go to the Port, to see the *Spanish* Canoe. Tho' *Bohechico* had two very fine Canoes, yet *Anacanona* would not go in them; but in the Pinnacle. The Vessel fired, which put the *Indians* into such a Consternation that they were ready to leap into the Water; but seeing Don *Bartholomew* laugh, they composed themselves. When they were aboard, the Seamen played on a Tabor and Pipe, and other Instruments; which much pleased the *Indians*; they looked all about the Head and Stern, went aboard the Caravel, and into the Hold, and were amazed. Don *Bartholomew* ordered the Sails to be spread, and the Caravel to take a Trip to Sea and return to the same Place. The *Cazique* admired that so great a Vessel should make way without Oars, and go forward and backward with the same Wind.

When they returned to *Xaragua* the Caravel was loaded with Cazabi, Cotton, and other Things, and went away to *Isabella*, as Don *Bartholomew* did by Land. And being thus employed, *Francis Roldan*, the head *Alcalde*, a turbulent Man, who forgot the Admiral's Bread he had eaten, desiring to get into Authority, by raising Commotions; and taking, for his Pretence, Don *James Columbus's* having ordered the Caravel which had carried Bread and Wine to the *Isabella*, to be laid dry, to prevent its being stolen by some Malcontents, who desired to go away into *Spain*, began to cabal among the labouring Men, as also with the Seamen, and other mean People and those that were most discontented, intimating that the Caravel would be better in the Water, and ought to be sent into *Spain* with Letters to their Catholic Majesties, since the Admiral staid so long; that their Wants might be relieved, and they not perish with Hunger, or be destroyed by the *Indians*. That Don *Bartholomew* and his Brother would not send it, because they designed to revolt, and keep the Island to themselves, and to make them all Slaves, employing them in building their Houses and Forts; to attend them in gathering the Tribute, and enriching themselves with Gold. The Men finding themselves encouraged by a Person of such Power, as the Chief *Alcalde*, had the Impudence to say those things in public which before they scarce durst mutter in Corners. *Roldan* required they should all sign a Paper, importing, that it was for the Public Good that the Caravel should be set afloat; but, as he was very sensible it

was not fit that their Catholic Majesties should know he had been the Ring-leader of such a Mutiny, he sought plausible Pretences to cover his Designs; he persuaded the People that the best Way to secure the Friendship of the *Indians*, was to quit them of the Tribute: And Advice being brought that *Guarinoex's Indians* did not pay the Tribute, and that they gave Tokens of Uneasiness, Don *James Columbus*, thinking to put *Roldan* out of the Way, sent him with a considerable Part of the Men to the *Conception*, where he carried on the Mutiny more effectually, and disarmed those that would not follow. Returning to *Isabella*, having by Force taken the Key of the Magazine, he broke the Locks in Pieces, and crying *long live the King*, took all the Arms and Provisions he thought fit for his Followers, and set up for himself. Don *James* attempted to appease the Mutiny, but *Francis Roldan* behaved himself so insolently, that he thought fit to retire into the Fort.

The Mutineers went where the King's Cattle were, and, having taken what Cows, Mares, and Colts they thought fit, they went amongst the *Indian Towns*, giving out that they had quarrelled with the Admiral's Brothers, on Account of the Tribute they exacted, persuaded them not to pay any, and they would defend them. The true Reason this Fellow behaved in this insolent and rebellious Manner, was the Project he had formed of securing all to himself, by seizing the Person of Don *Bartholomew*; for he made no Question that the Admiral's Enemies would hinder him from returning into the *Indies*; and, perhaps, he had given them some Reason to hope, that he would from time to time transmit them such Relations as might serve to justify their Prosecution of *Columbus*.

But while things were in this Situation, there arrived at *Santo Domingo*, on the 3d of *February*, 1498, the Ship which the Admiral, with much Difficulty, had procured Leave to send to the *Indies*. Both Parties endeavoured to make themselves Masters of this Ship, which, however, by the Care of the Inhabitants of the Place where it arrived, was secured for Don *Bartholomew*; who, upon opening his Dispatches found, that though their Catholic Majesties were at first doubtful whether the Admiral had a Power to appoint a Lieutenant, and rather inclined to think he had not, by Virtue of his Commission, yet upon his representing that it was for their Majesties Service he had taken this Step; and that their Affairs in the new World must have fallen into great Confusion without it; they were pleased to confirm Don *Bartholomew* in his Title of *Adelantado*; which having published, it greatly promoted his Authority, and enabled him to enter into a War with the *Indians*, though it was begun upon very unjustifiable Motives, in as much as the *Spaniards* had laid upon them Burthens they were unable to bear: This War Don *Bartholomew* conducted with great Success against those unhappy People; but with Respect to the revolted *Spaniards* under *Roldan*, he could neither engage them by fair Means to return to their Duty, nor was it in his Power to reduce them by Force. As we have now run through the History of the *Spanish Colonies*, during the Absence of the Admiral we are at Liberty to pursue the proper Design of this Section, and to enter on the Admiral's third Voyage into these Parts.

3. The Admiral sailed over the Bar of *San Lucar*, on the 18th of *May*, with six Ships, and as there was Intelligence that a *Portuguese Fleet* lay at *Cape St. Vincent*, he, giving them the Slip, stood away for the Island of *Madera*, touched at *Puerto Santo* on the 7th of *June*, and found the Inhabitants exceedingly frightened, imagining that his Ships had been *French*; he wooded and watered and then proceeded to *Madera*, where he was joyfully received, because they knew him. On the 19th he arrived at *Gomera*, where he found a *French Ship* with two *Spanishs*, which they had taken: He retook one of them, and sent after the *Frenchman*, and six *Spaniards* that were on board the others, seeing their Relief at hand, drove the *French* that guarded them under Hatches, and sailed away to the Admiral. He resolved to send from *Gomera* the three Ships with Provisions to *Hispaniola*, believing the People there must be in

Want, and appointed *Alonso de Carvajal*, a worthy Man, Captain of the first of them; *Peter de Alana*, a Native of *Cordova*, Kinsman to Captain *Alana*, who had been left Governor of the Fort of the *Nativity*, at the first Discovery, Commander of the second; and in the third he placed *John Anthony Columbus*, a Relation of his own, a Man of Capacity and Judgment; he gave them Instructions, and ordered that each of them should command a Week in Chief, and carrying the Light, they should sail West by South 850 Leagues, and then they would fall in with the Island *Dominica*; whence they should steer West North-west, to fall in with the Island of *St. John*; then keep along the South-side of it, that being the true Course for the New *Isabella*, or *Santo Domingo*.

The Admiral, himself, being furnished with what he wanted, sailed on the 12th of *June*, for the Island of *Hierro*, one of the *Canary Islands*, the farthest to the Westward; He designed in the Name of the holy Trinity, as he always was wont to say, to sail to the Southward of them, till he came under the Equinoctial, and so proceed to the Westward, till the Island of *Hispaniola* should bear North-west from him, to see what Islands or Continent lay in that Part. He said it was his Opinion no Man had ever failed that Course, and that the Sea there was utterly unknown. When past the Island *Hierro* he dismissed the three Ships; and with one Ship and two Caravels stood away for the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, which he used to say was a false Name, for he had always found them dry and barren.

On the 27th of *June* he discovered the first of them, called *de la Sal*, which is small; he proceeded to that of *Buena Vista*, anchored close by a small Island, to which all the Lepers in *Portugal* were sent to be cured, by eating the Flesh of the Tortoises, and frequently washing with their Blood; for in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, abundance of them resort thither from the Continent to lay their Eggs in the Sand; where they scratch a Hole, and leave above five hundred Eggs as big as a Hen's, which being covered with Sand, are hatched by the Sun, and the little Tortoises run into the Sea. The Men there waiting for the Tortoises, turn them on their Backs, and then they cannot recover themselves. The healthy People living on that Island, were only six or seven, whose whole Employment was to kill wild Goats, and send their Skins, well cured, into *Portugal*; and sometimes they killed so many in a Year, that they were worth 2000 Ducats.

The Admiral sailed from thence on the 30th, for the Island of *Santiago*, being 28 Leagues distant, and is the Chief of them. He thought to have taken Cows aboard, to carry to the Island *Hispaniola*, because their Majesties had ordered him so to do, but was obliged to abandon that Design, because the Air of that Island being very unhealthy, the Men began to sicken, besides he resolved to sail to the Southward, to find out whether King *John* of *Portugal* had been mistaken, who affirmed there was a Continent to the Southward. On the 4th of *July* he steered South-west, having never seen the Sun or Stars, since his Arrival at the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, the Sky being continually covered with a thick Fog. He gave another Reason for holding that Course, viz. to find out the Truth of what the *Indians* of the Island *Hispaniola* reported: That there had come thither from the South-east a black People, who had the Heads of their Javelins of a Sort of Metal which they called *Guanin*, some of which he had sent to their Majesties; and the Essay of it being taken, it appeared that, of thirty two Parts, eighteen were Gold, six Silver, and the remaining eight Copper; a plain Proof that the *West-Indies* had been visited by other People before the *Spaniards*.

4. The Admiral pursuing his Course South-west, he found some of those Weeds he had met with in the Way to *Hispaniola*; having sailed one hundred and twenty Leagues, as soon as it was Night he took the Latitude, and on the 13th of *July* the Heat was so violent he was afraid the Ships would take Fire, and the Men perish; and so suddenly the Wind ceased, and the excessive Heat ensued, that no Man durst go down between Decks to take

take care of the Casks of Wine and Water that were falling in Pieces, the Hoops flying off them; the Wheat parched, the Bacon and salt Meat fried: This Heat continued eight Days; the first of them was fair, so that the Sun parched them; the other seven it rained and was cloudy, and yet they found no Relief, but were all in a Manner melted. On the 14th of July he found himself in 7° of North Latitude, and they saw some black and white Daws, which are Birds that do not go far from Land. On the 15th the Admiral fell ill of the Gout for want of Sleep, and yet still he kept up.

On the 19th the Air was so burning hot that they thought they should have been destroyed in the Ships, but there soon sprung a fair Gale that delivered them from that Heat, and they sailed seventeen Days to the Westward, designing to turn again to the South, so that *Hispaniola* might bear North, where the Admiral believed he might find Land, either before or after he came to that Point; and there he hoped to refit his Ships, which were very leaky, and to recover the Provisions in order to carry them to *Hispaniola*, though they were already damaged. Upon the 22d a multitude of Birds were seen flying from the West South-west towards the North-east, and by reason of these Tokens he hoped to see Land very soon; and the 31st of July being come and no Land appearing, and Water growing short, he resolved to alter his Course, and stood to the Westward, still inclining to the right Hand, to fall in upon *Dominica*, or some one of the Islands of the *Caribbees*, now called *Caribbee Islands*, steering North and by East, which he held till Noon; a Sailor went up to the round Top and spied Land to the South-east, about fifteen Leagues distant, and seemed to be three Mountains; they immediately sung the Hymn *Salve Regina*: Having thus spied Land, he altered his Course from the *Caribbee Islands*, where he designed to have watered, and stood for a Cape that appeared to the Westward, which he called *de la Galera*, or the *Gally Point*, on account of a great Rock on it, which, at a Distance, looked like a Gally under sail. When they came to Land they found a good Port, but could not enter because it had not Water enough. He passed on to the Point he had seen, being seven Leagues to the Southward, without finding any Harbour, and observed that the Woods reached down to the Sea, all along the Coast; some Men were seen in a Canoe, at a Distance, but they fled, and it appeared that this was an Island which he called *la Trinadada*, or the *Trinity*, having promised to give that Name to the first he should discover; the Land was high, pleasant, and well cultivated.

On the first of August the Admiral advanced five Leagues along the Coast to the Westward, and came to a Point where he anchored with his three Ships, and took in Water, to the great Satisfaction of the Men. They found the Track of People, Fishing-tackle, and the Foot-steps of Goats, as they thought, which proved to be Deer, there being many in the Island. Having seen many Towns in this Island they saw another to the Southward, which seemed to be twenty Leagues long, and he called it *Isla Santa*, or *Holy Island*. All the Way from *Punta de la Galera*, to the Point where they watered, which he named *Punta de la Playa*, or the *Point of Strand*, though the Land was good, there was no Harbour, but there were many Rivers and Woods very agreeable, and still the Length of the *Holy Island* seemed greater. Seeking for a Harbour, on the 2d of August he arrived at the Point of the Island of the *Trinity*, which he called *Punta del Arenal*, or *Sandy Point*, being to the Westward, and he was then got into the Bay he called *de la Ballena*, or of the *Whale*, without knowing that he was near the Continent. He guessed that the Island of the *Trinity* extended, in length, from Cape *de la Galera*, to *Punta del Arenal*, thirty-five Leagues, though it is above forty-five; but the Admiral proceeding along it, at several times, could not make an exact Computation.

At *Punta del Arenal* he ordered the Men ashore to refresh themselves, because they were much fatigued: A Cazique of the Island was come thither, and observing that the Admiral had a Cap on of Crimson Velvet,

he paid him great Respect, took off a Circle of Gold he had on his own Head, and put it on the Admiral's; and with the other Hand took off his Cap and put it on his own, being very much pleased with it. The same Day a great Canoe, carrying twenty-five Men, came from the Eastwards, towards the Ships, and being about a Musket-shot from them, they gave over rowing, and cried aloud, which the Admiral supposed was to ask who they were, as is usual among those People; by way of answer, he shewed them some little Brass Basons and other glittering things to entice them to come near the Ships; but they advancing very little, the Admiral ordered his Men to play on a Tabor and Pipe, and the Youths to dance, thinking to please them, which proved quite contrary, for they took it for a Signal of War; and, quitting their Oars, laid hold of their Targets and Bows, and shot a great flight of Arrows.

The Admiral then ordered the Music to cease, and some Cross-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be shot, whereupon the *Indians* immediately laid down their Arms, and ran in close under the Stern of another Caravel; the Pilot whereof went down into the Canoe, entertained them, and gave one, that seemed to be a principal Person, a red Cap. They desired him to go ashore and they would give him such as they had; but as he was going in his Boat to ask leave of the Admiral, the *Indians* went away. They were young, well adorned after their Way, of agreeable Countenances, and whiter than the *Indians* of the Islands. Their Hair was long and smooth, cut after the *Spanish* Fashion; about their Heads they tied a Cotton Cloth, curiously wrought of several Colours; and another about their Waist to cover their Nakedness. The Admiral wondered, that being so near the Equinoctial, he felt Cold every Morning, though it was in the Dog Days; as also, that the Waters ran stronger to the West, than the River of *Seville*; that the Sea Water ebbed and flowed above sixty-five Paces more than at *San Lucar*; and that the Currents set so strong between the Island of the *Trinity* and *Santa*, which are two Leagues asunder (by him afterwards called *Gracia* not knowing as yet that it was the Continent) that it run like a rapid River. They found the same Sorts of Fruit as in *Hispaniola*, and the Trees, Soil, and Climate, were alike; they also caught very large Oysters, and infinite quantities of Fish, Parrots as large as Pullets, of a light green, some whitish, and others intermixt with red and yellow.

The Admiral being at Point *del Arenal*, which is the last Cape of the Island of *Trinity*, he saw towards the North-west about fifteen Leagues the Point of that he till then called *Isla Santa*, or *Holy Island*, which proved to be the Province he afterwards called *Paria*; and believing it to be another Island, he gave it the Name of *Gracia*, or *Grace*, as has been said; and he thought it extraordinary high Land, and so it is, for a vast Ridge of Mountains runs along there. Being come up to the Continent, which he, at this time, thought to be an Island, he spied near the aforesaid Point two small Islands in the Midst of another Mouth or Entrance, forming that Cape which he called *Boto*, that is blunt, because it appeared so; and another Cape of the Island of *Trinity* he called *de Lapa*: The Distance between them being five Leagues, with two little Islands in the Middle, one of which he named *el Caracal*, or the *Snail*; and the other *el Dolsin*, or the *Dolphin*. The Narrowness of the Place, the Violence of the great River *Tayapari*, and the Waves of the Sea, going into, and out of this Bay, are dangerous, and therefore the Admiral called that Streight the *Dragon's Mouth*, which Name it holds to this Day; this River that falls into the Bay of *la Balena* runs through the Country above four hundred Leagues, and as it brings down an immense Quantity of Water, especially in July and August, about which time the Admiral was there; the Rains falling then, as they do in *Spain* in October and November, and the Passage between the Continent and the Island of the *Trinity* being too narrow for such a Quantity of opposite Waters; when they meet there is a mighty Struggle between them.

5. While the Admiral lay at Cape *de Lapa*, he discovered very high Land to the North-west, which he named *Bellaforma*,

Bellaforma, because it looked well. On the 5th of *August* he sailed five Leagues from the Cape *Lapa*, and saw several very good Harbours; he sent the Boats ashore, and the Men found Fish, saw the Track of People, and a great House uncovered. He proceeded eight Leagues further, still discovering good Harbours, much Land and many Rivers. Going ashore they found well tasted Grapes, Apples, and a sort of Fruit that looked like Oranges, and within were like Figs; and saw many Monkeys.

On the 26th he sailed five Leagues; a Canoe, with five Men in it, came toward the Caravel that was nearest the Land. The Pilot called the *Indians*, giving them to understand, that he would go ashore: And as soon as he was got into the Canoe, he overset it, and swimming about, took and carried the *Indians* to the Admiral. They were of a proportionable Stature, had their Privy Members tied up and covered; but the Women were all stark naked. The Admiral gave those *Indians* Hawks Bells, Glass Beads, and Sugar, and sent them ashore, because a great Number of People appeared. And as soon as they understood how well the others had been entertained, if there had been Canoes enough, they would have all gone aboard. The Admiral used them well, gave them all Toys, asked them Questions; they answered, but did not apprehend each other. They brought him Bread and Water, and a sort of Liquor like green Wine. All of them had Targets, Bows, and poisoned Arrows. Before they entered, they smelled to the Boat, and afterward to the Men. On the 7th abundance of *Indians* came, bringing Bread, *Indian* Corn, and Eatables; as also Pitchers of Liquor, some of it as white as Milk, tasting like Wine, and some green made of Fruit and Maize. They valued not the Beads the Admiral gave them; they had a great Esteem for Tin, they called it *Turey*, as if it were come from Heaven, for they called Heaven *Turey*; and found a certain Scent in it that much pleased them. And whatever was given them, they smelled to. They carried on board abundance of Parrots of three sorts, and Bits of Cotton Cloth, well wrought, and wove of several Colours.

The Admiral would willingly have taken half a Dozen *Indians* to carry away with him, but he could not; for before Night they left the Ship. The next Day a Canoe, with twelve Men, came on board the Admiral, six of whom he took, and sent the rest on shore. He proceeded to *Putá del Aguia*, or *Cape Needle*, whence he saw a fine Country, and well peopled. And being come before a Town, which for its Beauty he called the *Gardens*, having a vast Number of Houses and People, he anchored; and many resorted to the Ships, with their wrought Cloths about their Heads, like the little Veils worn by the *Moorish* Women. They wore some little Plates of Gold about their Necks; and the *Indians* that were on board said there was plenty of it in those Parts, and shewed how they gathered it. The Admiral considering that he was above three hundred Leagues from *Hispaniola*, and that his Provisions began to grow short, made no long stay in that Country, which he thought very agreeable, full of good Houses, and inhabited by a polite and warlike People. Being come to Point *Aguja*, he discovered another to the Southward, which he thought to be an Island running out South-east and North-west, very large, and the Land high. He gave it the Name of *Sabeta*. And in the Afternoon saw another, and they were Parts of the Continent. He anchored at the *Gardens*, many Canoes, great and small, came on board with abundance of People wearing Pieces of Gold about their Necks, in the Shape of a Horse-shoe: And though they seemed to value it, they would have given all for Hawks-Bells, but he had none left: However, some Gold he got, which was very low, and they told him there were Islands hereabout that yielded much such base Gold: But the Men were Canibals. And they actually saw an *Indian* who had a single Grain of Gold as big as an Apple.

More Canoes came still, all the People wearing Gold Collars and Beads of abundance of sorts, their Clothes tied about their Heads, their Hair cut short, which looked well. There fell much Rain, which hindered many

more from going on board. Some Women went who had Strings of little Beads about their Arms, and among them some Seed Pearl, as also some large, which raised the Hopes of the *Spaniards* much. The Admiral asked, where they found them? they shewed him the Mother-of-pearl, and by very intelligible Signs gave him to understand, That they were found to the Westward, behind that Mountain, which is Cape *Lapa*, being the Point of the Province of *Paria*. He sent the Boats ashore, and found the People so tractable, that tho' the Sailors went not with a Design to land; yet two of their Chiefs civilly constrained them to it, and conducted them to a House where they entertained them, and gave them Bread and Fruits of several sorts, and that sort of white Liquor, before mentioned, and another of a red Colour and good Taste, the Men all the while keeping together at one End of the House, and the Women at the other. When they had been so treated at that House by the eldest, the youngest carried them to another, and treated them in the same manner. It seemed to them that the one was the *Cazique*, and the other his Son; and the Sailors afterwards returned very well-satisfied to their Boats. They thought these People of a very good Stature, whiter than any other *Indians*, the Country delightful and cold, which was admired by reason of its being so near the Equinoctial. The Admiral called this, which he thought to be an Island, *Paria*.

On the 10th he sailed to the Westward, seeking some Passages to get clear of those which he took to be Islands, and named *Ysabeta* and *Tramontana*, but were Part of the Continent: And the *Indians* he had on board said the Pearls were found farther Westward. He sailed on in that Bay, and sent the little Caravel to see whether there was any Passage out to the Northward, because opposite to *Ysabeta* and the Continent there appeared a very high and beautiful Island. The Caravel returned and brought an Account that they had found a very large Bay, and in it four specious Openings that looked like small Bays, and a River at the End of each of them, which he called *The Bay of Pearls*, though there are none it. The Admiral believed those Openings were four Islands, which formed that Bay of forty Leagues; but the Mariners assumed they were Mouths of Rivers; and so it proved, at least in two of them; for the great River *Tuyaparitan* came out at one End, and that of *Caurari* at the other: And tho' the Admiral would have discovered all very particularly, he could not stay, but resolved to sail for *Hispaniola*, to send for Men and Provisions into *Spain*, and order his Brother to continue this Discovery. To which Purpose, on the 11th of *August* he steered over to the Eastward, in order to pass through between the Point of *Paria* and the Continent. He advanced to a good Harbour, which he called *Puerto de Gatos*, or *Cat's Port*, which is near the Mouth, where the two Islands lye, between the Capes of *Lapa* and *Boto*.

There he came to an Anchor on the thirteenth, intending to sail next Day. The Boat was sent to take a View of another Harbour just by, which was also good; and near it were some Fishermens Houses; for which reason he called it *Puerto de las Cabanas*, or the *Port of Cottages*. Near the Sea they saw many *Mirabolán* Trees, with abundance of Oysters sticking to the Branches that hung over the Sea, and open to receive the Dew. On the 14th he advanced to Cape *Lapa*, which is that of *Paria*, to pass through the Opening, which he called, the *Dragon's Mouth*, which is between Point *Lapa* to the Westward, and Cape *Boto*; the Distance between the two Capes being a League and an half beyond the small Islands that lye in the Middle. He ran a great Risk of being lost in repassing the Streight, where the running out of the fresh Water, and the coming in of the Salt, occasioned a very dreadful Appearance, at least to the *Spaniards*, who were unacquainted therewith, though it is common enough on our Coasts, and particularly at the Mouth of the *Severn*, where the riding of one Tide upon another is called the *Egre*.

The Admiral himself was more amazed at it than at any thing he had seen, and could not help saying, That if they got safe through this Danger, they might be said to have escaped out of the *Dragon's Mouth*; whence the

Name of *Boca del Drago* was fixed upon this Place; and it has been ever since known thereby. When they got out of that Bay, extending full fifty Leagues from the first Land of *Trinity* to the Bay called *de las Perlas*, or of *Pearls*, he sailed along the Continent to observe whether that immense Quantity of fresh Water proceeded from the Rivers, as the Seamen affirmed, and he could not believe, as thinking no River in the World could carry so much Water as those Lands he saw produced, unless they were a Continent. He found along this Coast many good Harbours and Capes, to which he gave Names, as *Cabo de Conchas*, or *Cape of Shells*, *Capo Luenga*, *Long Cape*, *Cape Sabor* and *Cape Rico*, &c. He found also several Islands, particularly *Margarita*, which is fifteen Leagues in Length, and six in Breadth, very green and well inhabited. And at a small Distance from it are other small Islands, and among them *Cubaque*, where Pearls have been found, but few of the Names the Admiral gave them have continued. Having sailed forty Leagues farther, and seeing the Land continue to the Westward, he was convinced that it was no Island, but the Continent, which he discovered on *Wednesday* the 21st of *August*, 1498.

6. The Admiral was much surprized at the immense Quantity of fresh Water before spoken of, and no less at the extraordinary Coolness of the Air so near the Equinoctial; and he particularly observed, that the People thereabouts were whiter, their Hair long and smooth, more subtil and ingenious, than those he had seen before. He was very desirous to return to the Island *Hispaniola*, having a Foresight that his Presence was necessary there; and he resolved to send his Brother *Don Bartholomew* to continue the Discovery; besides, the Men were fatigued, and grew uneasy, because he had not told them at his coming from *Spain* that he was going upon Discovery: For these Reasons, on the 16th of *August* he stood away for that Island, still discovering high Mountains on the Continent; and that Day he ran sixty-three Leagues between Sun and Sun, the great Currents setting him forward as much as the Wind.

While the Admiral laboured under the before-mentioned Difficulties, the three Ships he had sent from *Spain* to *Hispaniola* under *Carvajal*, *Arana*, and *Columbus*, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilots, and by the Currents that set downwards of that Island, instead of going to the Port of *Santo Domingo*, sailed on above 160 Leagues, and not knowing where they were, arrived at the Place where *Francis Roldan* was with the Mutineers, living without any Respect to the Laws of God or Man; had they done it designedly, it could not have happened worse; and if the Revolt of *Roldan* had been known in *Spain*, it would have been concluded a malicious Contrivance either of the Captains or the Pilots. As soon as *Francis Roldan* and his Followers were informed of the Ships they went to the Harbour, which was two Leagues off, and concealing their Revolt, asked how they happened to come to that Place, and what News there were of the Admiral? They answered, that they had been carried by the Currents, and that the Admiral would soon be there with three Ships more, having some Days since steered away to the Southward from them. They went aboard the Ships, were merry together, and had some of the Provisions carried from *Spain*. When they were gone, the Captains thought fit, because of the Difficulty of returning to *Santo Domingo* by reason of the Currents and Breezes, that the Labouring-men who were in the King's Pay should march by Land, and agreed, that Captain *John Anthony Columbus*, who commanded one of the Ships, should conduct them. Forty Men, with their Cross-bows, Lances and Swords, went ashore; and *Roldan* persuading them they were to lead a very painful Life, he obliged to labour and dig, with much Hunger and Want, easily induced them to stay with him, telling them at the same time how they should live, which was, only by going about from one Town to another, taking the Gold and what else they thought fit. And tho' these forty Men were all of them condemned Criminals, yet eight of them remained true to their Captain.

This fully discovered, that *Roldan* had deserted the

King's Service, and Captain *Columbus*, being most concerned at it, went to him, told him that those Men had received the King's Pay for six Months before, and that he by employing them much obstructed the King's Affairs; therefore he advised him not to act in so scandalous a Manner; but *Roldan* regarded nothing he said, because by the Addition of those that had joined him he had above a hundred Men to defend himself against the Admiral; and Captain *Columbus* returned aboard his Ship, and with the other Captain *Pedro de Arana* resolved to go away to *Santo Domingo* with the Ships, Captain *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal* staying behind to go by Land, and endeavour to bring *Roldan* to his Duty. By this time the Adelantado had notice, by means of the *Indians*, that there were three Ships arrived in the West, and guessing that they might be come from *Spain*, and had missed their Course, he sent out a Caravel in search of them. Before the Ships arrived, or *Roldan* had got so many Men, he had written to some of those that were with the Adelantado, desiring them, in case the Admiral should come, to endeavour to make his Peace.

The Admiral the 19th of *August* arrived at the Island *Beata*, which lies fifteen Leagues from the Port of *Yaquimo*, and twenty-five from *Santo Domingo*: And near the Island *Beata* is that of *Altovelo*. It troubled him that he had fallen away so much, but did not wonder at it, because of his continual Watching all the Nights he lay by, or plied backwards or forwards, for fear of being upon the many Islands or Sholes of which those Seas were full, which at that time were little known, and the Currents which are there very strong, and set towards the Continent Westward, carried the Ships so far insensibly towards the Islands *Beata* and *Hispaniola*, that he was afraid of driving by them. On the 20th of *August* he sent the Boats to the neighbouring Towns to summon the *Indians*, and wrote to acquaint the Adelantado of his Arrival. Six *Indians* went aboard at twice, and one of them carried a Cross-bow with all its Furniture, which did not a little surprize the Admiral, believing it to have belonged to some Soldier that was dead. The Ships having been seen to pass down the Current from *Santo Domingo*, the Adelantado set out in a Caravel to seek the Admiral: It was high Pleasure to both Brothers to meet, tho' the Admiral was much vexed at the Advice of *Roldan's* Revolt. The 22d of *August* they arrived at *Santo Domingo*, it being but a few Days less than two Years since the Admiral departed from *Hispaniola* for *Spain*.

7. The whole Colony in a manner went out with *Don James Columbus* to receive the Admiral, expressing much Joy for his Arrival: But when he thought he was come where he might take some Rest, he found himself involved in new Troubles, by reason of the Revolt. He immediately examined the Process made by the Adelantado, and, disapproving it, formed another, wherein it was sufficiently proved, that the Infurrection had proceeded from the wicked Inclination of *Roldan*, tho' neither the Adelantado, or any other Person, had given him Cause to complain, or wronged him in the least. Some Days after the Admiral, arrived the other three Ships, with *Arana* and *John Anthony Columbus*, as did the Caravel *Don Bartholomew* had sent to seek them.

One of them had struck on a Shole, lost her Rudder, and was in a very bad Condition, and having staid very long by reason of the Currents and contrary Winds, almost all the Provisions were spoilt; and the Account they brought of forty Men staying with *Roldan* much troubled the Admiral. However he resolved to try him by fair Means, forgiving him all his Offences, being sensible his Enemies in *Spain* would make a great Noise of that Revolt; for he was also positively told, that as soon as he arrived he would come and submit himself to him, he having long before written to that purpose. At this time Capt. *Sanchez de Carvajal* arrived from *Xaragua*, and declared the Obstinacy of *Roldan*, who refused his Proposals: But *Roldan* having Advice of the Admiral's Arrival, either by the *Indians* or by Letters from some Friend he had at *Santo Domingo*, resolved to come nearer, and accordingly went to *Bonao*, a fruitful and delicious Plain, where some *Spaniards* dwelt after the Fort of *Bonao* was

built, and it is twenty Leagues from *Santo Domingo*. The Admiral fearing lest any thing that might give them Uneasiness should come to the Ears of their Catholic Majesties, and at the same time discredit the Affairs of the *Indies*, which had cost him so many Fatigues, or give his Enemies occasion to revile him, tried to bring the Mutineers to an Accommodation; using this Method: Most of the *Spaniards* in the Island were desirous to return into *Spain*; he therefore, on the 12th of *September*, caused Proclamation to be made, that he would give leave to all that were willing to depart, and provide for their Passage and Provisions: Which was very acceptable to them in general, because of eight Ships that were in the Harbour, five were almost cleared, and two ready for the Adelantado to go and prosecute the Discovery of the Coast of *Paria*.

In the mean time, the Admiral being informed that *Roldan* was going to the *Conception*, about which some of the Mutineers had Estates, he gave notice of it to *Michael Ballester* the Governor of the Fort, that he might be upon his Guard, and endeavour to draw over *Roldan*, and tell him how much it troubled him that such a Man, whom he had left in so considerable a Post, and on whom he depended so much, should range about in that scandalous Manner, to the Prejudice of the King's Service; however, for the Good-will he had always borne him, he would pardon him, if he submitted; and if he required any Security, he should have it. The Governor *Ballester* went to the Fort of *Bonao*, where he found no body, but was informed that *Roldan* and the Chiefs were gone to the House of *Riquelmo*, who was one of them.

Before the Admiral went away to *Spain*, about *March* in the Year 1496, or soon after his Departure, some Towns were charged instead of their Tribute to till the Lands belonging to the *Spanish* Colonies, as they had been wont to do for their *Caziques*; and by this Method it was thought the *Spaniards* might be induced to stay the more willingly in the *Indies*, taking a Kindness to the Country, and the Merchants would come over from *Spain*, so that the Royal Revenue would increase without obliging their Majesties to be at so great an Expence as they were at the Beginning, or else to quit the Enterprize, which the Admiral much dreaded, so many being against it. The *Indians* that did not comply in performing this Duty were punished, and those that fled were held as Slaves when taken. The other Improvement, in order to produce some Profit, was that of the *Brazil* Wood, which the Admiral said was in the Province of *Yaquimo*, on the Southern Coast, near eighty Leagues from *Santo Domingo* to the Westward. By those two Improvements, including four thousand Slaves he reckoned upon, and four thousand Quintals, or hundred Weight of *Brazil* Wood, he writ to their Majesties, that they would receive forty Millions of Marvedies, which amounted to twenty thousand Pound; a large Sum, and much more considerable in those Days, than at this time.

Hereupon, soon after his Arrival at *Santo Domingo*, being informed that a *Cazique*, who had been appointed for the Service of the Fort, leaving the same, was fled to the Mountains, Soldiers were ordered thither, who took a good Number of People that were sent away in those last Ships, the Admiral reckoning that their Catholic Majesties should make their Advantage of those *Indians* as the Kings of *Portugal* did of the *Guinea* Blacks. When *Roldan*, *Gomez*, and *Adrian Moxica* were come together, the Alcalde or Governor, *Ballester*, went to discourse them; and having told them all he had been directed, offered them Pardon, and represented the Disservice they did the King by behaving after that manner. They soon shewed they had quite different Designs, uttering many haughty and disrespectful Words against the Admiral: And, among other things, said, They came not to seek Peace, but War; and that *Roldan* had the Admiral and all his Followers in his Power, either to support or destroy them: That they should not talk of any Accommodation till the Admiral had brought back the Number of *Indians* which had been sent as Slaves, because he had taken them into his Protection, and it was his Duty to deliver them from the Oppression they were under:

Besides, they wrote a Letter to the Admiral, laying all the Blame of their Revolt on his Brother. The Governor, *Ballester*, went to *Santo Domingo* with *Roldan's* Answer; in which, amongst other things, he said, that his Followers would treat with no Man but *Carvajal*; and though the Admiral had just Cause to suspect that Person on several Accounts, yet he thought it best to make a Virtue of Necessity, and to send him with *Ballester* to endeavour to reduce them to Reason. He also wrote an affectionate Letter to *Roldan*, soothing him, and in a most obliging manner inviting him to return to his Duty.

7. The Alcalde, *Ballester*, and *Carvajal*, discoursed the Rebels so effectually, that they inclined *Roldan* and the other Ringleaders to agree with the Admiral; by which it was thought all would be adjusted; but the meaner sort, being unwilling to quit that licentious Life they led, unanimously cried out, That it should not be so, but that if any Accommodation was made, it should be in Public before them all, since they were all concerned: And *Carvajal* and *Roldan* trying all ways to reduce them to Reason, and, not being able to prevail, *Roldan* demanding a safe Conduct, and signifying, that he was thoroughly convinced, that all his Men would forsake him, except such as were Gentlemen, the Admiral was much concerned at this Advice, and soon found it was true; for having made a Muster, in order to march to *Bonao*, only seventy of those that were with him said they would obey his Orders; and he had no Confidence even in many of them. In this Distress, he caused Proclamation to be made, that as to all who would return to their Duty, no Notice should ever be taken of what was past; besides, that such as desired to return into *Spain* should have their Passage gratis. At the same time he sent a safe Conduct to *Francis Roldan* for himself, and all those that should come with him, to treat at *Santo Domingo*.

Whilst this Treaty was in Agitation, the Ships having been detained eighteen Days beyond the Month agreed on when they were hired, and many of the Slaves aboard them dying, the Admiral was forced to dispatch them, and by them writ to their Majesties, acquainting them with the Rebellion of *Roldan*, and the Mischiefs his Men did in the Island. He also desired to have religious Men sent to instruct the People, and an able Lawyer for the Execution of Justice. He added, that though at first the Men had sickened by the Change of Air and Water, they were all then healthy and inured to the Country, and did better with the *Indian* Bread than with that of *Spanish* Corn; and that there was an infinite Number of Swine and Poultry and other things, which had so multiplied, that they wanted nothing but Wine and Clothes: That it would be expedient as often as possible to send him sixty or seventy Men, and he would return as many of these troublesome Disturbers. Much more he wrote to their Majesties in Vindication of himself and his Brother, and sent them some of the painted Cloths of the Coast of *Paria*, one hundred and seventy Pearls, and some Pieces of Gold, as also a Draught of his last Discovery, and a Relation of his Voyage. After several Messages it was concluded, that the Mutineers should have two Ships with Provisions to carry them to *Spain*, and every one a Slave with him; and to have Certificates of their good Behaviour. The Admiral signed those Articles on his Part, as did *Roldan* for the Mutineers. However, all things came to nothing, the Rebels not daring to go into *Spain* for fear of being punished for their Crimes.

But afterwards Captain *Carvajal* having acquainted the Admiral, that *Roldan* earnestly desired to submit himself, he went to *Azua* to be nearer to the Rebels; *Roldan* went thither to him, where a new Contract was concluded, by virtue whereof, his Followers were to be restored to what they had enjoyed before their Revolt, and he to be Alcalde-Mayor, or Chief Judge of the Island. *Roldan* began again to exercise that Office with the greatest Insolence; and all his Followers behaved themselves in the same manner. The Admiral dispatched two Ships for *Spain*; and, pursuant to his Agreement, permitted the Mutineers to embark, allowing some of them three Slaves, and others one. In *October*, 1499, *Roldan* delivered

delivered to the Admiral a Petition from all his Followers, being one hundred and two Men still adhering to him, wherein they desired to have Lands assigned them in the Province of *Xaragua*. But because it was not convenient they should be all together, some were settled at *Bonao*, others on the Plain on the Bank of the great River, others at *Santiago*; at which Places the Admiral gave them Lands. And this was the first Distribution made in the *Indies*; which set an Example to all the others that followed, that is, of assigning such a Number of *Indians* to such a Person, it being expressed in the Grants, that such a *Cazique*, or his People, should till the Ground for the *Spaniard* to whom it was given.

8. The Admiral having adjusted Matters with *Roldan*, appointed an Officer, with a Detachment, to patrol about the Island, to reduce the *Indians* to pay Tribute, and to be in Readiness, that upon any Mutiny among the Christians, or Sign of Rebellion among the *Indians*, he might suppress them; which he did with a Design to go over to *Spain*, and carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, because he judged it would be difficult, if he were left behind, to forget old Grudges. As he was preparing for his Voyage, *Alonso de Hojeda*, who had been out on Discovery with four Ships, arrived in the Island. This Man was a Creature and Dependant upon the Bishop of *Burgos*, who perceiving this Prelate had entirely changed his Affection towards the Admiral, struck in with him, and procured a Licence to go and make Discoveries, but without the Knowledge of their Catholic Majesties; and some Persons at *Seville* having equipped, on the Credit of this Licence, four Ships, he sailed with them from Port *St. Mary's*, on the 20th of *May* 1499, and went directly in search of the Continent, pursuant to the Schemes the Admiral had delivered to their Catholic Majesties before his Departure, and which, before this Time, he had actually carried into Execution.

With this Man *Americus Vespucius* made his first Voyage, and though they never saw any other Part of the Continent than what the Admiral had discovered sailing from the Island of *Trinity*, along the Coast to *Venezuela*, yet he impudently pretended to have first discovered the Continent; and by confounding this with a subsequent Voyage which he made into those Parts, he dressed up a fine Story to his own Advantage; and being an excellent Geographer, and the best Draftsman of his Time, imposed upon the greatest Part of *Europe*. But, in *Spain*, the Falshood and Injustice of his Pretences were soon detected; for whereas he pretended that, after a Voyage of thirteen Months spent in Discoveries, he returned directly to *Spain*; *Alonso de Hojeda* positively made Oath, that he spent but five Months in the Voyage, and that finding themselves short of Provisions, they stood over, as indeed was the Truth, to the Island of *Hispaniola*, for a Supply. When he came upon the Coast of that Island, at the time of which we are now writing, he gave out, that he did not do it willingly, but purely to obtain Relief, and that he had just Reasons to expect it in a Country under the Dominion of his Sovereigns; but his real Design of creating Disturbances there, being strongly suspected, he was advised to take what he wanted, and to continue his Voyage.

This he pretended to call a great Hardship, and threw out many Reflections upon the Admiral and his Family. Upon which Ground she began to write to some that were deep in the late Troubles, and to hold Correspondence with them: But *Roldan* being informed of his Proceedings, by the Admiral's Order, went against him to prevent his doing the Harm he intended. Being come within a League and a Half of him, he understood he was at a *Caziques'*, baking Bread and Biskets, and therefore he travelled that Night to surprize him. *Hojeda* understanding that *Roldan* was coming upon him, to make the best of a bad Case, went to meet him; alledging, Want of Provisions had brought him thither, to supply himself in the King his Master's Dominions, and that he meant no sort of Harm.

But holding his wicked Purpose, and taking leave of *Roldan*, he went with his Ships to *Xaragua*, where a great many of those People lived who had before rebelled

with *Roldan*; and because the Shew of Gain is the most ready way to promote any Mischief, he began to give out that their Catholic Majesties had appointed him and *Carvajal* the Admiral's Counsellors; and that, among many other Things they had advised him to, one was, That they should pay in ready Money all in their Service, and since the Admiral was not so just as to do it, he was ready to go with them to *Santo Domingo*, to oblige him to pay out of hand; and that done, to turn him out of the Island, dead or alive, for they ought not to rely upon the Word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than Necessity obliged him to it. Upon these Promises, many resolved to follow him; and being assisted by them, he fell upon others who opposed him, and there were some killed and others wounded, on both Sides. And being satisfied that *Roldan* would not join with them, they resolved to surprize him; but he being informed of their Design, went where *Hojeda* was, to put a Stop to his Disorders. *Hojeda*, for fear of him, retired to his Ships, and *Roldan* continuing ashore, they treated, each of them fearing to put himself into the Power of the other. *Roldan* perceiving that *Hojeda* was unwilling to come ashore, he pretended to treat with him aboard, to which Purpose he sent for his Boat, which he sent him well manned; and having taken in *Roldan* and six or seven of his Followers, when they least suspected it, *Roldan* and his People fell upon *Hojeda's* Men, and, killing some and wounding others, made themselves Masters of the Boat, returning with it to Land. *Hojeda*, who had only a small Ship left, resolved to come peaceably to treat with *Roldan*. He agreed to restore some Men he had taken by force, that his Boat and Men might be returned, alledging, if it was not restored it would be the Ruin of them all and their Ships, because he had no other. *Roldan* readily granted it, that he might have no cause to say he was lost through his Means; yet he made him give Security that he would depart the Island by a Time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good Guard *Roldan* kept on Shore.

A few Days after *Hojeda* was gone, one *Don Ferdinand de Guevara* being in Disgrace with the Admiral, as a seditious Person; and having taken part with *Hojeda* through Spite to *Roldan*, because he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of *Anacaona* Queen of *Xaragua*, began to gather many Conspirators designing to seize *Roldan*, and succeed him; particularly he gained to his Party *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief Man among the late Rebels, and other wicked Men; who, about the Month of *July*, contrived to murder *Roldan*. He having Intelligence of the Design stood upon his Guard, and ordered his Business so well that he seized *Don Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief Men of their Party; and sending the Admiral an Account of what had happened, demanded what he should do with them. The Answer was, That since they had endeavoured, without any Provocation, to disturb the Country, he should punish them according to their Demerit, and as the Law directed: The Judge did it accordingly, and proceeded legally against them, hanged *Adrian*, as chief Author of the Conspiracy; banished others, and kept *Don Ferdinand* in Prison, till, on the 13th of *June*, he delivered him with other Prisoners to *Gonsalo Blanco*, to carry them to the Plain, where the Admiral then was.

This Example quieted the Country, and the *Indians* again submitted themselves to the Christians. Such rich Gold Mines were now discovered, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the Third Part of all they found. This prospered so well that a Man has gathered five Marks, or forty Ounces of Gold in a Day. The *Indians* were also become submissive, dreading the Admiral, and so desirous to please him that they readily became Christians only to oblige him; and therefore, to settle all Things the better, the Admiral resolved to take a Progress through the Island, and accordingly he and his Brother, the Lieutenant, set out on the 20th of *February* 1499, and came to *Isabella* the 19th of *March*. From *Isabella* they set out, the 5th of *August*, for the *Conception*. From the *Conception* the Admiral designed to go to *Santo Domingo*, on the 3d of *February*, in order to return into *Spain*.

Spain, to give their Catholic Majesties an Account of all Things in the Colonies.

9. At the very Time those Disorders fell out in the Colonies, many of the Rebels from *Hispaniola*, and others that were returned into *Spain*, did not cease to give in false Informations to the King and his Council against the Admiral and his Brother; alledging they were cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well because they were not *Spaniards*, as because they had not formerly been in a Condition to learn by Experience how to govern People of Condition; affirming, that if their Highnesses did not apply some Remedy, those Countries would be utterly destroyed; or, in case they were not quite ruined, by their ill Government, the Admiral would revolt, and procure some Prince to support him, by pretending that all was his own, as having been discovered by his Industry and Labour; and that the better to compass his Design, he concealed the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the *Indians* serve the Christians, or be converted to the Faith, because by making much of them, he hoped they would be on his Side, to do what he pleased against their Highnesses.

They therefore importuned their Catholic Majesties to remove him, complaining there were several Years Pay due to them, which gave Occasion to all that were at Court to rail. And their Impudence was so great, that if the Catholic King went abroad they all got about him, crying, *Pay, Pay*; and if the Admiral's Sons, who were Pages to her Majesty passed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous Manner, making the Sign of the Cross, and saying, There are the Admiral of the *Musquito's* Sons, he that has found out false and deceitful Countries, to be the Ruin and Burial-place of the *Spanish* Gentry. Their Complaints running so high, it was resolved to send a Judge to *Hispaniola*, to enquire into all these Affairs, ordering him, in case he found the Admiral guilty of what was alledged, to send him to *Spain*, and stay there himself as Governor. The Person their Majesties made Choice of for this Purpose, was one *Francis de Bovadilla*, a poor Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, who, on the 21st of *May*, 1499, had full and ample Commission given him at *Madrid*, and blank Letters subscribed by their Majesties to such Persons as he should think fit, in *Hispaniola*, commanding them to be aiding and assisting to him.

Thus furnished, he arrived at *Santo Domingo* at the latter End of *August*, 1500, at such time as the Admiral was at the *Conception* settling the Affairs of that Province, where his Brother had been attacked by the Rebels, and where there were more *Indians*, and those more understanding People than in the rest of the Island; so that *Bovadilla*, at his Arrival, finding no body to keep him in awe; the first thing he did was to take up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, and seize and make use of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and, gathering together all he could find that had been in the Rebellion, and many others that hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he presently declared himself Governor; and, to gain the Affection of the People, he caused a general Freedom to be proclaimed for twenty Years to come; requiring the Admiral to repair to him without any Delay, because it was convenient for his Majesty's Service he should do so. And to back his Summons, on the 7th of *September* sent him the King's Letter, by *F. John de la Sera*, containing no more, in effect, than that their Majesties had sent the Bearer to acquaint him with their Pleasure, which he was directed to obey. This Order was dated at *Madrid*, 21st of *May*, 1499, which Order was signed both by the King and by the Queen.

10. The Admiral having seen their Majesties Letter, came away presently to *Santo Domingo*, where the new Judge was; who having been eager to establish himself Governor there, in the beginning of *October*, without any legal Information, sent him Prisoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother *James*, putting them in Irons, and a good Guard over them; and ordered on severe Penalties that none should dare to speak to them; after this he began to draw up a Process against them, admitting the

Rebels as Witnesses, and publicly favoured all that came to speak ill of them; who, in their Depositions, gave in such Incoherencies, that he must have been blind that had not plainly perceived they were false and malicious. For this Reason their Catholic Majesties would not admit of them, and cleared the Admiral, repenting that they had sent such a Man, and not without Cause; for this *Bovadilla* ruined the Island, and squandered the King's Revenues, gaining Numbers to be his Friends, by saying their Majesties would have nothing but the Dominion, and that the Profit should be for their Subjects; yet he neglected not his own Share, but, siding with the richest and most powerful Men, gave them *Indians* to serve them, upon Condition, they should share with him all they got by their Means, and sold by Auction the Possessions and Rights the Admiral had required for their Majesties, saying they were no Labourers, nor did not desire to make a Profit of those Lands, only kept them for the Benefit of their Subjects.

He thus on one Side selling all things under this Colour, endeavoured on the other, that they should be bought by some of his own Confederates, for one third of the Value: Besides all this, he made use of his judicial Power to enrich himself, and gain the Affections of the People; being still afraid, that the Lieutenant, who was not yet come from *Xaragua*, should put a Stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour to set the Admiral at Liberty by Force of Arms; in which Particular the Brothers behaved themselves very prudently, for the Admiral sent them Word, immediately, that they should come peaceably to him, the King's Service so requiring, that the Island might not be put into an Uproar; for when they were in *Spain*, they should more easily obtain the Punishment of such a Person, and Satisfaction for the Wrongs done them.

Yet this did not divert *Bovadilla* from putting him and his Brother into Irons, allowing the baser Sort to rail at them publicly; blowing Horns about the Port where they were shipped, besides scandalous Libels set up at Corners of Streets against them. When they were to sail, he desired *Andrew Martin*, the Master of the Ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in Irons as he was, to the Bishop *D. John de Fonseca*, by whose Advice and Direction, it was concluded, he did all these things; though when they were at Sea, the Master, being sensible of *Bovadilla's* Unworthiness, would have knocked off the Admiral's Irons, which he would not permit, saying, That since their Catholic Majesties, by their Letter, directed him to perform whatsoever *Bovadilla*, in their Name, commanded him to do; in Virtue of which Commission he had put him into Irons, he would have none but their Highnesses themselves to do their Pleasure herein; and he was resolved to keep these Fetters as Relicks, and Memorials of the Reward of his many Services, as accordingly he did; for these Irons hung up in his Room, and he ordered them to be buried with him. Notwithstanding that, having on the 20th of *November*, 1500, written to their Highnesses, acquainting them with his Arrival at *Cadiz*; they immediately gave Orders that he should be released, and sent him very gracious Letters; in which they declared they were very sorry for his Sufferings, and the unmannerly Behaviour of *Bovadilla* towards him, directing him to come to Court, where Care should be taken that he should be speedily dispatched with full Restitution of his Honour, as, indeed, was but reasonable, since all he had done, and which had brought upon him so many Troubles, was purely out of Regard to the Interest of their Majesties; and from the earnest Desire he had to hinder private Avarice from overturning the Measures taken for the public Benefit; and for the Interest of the Crown of *Castile*, at whose Expence the first Discoveries had been made.

11. Their Majesties Orders came on the 12th of *December* for him to be set at Liberty, and to repair to *Granada*; where he was received by their Majesties with a favourable Aspect, and kind Words, importing that his Imprisonment had not been by their Desire or Command, therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take care those that were in Fault should be

be punished, and full Satisfaction given him. Afterwards they ordered his Business should be expedited immediately, the Result thereof was, That a Governor should be sent to *Hispaniola*, who was to right the Admiral and his Brothers; and *Bovadilla* should be obliged to restore all he had taken from them; and that the Admiral should be allowed all that belonged to him, according to the Articles their Majesties had granted him; and that the Rebels should be proceeded against, and punished according to their Offences. Don *Nicholas de Obando* was sent with these Powers; he was a wise and judicious Man, but, as afterwards appeared, partial, craftily concealing his Passions, giving Credit to malicious Persons, and therefore acting cruelly and revengfully.

But to return to the Admiral; as their Majesties were pleased to send *Obando* to *Hispaniola*, so they thought it proper to send the Admiral upon some Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employed till the said *Obando* could pacify and reduce the Island *Hispaniola*; because they did not mean to keep him so long out of his Office, without any just Occasion; the Informations sent by *Bovadilla*, plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any thing for which he ought to forfeit his Rights. But there being some Delay in the Execution of this Design, and ill Men endeavouring to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral resolved to speak to their Majesties, and beg of them that they would defend him against all Dangers, which he afterwards repeated by Letters; and this procured him, first of all, a very favourable Answer, and very soon afterwards as favourable Grants and Concessions as he could possibly desire; which made him, in some Measure, forget all that he had suffered, and resolve once more to expose his Life in another Voyage to the *Indies*, for the perfecting his Design, which probably after such Usage no other Man would have done.

12. The Continent of *America* had never been touched upon, or known before this Voyage; and, to the Honour of the Admiral, it must be confessed, that he discovered it by Skill, and not by Chance; and sailed directly in search of it from *Spain*, and not from the *Indies*. That he was indisputably the first Discoverer, appears from hence, that he was at the Island of *Margarita* on the first of August, 1498, whereas *Alonso Hojeda*, and *Americus Vesputius* did not sail from *Cadiz* till the 20th of May, 1499. But if the Admiral had been hindered from making this Discovery, they could not, with any Propriety, have claimed the Merit or Title of Discoverers, from what they performed in that Voyage, since they made use of the Admiral's Drafts and Projects, which by their Catholic Majesties Commands, he had put into the Hands of the Bishop of *Burgos*, for their Service; and which, without their Majesties Knowledge, he communicated to these Men, out of pure Hatred to the Admiral, and that he might, if it was possible, rob him of his Credit and Reputation, as he had already deprived him of a great Part of his Interest at Court. The Licences that he gave these Men were clandestine, and it was no sooner known that they had obtained them, than others resolved to make use of the same Interest, in order to obtain Shares in the Riches of the new World.

Amongst others, some Inhabitants of the City of *Seville* formed a Company for this Purpose, and the principal Man amongst them, at least in Point of Capacity, was one *Peter Alonso Nino*, an Inhabitant of *Palos*, who was with the Admiral when *Paria* was discovered, and *Christopher Guerra* of *Seville*. *Peter Alonso Nino* having obtained the King's Licence, upon Condition that he should not come to an Anchor, nor land any where within fifty Leagues of what the Admiral had discovered, being himself unable to fit out a Ship, proposed it to *Lewis Guerra* of *Seville* to defray the Expence; and the Samples of Gold and Pearls the Admiral had sent, having stirred up the Avarice of many, *Guerra* accepted of the Offer, provided that his Brother *Christopher* should go as Captain; and accordingly they set sail not long after *Alonso de Hojeda*. They sailed two or 300 Leagues to the Southward, discovered Land, and, keeping down the

Coast, arrived at the Province of *Paria* a few Days after *Hojeda*, where, finding the *Indians* peaceably disposed, they, contrary to their Instructions, cut *Brazil Wood*; and holding on their Course, came to that which *Hojeda* had called the *Bay of Pearls*, formed by the Island *Margarita*, where they bartered for many Pearls.

The People of this Country went aboard the Ships without any Fear, carrying Necklaces of Pearls, and some of them in their Noses and Ears; the *Spaniards* drove a great Trade with Hawks-bells, Bracelets, Rings, and several Trifles made of Tin, which they took, and for them very freely gave their Pearls; having got a considerable Quantity of them, they passed by *Coro*, near the Province now called *Venezuela*, 130 Leagues below *Paria* and the *Dragon's Mouth*; and anchored in a Bay where they were very well received by fifty Men, who came from a Place a League off; and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their Town. The *Spaniards* gave them some of their Toys, and the *Indians* taking off all the Pearls they had about their Necks and Arms, in the Space of an Hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen Ounces. The next Day they came to anchor before the Town called *Curiana*, where the *Indians* intreated them to go ashore; but the *Spaniards* being no more than thirty-three durst not venture, and made Signs to them to come aboard, which they did in their Canoes, carrying Pearls to exchange for some *Spanish* Toys.

At length, being convinced of their Sincerity, the *Spaniards* went ashore, and being courteously entertained, stayed there twenty Days: They plentifully supplied them with Venison, Rabbits, Geese, Ducks, Parrots, Fish, Bread made of Maize, *Indian* Wheat, and other things, and brought them all the Game they would ask for. By seeing so many Deer they concluded that this must be the Continent. They perceived that they kept Markets or Fairs, and that they made use of Jars, Dishes, or Porringers, besides other Vessels of several Shapes, and that in their Pearl Necklaces they had Frogs and other Creatures made of Gold; and on asking where it was gathered, they answered, six Days Journey from thence; they resolved to sail thither, and that was the Province of *Curiana Cauchito*, where the People came aboard in their Canoes, without any Jealousy. They carried some wrought and unwrought Gold, which they bartered away, but would not part with the Pearls, they had like those of *Curiana*; however, they gave them very fine Monkies and most beautiful Parrots of several Colours.

Departing hence, they proceeded further, where above five thousand naked Men came out with Bows and Arrows to hinder their landing, and though they endeavoured to appease them by shewing Hawks-Bells and other things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to *Curiana*, and were received with the same Satisfaction as before, and earnestly entreated for Pins and Needles; for whereas, at first, they had understood they were to sew, and tack things together, and therefore said they had no use for them, going naked, the *Spaniards* shewed them that they were used for drawing Thorns out of their Feet, there being many in that Part, at which they smiled, and asked for them. All that Country lies in seven or eight Degrees Latitude, and is not at all cold in *November* and *December*. The *Indians* were highly pleased, thinking they had cheated the *Spaniards*, who carried away above 150 Marks, or 1200 Ounces of Pearls, and some of them as large as small Hazle-nuts, very beautiful and well coloured; but they were ill bored, the *Indians* having no Iron. The *Spaniards* thought fit to return home, and so came back to *Paria* and the *Dragon's Mouth*. Two Months after they left *Curiana* they arrived in *Galicia*, on the 6th of February, 1500, where *Ferdinand de la Vega*, Lord of *Grajal*, was then Governor; before whom *Peter Alonso Nino* and *Christopher Guerra* were accused, by their own Ships Crew, of having concealed Pearls, and defrauded the King of his fifth Part, which was the Duty.

The Noise that this Voyage made, and the great Riches which the Adventurers gained thereby, promoted the Spirit of Discovery, but more especially among such as had been acquainted with the Proposals made by the Admiral,

miral, or had served under him in his two first Voyages, and consequently had greater Opportunities of gaining Experience, in this Way, than any other Men. Of these there was none so capable of prosecuting Voyages of this kind as *Vincent Yanez Pinson*, of whom we have already spoken, for he was not only a very able Seaman, and, as such, had sailed with the Admiral in his first Discovery, but was also a Man of liberal Education, great Courage, and had a large Fortune, so that he fitted out at his own Expence a Squadron of four Sail of stout Ships, with which he sailed to the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and, having there taken in such Refreshments as he thought necessary, proceeded from *St. Jago* upon the 13th of *January*, 1500, upon Discovery.

He first stood away to the South, and then to the West, and having sailed 700 Leagues lost Sight of the North Star, and crossed the equinoctial Line, being the first Subject of the Crown of *Castile* and *Leon* that did it. When past the Line, they met with such a dreadful Storm, that they expected to perish; he ran 240 Leagues farther to the Westward, and on the 26th of *February* they discovered Land at a great Distance, being that which is now called *Cape St. Augustine*, though *Vincent Yanez* named it *Cabo de Consolation*, or *Cape Comfort*, and the *Portuguese* call it the Province of *Santa Cruz*, or of the *Holy Cross*, now a Part of *Brazil*; they found the Sea thick and whitish, like a River, and, sounding, had sixteen Fathom Water. Captain *Pinson*, going on Shore, here took Possession of the Country in the Name of their Catholic Majesties, and endeavoured all he could to bring the People to trade, but without Effect, for at last they came to Blows, in which some were slain on both Sides; and at last he thought it adviseable to retire and continue his Voyage, which he did to the Mouth of the River *Maranon*, where he observed what the Admiral had done before at the Mouth of another great River; a mighty Struggle between the Tide of Salt-water running in, and a vast Current of fresh Water pouring down from the Land: He likewise found the Country at the Mouth of this River well inhabited on both Sides, but could not bring them to enter into any Trade as he expected, and therefore he resolved, without any farther Delay, to proceed towards *Paria*, which he accordingly did.

In his Passage he met with another very large River, so that he drew up fresh Water when above twenty Leagues at Sea, and therefore he called it *Rio Dulce*, or the *Fresh River*, which has been since supposed to be a Branch of the great River *Yapari*, that makes the fresh Bay between *Paria* and the Island of *Trinity*; upon this fresh River, found by *Vincent Yanez*, it is supposed that the People called *Aruacas* have their Dwellings. They proceeded to *Paria*, and there took in *Brazil* Wood; from which *Vincent Yanez* struck over to the Islands that lay in the Way to *Hispaniola*, and, the Ships being at Anchor, there arose such a dreadful Storm that two of them sunk in the Sight of the others, with all the Men; a third was forced from its Anchors, with eighteen Men, and carried out of Sight: The Fourth, which is likely had the best Anchors and Cables, riding it out, beat so furiously upon the Sea, that the Sailors, believing it would be dashed in Pieces, went all ashore in the Long Boat, without Hopes of its escaping; and, for their own Security, had Thoughts of killing all the *Indians* thereabouts, to prevent their calling in their Neighbours to destroy them; but the Ship that had been drove away with the eighteen Men returned, and that which had rode out, when the Sea grew calm, was saved. In these two Ships they went away to *Hispaniola*, where they refitted, and returned into *Spain*, about the latter end of *September*, having discovered 600 Leagues about the Coast of *Paria*.

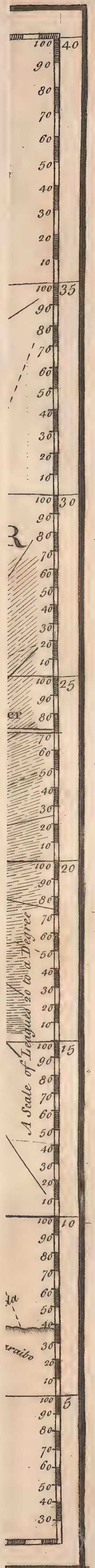
In the latter end of the Month of *December*, 1499, *James de Lepe*, a Native of the Town of *Palos*, having heard of the Expedition undertaken by *Pinson*, applied himself to the Earl of *Miranda*, his Patron, and promised him mighty things in case he would enable him to make the same Voyage, which was very soon complied

with; and he actually arrived at the Mouth of the River *Maranon*, within a very short time after *Pinson* had left it, as he found to his Cost; for the People, being provoked by his carrying away thirty-six Men out of their Country, attacked the *Spaniards* briskly, and killed several, so that he was compelled to prosecute his Voyage to *Paria*, where he likewise quarrelled with the People, and returned without making the least Advantage of this Expedition, except taking a few *Indian* Prisoners.

As it happened about this time, it is requisite that we should speak here of the great good Fortune of the Crown of *Portugal*, a Subject of which was so happy as to fall upon one of the richest Countries of *South America*, by meer Chance; the thing happened thus: Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, fitted out a Fleet for the *East Indies*, consisting of thirteen Sail, having on Board one thousand two hundred Men, Soldiers and Sailors, under the Command of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, who sailed from *Lisbon* on *Monday* the 9th of *March*, 1500, and, to avoid the Coast of *Guinea*, where they afterwards met with great Calms, struck out to Sea on the Starboard, steering his Course to the Southward, the better to turn the *Cape* of good *Hope*, because it runs far out into the Sea; having sailed a Month, still keeping to Sea, on the 24th of *April* he fell in with the Coast of the Continent of *America*, which, according to the Computation of the Pilots, might be about 450 Leagues distant from the Coast of *Guinea*, and in about 10° South Latitude. The Pilots could not persuade themselves that it was a Continent, but some great Island like *Hispaniola*, and, in order to find it out, they held on one Day along the Coast, hoisted out a Boat, went ashore, and saw an infinite Number of naked People, but not black, nor with curled Hair like those of *Guinea*, but hanging down lank like ours, which they thought was extraordinary; the Boat returned to give an Account of it, and said that there was a good Harbour where they might come to an Anchor; the Fleet drew near to Land, and the Commander sent out the Boat again, with Orders to endeavour to take some Men.

The *Indians* retired to a Hill, waiting to see what the *Portuguese* would do; but when they were about sending other Boats, the Weather obliged them to proceed along the Coast, and they anchored in another good Harbour, which they called *Puerto Seguro*, or *safe Harbour*; a Boat went ashore and took two *Indians*, whom the Commander ordered to be clothed and sent back, whereupon a great Number of People came forward, singing and dancing, sounding Horns of several Sorts, and leaping in joyful Manner; the Commander went ashore with most of his Men, and that being Easter-day they erected an Altar under a Tree, where they sung Mass; the *Indians* drew near in a very peaceable Manner, and with much Security kneeled down, beat their Breasts, doing all that they saw the Christians do, and were as attentive at a Sermon that was preached as if they understood it.

Peter Alvarez Cabral sent away a Ship from thence under *Gaspar de Lemos*, with Advice of the Land he had discovered, which was very acceptable. The Men walked about all that Day diverting themselves, and the *Indians*, for pieces of Paper, bits of Cloth, and such like inconsiderable things, gave them Parrots and other Birds of fine Colours, Axis, Batatas, and the like. They went to the Towns, and thought the Country fruitful and agreeable, very full of Maize, or *Indian* Wheat, and Cotton. *Peter Alvarez* ordered a Stone Cross to be erected there, in Token of Possession, and therefore the *Portuguese* called that Country *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Cross*, and it is now called *Brazil*, from that Sort of Wood brought from thence. The Commander left two Men there of twenty he had brought from *Portugal*, being banished Men, to be left where he thought fit, whom the *Indians* used very well, and one of them learned the Language, and served a long time for an Interpreter. Thus the Discovery of *Brazil* was purely accidental, and the only one independant of what was projected by the Admiral, or grounded upon his Projects.





NEW and ACCURATE CHART
of the
WEST INDIES
with the adjacent Coasts of NORTH
and SOUTH AMERICA.
Drawn from the best Authorities, assisted
by the most approved modern Maps & Charts,
and Regulated by Astronomical Observations.
By Eman. Bowen Geographer to His Majesty.

The most difficult part of the Course of Sailing thro' the
Windward Passage is from Port Royal to Point
Morant, which, being against the Trade Winds, takes
up sometimes 5 or 6 Weeks, tho' but the distance of 20
Leagues. But the most dangerous is from that Point, till
they get clear of Crooked Island, a Course of 60 Leagues,
for the French and Spaniards are generally waiting to
intercept such English Ships, as chuse to pass this way
rather than by the Gulf of Florida, where they are
also exposed to the same inconveniences, both from the
Trade Winds and the French and Spanish Cruisers.

K. Charles II by Charter dated June 30th 1665
granted to the E. of Clarendon D. of Albemarle &c.
the Province of Carolina extending Southward to
the 29 Deg. of N. Latitude so that Fort St. Augustin
as well as Georgia falls within these Limits.

Guanaham San Salvador or Cat Island was
the first Land discovered in the New World
Anno Dom. 1492 by Christopher Columbus

The Bahama Islands were taken from the English
by the French & Spaniards in 1703 in 1717 Captain
Rogers after having plundered most of them retook
New Providence which has ever since belonged to English

The Mosquitos is a small Nation of Indians never yet
conquered by the Spaniards, the Country being secured
by Morayses and inaccessible Mountains within the
Land, and by dangerous Rocks & Shoals on its Sea Side.

The Spanish Gallions coming before R. de la Hacha notice is sent from
thence over land to Cartagena, Lima, Panama &c. to hasten King's
Treasure. They then continue their Course to Cartagena and after a
stay of 2 Months go to Puerto Bello and are about a Month taking
in the Treasure from Panama &c. then they return to Cartagena finish
their Lading & sail to the Havana to meet the Flota from la Vera Cruz
whence they proceed together thro' the Gulf of Florida for Old Spain.

John Oxnam of Plymouth in 1575
fitted out a Ship with 70 Men, landed
on the Isthmus of Darien near y.
place where St. Francis Drake had
conference with the Indians, left the Ship there a-
ground, & covered her wth Trees, went inland
to a River, built a Bark & saild thro' to y.
South Sea, where he made several rich
Prizes, one of 60 Thousand
Peeas of Gold.

13. It must naturally seem strange to the judicious and attentive Reader, that every light, every transient Scheme for finding new Countries, and making fresh Discoveries, should meet with Encouragement, while the Admiral himself was not only in a manner neglected, but also most infamously abused. He ought to consider, however, that Discoveries and Improvements are seldom well understood by Statesmen and Courtiers. To speak honestly and fairly they are the last Sort of Men that can be brought to understand them, and that for this plain Reason: The Merit of such Undertakings consists in proposing a very large and certain future Advantage from a small present Expence, whereas Statesmen and Courtiers, having the present Time only in View, care very little for such Advantages as are to redound to their Country in Times after their own.

We have a clear and direct Proof of this in the Conduct of the *Spanish* Ministers upon this Occasion; for they were infinitely more ready to listen to all such Adventurers as proposed immediate Profits, and a present Supply of Gold, Pearl, and other rich Commodities, than to the Schemes of the Admiral, who was a grave public-spirited Man, and shewed his Integrity as well as his Wisdom, in desiring his Reward in those Countries which he discovered, and not in *Spain*. But to enter more particularly into the Mistakes that were made by the *Spanish* Ministers in their Conduct of this Affair, for the sake of other Countries, and future Discoveries, we will reduce them under Three Heads.

First, It was extremely wrong, to place the sole Merit of those new found Countries, in producing Gold and Pearls; and this for many Reasons which might be assigned, but we will mention only two; one is, that a Country is not enriched so much as endangered by having Gold Mines; and this, because it exhausts its Subjects, encourages Luxury, and excites the Envy of other Nations. In this Sense, whatever Commodities will produce Gold and Silver are much more valuable than those Metals, as we see plainly by the *Dutch* Fisheries on our Coasts, which are infinitely more beneficial than if, instead of Herrings, their Nets brought up so much Gold as those Herrings sell for, since it is a continual

Nursery for Seamen, employs a vast Number of People on Shore, creates a very large and profitable Trade, and has increased the *Dutch* Shipping to almost an incredible Degree: Gold and Silver, therefore, are the Riches of private Men; but the Wealth of a Nation consists in Industry and Trade. The other Reason why the bringing over such rich Metals ought not to be encouraged, especially at the Beginning of such Discoveries, is, because it hinders Plantations and Settlements, and, by exciting a Spirit of Avarice, absolutely destroys that kind of public Spirit, which can alone dispose the Inhabitants of Colonies to become truly useful to their Mother Country.

The *second* great Mistake they committed was, in making their Notions public, and thereby drawing Multitude of Adventurers to crowd in with their Projects; which not only distracted the Views of the great Men themselves, but disturbed all *Spain*, and, instead of promoting that kind of Turn which was requisite to improve those new discovered Countries, begat quite the reverse, and established it as a general Opinion, that Wealth was the sole Good, and that every kind of Hazard was to be run in order to obtain it.

The *third* Error, was their slighting and relinquishing that most wise and judicious Plan which *Columbus* had chalked out; for he, by suggesting the Conversion of Infidels to the Christian Faith, and thereby obtaining the Sanction of the Pope's Grant, had most effectually covered all the Views of Ambition and Interest which it became the Court of *Castile* to conceal; but the Bishop of *Burgos* and his Creatures were not more wanting in Virtue than negligent in Point of Decency, and, from a restless and rapacious Desire of enriching themselves in an Instant, at the Expence of this new World, drew aside the Curtain, and shewed all *Europe* at once, both what it was they sought, and how easy a thing it might be to share with them. Whereas, if they had silently established large and powerful Colonies in *Hispaniola*, and contented themselves with moderate Returns of Gold, they might have been strong enough to have given Laws in that Part of the World, before it had been possible for any other Nation to have found their way thither.

SECTION V.

The fourth Voyage of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS; his Discoveries on the Continent, and of the Islands in America; with an Account of his Return from that Voyage to Spain, and his Decease.

1. An Account of the new Proposals made by the Admiral to the Court of Spain in regard to his fourth Voyage to the Indies, and the Acceptance they met with.
2. His Arrival in the Indies, and the base Usage that he met with from Nicholas Obando, the new Governor of Hispaniola.
3. The Admiral prosecutes his Discoveries along the Coast of the Continent, and labours all he can to gain Intelligence from the Indians, whom he treats with the utmost Humanity.
4. He continues his Voyage towards the Isthmus of Darien, supposing, from the Account given by the Natives, that he should have found a Passage thereabouts into the South-Sea.
5. Discovers all along the Coast of the Continent to the famous Haven of Porto-Bello, to which he gave that Name, and the Reason of it.
6. He enters the Port of Bastimentos, and shelters himself afterwards in that of Retrete, where he falls out with the Natives, through the Fault of his own People.
7. The Measures he took for the Preservation of the Spaniards, and the Reason of his resolving to leave a considerable Colony in that Neighbourhood.
8. The Discoveries made by them of rich Mines of Gold in the Country near their Settlement, and of the Causes of the Troubles that ensued among them.
9. The Miseries endured by the Admiral and his Men in Jamaica, and the Method they took to send Advice of their Misfortunes to Santo Domingo.
10. A large Account of the Rebellion raised against the Admiral under these Distresses, and of his Wisdom and Courage in supporting them.
11. His Return with great Difficulty to Hispaniola, and from thence into Spain, and his Reception there.
12. His Death, and some Remarks on the Circumstances attending it.
13. Observations upon this Section, and the ill Usage his Family met with notwithstanding all the Advantages derived to Spain from Admiral Columbus's Discoveries.

1. **T**HE Admiral found not only all his Patience, of which he had a large Stock, but all his Parts, and all his Address, in neither of which he was the least deficient, absolutely necessary to maintain his Ground at Court. The King, who was a Prince flattered with the Reputation of being a profound Statesman, be-

cause he knew how to dissemble, who had a large Share of Cunning, and who durst do any thing however unbecoming his Dignity and Birth, treated the Admiral with a cold Esteem, and secretly hated a Character so unlike his own. The Queen herself, tho' a true *Castilian*, which implies a Woman of Genius, Piety, and Honour, had conceived some

some Prejudices against *Columbus* on account of that Height with which he had exerted his Authority; but at the bottom at his having procured it rather by way of Contract, than by expecting such a Reward as their Catholic Majesties should judge proper. The Admiral saw this clearly enough, and that though their Majesties were desirous to do Justice to his Pretensions, yet they were inclined to strip him of his Power, and were therefore averse to his Desire of returning to the *Indies*.

He resolved therefore to attack them in their own Way; and, having demanded a private Audience of the Queen, insinuated, that what he had yet done was nothing; that his Discoveries on the Continent were with a View to find a Passage to the *East Indies*, and that he did not at all doubt but that in another Voyage he should be able to surmount all Difficulties, and subdue the *East* as well as the *West Indies* to the Power of their Catholic Majesties. This had its desired Effect; a Fleet was immediately ordered for this new Service, and the Admiral was again as much caressed, as if the King and Queen had really thought it possible to blot out of his Mind the Memory of his ill Usage.

2. He set sail from *Cadiz* on the 9th of *May* 1502, and sailed to *St. Catherines*; thence they went to *Arzilla* to relieve the *Portuguese*, who were reported to be in great Distress; but when they came thither the *Moors* had raised the Siege: The Admiral therefore sent his Brother Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, his own Son, with the Captain of the Ships, on shore, to visit the Governor of *Arzilla*, who had been wounded by the *Moors* in an Assault. He returned the Admiral Thanks for the Visit, and to this purpose sent some Gentlemen to him, among whom some were Relations to Donna *Philippa Moniz* the Admiral's Wife. The same Day he sailed, and, arriving at *Grand Canaria* on the 20th of *May*, cast anchor among the little Islands, and on the 24th went over to *Maspalomas* in the same Island, there to wood and water for their Voyage. The 15th of *June* they arrived at the Island *Martinico*, whence they stood to the Westward and came to *Domingo*, ten Leagues from the other, so running along among the *Caribbee Islands* to *Santa Cruz*; and on the 24th of the same Month ran along the South Side of the Island of *St. John*. The Admiral had a mind to change one of his Ships for another, because it was a bad Sailer, and besides would lie almost under Water, which was a Hindrance to his Voyage, because his Design was to have gone directly upon the Coast of *Paria*, and keep upon the Shore till he came upon the Streight, which he certainly concluded was about the Places since called *Verragua* and *Nombre de Dios*; but seeing the Fault of the Ship, he was forced to repair to *S. Domingo*, to change it for a better.

Yet that the Judge sent by their Majesties to call *Bovadilla* to an Account for his Mal-administration might not be surprized at his unexpected Arrival, upon the 29th of *June*, being near the Port, the Admiral sent *Peter de Terreros*, Captain of one of the Ships, to signify what Occasion he had to change that Ship, for which Reason, as also because he apprehended a great Storm was coming, he desired to secure himself in that Port, advising him not to let the homeward-bound Fleet sail out for eight Days to come, for if he did it would be in great Danger. But the Governor would not permit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the Fleet that was bound for *Spain*, which consisted of eighteen Sail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had imprisoned the Admiral and his Brother, *Francis Roldan*, and all the rest who had been in the Rebellion against them, and done them so much Harm; all whom it pleased God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice. This was prevented by their setting out of that Port for *Spain*; for no sooner were they come to the East-Point of the Island *Hispaniola*, but there arose so terrible a Storm, that the Admiral of the Fleet sunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with most of the Rebels; and this Hurricane made such Havock among the rest, that of the eighteen Ships only three or four were saved. This happened on the last of *June*, when the Admiral, having foreseen the Storm, and being refused Admittance

into the Port for his Security, drew up as close to Land as he could, thus sheltering himself, not without much Dissatisfaction among the Men, who, for being with him, were denied that Reception which certainly had been allowed to Strangers, much more to them who were of the same Nation; for they feared they should be so served if any Misfortune should befall them for the future; and though the Admiral was concerned on the same Account, yet it grieved him more to behold the Baseness and Ingratitude used towards him in that Country he had discovered for the Honour and Benefit of *Spain*, in being thus refused to shelter his Life in it.

Yet his Judgment and Prudence secured his Ships till the next Day; when the Tempest increasing, and the Night coming on very dark, three Ships broke from him, every one his own Way, the Men on board each of them, though all in great Danger, concluding, the others were lost: Those aboard the Ship called *Santo*, thinking to save their Boat, which had been ashore with the Captain *Terreros*, dragged it astern, where it overset, and were at last forced to let go to save themselves: But the Caravel *Bermuda* was in much more Danger; for while running out to Sea, she was almost covered with it; by which it appeared the Admiral had Reason to change it, and all Men concluding that, under God, the Admiral's Brother was the saving of her, by his Wisdom and Resolution; for, as has been said, there was not at that time a more expert Sailor than he. So that after they had all suffered very much, except the Admiral, it pleased God they met again in the Port of *Azua*, on the South Side of *Hispaniola*, where every one giving an Account of his Misfortunes, it appeared, that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weathered so great a Storm, by flying from Land like an able Sailor; and that the Admiral was out of Danger, by lying close to the Shore like a cunning Astrologer, who knew whence the Danger must come. Well might his Enemies blame him therefore, as if he had raised the Storm by Magic, to be revenged on *Bovadilla*, and the rest of his Enemies that were with him, seeing that none of his four Ships perished, and that of eighteen with *Bovadilla*, only one, called *la Aguja* or the *Needle*, the worst of them all, held on its Course for *Spain*, where it arrived safe, having on board four thousand Pesos of Gold belonging to the Admiral, the other three that escaped, returning to *S. Domingo* shattered and in a distressed Condition.

3. The Admiral in the Port of *Azua* gave his Men some Refreshment after the Storm, and it being one of the Diversions used at Sea to fish when there is nothing else to do, it may not be amiss to mention two Sorts of Fish among the rest which were taken there, the one pleasant, the other singular: The first was a Fish called *Saovina*, as big as half an ordinary Bell, which lying asleep above Water was struck with a Harping-iron from the Boat of the Ship *Bisceina*, and held so fast that it could not get loose, but being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, drew it after it as swift as an Arrow, so that those aboard the Ship seeing the Boat skim about, and not knowing the Occasion, were astonished, till at last the Fish sunk, and being drawn to the Ship's Side was there hauled up by the Tackle. The other Fish was taken after another Manner: The *Indians* call it *Manati*, and there are none in *Europe*; it is as big as a Calf, nothing differing from it in the Colour and Taste of the Flesh, but that it is better and fatter: Within they have nothing like a Fish, and feed only on the Grass they find along the Banks.

But to return to our History: The Admiral having a little refreshed his Men and repaired his Ships, left the Port of *Azua* and went to that of *Brazil*, which the *Indians* call *Giacchomo*, to shun another Storm that was coming: He sailed again on the 14th of *July*, and was so becalmed, that, instead of holding his Course, the Currents carried him away to certain Islands near *Jamaica*, which are very small and sandy, and he called them *los Poros*, or the *Wells*, because, not finding any Water in them, they dug many Pits in the Sand, and took up Water there for their Use: Then sailing Southward for the Continent, he came to certain Islands, and went ashore upon

upon the biggest only, called *Guanaja*, (whence those that made Sea-Charts took occasion to call all the *Islands of Guanaja*) which are almost twelve Leagues from the Continent, near the Province now called *Honduras*, though then the Admiral called it *Cape Casinas*. Being come to the Island of *Guanaja*, the Admiral ordered his Brother *Bartholomew* to go ashore with two Boats; where he found the People like those of the other Islands, except their not having such high Foreheads; they also saw abundance of Pine-trees, and Pieces of *Lapis Calaminaris*, used to mix with Copper, which some Seamen, taking for Gold, kept Parcels of it privately a long time.

The Admiral's Brother being ashore at that Island, and very desirous to know something of it, it so fell out that a Canoe as long as a Galley, eight Foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in Shape, put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the Westward, and bound towards *New Spain*; in the midst of it was a Covering like an Awning, made of Palm-tree Leaves, not unlike those of the *Venetian* Gondolas, which kept all under it so close, that neither Rain nor Sea-water could wet the Goods; under this Awning were the Children, the Women, and all the Goods; and though there were twenty-five Men on board this Canoe, they had not the Courage to defend themselves against the Boats that pursued them. The Canoe being thus taken, without any Opposition was carried to the Admiral, who blessed God that it had pleased him at once to give him Samples of the Commodities of that Country, without exposing his Men to any Danger: He therefore ordered such things to be taken as he judged most valuable, such as some Quilts, and Shirts of Cotton without Sleeves, very curiously wrought, and dyed of several Colours, with some small Cloths of the same Sort, and large Sheets in which the *Indian* Women on board the Canoe wrapped themselves, as the *Moorish* Women at *Granada* used to do, and long wooden Swords with a Channel on each Side where the Edge should be, in which there were sharp Edges of Flint, fixed with Thread and a bituminous Sort of Matter, which cut naked Men as if they were of Steel; and Hatchets to cleave Wood, like those of Stone the other *Indians* use, but that these were made of good Copper; also Bells of the same Metal, Plates, and Crucibles to melt the Metal.

For their Provision, they had such Roots and Grain as in *Hispaniola*, and a sort of Liquor, made of Maize, like *English* Beer, and abundance of Cocoa Nuts, which in *New Spain* passed for Money, and which they seemed to value very much, for when they were brought on board among their other Goods, if any of those Nuts fell, they all stooped to take them up, as if they had been Things of great Consequence. Yet at that time they seemed to be in a manner besides themselves, being brought Prisoners from their Canoe aboard the Ship, among such strange and fierce People, and discovered nothing extraordinary, except their Modesty, which among Men and Women was highly remarkable. This moved the Admiral to use them well, and restore their Canoe, and give them some things in exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old Man whose Name was *Giumbe*, that seemed to be the Chief of them, to learn something of him concerning their Country, and that he might draw others to converse with the Christians; which he did very readily and faithfully all the while they sailed where his Language was understood; therefore, as a Reward for this his Service, when they came where he was not understood, the Admiral gave him a Present, and sent him home very well pleased, which was before he came to *Cape Gracias de Dios*.

4. Notwithstanding the Admiral had heard so much from those in the Canoes concerning the great Wealth, Politeness, and Ingenuity of the People Westward towards *New Spain*; yet thinking that those Countries lying to the Leeward, he could sail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not go at this time, but held on his Design of discovering the Streight in the Continent, to clear a way into the *South Sea*; which was what he aimed at, in order to come at the Countries that produce Spice, and therefore resolved to sail Eastwards towards *Veragua*,

and *Nombre de Dios*, where he imagined the said Streight to be, as in effect it was; yet he was deceived in the Matter, for he did not conceit it to be an Isthmus or narrow Neck of Land, but a small Gulph, running from Sea to Sea, from whence his Mistake might proceed; for when they said the Streight was at *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, it might be understood either of the Land or Water; and he took it in the most usual Sense, and for what he most earnestly desired: And yet, though that Streight is Land, it was, and is, the way to both Seas, and by which such immense Riches have been discovered and conveyed; for (says the Admiral's Journal) it was God's Will a Matter of such vast Concern should not be otherwise found out, that Canoe having given the first Information concerning *New Spain*.

There being nothing therefore in the Island of *Guanaja* worth taking notice of, he without farther Delay sailed, in order to seek out the Streight towards the Continent to a Point he called *Casinas*, because there were abundance of Trees that bear a sort of Fruit that is rough, have a Stone, and is good to eat, especially boiled, which Fruit the *Indians* in *Hispaniola* call *Casinas*. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of in that Country, the Admiral would not lose time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Course Eastwards along that Coast which runs along the same way towards *Cape Gracias a Dios*, and is very low and open. The People nearest to *Cape Casinas* wear those painted Shirts or Jerkins, before mentioned, and which were like Coats of Mail, made of Cotton, strong enough to defend them against their Weapons, and even to bear off the Stroke of some of ours. But the People higher Eastwards towards *Cape Gracias a Dios* were almost black, of a fierce Aspect, go stark naked, are very savage, and, as the *Indian* that was taken said, eat Man's Flesh, and also Fish just as it was taken. They have their Ears bored with such large Holes, that they may put a Hen's Egg into them; which made the Admiral call that Coast *de las Orejas*, or, *Of the Ears*.

There, on the 14th of *August*, 1502, Don *Bartholomew* went ashore in the Morning, with the Colours, the Captains, and many of the Men to hear Mass. And when the Boats went ashore to take Possession of the Country for their Catholic Majesties, above one hundred Men ran down to the Shore loaded with Provisions, who, as soon as the Boats came ashore with the Lieutenant, on a sudden retired back without speaking a Word. He ordered they should give them Hawks-Bells, Beads, and other things; and, by means of the beforementioned Interpreter, inquired concerning the Country; tho', he having been but a short time with him, did not understand the Christians, by reason of the Distance of this Country from *Hispaniola*, where several Persons aboard the Ships had learned the *Indian* Language; nor did he understand those *Indians*; who being pleased with the things which had been given them, came the next Day to the same Place loaded with several sorts of Provisions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than ours, Geese, roasted Fish, red and white Beans like Kidney Beans, and other things like those in *Hispaniola*. The Country was green and beautiful, tho' low, and producing abundance of Pines, Oaks, Palm Trees of several sorts, and Mirabolans, and almost all sorts of Provisions which *Hispaniola* affords were there to be found; abundance of Leopards, Deer, and other Beasts, as also all sorts of Fish that there are in the Islands, and in *Spain*.

The People in this Country are much like those of the Islands, but that their Foreheads are not so high, nor do they seem to have any Religion. They use several Languages among them, and for the most part they go naked, but cover their Privities; yet some wear short Jumps down to their Navels without Sleeves; their Arms and Bodies have Figures wrought upon them with Fire, which make them look odly; and some have Lions, others Deer, and others Castles, with Towers or other things, painted on their Bodies: Instead of Caps the better sort of them wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and some have Locks of Hair hanging on their Forehead; but when they are to be fine on a Festival Day,

Day, they colour their Faces, some black, and some red; others draw Streaks of several Colours; others paint their Nose; and others black their Eyes: And thus adorn themselves to appear beautiful, in a manner that to us would make them look like Devils. The Admiral sailed along the said Coast *de las Orejas* Eastward to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, which was so called, because tho' there be but sixty Leagues to it from *Casinas*, they laboured seventy Days by reason of the Current and contrary Winds upon a Tack to gain it, standing out to Sea, and then making the Shore, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing, Ground, as the Wind was scant or large when it came about. And had not the Coast afforded such good anchoring, they had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two Fathom Water half a League from the Shore, and two more at every League's Distance, they had always the Conveniency of anchoring at Night, when there was but little Wind; so that the Course was navigable by reason of the good anchoring, but however with Difficulty.

When, on the 14th of *September*, they came up to the Cape, perceiving the Land turned off to the South, and that they could conveniently continue their Voyage with those Levant Winds that reigned there, and had been so contrary, they gave Thanks to God; for which Reason the Admiral called this *Cape Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond it they passed by some dangerous Sands that ran out to Sea as far as the Eye could reach. It being requisite to take in Wood and Water, on the 16th of *September* the Admiral sent the Boats to the River, that seemed to be deep and have a good Entrance; but the coming out proved otherwise, for the Winds blowing from Sea, and the Waves running high against the Current of the River, so distressed the Boats, that one of them was lost with all the Men in it; and therefore the Admiral called it the *River de la Disgracia*, that is, of the Disaster. In this River, and about it, there were Canes as thick as a Man's Leg. And on the 25th of *September*, still running Southward, they came to an Anchor near a little Island called *Quiriviri*, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was *Cariari*, where were the civilest People, the finest Country, and best Situation they had yet seen, as well because it was high, full of Rivers, and abounding in Trees, as because the Island was thick wooded and full of Forests of Palm, Mirabolan, and other sorts of Trees: For this reason the Admiral called it *Hucite*. It is a small League from the Town the *Indians* call *Cariari*, which is near a great River; whither resorted a great Multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, some with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm Tree, black as a Coal, and hard as Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fish; others with Clubs, as if they intended to defend the Country. The Men had their Hair braided about their Heads, the Women short, like ours; but perceiving the *Spaniards* to be a peaceable People, they were very desirous to barter their Commodities, which were Arms, Cotton Jerkins, and *Guanins*, which is pale Gold they wear about their Necks.

These things they swam with to the Boats, for the Christians went not ashore that Day nor the next, nor would the Admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that they might not be esteemed Men that valued their Goods; but gave them some *Spanish* Baubles. The less they saw Strangers desired Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land; at last perceiving no body went ashore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reserving any, and tying them together, left them in the same Place where the Boats first went ashore, and where our Men found them when they landed. The *Indians* about this Place, believing that the Christians did not confide in them, sent an antient Man of an awful Presence, with a Flag upon a Staff, and two Girls, one about eight, the other of about fourteen Years of Age, who putting them into the Boat, made Signs that the Christians might safely land. Upon their Request, they went ashore to take in Water, the *Indians* taking great care not to do any thing that might distaste the Christians. And when they saw them return to their Ships, they

made Signs to them to take along with them the young Girls, with their *Guanins* about their Necks: And at the Request of the old Man that conducted them, they complied, and carried them aboard, wherein those People seemed more friendly than others had done; and in the Girls appeared a wonderful Spirit; for though the Christians were Strangers to them, they expressed no manner of Concern, but always looked pleasant and modest, which made the Admiral treat them well, and set them ashore again where the fifty Men were; and the old Man that had delivered them received them with much Satisfaction.

The Boats going ashore that same Day, found the same People with the Girls, who restored all the Christians had given them. The next Day the Admiral's Brother going ashore to learn something of those People, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms between them, made him sit down upon the Grass; and he asking some Questions of them, ordered the Secretary to write down what they answered; but they seeing the Pen, Ink, and Paper, were in such a Consternation, that most of them ran away; which it was believed they did for fear of being bewitched, for they are reputed a superstitious People, and that not without Reason, because when they came near the Christians, they scattered some Powder about them in the Air, and burning some of the same Powder, endeavoured to make the Smoke go towards the Christians. Besides their refusing to keep any thing that belonged to them, shewed a Jealousy. Having staid here longer than was convenient, considering the short time they had after repairing the Ships, and provided all they wanted, they now hastened away.

Upon the 2d of *October* the Admiral ordered his Brother to go ashore with some Men to view that *Indian* Town, and learn something of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country. The most remarkable things they saw were, in a great wooden Palace, covered with Canes several Tombs; in one of which there was a dead Body, dried up and embalmed; in another, two Bodies wrapt up in Cotton Sheets, without any ill Scent; and over each Tomb was a Board with Figures of Beasts carved on it; and on some of them the Effigies of the Persons buried there, adorned with *Guanins*, Beads, and other things they most valued. These being the most civilized *Indians* in those Parts, the Admiral ordered some to be taken: Two of the chiefest were picked out, and the rest sent away with some Gifts and Civility, that the Country might not be left in an Uproar, telling them they were to serve as Guides upon that Coast, and then be set at Liberty. But they believing they were taken out of Covetousness, that they might ransom themselves with their Things and Goods of Value, the next Day abundance of them came down to the Shore, and sent four aboard the Admiral, as their Embassadors, to treat about their Ransom, offering some things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which, tho' small, are very wild. The Admiral therefore, observing the Policy of these People, was more desirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learned some things of them, but would not listen to their Offers; he therefore ordered some Trifles to be given to the Messengers, that they might not go away dissatisfied, and that they should be paid for their Hogs.

5. On the 5th of *October* the Admiral sailed, and came to the Bay of *Caravaro*, which is six Leagues in Length, and about three in Breadth. Here there are many small Islands, and two or three Channels within those Islands. The Ships sail as it were in Streets between Islands, the Leaves of the Trees sticking against the Shrouds. As soon as they anchored in this Bay, the Boats went to one of those Islands, where there were twenty Canoes upon the Shore, and the People lye naked, having only a Gold Plate about their Necks, and some an Eagle of Gold. They shewed no Signs of Fear; and the two *Indians* of *Cariari* interposing gave a Gold-Plate for three Hawks-Bells, which weighed ten Ducats. And they said there was great Plenty of that Metal upon the opposite Continent, not far from thence.

The next Day, being the twenty-seventh of *October*,
the

the Boats went ashore, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refusing to barter their Gold-Plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the Admiral might learn something of them by the Assistance of two Interpreters. The Gold Plate one of them wore weighed fourteen Ducats, and the other's Eagle, twenty-two. These said, that a Day or two's Journey up the Country there was abundance of Gold in some Places, which they named. In the Bay vast Quantities of Fish were taken, and ashore abundance of fresh Provisions, also great Plenty of Roots, Grains, and Fruit. The Men, who were painted all over, of several Colours, as red, black, and white, went naked, only covered their Privities with a narrow Cotton Cloth.

From this Bay of *Caravaro* they went to another close by it, called *Aburena*, which in some Measure is like the other. On the 17th they put out to Sea to continue their Voyage: And being come to *Guaiga*, a River twelve Leagues from *Aburena*, the Admiral commanded the Boats to go ashore; which when they were doing, they saw above one hundred *Indians* on the Strand, who assaulted them very furiously, running up to the Middle in Water, brandishing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in a warlike manner to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Christians, chewing Herbs, and spurning the Juice towards them. The *Spaniards* without stirring, endeavoured to appease them, as they did, for at last they drew near to exchange the Gold-Plates they had about their Necks, some for two, and some for three Hawks-Bells, by which Means they got sixteen Gold-Plates, worth one hundred and fifty Ducats, for a few Baubles.

On the 19th of *October* the Boats went to Land again; yet before any Christians went ashore, they called to some *Indians* who were under Huts they had built that Night to defend their Country; but none of them would come, nor would the Christians land without knowing first what Mind they were in; for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as soon as they had landed. But perceiving they came not out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat their Drums, and, making a great Noise, ran into the Water as they had done the Day before, till they came almost to the Boats, making Signs as if they would cast their Javelins if they did not return to the Ships. The Christians, offended at this Proceeding, that they might not be so bold and despise them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fired a Cannon; at which they were so frightened, that all ran away. Then four Christians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms, and exchanged three Gold-Plates, declaring they had no more, because they came not to trade, but to fight. All the Admiral looked for in this Voyage, was to obtain Specimens of what those Parts afforded; and therefore, without further Delay, he proceeded to *Calibay* and cast anchor in the Mouth of a great River.

The People of the Country were seen to assemble, and afterwards sent a Canoe, with two Men in it, to the Ships, who having talked with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, presently came aboard the Admiral without any Apprehensions; and, by the Advice of those *Indians*, gave him freely two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks; and he in return gave them some Baubles. When these were gone, there came another Canoe with three Men, who did as the first had done. The Men, going ashore, found abundance of People with their King; and, to give his Subjects an Example, exchanged a Plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which in all were nineteen of pure Gold.

He then steered Eastwards, and came to *Cabravo*; the People of which Place lye near the Rivers of that Coast; and because none came down, and the Winds blew fresh, he held on his Course, and went on to five Towns of great Trade; among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* said the Gold was gathered, and the Plates made that they wore about their Necks. The next Day he came to a Town called *Cubija*; for here the *Indians* of *Cariari* said the Trading Country end-

ed, which began at *Caravaro*, and ran as far as *Cubija*, for fifty Leagues along the Coast. The Admiral proceeded till he put into *Porto Bello*, giving it that Name because it was large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompassed by a well-cultivated Country: He entered this Place on the 2d of *November*, passing between two small Islands, within which the Ships may lie close to the Shore, and turn out if they have Occasion.

6. The Admiral the 9th of *November* sailed out of *Porto Bello* eight Leagues to the Eastward, but the next Day was forced back four Leagues by Strefs of Weather, and put in among the Islands, where afterwards stood the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; and because all these small Islands were full of Grain, he called it *Puerto de Bastimentos*, or the *Port of Provisions*. There a Boat well-manned pursuing a Canoe, the *Indians* imagining the Men would do them harm, and perceiving the Boat was within less than a Stone's-throw of them, they all threw themselves into the Water to swim away, as they did, for though the Boat rowed hard, it could not in half a League overtake any of them. Here they continued till the 23d of *November* refitting the Ships, and that Day sailed Eastward to the Place called *Guaiga*. The Boats going ashore here found above three hundred Persons ready to trade for such Provisions as they had, and some small Ornaments of Gold they wore at their Ears and in their Noses.

But, without making any Stay here, on the 24th they put into a small Port, which was called *Retrete*, or the *Retired Place*, because it could not contain above five or six Ships together, and the Mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty Paces over, and on both Sides of it Rocks appearing above Water, and the Channel between them was so deep that they found no Bottom, though if the Ships inclined to either Side the Men might leap ashore, which hazarded the Ships in that narrow Place, through the Fault of those who went in the Boats to view it, being covetous to deal with the *Indians*, and perceiving the Ships would lie there conveniently for it, run close to the Shore. At first the *Indians* came very familiarly to trade for such things as they had; but when they saw the Christians steal privately out of their Ships, they retired to their Houses; because the Seamen, like covetous, dissolute Men, committed a thousand Insolencies, in so much that they provoked the *Indians* to break the Peace, and some Skirmishes happened between them.

The *Indians*, encreasing daily, took Courage to come up to the Ships, which lay with their Sides close to the Shore, thinking to do some Mischief, which had turned to their own Detriment; had not the Admiral always endeavoured to gain them by Patience and Civilities: But at last, perceiving their Insolence, to strike a Terror into them he caused some Pieces of Cannon to be fired; which they answered with Shouts, thrashing the Trees with Staves, and by threatening Signs shewed they did not fear the Noise; for they thought it had been only a Thundering made to terrify them: Therefore to abate their Pride, and make them fear the Christians, the Admiral caused a Shot to be made at a Company of them upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear, even on the Mountains. The People of this Country were the most likely they had yet seen among the *Indians*, for they were tall and spare, without great Bellies, and well-countenanced.

The Country was all plain, bearing little Grass, and few Trees; and in the Harbour there were vast Alligators, which went out to sleep ashore, and diffused as strong a Scent as if all the Musk in the World were together, but they are so ravenous and cruel, that if they find a Man sleeping, they drag him to the Water to devour him, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked. These Alligators are found in many other Parts of the Continent, and some affirm that they are the very same as the Crocodiles of the *Nile*.

7. The Admiral, perceiving the violent East and North-east Winds did not cease, and that there was no trading with these People, resolved to go back, to be satisfied in what the *Indians* said of the Mines of *Veragua*; and

and therefore that Day he returned to *Porto Bello*, ten Leagues Westward, and, continuing his Course the next Day, was retarded by a West Wind, which was opposite to his new Design, but favourable to that he had for three Months past: But he believing this Wind would not last long did not alter his Course, but bore up against the Wind for some Days, because the Weather was unsettled; and when the Weather seemed a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, another Wind started up and drove him towards *Porto Bello*; and when they were in hopes to get into Port, they were quite beat off again. This perplexed them, and made them almost despair, seeing they could not get half an Hour's Rest, being continually wet, turning sometimes one way and sometimes another, struggling against all the Elements. Now it appeared that the Currents on that Coast followed the Wind, running Westward with a West, and with the East Wind the contrary, the Water still coming with the prevailing Wind.

The Ships being now almost broke to Pieces with the Tempest, and the Men quite spent with Labour, a Day or two's Calm gave them some Respite, and brought such Multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold, especially for such as were superstitious; because it is reported, that as Ravens at a great Distance smell out dead Bodies, so some think these Sharks likewise do; which, if they lay hold of a Man's Arm, or Leg, cut it off like a Razor. Such a Multitude of those were killed with the Hook and Chain, that, being able to destroy no more, they lay swimming upon the Water; and so greedy they are, that they do not only bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon the Hook.

Upon the 17th the Admiral put into Port, three Leagues East of *Pennon*, which the *Indians* call *Huiva*: It was like a great Bay; where going ashore they saw the Inhabitants, whose Cots were upon the Tops of Trees like Birds, they laying Sticks across from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them. In the Beginning of *January* they cast anchor near a River which the *Indians* call *Yebra*, and the Admiral *Belem* or *Bethlem*, because they came to this Place upon the Feast of the Three Kings. He caused the Mouth of that River, and another Westward, to be sounded; the latter the *Indians* called *Veragua*, where he found but shole Water, and in that of *Belem* four Fathom at high Water. The Boats went up this River to the Town where they were informed the Gold Mines of *Veragua* were. At first the *Indians* were so far from conversing, that they endeavoured with their Weapons to hinder the Christians from landing.

The next Day their Boats going to the River of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there did as the others had done, and not only ashore but on their Canoes in the Water. But an *Indian* of that Coast who understood them a little going ashore with the Christians, and telling them they were good People, and desired nothing but what they paid for, they were somewhat pacified, and trucked twenty Gold-Plates, some hollow Pieces like Joints of Reeds, and some Grains which were never melted, which, to make their Value the more, they said were gathered a great way off upon certain Mountains, and when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry Women along with them; which the People of *Hispaniola* said they also practised, when it was first discovered.

On the 9th the Admiral and the *Biscaina* went up the River, and the *Indians* came presently to truck for such things as they had, particularly Fish, which at certain times of the Year come out of the Sea up those Rivers, in such Quantities as seem incredible to those who do not see it; and they exchanged some little things for Pins, and things they most valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells. Next Day the other two Ships came in, which they had not done at first, because there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were forced to stay for the Flood, though there the Sea never rises or falls above half a Fathom. *Veragua* being celebrated for Mines, the third Day after their Arrival the Admiral's Brother went up the River with the Boats to the Town of *Quibio* the *Indian* King, who, hearing of

the Lieutenant, came in his Canoe to meet him; they met in a very friendly Manner, giving one another such things as they valued most; and, having discoursed a long time together, went away peaceably: Next Day *Quibio* came aboard to visit the Admiral, and, having discoursed together about an Hour, the Admiral gave him some things, and his Men trucked Bells for some Gold; and so he returned without any Ceremony. Being thus very easy and secure, on the 24th the River of *Belem* suddenly swelled so high, that before they could provide against it, or carry a Cable ashore, the Fury of the Waves came so impetuously against the Admiral's Ship, that it broke one of her Anchors, and drove her with such Force against the Ship *Gallega*, which lay astern of it, that it brought the Foremast by the Board, and both were carried away foul of one another, in the utmost Danger of perishing. Some judged the mighty Rains to have been the Cause of this Flood, they having never ceased during the Winter in that Country; but had that been it, the River would have swelled by degrees, and not all of a sudden; which made it probable some great Snows had fallen on the Mountains of *Veragua*, which the Admiral called *St. Christophers*, because the highest of them was above the Region of the Air where Meteors are bred; for no Cloud was ever seen above, but all below it.

This Tempest lasted so long, that they had time enough to refit and caulk the Ships. The Waves broke so furiously upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to discover along the Coast, to learn where the Mines lay, and chuse a Place where to build a Town, the Admiral having resolved to leave his Brother there with most of the Men, that they might settle, and subdue the Country, while he went to *Spain* for Supplies of Men and Provisions. Upon this Prospect, the Weather growing calmer, on the 6th of *February* he sent his Brother with sixty-eight Men by Sea to the Mouth of *Veragua*, a League distant from *Belem* Westward; and he went a League and a half up the River to the *Cazique's* Town, where he staid a Day enquiring the way to the Mines. They travelled four Leagues and a half, and came near a River, which they passed forty-four times, and the next Day advanced a League and a half towards the Mines shewed them by the *Indians* sent by *Quibio* to guide them. In two Hour's time after they came thither every Man gathered some Gold about the Roots of Trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious heighth. This Sample was much valued, because none of those who went had any Tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. Therefore the Design of their Journey being only to get Information of the Mines, they returned very well pleased that same Day to *Veragua*, and the next to the Ships. True it is, that as was afterwards known, these Mines were not those of *Veragua*, which lay much nearer, but of *Uirra*, a Town whose People were Enemies to those of *Veragua*; to do whom a Displeasure, *Quibio* ordered the Christians to be conducted thither, that they might go away to those, and leave his.

8. On the 14th of *February*, 1503, the Admiral's Brother went into the Country with forty Men, a Boat following with fourteen. The next Day they came to the River of *Uirra*, seven Leagues from *Belem* Westward; the *Cazique* came out a League from his Town to meet him with twenty Men, and presented him with such things as they fed on, and some Gold-Plates. Whilst they were here the *Cazique* and chief Men never ceased putting a dry Leaf into their Mouths and chewing it; and sometimes they took a sort of Powder they carried with that Herb, which looked very odd. Having rested here a while, the Christians and *Indians* went to the Town, where abundance of People came out to them, and provided them a House to lye in, giving them much to eat. Soon after came the *Cazique* of *Dururi*, which is a neighbouring Town, and with him a great many *Indians* who brought some Gold-Plates to barter. All these *Indians* said there were *Caziques* up the Country who had plenty of Gold, and abundance of Men armed like the *Spaniards*.

Next Day the Lieutenant ordered the rest of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, and he, with thirty, held

on his Journey towards *Zobrabá*, where the Fields, for above fix Leagues, were all full of Maize, like Corn Fields. Thence he went to *Cateba* another Town. At both Places he was well entertained, abundance of Provisions given him, and some Gold Plates exchanged, which, as has been said, are like the Patent of a Chalice, some bigger, and some less, weighing about twelve Ducats. They wear them about their Necks, hanging by a String, as in *Popish* Countries they do Relics. The Lieutenant, being now very far from the Ships, without finding any Port on that Coast, or any River bigger than that of *Belere*, to settle his Colony, came back the same way on the 24th of February. As soon as he returned, order was taken for his Stay, eighty Men being appointed to remain with him. They began to build Houses on the Bank of the River of *Bolemal*, about a Cannon Shot from the Mouth of it, within a Trench that lies on the Right-hand coming up the River; at the Mouth of which there is a little Hill. Besides these Houses which were all of Timber, and covered with Palm-tree Leaves which grew along the Shore, another large House was built to serve as a Storehouse and Magazine; into which several Pieces of Cannon, Powder, and Provisions were put, and other Necessaries for the Support of the Planters. But for Wine, Bisket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheese, and much Grain, which was all they had to eat, these things were left in the safest Place aboard the Ship called *Gallega*, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might make Use of it either at Sea or ashore, having all its Cordage, Nets, and other Fishing Tackle; for, as we have said, there is vast Plenty of Fish in that Country in every River, several farts at certain times running along the Coast in Shoals; on which the People of the Country feed more than on Flesh: For tho' there be some farts of Beasts, they are not enough to maintain them.

The *Indians*, perceiving the *Spaniards* built Houses, as if they designed to stay among them, began to be alarmed; and the Adelantado, suspecting they designed to set fire to the Houses, marched out with seventy-four Men on the thirtieth of March, and, ordering them to advance two by two as privately as they could, came to the Cazique *Quibio's* House, where he secured him, some of his Wives and Children, and about fifty Persons in all, who offered a great Treasure, which, as they said, was on the Mountain, for their Ransom. The Adelantado, fearing the Country would rise upon him and rescue the Prisoners, sent them all away to the Ships, and followed the next Day himself with the Plunder of *Quibio's* House, which might amount to the value of three hundred Ducats in Gold Plates, Eagles, Beads and the like. But the Cazique made his Escape from those that had him in Charge, and returned to his People. Soon after the Rains fell, and the Flood coming down, opened the Mouth of the River, when the Admiral sailed out with three Ships, leaving one for the Service of his Brother. However, he came to an Anchor a League from thence to wait for fair Weather, and in the mean time sent back the Boat for Water.

The Cazique *Quibio*, who, as has been said before, had made his Escape, being much concerned for the Loss of his Wives and Children, and seeing the three Ships were gone, fell upon the *Spanish* Colony so unexpectedly, that he was within a few Paces of it before the *Spaniards* perceived it. He began the Attack with loud Shouts, casting abundance of Darts, armed at the Ends with the Bones of Fish, so that some were immediately wounded. The Adelantado being very brave, with seven or eight Men that stood by him, repulsed the *Indians*, driving them into the Wood, tho' they several times rallied: But the *Spanish* Swords making great Havock, and a Dog tearing many of them, they at length absolutely betook themselves to Flight, leaving one *Spaniard* dead, and eight wounded, of which Number the Adelantado was one. The Men in the Boat, tho' near Shore, did not land to assist their Friends, but after the Engagement went up the River to take in their Water.

The *Indians*, seeing the Boat a full League above the Colony, came out in their Canoes, and besetting it on all Sides, shouting and sounding their Horns, so plyed about ten Men that were in it, with their Darts, that

they all perished but one, who, falling into the Water, swam away to the Shore, without being discerned by the *Indians*, and carried the News of the Disaster; which so much dismayed them, being but few in Number, and most of them wounded; the Admiral out at Sea without a Long-boat, and in Danger of not being able to return to any Place, whence he might send them Relief; that, being destitute of all Hopes, they resolved not to stay ashore, and went aboard the Ship without asking the Adelantado leave, to sail out; but they could not, because the Mouth of the River was again choaked up, nor could they find any body to acquaint the Admiral therewith, by reason of the violent working of the Sea upon the Bar. The Admiral was, at the same time, in great Danger, where his Ship lay at anchor; that Coast being all open, and having only a small Boat, and weakened, besides, by the Loss of the Men that had perished in his Long-boat. Thus those in the River, as well as those at Sea, were in the greatest Distress.

To add to all these Vexations, one Night the *Indian* Prisoners that were on board the Admiral opening one of the Hatches, several of them leaped out, and threw themselves into the Sea to swim ashore; and the rest that were prevented from following their Example all hanged themselves in the Hold. The Admiral being in this Affliction, some *Spaniards* offered to swim ashore to enquire after the Boat, and the Men that had been left behind, provided the little Boat might carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke: The Admiral accepted their Offer, ordering the Boat to carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke, and as near the Land as might be; and there *Peter de Ledesma*, a Pilot, born at *Seville*, had the Courage to leap into the Water, and, making his Way through the rolling Waves, got to Shore, where he was informed of the Condition the Men were in; and that they all affirmed that they would not stay in that Place of Danger; for which Reason they entreated the Admiral not to depart without them, because it would be sacrificing them; and they were resolved, as soon as the Weather grew somewhat calmer, to go away in *Indian* Canoes, aboard the Ships; the Boat they had, not being able to contain them. With this Advice *Peter de Ledesma* swam back to the Boat that waited for him.

In short, those that were ashore, as soon as the Weather grew calm, went all away in two large Canoes they had made fast together, that they might not over-set, and their own Boat, leaving nothing behind them but the Hulk of the Ship, which was all worm-eaten. Being all aboard, they sailed in three Ships as far as *Porto Bello*, where they were obliged to leave one of the Ships, which was so leaky that they could not keep it above Water. They proceeded thence to a Province near which there were many small Islands, which the Admiral called *Las Barbas*, or the *Beard*, but which is now known by the Name of the *Bay of St. Blase*. Ten Leagues from thence they turned from the Continent, and stood to the Northward, to recover *Hispaniola*. At the End of ten Days they arrived at two small Islands, which were all covered with Tortoises as well as the Sea, which looked like Ridges of Rocks, and therefore the Admiral called them *las Tortugas*, or the *Tortoises*, and they are now called *Caymanes*, being about twenty-five Leagues West of *Jamaica*, and forty-five to the Southward of *Cuba*, there being no other all the Way the Admiral passed. There they came to anchor at *Jardin de la Reyna*, the *Queen's Garden*, being a great Number of small Islands to the South of *Cuba*, before spoken of; they were ten Leagues from this Island in much Want, their Bisket spoiled, and little Oil left, and labouring Day and Night at three Pumps, because the Ships were ready to sink, when there arose such a Storm that one of them run foul of the Admiral, tore off Part of his Poop, the Cables gave Way, and all had like to have perished. Thence they sailed to a Port in the Island of *Cuba*, called *Macaca*, where they refreshed themselves, being supplied by the *Indians*.

Thence they stood for *Jamaica*, where they arrived at *Puerto Bueno*, or *Good Port*, on Midsummer Eve, but it was a bad one for them, there being neither Water nor

any *Indian* Town; so that the Day after Midsummer they proceeded to another called *Santa Gloria*, and, being no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, they set them fast aground, as near the Shore as they possibly could, being about a Cross-bow shot from it, and the two Ships close together; Board and Board, shoring them on both Sides, so that they could not part, but were filled with Water almost up to the Deck, and Cabins were made on the Heads and Sterns to shelter the Men. When the Ships were thus secured, the *Indians* came in their Canoes, being covetous of *Spanish* Toys; and, to prevent Controversy, the Admiral appointed two Persons to deal with them, and every Afternoon to divide what they had purchased amongst the Men, to maintain them, for the Provisions were all either spent or spoiled.

The Admiral looked upon it as a great Mercy that God had brought him to *Jamaica*, because that Island was very populous, abounded in Eatables, and the Natives were desirous to trade; therefore, to keep them in that good Humour, he would not go up the Country for fear the *Spaniards* should disoblige the People, which would prove of ill Consequence; and this Conduct was so pleasing to the *Indians*, that they gave two *Utias* or small Rabbits for a bit of Tin, and two of their Cakes of Bread for two little green or yellow Beads, and for things of more Value they took a Hawk's-Bell. They gave the *Caziques* little Looking-glasses, red Caps, and Scissars, to please them. The Admiral having purchased ten Canoes for the Service of his stranded Ships, by this Method, the Men were plentifully supplied with Necessaries, and the *Indians* no Way disturbed at their Stay.

9. *Columbus* having consulted the Officers about the Means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to send Advice to *Nicholas de Obando*, Governor of *Hispaniola*, and to *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, the Admiral's Factor there, of the Condition they were in, that a Ship might be there freighted at the Admiral's Expence, to fetch them all away. This being an Affair of much Difficulty, two Persons of Fidelity and Discretion were appointed for it, because they were to undertake so great a Passage in Canoes made of a small Piece of Timber. The Distance between the two nearest Points of *Jamaica* and *Hispaniola* being twenty-five Leagues, besides thirty more to the Points where they were to cross over, it required very great Courage to go upon such an Enterprize. In the Passage there is only one little Island or Rock, called *Navasa*, which is eight Leagues from *Hispaniola*. The Persons the Admiral pitched upon to perform this were, *James Mendez de Sagura*, chief Notary of the Fleet, a very honest and discreet Man, and *Bartholomew Fiesco*, a *Genoese*, a Person worthy of such a Trust. Each of these went in a Canoe with six *Spaniards*, and ten *Indians* to row.

The Admiral ordered *James Mendez*, as soon as he came to *Santo Domingo*, to go away to *Spain* with his Dispatches for their Majesties; containing a full Relation of his Voyage, the Dangers and Troubles he had met with, the Lands he had discovered, and the rich Mines he had actually visited at *Veragua*; and at the same time complained of the unworthy Usage he had before met with, his Imprisonment and the seizing of all he had, praying Redress, and lamenting, that, after having spent twenty Years in the Service of the Crown, he had not a House to put his Head in; but must be obliged, when he came to *Spain*, to take up his Lodgings at an Inn, &c. *Bartholomew Fiesco* was to treat with the Governor of *Hispaniola* about sending a Ship to bring the Men off, and to return with it himself. The two Canoes set out on the 7th of July; the *Spaniards* carrying their Provisions, Swords, and Targets, and the *Indians* their Gourds full of Water, *Axis* and *Cazabi*. When they came to the Point of the Island of *Jamaica*, they were obliged to stay till the Sea was very calm, to venture to strike over, the Danger being very great, especially for the *Spaniards*; for the *Indians* being very expert and naked, if the Canoes happened to over-set, soon turned them again, and with their Gourds threw out the Water. As soon as the Weather grew calm, they put themselves into the Hands of God, and launched out one Night;

the *Indians* rowing, who, to cool themselves, sometimes leaped into the Water, and afterwards returned to the Oar. When they had lost Sight of *Jamaica*, the *Spaniards* relieved the *Indians*, that they might hold out, and always watched for fear those People should do any thing amiss.

The second Day after their Departure, they began to be all very much tired, but the two Chiefs encouraged the Men, advising them to eat and recover their Strength. The *Indians*, being heated with the Sun, and the Labour of the Oars, were more busy with their Gourds than they should have been, so that they were soon empty; and, the Heat encreasing, and their Thirst with it, by Noon they had not strength to work. The Commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their Rundlets, and so supported them till cool of the Evening. That which most perplexed them, after having rowed a Night and two Days, was, the Fear that they had mistaken the Way, in which they were to find the Island *Navasa*, eight Leagues from *Hispaniola*, as was said before, where they expected to refresh themselves. That Afternoon they had thrown an *Indian* over-board, who died by Thirst; others lay along stretched out, quite disabled, and the rest were totally dejected, expecting Death, holding Salt-water in their Mouths to cool them, and finding no Comfort in it. They proceeded the second Night as far as they were able again, without seeing the Island till the Moon rising; *James Mendez* perceived that it appeared like a half Moon, the other half being, at first, covered by the Island; for otherwise they could not have seen it, by reason of its Smallness and the Night. Then they all encouraged the *Indians*, shewing them the Land, and giving them some sips of Water, wherewith they were so much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by Break of Day arrived at the Island where they landed.

They found this Island was all a solid Rock, about half a League in Compass, but there was no Tree nor Spring of Water on it; however, going about from one Cleft to another, they collected so much in the Hollows, as served to quench their Thirst, which did them harm; because, being scorched with Drought, they drank so much of it, that some of the poor *Indians* died upon the Spot, and others fell sick. They stayed there till the Afternoon, providing themselves with the best the Place would afford; gathering small Shell-fish on the Shore, and making a Fire to broil it, *James Mendez* having carried Necessaries for that Purpose. Being then in the Sight of the Point of *Hispaniola*, which the Admiral had named *St. Michael's*, and was since called *del Tiburon*, and designing to conclude their Passage before the Weather grew foul, as soon as the Sun was low they went into their Canoes again, and rowed, and by Break of Day arrived at the Cape, the fourth Day after their setting out. They refreshed themselves there two Days, and neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* would run the Hazard of returning to *Jamaica* the same Way they came.

James Mendez, being in haste, went on as far as he could in the Canoe, and, at length, arrived in the Province of *Xaragua*, where he found the Governor of *Hispaniola*, who seemed well pleased with the Letter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in dispatching the Business he came about; for he suspecting the Admiral, was afraid lest some Disturbance should happen in the Island. After much importuning he gave *James Mendez* leave to proceed with his Company to *Santo Domingo*, to perform what the Admiral had ordered him. He there bought a Ship and sent it well provided, though it were a considerable time before he could accomplish his Design, as will be shewn.

10. After this Step had been taken, not only with the Consent, but by the Advice, and at the Request, of the Principal Persons on board, it was very natural to suppose they would have been easy; but the *Spaniards* that remained with the Admiral, in *Jamaica*, having suffered very much in that Voyage, began to sicken, and, despairing of Relief, all their Discourse was how they should escape over to *Hispaniola*; railing at the Admiral as if he had been the Cause of all their Misfortunes. The chief Promoters of these Discontents were two Brothers, Natives

Natives of *Seville*, whose Names were *Porras*, one of whom went over Captain of a Ship, and the other Purser of the Fleet; these Men, having endeavoured to bring all the rest to their Design, thought it sufficient that they had gained forty of the most mutinous, and resolved to declare their Intentions: Accordingly, on the 2d of *January*, 1504, being all armed, Captain *Francis de Porras* went upon the Poop where the Admiral was, and, without any Respect, said, *We are of Opinion that your Lordship will not go into Spain, but intend to keep us here to perish.* The Admiral, hearing these insolent Words, and guessing at the Meaning, very mildly answered, He could not but be sensible how impracticable it was for them to pass over to *Hispaniola*; that it was well known, he had already, by the unanimous Advice of all, sent for Ships, and if they had any better Method to offer, they might propose it. *Francis de Porras* replied, there was no need of much advising, that he might embark immediately, or stay behind; and, turning his Back, added, for I will go away into *Spain*, with all those that will follow me: Then the Conspirators cried out, *One and all, One and all*; and, after having caused much Confusion aboard the Ship, they seized ten of the Canoes the Admiral had bought, and, many of those who were sick joining them, went away to the Eastern Point of *Jamaica*, whence *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fiesco* had taken Boat to *Hispaniola*.

Being come to the Point of the Island, they attempted to pass over it to *Hispaniola*, forcing some Natives, with them, to row: But the Sea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the Canoes, which were heavy loaded, throwing over-board all they had, except some Provisions, Water, and their Arms; and, at last, the poor *Indians* that rowed, cutting their Hands if they offered to ease themselves by holding by the Sides of the Canoes when tired with Swimming. Returning ashore, some were for passing over to *Cuba*, some for returning and making their Peace with the Admiral, or taking all he had by Force from him; others, for attempting, again, to pass over into *Hispaniola*, which last prevailing; they stayed six Weeks in the *Indian Town*, at the Point of Land, for calm Weather, ruining the poor Natives, and then twice ventured out to Sea, but were forced back. Then quitting the Canoes, they went from Town to Town, sometimes bartering with the People for Provisions, and sometimes taking them by Force; whilst they were thus ranging, the Admiral took particular Care of the Sick, to secure them to him, and laboured to gain the Friendship of the *Indians*, to make sure of Provisions, and by such Methods, all that had been distempered recovered; however, the *Spaniards* eating much more than the Natives, it was a difficult Matter to supply them plentifully, and so a great Part of his Men being revolted from the Admiral, those People began to make the less account of him, inasmuch, that he was reduced to great Streights; but it pleased God to relieve him in that Distress, after the following Manner:

The Admiral knowing there would be an Eclipse of the Moon within three Days, took therefore this Opportunity to send an *Indian*, that spoke *Spanish*, to call the *Cazique* and principal Men of those Parts to him. They being come a Day before the Eclipse, he told them that the *Spaniards* were Christians, Servants of God, who dwells in Heaven, and is Lord and Maker of all things; who rewards the Good, and punishes the Wicked; and, being angry with those that had mutinied, would not permit them to pass over to *Hispaniola*, as the others, sent by him, had done; that he was also displeased with them, because they did not supply his distressed Servants with Provisions, in exchange for Commodities, and therefore was resolved to chastise them with Famine and other Calamities; and, that they might be convinced of the Truth of what he said, God was pleased they should see a Token of his Anger in the Sky: So that they might, that Night, observe the Rising of the Moon, that she would appear of a bloody Hue, to point out the Punishment God would inflict upon them. When he had made his Speech, some of them went away in a Fright, and others scoffed at his Prediction. But, the

Eclipse beginning as soon as the Moon was up; and increasing the higher she rose, it put them into such a Consternation, that they hastened to the Ships, loaded with Provisions, entreating the Admiral that he would pray to God that he would not be longer angry with them; and they would, for the future, bring him all the Provisions he should have Occasion for.

The Admiral answered, he would offer up his Prayers to God; and then shutting himself up till the Eclipse was at the Height, and ready to decrease, he came out again, telling them he had prayed for them, promising they would be good, and supply the Christians, whereupon God had forgiven them; and they would see the Moon, by degrees, turn to her usual Complexion. The *Indians*, perceiving the Eclipse to go off entirely, returned the Admiral many Thanks, admiring the God of the Christians; went away very well pleased, religiously remembering to be grateful for the Benefit they thought they had received of the Admiral; for they supplied him plentifully with Provisions, always blessing God, believing he would punish them for their Sins; and that the Eclipses they had formerly seen, had been Tokens of his Anger.

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However, this disappointed the second Conspiracy, and the Admiral told them, that *Escobar* went away so suddenly that they might be the sooner relieved, for he was resolved not to go away without them, and that little Caravel would not carry them all. These Words, and the Sight of the little Caravel, with the Advice that *Mendez* and *Fiesco* were safely arrived in *Hispaniola*, somewhat comforted the Men, and gave them Hopes of getting off in time. The Admiral, rather desirous to reduce the Mutineers by fair Means than by Force, that they might do no Mischief in the Island, sent two of their best Friends to acquaint them with the Advice he had received, desiring them to return, and no Notice should be taken of what had happened. *Francis de Porras* met those Messengers at a Distance, for fear they should persuade any of his Men to submit themselves, and answered, that they would not trust the Admiral, but would behave themselves peaceably in the Island, if he would promise to find a Ship to carry them off, and share half of what he had with them, since they had lost all their own Effects.

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any *Indian* Town; so that the Day after Midsummer they proceeded to another called *Santa Gloria*, and, being no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, they set them fast aground, as near the Shore as they possibly could, being about a Cross-bow shot from it, and the two Ships close together, Board and Board, shoring them on both Sides, so that they could not part, but were filled with Water almost up to the Deck, and Cabins were made on the Heads and Sterns to shelter the Men. When the Ships were thus secured, the *Indians* came in their Canoes, being covetous of *Spanish* Toys; and, to prevent Controversy, the Admiral appointed two Persons to deal with them, and every Afternoon to divide what they had purchased amongst the Men, to maintain them, for the Provisions were all either spent or spoiled.

The Admiral looked upon it as a great Mercy that God had brought him to *Jamaica*, because that Island was very populous, abounded in Eatables, and the Natives were desirous to trade; therefore, to keep them in that good Humour, he would not go up the Country for fear the *Spaniards* should disoblige the People, which would prove of ill Consequence; and this Conduct was so pleasing to the *Indians*, that they gave two *Uti*as or small Rabbits for a bit of Tin, and two of their Cakes of Bread for two little green or yellow Beads, and for things of more Value they took a Hawk's-Bell. They gave the *Caziques* little Looking-glasses, red Caps, and Scissars, to please them. The Admiral having purchased ten Canoes for the Service of his stranded Ships, by this Method, the Men were plentifully supplied with Necessaries, and the *Indians* no Way disturbed at their Stay.

9. *Columbus* having consulted the Officers about the Means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to send Advice to *Nicholas de Obando*, Governor of *Hispaniola*, and to *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, the Admiral's Factor there, of the Condition they were in, that a Ship might be there freighted at the Admiral's Expence, to fetch them all away. This being an Affair of much Difficulty, two Persons of Fidelity and Discretion were appointed for it, because they were to undertake so great a Passage in Canoes made of a small Piece of Timber. The Distance between the two nearest Points of *Jamaica* and *Hispaniola* being twenty-five Leagues, besides thirty more to the Points where they were to cross over, it required very great Courage to go upon such an Enterprize. In the Passage there is only one little Island or Rock, called *Navasa*, which is eight Leagues from *Hispaniola*. The Persons the Admiral pitched upon to perform this were, *James Mendez de Sagura*, chief Notary of the Fleet, a very honest and discreet Man, and *Bartholomew Fiesco*, a *Genoese*, a Person worthy of such a Trust. Each of these went in a Canoe with six *Spaniards*, and ten *Indians* to row.

The Admiral ordered *James Mendez*, as soon as he came to *Santo Domingo*, to go away to *Spain* with his Dispatches for their Majesties; containing a full Relation of his Voyage, the Dangers and Troubles he had met with, the Lands he had discovered, and the rich Mines he had actually visited at *Veragua*; and at the same time complained of the unworthy Usage he had before met with, his Imprisonment and the seizing of all he had, praying Redress, and lamenting, that, after having spent twenty Years in the Service of the Crown, he had not a House to put his Head in; but must be obliged, when he came to *Spain*, to take up his Lodgings at an Inn, &c. *Bartholomew Fiesco* was to treat with the Governor of *Hispaniola* about sending a Ship to bring the Men off, and to return with it himself. The two Canoes set out on the 7th of July; the *Spaniards* carrying their Provisions, Swords, and Targets, and the *Indians* their Gourds full of Water, *Axis* and *Cazabi*. When they came to the Point of the Island of *Jamaica*, they were obliged to stay till the Sea was very calm, to venture to strike over, the Danger being very great, especially for the *Spaniards*; for the *Indians* being very expert and naked, if the Canoes happened to over-set, soon turned them again, and with their Gourds threw out the Water. As soon as the Weather grew calm, they put themselves into the Hands of God, and launched out one Night;

the *Indians* rowing, who, to cool themselves, sometimes leaped into the Water, and afterwards returned to the Oar. When they had lost Sight of *Jamaica*, the *Spaniards* relieved the *Indians*, that they might hold out, and always watched for fear those People should do any thing amiss.

The second Day after their Departure, they began to be all very much tired, but the two Chiefs encouraged the Men, advising them to eat and recover their Strength. The *Indians*, being heated with the Sun, and the Labour of the Oars, were more busy with their Gourds than they should have been, so that they were soon empty; and, the Heat encreasing, and their Thirst with it, by Noon they had not strength to work. The Commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their Rundlets, and so supported them till cool of the Evening. That which most perplexed them, after having rowed a Night and two Days, was, the Fear that they had mistaken the Way, in which they were to find the Island *Navasa*, eight Leagues from *Hispaniola*, as was said before, where they expected to refresh themselves. That Afternoon they had thrown an *Indian* over-board, who died by Thirst; others lay along stretched out, quite disabled, and the rest were totally dejected, expecting Death, holding Salt-water in their Mouths to cool them, and finding no Comfort in it. They proceeded the second Night as far as they were able again, without seeing the Island till the Moon rising; *James Mendez* perceived that it appeared like a half Moon, the other half being, at first, covered by the Island; for otherwise they could not have seen it, by reason of its Smallness and the Night. Then they all encouraged the *Indians*, shewing them the Land, and giving them some sips of Water, wherewith they were so much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by Break of Day arrived at the Island where they landed.

They found this Island was all a solid Rock, about half a League in Compass, but there was no Tree nor Spring of Water on it; however, going about from one Cleft to another, they collected so much in the Hollows, as served to quench their Thirst, which did them harm; because, being scorched with Drought, they drank so much of it, that some of the poor *Indians* died upon the Spot, and others fell sick. They stayed there till the Afternoon, providing themselves with the best the Place would afford; gathering small Shell-fish on the Shore, and making a Fire to broil it, *James Mendez* having carried Necessaries for that Purpose. Being then in the Sight of the Point of *Hispaniola*, which the Admiral had named *St. Michael's*, and was since called *del Tiburon*, and designing to conclude their Passage before the Weather grew foul, as soon as the Sun was low they went into their Canoes again, and rowed, and by Break of Day arrived at the Cape, the fourth Day after their setting out. They refreshed themselves there two Days, and neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* would run the Hazard of returning to *Jamaica* the same Way they came.

James Mendez, being in haste, went on as far as he could in the Canoe, and, at length, arrived in the Province of *Xaragua*, where he found the Governor of *Hispaniola*, who seemed well pleased with the Letter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in dispatching the Business he came about; for he suspecting the Admiral, was afraid lest some Disturbance should happen in the Island. After much importuning he gave *James Mendez* leave to proceed with his Company to *Santo Domingo*, to perform what the Admiral had ordered him. He there bought a Ship and sent it well provided, though it were a considerable time before he could accomplish his Design, as will be shewn.

10. After this Step had been taken, not only with the Consent, but by the Advice, and at the Request, of the Principal Persons on board, it was very natural to suppose they would have been easy; but the *Spaniards* that remained with the Admiral, in *Jamaica*, having suffered very much in that Voyage, began to sicken, and, despairing of Relief, all their Discourse was how they should escape over to *Hispaniola*; railing at the Admiral as if he had been the Cause of all their Misfortunes. The chief Promoters of these Discontents were two Brothers, Natives

Natives of *Seville*, whose Names were *Porras*, one of whom went over Captain of a Ship, and the other Purser of the Fleet; these Men, having endeavoured to bring all the rest to their Design, thought it sufficient that they had gained forty of the most mutinous, and resolved to declare their Intentions: Accordingly, on the 2d of *January*, 1504, being all armed, Captain *Francis de Porras* went upon the Poop where the Admiral was, and, without any Respect, said, *We are of Opinion that your Lordship will not go into Spain, but intend to keep us here to perish.* The Admiral, hearing these insolent Words, and guessing at the Meaning, very mildly answered, He could not but be sensible how impracticable it was for them to pass over to *Hispaniola*; that it was well known, he had already, by the unanimous Advice of all, sent for Ships, and if they had any better Method to offer, they might propose it. *Francis de Porras* replied, there was no need of much advising, that he might embark immediately, or stay behind; and, turning his Back, added, for I will go away into *Spain*, with all those that will follow me: Then the Conspirators cried out, *One and all, One and all*; and, after having caused much Confusion aboard the Ship, they seized ten of the Canoes the Admiral had bought, and, many of those who were sick joining them, went away to the Eastern Point of *Jamaica*, whence *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fiesco* had taken Boat to *Hispaniola*.

Being come to the Point of the Island, they attempted to pass over it to *Hispaniola*, forcing some Natives, with them, to row: But the Sea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the Canoes, which were heavy loaded, throwing over-board all they had, except some Provisions, Water, and their Arms; and, at last, the poor *Indians* that rowed; cutting their Hands if they offered to ease themselves by holding by the Sides of the Canoes when tired with Swimming. Returning ashore, some were for passing over to *Cuba*, some for returning and making their Peace with the Admiral, or taking all he had by Force from him; others, for attempting, again, to pass over into *Hispaniola*, which last prevailing; they stayed six Weeks in the *Indian Town*, at the Point of Land, for calm Weather, ruining the poor Natives, and then twice ventured out to Sea, but were forced back. Then quitting the Canoes, they went from Town to Town, sometimes bartering with the People for Provisions, and sometimes taking them by Force; whilst they were thus ranging, the Admiral took particular Care of the Sick, to secure them to him, and laboured to gain the Friendship of the *Indians*, to make sure of Provisions, and by such Methods, all that had been distempered recovered; however, the *Spaniards* eating much more than the Natives, it was a difficult Matter to supply them plentifully, and so a great Part of his Men being revolted from the Admiral, those People began to make the less account of him, inasmuch, that he was reduced to great Streights; but it pleased God to relieve him in that Distress, after the following Manner:

The Admiral knowing there would be an Eclipse of the Moon within three Days, took therefore this Opportunity to send an *Indian*, that spoke *Spanish*, to call the *Cazique* and principal Men of those Parts to him. They being come a Day before the Eclipse, he told them that the *Spaniards* were Christians, Servants of God, who dwells in Heaven, and is Lord and Maker of all things; who rewards the Good, and punishes the Wicked; and, being angry with those that had mutinied, would not permit them to pass over to *Hispaniola*, as the others, sent by him, had done; that he was also displeased with them, because they did not supply his distressed Servants with Provisions, in exchange for Commodities, and therefore was resolved to chastise them with Famine and other Calamities; and, that they might be convinced of the Truth of what he said, God was pleased they should see a Token of his Anger in the Sky: So that they might, that Night, observe the Rising of the Moon, that she would appear of a bloody Hue, to point out the Punishment God would inflict upon them. When he had made his Speech, some of them went away in a Fright, and others scoffed at his Prediction. But, the

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Sorcerer; and affirming, that the Caravel his Men had seen had been only a Delusion, formed by Magic Art, or else he would have gone in it himself, with his Son and his Brother. By such Discourses he confirmed them in the Rebellion, and persuaded them to go and seize the Admiral, and take away what he had aboard the Ships: He accordingly marched with his Followers towards the Ships; and, being within a Quarter of a League of them, halted in an *Indian* Town called *Mayma*. The Admiral being informed of it sent the Adelantado, his Brother, with fifty Men, to persuade him to return to his Duty; who, coming within a Cross-bow-shot of the Place, sent the two Messengers the Admiral had employed before, to offer Peace; but they, despising all Accommodations, would not so much as hear them; and, on the contrary, advanced in fighting order, crying, *Kill him, kill him*; six of them having taken an Oath to destroy the Adelantado, who bid his Men do as he did, and to fear nothing but the Stain of being vanquished by Rebels. This said, they engaged; and, at the first Attack, six Men fell, most of them Rebels. *Francis de Porras*, who was a bold Man, singled out the Adelantado, and at one Cut clove down his Target to the Hand, which he wounded, but could not recover his Sword as he would; and the Adelantado, seeing his Men give way, closed with *Porras*; which done, others came in and seized him, much wounded. The Adelantado then fell in among the rest, so that many were soon killed, and among the rest *John Barla*, who had been the first that drew his Sword against the Admiral when they began to rebel; others being much wounded, the rest betook themselves to Flight.

The Adelantado would have pursued them, had not some of the best Men about him dissuaded him from it, saying, That was a sufficient Punishment, and that it was not proper to carry Things to Extremity; so he returned to the Ships, carrying *Francis de Porras*, and other Prisoners, and was joyfully received by the Admiral and those about him. The Day after the Battle, being the 20th of *May*, those that escaped sent a Petition, signed, to the Admiral, confessing their Fault, and begging Pardon, and promising to serve him faithfully for the future; all which they took solemnly an Oath to perform, renouncing any Absolution in case of Failure from Priest, Bishop, or Pope himself, at the Hour of Death, and all Benefit of the Sacraments of the Church.

The Admiral, on his Part, promised to pardon them provided their Ringleader, *Francis de Porras*, should continue a close Prisoner; and, to prevent any Controversies between the Rebels and the others, he sent them a Commander to keep them in the Island till the Ship arrived; such was the Posture of Affairs in *Jamaica*, and the Admiral had been there full a Year, when a Ship arrived freighted by *James Mendez*, and with it a Caravel commanded by *James de Salcedo*, the Admiral's Servant. *Columbus*, his Followers, and the Rebels embarked, and they sailed from thence the 28th of *June* 1504, and arrived at *Santo Domingo* on the 13th of *August*. The Governor with all the City went out to meet him, and paid him much Respect, lodging him in his own House, and paying abundance of Compliments, but all with a false Heart; for he set at Liberty *Francis de Porras*, the Ringleader of the Rebellion at *Jamaica*, who was a Prisoner aboard the Ship; and threatened to punish those that had honourably stood by the Admiral in his greatest Danger.

11. The Admiral was a Person of too great Penetration not to discern how deceitfully he was treated, and the true Motives of the Governor's Behaviour. He knew very well that *Obando* hated him, and, at the same time, feared his Credit and Reputation; but he dissembled Things as well as he could, till the Ships were ready that were preparing for carrying him back to *Spain*; and as soon as he knew that they were fit to sail, and the proper Season was come, he disposed every thing for his Departure; which was a Thing no less agreeable to the Governor *Obando* than convenient for his own Affairs.

Accordingly, on the 12th of *September*, 1504, he embarked on board a Ship, provided by his Agents, and took with him likewise the Vessel that had brought him and his People over from *Jamaica*; but just as they

were out of Port, the Main-mast of the lesser Vessel came by the Board; upon which he ordered her back to *Santo Domingo*, and continued his Voyage in the other. He had not, however, been long at Sea before he met with a most violent Tempest, in which, not the Men only, but the Pilot, expected every Moment to be cast away; and when the Vehemence of the Storm was over, and they began to congratulate each other on their narrow Escape from so great Danger, they were astonished by a very unlooked for Accident; their Main-mast flying to pieces on a sudden, and without any visible Cause.

The Admiral was at that time confined to his Bed by the Gout, which, however, did not hinder his giving the necessary Directions for making a Jury-mast of the Yard, which was accordingly done; and in this Condition they prosecuted their Voyage. Soon after they encountered another Tempest, in which they lost their Mizen-mast; notwithstanding which Accident they safely arrived at their intended Port of *St. Lucar*, having sailed 700 Leagues after they had lost their Main-mast. All the Dangers and Difficulties he had struggled with at Sea had not near so much Effect on the Admiral's Mind, as the ill News he met with on Shore; being informed, as soon as he landed, that his best Friend and only Patroness, the Queen, was dead, so that he had now none but King *Ferdinand* to apply to, who, though he always treated him respectfully, the Admiral well knew was far enough from having any Kindness for him, and even from inclining to do him Justice.

In this Situation of his Affairs, the Admiral resolved with himself to go to *Seville*, in order to take some Repose, and the Advice of his Physicians for the Recovery of his Health, which he accordingly did, having his Sons with him; and employing himself wholly in settling his Family-Affairs in order. When he had rested some Months at *Seville*, in *May* 1505, he proceeded to the Court, which resided then at *Segovia*. He did not think the King received him as he deserved, yet he presented several Petitions setting forth the Services he had performed, and his great Sufferings, and desiring the Performance of what he had promised him in return; for which the King gave him many fair Words without any Effect, having no Intention to fulfil his Engagements, and therefore under-hand offered him a large Estate in *Spain*, in exchange for what was his due in the *Indies*.

This much vexed the Admiral, who was then confined to his Bed, and he complained of it to the Archbishop of *Seville*; but at that Time King *Ferdinand* travelled from *Valladolid* to *Laredo*, to wait for his Son-in-law King *Philip*, and Queen *Johanna* his Daughter, who soon after arrived there from *Flanders*. The Admiral, not being able to go, sent his Brother the Adelantado, to compliment their Majesties and solicit his Affairs; where he was well received, and had fair Promises of having his Business favourably dispatched. But notwithstanding all this, such Methods were made use of to postpone his Demand, and protract his Business in all Offices to which it was referred, that it was no difficult Matter for him to discern, that very little good was intended him.

13. While the Adelantado, Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, was soliciting, as has been said, the Admiral's Distemper grew upon him, till, having made the necessary Dispositions, he departed this Life, with much Piety, at *Valladolid*, on *Ascension-day*, being the 20th of *May*, 1506. His Body was conveyed to the Monastery of the *Carthusians* at *Seville*, and from thence to the City of *Santo Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, where it lies in the Chancel of the Cathedral. He left his Son *James* his sole Heir, and died before he knew whether *Cuba* was an Island. It may be expected that we should add here some Character of this great Man, or at least a Description of his Person; but, having already spoken largely of his Abilities in the Beginning of our former Volume, as well as in this, we shall content ourselves with barely transcribing what a *Spanish* Historian, justly esteemed for his Fidelity and Knowledge, has discoursed upon this Subject:

His Words are these: "*Columbus* was tall of Stature, " long Visage, of a majestic Aspect, his Nose aquiline, " his

“ his Eyes grey, of a clear Complexion and ruddy, his
 “ Beard and Hair, when young, fair, though through
 “ many Hardships they soon turned grey : He was a
 “ Man of Wit, pleasant and eloquent, moderately grave,
 “ affable to Strangers, and kind to his own Family : His
 “ Conversation discreet, which gained him the Affection
 “ of those he had to deal with, and his Presence attracted
 “ Respect, having an Air of Authority and Grandeur ;
 “ temperate in Eating and Drinking, and modest in his
 “ Dress. He was very strict in Religion according to the
 “ Mode of his Country, and obliged such as were under
 “ his Command to observe the same with Decency. In
 “ that Respect, he shewed an earnest Concern for the Con-
 “ version of the *Indians* to the Christian Faith, and en-
 “ deavoured all he could to invite them thereto, by
 “ obliging the *Spaniards* to lead a Life, in some measure,
 “ agreeable to that Faith which they professed. In other
 “ Respects he was a Man of undaunted Courage and
 “ high Thoughts, fond of great Enterprizes ; patient,
 “ ready to forgive Wrongs, and only desirous that Of-
 “ fenders should be sensible of their Faults, unmoved in
 “ the many Troubles and Adversities that attended him,
 “ ever relying on Divine Providence. In short, had
 “ he performed such a wonderful Enterprize in the an-
 “ tient Days as the Discovery of the new World, it is
 “ likely he would not only have had Statues, and even
 “ Temples, erected to his Honour ; but that some Star
 “ would have been dedicated to him, as was done to
 “ *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and among us his Name will be
 “ renowned whilst the World endures.”

13. Such was the End of this great Man, to whom, in the strictest Sense, the *Spaniards* are indebted for all that they possess in the new World, as will very clearly appear ; if we consider that he settled *Hispaniola*, took a View of *Cuba*, visited *Jamaica*, bestowed the Name of *St. John* on the Island of *Porto Rico*, called formerly *Borriquen*, and discovered almost all that can properly be called the *West Indies*. As to the Continent, it must be confessed that he barely saw it, but then he saw both Parts of it, and the Isthmus that unites them ; and he left behind him Projects for extending all these Discoveries, and his Conjectures of the Consequences that might attend them. He did still more than this, he declared positively, that there lay a Sea on the other Side of the Continent, through which there might be a Passage discovered to the *East Indies* ; and accordingly, as we have shewn elsewhere, that is, in the History of *Magellan's* Voyage, this Passage was actually discovered from the Lights given by him.

It must be confessed, that for such Services scarce any Rewards could be sufficient, much less too great ; and if it be remembered, he demanded nothing beyond his first Contract, notwithstanding that he performed much more than he promised therein, one cannot help wondering at the mean and scandalous Behaviour of King *Ferdinand*, who so ungratefully endeavoured to deprive him, and his Family, of what were their just Rights.

His eldest Son and Heir, *James*, or, as the *Spaniards* stile him, *Don Diego Colon*, inherited his Pretensions, and inherited, likewise, the Dislike of *Ferdinand*, and the Hatred of the Bishop *Fonseca* ; and though he endeavoured by Petitions, and personal Applications, to obtain his Right, yet he never could receive any other Satisfaction than fair Words and fine Promises ; with which being at last quite tired out, he desired the King to leave his Demands to the Decision of the Law, which, being what he could not decently deny, was granted.

This Suit, as may be well supposed, was tedious and troublesome, but, at last, he obtained a clear Decision in his Favour, and was re-established, by the Judges, in all his Fathers Pretensions ; notwithstanding which, the King and the Bishop found Ways and Means to delay the Execution of the Judgment ; so that he obtained nothing thereby, except the Recognition of a Right, which was sufficiently clear before. To strengthen his Interest, therefore, he thought fit to marry, which he accordingly did, into one of the most illustrious Families in *Spain* ; espousing *Mary de Toledo*, Daughter to *Don Ferdinand*, Brother to the Duke of *Alva*, and Cousin to his Catholic Majesty. By the Assistance of his Wife's Relations, he at last obtained the Government of *Hispaniola* ; succeeding the great Enemy of his Father, *Nicholas de Obando*, but with the Title only of Governor, and not of Viceroy, which was his Right.

He went thither in 1508, with his Wife, his Brother, *Don Ferdinand*, who wrote the Life of his Father, of which we have made use in the foregoing Sections, and his Uncles, *Bartholomew* and *James Columbus* ; together with many young Noblemen, and several young Ladies of good Families, by which the Lustre of the *Spanish* Settlement, in *Hispaniola*, was restored, and increased. Yet his Power was not at all greater than that of his Predecessor ; and the little he had was soon after restrained by the settling of a new Court, at *Santo Domingo*, under the Title of the *Royal Audience*, to which Appeals were allowed from all Parts of the *Indies*. Here then we are to close our Accounts of this illustrious Person and the State of his Family at his Decease.

In the next Section we shall give a succinct Account of the manner in which the *Spaniards* prosecuted the Discovery of the *Indies*, to the time of those two great Expeditions, for the Conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru* ; of which, as of the most memorable and extraordinary Transactions that have happened in this Part of the World, and which have contributed most to make it known, we shall give a larger and more particular Account ; and, indeed, if we reflect, that in all Senses whatever, the Conquests of the *Spaniards*, in the new World, have been the greatest in themselves, and more beneficial in their Consequences, than those of any *European* Nation, we cannot, certainly, think that time ill employed, which is spent in acquiring a circumstantial Account of them ; more especially as the Events therein are more curious and entertaining than those that occur in any other History whatever.

SECTION VI.

The History of the several Discoveries, Settlements, and Conquests made by the Spaniards, in the West Indies, after the Death of the Admiral Don CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, to the Expedition of FERDINAND, or HERNAN CORTES.

1. *The Improvements made by Nicholas de Obando in the Island of Hispaniola, and the great Value of the Gold Mines wrought there.*
2. *The Expedition of Don Juan Ponce de Leon into Puerto Rico, and his Conquest of that Island.*
3. *A Settlement made on the small Island of Cubagua, the vast Fishery for Pearls there, and the Occasion of losing it entirely.*
4. *Alonso de Hojeda, and Diego de Nicuesa, commissioned to make Discoveries, and sail with that View to the Indies.*
5. *Hojeda's unfortunate Expedition to Carthagena, where he had been destroyed, but for the timely Assistance afforded him by Nicuesa.*
6. *Afterwards fixes the Settlement of St. Sebastian, his Misfortunes and Death, together with the Fate of his new Colony before mentioned.*
7. *The History of Valquez Nugnez de Balboa, and of his surprising Exploits in the Indies.*
8. *The History of Don Diego de Nicuesa resumed ; he founds the Colony of Nombre de Dios, his subsequent Misfortunes and miserable Death.*
9. *The Conquest of the great Island*

of Cuba undertaken by Don Diego Velasquez, and the Progress made therein by him. 10. The famous John Ponce de Leon, by an unaccountable Delusion, undertakes an Expedition to find out the Fountain of Youth; which produces the Discovery of Florida. 11. The Discoveries made on the Continent by the Command of Diego Velasquez, under Ferdinand de Cordova his Lieutenant, to the Death of Cordova. 12. These Discoveries resumed and prosecuted with greater Success, by the Command of Velasquez, under John Grijalva. 13. His subsequent Expeditions open a Passage into that Country, since stiled New Spain. 14. On his Return Grijalva is most unjustly disgraced by Diego Velasquez, for pursuing his Orders too strictly. 15. Observations and Remarks on the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

IT is natural for us to begin this Section with some Account of the Progress of the Spaniards in *Santo Domingo*, or *Hispaniola*, after a regular Government was settled there, and the Value of the Discovery thereby made known; and this for two Reasons, first, because the immense Wealth derived from this Colony was what excited the Spaniards to continue their Discoveries; and because this Vein of Wealth has been long since dried up, and, at present, we hear nothing of the Gold of *Hispaniola*; which, at its first Discovery, yielded more in Proportion than ever *Peru* has done since. This was, in some Measure, owing to the Industry and Care of *Nicolas Obando*, who first employed a skilful Pilot to sail round the Island, and describe its Coasts; and afterwards took Pains to examine all the Provinces into which it was divided, and surveyed them likewise.

In his time there was discovered, near the Town of *Puerto Real*, a Mine of good Copper, but, after much Money expended about it, the Produce did not answer. Those three hundred Spaniards whom *Obando* found in the Island, at his first coming, lived very disorderly, and had taken the most beautiful Women, and of the best Quality in it, for their Mistresses, their Parents believing that they were married; but the *Franciscan* Friars, thinking the Lewdness not to be tolerated, made Instance to the Governor for some Remedy therein; who, at last, decreed, that they should either part, or be married within a limited time: Many Men of Quality thought this a very hard Imposition, yet, rather than lose the Dominion they had over the *Indians*, in right to those Women, they complied, and married them, and tho' this entitled them to what was their Wives, and the Lawyers said they had a legal Right to the Service of those *Indians*, *Obando* took them away as soon as they were married, and gave them to others, allowing them as many in other Places; alledging he did it to prevent their growing proud as natural Lords, and to keep them in Submission, as holding those *Indians* only by Gift; but this was looked upon as an unjust depriving of the natural Lords of their Subjects.

This *Nicholas de Obando*, when he went over Governor of *Hispaniola*, carried with him *Roderick de Alcazar*, Goldsmith to their Majesties; a discreet and honest Man, who had the Employment of Marker of the Gold, and his Fee was one per Cent, which was looked upon as a very indifferent Allowance; but, after the Distribution of the *Indians*, there was so much Gold gathered, that it was four times melted down every Year; twice at the Town of *Buena Ventura*, on the Banks of *Hayna*, eight Leagues from *Santo Domingo*, where the Gold, brought from the old and new Mines, was cast; and the other two at the City of *la Vega*, or the *Conception*, where the Gold of the Mines of *Cibao*, and the adjacent Parts, was conveyed; at each melting, in the Town of *Buena Ventura*, there came out between 110000, and 120000 *Pesos*; and at *la Vega* between 125000, and 130000 *Pesos*, and sometimes 140000. Thus the Product of *la Vega* was the greatest, and all the Gold of the Island amounted to 460000 *Pesos*, or more Money; according to the nicest Computation, 150000 Pounds; which yielded unto *Roderick de Alcazar* about 4500 *Pesos* a Year; which, at that time, was a very considerable Revenue, and though it was well bestowed on him, their Catholic Majesties revoked it.

It was remarked, even at this time, that such as wrought at these Mines were never any Gainers, notwithstanding the vast Quantities of Gold, of which they became Masters; for, living always luxuriously, and upon

Credit, their Gold, at the melting times, was often seized for their Debts, and very frequently did not afford enough to bring things to a Ballance.

2. The last War, in the Province of *Higuey* in *Hispaniola*, produced a great Extention of the Spanish Power; for the Governor, *Obando*, appointed one to command in those Parts, and keep the *Indians* in awe, who soon formed a Project of carrying his Authority beyond the narrow Bounds which were assigned it. The Name of this Spanish Gentleman, was *Juan Ponce de Leon*, a Person of good Sense, great Courage, but, withal, imperious and cruel. He was informed, by the *Indians*, that the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, by these People called *Borriquen*, was exceedingly rich in Gold; a Circumstance sufficient to tempt him to a better Acquaintance with it.

In order to this, he applied himself to the Governor, giving him a full Account of all that he had heard, and desiring his Licence to go over to the Island to enquire into that Affair, to trade with the Natives, and see what might be done towards settling there; for, till then, they knew nothing of it farther, than that it appeared very beautiful; and they saw abundance of People when Ships passed by it. *Juan Ponce* embarked in a small Caravel, with some Spaniards and *Indians* that knew the Place, and landed in the Dominions of *Aguey Bana*, the greatest Lord of the Island, who had a Mother and Father in Law, who all received and entertained him very kindly; and the *Cazique* changed Names with him, which they called becoming *Guatiacos*, or sworn Brothers. He gave the Mother the Name of *Agnes*, and called the Father-in-law *Francis*; and, though they would not be baptized, they kept the Names which the Christians gave them.

This *Cazique*, his Mother, and Father-in-law, were very good-natured, and always advised the Son to be a Friend to the Spaniards. *Juan Ponce* presently made it his Business to enquire whether what the *Indians* had told him was true, concerning the Gold Mines. The *Cazique* conducted him all over the Island, shewing him the Rivers where Gold was found, and among them two that were very rich; the one called *Manatuabon*, and the other *Cebuco*, whence much Treasure was afterwards drawn. He caused Samples to be taken, which he carried to the Governor of *Hispaniola*, leaving some Spaniards there well recommended to the *Cazique*, and his Mother, who were well entertained till others came to settle. The greatest Part of this Island consisted of high Mountains, some of them covered with fine high Grass, like that in *Hispaniola*. There are few Plains, but many Vales with pleasant Rivers running through them, and all very fruitful. The western Point of it is but twelve or fifteen Leagues from the eastern Cape of *Hispaniola*; so that in fair Weather the one may be seen from the other, by People standing on the Tops of those Points.

There are some Ports, but none good, except that which is called *Puerto Rico*, where the City and episcopal See are seated. The length of it is about forty Leagues at least, and the Breadth sixteen; the Circumference about 120. The Southern Coast lies all in seventeen, and the Northern in eighteen Degrees Latitude. It produced much Gold, though not quite so fine as that of *Hispaniola*, yet not much inferior to it.

While *Ponce de Leon* was thus employed, *Obando* was recalled, and Don *Diego Colon*, Son to the Admiral, came to take the Government of *Hispaniola* in his Room; bringing with him, from *Spain*, a new Governor for *Puerto Rico*; but he who had made the first Settlement

on that Island disputing this Appointment, the young Admiral, without farther Ceremony, set them both aside, and appointed one *Michael Cerron* Governor of that Place, and made one *Michael Diaz* his Lieutenant.

However *Juan Ponce de Leon*, by the Interest of his Friend *Obando*, procured a new Commission from *Spain*, and, going over to *Puerto Rico*, easily found Pretences for picking a Quarrel with *Cerron* and *Diaz*, whom he sent Prisoners into *Spain*. These People thus out of his way, *Juan Ponce de Leon* prosecuted his first Design of conquering the Island, but found it a much more difficult Task than he imagined. However, at last he compassed it; and with much ado the poor *Indians* were forced to submit. In consequence of which they were made Slaves, and employed in the Mines till they were quite worn out. Since which the Gold has likewise failed; which many *Spanish* Writers acknowledge to have been a Judgment from God for that barbarous Proceeding; so much the more probable, because the same thing has happened in other Parts of their Dominions.

3. The Court of *Spain* was at this time very solicitous to make the most of the Settlements already made in the new World, and therefore from time to time admitted of such Representations as those who had been in the *Indies* thought fit to make, as to what was requisite to be done there for promoting the Royal Revenue.

Amongst other Propositions of this nature, there was one which suggested it was much for the King's Interest that the Island of *Cubagua*, called also *Of Pearls*, near *Margarita*, should be inhabited by *Spaniards*, and therefore the Admiral was ordered to take care of it, that the Trade there might be the better looked after. And the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* made a great Advantage of it, finding the *Lucayo Indians* most useful, because they were extraordinary Swimmers and Divers; so that one of them came to be worth one hundred and fifty Ducats. And they not only defrauded the King of his Fifth, but also abused and destroyed the *Indians*, which obliged them to stand upon their Guard, and was prejudicial to the Trade. This Island of *Cubagua*, somewhat above three hundred Leagues from *Hispaniola*, is about three Leagues in Compass, lies in almost ten Degrees of Latitude, the Soil very barren and dry, affording much Salt-petre, some few *Guaiacum* Trees and Shrubs, without any Grass or Birds, only such as are proper to the Sea, being all flat and without any Springs of fresh Water.

No Land Creatures were found upon it, except a few Rabbits. The Natives painted themselves, and fed on the Pearl Oysters. They brought over in their Canoes Water from *Cumana* on the Continent, which is seven Leagues distant, and gave Seed-pearl for it to those who would carry it over. Wood they had from the Island *Margarita*, which lies a League to the Northward of it, and incompasses it from the East to the North-west. And to the Southward of it is *Cape Araya* on the Continent, where the great Salt Pits are.

It has a good Port on the North Side. The Swine that were carried thither from *Spain* soon degenerated, their Claws turning upwards half an Handful. There was infinite Plenty of Oysters breeding the Pearl within them, a little Nob growing at first soft, and afterwards hardening as it grows. Some Years the King's Fifth of only the Pearl Fishery amounted to fifteen thousand Ducats. And it was wonderful that such a Quantity of Pearls should be found in so small a Compass, taken by Men diving, and staying under Water as long as they can hold their Breath, pulling off the Shells from the Places they flick to. And it is to be observed that there are Pearls for above four hundred Leagues from *Cape de la Vela* to the Bay of *Paria*. And besides these the Admiral found at *Cubagua* (which he called the *Island of Pearls*) he discovered them on the Coast of *Cumana*, as also all along the Coast of *Paria*, *Maracapana*, *Puerto Flechado*, and *Curiana*, which is near *Venezuela*.

4. Amongst other Adventurers who petitioned the *Spanish* Court for Leave to make Discoveries, *Hojeda* was one, a brave Man, but poor; and *John de la Cosa*, who had been his Pilot, and had saved that Money which the other spent, out of pure Affection offered to assist him with

his Life and Fortune. They had a Grant promised them of all that had been discovered on the Continent: But *Diego Nicuesa* interposing, being a richer Man, and having a better Interest, stopped the Grant, and procured Half of it for himself. To the former Adventurers the Court granted all the Country between *Cape de la Vela* and the Gulph of *Uraba*, now stiled the *Gulph of Darien*, under the Name of *New Andalusia*; and to the latter, from the before mentioned Gulph to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, under the Name of *Castilla del Oro*, or *Golden Castile*, without a Word said of the Admiral, to whom of Right all these Countries belonged as discovered by his Father.

The Island of *Jamaica* was likewise granted to *Diego Nicuesa*, in common, but the Admiral, being in the *Indies*, secured that for himself. *Hojeda* was able to fit out but one Ship, and one Brigantine; but *Nicuesa* had two Brigantines; with which they both sailed to *Santo Domingo*, where they quarrelled about their Rights: And it was with great Difficulty that the Disputes between them were adjusted: At last, however, this was done, and both proceeded to their respective Governments, or rather to settle the Colonies they had promised.

5. Those Disputes took up much time, so that it was the latter End of the Year 1510 before either of them left *Hispaniola*. *Alonso de Hojeda*, with whom *Francis Pizarro* embarked, departed from the Island *Beata*, and, standing to the Southward, in a few Days arrived at *Carthagena*, which the *Indians* called *Caramari*, and they were then in an Uproar, and ready to oppose the *Spaniards* because of the Injuries done them by *Christopher Guerra* and others, who had passed by that way, and under Pretence of trading had seized many, and made Slaves of them. Those People were of a large Stature, the Men wore their Hair down to their Ears, and the Women very long. And both Sexes were very expert in shooting with their Bows. *Hojeda* and *John de la Cosa* had religious Men with them, his Master being very desirous to induce them to submit; and, having *Indians* of *Hispaniola* who spoke the Language, he advised them to be peaceable, and to leave off their Cruelty, Idolatry, and other hideous Vices practised among them; but they, being very much incensed, for Reasons before mentioned, would not give ear to those Persuasions.

Alonso de Hojeda, pursuant to his Instructions, tryed all possible Methods to allure them, tho' he had also Orders in case they proved obstinate, to declare War and make Slaves of them. He began to barter for Gold, giving them some *Spanish* Toys; but those *Indians* being fierce and bold, *John de la Cosa* said he thought it would be better to settle a Colony at the Bay *Uraba*, where the Natives were more gentle, and that from thence they might return to *Carthagena* better provided. *Alonso de Hojeda* being always too resolute, and the more for that, having been in a great Number of Quarrels and Engagements in *Spain* and *Hispaniola*, he had never lost a Drop of Blood, did not regard the Advice, but fell upon the *Indians* who were preparing to attack him, killed many, seized some, and found a small Quantity of Gold in the Places taken from them.

Not satisfied with that, using some of the Prisoners for his Guide, he went to a Town four Leagues up the Country, whither those who had escaped from the last Fray were retired, and found the People there upon their Guard, armed with Targets, Swords of extraordinary hard Wood, Bows, sharp poisoned Arrows, and Rods, which they threw like Darts. The *Spaniards* crying out, *Santiago*, that is *St. James*, fell on, killing and taking all they met. Eight *Indians*, who were not so expeditious as the rest, retired into one of their thatched Houses, where they defended themselves a considerable Space, killing one *Spaniard*; at which *Hojeda* was so provoked, that he ordered the House to be fired, where they all perished in a Moment. Here he took sixty Captives, whom he sent to the Ships, and pursued those that fled. The Inhabitants of a Town called *Yarbaco* having Notice thereof, withdrew into the Mountains with their Wives, Children, and Effects.

The *Spaniards* coming thither by break of the Day, and finding nobody, grew heedless, and dispersed themselves

selves about the Country. The *Indians* observing their Carelessness, fell upon them unexpectedly, and they so surpris'd endeavoured to retire to some Place of Safety, but still met with their Enemies, who, they being divided into several Detachments, attacked, wounded, and killed them with Flights of poisoned Arrows. *Hojeda*, with some of his Companions maintained the Fight, often kneeling, the better to cover himself with his Target; but when he saw most of his Men killed, trusting to his Activity, he rushed through the thickest of the *Indians*, and, running as if he had flown, got into the thickest Part of the Woods, directing his Course the best he could towards the Sea, where his Ships were. *John de la Cosa* got into a House that had no Thatch on it, where he defended himself at the Door till his Men being slain, and himself so wounded with the poisoned Arrows that he could no longer stand, looking about he saw one that still fought courageously, to whom he said, That since it had pleased God to preserve him he should go immediately and tell *Hojeda* all that had happened, and *Hojeda* and he were the only two that escaped, Seventy *Spaniards* being slaughtered.

Things being in this Situation, very lucky for the *Spaniards*, *Nicuesa* with his Ships appeared, and he, landing, was informed of what had befallen his Rival through his own Rashness; upon which he desired he might be fought for, and brought to him; and as soon as he saw him he said, That in such a Case they ought to forget their Disputes, and only remember they were Gentlemen and *Spaniards*, offering at the same time to land his Men, and assist him in revenging the Death of *John de la Cosa*. They did accordingly land 400 Men, which proved alone more than sufficient to beat the *Indians*, to take and burn their Town, and to put them in possession of a vast Number of Slaves, and of a Booty worth Seven thousand Pieces of Gold to each of them. After this Victory they agreed to part, and that each should pursue that Plan of Discovery and Planting directed by his Commission; which they accordingly did with what Fortune we shall hereafter shew.

6. As for *Alonso Hojeda*, as soon as he understood that it was the Design of *Nicuesa* to steer for *Veragua*, he crowded all the Sail he could, for the River of *Darien*; but having lost his old Pilot, upon whose Experience he chiefly depended, he missed the River, and at last resolved to fix a Settlement on the Eastern Promontory of the Gulph of *Uraba*; which he accordingly did, and called his new Town *St. Sebastian*; which he did the rather, because as that Saint is said to have been martyred by the Arrows of the Infidels, he thought him a fit Patron to defend him against the poisoned Arrows of the *Indians*.

He was hardly fixed there before he found all the Inhabitants of the Country to be a Race of barbarous Savages, from whom he had nothing to expect, but all the Mischief they could do him; in this Situation he thought fit to detach Captain *Enciso* with one of his Ships to *Hispaniola*, with Orders to bring him as great a Reinforcement of Men as he could possibly obtain, and during his Absence he intrenched himself as well as he could, the better to secure his People; but Provisions growing very soon so low, that they were not in a Condition to subsist, he found himself under a Necessity of making some Excursions into the Country to obtain a Supply; which Expedient, however, failed him, and he had the Misfortune likewise to lose many of his Men by the Arrows of the *Indians*, which were poisoned with the Juice of a certain stinking Root, that grew by the Seaside. By these Disasters his new Colony was quickly reduced into a most wretched Condition, starved if they remained within their Works, and sure of meeting with Death if they ventured out of them; in this sad State, and when they absolutely despaired, they saw with an Amazement a Ship enter the Port.

It proved to be no better than a Pirate, commanded by one *Bernard de Talavera*, who, flying from Justice, took Shelter here, in a Place to him unknown. *Alonso Hojeda* did not think it necessary to inquire very nicely into the Man's Character, but very readily bought his Ship's Cargo, and treated the Captain so well that he willingly entered into his Service. However serviceable

this Relief might be, it was but of short Continuance; so that, all their Provisions eaten up, the Savages more troublesome than before, and no Succour coming from *Hispaniola*, they were once more at their Wits-end. After various Schemes formed to no Purpose, it was at last resolved that he should go himself to *Santo Domingo*, in order to procure Supplies; and accordingly, leaving *Francis Pizarro* to command the Colony, he embarked on board *Talavera's* Vessel, and put to Sea. The Voyage was very unfortunate from the Beginning; for *Hojeda* using too much Severity towards the Crew, and behaving very haughtily to Captain *Talavera*, he not only deprived him of all Command, but very fairly clapped him in Irons. A Storm however arising, the Crew who, though they thought him a bad Officer, yet knew him to be a good Seaman, set him at Liberty; and it was chiefly by his Skill they were enabled to save their Lives, by running the Ship ashore on the Island of *Cuba*.

It was but a very short Passage from thence to *Hispaniola*, but *Talavera* durst not go there; and therefore he prevailed upon *Hojeda* to venture a Voyage of one hundred Leagues to *Jamaica* in a Canoe, and he was lucky enough to perform it. He had, by his Commission, some Pretensions on this Island; and having heard that the Admiral had sent over thither Don *Juan de Esquivel*, with the Title of Governor, he threatened to cut off his Head if ever he fell into his Hands; but now he was forced to sue to him for Favour, and was very kindly used. After a short Stay at *Jamaica*, the Governor, at his own Request, sent him over to *Santo Domingo*; where he learned that Captain *Enciso* was failed for *St. Sebastian*, but found his own Credit so low that he could scarce raise wherewithal to buy him Bread; and in a short Time after he actually died of Want, though he deserved a better Fate, being one of the bravest Men that ever failed from *Spain* to the *Indies*. *Talavera* had still worse Luck; for, staying too long at *Jamaica*, the Admiral caused him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for a Pirate.

In the mean time, Captain *Pizarro* quitted *St. Sebastian*, and, with a very few Men, and with much Difficulty escaped to *Cartagena*, where, very luckily for him, Captain *Enciso* was just arrived with two Ships, and a considerable Reinforcement; he took *Pizarro* on board; and they returned all together to *St. Sebastian*, where they had the Misfortune to be shipwrecked; and, getting ashore with much difficulty, they found the Place reduced to Ashes by the Savages. They restored it as well as they could, and got ashore what they were able of Provisions, and other Necessaries, out of their stranded Vessels; but were soon reduced to the utmost Extremities both by War and Famine; Hunger frequently forcing them out, and the Savages constantly driving them back again with the Loss of some of their Number, which they could very ill spare, being but One hundred and eighty Men at first. Such were the Miseries to which these Men exposed themselves in Search of Riches.

7. We must, before we can proceed, give the Reader some Account of a very extraordinary Person who was engaged in this Expedition, and who, by his Dexterity and Presence of Mind, delivered his Companions, in some measure, out of the Dangers they were in. The Name of this Gentleman was *Vasquez Nugnez* or *Nunez de Balboa*: He was a Person of good Family, great Parts, liberal Education, of a fine Presence, and in the flower of his Age, being then about Thirty-five. He had formerly sailed with *Bastidas* upon Discoveries, and had afterwards obtained a very good Settlement in *Hispaniola*, but, having committed some Excesses there, was in danger of being put to Death. In these unfortunate Circumstances he procured himself to be put on board Captain *Enciso's* Ship in a Bread-cask, and, after having remained there some Days, he ventured at last to make his Appearance, when the Ship was an hundred Leagues at Sea. The Captain, who had been charged not to carry any Offenders out of the Island, was extremely vexed at this Adventure, and threatened to set him on Shore in the first Desert Island he came to; but the principal Persons on board interceding for him, the Captain was at last pacified, and granted him his Protection;

fection; which, however, did not efface from his Memory the Usage he had met with, as we shall see in its proper Place.

This Man, observing that the Company were in a down-right Despair, and knew not which way to turn themselves, took upon him to encourage them, by asserting, that they were not in so desperate a Condition as they imagined; for that, when he was upon this Coast before, with *Bastidas*, they had failed to the Bottom of the Gulph, where they had seen a very large fine Town, situated in a fruitful Soil, in a fine Climate, and which was inhabited by warlike *Indians* indeed; but such as did not make use of poisoned Darts. He therefore advised them to get off their Brigantines which were stranded, and endeavour to pursue their Voyage.

They approved *Nunez's* Advice, failed to the River which the *Indians* call *Darien*, and, having viewed the Place, found all according as he had described it. The Inhabitants and their Cazique, whose Name was *Cemano*, understanding that the *Spaniards* were coming, secured their Wives and Children, and with Five hundred Men waited for the *Spaniards* on a little Hill, who having performed their Devotions fell upon them, and soon put them to the Rout. They went to the Town, and, as they wished, found it full of Provisions. The next Day they marched up the Country and the Mountains thereabouts, where they found many Houses without Inhabitants, they being all fled, but there were Vessels, Household Goods, and Cotton Things like short Petticoats for Women, as also much Cotton spun and unspun, and Plates of Gold, such as they hung on their Breasts, and other Things, amounting in the whole to Ten thousand Pieces of fine Gold. *Enciso* being overjoyed at this Success, sent for the Men that had been left on the other Side of the Bay, because the Brigantines could not carry them at once. *Nunez* gained much Reputation by the Success of this Enterprise, and began to be in very high Esteem.

They all agreed to establish a Colony there, and to call it *Santa Maria el Antigua del Darien*, or *S. Mary the Antient of Darien*; the first being the Name of a Church at *Seville*, and the latter, the *Indian* Name of the River. *Nunez*, being now in great Credit, secretly contrived with his Friends to depose *Enciso* from the Command, alledging, that since they were out of the Limits of *Hojeda's* Government, he had no longer any Authority. Whilst these Things were in Agitation *Enciso* thought fit to order that no Man, upon Pain of Death, should trade with the *Indians* for Gold; and they, suspecting he did it to draw all to his own Advantage, unanimously threw off all Subjection to him, saying his Authority was expired on the Account above mentioned, and for other Reasons. *Enciso* thus deprived of the Government, they resolved to chuse Alcaldes and Regidores, which are the Titles of the chief Magistrates in *Spanish* Towns; and accordingly *Nunez de Balboa*, and *Zamadio*, were elected Alcaldes, and *Valdibia* was appointed Regidore. However, the Men, not being pleased with this Government, and repenting that they had excluded *Enciso*, begun to fall at variance about it; some alledging that it was not proper to be without a Commander in chief, and by this means they divided into three Parties. One of them demanding that *Enciso* should be restored till the King appointed another Governor; the second said they ought to submit themselves to *Nicuesa*, because that Country was within his District; the third consisted of *Nunez's* Friends, who would have the present Government stand, but, in case they would have a single Commander, insisted it should be *Nunez de Balboa*.

In the Midst of all these Debates, *Roderic Enriques de Colmenares* arrived with two Ships, having on Board Provisions, military Stores, and seventy Men. This Captain, meeting a great Storm by the Way, put into the Port of *Santa Maria*, fifty or sixty Leagues from *Carthagena*, by the *Indians* called *Gayra*; the Boats going there to water, the Lord of that Country came out with twenty of his Followers, clothed in a sort of Cotton Cloaks, though all *Indians* in those Parts go naked, and, drawing near, bid them not take of that Water, because it was not good, shewing them another River. Not being able

to come at it by the beating of the Sea, they returned to the first Place; and, as they were filling their Casks, on a sudden about seventy *Indians* rushed out, and, before the *Spaniards* could stand upon their Guard, wounded forty-five of them with their poisoned Arrows: The wounded Men swam away, because the Natives stayed the Long-boat, and, when they got to the Ships, they all died except one. Seven *Spaniards* hid themselves in a great hollow Tree, in order to swim to the Ship at Night.

But the Men on board, supposing them to be killed, failed away very melancholy, for the Bay of *Uraba*, to enquire after *Nicuesa*; and, finding no body on the East-side of the Bay, where they thought *Hojeda's* Men, or their own, might be, *Colmenares* was much surprized, suspecting they were all dead, or gone to some other Place; but thought fit to fire some Pieces of Cannon, that they might hear him if they were thereabouts; and to make Fires at Night, and Smokes by Day, on the adjacent high Rocks. They that were at *Santa Maria el Antigua del Darien* heard the Gun, which made all the Bay roar to the Westward, and made Signals, and he came to them about the middle of *November*, 1510. He distributed the Provisions he had among them all, and, by that Generosity, gained the Affections of the greater Part of those who opposed the calling of *Nicuesa*; so that they agreed he should be sent for, in order to take upon him the Government.

8. It is requisite for us, now, to turn to Don *Diego Nicuesa*, in order to see how he passed his time after leaving *Alonso Hojeda*, whom he had so generously assisted. A few Days after, he met with as great Mischiefs at Sea, as *Hojeda* had done on Shore; for he was tossed by a dreadful Tempest from without, and betrayed within by *Lopez de Olano*; who, perceiving the Squadron separate, followed one of the largest Ships into the River *Chagre*, in order to set up for himself, and left his Patron to shift as he could. After some very unlucky Adventures, he arrived at *Veragua*, which was their general Rendezvous; and there he laboured to persuade the People to abandon their original Design as impracticable, and to sail away to *Hispaniola*, there to make the most of what they had left; alledging, that without all doubt, *Nicuesa* was perished with all his Men.

While they were meditating this Project, there came a Shallop into the Port, with four Men on Board, who brought Advice that the Governor *Nicuesa* was not far off; that he had been stranded upon an unknown Coast, and marched a great Way with incredible Fatigue by Land, and was, with his Followers, in a most miserable Condition. Upon hearing this News, *Olano's* Heart relented, and he immediately dispatched the Shallop with Provisions and Refreshments, which came so opportunely, as to save *Nicuesa* and his Men from starving, which otherwise must have been their Fate. Yet this did not, in the least, soften his Resentments against his Lieutenant; whom, if it had not been for fear of the Men, he would have hanged; and, as it was, he put him in Irons, and threatened to send him in that Condition to *Spain*. It was not long, however, that this Authority remained in his Hands; for, endeavouring to settle a Colony on the River *Bethlehem*, he found himself so streightened for Provisions, that he was constrained to leave a Part of his Men there, and to sail with the rest to *Puerto Bello*; but the *Indians* not suffering them to land, he was constrained to proceed four or five Leagues farther to that Port, which, for Reasons before mentioned, *Columbus* called the *Bastimentos*; and, as soon as he entered it, he cried out *Paremos aqui en el nombre de Dios*, that is, *Let us stay here in the Name of God*.

There debarking his Men, he began to erect a Fortrefs, which, from the Expression before mentioned, was called *Nombre de Dios*. He had not been long there before he found himself in the same Plight as in the former Colony; so that he was obliged to send one of his Vessels to *Santo Domingo*, to beseech the Governor to grant him some Assistance. This Vessel was scarce out of the Port, before that with *Colmenares* on board arrived in the River of *Darien*, on the Message that has been before related from the *Spanish* Colony settled there. *Col-*

menares, and his Men, were so amazed to see *Nicueffa* and seventy of his Company he had left with him, lean, ragged, and bare-footed, that they could not forbear shedding of Tears, especially when they heard how many had died, and the great Disasters they had sustained. *Colmenares* did all he could to comfort *Nicueffa*, telling him that the People of *Darien* desired he would come and govern them; the Country there being good, that they had Provisions in Plenty, and did not want Gold. *Nicueffa* began to be in Spirits, and, having received Provisions, banished Despair, returning thanks to God for that great Mercy; however, as soon as this Joy was over, he lost the Reputation he had before gained in *Hispaniola*, of being a discreet and prudent Man; for, forgetting the miserable Condition he had been in, and not remembering that those People who submitted themselves to him had done it of their own Free-will; he had so little Sense as to declare in Public, that he would take all their Gold from them, and punish them over and above, which was soon spread abroad.

Nor was this the only Error he was guilty of, for he suffered a Caravel to go before, having a mind to view some Islands that lay in the Way. That same Night *Lopez de Olano*, who was still kept Prisoner, spoke with some of those that came from *Darien* to incense them, and, when he was going aboard, he said, *Nicueffa* fancies that *Hojeda's* Men will receive him as we did, when he had been lost at *Veragua*. *James Albetes* and the Bachelor, *Corral*, went aboard the Caravel that went before, and gave notice at *Darien* of what *Nicueffa* had said concerning taking away their Gold and punishing them, that he was become cruel and ill natured, abusing those that were with him, and more to that effect. *Nicueffa* from the little Islands sent *John de Cayzedo* to acquaint the People of *Darien* that he was coming, and, he being privately his Enemy, incensed them still more than the other two had done before; whereupon they resolved not to admit him among them; and this Resolution was chiefly forwarded by *Nunez de Balboa*, who advised all the prime Men to keep him out; though, at the same time, underhand he called the public Notary, and declared that he was not against *Nicueffa*, and required him to give him a Certificate of the same.

Nicueffa having spent eight Days among the Islands, taking some *Indians*, when he came to the landing Place at *Darien*, was amazed to find many of the *Spaniards* on the Shore, and one of them, in the Name of all the rest, requiring him to return to his own Government at *Nombre de Dios*; but, desiring to be heard, and returning again the next Day, as soon as he landed they went to seize him, but, being extraordinary swift of Foot, none of them could overtake him. *Nunez* hindered the People from proceeding any farther, fearing they might do him some harm, and from that time was much his Friend. *Nicueffa* intreated them that in case they would not accept of him as their Governor, he might, at least, be admitted as a Companion, which they refusing, he farther prayed they would keep him as a Prisoner, for he would rather die than go back to starve at *Nombre de Dios*.

But, notwithstanding all this, they forced him, and about seventeen of his Men, into an old rotten Bark, and ordered them to make their Way back to the Place they had quitted, on pain of being sunk where they were. There is no doubt they endeavoured this, but with what Success, is uncertain, only thus much is known, that they were never seen any more. There was, indeed, a Story current in the *Indies*, that when the *Spaniards* came to settle themselves in *Cuba*, as shall be presently related; they found this Inscription cut in the Bark of a large Tree: *Here the unfortunate Nicueffa finished his Miseries and his Life together.*

9. The Admiral, Don *Diego Columbus*, was very much blamed for not endeavouring, to the best of his Power, to succour these Adventurers, notwithstanding that the Governments bestowed upon them were contrary to his just Rights; and his Enemies made use of this to his Prejudice, at the Court of *Spain*, which had always a Jealousy of him, and therefore readily listened to whatever Complaints were brought against him. The Admiral, on his Side, was so sensible, and so well apprized of this, that he

left no Stone unturned to secure himself those Countries upon which, he conceived from the Contract made with his Father, he had just Pretensions.

Upon these Grounds, having understood, at the beginning of the Year 1511, that the Court was very desirous of having the great Island of *Cuba* discovered and planted, though they had no accounts of any rich Mines therein; he resolved to be beforehand with them, and to send a Body of Men thither, under the Command of a Person whom he could trust; that having a Lieutenant there of his own, the Court might have no Pretence for granting it away to any new Undertakers, as they had done that Part of the Continent which his Father had discovered, and even the Island of *Jamaica*, which, however, he had recovered. To this Purpose he made choice of *James Velasquez*, being the wealthiest and best beloved of all the first *Spanish* Inhabitants in *Hispaniola*; besides, he was a Man of Experience, of a mild and affable Temper, though he knew how to maintain his Authority, and very discreet. As soon as it was known, in *Hispaniola*, that *James Velasquez* was going to make Settlements in *Cuba*, abundance of People resolved to bear him Company, some, because he was beloved, and others, because they were ruined and in Debt. All these being about three hundred Men, rendezvoused in the Town of *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, to embark on board four Ships, that Place being at the extremity of *Hispaniola*.

But, before we proceed, it is fit to observe, that the Province of *Guatiaba*, lying next to *Cuba*, the Distance between the two Points being but eighteen Leagues, many *Indians* went over to *Cuba* in their Canoes, and among them passed over, with as many of his Men as could, a Cazique of the Province of *Guatiaba*, called *Hatuey*, a brave and discreet Man. He settled on the nearest Country, known by the Name of *Mayci*, and, possessing himself of that Part, kept the People as Subjects, but not as Slaves; for it was never found in the *Indies*, that any Difference was made between a free People, or even their own Children, and Slaves, unless it were in *New Spain*, and the other Provinces, where they used to sacrifice Prisoners of War to their Idols, which was not practised in those Islands. This Cazique, *Hatuey*, fearing that the *Spaniards* would some time or other pass into *Cuba*, always kept Spies to know what was done in *Hispaniola*; and being informed of the Admiral's Design, he assembled his People, who were most martial, and, putting them in mind of their many Sufferings under the *Spaniards*, told them, "They did all that for a great Lord they were very fond of, which he would shew them." And then, taking some Gold out of a little Palm-tree Basket, added, "This is the Lord whom they serve, him they follow, and, as you have already heard, they are about passing over hither only to seek this Lord; therefore let us make a Festival, and dance to him, to the end, that when they come, he may order them not to do us harm". Accordingly they all began to sing and dance till they were quite tired, for it was their Custom to dance as long as they could stand, from Night-fall till Break of Day, and their Dances were as in *Hispaniola*, to the Music of their Songs; and though fifty thousand Men and Women were assembled, no one differed from the rest in the Motions of their Hands, Feet, and Bodies. But those of *Cuba* far exceeded the Natives of *Hispaniola*, their Songs being more agreeable: When they were spent with singing and dancing before the little Basket of Gold, *Hatuey* bid them not to keep the Lord of the Christians in any Place whatsoever, for though he were in their Bowels, they would fetch him out, and therefore they should cast him into the River, under Water, where they would not find him, and so they did.

It may not be amiss, here, to give a Description of *Cuba*, from the *Spanish* Writers: This Island is 230 Leagues in Length, from Cape *San Antonio* to the Point of *Mayci*. The Breadth from Cape *Cruze* to Port *Manati* is forty-five, and there it begins to taper, and so runs on to the Westernmost Point, narrowing to about twelve Leagues, from *Matamano* to *Havanna*; its Situation is within the Tropic of Cancer, from twenty to twenty-one Degrees: Most of it is flat, full of Woods and Forests, but,

but, from the Eastern Point of *Mayci*, for thirty Leagues, there are vast high Mountains, as there are beyond it to the Westward, and in the Middle there are Hills, but not very high. Very fine Rivers run down on both the North and South Sides, full of Fish, and especially Skates and Olives, that go up from the Sea towards the middle of it. On the South Side there is a prodigious Number of little Islands, which the first Admiral, Don *Christopher Columbus*, called the *Queen's Garden*. There are others, though not so many, on the North-side, which *Velasques* called the *King's Garden*. On the South-side, about the middle, there runs down, into the Sea, a mighty River, which the *Indians* call *Cauto*; the Banks of it are very agreeable, and in it are vast multitudes of Alligators.

This Island is very well wooded, so that Men may travel almost two hundred and thirty Leagues always under Trees of several Sorts, and particularly sweet-scented and red Cedars, of which they make large Canoes, that contain fifty or sixty Persons; and of this Sort there were once great Numbers in *Cuba*. There are abundance of Storax Trees, so that if a Man in a Morning go up to a high Place, the Vapours that rise from the Earth smell of Storax, coming from the Fire the *Indians* make at Night, and drawn up when the Sun rises. Another Sort of Trees produce a Fruit called *Xaquas*, which, being beaten, and laid by four or five Days, though not gathered ripe, are full of Liquor like Honey, and better tasted than the sweetest Pears. There are abundance of wild Vines, that run up high, bearing Grapes, and Wine has been made of them, but somewhat sharp; and there being an infinite Quantity of them throughout the Island the *Spaniards* were wont to say, they had seen a Vineyard that extended two hundred and thirty Leagues. Some of the Trunks of those Vines were as thick as a Man's Body, which proceeded from the extraordinary Moisture and Fertility of the Soil.

All the Island is very pleasant, and more temperate than *Hispaniola*, is very healthy, and has safer Harbours for Ships than if they had been made by Art, as is that of *St. Jago* on the Southern Coast, in the Shape of a Cross; that of *Xaquas* scarce to be matched in the World, the Ships passing to it through a narrow Mouth not above a Cross-bow Shot over, and then turn into the open Part of it, which is about ten Leagues in Compass, with three little Islands so situated that they may fasten their Ships to Stakes on them, and lie safe from the Winds of all the Compass, being sheltered by Mountains as if they were in a House, and there the *Indians* had Pens to shut up the Fish. On the North Side there are good Harbours, the best being that which was called *de Carenas*, and now the *Havanna*, so large that few can compare to it; and twenty Leagues to the Eastward of it is that of *Matanoas*, which is not quite safe. About the Middle of the Island is another good Port called *del Principe*; and almost at the End that of *Baraca*, where good Ebony is cut; between which there are other good anchoring Places, tho' not so large or commodious as those we have mentioned.

There are abundance of Fowl in *Cuba*, as Pigeons, Turtle-doves, Partridges like those in *Spain* but smaller, of which there are none in the other Islands, nor Cranes, except on the Continent: Another Sort of Birds there was, of which they had none on the Continent, of the Size of Cranes, which at first are very white, and by degrees turn red, now called *Flamences*, and would have been much valued by the *Indians* of *New Spain*, if they had them, for the curious Feather-works they made; these move always five hundred or a thousand in a Flock; they look like Sheep bedaubed with red; they seldom fly, but stand on the Ground in the Sea, their Legs in the Water, and drink the Salt-water; if the *Indians* took any to keep in their Houses, they were forced to throw Salt into their Water. There is an infinite Multitude of Parrots, and about *May*, when they are young, they eat them, being very good Meat. They had few Land Animals, except a kind of Rabbits like those in *Hispaniola*; but to make amends for this, they had vast Quantities of both Sea and River Fish, especially Tortoises, excellent in their Kind, and very wholesome, curing the Itch and Leprosy in such as were content to make them their constant Food. As for *Indian* Corn, no Island in the *West Indies* produced it in greater Plenty;

and, taking all things together, it might be pronounced one of the finest Countries in that Part of the World, and one of the best provided. After the *Spaniards* had been settled there some time, they found considerable Quantities of Gold in the Rivers, some very pure and rich, but for the most part of less Value than the Gold in *Hispaniola*, or in the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*.

After having spoken of the Country itself, and of its several Products, it is but just that we should say something of the Natives, before they were conquered. The first Inhabitants of this Island were the same as those of the *Lucayos*, a good sort of People, and good-tempered. They had *Caziques*, and Towns of two or three hundred Houses, with several Families in each of them, as was usual in *Hispaniola*: They had no Religion, as having no Temples, or Idols, or Sacrifices; but they had Physicians, or conjuring Priests, as in *Hispaniola*, who, it was thought, had Communication with the Devil, and their Questions answered by him. They fasted three or four Months to obtain this Favour, eating nothing but the Juice of Herbs; and, when reduced to extreme Weakness, they were worthy of that Apparition, and to be informed whether the Seasons of the Year would be favourable or otherwise, what Children would be born, whether those born would live, and such like Questions. These were their Oracles, and these Conjurers they called *Bebiques*, who led the People into many Superstitions and Fopperies, curing the Sick by blowing on them, and such other exterior Actions, and mumbling some Words between their Teeth.

Those People of *Cuba* knew that Heaven, the Earth, and other things, had been created; and said they had much Information concerning the Flood, and that the World had been destroyed by Water, from three Persons that came three several Ways. Men of above seventy Years of Age said, that an old Man, knowing the Deluge was to come, built a great Ship, and went into it with his Family and abundance of Animals; that he sent out a Crow, which did not return for some time, staying to feed on the dead Bodies, but afterwards returned with a green Branch; with other Particulars, as far as *Noah's* two Sons covering him when drunk, and the other's scoffing at it; adding, that the *Indians* descended from the latter, and therefore had no Coats or Cloaks; but that the *Spaniards* descended from the others that covered him, and were therefore clothed, and had Horses. As to their Laws and Customs, since they lived in Towns and had Lords, it is likely their Will was a Law; many affirm, that the Natives of *Cuba*, *St. John de Puerto Rico*, *Hispaniola*, and *Jamaica*, were not guilty of the Sin of Sodomy, nor did they eat human Flesh, though *Oviedo* is of opinion that they were Sodomites; other Men, of as much Reputation as he, deny it, and reprove him for it; and the most probable Opinion is, that all those Islands were first inhabited by People that came over from *Florida*.

After saying so much of *Cuba*, let us go on to what *James Velasquez* did there: He set out from *Salvatierra de la Zavana* in November 1511, and landed at a Port called *Palina*, in the Territories of the above-mentioned *Cazique Hatuey*, that went thither from *Hispaniola*, who stood on his Defence, taking the Advantage of the Woods, where the *Spaniards* could not make use of their Horses. After two Months thus spent, the *Indians* hid themselves in the thickest Part of those Forests, and the *Spaniards* hunting them, they carried all they took to *James Velasquez*, who distributed them among his Men, not as Slaves but Servants. *Hatuey* withdrew into the most inaccessible Places; however, after much Time and Toil, he was taken and carried to *James Velasquez*, who caused him to be burnt; whereupon all the Province of *Mayci* submitted, none after such an Example of Severity daring to hold out. When it was known in *Jamaica* that *Velasquez* was in *Cuba*, many of those who were with *John de Esquivel* asked leave to go over and serve under him: *Panfilo de Narvaez*, a Gentleman well born, went a Commander of thirty Archers; he was a Man of a graceful Presence, well-behaved, but not over discreet. He was well received with his Archers by *Velasquez*, who gave him

him the chief Command next himself, so that he governed all things under him. The *Indians* of the Province of *Mayca* being quite suppressed, *Velasquez* began to think of dividing them among the *Spaniards*, as *Obando* had done by them in *Hispaniola*, and took to himself those of five Towns, where he had been Lieutenant; and to this purpose he founded a Town at a Harbour on the North Side, which Place was by the Natives called *Barracoa*; and this was the first *Spanish* Colony in that Island.

From this Place he sent *Narvaez* with thirty Men to the Province of *Bayamo*, fifty Leagues from *Barracoa*, a fine open Country, and very agreeable: Only *Narvaez* rode, all the rest marching on foot. The Natives of the Country came out to meet them with Provisions, because they had no Gold, being astonished at the Sight of the Mare, and a Man on her Back. The *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in an *Indian* Town, the Inhabitants whereof, observing their small Number, resolved to rid themselves of them. Though *Narvaez* was not very cautious, he had his Mare in the same thatched House where he lay, and a Guard at Night. Near seven thousand *Indians* assembled from all Parts of the Province, with their Bows and Arrows: They fell upon *Narvaez* and his Men after Midnight, though it was unusual for them to fight at that time: They gave the Attack in two Parties, and found the Sentinels asleep. The best of it was, that being earnest to plunder the *Spaniards*, for they ever coveted to be cloathed since first they saw them, they did not observe the time they had agreed on, so that one Party was more forward than the other, and entered the Town shouting.

Narvaez awaked in a Consternation: The *Indians* went into the thatched Houses, where finding the *Spaniards*, they neither wounded nor killed them, being wholly intent upon getting their Cloaths. The Shouts having surprized them, the *Spaniards* in their Fright knew not what they were doing. Those *Indians* *Narvaez* had carried with him from *Jamaica* lighted Firebrands; and, this shewing the *Spaniards* their Danger, *Narvaez*, though wounded by a Stone, found Means to get to his Mare and mount her: At that time, it seems, Part of the *Spanish* Furniture was hung with Bells, and the *Indians* hearing the Sound of them, and seeing *Narvaez* coming after them on a round Trot, with his Sword drawn in his right Hand, they not only abandoned their Enterprize, but fled out of their Country; and *Velasquez* being informed of this, sent a Detachment to join *Narvaez*, and so became absolute Master of that Province, the Inhabitants taking shelter in different Parts of the Island, and some, from their first Impressions of Terror, flying to the full Distance of fifty Leagues, leaving none but their old and decrepid People behind them.

10. We have already shewn, how *Juan Ponce de Leon*, by the Interest of *Nicholas Obando*, was restored to the Government of *Puerto Rico*, and how he sent his Predecessors *Cerron* and *Diaz* Prisoners into *Spain*, which, tho' he looked upon it as a bold Stroke in Politics, turned upon himself; for they, presenting a Petition against him to the Court of *Spain*, and being strongly supported by the Admiral's Interest, were sent back again in their former Employments; by which *Ponce de Leon* found himself reduced to the State of a private Man. But having made a good use of his Time, he had acquired a large Fortune, which induced him to think of regaining his Credit and Power by making Discoveries: And accordingly, on the 1st of *March* 1512, he sailed from the Port of *St. German*, with two stout Ships fitted out at his own Expence, steering through the Islands called *Lucayos*, till, on the 2d of *April*, he discovered Land unknown to the *Spaniards* before that time, in the Latitude of 30° 8'. Charmed with which Piece of good Fortune, he ran along the Coast in search of some Port, and at Night anchored near the Shore, in eight Fathom Water: Believing that Land to be an Island, they named it *Florida*, because it appeared beautiful, having many pleasant Groves, and was all level, as also because they discovered it at *Easter*, which the *Spaniards* call *Pascha de Flores*. *Juan Ponce* went ashore there to discover and take possession.

On the 8th they sailed again, and on the 20th of *April*

they perceived some *Indians*, where they anchored. *Juan Ponce* being called by the *Indians* went ashore, and they immediately endeavoured to possess themselves of the Boat, the Oars, and the Arms; which was not refented, that they might not provoke them, till one of them stunning a Sailor with a Stroke of a Cudgel he gave him on the Head, the *Spaniards* were obliged to fight, and had two of their Men wounded with Darts and Arrows pointed with sharp Bones, and the *Indians* received little Damage. Night parting them, *Juan Ponce* with some Difficulty got his Men together, and sailed thence to a River, where they wooded and watered; sixty *Indians* came to oppose them, one of whom was taken to give some Information, and to learn *Spanish*. The River they called *de la Cruz*, or of the Cross, leaving one of Stone there, with an Inscription. On the 8th of *May* they doubled the Cape of *Florida*, giving it the Name of *Cabo de las Corrientes*, or *Cape Currents*, because they are stronger there than the Winds, and came to an Anchor near to a Town called *Abacoa*. All this Coast, from *Cape Arracifes* to this *Cape Corrientes*, lies North and South one Point to the Eastward, is clean, and has six Fathom Water; the Cape lying in eighteen Degrees fifteen Minutes North Latitude. They sailed on till they met with two Islands to the Southward, in twenty-seven Degrees; one of which, being a League in Compass, they named *Santa Monta*, and watered there.

On the 15th of *May* they proceeded ten Leagues, along a Ridge of small Islands, as far as to two white ones, and called them all together *los Martyres*, or the Martyrs, because the high Rocks at a distance look like Men that are suffering, and the Name has been regarded as prophetic, on account of the many that have since been cast away there: They held on sometimes North and sometimes North-east, and on the 24th ran along the Coast to the Southward, as far as some small Islands that lay out at Sea, and yet did not perceive that was the Continent. A Way appearing to be between them and the Coast for the Ships to take in Wood and Water, they continued there till the 3d of *June*, and careened one of the Ships called *St. Christopher*. Here the *Indians* came out in Canoes to view the Christians, being the first time they did so, for the *Spaniards*, tho' called by them, would not go ashore. When they went about to weigh an Anchor, only to remove it, those People, thinking they were going away, came out in their Canoes, and laid hold of the Cable to draw the Ship away; whereupon the Long-boat was sent after them, and the Men going ashore took four Women, and broke two old Canoes. At other times when they came, there was no failing out, as finding no Opportunity, but on the contrary they bartered some Skins and Gold, tho' but indifferent.

On the 4th of *June*, while they were waiting for a Wind to go in search for the Cazique *Carlos*, who the *Indians* that were aboard said had Gold, a Canoe came to the Ships with an *Indian* that understood the *Spaniards*, supposed to be a Native of *Hispaniola*, or some of the Islands inhabited by Christians; he bid them stay, for the Cazique would send Gold to barter. They waiting accordingly, saw twenty Canoes, Part of them made fast two and two together; some of them went to the Anchors, others to the Ships, and began to fight: Those at the Anchors, not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the Cables; but a Long-boat was sent out, which obliged them to fly, taking four, and killing some. *Juan Ponce* sent two of them to tell the Cazique, that, though he had killed a *Spaniard*, he would make peace with him. The next Day the Boats went to found the Harbour, and the Men landed. Some *Indians* came and told them, that the Cazique would come the next Day to trade; but it was to gain Time, to draw Men and Canoes together, as it appeared; for at eleven o' Clock eighty Canoes well equipped attacked the nearest Ship, and fought from Morning to Night, without doing the *Spaniards* any harm, the Arrows falling short, because they durst not come near, for fear of the Cross-bows and great Guns: At length they drew off, and the *Spaniards*, having staid there nine Days, resolved on *Monday* the

14th to return to *Hispaniola* and *Puerto Rico*, discovering some Islands in the Way, of which the *Indians* they had with them gave an Account.

They sailed along Islands till the 21st, when they arrived at the small Islands they called *las Tortugas*, or the *Tortoises*; because they took one hundred and seventy of them in a short time in one of them, and might have taken many more if they would. On the 28th, seeing Land, they came to an Anchor to trim their Yards and Sails, but could not tell what Country it was, most of them took it for *Cuba*, because they found Canoes, Dogs, Cuts of Knives, and other Iron Tools, yet none of them knew it to be that Island. The 25th of July they were among a parcel of low Islands, without knowing any thing of that Place, till *Juan Ponce* sent to view an Island, which appeared to be *Bahama*, and so an old *Indian* Woman, they had found alone in another Island, told them, as did *James Miruelo*, a Pilot, who happened to be there with a Boat from *Hispaniola*; having ranged backward and forward till the 23d of September, and refitted the Ships, *Juan Ponce* resolved to send one of them to take a View of the Island *Bimini*, where the *Indians* said there was a Spring that made old People young again. *John Perez de Ortubia* was appointed Captain of that Ship, and *Antony de Alaminos* Pilot; they took two *Indians* to pilot them over the Sholes, there being so many that it is a difficult Matter to pass between them. Twenty Days after *Juan Ponce* returned to *Puerto Rico*, as did, some time after him, the Ship which he had sent, which found the Island of *Bimini*, but not the famous Spring. Yet the Island was large, pleasant, and diversified with Hills, Meadows, Plains, many Rivers and delightful Groves.

It is certain that *Juan Ponce de Leon*, besides the main Design of making new Discoveries, which all the *Spaniards* then aspired to do, was intent upon finding out the Spring of *Bimini*, and that River in *Florida*, the *Indians* of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola* affirmed old People bathing themselves in became young again; and it was certain that many *Indians* of *Cuba*, firmly believing that there was such a River, had, not long before the *Spaniards* discovered that Island, passed over into *Florida* in search of that River, and there built a Town where the Race of them still continue. This Report prevailed with all the Princes and *Caziques* in those Parts, to endeavour to find out a River that wrought such a wonderful Change; so that there was not a Brook, nay, scarce a Lake or Puddle in all *Florida* but what they bathed themselves in, and there are some still that persist in it, ignorantly believing that it is the River now called *Jordan*, at the Cape of *Santa Helena*; never reflecting that the *Spaniards* first gave it that Name, in the Year 1520, when the Country of *Chicora* was discovered. Though this Voyage, made by *Juan Ponce*, turned to little or no Account to him, yet it gave him Encouragement to go to Court to sue for some Reward for the Countries he had discovered, believing them to be all Islands and no Continent, which Notion continued some Years. However, the Voyage was beneficial on account of the Rout soon after found out, to return to *Spain* through the Channel of *Bahama*, which was first performed by the Pilot, *Antony de Alaminos*.

For the better understanding of *Juan Ponce's* Voyage, it is to be observed that there are three different Archipelagos of *Lucayo* Islands. The first the *Bahama* Islands, which gave Name to the Channel where the Currents are most impetuous: The second they called *de los Organos*, and the third *Martyres*, which are next to the Shore of *Tortoises* to the Westward, which last being all Sand, cannot be seen at a Distance, and therefore many Ships have perished on them, and along that Coast of the Channel of *Bahama* and the Islands of *Tortugas*. *Havanna*, in the Island of *Cuba*, is to the Southward, and *Florida* to the Northward, and between them are all the before mentioned Islands of *Organos*, *Bahama*, *Martyres*, and the *Tortugas*; having a Channel with a violent Current, twenty Leagues over in the narrowest Place, between *Havanna* and *los Martyres*, and fourteen Leagues from *los Martyres* to *Florida*; between Islands to the Eastward, and the widest Part of this Passage to the Westward, is forty Leagues, with many Sholes and deep Channels, but there

is no Way for Ships or Brigantines, only for Canoes. But the Passage from *Havanna*, to come to *Spain*, is along the Channel of *Bahama*, between the said *Havanna*, *Martyres*, the *Lucayos*, and Cape *Canaveral*; and this was the great Merit of *Juan Ponce de Leon*, who was well rewarded in *Spain*. There happened about this time a very singular and melancholy Event, which, because I find it recorded by many *Spanish* Historians, and as it shews to what a Height Corruption was grown in so short a time, as since the *Spaniards* had settled in the *Indies*; it seems but reasonable that it should find a Place here for the Instruction of the Reader. The Reports that had reached *Spain* of the manner in which the poor Natives were treated in the *Indies*, being assigned to the Proprietors of Land as if they were Cattle that grazed upon it; it moved some religious Men, of the *Dominican* Order, to go over to the new World, in order to see what Progress they should be able to make among the *Indians*, by the Use of spiritual Weapons only.

Three of these Fathers landed in the Island of *Porto Rico*, where one of them falling sick, the other two procured a Vessel to carry them over to the Main, where they were landed not far from that City, which *Hojeda* and *Vespucius* saw in their first Voyage, and called it from its standing in the Water *Venezuela*, that is, *little Venice*; where they found the People very docile and tractable, and were in a fair Way of making Converts to the Christian Religion; but, very unluckily for them, a *Spanish* Pirate that made it his Business to steal *Indians*, anchored on the Coast, and the poor People, confident of being well treated by Christians, went on board the Vessel with their *Cazique* at their Head, of which the Pirate taking advantage, weighed anchor, and made all the Sail he could for *Hispaniola*. This, as may be easily imagined, raised a great Tumult among the *Indians*, who were on the very Point of putting the two *Dominicans* to Death; when another *Spanish* Ship arrived in the Port, commanded by a Gentleman of honour; he pacified the *Indians* as well as he could, and having received Letters containing a true state of the Fact, from the Fathers, he promised that in four Months time their *Cazique* and the rest of their Countrymen should be sent home again.

As he really intended to perform what he had promised, so on his return to *Hispaniola*, he applied himself to the Royal Audience, or supreme Tribunal, at *Santo Domingo*, setting forth the Case as it stood, and the Danger that the two Priests were in, if these *Indians* were not sent back in due time. But, alas! it so happened, that these very People had been purchased as Slaves by some of the Members of the Royal Audience, and they were not so much in love with Justice as to release them. The Consequence was, that when the four Months were expired, the *Indians*, to revenge the Loss of their Prince and Relations, murdered the two *Dominicans*, whose Names were *Francisco de Cordova*, and *Juan Garcias*.

II. It is now time for us to return to the Transactions of *Don Diego de Velasquez*, in the Island of *Cuba*, who, having reduced the best Part of that Country, and settled several *Spanish* Colonies therein, began to be very desirous of setting up for himself, and of shaking off the Authority of the Admiral *James Columbus*, by whom he had been placed there. The Admiral was by this time recalled into *Spain*, and opposed this Project of *Velasquez* to the utmost of his Power; which, however, was now sunk so low, that he was not able to carry his Point; for though *Velasquez* was still left accountable to him for the Exercise of his Authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him but with the Consent of the Crown, which so well answered the Purpose of *Velasquez*, that he resolved to execute, without farther Delay, a Project which he had long meditated of fitting out Ships for Discovery.

He no sooner made his Intentions known, than numbers of *Spanish* Planters, who were grown rich, embraced the Proposal, and offered to contribute large Sums towards carrying it into execution. Amongst those who distinguished themselves on this Occasion, *Francis Hernandez de Cordova*, a rich and brave Man, who had *Indians* of his own, offered to go as Captain of those Men, which, being granted, he fitted out two Ships and a Bri-

gantine with all necessary Stores: He lifted one hundred and ten Soldiers, and sailed from *Santo Domingo*, in *Cuba*, to the *Havanna*. They left the *Havanna* on the 8th of *February*, 1517, and on the 12th they doubled Cape *St. Antony*, holding on their Course to the Westward, because the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos* said the first Admiral had always inclined that Way when he sailed with him, being a Boy.

They met with a great Storm that held them two Days, in which they expected to have perished; and after twenty-one Days being at Sea, lying by at Nights, they saw Land, and, from their Ships, could descry a large Town, which was about two Leagues from the Coast. As they drew nigh two Canoes full of Men appeared: They hailed them, the Canoes drew near, and thirty *Indians* went aboard the Commodore, having Jackets without Sleeves, and pieces of Cloth wrapped about them instead of Breeches. The *Spaniards* gave them Meat, some *Spanish* Wine, and strings of Beads. They made Signs, for there was no Interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next Day with more Canoes to carry them ashore; very much admiring the Ships, the Men, their Beards, their Cloaths, their Arms, and other things they had never seen before. The next Day they returned with twelve Canoes and an *Indian*, who was the *Cazique*, crying out *Conez Cotoche*, that is, come to my House; and, for this Reason, that Place was called *Cape Cotoche*. The *Spaniards*, having consulted, hoisted out their Boats, and in them, and the Canoes, went ashore with their Arms, where an infinite number of People waited to see them.

The *Cazique* still pressed them to go to his House, and they, observing so many Tokens of Friendship, concluded to do so, in order to take a view of the Country; when they came to the Wood, the *Cazique* called out to a great Number of armed Men that lay in Ambush, and immediately there appeared a Multitude in Armour, made of quilted Cotton, with Targets, wooden Swords having edges of Flints, large Cutlasses, Spears and Slings, adorned with Plumes of Feathers, and their Faces painted of several Colours. They gave a hideous Shout, pouring in at the same time such a shower of Stones and Arrows that they wounded fifteen *Spaniards*, after which they fell on Sword in Hand, and fought with much Resolution. The *Spaniards* had only twenty-five Cross-bows and Muskets, which were well plyed. But, when the *Indians* felt the Sharpness of the *Spaniards* Swords, they fled, many being wounded, and seventeen killed. There were taken in this Action two Youths who became Christians, and were called *Julian* and *Melchior*; the *Spaniards* returned to their Ships well pleased, for having found a rational sort of People, and other things different from what there were at *Darien*, and in the Islands; and, more especially, Houses of Stone and Lime, which had not, till then, been seen in the *Indies*.

They held on their Course down the Coast, always lying by at Night; and, having advanced fifteen Days after this manner, they found a large Town, and a Bay near it, which they believed to be a River where they might water, which was very acceptable, as they were in want. They landed, and understanding the *Indians* called it *Quimpeche*, they from thence called it *Campeche*. Being come to a Well of good Water, of which the Natives used to drink; when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their Ships; fifty *Indians* clad in Jackets, with large Cotton Cloths instead of Cloaks, came, and, by Signs, asked them what they wanted, and, whether they came from those Parts where the Sun rises, inviting them to go to their Town: When they had seriously considered on it, and put themselves into a good posture of Defence, for fear of being served as they had been at *Cotoche*, they went to certain Places of Worship built with Lime and Stone, where there were Idols of various ugly Shapes, as they had seen in the former, with fresh Signs of Blood, as also Crosses painted, which they were much amazed at.

Abundance of People, Men, Women, and Children, came flocking, looking upon them with Astonishment, and some of them smiled; soon after two Parties of armed Men appeared in good order, like those of *Cotoche*;

from one of the Temples issued ten Men in very long white Mantles, their Hair long, black, and twisted up in Rolls behind: In their Hands they had little earthen Fire-pans, into which they cast Gum Anime, which they called *Copal*, and perfumed the *Spaniards*, bidding them to depart their Country or they would kill them; then they began to beat their little Kettle-Drums, and to sound their Horns, Trumpets, and Pipes. The *Spaniards*, because the Men that had been wounded at *Cotoche* were not yet well recovered, and two died, retired to the Shore in good Order, still pursued by the armed Parties, and embarked again without any Loss. When they had sailed six Days longer the Wind blew North, bearing upon the Coast, so that they had like to have perished. When the Storm ceased they endeavoured to draw near the Shore to water, because their Casks were leaky, so that their Water lasted not long. They anchored near a Town, in a Bay, where they landed in the Afternoon, a League from the Town called *Potonchan*, and filled their Vessels at some Wells they found near certain Places of Worship of Lime and Stone, like the former. When ready to return they perceived armed Men advancing towards them from the Town, just as before. They asked whether they came from those Parts where the Sun rises, the *Spaniards* answered they did; and then the *Indians* drew back to some Houses, because the Night came on, and the *Spaniards*, for the same Reason, resolved to stay there; a great Noise being heard soon after, the *Spaniards*, upon Debate, were divided, some being for embarking, and others thinking the Retreat dangerous, because there seemed to be three hundred *Indians* to one of them.

When Day appeared they perceived that the first Parties had been joined by others, who, incompassing them, poured in a great shower of Arrows, Stones and Darts, which wounded near eighty *Spaniards*, with whom they closed, using their Swords and Spears; and, though the *Spaniards* were not idle with their Fire-arms, Cross-bows, and Swords, the *Indians* frightened them, but, when they felt the *Spanish* Swords, they drew farther off, the better to take aim with their Arrows; whilst they fought they cried out *Calachani*, *Calachani*, which, in the Language of *Yucatan*, signifies *Cazique*, or Captain, meaning that they should shoot at the Commander, *Hernand de Cordova*, and they were not wanting in Endeavours, for they shot twelve Arrows into him, which, it was generally said, he might have avoided, for there was no Encounter in which he was not foremost, though there was more Occasion for his directing than acting. He finding himself so much wounded, and, that the Courage of his Men could not vanquish such a Multitude, continually increasing, they made a most furious Onset, and broke through them, the *Indians* still pursuing them with hideous Noise and Cries; when they came to the Boats, their Number being great they were ready to sink, but still they made off, the Natives shouting at them, and running into the Water to wound them with their Spears: Seven and forty *Spaniards* were killed in this Action, and five died aboard the Ships. The wounded Men endured most piercing Pains, their Wounds having been wet with the Sea-water, and swelling, cursing the Pilot *Alaminos* for his Discovery, who still persisted that this Country was an Island, and they called this Bay *de Mala Prelea*, that is of the *bad Fight*, for the ill Success they had met with. The *Spaniards* that escaped aboard the Ships gave God Thanks for their Deliverance out of that Danger; but, being all wounded except one, they resolved to return to *Cuba*, and, in order to it, burnt one of their Ships that was leaky, because they wanted able Hands to sail them both, and ply the Pump. Being distressed for want of Drink, having left their Casks at *Potonchan*, some of the foudest Men went ashore, who could get no Water but what was brackish, which they took at a Creek where there were many Alligators, and therefore they called it *de los Lagartos*, or of *Alligators*. *Antony de Alaminos* advising with the other Pilots, it was resolved to stand over for *Florida*, and, accordingly, in four Days they discovered that Country. *Alaminos* was sent ashore with twenty of the stoutest Soldiers, carrying Cross-bows and Muskets, and Captain *Francis Hernandez*, who was much wounded,

wounded, begged he would speedily bring him some Water, because he was perishing for want of it.

When landed near a Creek, *Alaminos* told them he knew the Place, having been there before with *Juan Ponce de Leon*, and that they must be upon their Guard; having accordingly posted Centinels along an open Shore, they dug Pits, where they found good Water, drank some, and washed out Linen for the wounded Men. When they were about returning, they perceived one of the Sentinels come running, and crying, *To Sea, to Sea; for warlike Indians are coming*. On the other hand, they spied many Canoes coming down the Creek. The *Indians* with long Bows and Arrows, Spears and Swords, after their manner, cloathed in Deer-skins and being of a large Size, were very dreadful. They let fly their Arrows, and at the first Discharge wounded six of the Soldiers; but seeing the Effect of the Cross-bows, Muskets, and Swords, they made to the Canoes, which pressed hard upon the Sailors, and had wounded *Antony de Alaminos* in the Throat. The Soldiers closed with them, being up to the Waste in Water, and with their Swords made them quit the Boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they asked the Soldier who had stood Sentinel, What was become of the other Sentinel? He said, he had seen him step aside with a Hatchet in his Hand, to cut down a *Palmito* going towards the Creek along which the *Indians* came, and presently had heard the Cry of a *Spaniard*, which made him come to bring the Alarm. That Soldier was the only one who escaped at *Potonchan*, and it was his hard Fate to perish there; for the others followed the Tract of the *Indians*, and found a Palm Tree he had begun to cut, and near it a greater Tract than elsewhere, which made them conclude that they had carried him away alive, and though they had searched for above an Hour, they returned to the Ships without finding him.

The Men were so extreme thirsty, and desirous of Water, that, as soon as the Boat came to the Ship's side, a Soldier leaped into it, and laid hold of a Jar, and drank so much that he swelled, and died within two Days. Sailing from thence, in two Days and Nights they arrived at the little Islands, called *los Martyres*, where the greatest Depth being but four Fathoms, the Ship touched upon some Rocks, and became very leaky; but it pleased God that, after so many Sufferings, they arrived at *Port Carenas*, now the *Havanna*; from whence Captain *Hernandez de Cordova* sent an Account of his Voyage to the Governor *James Velasquez*, with the Particulars of all he had seen, and died ten Days after. Three of his Soldiers died also at the *Havanna*, which made up fifty-six lost in the Expedition; the rest dispersed themselves about the Island, and the Ships returned to the City of *Santiago*; by which the Fame of their Voyage was spread over all *Cuba*.

12. As indifferent Success as this first Discoverer met with, yet his Memoirs were highly esteemed by *Velasquez*, who frequently declared, that it was by no means his Intention to part with this Discovery in such a manner; but that, on the contrary, he was determined to pursue it when Opportunity offered, for many Reasons, but chiefly for this, because those People seemed more civilized than any other *Indians*, and were consequently more likely to prove rich. These Sentiments of his were no sooner known, than several of the principal Inhabitants of the Island offered him their Assistance, so that he was quickly in a Condition to put to Sea a small Squadron consisting of three Sail of Ships and one Brigantine, having on board in the whole two hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of the Captains *Alvarado*, *Montejo*, and *d'Avila*; but the Person who commanded in chief was *John Grijalva*, a Man of Courage, Fidelity and Experience, to whom *Velasquez* gave this Order, That he should make what Discoveries he could, but no Settlement. They sailed from *Cuba* on the 8th of May 1518, and, having visited the Coast of *Florida*, and doubled Cape *St. Antony*, discovered the Island of *Cozumel*, to which their Commander gave the Name of the Island of *Santa Cruz*, because he found it on the Feast of *Holy Cross*, but it retained, notwithstanding, its old Name, by which it is still called.

Grijalva landed with a competent Number of Soldiers, and no body appeared, because the Natives having never seen Ships before, when they perceived them under sail, fled; whilst some went to seek them he ordered Mass to be said. Two old Men being found in a Field of *Indian* Wheat, and understanding the Language of the *Indians*, *Melchior* and *Julian*, who had been taken in the former Expedition, *Grijalva* made much of them, and giving them some Beads and Looking-glasses, sent them away to their Lord, but they never returned. Whilst they waited for them, a young Woman, exceeding handsome, came, and in the Language of *Jamaica* said, The People were all fled into the Wood for fear; but that she, being acquainted with Ships and *Spaniards*, was come to them: Many that came on board the Ships understanding her, and admiring at it, asked, Who had carried her to that Island? she answered, That a Canoe going out a fishing from *Jamaica* two Years before, with ten Men in it, a Storm, and the Currents, had drove them to *Cozumel*, where her Husband and all the rest had been sacrificed to their Idols. *Grijalva* believing that Woman would be a trusty Messenger, sent her to call the Natives, not confiding in *Melchior* or *Julian* for fear they would not return. The Woman came again two Days after, according to Promise, telling them, That though she had done all she could to persuade them, they would not by any Means be brought to go back.

13. *Grijalva* finding no Good could be done there, went aboard again, and took with him the *Jamaica* Woman, because she begged him not to leave her there. In this Island they found many Hives of good Honey, Batatos, and Swine of that Country having their Navel on their Backs, which much refreshed them. They saw several Temples, and one particularly like a square Tower, wide at the Bottom, and hollow at the Top, with four large Windows and Galleries; and in the hollow Part, being the Chapel, were the Idols, behind which was a sort of Vestry; where the Things belonging to the Service of the Temple were kept: At the Foot of it was an Inclosure of Lime and Stone, with Battlements, well plaistered; and in the Midst of it a Cross of white Lime three Yards high, which they held to be the God of Rain, affirming, that they never wanted it when they devoutly begged it of the same. The *Spaniards*, embarking again, sailed along the Coast, much admiring to see large and beautiful Structures of Stone, with several high Towers which at a Distance made a good Appearance; for which Reason, no such Thing having been seen at the *Indies*, as also on Account of the Cross, *Grijalva* said they had found a NEW SPAIN. Eight Days after they arrived at the Shore of *Potonchan's* Town, came to an Anchor, and landed the Soldiers with all the Boats near some Houses, where the *Indians* being grown vain with the Thoughts of having drove *Hernandez's* Men out of the Country, stood drawn up to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing, shouting, and making a great Noise with their Trumpets and Kettle-drums, and tho' some Falconets, in the Boats, put the Men to a great Fright, being a Thing they had never seen, yet, when the Boats came near, they began to shoot their Arrows, and cast Stones and Darts with their Slings, running into the Water to wound the *Spaniards* with their Spears; but as soon as they landed they made them give way with their Swords; for the *Spaniards* being taught by Experience, began to use the same sort of defensive Armour stuffed with Cotton, as the *Indians* did; so that they received less Harm by the Arrows, and yet sixty Soldiers were wounded, three killed, and *John de Grijalva*, the Commander in chief, was shot with three Arrows, one of which broke some of his Teeth.

The Boats coming with the Soldiers that had been left aboard, the *Indians* quitted the Field, and the *Spaniards* went to the Town, dressed the wounded Men, buried the Dead, and found only three of the Natives. *Grijalva* used those three well, gave them some Toys, and sent them to call the Inhabitants, promising not to hurt any Man; but they never returned, nor would he send *Melchior* or *Julian*, because he suspected them. *Grijalva* embarked again, and came to a large, wide Gulph of fresh

fresh Water, like a River, but it was not; and *Antony de Alaminos* said it was an Island, and that the Water parted it from another Country, for which reason he called it *Boca de Terminos*, that is, *the Mouth of the Boundaries*. They landed, stayed three Days, and found it was no Island, but a Bay, and good Harbour. There were Temples, with Idols of Clay and of Wood, representing Men, Women, and Serpents; but no Town could be seen, and it appeared that those were Chapels for People that went a trading and hunting. During those three Days they took several Deer and Rabbits with a Grey-hound Bitch they had, which, the *Spaniards* not minding her, they left there; holding on the same Way, always by Day, to avoid falling in among Flats or Rocks, they discovered a very large Mouth of a River, which seemed to be a good Harbour; but founding it, they perceived that the two largest Ships could not go in, as the two smaller did. The Boats went up the River very cautiously, because they saw many armed *Indians*, like those at *Potonchan*, in Canoes along the Shore.

This River, by the Natives called *Tabasco*, being the Name of the Lord of the adjacent Town, the *Spaniards* named *Rio de Grijalva*, from their Commander in chief who found it. As they advanced higher, they heard the Noise of hewing Wood, because the Inhabitants, having been informed of what had happened at *Potonchan*, concluded there must be War.

The *Spaniards* landed at a Grove of Palm-trees, about half a League from the Town. The *Indians* seeing them land, about fifty Canoes full of armed Men, with Plumes of Feathers, and very fine, moved, stopped again at a small Distance from the *Spaniards*, in a warlike Posture; and when the *Spaniards* were ready to fire their Falconets upon them, they first sent *Melchior* and *Julian* to speak to them. These Interpreters told them, that they came only to treat about some Affairs that would please them. Four Canoes drew nearer, and being shewn little Glasses on Strings, and thinking they had been the Sort of Stones called *Chalchibites*, much valued among them, they were pacified. Then *Grijalva* ordered the Interpreters to tell them, that these Men were Subjects of a great King, to whom mighty Princes paid Obedience, and it was reasonable they also should submit to him, because it would be much to their Advantage; and that till they could explain these Affairs to them they should furnish Provisions. The *Indians* answered, that they would give Provisions, but that they had a Lord of their own, and did not know why they who were just come should offer to impose a new Lord upon them; that they should take heed how they made war on them, as they had done at *Potonchan*, for that they had provided above three *Xiquiples* (each *Xiquiple* being eight thousand) of Men against them; that they knew they had killed and wounded above two hundred at *Potonchan*; but that they were not so weak as those People; and, to conclude, that they were come thither to know their Will, and would go and make a very just Report of what they said to a Number of very great Men, that were assembled either to treat of Peace or renew the War. *Grijalva* gave them Strings of Beads, Looking-glasses, and other things, charging them not to fail to bring back an Answer, because if they did not, he must needs go to the Town, though not to do any harm.

He then returned to the Ships. The Messengers delivered the Message, and all the prime Men, who were wont to be consulted in martial Affairs, thought Peace was preferable to War. They immediately sent their *Indians* loaded with roasted Fish, Hens, several Sorts of Fruit, and Bread; then laying some Mats on the Ground, they placed a Present on them, being a handsome Mask of Wood, and several Sorts of Feather-work, very beautiful; and an *Indian* said the Lord would come the next Day to see the *Spaniards*: Accordingly, taking along with him many Men unarmed, he without any Jealousy went aboard *John de Grijalva's* Ship, who was a genteel Man, about twenty-eight, and had on a loose Coat of Crimson Velvet, a Cap of the same, with other rich Ornaments suitable to the Coat. The Cazique was received with much Honour; sitting down they began their Dis-

course, of which both Parties understood very little, unless it was by Signs, and some Words the two *Indians*, *Julian* and *Melchior*, interpreted. After some time, the Cazique ordered one to take out of a *Petaca*, which is in the Nature of a Trunk, the things he had carried.

The *Indian* took out Plates of Gold, and thin Boards covered with Gold, for Armour, as fit as if they had been made for *Grijalva*, and the Cazique himself put them upon him, and took them off, applying those that suited best; and in this manner he put him on a complete Suit of Gold Armour, as if it had been of Steel. He also presented him various Works in Gold and Feathers, a thing much valued among them; and it was wonderful to see how beautiful *Grijalva* looked; who gave the Cazique all the Signs of Gratitude that could be thought of. He called for a very fine Shirt, and with his own Hands put it upon the Cazique; took off his great Coat of Crimson Velvet, and put that on him, as also a Pair of new Shoes. In short, he clothed and adorned him the best he could, gave him some of the best Strings of Beads, and Looking-glasses, Scissars, Knives, and several things of Tin; and the like to all that were with the Cazique. What the Cazique gave to *Grijalva* was computed to be worth three thousand Pieces of Eight; and among the rest there was a wooden Head-piece covered with thin Plates of Gold, three or four Masks, some of them covered with a sort of Stones like Emeralds, &c. and the Sight of these things made the *Spaniards* very eager to settle in a Country which produced so much Wealth.

As for *John Grijalva*, having received this great Present at *Tabasco*, and being sensible that the *Indians* were not willing that their Guests should stay long, and in regard that the *Spaniards* asking for more Gold, the *Indians* answered *Culua*, *Culua*, he proceeded farther, and in two Days came to a Town called *Aqualunco*, which the *Spaniards* named *la Rambla*, the Inhabitants whereof appearing at a distance, and having Targets of Tortoise-shells, which glittered in the Sun, made some of the *Spaniards* fancy that they were of pale Gold; they discovered a Bay in which the River *Tonala* falls, where they entered at their Return, and called it *St. Anthony's River*: At a distance again they saw the great River *Guazacoallo*, but could not go up it, because of the foul Weather: Next they had a Sight of the snowy Islands of *New Spain*, and *St. Martin*, which Name was given them by the Soldiers who first discovered them. Holding on their Course, Captain *Alverado* went ahead with his Ship, and entered a River the *Indians* call *Papaloava*, but the *Spaniards* gave it the Name of *Alverado's River*, where the *Indians* of the Town of *Tavotulpale* brought Fish, and the other Ships staid till he came out again: They then advanced to the Mouth of another River, which they called *de Banderas*, or of Colours, because the *Indians* having large white Cloths on long Poles, like Colours, waved them for the *Spaniards* to come to them.

It is necessary to inform the Reader of the Reasons which occasioned this, and which, in few Words, were these: The Country, on the Coast of which they now were, was a Province of the great Empire of *Mexico*, over which *Montezuma* reigned, a Prince of great Wisdom and Penetration, who, having heard both of the former and of the latter Exploit of the *Spaniards*, and of the Pains they took to be acquainted with the maritime Parts of his Empire, began to grow jealous thereat, and was uneasy in his turn to know who and what these People were, and why they took so much Pains to be instructed as to the State of Countries that did not belong to them: To answer this Purpose effectually, he gave Directions to the Governors of these Provinces to entertain these Strangers civilly, to take every Opportunity that offered of trading with them, and to send him, from time to time, such an Account of their Motions, as might enable him clearly to discern what Opinion he ought to entertain of them. It was in Consequence of these Instructions, that the *Indians* set up these Colours, to invite the Strangers on Shore.

On the other hand, the *Spaniards* seeing themselves invited by the Signals of the Colours, *Grijalva* ordered two Boats to go ashore, and in them Captain *Francis de Montejo*,

tejo, with all the Musketeers and twenty other Soldiers, with Directions, that, in case the *Indians* appeared in a warlike Posture, he should give notice of it, that Succours might be sent. As soon as they landed they offered him Fowls, Bread, and Fruit; the *Indian*, *Julian*, not understanding that Language, which was the *Mexican*, and they perfuming the *Spaniards*, burning Copal in little Fire-pans; *Montejo* sent advice to *Grijalva*, who, thereupon came up close with the Ships and landed, when one of the King of *Mexico*'s Governors, and the other great Men, paid him much Respect, he having given them some Glass-Beads and Necklaces of several Colours. The Governor ordered the *Indians* to bring Gold to barter, and in the space of six Days they stayed there, they got the Value of 15,000 Pieces of Eight in Gold Baubles, and Toys in several Shapes.

14. All things had hitherto succeeded happily, so as to do great Credit to the Commander in chief, and to those who were under him, but still there was nothing done comparable to the Expectations which had been raised in *Cuba* of this Expedition; which prompted them to lose no time, but to continue their Voyage with the utmost Diligence, and, at the same time, with all possible Caution. *John Grijalva* therefore contented the *Caziques* with Presents of such things as he had, and having taken Possession of the New Country for the King, and for *James Velasquez*, in his Majesty's Name, embarked again because the North Winds blew there upon the Land, and he was not safe; finding an Island near the Continent he called it *Isla Blanca*, or *white Island*, because the Sands were whitish; and not very far from these another appeared four Leagues from the Coast, which, being well wooded, they called *la Verd*, or the *Green*. Farther they saw another a League and a half from Land, and there being a good Road opposite to it, *Grijalva* ordered the Ships to anchor there; he went to the Island with the Boats, because there was Smoak, and found two Houses well built with Lime and Stone, having many Steps that led up to Altars, on which there were Idols; and they perceived that five Men had been sacrificed there that Night, their Breasts being ripped open, their Legs and Thighs being cut off, and the Walls bloody, which much astonished the Christians, and therefore they call this the *Island of Sacrifices*.

They landed, again, opposite to the Island, where they made themselves Huts of Boughs and the Sails of the Ships, whither some resorted to barter Gold in small Figures; but the Gold being inconsiderable, and the *Indians* fearful, the *Spaniards* removed to another little Island about half a League from the Main. They landed on a Strand, built Barracs on the highest Part of those Sands to avoid the Plague of the *Mosquitos*, or *Gnats*; and, having founded the Harbour, found there was sufficient Water, and that the little Island sheltered them from the Northwind. *Grijalva* went over to the Island with thirty Soldiers, in two Boats, where he found a Temple with Idols, and four Men who wore very long black Mantles with Hoods, being the Priests of the Temple, and, that very Day, had sacrificed two Boys, whom they found ripped open, and their Hearts taken out; a piece of Cruelty which moved the *Spaniards* to Compassion. *Grijalva* asked an *Indian* he had carried from the River *de Banderas*, who seemed a good rational Man, what that was for; who answered, that the People of *Ulua* would have it so. The Name of the *Spanish* Commander in chief being *John*, and the time of the Year about the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, he gave that Name to the Island, and accordingly it has always been called *St. John de Ulua*, to distinguish it from *St. John de Puerto Rico*.

Grijalva staid there seven Days bartering for some small quantity of Gold; the Men being quite tired with the Trouble given by *Gnats*, having certain Knowledge that the Land they had been on was the Continent, and that there were great Towns on it, justifying the Name given it of *New Spain*; the *Cazibi* Bread growing mouldy and bitter, and the Men being too few to settle a Colony, because ten had died of their Wounds, and others were sick; it was thought fit to give an Account

of all things to the Governor *Velasquez*, especially as he had ordered not to make any Settlement, that he might send a greater Number if he should judge it fit to be done; for *Grijalva*, notwithstanding all the aforesaid Reasons to the contrary, was always of Opinion to build a Town. *Peter de Alverado* was made Choice of to carry this Message to *James Velasquez*, in the Ship *St. Sebastian*, and to take with him all the Gold and other things that had been traded for, and all the sick. *Velasquez*, after the Departure of *Grijalva*, from *Cuba*, had been in much Care for his Ships, as sailing on unknown Seas, and therefore sent *Christopher de Olido*, a Commander of Note, in a Ship with seventy Soldiers, to get Intelligence.

He being at Anchor on the Coast of *Yucatan*, there arose such a Storm as obliged him to cut his Cables, and run back to *Santiago*, in *Cuba*, whence he had set out; and, at the same time, arrived *Peter de Alverado* with the Gold, Cotton, Cloths, and a Relation of what had been done and discovered, which was mighty agreeable to *Velasquez*, who conceived great hopes of that Enterprize, and the Report was spread abroad to the great Astonishment of all Men.

Velasquez being a severe Man to those that served him, and especially provoked against such as were misrepresented, also over-credulous, and *Peter de Alverado* having been one of those that were for settling a Colony, and representing the Affair to him as he thought fit, gave him very ill Impressions of the Man who had served him so faithfully, and with such strict regard to the Orders he received from him at his Departure. But before we insist on this, let us return to our Discoverers, and to the Progress they made in their Design of obtaining a clear Account of this Part of the Continent.

When Captain *Alverado* was gone for *Cuba*, *Grijalva*, by the Advice of the Captains and Pilots, continued his Discovery; and coasting along in sight of the Mountains of *Tuspa*, so called from the Town near by them, and others, higher than they, for the same Reason, called *Tuspa*; farther in the Province of *Panuce*, they saw Towns, and a River which they called *Decanacas*. As they lay at Anchor, not being upon their Guard, ten Canoes, full of armed Men, appeared, and drawing near to the least Ship, commanded by *Alonso d'Avila*, poured in a flight of Arrows, wounded five Soldiers, laid hold of the Cables and cut one, intending to carry off the Ship; and, though the Men in it behaved well, and overset two of the Canoes, yet they stood in need of the Fire-arms from the other Ships; for the most of the *Indians* being wounded by them, desisted from their Enterprize, and sheered off; the *Spaniards* sailed along the Coast till they came to a very large Point of Land, which being very difficult to double, and the Currents extraordinary strong; the Pilot *Alaminos*, gave *Grijalva* many Reasons to shew that it was not convenient to proceed any farther that Way; the Captains, Pilots, and principal Men, consulting together what should be done, those that had been before for settling a Colony, were for turning back to find a proper Place for it.

The Captains, *Montejo*, and *Avila*, who differed in Judgment, alledged that Winter was drawing on, and Provisions were scarce, for which Reason, and because one of the Ships was leaky, it was proper to return to *Cuba*; besides, that they were not able to maintain their Ground because the Natives were numerous and warlike, and the *Spaniards* much fatigued with being so long at Sea. *Grijalva* considering that his Instructions were positive not to settle, and that his Commanders opposed it, urging sufficient Reasons, thought fit to comply, and, tacking about, they arrived at the great River of *Guazacoalco*, but could not enter it, the Weather preventing them. They proceeded to that of *Tonala*, which they called of *St. Antony*, where they careened the leaky Ship. In the mean time many *Indians* came from the Town, which was a League off, with Hens, Bread, and other Eatables, which they parted with for *Spanish* Toys; and the News being spread abroad, others came from *Guazacoalco* and the rest of the Neighbouring Towns, bringing Provisions, some small Gold Plates, and Copper Axes, very

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bright,

bright, with the Shafts of them painted. The *Spaniards*, thinking those Axes had been of pale Gold, purchased six hundred of them, and the *Indians* would willingly have parted with more.

A Soldier, whose Name was *Bartholomew Pardo*, went into a Temple that stood in the Fields, whence he took that Perfume which the *Indians* call *Copal*, or, as some call it, *Gum Anime*; he also took the Knives made of Flints, with which they sacrificed Men, ripping open their Breasts, and some Idols; all which he delivered to the Commander in chief, having first taken off their Earrings, Pendants, Plates, and Crowns of Gold, worth about ninety Pieces of Eight; but, not being able to conceal his Joy for the Booty, *Grijalva* had Notice of it, who ordered all to be taken from him; yet, being of a generous Temper, restored them upon paying the fifth to the King. The Ship being refitted, in forty-five Days they arrived at *Cuba* with four thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, besides what *Alverado* had carried, and the Copper Axes, which, when they went to pay the fifth, thinking them to have been Gold, they found rusty, to the Confusion of the Purchasers.

They put into the Port of *Matanzas*, where they found a Letter from the Governor, ordering *Grijalva* to make haste to the Port of *Santiago*, and to tell the Men that another Fleet was fitting out to return thither to make a Settlement; and that they who intended to go back should remain in some Farms he had thereabouts. *Grijalva* made haste to *Santiago*, where the Fleet was making ready; and when he appeared before *Velasquez*, he had no Thanks for the Trouble he had been at; but was abused, because he had not settled, though it was pursuant to his own Instructions; which was a great Oversight in *Velasquez*, and such an Oversight as was altogether inexcusable; for his great Point was, to find in the first Place a Man capable of making such a Discovery, and in the next, one incapable of betraying him in order to set up for himself.

There could not certainly be a more difficult, or a more uneasy Employment, than to search out such a Person; but one would have imagined, that a Man of so much good Sense as *Velasquez* really was, would have had Wit enough to have kept him, when Experience had demonstrated that *Grijalva* was such a Man. The very thing for which he disgraced him, ought chiefly to have preserved him from that Fate, since nothing but a scrupulous Regard to Instructions could possibly tie down a Man who had made great Discoveries, from taking that Method which was most likely to acquire him Reputation, and to establish at once his Fortune and Independence. But *Velasquez*, like many other Men of good Sense, preferred other Peoples Opinions to his own, and thereby lost the Advantage which his superior Talents would have given him, though it is highly probable that this Error of his might contribute more to the important Conquests made by the *Spaniards* in those Parts than the wisest Measures he could have taken, as the Reader will see at large in the ensuing Sections; but it is now time to conclude this with a few Observations and Remarks, which I flatter myself will be of some Use to the Reader.

15. The vast and surprising Success which the *Spaniards* met with in reducing so many fine Islands, and such rich and fruitful Countries under their Dominion, has united a multitude of Writers in a Notion, that they conducted their Affairs with that extraordinary Prudence and Steadiness of Character, for which they have been always remarkable; but a little Reflection on the Facts related in this and the foregoing Sections will shew, that this Notion is absolutely groundless, and that they acted in this Matter with as little Conduct and with less Judgment than could have been expected from a Nation at that time in so high a Reputation for Wisdom, as they were. The Truth is, that it was the Virtue of Particulars that acquired all; and, in this Respect, they were indeed very fortunate, since few Nations could boast of abler Politicians, or of more expert Captains than those three great Men to whom the *Spaniards* owe their mighty Empire in *America*.

The first was the Admiral *Columbus* who discovered the Islands, and upon whose Schemes those Discoverers went who found and subdued the two great Empires on the Continent. The next was *Ferdinand Cortes*, and the Third, the Marquis *Pizarro*, Men of incredible Abilities, and therefore worthy of immortal Reputation. There is no doubt that their Atchievements, weighed in the Balance of Reason, very far exceeded those of most of the Antients; for whereas, these had commonly good Tools to work with, those not only did their Work but forged their Tools. To convince the judicious Reader of what I say, I shall not send him for Instances without the Limits of this Performance; for having given this Work the Title of a *Library*, there ought to be nothing wanting in it that is necessary to make its Subject understood. Let us compare then the Expedition of *Nearchus*, of which we have given the History in our former Volume, with that of *Columbus*, let us consider how great a Fleet, what a Number of Men, and what able Commanders he had, how small a Discovery he made, failing always within Sight of Land, and only from the Mouth of the *Ganges* to the Head of the *Persian Gulph*, yet how great a Figure does his Expedition make in the Works of the ablest Authors of Antiquity, and what mighty Rewards were bestowed upon him for those Services, his important Discoveries. Yet *Columbus*, with three Vessels, smaller than any of his, with scarce any Encouragement or Assistance from those about him, made this surprising Transfit from *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, and established the *Spaniards* there before his Death, in wider and more useful Conquests, than accrued to the Master of *Nearchus*, from his *Indian Expedition*. Let us compare the Force with which *Alexander* attacked the *Indians*, and failed of subduing them, with the Armies commanded by *Cortes* and *Pizarro*, and we shall find that the latter were, beyond all question, greater Conquerors, as we shall fully demonstrate at the Close of their respective Expeditions.

At present we mention these only as Proofs of the Truth of our Observation, that it was not the Wisdom of the *Spanish* Government; but the personal Abilities of such as were accidentally employed in their Service that brought about those great Events. For, with regard to the former, we have seen how ill they treated the first Discoverer at Court, and how far they were from putting it in his Power to exert, even in their Service, his great Capacity to the utmost. After his Decease, the Management of the Affairs of the *Indies* fell almost intirely into the Hands of the Bishop of *Burgos*, who, of all the Statesmen at that Court, was the least fit to have been intrusted with them, and who in fact managed them in the strangest manner imaginable. Listening, on the one hand, to the Proposals of every needy Projector, as in the Case of the first Adventurers mentioned in this Section; and on the other, slighting the Schemes of those who, by their general Knowledge of the *Indies*, were most likely to accomplish great Things, and who, by their wise Conduct in the settling of their new Colonies, had, in their own Hands, a Power sufficient to accomplish them. Accordingly we shall see that of all the Bishop's Instruments, not one succeeded in what he proposed; but, on the contrary, brought themselves to Beggary and Want, by rashly engaging in Enterprizes every way beyond their Ability, whereas all the successful Undertakings of the *Spaniards* were under such as were employed by the Governors of Colonies, and consequently the *Spanish* Ministry had no Right to take to themselves any sort of Credit from their Performances.

The only Favourites of our famous Bishop *Fonseca*, that made any Figure in the World, were two very bad Men, well provided with Impudence, but very indifferently furnished with other Talents. The first of these was *Americus Vesputius*, whom we have already mentioned with little Credit, and whom we shall again have occasion to mention with less. This Man, by the Interest of his Patron, was declared Chief Pilot of *Spain*, and to him all the Journals of Discoveries were communicated, from which he drew very elegant Maps, and helped out by his

his Fancy whatever Defects there were in his Memory, so that he exhibited things with a very graceful Proportion, and the only thing wanting in his Charts was a strict Regard to Truth; but, however, they answered his Purpose very well, for, besides securing to him a good Place and a competent Salary, they enabled him to impose his Name on the new World, before he had discovered a Foot of it.

The other Creature of the Bishop's that distinguished himself, was *Bernard de Santa Clara*, whom he preferred to be Treasurer of *Hispaniola*, under the Governor *Obando*, who was likewise in the Esteem of the Bishop, and the most worthy of all his Friends; the Treasurer before mentioned, was a very indifferent Steward for the King, but acquired a very good Estate for himself, of which he was so proud, that, besides the Salt for use, he caused four large Salt-fellers, full of Gold-dust, to be set every Day upon his Table; which piece of Vanity being known in *Spain*, a Commission was granted to inspect this Gentleman's Accounts, and by this means it was discovered that he had cheated the King, or, at least, was indebted to him in 80000 Pesos, which makes near 25000 Pounds in our Money. The Governor *Obando* was very sensible, that, when all this Man had was sold, the King would hardly have his Due; but, to save the Bishop's Credit, and his own, he bethought himself of a very extraordinary Expedient: He loved to pass for a Man of strict Justice, and therefore he ordered the Treasurer's Effects to be set up to Auction; this was, in all appearance, very fair, and no Exception could be taken at it; but the Governor, when the Lots came to be put up, encouraged People to bid considerably more than they were worth, telling them that he would warrant it a good Bargain; they, to merit his Favour and Protection, bidding upon each other; the whole of his Effects were sold for 96000 Pesos, so that the King had his Debt, and the Treasurer a very pretty Fortune to begin the World with again. Such were the Arts, such the Intrigues, of those Men, who had oppressed the old Admiral, and such the little dirty Contrivances by which they hid their own Failings.

Yet these things were done under the Reign of King *Ferdinand*, esteemed one the wisest Monarchs of his time; and things went rather worse under the Emperor *Charles V*, though he was, certainly, in every Respect, as great a Prince as ever sat upon the *Spanish* Throne. The Inference I would make from thence, is, that at all Events, and under all Administrations, Discoveries ought to be attempted and encouraged, because they carry in themselves such Incitements to complete them, that they seldom or never fail of proving beneficial in the End, whatever Mistakes there may fall out in the Management of them at the beginning.

Some ascribe this to Chance, others with more Sense as well as Decency, to Providence. But, however, certain it is, that great Occasions provoke, if they do not produce, great Spirits; and when once the Way is open, and two or three Instances have shewn the World that many things are practicable, that for several Ages were thought impossible, mighty things are performed; for Emulation is a noble Principle, and one of the greatest Secrets in Government is to excite it; for it is rarely seen that any thing meets either with Favour from the Great, or with popular Encouragement, but it is suddenly carried to a great Degree of Perfection. When once such a Spirit is raised, even the most disastrous Accidents cannot extinguish it; the Numbers of *Spaniards* that perished in the first Attempts on the Continent, by Ship-wreck, Famine, and Diseases; the unfor-

tunate Ends of *Hojeda*, *Nicuesa*, and *Cordova*, had no bad Effects in deterring others; for as all agreed there were Gold and Pearls to be met with in those Parts; the Thirst of Gain in some, and the Thirst of Glory in others, soon overcame the Terror of such Examples, which, at first Sight, one would have thought impossible to have removed; besides, there wanted not some who diverted the Blame of all these Miscarriages, from the Difficulty of the Enterprize, on the Imprudence or some other Imperfection of the Commander; and, as Slanders always find an easy Belief, so the Imputations that fell upon the Dead, served to encourage the Living; and Men were easily brought to think that either their superior Capacities, or better Fortune, would carry them through, notwithstanding former Adventurers had failed.

To these we may add several concurring Circumstances, which gave Life and Vigour to these Undertakings, and which, for the Sake of Brevity, we shall reduce under three general Heads. First then, the Marriage of *Don Diego Colon*, to *Donna Maria de Toledo*, induced a great many young Gentlemen, and some Ladies of good Families, to transport themselves to *Hispaniola*, which proved of incredible Service to the new Colony, as we may easily conceive, if we reflect on the *Spanish* Temper, and that it had in it, formerly, a much stronger Tincture of that Heroic, or if you will, romantic Spirit, of which it still retains enough, and which, of all others, was the fittest for promoting such kind of Exploits. The second was the establishing a sovereign Tribunal at *Santo Domingo*; the Members of which having large Salaries; some considerable Persons, and those too of a more advanced Age, were thereby engaged to accept of these Employments; which carried over likewise a new Train of young People, in Quality of their Dependents, and there being a continual Struggle for Power between this new Tribunal, or as the *Spaniards* stile it, the *Royal Audience of Santo Domingo*, and the Admiral; this created such a Jealousy and Competition amongst the Dependents on both Parties, as had very favourable Effects on Affairs in general, and greatly promoted the Success of the Colony; how much soever it might perplex or disturb their Superiors, by the Trouble it occasioned. The third and last that we shall mention, was the Distaste taken, especially at his first coming to the Crown, against the Emperor *Charles*, on account of his Partiality in favour of his Countrymen, the *Flemings*, which induced the Flower of the *Spanish* Gentry to think rather of advancing their Fortunes in the *Indies*, whither none but *Spaniards* could go, than their Credit in his Service; whom they judged to be neither over-willing to discern their Merit, nor over-ready to reward it.

These Observations as they arise naturally from what has been before related, so they will serve greatly to illustrate the following Sections; in which we shall exhibit to the View of the Reader, as great Instances of Courage and Conduct; of civil Policy, and military Skill, as are to be met with in any History whatever; and for the Honour of the *Spaniards* it must be acknowledged, that how ill soever those Heroes who conquered *America* were treated by their Statesmen; the learned Pens of that Nation have done as much Justice to their Labours, as themselves could wish, and have not suffered any of their Actions to appear with less Lustre to Posterity in their Writings, than the Recital of such great and glorious Performances deserved. But it is now time to quit these Reflections, and to resume the Thread of our History, which leads us to shew on what Grounds, in what manner, and with what Force the Conquest of the great Empire of *Mexico* was undertaken.

SECTION VII.

The Expedition of HERNAN CORTES for the Reduction of New Spain, from the Time of his being appointed to that Command, unto his being obliged to return to the Island of Cozumel.

1. The

1. The Resolution taken by Diego Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, to pursue the Discoveries and Settlements of New Spain, and the Measures taken for equipping a third Squadron for this Expedition.
2. The Character of Cortes, who was appointed Commander in chief, and the manner in which he attained that Command by the Nomination of Velasquez.
3. Departure of the Fleet from St. Jago de Cuba, and the Reasons why Velasquez laboured to deprive Cortes of the Command he had given him.
4. The Attempts made by Velasquez to carry this Design of his into Execution, and the Methods which were successfully used by Cortes to overthrow and defeat them.
5. Cortes takes upon him the Command, notwithstanding Velasquez recalled his Commission, and proceeds in his Voyage with the universal Applause of all who are engaged in the Design.
6. Arrives at the Island of Cozumel, and remedies all the Disorders which had been occasioned by the coming thither of a Part of his Fleet before him, under Peter Alverado.
7. Sails from thence with a Design of prosecuting his Expedition, but finds himself obliged to return thither with his Fleet.
8. There comes thither, during his stay, one Jerom de Aguilar, a Spaniard, long a Prisoner in Yucatan, who gives a large Account of that Court, and of its Products.
9. Observations and Remarks on the foregoing Section, with some Reflections on the political Character of Cortes.

THE Discoveries made on the Continent, under the Direction of those employed by *Diego Velasquez*, made a prodigious Noise over all the *West-Indies*, and multitudes there were who shewed a Readiness to hazard their Lives, and embark their Fortunes for the Prosecution of this Design. We have, in the former Section, shewn how this Country, when first discovered, came to be called *New Spain*; for the Soldiers observing to one another the Resemblance between the Soil and Climate of this strange Land, with those of their own, the Comparison made such an Impression upon their Minds, that they cried out one and all, a *New Spain*, a *New Spain*; so that while other Colonies derived their Names either from the misunderstanding of *Indian* Words, or from the arbitrary Pleasure of the first Discoverers, this was imposed by the Voice of the People.

But the great Business was to secure and settle this new found Country, and that immediately and without Delay; for *Velasquez* saw plainly, that if he did not proceed in his Design, it would be undertaken, either from other Colonies, or by Persons commissioned directly from *Old Spain*; and it was the Apprehension of this that made him so very angry, though with very little Reason, at the Conduct of his Cousin and Creature, *John Grijalva*, in not making a Settlement there, though in express Compliance with his own Order. His own Ambition hindered him from distinguishing another's Obedience; and the vast Hopes he had formed to himself, from the Discovery and Conquest of *New Spain*, would not permit him to receive any Excuse from him, who, as he thought, had defeated them. On the other hand, *Grijalva* was extremely modest, which hindered him from defending himself as he might have done; so that he contented himself with shewing the Instructions he had received, and insisting that his Behaviour should be tried by them; which *Velasquez* looked upon as a tacit Imputation on himself; he applied all his Care, however, to the refitting the Vessels employed in the last Expedition, and equipping both them and others for a new one, in which he succeeded very happily, and had, in a short time, such a Prospect of a Fleet, capable of carrying into execution the Designs he had formed, that he directed his Agents at the Court of *Spain*, to insist upon very high Terms, particularly that he should be declared Lord Lieutenant of the Countries subdued by his Direction, and at his Expence.

His Preparations being in such Forwardness, it was absolutely necessary that he should make choice of some body to act in quality of General and Commander in chief: And, in this, he found himself under very great Difficulties. The inferior Officers, and even the People in general, who were to make the Voyage, were very desirous of their old Commander, *John Grijalva*; but, to this, he would by no means agree, either from an obstinate ill grounded Persuasion of his want of Capacity, or, because he was afraid of trusting a Man whom he had injured in so high a Degree. When his Friends and Counsellors saw this, they recommended several others, rather in Compliance with their own Interest, and Notions, than from a just Esteem of their Abilities, and a due Notion of the great Danger there was

in committing the Conduct of so important an Enterprize, to one who might prove unequal to the Task.

This gave excessive Uneasiness to *Velasquez*, who was a better Judge of Men than those who advised him, and who had probably been more successful in his Choice, at least with regard to his own Interest, if he had acted without any Advice at all.

At last, when the Season for sailing approached, and this Affair would admit of no longer Delay, *Amador de Laris*, the King's Treasurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, took upon them to mention *Ferdinand*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Hernan Cortes*, but in a very artful Way; for they told the Governor, that in doing this, they had not the Service of their Friend so much at Heart, as the Good of the Expedition; and the Character they gave him was so modest, and so much short of the Truth, that *Velasquez*, who knew him as well as they did, was extremely sensible that they did not endeavour to impose upon him; and therefore, from the very beginning, he listened readily to their Recommendations; he knew very well, that not only great, but even contrary Talents were requisite in the Person he wanted, who of Necessity must be a Man of high Spirit, capable of acting from his own Lights in all Cases, without adhering too strictly to Instructions, and at the same time it was to be wished that he should preserve such a Regard for the Person who employed him, as not to be tempted by any Success whatever to throw off his Dependence. Hard Qualities these to be found, but Qualities about which the wisest Man might be easily mistaken.

2. Before we go farther, it will be proper to say who *Hernan Cortes* was, and through what variety of Events his happy Destiny led him to achieve the Conquest of *New Spain*. He was born in *Medillin*, a Town of *Estremadura*, Son of *Martin Cortes*, of *Monroy*, and *Donna Catalina Pizaro Altamarino*, Names that sufficiently declare the Nobility of his Extraction. In his Youth he for some time applied himself to Letters, and was two Years at *Salamanca*, which were sufficient to make him sensible that the Application of a studious Life, was contrary to his Temper. He returned home, resolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him *Italy*, but when he came to embark, he fell dangerously ill, by which Accident he found himself obliged to change his Intention, though not his Profession, and therefore he resolved to go to the *Indies*, where the War, at that time, was carried on with a View to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504; and carried Letters of Recommendation to *Don Nicholas de Obando*, great Commander of the Order of *Alcantara*, his Kinsman, and then Governor of the Island of *St. Domingo*.

He was no sooner arrived there, and known, than he gained general Esteem, and was so kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted into the Number of his Friends; but all these Favours were not sufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms, for he was so uneasy at the Inaction wherein he found that Island which the *Spaniards* now possessed, without any Opposition from the Natives, that he desired leave to go and serve

in the Isle of *Cuba*, where the War was still carried on; and having gained the Consent of his Kinsman, he endeavoured to signalize himself in that War, by Valour and Obedience, which are the first Virtues of a military Profession. He very soon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but also that of an able Commander; distinguishing both his Courage in Action, and his Capacity in Council. *Cortes* was well made, of an agreeable Countenance, and, besides these common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which rendered him amiable; for he always spoke well of the Absent, and was pleasant and discreet in his Conversation. His Generosity was such, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being suffered by him to publish their Obligations.

He married in that Island, *Donna Cathalina Suarez Pacheco*, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This Courtship brought him under many Difficulties, by the Interfering of *Diego Velasquez*, who made him Prisoner till such time as all Differences were adjusted; and then *Velasquez* gave her to him in Marriage, after which they were intimate Friends, and the Governor, in a little time, gave him a Distribution of *Indians*, and the Post of *Alcalde* or chief Magistrate in the Town of *St. Jago*; an Employment usually conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the Conquest of those Countries. In these Circumstances was *Hernan Cortes*, when *Amador de Laris*, and *Andres de Duero*, proposed him for the Conquest of *New Spain*: And they did it with so much Address, that the next time they waited upon *Diego Velasquez*, furnished with fresh Reasons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him resolved on *Cortes*, and so possessed with the Advantages of entrusting the Undertaking to his Care, that they changed their premeditated Arguments into Flattery; and only endeavoured to oblige him by applauding a Resolution so agreeable to their own Wishes. They agreed with the Governor that it was convenient immediately to publish the Choice, in order to put a Stop, at once, to all farther Pretensions; and *Andres de Duero* was not slow in the Dispatch of the Commission.

Cortes received his new Charge from *Velasquez* with great Expressions of Respect; being as sensibly affected with the Confidence the Governor reposed in him, as he was afterwards with his Distrust. The Resolution was made public, and well received among those who desired to see that Affair brought to a Conclusion; but occasioned much Discontent among his Rivals for the Employment. Those who had declared themselves with the greatest Coldness, were the Relations of *Diego Velasquez*; who made very strong Efforts to raise in the Governor a Distrust in *Cortes*. 'Tis reported, that *Diego Velasquez* walking out with *Cortes*, and with his Friends and Relations, a pleasant crack-brained Fellow, with whose Whimsies he used to be diverted, said to him, Thou hast done well Friend *Diego*; shortly there will be Occasion for another Fleet to go in pursuit of *Cortes*. But *Diego Velasquez* stood firm to his Resolution, and *Cortes* wholly applied himself to hasten the Preparations for his Departure. The first Step, was to erect his Standard with the Sign of the Cross; having this Inscription in *Latin*, *Let us follow the Cross, for with this Sign we shall overcome*.

He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became his Person well, and suited his Inclinations better; he employed his own Stock liberally, and what he could borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, to hasten the Departure of the Fleet; endeavouring, at the same time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty; for, the very Name of Enterprize, and the Fame of the Captain, were so great, that, in a few Days, were listed three hundred Soldiers; among whom, were *Diego de Ordaz*, the principal Confident of the Governor, *Francisco de Morla*, *Bernard Diaz del Castillo* (who has written the History of this Conquest) and other Gentlemen. The time for their Departure being come, Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Day-time, the People all running

to the Sight; and at Night, *Cortes*, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embraced him in a very friendly Manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-side, and saw him embark. Small Circumstances, and of little Importance, if some had not wrote, without any manner of Reason, that he called the Soldiers together from their Houses, at Midnight, embarking with them by stealth; and that *Diego Velasquez* going out after him in the Morning, *Cortes* came up to him in a Boat well armed, and gave him to understand, in a disrespectful Manner, that he no longer had regard to his Orders.

3. The Fleet weighed from the Port of *St. Jago*, in *Cuba*, the 18th Day of *November*, 1518; and, having coasted along the North-side of the Island, sailed towards the East, and in a few Days arrived at the Port of *la Trinidad*, where *Cortes* had some Friends, who gave him a very kind Reception. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and an hundred Soldiers who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was considerably augmented; and, at the same time, Care was taken to buy up Provisions, Arms, and some Horses. *Cortes* assisted all who wanted with his Money; but scarce had left the Port of *St. Jago*, when his Enemies began to cry out against him, talking of his Disobedience, after the Custom of Cowards, who always attack the Absent.

Diego Velasquez hearkened to their Discourse, and though he seemed to be displeased, they discovered in his Mind Jealousy, easy to be worked up to an entire Distrust; to which end they made use of *Juan Millan*, who, notwithstanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of Astrology. This Man, set on by others, having engaged *Velasquez* to Secrecy, acquainted him in mysterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and unfortunate Event, giving him to understand that he had learned so much from the Stars; and though *Diego Velasquez* was a Man of sufficient Sense to discern the Vanity of such Prognostications, nevertheless as his Foible was Jealousy, this had such an Effect, that, notwithstanding he despised the Astrologer, he began to be affected by what he said. From such slight Beginnings sprang the first Resolution which *Diego Velasquez* took to break with *Cortes*, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet; he dispatched immediately two Couriers to *la Trinidad*, with express Orders to *Francisco Verdago* his Cousin, to dispossess him of his Captain Generalship, in a judicial Way, as supposing his Commission now revoked, and another Person named in his Room.

Cortes was quickly informed of this Accident, and, without being discouraged at the Difficulty of the Remedy, shewed himself to his Friends and Soldiers, that he might know in what manner they would resent the Injury done to their Captain, and how far he might depend upon the Justice of his Cause, by the Judgment they passed upon it: He found them all not only in his Interest, but resolved to defend him from such an Injury, though it should carry them to the last Extremity of taking Arms in his Defence; and though *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon* were less warm, as depending more upon the Governor; they were easily brought to approve that which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus secure, he went to visit the *Alcalde*. He laid before him the Danger to which he might expose himself in supporting such a Piece of Injustice, by disgusting so many Persons of Distinction as followed him; and how much the Fury of the Soldiers was to be feared, whose Affections he had gained, that he might the better serve *Diego Velasquez*; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him.

Francisco Verdago approved his Reasons from a Principle of Generosity, and offered not only to suspend the Execution of the Order, but to write to *Diego Velasquez* to engage him to desist from a Resolution, which was now impracticable; *Diego de Ordaz*, and the rest who had any Interest with the Governor, offered to do the same, and wrote immediately. *Cortes* likewise wrote to him, complaining of his Distrust, without shewing how far he was disgusted, or omitting his ordinary Respect.

These Measures taken to quiet the Mind of *Velasquez*; *Cortes* resolved to prosecute his Voyage, and, sending *Pedro Alverado* by Land, with a strong Party of Soldiers, to take care of the Horses; and raise more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he sailed with the Fleet for the *Havanna*.

The Ships parted from *la Trinidad* with a favourable Wind; but, at the coming on of the Night, they separated from the *Capitana*, where *Cortes* was on board, without observing, as they ought to have done, the Course he stood, or perceiving the Error of the Pilots, until the Day discovered it; but being now far advanced, they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the *Havanna*, where the Soldiers landed. They were kindly entertained by *Pedro de Barba*, at that time Governor of the *Havanna*, under *Velasquez*. They were much concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, but their Discourses on that Subject went no farther than to furnish themselves with Excuses against his Arrival; yet perceiving that he staid longer than they thought it possible he could, unless some Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneasy and divided in their Opinions: Some were for sending two or three Vessels in search of him; some proposed to name a Commander in chief in his Absence, but others thought such a Proposition unseasonable; however, as nobody commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done.

He who most insisted upon naming a Commander, was *Diego de Ordaz*; who, as a Confident of *Velasquez*, expected to be preferred to the rest; and thought, that by the gaining of this Point, he should stand fair to obtain that Post from *Velasquez*. But at last, after a Dispute of seven Days, *Cortes* safely arrived with the *Capitana*. His Delay was occasioned by the Fleet's passing over some Flats, which lie between the Harbour of *la Trinidad* and Cape *St. Anthony*, at a small Distance from the Isle of *Pines*; where the *Capitana*, as being the largest Ship, struck, and was in Danger of being over-set.

4. This Accident served to raise his Reputation; for animating his Men on the View of the Danger, he gave such Orders as were necessary, with great Presence of Mind, and without Confusion. His first Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little sandy Island; by which means he so far lightened her, as to set her afloat; after which, getting clear of the Shore, he took her Lading on board again, and pursued his Course; having thus spent the seven Days he was detained, and thereby much advanced his Reputation. *Pedro de Barba* lodged him in his own House, and he was received with great Acclamations by his Soldiers, whose Numbers immediately encreased; several of the Inhabitants and Gentry entering into the Service; among these were *Francisco de Montejo*, who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of *Yucatan*; *Diego de Soto del Toro*, *Garcia Caro*, *Juan Sedo*, and other Persons of Distinction and Fortune, who added very much to the Reputation of the Enterprize.

These Preparations took up some Days, but as *Cortes* knew not how to be idle, he commanded the Artillery to be brought on shore to be cleaned and proved; ordered the Cannoniers to observe, exactly, how far each Gun would carry; and, as there was great plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he directed the making a sufficient Quantity of defensive Arms. These were a kind of Quilts in the Form of great Coats, which were called *Escaupilles*: Necessity inventing what Experience afterwards approved. It being found that Cotton stitched between two Cloths was a better Defence than Iron against the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*; for they lost their Force, by the weak Resistance they met with; and were likewise hindered from glancing from one Man to another. At the same time he exercised his Soldiers in the Use of their Fire-arms and Cross-bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He taught them how to form and file off in Order; how to charge, and how to secure a Post: Instructing them both by Voice and Example, in the Rudiments of War, after the Manner of Antiquity; which Practice, in time of Peace, was in so much Esteem

among the *Romans*, that from this kind of Exercise they gave their Armies the Name of *Exercitus*.

With the like Diligence and Ardour he went on with the rest of his Preparations; but when every one was rejoicing at the near Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, *Gaspar de Garnica*, a Servant of *Velasquez*, arrived at the *Havanna* with fresh Orders to *Pedro de Barba*, expressly enjoining him to dispossess *Cortes* of the Command of the Fleet, and to send him Prisoner under a good Escort; telling him how highly he had been displeased with *Francisco Verdago*, for letting him go from *la Trinidad*: And withal, giving him to understand how much he would risque in not complying with his Orders. He likewise sent to *Diego de Ordaz*, and to *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be assisting to *Pedro de Barba* in the Execution of his Commands. But *Cortes* was advertised of what was doing from several Hands, and even from *Garnica*. They warned him to take care of himself, since he, who first entrusted this Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to discard him, in a Manner highly injurious to his Honour, and who freed him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he stood obliged. *Cortes*, though a Man of great Spirit, could not help being shocked with this new Attempt, which touched him the more sensibly, the less it was expected; for he thought *Velasquez* had been satisfied with the Assurances that had been given him by all, in their Answer to his first Orders which came to *la Trinidad*; but being convinced of his Obstinacy, he began with less Temper to think of taking care of himself. He acknowledged that *Velasquez* had expended some Money in fitting out the Fleet, but the greatest Part of the Charge was borne by himself and his Friends, and almost all the Soldiers were raised upon their Credit: He was also concerned for the Enterprize, which he foresaw would entirely miscarry if he quitted it; but that which most sensibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which is dearer than Life itself; and upon these Reflections *Cortes* took his first Resolution of breaking with *Velasquez*, judging that it was now no longer a time to smother his Resentment, but resolved to provide for himself, and make use of the Force he was Master of, as Occasion should require. To this end, before *Pedro de Barba* had determined to publish the Order he had against him, he made haste to send away from the *Havanna* *Diego de Ordaz*, whose Fidelity he suspected on account of the Efforts he had made to be chosen Commander in chief in his Absence. He therefore commanded him to embark immediately on board one of the Vessels, and to make the best of his Way to *Guanicanico*, a Settlement situate on the other Side of the Cape *St. Antony*, to take in some Provisions, which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival with the rest of the Fleet.

Cortes assisted in putting this Order in Execution, with his usual Diligence and Calmness, and by this means got quickly rid of a Person who might have given some Opposition to his Design. He went then to visit *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, whom he easily brought over to his Interest; being himself not a little displeased with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal, more tractable and of less Artifice than *Diego de Ordaz*. Having taken these Precautions, he shewed himself to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Disaster that threatened him. They all offered him their Services, agreeing in their Resolution of assisting him, but differing in the Manner of expressing themselves. But *Pedro de Barba*, apprehending the ill Consequences of not appeasing this Tumult in time, went to *Cortes*, and, appearing publicly with him, quieted all in a Moment, by declaring aloud that he did not design to execute the Order of *Velasquez*, or to have any Share in so great and so unprovoked an Injustice.

This turned all their Threats into Acclamations; and he presently shewed the Sincerity of his Intentions, by publicly dispatching *Gaspar de Garnica* with a Letter to *Velasquez*; in which he told him that this was not a time to stop *Cortes*, who was too well attended to let himself be ill treated, or to be reduced to Obedience by Violence; he represented to him in the strongest Terms, the Ferment

ment his Order had occasioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by the Commotion, and concluded his Letter with advising him to regain *Cortes* by Acts of Friendship, by adding new Favours to those he had already bestowed, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compassed either by Persuasion or by Force.

5. A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Vessels which composed his Fleet, *Cortes* distributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on board each Vessel; and named, for Captains, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero*, *Francisco de Montejo*, *Christoval de Olod*, *Juan de Esculante*, *Francisco de Mirla*, *Pedro de Alverado*, *Francisco Saucedo*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, who he had not sent out of the way with an Intention to forget him, nor was he willing to disoblige him, by not giving him an Employment. He reserved for himself the Command of the *Capitana*, and intrusted the Care of the Brigantine to *Gines di Mortes*. The Command of the Artillery he bestowed upon *Francisco de Orozco*, a Soldier, who had signalized himself in the Wars in *Italy*; and chose for his chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, a Man of Experience in those Seas, having served in the same Quality in the two Voyages of *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, and *Juan de Grijalva*.

He drew up Instructions for his Officers, wherein, with singular Foresight, he provided against Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly assisted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Success of which they expected from his Divine Assistance; and *Hernan Cortes*, as the first Act of his Command, gave the Word *St. Peter*, thereby acknowledging him the Patron of this Expedition as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered *Pedro de Alverado* to sail for the North Coast, in search of *Diego de Ordaz* in *Guanicanico*, and, after they were joined, to wait for the Fleet at Cape *St. Antonio*. The rest of the Vessels had Instructions to follow the *Capitana*, and, should they be separated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to stand for the Isle of *Cozumel*, discovered by *Juan de Grijalva*, which was but little distant from the Land they were in search of, and where *Cortes* purposed to consider and resolve on what should be most necessary for the Prosecution of their Enterprize.

In fine, they departed from the *Havanna* the 10th of February, 1519. The Wind at first was favourable, but did not long continue so, for at Sun-set there arose a furious Storm, which put them in great Disorder; and when the Night came, the Ships were obliged to separate, that they might not run foul of each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that *Francisco de Mirla* commanded suffered most, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being lost; but the Storm ended with the Night, and as soon as they had Light enough to distinguish Objects, *Cortes* was the first who came up with the Ship in danger; the rest followed his Example, and the Damage she had suffered was soon repaired. At this time *Pedro de Alverado*, who was gone in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, discovered, by Day-break, that the same Storm had forced him into the Gulph a great way farther than he imagined; for, in order to keep clear of the Shore, he had been obliged to put out into the open Sea, as least dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compass and Chart, that he was fallen very far from the Course prescribed to him, and was at such a Distance from Cape *St. Antonio*, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he proposed it, as most adviseable, to sail directly for the Isle of *Cozumel*. *Alverado* left it to his own Choice, representing to him the Order of *Cortes*, after such a manner as looked as if he disapproved it.

Hereupon they continued the Voyage, and arrived at the Island two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Design to lodge themselves in a small Town near the Coast, well known to the Captain and some of the Sol-

diers since the Voyage of *Grijalva*, but they found it deserted; for the *Indians*, upon the first Notice that the *Spaniards* were landed, abandoned their Houses, retiring farther into the Country. *Pedro de Alverado* was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified where he received Orders, but of too little Experience to give them. He had a mistaken Notion, that while the Fleet was coming, any thing but Inaction would be a Virtue in a Soldier, and therefore ordered his Men to march, and to take a View of the inner Part of the Island; and at a little more than a League distance they found another Town forsaken in the same manner, but not so entirely unfurnished as the former, for there were some Cloths and Provisions, which the Soldiers seized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found many Jewels which served to adorn it, and some Instruments for sacrificing, made of Gold mixed with Copper, which, though of small Value, they took away. This Expedition did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frightened the *Indians*, and crossed the Design of gaining their Friendship. *Pedro de Alverado* grew sensible that he had made a false Step, and retired to his first Post, having taken three Prisoners, two Men and one Woman, who surrendered without any Opposition.

6. The next Day *Cortes* arrived with the whole Fleet, having sent to *Diego de Ordaz*, at Cape *St. Antonio*, to join him; suspecting, as it proved, that the Storm would hinder *Alverado* from executing his Orders, and though inwardly well pleased to find him there in safety, he commanded the Pilot to be imprisoned, and reprimanded the Captain very severely, for not pursuing his Instructions, as well as for his Presumption in marching up and down the Island, permitting his Soldiers all the while to rob and plunder the Inhabitants.

He did all this publicly, delivering his Reproof in a set Speech, which not only contained his Sentiments, but his Reasons also why he thought it so great a Fault, inasmuch as it tended to lessen the Reputation of the *Spaniards*, and to defeat the Design of the whole Voyage. To repair this Mistake, however, as well as he could, he immediately sent for the three Prisoners, and, having set them at Liberty, caused both their Gold and their Cloths to be restored to them, and then, joining his own *Indian*, *Melchior*, who was the only Interpreter he had, his Companion *Julian* being dead, he sent them away with a great many Presents for their Cazique, with Orders to assure them, that he highly disapproved of whatever had been done to their Prejudice; and that he was firmly resolved to do every thing in his Power to merit their Friendship. To prevent any new Disputes, which he thought it his Interest to avoid, he drew down his Forces to the Sea-side, and, having encamped them there for three Days, he thought fit to make a general Review; upon which it appeared, that this mighty Army with which he was to undertake the Conquest of the *Mexican* Empire, consisted of no more than Five hundred and eight Soldiers and Officers, Sixteen Horse, and of those who did not belong to the Army, two Chaplains and one hundred and nine Pilots, Mariners, and Men of other Professions. To these he made a long Speech, in which he represented to them, that Discipline was of far greater Advantage than Numbers, exhorting them to obey his Orders punctually, and promising that his Example should ever give Weight to his Authority.

He had scarce made an End of his Oration before Intelligence was brought him, that a considerable Number of *Indians* were approaching, divided into several Corps, and without Arms: He drew up his Men, however, in Order of Battle, and commanded them to remain under Arms, till it should appear what it was those People aimed at. The *Indians* no sooner came in sight, than, gazing attentively upon the *Spaniards*, they remained for some time without Motion, only whispering and consulting among themselves what they had best to do. At length, perceiving that no Hostilities were offered, they advanced boldly on a sudden, and, mingling themselves with the Soldiers, presented them with Refreshments, and from

from that time continued a friendly Correspondence, without shewing any Signs either of Terror or Surprise; the Reason of this was, That having in their Island an Idol universally revered by all the neighbouring Nations, they were accustomed to see People of different Countries, Habits, and Languages, which either hindered them from being so much astonished, as other *Indians* were, or else taught them better to conceal their Fear.

At Night they all retired to their Houses, and the next Day the principal *Cazique* of the Island came to visit *Cortes* with a numerous Equipage, delivering his Embassy and Present himself. The General received him with great Courtesy, and by his Interpreter returned Thanks for the Visit, with an Offer of his Friendship and that of his Followers. To which the *Cazique* replied, That he accepted the Friendship offered, as a Man who knew how to preserve it. One among the *Indians* who accompanied him was heard to repeat, after a bad manner, the Name of *Castilla*, and *Cortes*, whose Attention nothing could divert from his Point, observed the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. The *Indians* said, that his Men very much resembled certain Persons who were in *Yucatan*, Natives of a Country called *Castilla*; which *Cortes* no sooner heard than he resolved to set them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service.

Upon informing himself more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of some *Indians* of the highest Rank residing two Days Journey within the Province of *Yucatan*. *Cortes* communicated his Intention to the *Cazique*, and asked him, whether these were warlike *Indians*, and what Force would be necessary to rescue the Christians from Slavery? The *Cazique* gave him a very reasonable Answer, telling him, the securest Way would be to ransom them; for that endeavouring to release them by Force of Arms, would expose them to the Hazard of being massacred by their Masters. *Cortes* embraced his Advice, with Admiration to find so much good Sense and Policy in the *Cazique*, whose Rank among Princes, though inconsiderable, had taught him some Principles of what they call Reason of State.

He immediately gave Orders to *Diego de Ordaz*, to sail with his Vessel and Company to the Coast of *Yucatan* by the shortest Cut from the Isle of *Cozumel*, where he was to land the *Indians* appointed by the *Cazique* for this Purpose. They carried a Letter from *Cortes* to the Prisoners, together with some Trifles for their Ransom, and *Ordaz* was commanded to stay eight Days for them, in which time the *Indians* undertook to return with an Answer. The two Vessels came upon the Coast of *Yucatan*, and landed the *Indians*. They, within two Days, delivered the Letters to a *Spaniard* whose Name was *Jerom de Aguilar*, who was pleased with it and the Toys. Some say, the *Indians*, for Fear, delivered the Letter to *Aguilar's* Master, who seeing him read it, wondered that Persons at such a Distance should understand each other by that Method. *Aguila* referring himself to his Master, as fearing he would cause him to be killed if he attempted to go away privately, obtained Leave of him to go, desiring that he would make them his Friends. This Lord sent some *Indians* with him, and when he came to the Coast, he perceived they had waited thereabouts, finding several Crosses made of Canes. Being much grieved for want of some Conveniency to proceed any farther, and going along the Coast, he found a Canoe half sunk, which, with the Help of his Companions, he cleared of the Sand; and, though half rotten, got into it, rowing with a Pipe-stave he also found by chance, and so went down the Coast, crossing in the narrowest Part over to the Island, being at least four Leagues. The Currents carrying him near to the Fleet.

In the mean time *Cortes* marched, with all his Troops in a Body, to take a View of the Island; not that he saw any Necessity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers together, and to preserve the Inhabitants from being insulted. He told his Men, that they were an indigent People unable to defend themselves; that the Sincerity they shewed entitled them to good Treatment in return; and that their

Poverty was such as gave no Temptation to Avarice; that they were not to expect from that small Spot of Ground any other Wealth than Reputation. He was always accompanied by the *Cazique* and great Numbers of *Indians*, who supplied him with Provisions, and exchanged Gold for Glass Beads, believing that they overreached the *Spaniards*, and could never purchase those Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Distance from the Coast stood the Temple of the Idol so much revered by the *Indians*. It was a square Building of Stone, and of no contemptible Structure. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of such an horrible Aspect as plainly discovered the Original it was designed to represent. This Circumstance of Deformity was observed in all the Idols worshipped by those miserable People, however they differed in Make or Signification; whether it were that their Imaginations hit in this respect, or that he who struck out the most hideous Figure was accounted the best Workman. 'Tis said, this Idol was called *Cozumel*, and gave to the Island the Name which it retains to this Day. The *Spaniards* found a very great Concourse of *Indians* in the Temple, and in the midst of them a Priest, distinguished from the rest by a certain Ornament or Covering, which scarcely hid his Nakedness. He seemed to preach, and persuade them to something, by a Voice and Action extremely ridiculous. *Cortes* took this Opportunity to discourse the *Indian* Prince roundly on the Subject of his Idolatry, telling him, in the first place, that it was impossible for them to continue Friends if he did not quit it; and next, that it was very unworthy of him, who was a Man of Sense and good Understanding, to pay Divine Honours to an ugly deformed Image, fitter to frighten Children than to be revered by Men.

The *Cazique* did not know how to argue with him, but seemed rather willing to shift the Discourse; telling him, that he was much his Servant in what depended upon him; but that, as for Religion, it was out of his way, and so left it wholly to the Priests, who should, if he pleased, discourse with him upon the Subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the Priests sent for, who no sooner understood the Business than he began to threaten the most dreadful Penalties, in the Name of his Idol, against any who should presume to dishonour him or his Habitation. Upon which *Cortes*, to shew them how much they were deceived and imposed upon by these Jugglers, caused all the Idols to be broke to pieces, and most of their Chapels to be demolished, only the largest of them he preserved entire; and, having caused a very neat Altar to be set up there, he had Mass said thereon by the Chaplains and Priests; and, at his Departure, charged the *Cazique* to take care that every thing was kept in good Order, and that no Insult was offered to the Image of the blessed Virgin, or to the two Crosses which he erected in that Chapel; which the *Indian* Chief very readily promised. And thus all Things being adjusted, *Cortes* began to provide for his Departure, the Ship being returned with Advice, That they had waited the appointed Time without seeing any thing of the Persons for whom they were sent, and therefore judged it their Duty to return.

7. All Things being in order, *Cortes* put to Sea, with a Design to follow the same Course, which *Juan de Grijalva* had done before, and to discover the Countries from which he had retired by too scrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had received. The Fleet had the Wind a-stern, and all were overjoyed at the prosperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneasiness. *Juan de Esculante* fired a Gun, and the rest of the Commanders, casting their Eyes towards him, observed that he followed with great Difficulty, and soon after tacked about, and stood for the Island. *Cortes* well understood the Meaning of what he saw; and, without staying to deliberate, immediately ordered the Fleet to follow him. *Juan de Esculante* stood in need of all his Diligence to save his Vessel, for she had sprung a Leak, and took in so much Water that she was upon the point of sinking when she reached the Shore, notwithstanding all possible Expedition.

dition had been used in coming to his Relief: The Soldiers landed, and the Cazique presently came down with the *Indians*, and seemed to be surprized at the sudden Return; but when they understood the Reason, they very chearfully helped to unload the Vessel, and afterwards assisted in repairing and careening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing singular Service in a Case that required it.

8. While this was doing, *Cortes*, accompanied by the Cazique and some of his Soldiers, went to visit the Temple, and found the Cross and Image of the Virgin *Mary* in the same Place where he had left them, observing withal, to his great Satisfaction, some Signs of the Veneration paid them by these *Barbarians* in the Cleanliness of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, besides Flowers and Boughs, with which they had adorned the Altar. *Cortes* thanked the Cazique for the Care he had taken in his Absence. The *Indian* was pleased, and received the Compliment of the *Spaniard* as if it had been an Instance of his extraordinary Conduct, that the Image and Altar had stood unmolested for no longer a time at the most than for two or three Hours.

Whilst the Ship was refitting, *Cortes* was told that a Canoe appeared making from *Yucatan* towards the Island; he came out to view, and, thinking it fell off a little, ordered *Andrew de Tapia* to go as much under the Shelter of the Land as he could, and endeavour to take that Canoe which made to the Shore behind a Point of Land; four Men stark naked landed out of it, only their Privities covered, and their Hair tressed wound about their Heads, with Bows and Arrows in their Hands. *Andrew de Tapia* had posted himself so as to come upon the Canoe, and as soon as the *Indians* were landed, made towards them Sword in Hand; three were afraid, and would have returned to the Canoe, but the fourth bid them not fear, and spoke to the *Spaniards*, saying, *Gentlemen, I am a Christian*: And, with Tears in his Eyes, asked if that was *Wednesday*? because he had a Prayer-Book he made use of every Day, and desired to know whether he was right? He desired them to return Thanks to God, kneeled down, and lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and also blessed God for having restored him to the Company of Christians.

Andrew de Tapia embraced him, as did all the rest, and then they went to *Cortes*, who received him with much Joy. The new Comer and his *Indian* Companions paid the greatest Respect, and couched down upon their Hams, laying their Bows and Arrows on the Ground at their Right-hands; then having moistened their Right-hands with Spittle, they touched the Ground, and stroaked their Breasts next the Heart, that being the greatest Respect they paid to their Princes, to denote, that they humbled themselves to the Ground they trode on. *Cortes* being informed that this was the way of Salutation, he again bid *Aguilar* welcome, and, taking off a long yellow Robe trimmed with Crimson he had on, with his own Hands put it upon him, desiring he would rise off his Hams and sit on a Chair. Asking his Name, he answered, his Name was *Jerom de Aguilar*, and that he was born at *Eija*, and related to the Licenciado *Mark de Aguilar* whom *Cortes* knew. Meat and Drink being set before him, he took of both very moderately. And being asked why he was so very sparing, answered, he did it, because having been so long used to the *Indian* Food, that Change of Diet might do him harm, whereas taking very little, tho' it were Poison, there was no Danger.

He was in Deacon's Orders, and for that reason said, he never would marry, tho' he had been much importuned to it by the *Indians*. The Account of his Life and Adventures being too long for that time, *Cortes* bid him rest till the next Day, and ordered his Steward to clothe him; which he was not very fond of at that time, because, having been so long used to go naked, the Garment *Cortes* had thrown over him was somewhat troublesome.

The next Day *Cortes* asked him, before less Company, how he had fallen into the Hands of those *Indians*; he answered, That being at *Darien* at the time of the Con-

test between *James de Nicuesa* and *Nunez de Balboa*, he came away with *Valdibia*, who was bound for *Santo Domingo*, to inform the Admiral and the King's Officers of what was doing in those Parts, to return with Men and Ammunition, and carry twenty thousand Ducats for the King: That when he came near *Jamaica*, the Caravel was cast away on the Shoals called *Caymanes* or *Alligators*; at which time twenty Men, with much Difficulty, got into the Long-boat, without Sails, Bread, or Water, and very bad Oars: That seven of the twenty Men soon died, being reduced to such Distress, that they drank their own Water; and the others landed in a Province called *Maya*, where they fell into the Hands of a cruel Cazique, who sacrificed *Valdibia* and five others, offering them up to his Idols, and then eating them, keeping a Festival, according to the Custom of the Country: That he and six more that were shut up in a Pen or Coop to serve for another Festival, resolved to lose their Lives some other way, and, breaking thro' the Cage accordingly, fled over the Mountains without being discovered, till it pleased God that they came into the Dominions of another Lord who was an Enemy to him from whom they fled, and naturally courteous, affable, and inclined to do Good; his Name was *Acquineuz*, Governor of *Xaman Cona*, who granted them their Lives, but made Slaves of them: That the said Lord soon dying, he served *Taxmar*, who succeeded him in the Lordship: That five of his Companions soon died thro' the Hardships they endured, he only remaining with one *Gonzalo Guerra*, who was with the Cazique *Chetemal*, and married a very great Lady in that Country, by whom he had Children: He was then Commander for a Cazique called *Nachancam*, and, having gained many Victories over his Lord's Enemies, was much beloved and esteemed.

He added, that he had sent him *Cortes's* Letter, and desired him to come away, since there was so favourable an Opportunity, and had staid for him longer than was convenient, and believed he kept away for Shame, because his Nose, Lips, and Ears were bored, his Face painted, and his Hands wrought after the manner of that Country, where only brave Men are permitted to have their Hands wrought. Proceeding in the Account of his own Adventures, he said he had endured very much during the first three Years, being obliged to carry Wood, Water, and Fish for his Lord; which he performed with much Satisfaction to save his Life, doing what every *Indian* directed him; by which means he gained the Affection of them all. The Cazique observing that he lived chastly, tempted him several ways, sending him out at Night a fishing with a beautiful *Indian* Girl about fourteen Years of Age, who had been instructed to provoke him; and he had a Hammoc given him for them to lye in. The Hammoc being hung up, the young Girl went into it, and invited *Aguilar* to come and lye with her, upbraiding him upon his Refusal, saying that he was not a Man; yet he lighted a Fire, and lay down on the Ground by it. The Cazique, being informed of this by her, had the more value for him, and trusted him with his Wife and House; which shews that Virtue is honoured even among barbarous Nations. Afterwards he desired his Lord to employ him in his Wars, and contributed to the obtaining several Victories, which gained him so much Reputation, that he was looked upon as the prime Man in the Country: And when the Ships under the Command of *Hernandez de Cordova*, and those under *Grijalva*, traded on that Coast, they took special care that he should not make his Escape. The Conversation of this Man proved highly agreeable to *Cortes*, and the Accounts he gave were of extraordinary Use in the Prosecution of his Expedition, because they enabled him to foresee whatever might happen, to procure Advantages, and to provide against Difficulties.

9. It must be acknowledged that the Facts which are contained in this Section are far enough from being surprising or extraordinary, but however, they are extremely curious, and withal highly necessary. The Histories of such Discoverers as these ought to be written for some great End, and with some important View; bare Amusement

usement is too mean a Consideration. But what End, what View so just, so laudable, so worthy of the Subject, as the promoting vigorously Expeditions of a like nature by so noble an Example. Yet how is this to be done otherwise than by explaining the Character of *Cortes* fully, and shewing how he came to undertake so great an Enterprize with so slight a Force; how from the very Beginning he had all the Difficulties to struggle with that the Author of an Epic Poem could have suggested to raise the Character of his Hero, and shewed such Fortitude, Sagacity, and Penetration in overcoming them, as would have puzzled the greatest Poet to have feigned in favour of him, whose Character and Adventures had depended solely upon his Imagination.

Here we see him fixed upon to be the Commander in Chief in the greatest Expedition that hitherto the *Spaniards* had undertaken, merely for the sake of his personal Merit and great Abilities. We next find him suspected, hated, recalled by the very Person to whom he owed his Power. Yet proceeding, notwithstanding all these Difficulties; and tho' the Beginnings of his Enterprizes were not attended with any remarkable Success, we see him establishing an Authority even superior to that given him by his Commission, when by the Contrivances of his Enemies, his Title to command was so weakened, as that he

had scarce any legal Authority at all. We see him from his first setting out, acting as the Legislator as well as General and Commander in Chief, and not only forming his own Conduct upon just, honourable, and heroic Principles, but infusing these with great Diligence and Dexterity into the whole Body of his Followers, as if, not content with being a Hero himself, his Ambition excited him to command an Army of Heroes, and so to ballance his want of Numbers by raising the Power, the Credit, and Courage of the small Number he commanded.

We see him acting upon all Occasions by the Lights of his own Reason, and without taking the Advice of any who were about him; not that he despised Counsel, but that for good Reasons, and from just Motives, he suspected those he would otherwise have admitted of his Council. And lastly, we see him behave towards the *Indians* with Dignity void of Arrogance, instilling Courage, not Fear, and teaching them Obedience, by proposing it as their Interest, rather than due to his Pleasure. We shall see him in the succeeding Sections uniform in his Conduct, exact in his Discipline, sage in his Resolutions, vigorous in their Execution, always besieged with new Difficulties, and yet surmounting them by the Force of his Understanding, and the Steadiness of his Virtue.

SECTION VIII.

The Progress of this Expedition from the time of the Spaniards embarking for New Spain, to the first Message sent by CORTES to MOTEZUMA Emperor of Mexico.

1. *The Motives which induced Cortes to resolve to attempt the Conquest of New Spain with so small a Force and under so many Difficulties.*
2. *He arrives at the River Grijalva, finds his landing opposed, but debarks at last in spite of the Indians.*
3. *The Town of Tabasco taken, and a great Victory gained over the Indians.*
4. *A Peace ensues thereupon, to the Satisfaction of both Parties; after which the Spaniards embark in order to continue their Voyage.*
5. *They land in New Spain, and meet there with Embassadors from Motezuma Emperor of Mexico.*
6. *The General and Governor of the Province confer with Cortes; inquire into the Reason of his coming thither, and send an Account of it to their Emperor Motezuma.*
7. *The manner in which the Indians transmitted a full Account of the Spaniards and their Force to their Emperor.*
8. *The Reception that Account met with, and the Answer returned to Cortes's Request, by Motezuma.*
9. *Remarks and Observations upon this Section, and on the Situation Cortes found himself in at this Juncture.*

THE short Stay that *Cortes* made in this Island was spent in deliberating on the proper Means for carrying his great Designs into Execution, towards which he found that good Information was likely to contribute more than the best Advice; he therefore spent many Hours alone with *Aguilar*, whom he found to be a Man of Sense and Probity, of great Courage, and who had a Head perfectly well turned either for Service in time of War, or for Negotiations in time of Peace. It was from this Man that he learned perfectly the Humour and Temper of the *Indians*, their Maxims of Government, their military Discipline, the Advantages derived to them from thence, and in what respect they were inferior to the *Spaniards*. Matters about which he seemed to inquire from that natural Curiosity only which is incident even to the greatest Minds; but, in reality, he had nothing less in view than to amuse himself with hearing strange Stories, and made these Inquiries for the sake of knowing how to use all Opportunities that offered, and that he might be able to create them where they were wanting.

Among other extraordinary Qualities, he was blessed with so happy a Memory, that he retained whatever he once heard, and knew how to make use of the slightest Circumstances so as to convert them into material Advantages; of which we shall see many remarkable Instances in the following Sections. He took occasion likewise, during his stay in this Island, to gain over to his Interest the ablest and most enterprising Persons that were embarked with him in this Expedition, by representing to them how inseparably their Interests were connected with his, so that it was impossible for him to ne-

glect rewarding them, if by a proper Discharge of their Duty they put it his Power. In all these Applications he had much less regard to the Character and Station, than to the Temper and Capacities of the Men with whom he dealt, so that he admitted to his Conversation private Men as well as Officers, which gained him the Affections of the People, and rendered it impossible for any Cabals to be formed against him, without his having immediate Intelligence of the Motives from whence they sprung, and the Persons by whom they were managed.

He drew likewise another great Advantage from this Conduct, and that was bringing the greatest Points to bear without appearing to have any Concern in them; so that he never proposed any thing he had a mind to carry, but by the help of his Agents he first infused it into the Minds of the People, and then complied with their Will, or rather seemed to comply with it when he accomplished his own. He defeated the Designs of his Enemies by preparing the People to suggest their Dislike to them, when proposed by himself in Compliance with the Resolutions taken in Councils of War. And by these Arts he rendered himself at once the most arbitrary and despotic Commander, and the very Man in the World least suspected of having any such thing in his Thoughts. The Difficulties they had hitherto met with, might under any other General have disgusted the People and destroyed their Hopes, but his Management was so dextrous, that under him they had quite different Effects; for he found Means to convince them, that all Miscarriages were owing to those of *Velasquez's* Party; whence the Soldiers inferred, that all things would go well if

Cortes

Cortes had the sole Command. Such were the Dispositions of the *Spaniards* while Preparations were making to prosecute their Voyage to the Main.

2. The Fleet left this Island the second time on the 4th of *March*, 1519, doubled the Point of *Catoche*, which is the most Easterly Part of *Yucatan*, and following the Coast came to the Road of *Champatan*, where the Question was put in a Council held on that Subject, Whether they should land or not? *Cortes* inclined to the Affirmative, that he might chastize the *Indians* for the Opposition given to *Juan de Grijalva*, and before that to *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*; and some Soldiers that had been present on both these Occasions, pushed by a Spirit of Revenge, supported his Opinion with an extreme Warmth; but the chief Pilot, and the rest of his Profession opposed it with unanswerable Reasons; for the Wind that favoured the Continuance of their Voyage, directly opposed their landing in that Place. Whereupon they pursued their Course, and arrived at the River *Grijalva*. There was no Occasion to deliberate here, for the good Treatment which the *Spaniards* had received formerly from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and the Gold at that time brought from thence, were two powerful Attractives; and *Cortes* readily complied with the Inclinations of his Soldiers, although he had no Design to stay there many Days, for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of *Moteczuma*, of which *Juan de Grijalva* had his first Account in this Province; it being his Opinion, That in this sort of Expeditions it was adviseable to begin with attacking the Head rather than the Members, and so encounter the greatest Difficulties with his Forces entire.

As he had some Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of those who had been there before, he made a Disposition for entering the River. And leaving the larger Vessels at an Anchor, he embarked all his Soldiers, well armed, in those of a smaller size, and in the Boats, and was beginning to make the best of his way against the Current, in the same Order as had been before observed by *Juan de Grijalva*; when he perceived a considerable Number of Canoes, with armed *Indians*, cover both Sides of the River, supported by several other Bodies on the Shore. *Cortes* drew near in close Order, and commanded that none should fire or shew the least Sign of Hostility. He followed in this likewise the Conduct of *Grijalva*, for he was more solicitous to use the proper Means of succeeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Risques they run who value themselves upon finding new ways with no other Design than to be distinguished from those who went before them. The *Indians* thought to put a Stop to the *Spaniards* by their horrible Outcries; and as soon as they were so near that what they said could be distinguished, *Jerom de Aguilar* found that he understood their Language, which was the same, or with little Difference from that of *Yucatan*. And *Cortes* looked upon it as the Work of Providence that he was furnished with so good an Interpreter. *Aguilar* informed him, that the Words he understood were Menaces, and that the *Indians* were inclined to War. Upon which *Cortes* stopt, and ordered him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. *Aguilar* executed his Orders, and returned in a very short time with an Account, that the *Indians* were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and so obstinate in their Resolution, that they had very insolently refused so much as to hear him. *Cortes* had no Design to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage; but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be dishonourable to retreat, and suffer this Insolence of the Barbarians to go unpunished. The Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, *Cortes* thought it most advisable to lye by till Day, and disposed every thing after the best manner for the Engagement. During this Suspension he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Vessels; and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themselves with their Cotton Coats, for the better resisting the Arrows; to which he added such other Directions as he thought necessary, without representing the Danger greater or less than it was.

As soon as Day appeared the Vessels were drawn up in a Half Moon, whose Figure lessened by Degrees till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow Room for that Disposition. Their Advance was very slow, and seemed to invite to Peace; but the Men soon discovered the Canoes of the *Indians* who waited their coming in the same Order as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to stir till they were attacked, telling them all, That they ought to use their Shields before their Swords, as the Justice of this War depended on the Provocation to it. And being desirous to have Reason still more on his Side, he sent *Aguilar* to them a second time with Offers of Peace, and to assure them that this was a Fleet of their Friends who designed their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with *Juan de Grijalva*; That to refuse them Entrance, would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the *Spaniards* to open their way by force of Arms; and that whatever Damage they should sustain, must be imputed to themselves. The Answer to this second Proposal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanced by the Favour of the Current near enough to use their Arrows, of which they discharged so great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Banks of the River, that the *Spaniards* were very much embarrassed in their Endeavours to cover themselves; but having received the first Charge, according to Order, they returned it with so much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Passage free: And many of the *Indians*, intimidated at the Deaths of their Companions, flung themselves into the River. The Vessels pursued their way up the River, without farther Opposition, and approaching the Shore on the left Side, the Troops began to land, but in a Place so marshy and covered with Brambles, that they found themselves engaged in a second Conflict, for the *Indians* who lay there in Ambush, and those who escaped from the Engagement on the River, united in one Body, and renewed the Attack with prodigious Fury. The great Quantity of Arrows, Darts, and Stones which they discharged, increased the Difficulty of the Morass.

But *Hernan Cortes* drew up his Men, and those Ranks which were formed making head against the Enemy, covered the rest of their Troops, who were landing. Having formed his Battalion in Sight of the Enemy, whose Numbers continually increased, he gave Orders to Captain *Alonso Davila* to advance with an hundred Soldiers through the Wood, and possess himself of the Town of *Tabasco*, the Capital of that Province, not far distant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of those who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he engaged that vast Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty, for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in Mud; and it is said, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General lost one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without missing it, so thoroughly was his Attention employed upon the Business of the Day. After the *Spaniards* had passed the Marsh, the *Indians* gave way, and disappeared in an Instant among the Bushes. Their Flight was owing in Part to their losing the Advantage of Ground, and in Part, to their Concern for the Town of *Tabasco*, upon their discovering the March of *Davila*; as it presently appeared by the great Multitudes that repaired to the Defence of that Place.

This Town was fortified with a kind of Wall, generally used in the *Indies*, made of large Trunks of Trees fixed in the Ground after the manner of Palisadoes, and so placed together, that there was Room between to discharge their Arrows. The Compass was round, without any Traverses or other Defences; and at the closing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Castles of Wood, which filled up the Passage, and wherein they used to post their Sentinels. A sufficient Fortrefs against the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of those Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been instructed elsewhere either by Malice or Necessity.

3. *Cortes* arrived at the Town a little while before *Alonso Davila*, who had been hindered by some Marshes and Lakes in his way; and having joined his Troops to the Batallion, and distributed proper Instruction for breaking down the Palifadoes (without giving time either to the *Indians* to recover themselves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty) gave the Signal to begin the Attack, only stopping to say, *My Friends, here we must lodge this Night*. The Soldiers went on together with equal Resolution, and turning aside a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the Palifado; the Intervals of which were of Service at that time for the Discharge of the Fire-arms and Cross-Bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Posts, and gave an Opportunity to those who were not engaged to beat down a Part of their Palifadoes. The *Spaniards* entered without Difficulty, because the *Indians* retired to the inner Part of the Town; but it was soon perceived that they had stopped up the Streets, where they again made head, but with small Effect, for they were embarrassed by their own Numbers; and while some were retiring from one Work to another, they put the rest, who would have fought, into Disorder.

In the Centre of the Town there was a void Space, where the *Indians* made their utmost Efforts, but after a short Resistance, turned their Backs and fled into the Woods. *Cortes* would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers time to refresh, and the Fugitives an Opportunity to sue for Peace, taking Counsel from their Defeat. Thus did the *Spaniards* gain *Tabasco*, a large Town, and well provided for Defence, for the *Indians* had sent away all their Families and Effects, and stored the Place with Provisions; so that tho' there was nothing found to gratify Avarice, there was nothing wanting which Necessity required. Fourteen or fifteen were wounded, in this Engagement, in which died a considerable Number of *Indians*. Of the Wounded there was no Account, because they took care to carry them off, it being a Point of honour amongst them to conceal their Loss from the Enemy. That Night the Troops were quartered in that Part of the Town in which they last engaged. *Cortes* went his Rounds, and posted his Sentinels with as much Care and Exactness, as if he had had an Army of Enemies in View, well knowing Caution is as necessary as Valour in a Commander.

The next Day the Country appeared quite deserted, and so far as the Eye could reach there was not the least sign of an Enemy. However, *Cortes* did not think it proper to march out of his Quarters; this great Stillness made him suspicious, and his Apprehensions were increased when he understood that his Interpreter *Melchior*, who came from *Cuba*, had deserted them that very Night, leaving his Christian Habit hanging on a Tree. It was he that induced them to renew the War, acquainting them with the small Number of our Soldiers, that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagined; the Dread of which had made them desirous of Peace. But this Crime did not go long unpunished, for the same Barbarians whom he had persuaded to take up Arms, being vanquished a second time, revenged themselves on the Adviser of the War, by making him a miserable Sacrifice to their Idol.

In this Uncertainty *Cortes* resolved to send out *Pedro de Alverado*, and *Francisco de Lugo*, each with an hundred Men by different ways to view the Country, with Orders, if they found an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters without engaging with unequal Numbers. This Resolution was immediately executed, and *Francisco de Lugo*, after little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambuscade of numberless *Indians*, who attacked him on all Sides, and that with such Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Batallion into a Square. The Number of the Enemy increased, and the *Spaniards* began to be tired, when it pleased God that *Alverado*, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with a Marsh, which obliged him to turn aside, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. *Alve-*

rado marched strait to the Noise, and discovered the Enemies Squadrons: Upon which he advanced with all the Haste possible, under Cover of a Wood; and sending an *Indian* of *Cuba* to *Cortes* to advise him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with so much Resolution, that the *Indians*, surprized at the sudden Assault, left them the Passage free, and, without giving the *Spaniards* time to break them, dispersed of themselves.

This Succour gave *Francisco de Lugo's* Soldiers time to breathe, and as soon as the two Captains had joined their Troops and doubled their Ranks, they charged another Batallion of the Enemy, who stooped up the way that they might not execute the Orders they had received to retreat. Here again they found Resistance, but in fine, they made way through them with their Swords, marching forward, though continually attacked, and sometimes almost borne down; some fought while others took Breath; and whensoever they mended their Pace to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the same Swiftnefs that they attacked; the Motions of this Multitude of Barbarians, resembling the rolling of the Sea when the Waves are driven back by the Wind. The *Spaniards* had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when *Hernan Cortes* appeared at a Distance; who upon the Notice given him by *Alverado*, was coming to their Relief with all the rest of his Troops. As soon as the *Indians* spied him, they made a Halt, giving those they pursued time to march off, and continued a while looking on by way of threatening, or to signify that they were not afraid. Yet afterwards they dispersed in several small Bodies, and left the Field. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters without engaging farther, because it was requisite to take care of the Wounded, being eleven in both Companies, of which Number two died; and this was reckoned at that time a very great Loss.

Some Prisoners were taken upon this Occasion, and *Cortes* ordered *Jerom de Aguilar* to examine them separately, to know what it was those *Indians* founded their Obstinacy on, and what Forces they had to support it. Their Answer differed in some Circumstances, but they agreed in declaring that all the *Caziques*, in the neighbouring Countries, were summoned to the Assistance of *Tabasco*, and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together, to make an End of the *Spaniards* at once, of which Number the Body that had attacked the two Companies under *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Pedro de Alverado*, was but a small Detachment. This Intelligence gave *Cortes* some Uneasiness, whereupon he resolved to call his Captains together, and advised with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them the Difficulties in which they were engaged, their small Numbers, and the great Preparations the *Indians* had made to destroy them, without concealing the least Circumstances of what the Prisoners had declared. He then proceeded to consider how far their Glory was concerned, representing to them their own Valour, the Nakedness and Weakness of their Neighbours, and how easily they had defeated them at *Tabasco*, at their Landing; but above all, he urged the ill Consequences of turning their Backs upon those Barbarians, which would be a Disgrace of so much Consequence, that, in his Opinion, they must either entirely lay aside the Enterprize of *New Spain*, or proceed no farther, till they had either established Peace, or subdued that Province; but, that he only proposed this, being resolved to act as should be judged most convenient.

Every one gave his Opinion, and they all agreed that it was not practicable to depart that Country, till they had reduced the Inhabitants: Whereupon *Cortes* proceeded to make the necessary Dispositions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on board, the Horses to be landed, the Artillery to be in a Readiness, and every thing to be in Order by the next Morning. As soon as it was Day, giving the Command of the Foot to *Diego de Ordaz*, he and the other Commanders mounted on Horseback, and kept Pace with the

the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, because the Ground was boggy; till coming to a Place called *Cintba*, a little less than a League from their Quarters, they discovered, at a great Distance, the *Indian* Army so numerous, that the Eye could not reach to see the end of them.

We will now describe the *Indian* Way of marching and engaging, which may serve upon all Occasions, the Art of War being almost the same among all the Nations in *New Spain*. Most of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows; the Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beasts, or of Thongs of Deer Skin twisted, and their Arrows were headed with Bones ground sharp, or Fish-bones; they used also a kind of Darts, which sometimes they threw, and sometimes managed like a Pike. They had likewise long Swords which they used with both Hands, as we do Falchions made of Wood, in which they fixed sharp Flints; the strongest of them had Clubs pointed with Flints, and there were Slingers who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defensive Arms, which are only used by Commanders and Persons of Distinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, Breast Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoise-shell, adorned with Plates of such Metal as they could get, and some made use of Gold as we do of Iron. The rest were naked, and all of them painted with various Dyes and Colours on their Faces and Bodies, which they made use on to strike a Terror into their Enemies, believing that Ugliness made them appear dreadful. Their Heads were covered with diverse Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns raised high to make them appear taller. They had also warlike Instruments and Music, with which they animated their Soldiers and gave Signals; there were Flutes made of great Canes, Sea-shells, and a Sort of Drums made of the Trunk of a Tree, so hollowed and made thin, that they answered to the Stroke of a Stick a very displeasing Sound, but seemed well suited to the Ears of those People. They formed their Battalions of great Numbers without any Order, but had Troops of Reserve to relieve where there was Occasion. They made their Attacks with great Fury and terrible Out-cries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies; a Custom which some have accounted among the Brutalities of those *Indians*, without observing that it has been used by many ancient Nations, and not despised even by the *Romans*: We do not argue whether this is a commendable Custom or not, but only say it was not so barbarous in the *Indians*, as to be without Example in other Nations.

Their Armies were composed of Natives, and several Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Assistance of their Confederates, being led by their Caziques, or some prime *Indian* of their Family. These were divided into Companies, whose Captains led, but could scarce govern, their Men: For when they came to engage, they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is usual among such Multitudes, being equally eager to attack and to run away. Such was the Soldierly of the *Indians*; and after this manner that Army, or rather Inundation of Men, which seemed to cover all the Country, advanced towards the *Spaniards*; *Cortes* was sensible of the Danger he was in, yet did not despair of the Success, but encouraged his Soldiers with a cheerful Countenance, and posted them under the Shelter of a rising Ground, which covered their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do most Execution, he struck into a Wood with his fifteen Horse, advancing far into it in order to fall out and flank them as Occasion should require. As soon as the *Indian* Army came up within a proper Distance, they first shot their Arrows, and then fell upon the *Spaniards* with such Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-arms and Cross-bows not being able to stop them, they were obliged to make use of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them, and as they pressed on in Throngs, the Artillery destroyed whole Companies; but they were so obstinate, that, as soon as the Ball was passed they closed again, and covered the Loss they had sustained; making loud Cries, and throwing Dust into the Air that the *Spaniards* might not see those who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

Diego de Ordaz acquitted himself as a good Captain and valiant Soldier. But the Enemies being so very numerous, the *Spaniards* had enough to do to stand their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when *Cortes*, who could not come sooner to the Assistance of his Men, by reason of some Brooks he had to pass, sallied forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickest of their Battalions, and doing such Execution with his Horse, that the *Indians*, wounded and trodden under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms as an Obstacle to their Flight. *Diego de Ordaz*, sensible that the Relief he expected was come, by the weak Resistance of the Enemies Van-guard which began to face about by Reason of the Confusion in the Rear, without Loss of time advanced with his Foot, charging those who had oppressed him, with so much Resolution, that he obliged them to give way till he came to the Place where *Cortes* and his Captains had cleared off the Enemy.

They all joined to make the last Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace, for the *Indians* were retiring in an hasty Manner; yet still making head, and employing their missile Weapons; and this manner of renewing, and withdrawing from Fight in good Order they continued till the *Spaniards* came up to them, when finding themselves again attacked, they turned their Backs, and instead of retreating, fled outright. *Cortes* commanded his Men to halt, to avoid the shedding of more Blood; ordering only some Prisoners to be taken whom he might make use of to set on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in view, looking on this War as no more than a Circumstance of his principal Design. Above eight hundred *Indians* remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the *Spaniards*, two Soldiers were killed, and threescore and ten wounded. The Enemy's Army, according to the Accounts we have, consisted of forty thousand Men; who, although they were naked Barbarians, yet had Hands to do Mischief. And should we grant that they wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be destitute of that Fierceness of which brute Beasts are capable.

4. The next Day *Cortes* caused the Prisoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three Officers. They discovered in their Countenances great Fear, expecting to be treated after the same cruel Manner they used to treat the Vanquished. But *Cortes* received them with great Courtesy, encouraged them with a cheerful Countenance, and set them at Liberty, giving them some trifling Presents, and telling them at the same time, that he knew both how to conquer and to forgive. This Piece of Humanity had so good an Effect, that within a few Hours several *Indians* came to the Quarters with *Indian* Wheat, Flower, and other Provisions; designing by that Present to facilitate the Peace, which they were to propose from the principal Cazique of *Tabasco*. The People who came on this Embassy were of the meanest Sort, and made no Figure, which *Jerom de Aguilar* took notice of; because it was the Custom of that Country, upon all Occasions, to send Persons of the first Rank. And although *Cortes* was very desirous of Peace, he refused to admit their Proposals, as not coming in due Form, and sent back the *Indians* without so much as seeing them; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, That if he desired his Friendship, he must send Persons of greater account, and after a more decent Manner, to solicit it. The Cazique acknowledged his Fault, and the next Day sent thirty *Indians* of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride consisted; they were followed by a Train of *Indians* loaded with another Present of the same kind as before, but in greater abundance. *Cortes* gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and severe Countenance.

They approached with very great Submission, and having perfumed him with *Gum Anime*, or *Gum Copal*, and other sweet Scents, they delivered their Embassy, which began with some frivolous Excuses for their past War,

and concluded in earnest Entreaties for Peace. The General represented to them the just Causes he had to be displeased with them, that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear with greater Lustre, and the Peace which he granted them prove more welcome. The Ambassadors received it with great Applause, returning extremely satisfied, and easily enriched with those slight Baubles they so highly valued. Afterwards the Cazique himself came to visit Cortes, accompanied by all his Officers, bringing with him a Present of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours, and some Pieces of Low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanship than for the Metal; he first made his Present in order to be better received: Cortes caressed him very much, and the Visit passed in Protestations of a reciprocal and sincere Friendship, all transacted by the Interpreter; the Spanish Captains treated the other prime Indians who accompanied the Cazique, and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces to supply the Want of Language.

The Cazique took his leave, and appointed another Day for an Interview, and to shew his Sincerity and how much he confided in the General, he ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to *Tabasco*, and assist the Spaniards in whatever they should want. The next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the same Attendance, and twenty Indian Women, well dressed after the Manner of the Country, telling Cortes he brought them as a Present to serve him and his Companions, being very skilful in dressing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of Indian Wheat, which, amongst them, was always the Work of Women; they ground the Grain between two Stones, like those we use for Chocolate, and when reduced to Flower, they made it into Paste, without having any Occasion for Leaven: Then they spread and moulded it upon a Sort of Earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly supplied that new World (to make amends for the Want of Wheat) and is very agreeable to the Taste, and not offensive to the Stomach. Amongst these Women came one principal Indian, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptized, and received the Name of *Marina*, and proved very useful in the Conquest, as will appear in its proper Place.

The Pilots pressed the Departure of the Fleet, which, according to their Observations, might be endangered by any longer Stay in that Place. And though Cortes was concerned to leave those People before he had better instructed them, he found himself obliged to think of his Voyage, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, he appointed that Day for embarking, so ordering it that the Festival might be kept first, according to the Rites of the Church, Religion being always his first Care; at the same time they embarked their Provisions, and made all other necessary Preparations for their Voyage. The Indians assisted in all things with an officious Diligence; and the Cazique, with his Captains, attended Cortes with the greatest Respect and Veneration. When Mass was done, Cortes took leave of the Cazique, and, having confirmed the Peace with further Demonstrations of Friendship, he embarked, leaving these People rather obedient than subject to the King; and as to Religion, so far in the Way to Salvation, as to desire, or at least not to oppose, the Means of obtaining it.

5. The next Day the Spaniards set sail, and, following the Coast to the Westward, came within Sight of the Island of *Guazacoalco*, and without putting in at the Island of *Banners*, had a View of the Island of *Sacrifices* and other Places, which had been before discovered, and forsaken by *Juan de Grijalva*; the Soldiers who had served under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they had met with in that Expedition; and Cortes learning from the ill Success of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better. At length they arrived at *St. Juan de Ulua* at Noon, and the Ships had no sooner anchored between the Island and the main Land to shelter themselves from the North Winds, than they saw two large Canoes, which

in that Country are called *Piraguas*, coming from the neighbouring Coast with some Indians in them, who drew near without shewing the least Concern, discovering by this Security, and some Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and had those on board who desired to be heard. When they came within a small Distance of the Admiral, they began to speak in a strange Language that *Aguilar* did not understand, which much troubled Cortes, being concerned to want an Interpreter, when he had most Occasion for him, looking upon it as an Obstacle to his Undertaking; but Providence, that brings about its Designs, by Ways which to Men appear casual, soon relieved him in this Distress.

The Indian Woman, whom we shall now call *Donna Marina*, was not far from Cortes and *Aguilar*, and guessing by their Looks what they were discoursing, and what they wanted, she told *Aguilar*, in the *Yucatan* Tongue, that those Indians spoke the Mexican Language, and desired Audience of the General, on the Part of the Governor of that Province. This *Donna Marina* was Daughter to the Cazique of *Guazacoalco*, one of the Provinces subject to the Emperor of Mexico, bordering upon that of *Tabasco*, and had, through some Accidents of Life, which are variously reported, been carried away in her Youth to *Xicalango*, a strong Place upon the Confines of *Yucatan*, which was kept by a Mexican Garrison: There she was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth; till by a fresh Misfortune, either by Sale or being taken in War, she became a Slave to the Cazique of *Tabasco*, who made a Present of her to Cortes. In *Guazacoalco* and in *Xicalango* they spoke the Mexican Language, and in *Tabasco*, that of *Yucatan*, which *Aguilar* understood: So that *Donna Marina* understood both those Languages, and explained to the Indians in the Mexican Language, what *Aguilar* told her in that of *Yucatan*. Cortes making use of this round about Way of speaking by two Interpreters, till such time as *Donna Marina* had learned Spanish, which was not long, for she had a very ready Wit and several natural Endowments which well agreed with her Birth. She was ever a most faithful Interpreter to Cortes, and he confirmed her in his Interest by Ways not altogether so decent, for he had Son by her, called *Don Martin Cortes*, who was made Knight of *St. Jago*, in consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth.

The Indians acquainted him that *Pilpatoe*, and *Teutile*, the one Governor, and the other Captain General of that Province, from the great Emperor *Moteczuma*, had sent them to know of the Commander of the Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coast? Cortes caressed them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with some Spanish Wine, and having thus obliged them, answered, "That he came as a Friend, to treat of Matters of great Importance to their Prince and all his Empire; for which Purpose he would meet the two Governors, and hoped to receive the same good Treatment from them, as others of his Nation had done the Year before." And having received some Information concerning the Greatness of *Moteczuma*, his Riches and Form of Government, he sent them away very well contented.

The next Day being *Good Friday*, the Spaniards all landed on Shore near the Fleet, and Cortes gave Orders for landing the Horses and Artillery, and that the Soldiers, in Companies, should go and cut Fascines to entrench themselves, not forgetting to post the necessary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a sufficient Number of Barracs to shelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which, at that time, was very great. The Artillery were planted so as to command the Country, and in a little time they were all under Cover. For *Teutile* sent a great Number of Indians with Provisions, and Orders to assist the Spaniards in that Work: To whom they were of great use, because they brought their Tools edged with sharp Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixed them in the Ground; interwove with them the Boughs and Leaves of Palm-trees; forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Ease and Diligence, being great Masters in this kind of Architecture, as having in many Places no other Houses, and being less barbarous in proportioning

portioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than those who build vast Palaces where still they cannot find sufficient Room for their Vanity. They also bought some Cotton Cloths with which they covered the Officers Barracks, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the best of them *Cortes* ordered an Altar to be set up, on which, when adorned, he placed the Image of the *Virgin Mary*, and at the Entrance a great Cross, in order to celebrate Easter; for Religion was always his chief Care, and in that he was always equally zealous with the Priests. *Cortes* understood by these *Indians*, that General *Teutile* was attended by a considerable Body of Troops, and that he was establishing the Dominion of *Moteczuma*, in some Places newly conquered of this Province, the Civil Government of which was vested in *Pilpatoe*. And the great Care they took to send Provisions, and help the *Spaniards* in building of their Barracks, was not without Artifice, so far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account of the Success at *Tabasco*, which had now spread over all the Country; and considering that the Forces with which they were provided were inferior in Strength to those they had vanquished; they had recourse to Presents and Civilities, in order to oblige those they could not resist.

6. They passed the following Day in great Tranquility, but not the less upon their guard; the *Indians* were continually coming to their Quarters, some to work, and others with Provisions, which they trucked. On *Easter-day* in the Morning *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* came with a very great Attendance to visit *Cortes*; he received them in equal State, surrounded by his Officers and Soldiers. The first Compliments being over, he carried them with him to the great Barrack, which served for a Chapel, it being the Hour of Divine Service, ordering *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion, and recommend to the God of all other Gods, the good Success of his Proposition. After Service was over, they returned to the Governor's Barrack, who entertained the two Generals at Dinner, and he treated them with great Plenty. The Banquet being over, *Hernan Cortes* called his Interpreters, and, with a determined Air, said, That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor *Moteczuma* on the Part of Don *Carlos* of *Austria*, Monarch of the *East*, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Person and Estate, but likewise to the Welfare of all his Subjects; for performing whereof it was necessary for him to appear before his royal Presence, and hoped he should be admitted with all the Civility and Respect that was due to the King who sent him.

The Governors changed Countenance at this Proposal, and seemed to hear it with Dissatisfaction; but before they returned an Answer, *Teutile* ordered a Present he had provided to be brought, and about twenty or thirty *Indians* came in loaded with Provisions, fine Cloths, Feathers of several Colours, and a great Box in which were several Pieces of Gold curiously wrought: Having made his Present with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praised, he turned to *Cortes*, and, by the Help of the same Interpreters, prayed him to accept that small Present from two Slaves of *Moteczuma's*, who had Orders to entertain such Strangers as came upon his Coast; but adding, that he must not immediately think of prosecuting his Voyage, it being no easy Matter to speak with their Prince. *Cortes* replied with some Warmth, That Kings never refused to hear the Ambassadors of other Princes: That what belonged to them in this Case was, to acquaint *Moteczuma* with his Arrival, for which he would allow some Time; but that they should likewise let their Emperor know that he came resolved to see him, and determined not to leave his Country with Dishonour to the King whose Representative he was. This bold Resolution of *Cortes*, gave the *Indians* so much Uneasiness, that they durst not reply; on the contrary, they intreated him not to move from these Quarters till the re-

turn of *Moteczuma's* Answer, offering to supply him with all Things that were necessary for the Support of his Soldiers. At this Time, some *Mexican* Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very busy about drawing upon Cotton Cloths (which they brought ready primed for that Purpose) the Ships, Soldiers, Arms, Artillery, Horses, and every thing else that appeared to them remarkable, of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landscips no way contemptible, either for the Colours or the Drawing.

7. These Pictures were drawn by the Order of *Teutile*, the better to inform *Moteczuma* of that extraordinary Novelty; and, to make those Descriptions more intelligible, they placed some Characters here and there, with which they seemed to explain and give the Signification of the Picture. *Cortes* had notice of what these Painters were doing, and went out to see them; and being informed that they were painting upon those Cloths the Information which *Teutile* was to give *Moteczuma* of what he had proposed, and the Forces he had with him to make it good, he with his usual Wit presently observed, that these Images wanted Action to express the Valour of his Soldiers; and therefore resolved to exercise his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture: To this End, he ordered them to Arms, drew up in a Body, commanded the Artillery to be made ready; and telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe*, that he would entertain them after the manner of his Country, he mounted his Horse with his Captains: The first ran two and two, after the Manner in *Spain*; and then the whole Troop being divided into two Bodies, they skirmished, at which strange Sight the *Indians* stood amazed, and like Men beside themselves; for observing the obedient Fierceness of those Beasts, they began to think there was something more than natural in those Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by *Cortes*, the Fire-arms discharged; and, soon after, the Artillery. The Confusion and Astonishment of these People increasing, with such various Effects, that some fell down to the Ground, others began to fly; and those who had most Presence of Mind affected Admiration, to dissemble their Fear.

Then *Cortes* encouraged them, giving them to understand, that, among the *Spaniards*, these were military Diversions. It was presently observed, that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to supply what was wanting on their Cloths; some painted the *Spaniards* armed and drawn up in form, others, their Horses in Exercise and Motion. They described the Artillery with Fire and Smoke, and represented the very Noise with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any of those frightful Circumstances that most directly regarded what their King was solicitous to know. In the mean time *Cortes* returned to his Barrack with the two Governors, and after having presented them with some small *Spanish* Jewels, he prepared a Present of fundry sorts of Curiosities, to be sent from him to *Moteczuma*; to which Purpose he made Choice of several Pieces of the most solid and brightest Glass, to which he added a *Holland* Shirt, a Cap of Crimson Velvet adorned with a Gold Medal representing *St. George*, and a Tapestry Chair; which the *Indians* seemed so much to admire, that it was thought a fit Present for the Emperor. With this small Shew of Liberality, *Hernan Cortes* took leave of the two Governors, who remained as much obliged by his Civilities, as embarrassed by his Designs.

8. The *Indians* halted at a small Distance from the *Spanish* Quarters to consult what Measures they should take. New the Result of this Stop was, that *Pilpatoe* remained there to observe the *Spaniards*; for which Purpose a convenient Spot being fixed, a great Number of Barracks were raised; and in a few Hours there appeared a considerable Village built upon the Plain *Pilpatoe* provided against the Suspicion this Novelty might produce, sending word to *Cortes*, that he staid there to take care of his Entertainment, and the better to supply his Troops with Provisions. *Teutile* proceeded to his own Quarters, and dispatched an Account to *Moteczuma* of all

all that had happened upon the Coast, sending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and *Cortes's* Present, with the utmost Diligence. For this Purpose, the Kings of *Mexico* had a great Number of Couriers distributed among all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, chosen out of the swiftest *Indians*, and bred up to it from little Children. Rewards were paid out of the Public Treasury to those who arrived first at the appointed Place. Those Couriers were relieved at every Town, like our Post-horses, and made the greatest Speed, because they succeeded one another before they were tired, so that the first four of the Couriers never ceased. The Answer came in seven Days, and *Teutile* brought it to the *Spanish* Quarters, together with a Present from *Motexuma*, which loaded an hundred *Indians*; and before he delivered his Embassy, he caused them to lay Mats of Palm-tree Leaves upon the Ground, and place in order upon them the several things of which the Present was composed.

There were various sorts of Cotton Cloth well wove, and so fine, that they could not be distinguished from Silk but by feeling, a Quantity of Plumes and other Curiosities made of Feathers, whose beautiful and natural Variety of Colours the *Indian* Artists knew to mix and dispose with so much Skill, that without making use of artificial Colours, or of the Pencil, they would draw Pictures and imitate Nature. They next produced a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of the finest sorts of Woods; two very large Plates of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its embossing represented the Sun; and the other of Silver, representing the Moon; and lastly, a considerable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, some Precious Stones, Collars of Gold, Rings, Pendants after their Fashion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight, in the Shape of Birds and Beasts, so curiously wrought, that notwithstanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanship exceeded it. As soon as *Teutile* had brought his Wealth before the *Spaniards*, he turned to *Cortes* and told him, That the great Emperor *Motexuma* sent him these in Return for his Presents, and to shew how much he valued his King's Friendship, but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it possible in the present Posture of his Affairs to grant the Permission he asked, of passing to his Court.

Cortes returned Thanks for the Present, and answered *Teutile*, That it was far from his Intention to be wanting in Obedience to *Motexuma*, but that it was not in his Power to go back without Dishonour to the King, or to forbear persisting in his Demand with all the Earnestness to which he was obliged by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and respected among the greatest Princes of the World. The *Spaniards* reasoned amongst themselves very differently upon those Presents, some conceiving great Hopes from conquering so rich a Country, while many concluded, the attacking so powerful a Monarch with such an Handful of Men, to be a Piece of Rashness; but the greatest Part justified the Constancy of their Captain, looking on the Conquest as good as made. *Cortes* gave them leave to talk on, concealing his Sentiments till a proper time; and to keep his People out of Idleness, which was the way to make them dispute less, he ordered two Vessels out to view the Coast and search out some Port or Bay where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, and some more fertile Plain, where they might be accommodated until the return of *Motexuma's* Answer, making a Pretence of the Sufferings of his People in this sandy Soil, where the Heat of the Summer was doubled by Reflection, and the Persecution of the Mosquitoes made even the Hours of Rest uneasy. He appointed Captain *Francisco de Montejo* to command this Cruise, and picked out the Soldiers that were to bear him company, being those that seemed most averse to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, steering the same Course he had done the Year before with *Grijalva*, and

that he should take notice of what Towns appeared along the Coast, without landing to view them, allotting ten Days for their Return; by which Means he executed what was proper to be done, employed those that were troublesome, and entertained the rest with Hopes of Relief.

9. The Skill and Conduct of *Cortes* appear manifestly in the Prudence with which, in his Circumstances, he took such Precautions. But tho' they made him somewhat easy for the present, yet they were so far from filling him with Confidence, that on the contrary his Mind was never more occupied than at this Juncture. He saw a new Scene opened, not only unexpectedly, but directly opposite to his Expectations. He found, instead of small and narrow Districts, which hitherto the *Spanish* Arms had easily subdued, a wide extended Empire, to which *Spain* itself was, in comparison, a Province; and this under the Dominion of one potent Monarch, whose Power descended to him through a Line of glorious Princes, renowned for the Wisdom of their Politics and the Compass of their Conquests: He found this Monarch well apprized of his Designs, and determined to oppose them with the whole Force of his Empire.

On the other hand, these Informations so clearly convinced him of the Weakness, or rather Inequality of his Army; and he was at the same time so sensible of the Difficulties, which perplexed him in the Command of it, that he began seriously to doubt whether it was possible for him to perform what his Ambition had prompted him to undertake. He kept this Concern of his so well concealed, that nothing of it appeared either in his Countenance or his Language, the former appearing more open, and the latter assuming a more resolute Tone than in times when for want of good Information he had less Fears about him; he determined, however, not to relinquish his Enterprize, but to push it as far as it would go, and never to think of a Retreat till he was fully satisfied that the Obstacles that lay in his way were absolutely insurmountable. He applied himself therefore with the utmost Diligence to raise the Spirits, and heighten the Fortitude of his Soldiers.

In order to this, he took Pains to shew them the great Advantages derived from their Discipline, and the small Strength that occurred from Numbers, where they wanted that material Circumstance. He taught them to observe how favourable the Divisions of the *Indians* among themselves were to their Design, and of what vast Importance it was to preserve the Good Will of those who were inclined to favour them, which was no otherwise to be done than by behaving towards them with all the Kindness and Clemency imaginable. But above all, he made it his Business to inflame their Hopes with the Prospect of that vast Wealth which must accrue to them from the Possessions of so rich a Country, and for the sake of which, it would be requisite, and at the same time highly reasonable to forego certain trifling and temporary Advantages, particularly such as resulted from plundering the little Towns that fell into their Hands, and treating all that came under their Power as Vassals and Slaves. He shewed them that this must necessarily break their Spirits, and enervate their Power, which at the same time that it rendered these *Indians* useless as Subjects, lost all that Accession of Strength which might be derived from them as Allies, and without which it was simply impossible they could carry on their Enterprize with any Probability of Success.

By a frequent and constant Practice of these Methods, he brought his Troops to a Degree of Confidence, which as yet he wanted himself, and rendered them not only willing to obey his Commands, but impatient even of necessary Delays, and so little afraid of Danger as to treat with Contempt such as attempted to insinuate, that their General engaged in an Undertaking to which his Forces were utterly unequal.

SECTION IX.

The Continuation of HERNAN CORTES's Expedition, his Alliances with several Indian Nations, his Success in quelling various Seditions in his own Army, and his Preparation for his March to Mexico, by burning his whole Fleet.

1. *The State of the Mexican Empire at this Time, and the Causes of Motezuma's Apprehensions, which diffuse themselves through the whole Indian Nation.*
2. *The Answer sent by him to Cortes, and the Resolution taken by the Spanish General thereupon, which produces a Rupture with the Indians.*
3. *Cortes defeats a Conspiracy formed against him, embraces the Friendship of the Zempoallans, and under Colour of settling a Colony institutes a new Government amongst his Spaniards.*
4. *Resigns up his Commission to the new Magistrates, receives it again, and quashes another Conspiracy.*
5. *The Army continues its March to Zempoalla, where Cortes brings the Cazique to have a perfect Confidence in him and in his People.*
6. *He prosecutes his Journey to Quiabillan, gains over the Cazique of that Country also, and persuades him to seize Motezuma's Commissioners.*
7. *He encreases the Number of his Allies, founds the City of Vera Cruz, and gives Audience to fresh Embassadors from the Emperor of Mexico.*
8. *The Spaniards, by an artful Contrivance, are drawn in by their Indian Confederates to attack the Inhabitants of Zimpazingo, with whom, coming to a better Understanding, they soon make Peace.*
9. *Cortes returns to his own Colony at Vera Cruz, sends Deputies to Spain to justify his Conduct, and prevents some Disputes that might have happened from Sharers in his Discoveries.*

1. **T**HERE cannot occur, in any History, a more surprizing Event than that the Rumour of the Approach of *Cortes*, with his Handful of *Spaniards*, should strike so great an Empire as that of *Mexico* really was, with so much Terror and Amazement. The nearer he came the more *Motezuma* was alarmed; the more frequent Councils he held, and in each of these discovered more and more Uneasiness and Apprehension, which quickly infected his Grandees; for in all Countries, and in all Ages, Courtiers are, in some Measure, Copies of their Monarchs, especially in arbitrary Governments; and therefore, we need not wonder that his Fear first diffused itself among his Nobility, and from them, through the whole Mass of his Subjects, so that the Confusion became general, and the approaching Destruction of their Government, might in very legible Characters be read in the Faces of the whole Nation. But to conceive this Fact clearly, to understand it perfectly, and to form from thence just Notions both of its Causes and Consequences, it is absolutely requisite that we should take a View of the State of this Country, and of its Government at this Juncture, which will, indeed, require Time and Room; but, the Importance of the Matter considered, I hope it will appear that neither can be better employed.

The Empire of *Mexico* was then at its greatest Height of Glory, having under its Dominion almost all the Provinces which had been discovered in *North America*, which were governed by *Motezuma* himself, or by the petty Kings or Caziques, his Tributaries. The Length of it extended from East to West above five hundred Leagues, and the Breadth from North to South, in some Places, was two hundred; a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the East it was bounded by the *Atlantic Sea* (now called the *North Sea*) and extended along all that great Space of Land, between *Panuco* and *Yucatan*: on the West it reacheth the other Sea, being washed by the *Asiatic Ocean* (or Gulph of *Anian*) from Cape *Mendocino*, to the farthest Part of *New Galicia*. On the South it stretched out farther, running along the South Sea from *Acapulco* to *Guatimala*, approaching by the Way of *Nicaragua* to the Isthmus or narrow Neck of Land, which unites the two *Americas*. On the North it extends as far as *Panuco*, including that Province, but was streightened considerably by the Mountains possessed by the *Chichimecas* and *Otemies*, a barbarous People, without Government, living in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon the Game they kill in hunting, and the Fruits of such Trees as grow wild; but so dextrous in the use of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Passes of the Mountains, that they had often withstood the whole Power of *Mexico*, being satisfied with not being conquered, and only desiring to preserve their Liberty amongst the wild Beasts.

This Empire grew to this vast Greatness in little more than one hundred and thirty Years; for the *Mexicans*, a warlike Nation, were always making room with their Arms, among those who inhabited that Part of the World. They were, at first, governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers and sensible of military Honour. Afterwards they chose a King, giving the supreme Dominion to him, who had the greatest Reputation for Valour, being acquainted with no Virtue but Fortitude, or if acquainted with other Virtues, they looked upon them as much inferior: They always observed this Custom, without regard to hereditary Succession; yet, where Merit was equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the same Wars by which their Kings acquired their Titles to the Crown, enlarged the Monarchy.

At first Justice supported their Arms, for the Oppression of their Neighbours forced them to Defence; but their Power afterwards increasing, Justice was laid aside, and Tyranny took place. *Motezuma* was the eleventh King, and the second of that Name, a singular Person, and much esteemed among the *Mexicans* before he began to reign. He was of Royal Blood, and a Soldier in his Youth; he raised his Character by several heroic Actions, and gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain: He returned to the Court, and finding himself applauded and respected as the first Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of grasping the Scepter at the next Election. He then employed all his Skill in gaining Friends, to which end he made use of many Arts. He affected great Obedience towards the King, and extraordinary Modesty and Composure in his Words and Actions; carefully preserving such an austere Gravity in his Countenance, that the *Indians* were wont to say the Name of *Motezuma* became him well, which, in their Language, signifies a *surly Prince*, though he endeavoured to temper his Severity by his Liberality.

He also gained the Character of being zealous for his Religion: And to this end he built an Apartment in the most frequented Temple, to which he retired in the Sight of all the People, and stayed there many Hours. He gained so much Veneration by these outward Appearances, that when the King his Predecessor died, the Electors gave him their Votes unanimously, and the People received him with great Acclamations; he made a shew of refusing, suffering himself to be courted to comply with his own Desires, and seemed to accept the Crown with Reluctancy: But no sooner was he possessed of it, than all that Artifice which he had forced upon his natural Temper ceased, and he discovered those Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.

The first Action by which he manifested his Pride, was the discarding all who belonged to the Royal Family,

mily, which till his Time was composed of middling People; and under colour of greater Decency he made his Nobles serve him, even in the meanest Employments of his House. He shewed himself seldom to his Subjects, and only when it was necessary to his Ministers and Domestics, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majesty. And for those who obtained Leave to come into his Presence he invented new Obeisances and Ceremonies, enlarging Respect almost to Adoration. He persuaded himself that he had the intire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exercised great Cruelties that he might put it out of Doubt with others; he imposed new Taxes, without Necessity, at a certain rate on each Head of his Subjects, and exacted it with so much Rigour, that even Beggars were not exempted bringing to his Treasury some mean things, which were received and then thrown away before their Faces.

These violent Actions made his People fear him, but as it is usual for Fear and Hatred to go together, some Provinces rebelled; to reduce which, he went himself in Person, being too jealous of his Authority to suffer any other to command his Armies. But, however, it cannot be denied, that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit, and that none were able to resist his Power, except the Provinces of *Mecoacan*, *Tlascala*, and *Tezcaca*, and he was wont to say, "He did not subdue them because he wanted those Enemies to supply him with Captives for the Sacrifices of his Gods." He had reigned fourteen Years when *Cortes* arrived on his Coast, and had spent all that Time in establishing the most thorough Tyranny that any History has recorded. Many strange things fell out at this Juncture, which were magnified by Report, and falling in with the superstitious Temper of the Emperor and his Subjects, formed such a Series of Prodigies as frightened all Ranks and Degrees of People, in a Manner, out of their Wits.

2. Whilst *Moteczuma's* Court was taken up with melancholy Reflections, *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to obtain some Account of the Country; at that time *Francisco Montejo* returned from his Voyage, having coasted some Leagues to the Westward, and discovered a Town called *Quiabitsan*, situated in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be secure, under the Shelter of some great Rocks which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was distant from *St. Juan de Ulua* about twelve Leagues, and *Hernan Cortes* began to consider it as a commodious Situation: But before he came to a Resolution *Moteczuma's* Answer arrived.

Teutile, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little perfuming Pans, burning Gum Copal. After the Smoaking, Courtesies, and Ceremonies were over, *Teutile* ordered *Moteczuma's* Present to be produced, which was somewhat less, but of the same Sort of Goods and Pieces of Gold as came with the first Embassy. All that they brought particular, were four green Stones like Emeralds, called *Chalcuities*; and *Teutile* told *Cortes*, with a great deal of Gravity, that *Moteczuma* had sent those Stones to the King of Spain as Jewels of an inestimable Value. The Embassy was delivered in Terms resolute and disagreeable, and the Conclusion of it was to dismiss the Guests without giving them leave to reply. Night drew on, and when *Cortes* was beginning his Answer, the *Ave-Maria* Bell rung in the Barrac, that served for a Chapel, and he kneeled down to say that Prayer, as did all the rest after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion struck the *Indians* with Admiration, and *Teutile* asked *Donna Marina* the Meaning of that Ceremony; *Cortes* understood their Question, and thought it proper to make use of this Opportunity, while he satisfied their Curiosity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion, beginning to return to his Answer, by telling *Teutile* that one Point of his Embassy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendship to *Moteczuma*, was the Obligation Christian Princes lay under to oppose Idolatry, and the Desire he had to instruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, the invisible Tyrant of his

Kingdoms, who, in reality, held him a Slave and a Vassal, though, in outward Appearance, he was so powerful a Monarch; and that coming from such remote Countries upon Affairs of such a Nature, and in the Name of another more powerful Monarch, he could not omit making new Efforts, and persevering in his Instances till he should prevail to be heard: Since he came on a peaceful Account, as appeared by the small Number of his Men, from which no Suspicion could be had of greater Designs.

No sooner had *Teutile* heard the Resolution of *Cortes*, than he started up hastily, and with some Sort of Impatience, between Anger and Confusion, told him, That hitherto the great *Moteczuma* had treated him as a Guest, but that if he continued obstinate it would be his own Fault if he found himself treated as an Enemy; and, without staying for an Answer, or so much as taking leave, he turned his Back and went hastily out of his Presence, followed by *Pilpatoe* and the rest of his Attendants. *Hernan Cortes* was a little startled at *Teutile's* Proceeding, but so much Master of himself, that, turning to his People with a Smile in his Countenance, "We shall see, says he, where this Challenge will end; we know, for the most Part, Threats are the Effects of Fear." And that very Night the Guards were doubled, and *Cortes* provided against what was possible, as against a Thing certain, for Commanders can never be too careful. As soon as Day appeared the *Spaniards* found a considerable Alteration, which gave them some Disturbance; for those *Indians* which inhabited *Pilpatoe's* Cabins were retired, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: Those also kept away who used to bring Provisions from the neighbouring Towns.

These Beginnings of Want were sufficient to make some Soldiers begin to be uneasy, looking upon it as very unadvised to think of settling in that Country, which Murmuring, some Friends of *Velasquez* took Advantage of, and began to exclaim, saying in common Discourse, That *Hernan Cortes* had a Mind to destroy them, and ambitiously pursued a Design without a Force proportioned to the Undertaking. That the Intention of maintaining themselves with such a Handful of People in the Dominions of so powerful a Prince, would be judged rash by all Men. And that it was now necessary that they should all demand to return to the Island of *Cuba*, in order to refit the Fleet and reinforce the Army.

Cortes being informed of this, made use of his Friends and Confidants to enquire the Opinions of the rest of his Men, and found that he had on his Side the most, and those too of greatest Consequence, upon which he suffered himself to be seen by the Malcontents. *Diego de Ordaz* was the Person who spoke in the Name of all, and with some Heat and Disrespect told him, That as his Forces were very unequal to the Attempt he was about to make, his Soldiers thought he would do much better to return and endeavour to get such Reinforcements as might enable him to pursue his Design with some Probability of Success. *Cortes* heard him patiently, and then told him calmly, that if all the Soldiers were of that Opinion they were very unfit for such an Enterprize, and he would think of returning home.

3. After *Ordaz* and his Party had left *Cortes*, he gave Direction for publishing the Return to the Island of *Cuba*, and ordered the Captains should embark with their respective Companies on board the Vessels under their Command, and be ready to sail the next Day early. But no sooner was this Declaration published, than those who were under-hand in the General's Interest began to stir in the Affair, crying out, That *Cortes* had deceived them by professing he meant to settle in that Country, that they would not leave it, that if he had a Mind to retire he might, with such as were willing to follow him, for they should not want some Gentleman that would take the Command. This Clamour was so well managed, that it brought over many that had been forced or persuaded into the contrary Faction; and *Cortes's* Friends who had stirred up one Part were obliged to appease the other.

They commended their Resolution, and offered to speak to *Cortes* to suspend the Execution of his Order, and

and before this Ardour cooled they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whose Presence they told him in a high Strain, That the Troops were upon the Point to mutiny on Account of his Order: They complained that he had taken such a Resolution without the Advice of their Captains: They put him in mind of what had happened to *Juan de Grijalva*, whose Disgrace was occasioned by his not making a Settlement in the Country he had discovered, and maintaining himself there; for which he was treated as a pusillanimous Person, and the Command of the Fleet taken from him: They told him, in short, what he had directed should be told him, which he received as if it had been unexpected News. When they had done, he said that he had been misinformed, that he would proceed with such as were willing, that he would constrain nobody, but, on the contrary, would cause a Ship and every thing necessary to be provided for carrying back to *Cuba*, such as found they had not Courage enough to follow him and his Friends.

This Resolution met with great Applause, for some made Rejoicings because they were sincerely glad, and others that they might not be distinguished from those that really were so. None were so bold, at that time, as to contradict the making of a Settlement: Nor did those very Men who had before been Malcontents know what to say for themselves. But *Cortes* admitted those Excuses they offered without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity. It happened that whilst *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with another Soldier, stood at one of the Avenues, they saw five *Indians* coming along the Road next the Sea-side, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too small a Number to alarm the Army, they suffered them to approach.

They stopped at a little Distance, and signified by Signs that they came in a peaceable Manner, with a Message to their General; *Diaz* went with them, leaving his Companion in the same Post to observe if any more followed. *Cortes* received them very civilly, ordered them to be well treated before he heard them, and observed they were of another Nation, as differing from the *Mexicans* in their Habit, though, like them, they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them. Their Language also had a different Sound, and when *Aguilar* and *Donna Maria* came, it appeared that they spoke in a different Idiom, and it fell out happily that one of them understood, and with some Difficulty pronounced, the *Mexican* Language, by which means, and not without some Trouble, it was known that they were sent by the Lord of *Zempoalla* to visit the Captain of those valiant People, whose great Actions in the Province of *Tabasco* had reached his Ears; and to inform him, that being a warlike Prince, and a Friend to brave Men, he desired his Friendship.

They dwelt much upon the Value their Master had for good Soldiers, as doubting least the *Spaniards* should attribute that to his Fear, which they would have thought the Effects of his Inclination. *Cortes* very courteously accepted of the Friendship proposed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking upon it as a particular Favour from Heaven, that this Embassy should arrive at a time when the *Mexicans* had left him, of whom he was now growing jealous; and he put the more Value upon it when he understood that the Province of *Zempoalla* was in the Road to that Place which *Francisco de Montejo* discovered from the Coast whither he was thinking to remove his Quarters. He asked the *Indians* some Questions, to inform himself of the Forces of the Cazique.

It being asked how it came to pass that they (being so near) had so long delayed coming with this Proposal, they answered, that the *Zempoallans* had nothing to do where the *Mexicans* appeared, whose Cruelties were abhorred by their Nation. This Intelligence was not disagreeable to *Cortes*, and diving farther into it, thro' Curiosity, he understood that *Moteczuma* was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny, that many of his People were subject out of Fear; and that some Nations were desirous to free themselves from his Yoke. This made his

Power appear the less formidable, and several Stratagems and Means of increasing his Army came into his Head, which gave him some Sort of Encouragement.

The first that occurred, was to take part with those afflicted People, believing it would not be difficult to form a Party against a Tyrant, among his own Rebels. So he reasoned then, and it fell out afterwards accordingly: He immediately dismissed those *Indians* with some Gifts, in token of Friendship; and told them he would soon come and pay their Master a Visit, in order to establish a Friendship with him, and give him the Assistance he should stand in need of.

His Intent was to pass through the Province, and take a View of *Quiabitslan*, where he had Thoughts of fixing his first Settlement, from the good Account he had received of its Fertility; but it behoved him, for other Ends, which he was then contriving how to compass, to hasten the forming his small Corporation in his present Quarters, although he was to remove the Troops to a Place more commodious: He communicated his Resolution to those Captains that were his Confidants, and having by this Means smoothed the Way for what he had to propose, he assembled the Men in order to name the Officers of the new Government. At which short Conference, those that were acquainted with the Mind of *Cortes* prevailed; and *Alonso Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montejo* were appointed Alcaldes, *Alonso Davila*, *Pedro*, and *Alonso de Alverado*, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval* were Regidores. The chief Alguazil and Procurator General *Juan de Esculante*, and *Francisco Alverez Chico*.

They also appointed other inferior Officers; and, having taken the accustomed Oath, to observe Reason and Justice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Possession, and began to exercise their Employments with the usual Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*; which Title it received in the Place where it was afterwards fixed, being called *Villa Rica*, in Remembrance of the Gold they had seen in that Country, and *de la Vera Cruz*, in Acknowledgment of their landing there, on the *Friday of the Cross*, or *Good Friday*, as we call it. *Cortes* was present as a private Person among the other Members of the Colony, and, though he could not easily lay aside that kind of Superiority which is wont to consist in the Respect which others pay, he endeavoured to support the Authority of those new Ministers, and by his Respect to reduce the others to obey them.

4. The next Day in the Morning the Council met, under colour of consulting about some Points relating to the Preservation and Augmentation of the new Settlement, and soon after *Hernan Cortes* desired Admittance, to propose an Affair which concerned the public Good. The Council rose up to receive him, and he, paying his Respect to the Magistracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the first Regidore, and then laid open the Reason which induced him to disapprove that Commission under which he had hitherto acted; and having finished his Discourse, he threw upon the Table the Commission given him by *Diego Velasquez*, kissed the Truncheon, and delivered it into the Hands of the Alcalde, and retired to his Barrac.

He was under no Uneasiness about the Event, for he had so disposed Matters that he ventured but little in the Resolution; but it must be confessed, that the Manner of acting was very handsome and noble, and no less commendable, than the Art he used to supply the Defects in his Authority. The Council soon resolved upon the Election, for some had considered what they were to propose, and others had nothing to reply: They all voted to admit the Resignation of *Cortes*; but that he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again, the Town giving him his Commission in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until his Majesty should otherwise order. And they resolved to communicate the new Election to the People, either to see how they would receive it, or, in order to be satisfied of their Approbation. The People were called together by the Voice of a Cryer; and the

Renunciation of *Cortes* being published, with the Resolution of the Council, they received such Applause as was concerted.

Some congratulated the Council on their good Election; others demanded *Cortes*, as if he had been denied, and if any were of a contrary Opinion they dissembled, and took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcaldes and Regidores went with the greatest part of those Soldiers to the Quarters of *Cortes*, and acquainted him that the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* had, in the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, with the Consent and Approbation of the Inhabitants in full Council, chosen and appointed him General of the Army of *New Spain*; and, in case it were necessary, did require and command him to take upon him that Post, it being convenient for the public Good of the Town and his Majesty.

Cortes accepted of the new Command with great Respect, and now began to govern the Troops with another kind of Authority, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers. The Dependants upon *Velasquez* resented this Alteration in a very indiscreet Manner, for they could not disguise their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to stem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and cast Reflections on *Cortes*, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of those that were deceived. And, as Scandal has its hidden Poison, and an unknown Power over those that hear it, it spread in their Conversation, where there wanted not some who hearkened to, and endeavoured to foment it.

Cortes did all in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience, apprehending it might draw away those who were already disquieted, or put those into a Commotion who were easily stirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience availed, and gentle Means made the Evil worse, and therefore resolved to make use of Severity, which generally has the best Effect upon the Insolent. He ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be seized, carried aboard the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action struck a great Terror into the Troops, and it was his Design to improve it, declaring in a very positive and resolute manner, that he seized them as seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the public Peace; and, that he would proceed against them, and make them pay for their Obstinacy with the Loss of their Heads.

In which Disposition he continued some Days, without proceeding to the Rigour of Justice; for he rather desired to reform, than punish them. At first he suffered none to go near them, but afterwards permitted it, artfully making use of this Permission for some of his Confidants to endeavour to reduce and bring them to Reason, which in time they compassed, he suffering himself to be pacified so effectually, that he made them his Friends; and they faithfully stood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him; believing that they owed their Lives to his Clemency only.

5. The Persons before-mentioned were no sooner imprisoned than *Pedro de Alverado* marched with a hundred Men to view the Country, and bring in Provisions; for they began to be sensible of the Want of those *Indians* who used to provide for the Army. He was ordered to commit no Hostility, and he had the good Fortune to perform his Commission with little Trouble. At a small Distance he came to some Villages, the Inhabitants whereof had fled into the Woods, but had left their Houses well provided, and without doing any Damage either to them or their Furniture. The Soldiers took what they had Occasion for, and returned to their Quarters thoroughly loaded, and very well pleased. *Cortes* immediately disposed his March as he had resolved, and the Ships accordingly sailed for the Bay of *Quiabistan*; he followed by Land, taking the Road of *Zempoalla*, keeping the Coast on his Right, and sending a Party before to discover the Country, providing against all Accidents which might happen in Circumstances where Security might be justly accounted Neglect.

They reached in a few Hours the River of *Zempoalla*, and finding it deep, they were obliged to make use of

some Canoes, and other Vessels of Fishermen, which they found on the Shore; in which the Soldiers passed over, making their Horses swim. Having overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at some Houses in the District of *Zempoalla*; and they took it for no good Sign, not only finding them forsaken by the *Indians*, but also without either Furniture or Provisions, only they left in their Temples several Idols, with various Instruments, or Knives made of Flint, and some miserable Remains of human Victims scattered upon the Ground, which at the same time moved Compassion, and struck them with Horror. Here they first saw the *Mexican Books*, which have been already mentioned: There were three or four of them in the Temples, which was thought contained the Rites of their Religion, each made of a long thin varnished Cloth, which they folded in equal Foldings, so that every Fold made a Leaf, and all together made up the Volume like ours to Appearance, and were written or painted with that kind of Cyphers used by the Painters of *Teutile*.

The Army were presently quartered in the best Houses, and passed the Night somewhat uneasily, their Arms in Readiness, with Sentinels at a convenient Distance. The next Day they continued their March in the same Order along the great Road, which turned off to the Westward, leading farther from the Shore, and during the Morning, they saw no Person of whom to gain Intelligence; which gave them Uneasiness, till, entering into some very pleasant Meadows, they discovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in search of *Cortes* with a Present of Hens and Bread, sent him by the *Cazique* of *Zempoalla*; very earnestly entreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he should be more plentifully entertained. By these *Indians* he understood, that the *Cazique's* Residence was at a Town one Sun's Distance from that Place, which, in their Language, signifies the same as one Day's March; for they understood not the Division of Leagues, but measured Distance by Suns, counting Time, and not the Way. *Cortes* dismissed six of the *Indians*, with many Thanks for the Present, keeping the other six to shew him the Way, and to ask them some Questions; for he was not entirely satisfied with this kind Treatment, which being so much unlooked for seemed the less to be depended on. That Night they halted in a small Village, thin of Inhabitants; but very desirous to entertain the *Spaniards* well: And by the Behaviour of those People to the *Spaniards*, judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Conjectures.

In the Morning the Army moved towards *Zempoalla*, following the Guides with all necessary Caution, and towards Evening there came twenty *Indians* forth, to receive *Cortes*, well dressed after their Fashion, who, after having paid their Respects, said, That their *Cazique* did not come with them, by reason of some Impediment, but had sent them to pay that Respect on his Part, being very desirous to be acquainted with such valiant Guests, and to receive them into his Friendship and his Esteem. The Town was large and beautiful, situated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, descending from some Mountains at a small Distance, which were covered with Trees, and easy of Ascent. The Buildings were of Stone, covered and adorned with a sort of Lime very white and shining, and afforded a pleasant and noble Shew at a Distance, insomuch that one of the Scouts, who was sent before, returned in haste, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Mistake made much Mirth in the Army, where many at first perhaps believed it, who afterwards made a Jest of his Credulity.

The Squares and Streets were filled with People, who came to see the Entry without any Arms that could give Suspicion, or any other Noise than that which usually proceeds from a Multitude. The *Cazique* came out to the Gates of his Palace, and his Distemper appeared to be a monstrous Fatness, which oppressed and disfigured him: He drew near with some Difficulty, supported by the Arms of some noble *Indians*, by whom he seemed to direct his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine Cotton,

Cotton thrown over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which also he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed wonderfully well. It was necessary for *Cortes* to put a Stop to the laughing of the Soldiers. But as soon as the *Cazique* began his Discourse, receiving *Cortes* with his Arms, and welcoming the rest of the Captains, he shewed his good Sense, and by his Speech forced a Respect to his Person.

He discoursed much to the purpose, and shortened his Compliments with Respect and Discretion, bidding *Cortes* retire to rest after his Journey, and quarter his Men, after which he would visit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leisure about their common Interests. He had provided Quarters in square Courts which had many Chambers, where they were all accommodated, and plentifully furnished with all they had Occasion for. After which the *Cazique* made way for his Visit, by sending a Present of Jewels, of Gold, and other Curiosities, to the Value of above 2000 Pefos, and soon after came himself with a splendid Attendance, in a Chair, carried on the Shoulders of the Chiefs of his Family. *Cortes* went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains, and, giving him the Precedence and the Right-hand, retired with him and his Interpreters, for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witnesses. After having made him the usual Speech about the Intent of his coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry; he proceeded to tell him that the Design of those valiant Troops was to redress Wrongs, punish Violence, and take Part with Justice and Reason.

He touched on that Point on purpose to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of *Moteczuma*, and to discover what Advantages might be expected from his Indignation, of which he had been before informed. It presently appeared, by the Change of his Countenance, that *Cortes* had touched the right String; and, before he resolved on an Answer, he began to sigh, as one who found a Difficulty in making his Complaints: But at length, his Resentment prevailing, he broke out into Lamentations of his Unhappiness, and told him, That all the *Caziques* of the neighbouring Countries were under a miserable Slavery, groaning under the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Moteczuma*, without sufficient Force to free themselves, or Courage to think on a Remedy; that he caused himself to be served and adored by his Subjects like one of his Gods, and would have his Violencies revered like the Decrees of Heaven: But that it was not his Desire to have him adventure to support them, because *Moteczuma* was too powerful and strong for him to resolve to declare himself his Enemy, nor would it be agreeable to the Laws of Civility to pretend to his Friendship by selling, at so great a Price, the small Service he had done him.

Cortes endeavoured to comfort him; telling him, That he should little regard *Moteczuma's* Power, having Justice on his Side; but that he was obliged to pass on to *Quiabisslan*, where the Oppressed and Needy should find him ready to assist them, and all who, having Reason on their side, stood in need of his Arms, which he might communicate to his Friends and Confederates; assuring them all, that *Moteczuma* should not be able to oppose it while he undertook their Defence. With this they both took Leave, and *Cortes* prepared for his March, having gained the Good-will of that *Cazique*, and being extremely well pleased, in himself, at the better Prospect of his Designs; which, from being only distant Views of the Imagination, began now to appear possible.

6. The Army being ready to march, they found four hundred *Indians* provided to carry their Baggage and Provisions, and to help to conduct the Artillery, which was a great Ease to the Soldiers, and looked upon as an extraordinary Respect of the *Cazique*, till they understood, from *Donna Marina*, that it was a common Practice to assist their Allies with that Sort of Luggage-carriers, which, in their Language, they call *Tamenes*, who are able to travel five or six Leagues with three Quarters of an Hundred Weight on their Backs. The Country they were entering was pleasant and delightful; Part covered with great Trees, and the rest cultivated; at which Sight the *Spaniards*

went on cheerfully, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching through so plentiful a Country. At Sun-set they found themselves near a little Village unpeopled, where they staid to avoid the Inconveniency of entering *Quiabisslan* by Night; and arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

The Buildings appeared, at a Distance, on an Eminence of Rocks, which seemed to serve instead of Walls; a Situation naturally strong, the Avenues narrow and steep, which they found without Defence, and yet they entered with Difficulty. The *Cazique* had retired with the Inhabitants to discover, at a Distance, the Intention of the *Spaniards*; and the Troops took Possession of the Town, without finding any Person from whom they could gain the least Information, till coming to a Square, where the *Indians* had their Temples, there came out Fourteen or Fifteen *Indians* to meet them, handsomely dressed, after their manner, and with Abundance of Civilities endeavoured to cover their Fear with Respect. *Cortes* encouraged them by his Caresses, and gave them some Beads of blue and green Glass, a sort of Coin, which for its Effects began to be valued even among those who were acquainted with it; with which good Treatment they recovered from the Fright, and gave him to understand, That their *Cazique* had withdrawn himself to prevent a War, by putting himself on his Defence, and not adventuring his Person by trusting to armed Troops which he did not know; and it was impossible to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who were under less Obligations to run themselves into Danger. But that as soon as the rest should be sensible of the Goodness of such Guests, they would immediately return to their Houses, and account it a great Happiness to serve and obey them. *Cortes* gave them all the Assurances possible, and, whilst they were gone with this News, he gave strict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the *Indians* well, who soon shewed what Confidence they had in the *Spaniards*; for that very Night some Families returned, and, in a little Time, the Town was filled again with its Inhabitants.

Some time after the *Cazique* returned, bringing with him the *Cazique* of *Zempoalla*. They both came in Litters, on the Shoulders of Men. He of *Zempoalla* made a handsome Excuse for his Neighbour, and, after some short Discourse, they introduced their Complaints of *Moteczuma*, recounting, with great Warmth, and sometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties; to which the *Cazique* of *Zempoalla* added as the utmost Aggravation: "This Monster is so proud and fierce, that, besides his impoverishing us by Tributes, and raising his Wealth out of our Calamities, he invades the Houses of his Subjects, taking forcibly from us both our Wives and Daughters, staining with their Blood the Altars of his Gods, after having sacrificed them first to other Uses more cruel, and less honest." *Cortes* endeavoured to comfort them, and bring them to enter into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three *Indians* came in, who seemed in a great Fright, and whispering the *Caziques* in their Ears, put them into such Confusion that they rose up, losing Courage and Colour, and went hastily away, without so much as taking leave or making an end of their Discourse.

The Cause of this Disorder was quickly known; for six Royal Commissioners, such as went about the Kingdom to gather *Moteczuma's* Tributes, were seen passing before the *Spaniards* Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a sufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers; who, moving great Fans made of Feathers, fanned their Masters to cool them, or shaded them from the Sun as Occasion required. *Cortes* went out to the Gates, with his Captain, to see them, and they passed on without paying him any Respect, and with Countenances that shewed Indignation; which Pride provoked some of the Soldiers so much, that they would have chastised them, had they not been withheld by *Cortes*, who rested satisfied at that Time with sending *Donna Marina*, with a sufficient Guard, to inform himself of what

what they were doing. By this Means it was understood, that, after having seated themselves in the Town-house, they summoned the Caziques to appear before them, and reprimanded them publicly for their Boldness in admitting Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, besides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demanded twenty *Indians* to sacrifice to their Gods, as an Atonement for such a Crime.

Cortes sent for the two Caziques by some Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noise, to bring them to his Presence; when letting them know that he saw into their most hidden Designs, he told them, That he was well acquainted with the Vileness of those Commissioners, who, without any Pretence but their having admitted his Troops, endeavoured to impose on them new Tributes of Human Blood: That it was no Time for such Abominations, nor would he suffer such horrid Commands in his Presence; but ordered them, without fail, to call their People, seize the Commissioners, and leave him to maintain what they should do by his Advice. The Caziques refused to execute such a bold Command, as being grown mean-spirited; but *Cortes* repeated his Order with so much Resolution, that they immediately went to execute it, and that with great Applause of the *Indians*.

They seized the Ministers of *Moteczuma*, whom they put in a kind of Pillories in their Prisons, and very inconvenient, for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmost with their Shoulders to ease the Weight, for the sake of breathing. It was very pleasant to see how proud the Caziques returned to give an Account of their noble Action, for they thought to execute them, and to make them suffer the Punishments assigned by the Laws to Traitors; and, seeing that would not be permitted, they desired to sacrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace. The Prisoners being secured by a sufficient Number of *Spanish* Soldiers, *Cortes* retired to his Quarters, and to consider with himself what was to be done; for he was not willing absolutely to break with *Moteczuma*, but still to keep him in Suspence. On the other hand he considered it as a very necessary Point to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, that he might have their Assistance, in case he should happen to want them. In fine, he held it most convenient to manage Matters with *Moteczuma* by making a Merit of suspending the Effects of that Disrespect.

The Result of those Reflections was, to send, at Midnight, for two of the Prisoners with all possible Privacy; and, after receiving them courteously, to tell them, That he had sent for them in order to set them at Liberty: And that, as they received it solely from his Hands, they might assure their Prince he would endeavour very speedily to send the rest of their Companions, who remained in the Power of the Caziques, whom he would endeavour to make sensible of their Faults, and perform all that should be for his Service; for that he was desirous of Peace, and to testify, by his Speech and Actions, all the Marks of Civility that were due to the Embassadors of so great a Prince. The *Indians* durst not set out on their Journey, for fear of being killed, or taken by the way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of *Spanish* Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the District of *Zempoalla*.

The Caziques came, in the Morning, much troubled for the Escape of the two Prisoners; and *Cortes* received the News with Signs of Surprise and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance, and, upon this Pretence, he ordered, in their Presence, that the rest should be carried aboard the Fleet; but he privately directed the Officers on board to treat them well, and to keep them safe, by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without disobliging *Moteczuma*, whose Power, so much cried up and dreaded among those *Indians*, made him careful how he acted.

7. The good Behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards their Allies was quickly divulged through all the Districts thereabouts; and the two Caziques, of *Zempoalla* and *Quiabitslan*,

gave notice to all their Friends and Confederates of their Advantages, being freed from Impositions, and their Liberty secured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and seemed of a superior Nature. The Report spread with Exaggerations. It was said publicly among the People, That their Gods were come down to *Quiabitslan*, darting Lightning against *Moteczuma*; which Credulity lasted some time among the *Indians*, and caused a Veneration, which, though ill founded, very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conquest.

This high Opinion of the *Spaniards* so increased, and the Name of Liberty sounded so well in the Ears of the Oppressed, that, in a few Days, there came to *Quiabitslan*, thirty Caziques of the Mountains that were in sight, which had numerous Settlements of *Indians*, called *Totanaques*, a rustic People, of different Languages and Customs; but strong, active, industrious, and remarkable for their Courage. They paid their Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form proposed to them, swore Fidelity and Vassallage to the King of *Spain*, of which a solemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council.

The Number it is likely was very great, the Settlements many, and the People easily stirred up against *Moteczuma*; especially for that the mountainous Country was inhabited by warlike *Indians* lately subdued, or not quite conquered. This kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houses, ready to do as they had been commanded; and *Cortes* resolved to settle the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which till then moved with the Army, though observing its proper Distinctions as a Republic. They pitched upon the Plain between the Sea and *Quiabitslan*, half a League from that Town, a pleasant Place which invited them by its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church; the Handicraftmen were distributed; Carpenters and Masons, &c. who came with Soldier's Pay; and the *Indians* of *Zempoalla* and *Quiabitslan* assisting with equal Activity, the Houses began to rise, mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering than any Commodiousness. They presently drew the Compass of the Wall, with Traverses of strong Mud-work; a sufficient Defence against the Weapons of the *Indians*, and, in that Country, it might be properly called a Fortrefs. The principal Officers of the Army helped to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders, and *Cortes* worked hard as if he had set himself a Task, not satisfied with the seeming Diligence, which is sufficient in a Superior, to set a good Example.

In the mean time they had at *Mexico* the first Advice of the *Spaniards* being admitted into *Zempoalla* by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of suspected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended upon. Which Account so provoked *Moteczuma*, that he proposed to draw together his Forces, and march out in Person to chastise this Offence of the *Zempoallans*, and put the rest of the Mountain Nations under the Yoke, taking the *Spaniards* alive, whom he had already destined for a solemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

But, at the same time that he began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize, the two *Indians* whom *Cortes* had dispatched from *Quiabitslan* arrived at *Mexico*, and gave an Account of their Imprisonment, and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had sent them to represent how much he desired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Disservice; extolling his Courtesy and Mildness so much, that it might be perceived, by the Praises they gave *Cortes*, how much they had been frightened by the Caziques.

Upon this Affairs changed. The Anger of *Moteczuma* was mitigated, his Preparations for War ceased, and he determined again to try Negotiation, and endeavour to divert *Cortes* from his Designs by a new Embassy and Present, to which Measures he easily inclined; for, in the Midst of his Anger and Pride, he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Answers of his Idols, which he looked upon as evil Omens of his Undertaking,

or

or at least they obliged him to delay the Breach, endeavouring to qualify his Fear after such a Manner, that it should be taken for Prudence by Men, and for Respect by his Gods.

His Embassadors arrived just as the new Settlement and Fortrefs of *Vera Cruz* were completed. They were the Emperor's Nephews, young Men, but assisted by four ancient Princes, who attended them as Counsellors. They told *Cortes*, That the Emperor had determined to chastise the *Caziques*, till he received an Account of his Behaviour, which induced him to suspend his Vengeance: That he hoped, however, he would soon quit that Country, since the Obstacles which hindered his coming to his Court were in their Nature insurmountable.

According to his usual Custom, *Cortes* heard their Discourse with great Temper and Calmness, and received the Presents made him by the Emperor with all Respect possible; treated the Embassadors with great Kindness and Complaisance; made them many Presents, besides a proper Return to *Moteczuma*: But, at the same time, declared, That Difficulties were no Discouragements to him, and the Importance of his Commission was such, that, at all Events, he must pursue his Journey. This highly disgusted the Embassadors; but was very useful with regard to the Allies, who were confirmed in their Opinion that *Cortes* was something more than Man, since the great Emperor of *Mexico* vouchsafed to court his Friendship, and discovered an Apprehension of his Presence. They began therefore to conclude themselves safe under his Protection, and to lay aside that Fear, to which not only they, but their Ancestors, had been accustomed.

8. The *Cazique* of *Zempoalla*, a short time after, came to *Vera Cruz*, with some principal *Indians*, whom he brought as Witnesses of what he intended to offer, which was, That now the Time was come to protect and defend his Country; for that some Troops of the *Mexicans* were arrived in *Zimpazingo*, destroying the Corn-fields, and committing some Hostilities in his District. *Cortes* found himself engaged to support the *Zempoallans* to maintain his Credit; and besides, he thought it would not be right to suffer that Insolence of the *Mexicans* as it were in his Sight, and that in case they were some advanced Troops of *Moteczuma's* Army, it would be necessary to strike a Terror into them to discourage the rest of his People, for which Purpose he determined to march in Person; engaging in it somewhat too hastily, for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits of those People (a capital Vice among the *Indians*) and suffered himself to be carried away without examining into the Truth. He offered them to march out immediately with his Troops to chastise those Enemies who disturbed the Peace of his Allies, and, ordering them to provide *Indians* of Burthen for the Service of the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Disposition immediately for his March, and took the Road of *Zimpazingo*, with four hundred Men, leaving the rest in the Fortrefs of *Vera Cruz*.

As he passed by *Zempoalla* he found two thousand armed *Indians* whom the *Cazique* had provided to serve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Custom of their Militia. *Cortes* thanked him very much for the Care he took to provide that Succour; and though he let him understand that he had no Occasion for his Men upon an Expedition of so small Importance, yet he suffered them to go to provide against all Events; but intimated he did so only to let them share in the Glory of the Success. That Night they lodged three Leagues from *Zimpazingo*, and the next Day, in the Afternoon, they discovered the Town on the Top of a small Hill, a Branch of the Mountain, among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings.

The *Spaniards* began to overcome the Craggedness of the Mountain, but not without considerable Trouble; for, being jealous of an Ambuscade, they went doubling and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the *Zempoallans*, either more dextrous or less embarrassed by the Narrowness of the Paths, advanced with a Sort of Fury, which appeared like Valour, but was, indeed, no better than Revenge. *Cortes* was obliged to give Orders to

halt, at a time when some Troops of the Van-guard were already in the Town.

He continued his March without meeting any Resistance, and just as he was preparing to attack the Town in several Parts, there came out of it eight Priests who enquired for the Captain of that Army, before whose Presence they came in an humble and pitiful Manner, such as sufficiently shewed Submission, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Dress was a black Mantle, of which the End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and plaited about the Neck, with a Piece hanging loose in Form of a Hood. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices; Marks of which they superstitiously preserved on their Faces and Hands, for it was not lawful for them to wash themselves. These Priests soon convinced the *Spanish* Commander that he had been imposed on, that the Troops from *Moteczuma* were long ago retired, and that this was only an Artifice of his Allies, who were their Enemies, in order to make use of him as an Instrument for their Destruction.

A thing in itself very scandalous and base, but at this Juncture particularly barbarous and black, as it contributed to draw an Imputation upon the *Spaniards*, which might have been fatal to their Affairs. After hearing their Discourse he returned to his *Indian* Allies, and by the Confusion of the *Zempoallan* Captains, it appeared that those Priests spoke Truth, and *Cortes* was concerned at the Deceit, and vexed, at the same time, at the Malice of the *Indians*; but considering what was most proper to be done upon this Occasion, he presently ordered the Captains *Olido* and *Alverado* to go with their Companies, and gather the *Indians* together who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now busy in the Pillage, and had taken a considerable Quantity of Cloaths and Furniture and some Prisoners.

They were brought to the Army shamefully loaded, and the plundered People following, crying out for their Goods, for whose Satisfaction *Cortes* commanded them to unbind the Prisoners and deliver up the Goods to the Priests, that they might restore them to their proper Owners, and calling for the *Zempoallan* Captains, reproved them publicly for their Presumption, telling them they deserved Death for their Offence in making use of him only to compass their Revenge; however, being warmly entreated by the *Spanish* Captains whom he had instructed before to pacify him, he pardoned them for that time, enlarging upon his Clemency, though, in Truth, he did not then dare to chastise them; knowing well, that to preserve new acquired Friends, Clemency was more requisite than Justice. Having managed things so as to give him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the *Zempoallans* to lodge without the Town, and marched in with the *Spaniards*, where he was received with the Applause due to a Deliverer.

Immediately the *Cazique* of *Zimpazingo* visited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came out of Friendship, acknowledging the King of *Spain* for their Prince, whose Name was already beloved and revered in that Country, where the People desired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to *Moteczuma*, whom they knew, and Love to a Prince they knew not.

In their March back to *Zempoalla*, the Troops passed by two Towns of those that were newly entered into the Confederacy; and while they halted in the Afternoon, a Soldier, whose Name was *Mora*, took two Hens, so that *Cortes* saw it, and was so angry because it was done in his Presence, and in regard that he would have his Soldiers to observe Discipline, that he ordered him to be hanged, and had not *Peter Alverado* cut him down with his Sword, he had actually died; as it was he dropped down half choaked, and some time afterwards was killed in Battle, at *Guatemala*. The Lord himself was near *Zempoalla* waiting for *Cortes* with Provisions, and under great Concern, on account of having made him undertake that Journey on false Relations; for they were not so barbarous as not to be sensible that *Cortes* made good his Assertion, that he was sent to maintain Justice, which gained him much Reputation; and as the Dread of *Mo-*

tezuma

tezulma made them uneasy, they could have wished, that for their greater Security, the *Spaniards* had never departed from their Town; for which Reason they said that since they were now all one Nation, they should take their Women, and carried them eight beautiful Damsels, Daughters of principal Persons, with Gold Necklaces and Pendants in their Ears, with Women Servants, the *Cazique* saying that seven of them were for the Captains, and the other, being his own Niece, for *Cortes*.

That General, before he would receive the Ladies, insisted that Idolatry should be abolished, to which the *Indians* were very loth to consent, alledging that they had no Occasion to quarrel with the Gods of their Fore-fathers, since they had given them Success in War and good Harvests; but what struck them most, was their Fear that if they destroyed these Gods, that is to say, the Idols they worshipped, they would punish them severely; but *Cortes* put them out of their Terror, by taking that upon himself; and when the Idols were once destroyed, the People submitted readily enough, in spite of all the Pains their Priests took to prevent it; and this great Point of Religion once settled, *Cortes* and his Commanders made no Sort of Difficulty of accepting the Ladies, which was very agreeable to the *Indians*, who looked upon them thenceforward, not only as their Allies, but as their Countrymen.

9. *Cortes* having thus concluded a League with the *Zempoallans*, marched away to his new Colony of *Villa Rica*, and the same Day he came to it a Ship arrived from *Cuba*, commanded by *Francisco de Salcedo*. The Ship brought Captain *Lewis Martin*, with a Mare and ten Soldiers, and *Salcedo* had a good Horse. These Persons brought Advice that *James Velasquez* had received the Title of *Adelantado*, and the King's Commission to trade and make Settlements in the new discovered Countries that had been granted him. The Forces having been now three Months in *New Spain*, and the Fort almost made defensible, it was proposed to go up the Country: But it was resolved, in the first Place, to send some Persons to the King, to give an Account of what had been done in his Service, and carry him a fifth of the Gold, and all the rest that had been given.

Alonso Puerto Carrero and Captain *de Montejo* were pitched upon to go on this Errand, and *Cortes* thinking that what he had was very little, when every Officer and Soldier had his Share, and that the King's Fifth being accordingly very inconsiderable, it would not answer the Account they were to give of the Wealth of that Country; he ordered *Francis de Montejo* and *James de Ordaz*, that they, as Men in Authority, should speak to the Soldiers Man by Man, to resign their Shares to be sent to the King as a Present; many of the Gentlemen to whom the same was proposed, freely offering to do the like. They readily consented, and all that had been got was converted into a Present, for *Cortes* would not deduct his own fifth Part, nor any Salary, only taking so much out of the whole Sum, as was necessary for the Expence of the Voyage, and to maintain the Messengers going and coming, besides something *Cortes* sent to his Father *Martin Cortes*. He gave those Deputies ample Instructions, with a particular Relation of what he had done both at *Cuba* and in *New Spain*; he likewise wrote a very long Letter to the King, taking Notice in it of the vast Extent and Wealth of the Country, the Hopes he had of reducing it under his Obedience, and begging he would not forget him when any Commissions were given out for that Country. The Magistrates of *Vera Cruz* wrote another Letter, representing the Service they had done his Majesty, the Reasons they had for making the Settlement, and their Sufferings. The Captains wrote another to the same Effect, as did the Soldiers of most Note; promising to defend that Town at the Expence of their Lives, unless otherwise commanded by his Majesty; and all of them most humbly intreating the King to bestow the Government of that Country, and others that should be by them discovered and subdued, upon *Ferdinand Cortes*, whom they had chosen for their Commander, to prevent Disputes; and because no Man was more capable of serving his Majesty; and that, in Case another had been appointed, his Com-

mission might be called in Question, and that his Majesty would be pleased speedily to answer and dispatch their Deputies.

Cortes gave them the best Ships, and appointed *Antony Alaminos* their Pilot, who, in order to avoid coming near *St. Jago de Cuba*, sailed through the Channel of *Bahama*. They sailed on the 26th of July, 1519, with fifteen Sailors, and touching at *Marien*, in *Cuba*, proceeded to the *Havanna*, passed the Channel of *Bahama*, and had a good Voyage to *Spain*; being the first that ever sailed that Way, which he did to avoid falling into the Hands of *Velasquez*. *Alaminos* took this Resolution, being well acquainted with the *Lucayo* Islands, and the Coast of *Florida*, and concluding that those Currents must end somewhere; and accordingly he stood Northwards, and it proved well, for being got safe out of the Channel, he came into the open Sea, and arrived safe at *Sanlucar*, in October. *Benedict Martin* was then at *Seville*, in order to carry over the King's Dispatches to *James Velasquez*, at *Cuba*. He informing the Officers of the *Indian* House, that those Deputies were out of the King's Service, they seized all that was in the Ship, together with the 3000 Castalanos they had for their Expences, and what *Cortes* sent his Father. The Present for the King was sent to him at *Valladolid*, and Advice given to the Bishop of *Burgos*, who was fitting out the Fleet to carry his Majesty over to *Flanders*, with Complaints against *Cortes*, for having revolted from *James Velasquez*. The Deputies, with the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos*, and *Cortes's* Father, went away to meet the King at *Tordesillas*.

When the Deputies were gone from *Vera Cruz*, some Servants and Friends of *Velasquez*, and among them *F. John Diaz*, being uneasy among themselves, contrived to steal a small Vessel, and sail to *Cuba*, to acquaint *James Velasquez* with what was doing; but when they had got the Ship ready, and were going to embark in the Night, *Bernard de Coria* repented, and gave Notice of it to *Cortes*, who immediately ordered the Sails to be taken from the Ships, and the Fugitives to be secured, who owned the Truth of the Charge, impeaching also some Persons of more Note than themselves, at whom, *Cortes* considering his Circumstances, connived. However, he, with much seeming Sorrow, condemned *James Escudero* the *Alguazil*, who had formerly arrested him in *Cuba*, to be hanged, and, with him, *James Cermeno*, a Man so active, that with only a Spear in his Hand, he would leap over another Spear held up at Arms-length by the tallest Men in the Army. Another had one Foot cut off, and two were whipped; he would not punish *F. John Diaz*, because he was a Clergyman; and thus *Cortes* made himself feared and honoured. And as soon as he had signed the Warrant for Execution, to prevent its being obstructed by Intreaties, he went away to *Zempoalla*, where he appointed *Peter Alverado* to meet him.

He was now intent on his Journey to *Mexico*, and his People desirous of undertaking it, *Cortes* putting them in Hopes that they would be there enriched, by which Means he gained their Affections, and kept them in awe. The order of this March being under Deliberation, at *Zempoalla*, *Cortes* resolved to sink all his Ships, to deprive the Favourers of *Velasquez* of all Hopes of returning to *Cuba*; because there were so many of them, that if they went away they would have weakened his Forces, and, at the same Time, to add Resolution to the rest; who finding themselves in that vast populous Country, without any Possibility of getting away, would be obliged to follow and obey him, and to trust only to their Valour. However, lest this should occasion some Disturbance among the Men, he contrived, that the Soldiers, who were his most zealous Friends, should ask it of him, persuading him to it, with several Arguments, and among the rest, that the Mariners, being an hundred Men, they would be a great Help to the Soldiers, and bear Part of all their Fatigues. The Soldiers, accordingly, asked it, and a public Instrument was made of the same by a Notary, though it was thought that there was another piece of Subtily in this extraordinary Management, which was, his not being left alone under the Obligation of paying for the Ships, but that the whole Army should be equally bound to pay for them.

This done, he ordered *Juan de Esculante*, the chief Alguazil, to repair to *Villa Rica*, and to bring ashore from the Ships their Anchors, Iron Work, Sails, and all that might be of any Use, and then to sink them all except the Boats; and that the Mariners who were aged or disabled, and unfit for Service, should stay in the Town. *Juan de Esculante*, who was a very diligent Man, performed it with much Expedition, and returned to *Zempoalla* with the ablest of the Seamen, many of whom proved very good Soldiers. The more we consider and reflect upon

this Stroke of our Hero's Policy, the more we must be persuaded he deserves that Title, since nothing could be greater in itself, or performed with more Spirit and Resolution than this Scheme of burning his Ships, which he knew must fill his Soldiers with a determined Resolution to conquer, since it absolutely took away what had hitherto damped and qualified that Ardour, the Hopes of getting back to *Cuba*, and escaping perpetual Labours by a timely, though less honourable Retreat.

SECTION X.

The History of the War of Tlascala, from its breaking out to CORTES's concluding a Peace with that Republic; and his taking them into the Confederacy against the Indian Emperor MOTEZUMA.

1. *The Interruption Cortes met with in his intended March by the appearing of a Spanish Squadron on the Coast, and the Means he used to oblige them to retire.*
2. *He resumes his March towards Mexico, advances as far as Zocotlan, and resolves to move on notwithstanding the Report of the vast Power of Motezuma.*
3. *Determines to take the Rout of Tlascala, though advised against it, and sends some of the Zempoallans, as his Embassadors, who are very ill treated.*
4. *A War ensues notwithstanding all the Care of Cortes to prevent it, in which several bloody Battles are fought, and a dreadful Slaughter made of the Tlascalans.*
5. *A great Battle fought, in which the Republic exert their whole Strength, but are nevertheless overcome, though with Difficulty.*
6. *The Tlascalans employ Spies, which are discovered and punished: Another Battle ensues, in which they are again beat.*
7. *A Mutiny amongst the Spaniards, on the point of breaking out, is stopped by a Negotiation set on foot for Peace.*
8. *The Peace is at length concluded, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of both Parties, notwithstanding the Pains taken by Motezuma's Embassadors to delay or hinder it.*
9. *A succinct History of this celebrated Republic, including a Description of the City of Tlascala, and the Manner in which Cortes was treated by its Inhabitants.*
10. *He persists in his Resolution of marching to Mexico, explains himself clearly upon that Subject to the Tlascalans, engages them to assist him in his Undertaking, and prepares for his March.*
11. *Observations on the most remarkable Events contained in the foregoing Section.*

THE Genius of *Cortes* distinguished itself chiefly in delivering him suddenly, and as it were, without Difficulty, out of those sort of dangerous Conjunctions which seemed to threaten him with immediate and inevitable Destruction: Of this there occurred a very extraordinary Instance. Immediately after he had fixed a Resolution of putting all to the Hazard, and marching directly with his handful of Troops into the Empire of *Mexico*, we have seen him take one of the boldest and most romantic Steps that was perhaps ever put in practice by a Person of so much Prudence and good Sense, in the burning of his Fleet, purely to prevent those who were under his Command from having it in their Power to fly from those Difficulties which he meant they should overcome; but no sooner was this extraordinary Measure taken, than the whole Use of it seemed to be destroyed by an Accident he could not possibly foresee, and which therefore it was impracticable for him to avoid.

This Accident was, the Arrival of a small Squadron upon the Coast, of which his Governor at *Vera Cruz* immediately gave him notice. This could not fail of making *Cortes* uneasy, who, when he first received the Intelligence, apprehended that it must be fitted out by *James Velasquez*, in order to deprive him of his Command, under Pretence of sending a Reinforcement for the more effectual Prosecution of the Expedition. He foresaw in an Instant what the Consequence of this might be, and therefore determined to march back with all the Forces under his Command to *Vera Cruz*, that he might be in a Condition to deal with his Enemies, either by way of Persuasion or that of Arms, as Occasion should require. He did so; but upon his Arrival he was informed, that those Ships came from the Northward; that they had been fitted out by the Governor of *Jamaica*, upon Discovery; and, that they meant to set Bounds to his Conquests on that Side, under Pretence that they first found the Country of *Panuco*, and had traded with the Inhabitants for Gold, to the Amount of three thousand Pieces of Eight or better.

He grew easier upon this Advice, though there were still two Points to be carried before he could think of prosecuting his first Enterprize: The first was, giving a Check to this Scheme of Discovery; that he might have no more Rivals to disturb his Undertakings hereafter. The other, to oblige these Ships to quit the Coast instantly; that none of the Malcontents in his Army might have an Opportunity of deserting to them.

In order to effect this, he marched with a small Party of such as he could best trust, to the Sea-shore; where he was hardly arrived before he met with three *Spaniards*, one of whom advancing towards him said, He was a public Notary, and that he brought the other two as Witnesses, to attest the Delivery to him of a Writing which he had in his Hand, containing the Governor of *Jamaica's* Claim to a Part of this Country. *Cortes* declined taking the Paper, telling him very mildly, That it would be better if Captain *Pineda*, who he understood was the Commander, would come on Shore himself. The Notary answered, That neither he, nor any body else, would quit the Ship. Upon this *Cortes* seized him and his Companions, and waited all Night behind a Sand-hill, to see if any body would venture from the Ship; but finding that no-body came, he obliged his Prisoners to strip themselves, and having dressed three of his Men in their Clothes sent them to make a Signal; upon which a Boat came off from the Ship with twelve Men well armed: *Cortes's* Soldiers perceiving this retired under a Tree, and four Men landing from the Boat with an *Indian*, advanced towards them, not in the least doubting that they were their own People. By this Stratagem he got these likewise into his Hands; and the Boat's Crew on seeing what had happened went off, to acquaint those on board therewith, and in a few Hours after the Ship bore away, and quitted that Coast.

By this Means he delivered himself at once out of this Perplexity; and the Men he had taken, being well used, gave him a faithful Account of all they had seen, and very readily enlisted in his Service, assuring him at the

same time, that the Discoveries they had made were of so little Consequence, and the Produce of their Voyage so very inconsiderable, that he was not like to hear of any more Attempts of the like kind from *Jamaica*, which gave him singular Satisfaction, and encouraged him to resume his Design for pursuing, which he found all under his Command, both Officers and private Men, more eager for than ever, which was chiefly owing to their seeing him always successful in every thing he took in hand.

2. *Cortes* returned to *Zempoalla*, resolving to lose no Time before he set out for *Mexico*. The Men to carry Burthens being ready with the Baggage and Artillery, with the Auxiliaries of *Zempoalla*, and those of the Mountain Towns, whom he took along with him as Hostages, leaving a Page of his own, of the Age of twelve Years, to learn the Language, he set forward on the 16th of *August*, several prime Persons waiting on him, of whom he took Leave at a small Distance from the Town. The *Indians* wept, considering the Danger into which they were going, though they relied on the Valour of the *Spaniards*, who were four hundred in Number, besides fifteen or sixteen Horsemen, and six small Pieces of Cannon, with the Ammunition belonging to them. The March began in good Order; they arrived the first Day at *Xalapa*, and thence proceeded to another Town, which, being Confederate with *Zempoalla*, gave them good Reception. There *Cortes* told them he was sent by the King of *Spain*, to admonish them to forbear sacrificing of Men, and following the other wicked Courses they were guilty of, and to live in Peace and Justice, and to chastize Tyrants.

He erected a Cross in every Town, ordering them to respect it; for, as they should be after better informed, through that holy Emblem they were to expect all Happiness in this World and in the next; he proceeded to *Texutla*, where he spoke to the same Effect to the Heads of the People, and they entertained him affectionately. They then came into the desert Country, where they met with much Hail and Rain, a sharp Wind blowing from the snowy Mountains. The Men endured much, for there was also but few Eatables to be met with. They marched through another Pass, where there were small Places of Worship, with Idols and great Piles of Wood cut for the Service of the Temples. The Cold continued, and they were in great want of Provisions, which the Men bore with wonderful Patience, though the Weather pinched them, because they were thin clad, and used to the temperate Climate of *Cuba*, *Zempoalla*, and the Sea-coast. They next came into the Territories of *Zocotlan*, subject to the King of *Mexico*; *Cortes* sent two *Zempoallans* before, to desire those People, in his Name, that they would be pleased to quarter his Forces, and, at the same Time, held them in Readiness for all Events, because this must be considered as an Enemy's Country; when they came in sight of the Town, a *Portuguese* Soldier saying that it was like *Castel Branco*, in *Portugal*, they gave it that Name.

The Lord was called *Olintel*, whom the *Spaniards* nick-named the *Squab*, because he was very fat. He ordered the Men to have Provisions given them, but not a very great Quantity, or with a very good Will. *Cortes* by Means of his Interpreters, who daily grew more expert, talked to him as to others, and he was pleased to hear those Things which were so strange to him. *Cortes*, observing with what State he was served, asked him whether he was a Confederate, or a Subject, to the King of *Mexico*? He answered that Question, by saying, who is not a Slave to *Moteczuma*? *Cortes* replied, that beyond the Sea there was a greater Sovereign, meaning the King of *Spain*, whom many Princes served, that himself was one of the meanest Subjects he had, and that the Lord ought to submit himself, and give some Demonstration that he did so. He answered that he would do nothing but what *Moteczuma* should command him. *Cortes* did not carry on this Discourse any farther, looking upon the Lord and his People to be Men of Resolution, but desired he would tell him something of *Moteczuma's* Grandeur. This Lord said he was Sovereign over many Kings; that there was

not the like of him in the World; that many Lords served him in his Palace bare-footed, with their Eyes fixed on the Ground; that there were thirty Princes in his Empire, each of whom had one hundred thousand fighting Men in his Dominions, and some Years *Moteczuma* sacrificed as Victims fifty thousand; that he resided in the largest, most beautiful, and strongest City in the Universe, being in the Water, and having above fifty thousand Acales for the Service of it; that his Court was very spacious, that many Princes of the Country round about continually resorted thither to serve him; that his Revenues were incredible, because none, even the greatest, was exempt from paying Tribute, nor any so poor as not to give something, though it were only Blood from his Arm; that his Expences were prodigious, because, besides those of his Civil List, he had continual Wars, which obliged him to maintain great Armies.

This Account struck some of the People about *Cortes* with great Apprehensions, from the mighty Strength of *Moteczuma*, compared with their own slender Force; but he who had an admirable Faculty of turning every Thing to his own Advantage, usually discoursed of the Greatness of the *Indian* Emperor, with Pleasure; for, said he, if we seek Wealth and Country from our Conquests, we ought to rejoice, that those, against whom we fight, have great Riches and large Dominions. As for this *Indian* Chief, with whom he then lodged, he was Lord over twenty thousand People, had thirty Wives in his House, and above one hundred Women to wait on them, and two thousand Servants. The Town was large, and contained thirteen Temples, with abundance of Idols made of Stone; they sacrificed to them, Men, Women, Children, Turtles, and other things, burning many Perfumes, with great Veneration. *Moteczuma* had five thousand Men in Garrison in this Town and its Territory, and Men were ready two and two, at small Distances, all the Way to *Mexico*, in the Nature of Posts, to carry an Account of all Things that happened. *Cortes* was now thoroughly confirmed in the Notion he had of the Grandeur of *Moteczuma*; and though some about him were always giving Hints of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Danger, he never shewed the least Irresolution, but, on the contrary, with an undaunted Intrepidity, encouraged his People, assuring them of Success, with as much Firmness, as if he had it in his Power, as, indeed, he foresaw all Exigencies with wonderful Sagacity and Discretion.

Olintel seemed to grow better affected, and made more plentiful Provision for the Men, upon the Discourse he had with *Cortes*; though he said he could not tell whether *Moteczuma* would not be displeased at his having entertained them without his Leave. *Cortes*, finding him more courteous, began to talk of Religion, and would have had a Cross erected, as had been done in other Towns, but *F. Olmedo* did not think it proper, for fear of some Irreverence. *Francis de Lugo*, a Man of Note, had with him a very large Greyhound that barked very much in the Night: The Gentlemen of that Town asked those of *Zempoalla* whether that was a Tyger, Lyon, or other Beast to kill Men? They answered, it was a Beast under good Command, and would bite and kill, when, and whoever his Master pleased. They told them the great Guns killed whom they would, with some Stones they threw into them, and that the Horses ran like Stags, and overtook whom they pleased, none being able to escape them; that those were the Men who conquered the People at *Tabasco*, threw down their Idols, and made them Friends with their Neighbours. That *Moteczuma* had sent them Presents, because he looked upon them as Gods, and therefore they wondered why *Olintel* made them no Presents. Moved by what they said, he immediately sent *Cortes* four Head-pieces, three Collars, and some Lizards, all of Gold, a Load of Cotton Cloth, and four Women Slaves to make Bread. In this Town there was a Charnel containing abundance of Skulls and Bones of Men that had been sacrificed, and in all other Towns in that Country, after the same Manner as at *Mexico*, which shall be described in its Place.

3. *Cortes* staid nine Days with *Olintel*, to refresh the Men,

Men, and having given him a Present of his Toys, which was much valued, began to consult which Way he should travel to *Mexico*; *Olintel* said, the best and plainest Way would be through a Town called *Colula*. The *Zempoallans* opposed it, alledging that those People were very treacherous, and had always Garrisons; whereas the *Tlascalans* were his Enemies, and good People, for which Reason that would be the better Way. *Cortes* demanded of the Lord twenty Soldiers to be his Guides, as being well acquainted with the Country, which were given, and with them he set out toward *Tlascala*; as soon as he came to a Town called *Xacazingo*, he sent four *Zempoallans* to *Tlascala*, with a Letter and a red Hat, and though he was sensible that they understood not the Letter, he thought they would, at least, conclude it to be a Message, that they might not do any harm to the Messengers; for it was known that the *Tlascalans* were informed that the *Spaniards* were marching towards them, and that they brought with them some *Indians* that were Tributaries to *Moteczuma*, as the *Zempoallans* and those of *Olintel* had taken up Arms. *Cortes* ordered the Messengers to tell the Gentlemen of *Tlascala*, that he had been informed, by the Lord of *Zempoalla*, and the neighbouring Towns, his Friends and Confederates, of the bloody Wars they had so justly waged with *Moteczuma*, who had done them so many Wrongs; that he was sent by a mighty Prince, in the first Place, to bring them to the Knowledge of the true God, and at the same time to deliver them from the Oppression of the *Mexican Culus*; that he sent them that Hat, and with it a Sword and a Cross-bow, that they might see with what powerful Weapons he designed to assist them.

This he did, because he had heard how much a Cross-bow and *Spanish* Weapons had been admired at *Mexico*. *Cortes* sent this Embassy by the Advice of the *Zempoallans*, who said the *Tlascalans* were numerous and warlike, Enemies to *Moteczuma*, and would easily be brought into the Confederacy of the *Totanaques*. *Cortes* was more inclined to this Message, since he hazarded nothing in so doing, and had always found the *Zempoallans* sincere: And at this Place he began to be more fully informed of the Affairs of *Tlascala*. The Messengers coming, were received there, and conducted to the Town-House, where Provisions were given them. The Council met, the *Zempoallans* were called in, and delivered distinctly the Message given them by *Cortes* in the best Terms they were able. On the other hand, the *Tlascalans* having received the Hat, the Letter, and Arms, *Maxiscatzin*, one of the Lords of the Republic, bade them sit down, said they were welcome, that they thanked the *Totanaques* for their Advice, and were glad of their Liberty; that they were also thankful to the great Stranger for his Present, and that they might rest themselves, because it required time for them to come to a Resolution. Hereupon the *Zempoallans* withdrew, abundance of People flocking thither to enquire what they came about, and they recounting what they had seen of the Valour of the *Spaniards*, of their Behaviour, and their Weapons, describing the Horses, and all the rest, and magnifying every thing.

The Lords of the Commonwealth, being by themselves, *Maxiscatzin*, a Man of much Wisdom and well beloved, made a Speech, advising them to receive the *Spaniards* in a friendly Manner, but *Xicotencatl*, who was General of the Army, was for opposing them. This Diversity of Opinions occasioned high Debates, the Traders and peaceable People being of *Maxiscatzin*'s Mind, and the Soldiers siding with *Xicotencatl*. Whereupon *Temilotecatl*, another of the four principal Lords, was of Opinion, that Embassadors should be sent to the Commander of these new People, to tell him they should be well received, and in the mean Time, *Xicotencatl* should advance with the *Otomies*, and try what those were whom some called Gods, and if he vanquished them *Tlascala* would gain eternal Honour, but if not, the Blame might be thrown upon the *Otomies*, as a barbarous and rash People: This Advice being approved, was put in Execution. The *Zempoallan* Messengers were then called in, and told, that they were resolved to receive those Strangers in a friendly Manner, but, at

the same time, they retained them under Colour of a Festival, to gain Time for their General to march, and to answer finally according to the Event. Eight Days passed since *Cortes* sent the *Zempoallans* to *Tlascala*, and they were not returned; he asked those that went with him what made them stay so long? They answered, it was likely they did not dispatch them for Ostentation; for which Reason, and because they gave him great Assurances of the Friendship of the *Tlascalans*, he resolved to advance with his Forces. At the end of the Valley, he found a great Wall of dry Stone, a Fathom and an half high, twenty Foot broad, with a Parapet. This Wall reached cross the Valley, having only one Entrance, ten Paces wide, and there was a double Enclosure in the Nature of a Ravelin, about forty Paces in length, so strong, that had there been any to defend it, the *Spaniards* would have had enough to do to force their Way through. *Cortes* halted to view it, and examine every Part, to see whether there were any Ambush.

By this *Cortes* was convinced there were good Grounds for the Notion conceived of the Valour of the *Tlascalans*, since so great a Work had been erected to oppose them. The Workmanship of this Wall was much admired, because it was very artificially done, without any Mixture of Plaister. He entered the Enclosure towards *Tlascala*, his Men marching in good Order, and the Artillery ready, still sending Parties before to prevent Surprise. When they had advanced a League they came to a thick Wood of Pine-trees, with abundance of Thread and Papers tangled about the Trees, and, crossing the Way, which the *Spaniards* laughed at, being informed that the Sorcerers had promised the *Tlascalans* that they would disable them with those Threads and Papers. When they had advanced three Leagues from the Wall, *Cortes* sent Orders to his Men to hasten their March because it was late; and, going forward with the Horse-men, as soon as they came to the top of a Hill, two that went foremost, fell in with fifteen or sixteen *Indians*, armed with Swords and Targets, who had been posted there to give Intelligence; and as soon as they discovered the *Spaniards* ran away, tho' the *Spaniards* endeavoured to treat with them; but finding that the Horses would overtake them, they drew up all together, and, defending themselves, fought so desperately, that they killed two Horses, having almost cut off their Heads; their Swords being edged with Flints, so fastened to the Wood, that they cut like Razors; the *Indians* retired brandishing their Swords, without shewing the least Fear. But *Cortes* discovering above five thousand in a Body, that were moving to relieve the others, ordered them to be struck through with Spears, which he had forbid before, and sent to the Infantry to hasten forward: Before the Infantry could come up, the Body of the *Indians*, before mentioned, had reached the Horse-men, and, having shot their Arrows, began the Fight.

The Horse-men killed many with their Spears, especially those that pressed upon them. As soon as the *Indians* saw the *Spanish* Infantry, they retired, being much frightened at the Horses, saying those Stags were bigger than theirs, swifter, and, that it was by Inchantment, that the *Spaniards* rode on them. When the *Indians* were thus withdrawn, two of the Messengers that *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala*, returned, with some Presents from the Republic, who said they were sorry for the Rudeness of those barbarous People, who were some Towns of *Otomies*, that had committed such a Disorder without Leave, though they were glad they had been chastized as they deserved; that the Republic was desirous to see, know, and serve him in their Town; and if they would have them pay for the Horses these *Otomies* had killed, they would immediately send Gold and Jewels; though *Cortes* was sensible of the Falshood of the Messengers, he thanked them for their Offer, adding, he would soon be with them, and, suppressing his Concern that the *Indians* had found the Horses to be mortal, said he would take no Pay for them, because he should soon have many more brought him from the same Place where these had been bred. Those *Otomies*, though Savages, were subject to the Republic of *Tlascala*, having
their

their Towns in Bottoms, and their Scouts on the Hills; who, when they discovered any Strangers, made Fires to give Notice from one Place to another, and the People assembled to defend themselves.

4. The *Tlascalans* Ambassador returned Home, carrying off about seventy *Indians* killed in the Action, to bury them; and *Cortes* ordered the dead Horses to be interred that the *Indians* might not be daily put in mind, by seeing them, that they could kill the rest. The Army was then, as has been said, within the Territories of *Tlascala*, and all that Province, from *Villa Rica* thither, was called *Catasta*, which, though large, was not populous; because *Motezuma* had, some time before, destroyed it. The Country is like *Andaluzia*, rich, hot, and fruitful, having many fresh Waters, which produce much Fish, Forests of Wild Trees, and Oaks bearing large Leaves, but smaller Acorns than those in *Spain*. At Sun-setting *Cortes* encamped near a Brook, on a convenient Spot of Ground; and they kept Guard, by an hundred at a time, having been undisturbed that Night. The next Day they came to certain Houses of *Otomies*, where they found some of them dead of the Wounds they had received: They burnt the Houses, and, for Want of better Provisions, fed upon Tunis, a sort of Fruit that Country produces; because they saw the *Indians* eat them.

The next Day *Cortes* proceeded, and being come to a troublesome Pass, commanded every way by Hills; before they began to enter it a Dog barked: One *Lores*, a Smith, and an able Horseman, made up to the Place, killed two *Indians* he met, and the rest fled. Here the other two *Zempoallan* Messengers *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala*, came sweating, lamenting, much abused, and in such a Fright that they could scarce speak: They prostrated themselves on the Ground, laid hold of *Cortes's* Feet and said, The wicked *Tlascalans*, breaking through the Immunities of Embassies, had bound them to be sacrificed to the God of *Victory*; that they unbinding each other that Night, had made their Escape; and that they intended to sacrifice all the *Spaniards* in the same manner. Soon after their Arrival, about a thousand *Indians* well armed, appeared on a little Hill, who attacked the *Spaniards* with great Cries, and Volleys of Darts, Stones and Arrows. *Cortes*, by Means of the Interpreters desired them to be quiet, because he would willingly have Peace, signifying the same to them. He perceiving they did not forbear, fell on, and they artfully gave way, retiring till they drew the *Spaniards* into an Ambush of thirty thousand, that lay in little Hollows that were by the Pass. The *Spaniards* were in a desperate Condition, considering the Multitude of their Enemies who charged them where they had not room to stir. But the Encouragement given by *Cortes*, telling them, They now fought for their Lives, and did no Wrong to those that had attacked them, infused fresh Courage. Here *Tuch*, one of the Noblemen of *Zempoalla* told *Marina* he foresaw the Death of them all; for it was impossible that one Man should get off alive. *Marina* told him, the God of the Christians, who was powerful, and loved them, would deliver them out of that Danger.

Not long after, the *Spaniards* and their confederate *Indians*, fighting manfully to avoid being sacrificed, got out of that Streight, where the *Tlascalans* behaved themselves in such a furious manner, that several of them came to close with the *Spaniards*; and others laid hold of the Horsemen's Spears as they rode before to make way for the Foot; and the confederate *Indians* leaping into the Water, *Cortes*, every now-and-then turned to the Infantry, and bad them remember, That the planting the Faith of Jesus Christ depended on the Preservation of their Persons. That they might expect very great Rewards besides, that being *Spaniards* they ought not to despond, which their Nation never did. At length they extricated themselves from among those deep Roads and Brooks, and got into the plain Fields, where the Horses having room to run, and the Cannon to play, terrified the *Indians*, and killed many; so that, not able to endure it, they retired to a rising Ground and there fortified themselves. In this Fight some of the *Spaniards* were wounded,

but not one killed, and many *Indians* died upon the Spot, as did others afterwards of their Wounds. The *Spaniards* rejoiced, and with loud Voices returned Thanks to God, for having delivered them out of that Danger; nor was there any Want of Joy among the *Indians*, their Friends, who embracing the *Spaniards*, congratulated their Escape. The Gentlemen of *Zempoalla* commending *Marina*, related her Prediction, and she declared she had never been afraid.

Such was the Posture of Affairs, when an *Indian* who commanded one Part of the Enemy's Army, making Signals of Peace, came down where *Cortes* was with some of his prime Men about him, and said, That Experience had convinced him, that he and his were invincible and immortal Gods, therefore desired him that the War might cease, and he would prevail with the Commanders on his side, that they should be reconciled, and permit him to enter into *Tlascala*. *Cortes* cheerfully answered, That he had already offered them his Friendship, and, tho' he had sufficient Cause to be otherwise, that he would still be their Friend. The Commander went back to the *Tlascalans*, who beat him so unmercifully that he was near Death. He returned to *Cortes*, saying, These wicked Men would destroy him. *Cortes* ordered him to be dressed, and bade him, since they were to be engaged with his Countrymen, stand apart, with a Token he gave him that he might not be hurt. In skirmishing before the Battle begun there were several notable Actions; among the rest one of the four *Indians* whom *Cortes* had sent on his Embassy to *Tlascala*, knowing a Captain who in that City had seized him, asked Leave of *Cortes* to challenge him, who encouraged and allowed of the Challenge, directing a *Spaniard* to draw near when they were engaged, that if his *Indian* should be in danger he might not perish.

The Fight was begun in the Sight of both the Armies, with their Swords and Targets, but at the Conclusion, the *Zempoallan* killed the *Tlascalan*, and cut off his Head. The confederate *Indians* celebrating the Victory with mighty Cries, and the *Spaniards* perceiving that *Cortes* rejoiced at it, and looking upon that as an happy Prefage of his future Victory, sounded their Trumpets and beat their Drums. Between the two Armies was a very narrow and dangerous Pass, which the *Tlascalans* defended, and the *Spaniards* were of Necessity to march that way. *James de Ordaz* boldly closed with the Enemy, pushing them, and gaining Ground, though Showers of Arrows fell on him and his Men: At length he gained the Pass, and then the Horses were led through. The *Tlascalans* having lost that Pass so proper to be defended, left the Field and marched clear off; and the *Spaniards* being very well pleased that they might be still advancing, took up their Quarters in a little Tower that stood in an Eminence called *Tracozizincó* where there was a Temple with a little Town, which was afterwards called of *Victory*. They with extraordinary Diligence made Barracs of Boughs and Straw, the *Indians* working at them with much Alacrity, because *Cortes* pleased them, and they were ready to serve upon all Occasions upon that Account, and to avoid falling into the Hands of their Enemies. All that Night, being the first of *September*, strict Watch was kept, and *Cortes* himself was upon the Guard with the third Part of his Men at the Morning Watch, which was most apprehended, but no Enemy appeared; because it was not their Custom to fight in the Night.

The next Day *Cortes* thought fit to send Messengers to desire the *Tlascalans* to permit him to proceed freely on his Way, since it was not his Design to do them any Harm, nor was he going to join the Confederacy against the King of *Mexico*; but only to perform what his Master the King of *Spain* had commanded him. In the mean time leaving *Pedro de Alverado* with half of the Forces, he marched with the other half, and the Horsemen. He burnt four or five Towns, and returned with four hundred Prisoners and no Loss, though the Enemy charged him all the way to his Quarters, where he was told the *Tlascalan* Commander had answered his Message,

Message, and that they would, the next Day, tell him their Minds. This bold Answer, and the Advice Cortes had received, that One hundred and Fifty thousand Men were assembled, made him put his Forces into such a Posture as he might not be surprized. Cortes resolved to be informed by the most rational of the Prisoners about all things that were convenient for him to know; and they answered, That since they were his Prisoners, and so well used, they would tell him the Truth: They declared, that the Army was composed of *Otomies* and *Tlascalans*, all Subjects of the Republic of *Tlascala*, though they did not care to have it known that their Commonwealth made the War, because they would not have it thought, if they should be vanquished, that it had been by their Authority; that they hated him, because they imagined he was going to be a Friend to their mortal Enemy *Moteczuma*, and therefore they agreed never to give over till they had conquered the *Spaniards*, and sacrificed them to their Gods, and made a solemn Banquet of them, which they called heavenly; that the War was carried on at the particular Instigation of *Xicotencatl*, the General of the Republic, who carried its Standard, which was a golden Eagle with its Wings displayed, and that he would see it the next Day in the Rear of the Army, because they were to fight; for in time of Peace it was before: That they were about One hundred and Fifty thousand Men, most Archers, who were very much afraid of the Thunder, and of the great running Stags, and were amazed at the dreadful Wounds their Swords had made.

5. The *Tlascalans* Army appeared, the Standard was seen, and the Number of Men was so great that they covered the whole Plain, all painted, adorned with great Plumes of Feathers, armed after their Manner with Bows and Arrows, Slings and Javelins, which they cast with such Dexterity that they would pierce a Door, and was the Weapon the *Spaniards* most dreaded; long Spears, and Swords edged with Flint; Targets, Clubs, Head-pieces, wooden Gauntlets, and Greaves covered with Deer-skins; gilt Cotton Armour for the Body Finger-thick, which they called *Escupiles*, worn afterwards by the *Spaniards*, who found them useful against the Arrows, and convenient in the Toils they underwent, not being able to endure Steel or Iron: They likewise made use of the *Indian* Targets, their own being soon spoiled, and those were made of Wood, Leather, and adorned with Feathers, and others of Reeds and Cotton, being the best, because they did not split.

The Army marched very orderly, divided in two Battallions, but crowded together, and every Battallion had Horns and Kettle-drums, which was an extraordinary Sight, for the *Spaniards* had never beheld so great an Army since they discovered the *Indies*. The Enemy halted very near the *Spaniards*, with a deep Trench between them. Cortes shewed himself highly pleased at the Sight of them, and told his Men, that God gave them that Opportunity for his Glory, and the Honour of the *Spanish* Nation, which would strike a Terror not only into *Moteczuma*, but into all that World. The *Tlascalans* being highly elevated with so mighty an Army, encouraged by the small Number of the *Spaniards*, puffed up with their usual Success against their Enemies, sent three hundred Turkeys, two hundred Baskets of Cakes of *Zentli*, that is Fifty hundred weight of Bread, which was an extraordinary Supply, for the *Spaniards*, considering the Distress they were in, and this, that they might be in better Case, and taste more deliciously when sacrificed.

When the *Tlascalans* thought the *Spaniards* had eaten, *Xicotencatl*, in a very haughty Manner, commanded two thousand Men to go and take those Creatures the Sea had spewed up, and if they defended themselves to kill them. The Two thousand Men passed the Trench, and with no less Intrepidity advanced to the Tower: The Horsemen went first to receive them, the Infantry followed, and the *Tlascalans*, at the first Encounter, were made sensible of what the *Spanish* Weapons could do. They retired a little, but returned with greater Fury; when they were fully convinced that those few Men were

not to be slighted. In their Retreat they were most of them killed. The Commander of the Army, having seen what had happened, fell on so boldly, that many of the *Indians* came up to the Camp, and some entered it, in spite of those who were left upon Guard, fighting with the *Spaniards* Hand to Hand. This proved a Day of glorious Toil, for the Fight lasted above four Hours, within and without the Trenches, before they could make room, the *Indians* charging and attacking so furiously; till seeing a great Number killed, they began to slacken, being amazed that they could not kill a *Spaniard*, looking upon that as wonderful, so that they still fought as if they had been angry with themselves; but as it grew late they retired.

The *Spaniards* rested the better because they knew the *Indians* would not fight in the Night, but kept a good Guard. The *Tlascalans* did not look upon themselves as vanquished, and how many were killed could not be known, because as they fell they hid their Dead. The next Day Cortes marched out into the Country, burnt some Towns, and plundered one that had three thousand Inhabitants, but few Soldiers, because most of them were gone to the Army. The Town was fired, many Prisoners carried away, and the *Spaniards* returned to their Quarters, at a Time when a great Number of Men were coming to defend that Place, but retired immediately for fear of the Guns, and being fatigued with Heat. The next Day the *Tlascalans* thinking they could gain more Advantage over the *Spaniards* in narrow Places, in a haughty Manner sent them Provisions again, as they had done before; challenging them to come into some straight Place, but finding they did not, they boldly began the Attack again. They fought five Hours very desperately, without being able to kill one *Spaniard*, which was what they aimed at, but of them a prodigious Number was slain, because as they thronged together, the Cannon, the Muskets, and the Cross-bows, did dreadful Execution. At length, tired and ashamed that they had not executed their Malice, they retired in Confusion.

The next Morning the Commanders sent Messengers unto Cortes, who thus addressed him: Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are five Slaves for you to eat; if you are a good God, we offer you Incense and Feathers; and if you are a Man, take then Fowls, Bread, and Cherries, for you and your Men to eat. Their Design was to know whether the *Spaniards* were Men like themselves, because as they had not been able to vanquish them, or so much as kill one, they concluded they were immortal; and seeing, on the other Hand, that they did eat and do other things like Mortals, they were confounded. Cortes, who never wanted Presence of Mind on any Occasion, said they were all mortal Men like themselves; but that, because they believed in, and served one only true God, he did, and would always, assist them; that they should not deal treacherously with him, for all would turn to their Prejudice; and since he did not desire to do them any harm, but to be their Friend, he advised them not to be obstinate; having delivered himself thus mildly, he dismissed them, returning Thanks for the Present.

The next Day thirty thousand *Tlascalans* advanced, being desirous to signalize themselves, and fought so bravely, that the Battle was more bloody than the former, but at length retired; and it is to be observed, that for the Space of ten Days the *Spaniards* continued in those Quarters, the *Indians* generally supplied them with Fowl, Bread, and Cherries, only that they might have the Opportunity of viewing their Order and Situation, whether any dead Men were buried, wounded, or dressed, and observe how they looked, or whether they had more or fewer Forces; yet the *Spaniards*, at first, had no Jealousy of their Design, and, on the contrary, commended the *Indians* for making War only with their Weapons, for had they cut off their Provisions they must have been undone.

6. The *Tlascalans*, intent upon seeking Revenge, and finding how little they could do by Force, had recourse to Policy; and, in order the more to lull the *Spaniards* into Security, they sent some Men of Note with Presents of Gold and Feathers: They made many submissive Bows to Cortes, and the eldest of them told him, That the Re-

public sent that small Present, which was not so inconsiderable, for want of good Will, but by Reason of the Poverty of their Country; and that if he had any Commands, they would serve him very readily. *Cortes* thinking the Messengers had been sincere, very pleasantly told them, That though he valued the Presents, he made more account of their Good-will, and coveted nothing more than making them his Friends. The next Day the *Tlascalans* sent fifty Men, who brought Provisions, asked how the Men did, and what they meant to do? *Cortes* said they were all very well, and gave Thanks for the Present; and these Men growing familiar, walked about the Camp, and observing every thing therein, and particularly the Horses Teeth; a *Zempoallan* Gentleman taking particular Notice of them, told *Cortes* he looked upon these Men as Spies; and that they had some private talk with the *Indians* of *Tztaactuchitlan*: Upon this, *Cortes* ordered one of them to be taken up, whom he examined by his Interpreters, using Threats if he did not confess the Truth. He owned that they had been all sent to discover which Way they might burn the Barracks, for which Purpose they designed to march with a great Army by Night, thinking that the Guns, Horses, and Weapons, were less to be feared in the dark.

Others having confirmed this Account, he caused the Hands of seven of those Men, and the Thumbs of others, to be cut off, though much against his Inclination, but believing it might be of use for the future; and bid them go tell their General, *Xicotencatl*, that he would serve all the Spies, that fell into his Hands, after that Manner; and that he might advance with his Army, for that he would always find the *Spaniards* invincible by Night or by Day. Those Men with their Hands cut off, struck a great Consternation among *Xicotencatl's* Forces, begetting an Opinion, that the *Spaniards* had some Spirit that discovered their Thoughts to them, for which Reason they durst send no more Spies or Provisions. *Cortes*, after this Information, enlarged his Trenches, and fortified his Camp, providing every thing till Sun-set, when he perceived that the Enemies Army was advancing to put their Design in Execution; and judging it most convenient not to suffer them to come up to his Quarters, he boldly marched out to meet them, which he thought would terrify them the more, as supposing their Intention had not been known.

He accoutred all the Horses with large Breast-plates, full of Hawks-Bells, that the Noise might make them seem the more; directing they should strike the Enemies on their Faces, with their Spears, because they were wont to lay hold off, and snatch them away. Then, having told the Soldiers that they must overcome that Multitude by dint of Valour, he fell on at the very time when the Spies, whose Hands had been cut off, were relating what had befallen them, which much troubled the General and all that heard it, but they were much more astonished to see themselves so unexpectedly assaulted, so that they instantly dispersed and fled, without making any Opposition; and though a great Slaughter was made, *Cortes* took care to put a Stop to the Pursuit, for fear they should be drawn into some Place of Disadvantage. The next Day *Cortes* seeing his Men chearful, said to them, That since God had, till then, so visibly assisted them, they would be all very much to blame if they did not proceed on what they had so well begun with Resolution, and to that Purpose it was requisite to press hard upon the *Tlascalans*, to the End, they might afterwards prove the surer Friends, for that nothing could be more advantageous to them, in *New Spain*, than to be in Confederacy with that Commonwealth, which was to be compassed by prosecuting the Victories they had gained.

All the Commanders and Soldiers promised to follow and go wherever he would lead them; *Xicotencatl* being much out of Countenance at the Disasters he had met with, retired to *Tlascala*; *Maxiscatzin*, and the other Lords, told him it had been better to have followed the first Advice, and saved the Lives of so many, and therefore it was in vain to persist obstinately to the Loss of the Reputation of that Republic. *Cortes* seeing no Enemy appear in the open Country, went up to the

top of the Temple, where his Quarters were, whence he discovered several Towns, and abundance of Smokes towards the Mountains; then coming down, he told his Captains he believed that to be a large Place, and since no Enemy appeared, it was proper not to lose Time, but to put in Execution what had been agreed on. As soon as it was Night, having before taken a view of the Country, he resolved to try his Fortune, and entered upon a great Road, with half his Infantry, and all his Horses, judging that Way would lead him to the Smokes he had seen. They had scarce gone a League, before a Horse fell, which *Cortes* ordered to be sent back to the Quarters, and presently two more fell one after the other, and in this Manner there fell five.

The Soldiers begged of *Cortes* to turn back, and do what they designed by Day, because they looked upon this as an ill Omen: He, with an undaunted Courage, prayed them for the Love of God, whose Cause they had in hand, not to regard superstitious Observations, but to hold their Way, since he went himself foremost, and that the Horses might return to the Place from whence they came. He had scarce spoke these Words, when his Horse fell, which he wondered at, whereupon all his Men urging that it was a vain Thing to proceed, and some, that he would ruin all; he, in a severe Manner, told them they ought to consider that great Undertakings were not to be carried on without Difficulties, that they should try to march a-foot, leading the Horses, to see what that Accident tended to: When they had marched far after this Manner, the Horses were all well, and they could never find what occasioned their past Distemper, though some fancied it might have been some Sorcery of the *Indians*, much practised among them, but *Cortes* said it was the Cold of the Night which gave them the Gripes. They proceeded thus till they came into some stony Grounds, from which they extricated themselves with Difficulty, and spying Fire, made towards it. They found two Men and two Women in a House, who conducted them to the Mountains, where *Cortes* had seen the Smoke.

Before it was Day they came to some Villages, where the Fright was greater than the Hurt; and being informed that *Cintancingo*, a large Town, was by, they soon came to it, the Surprise occasioning much Confusion: Some Harm was done at first, but the People running away in the utmost Consternation, *Cortes* ordered that no Person should be killed, and nothing taken, so that the Disorder soon ceased, and the Inhabitants returned to their Houses. *Cortes* went up to a high Place, whence he discovered such a multitude of Houses, that he was astonished, and asking what Places those were, received an Answer that it was the City of *Tlascala*, and the Villages about it; he called all his Men, and said, what would it have availed to have destroyed the People of *Cintancingo*, since there are so many yonder? Then turning to *Alonso de Grando*, who was chief Alcalde, he asked him what he thought was fit to be done, considering the multitude of People they had discovered? He answered, that they should return to the Sea and write to *James Velasquez* to send Supplies, because if any cross Accident or Sickness should happen among them, it was certain they should be all devoured by the *Indians*. *Cortes* was much concerned at this Answer, and especially for its touching upon *James Velasquez*: However, he replied, that he ought to consider that if they must certainly die, it was better to perish in the Prosecution of their Design than in running away.

7. He then went to rest him by a Spring, without the Town, whither the Chiefs of the Country resorted to him, with abundance of unarmed Men, carrying a quantity of Provisions. They thanked him for having done no hurt, as he might; offered to obey him, and interceded with the Lords of *Tlascala* for a Peace: He entertained them very kindly, promising his Friendship, provided they were sincere, and so returned to his Quarters, advising the Soldiers not to speak ill of the Day till it was past, for he hoped that the War with *Tlascala* was at an End, as they would find it, and if so, God had much Prosperity in store for them. Those he had left in his Quarters were very melancholy, fearing some Disaster, because of the

the Sickness of the Horses; but when they saw him return with a pleasant Countenance, and all Men safe, with some of the Natives of the Country, they crowded to welcome him; he told them all that had happened, but when they were informed of the Greatness of *Tlascala*, and the Multitude of those martial People, reflecting how many Accidents might happen, how little Hopes there were of Supplies, when they had run themselves into a Country they knew nothing of; they began to hold Cabals, resolving to persuade and to require *Cortes* not to carry them where they could not easily retreat, since the Danger was so evident, offering to follow him through greater Fatigues, provided it was with a suitable Power, that which they then had being too inconsiderable for so extensive a Country.

His Friends advised him to take order about it before the Men mutinied; he answered, that the Danger was not so great, for he did not believe that *Spaniards* could be so faint-hearted, especially having till then met with so much Success. One Night, going the Rounds, he heard loud talking, and some Soldiers saying, if our Commander is mad, let us be wise and tell him in plain Terms, that he must consider what is fit to be done, or we will leave him by himself. He told some who were with him, that those who durst say so were likely enough to do it, and going on heard the like in other Places, which troubled him very much; he would willingly have punished them, but thought it better to take no Notice, till hearing that the Murmurs increased, he caused all the Men to be drawn together, and spoke to them so effectually, that they all readily submitted to follow and obey him.

Very soon afterwards six *Mexican* Noblemen arrived, attended by about two hundred Persons; being brought before *Cortes*, they made him profound Obedience, and it appeared that they had Notice, at *Mexico*, of the Victories he had gained over the *Tlascalans*; before they spoke they delivered him a Present from their Monarch, viz. one thousand Cotton Garments, various curious Pieces of Feather-work, and the Value of 1000 Castellanos in very fine Gold Dust, as it is taken out of the Mines: Then the Eldest of them said, That their Master, *Moteczuma*, saluted him, sent the Present by them, wishing him all Prosperity, much rejoiced at the News he had received of the Victories he had obtained over the *Tlascalans*, that, wishing him well, he desired he would not go to *Mexico*, because the Way was very bad and dangerous, and he should be sorry that any Misfortune should befall Men of so much Valour, whom he so entirely loved; that he was willing to acknowledge the King of *Spain* his Friend and Sovereign, whom he would serve in all he should command. *Cortes*, by his Interpreters, answered they were welcome, and he would consider of their Message. *Cortes's* Design was, that those Embassadors should see how he behaved towards the *Tlascalans* in case the War was carried on, and if Peace was concluded, that they should hear how he reproved them for having begun it.

He then gave Orders that they should be well treated; at that time he was indisposed, and therefore had not for some Days marched into the Country, so that nothing more was done than securing the Quarters, and skirmishing with Parties of *Tlascalans*. The Enemy fancying this proceeded from Weakness, or a Loss they were not acquainted with, prepared to attack them. *Cortes*, notwithstanding his having taken Physic, mounted on Horse-back, fought a long time in Person, and omitted nothing that was to be done, till the Enemy were routed and fled; the *Mexicans* being present, and observing every Circumstance of the Action. The *Tlascalans* admiring that all their Power had not been able to compass their Design, and most of them concluding that the *Spaniards* were assisted by some Deity, which rendered them invincible, and being informed that the *Mexican* Embassadors were arrived at the *Spanish* Army; having seriously consulted what was to be done, after many Debates and Contests, concluded that Peace ought to be made, and Endeavours used to divert them from entering into any Alliance with the *Mexicans*, because that would be the

greatest Misfortune that could befall them. Young *Xicotencatl* was appointed to go on this Embassy, though he endeavoured to excuse himself, but having received positive Command, he made ready with fifty of the principal Men in the City, and some Youths to be left as Hostages.

He carried a Present of Cotton Cloth, and Feather-works with some Gold, according to the Ability of that City, which had very little of those things. *Cortes*, being advertised of this Embassy that was coming from the Republic of *Tlascala*, and that *Xicotencatl* was the Person employed, went out to receive and conduct him to his Quarters, with much Honour and vast Attendance. They two sat down, all the rest standing, as well *Spaniards* as *Tlascalans*; the Present and the Hostages were brought in, and *Xicotencatl*, in a very courteous Manner, begged Pardon for what was past, for himself and his Republic, making many Excuses, and offering to enter into a strict Alliance with the *Spaniards*, and to serve them faithfully for the future.

Cortes, having considered the *Tlascalan's* Speech, told him that notwithstanding what was past, they might depend on his Friendship, and on his coming among them, immediately after the Departure of the *Mexican* Embassadors: Upon which *Xicotencatl* rose up very well pleased. *Cortes* went with him out of his Tent, the other Commanders attended him out of the Quarters, all being well pleased, hoping that since the War was concluded with *Tlascala*, they should reap great Advantages from the Alliance, for at that time considering that some were dead, many wounded, and the rest spent with Fatigues, their Number so small, and the many Difficulties they had to surmount; they concluded that if the War had lasted, they must all have perished, and therefore they ascribed the concluding of this Peace, at that time, to be especial Goodness of God; and for confirming them in this religious Opinion, *Cortes* ordered Mass to be said, and a solemn Thanksgiving; after which, *F. John Diaz* called the Tower of the Temple there, *The Tower of Victory*, in memory of those Battles which the Troops had gained whilst they had their Quarters close by it, during almost forty Days they continued in that Place.

8. On the Return of this great Man, who had acted as Embassador, the Senate assembled, and heard, at leisure, a full Report of the Manner in which this Negotiation had been managed, and judging from what he delivered, that it imported them highly to secure the Friendship of *Cortes*, in order to have his Protection against *Moteczuma*; they resolved to leave no Means untried to bring him into their City as soon as possible, to prevent his concluding an Alliance with their Enemy. The Peace was proclaimed, and they made a Mitole, that is, a public Dance of above twenty thousand Men richly adorned.

They offered extraordinary Sacrifices to their Gods, burning abundance of Perfumes, and garnished the Doors of their Houses, with Boughs and Variety of Flowers; the *Mexican* Embassadors were much concerned at that Alliance with the *Tlascalans*, and bid *Cortes* take care not to trust these People who were so false that they would endeavour to compass, by Treachery, what they had not been able to perform by Force; and that he might be assured, if they once went into *Tlascala*, that they would murder them every Man. Though *Cortes*, who was a cautious Man, did not, as yet, repose much Confidence in the *Tlascalans*; he answered, that if they were ever so treacherous, he was resolved to go into the City, for he feared them less there than in the Field. Having heard his Resolution, they desired he would give Leave for one of them to go first to *Mexico*; he was pleased with their Proposal, because it gave time to see if the Friendship the *Tlascalans* offered was sincere, and how it was taken at *Mexico*; whilst these things were in Agitation, many *Tlascalans* resorted to the Army with Provisions, others went out only to see and become acquainted with the *Spaniards*, entreating them to come to their City. They gave them good Words, till the Messenger, returning from *Mexico* the sixth Day, brought ten costly Vessels of Gold, well wrought, and one thousand five hundred

hundred Cotton Garments, and in *Moteczuma's* Name, intreated *Cortes* not to expose himself by going into *Tlascala*; for, he assured him, he would repent it, because those were a needy People, and invited him thither that they might rob him.

On the other Hand, the four great Lords had already sent to importune him to repair to their City, offering him still greater Security if he desired it, and protesting that their Friendship should last for ever, for they would never violate the Faith of the Republic upon any Account. *Cortes* concluding that so much Courtesy must needs proceed from a sincere Friendship, and being much courted to it by the *Zempoallans*, resolved to go to *Tlascala*, and accordingly began his March, leaving several Crosses and Heaps of Stones at his Quarters by the *Tower of Victory*, in Memory of those glorious Advantages he had gained there.

The Accounts the *Zempoallans* and other *Indians* that followed the *Spaniards* gave were very advantageous; who, glorying to be in their Company, extolled their Valour, their Goodness, and their brave Actions; praising their God, by whose Aid they conquered. *Cortes* took Care to send Advice to *John de Esculante*, and the rest that had been left behind at *Vera Cruz*, of the Success it had pleased God to give him, directing them to carry on the building of the Fort, and to keep a watchful Eye upon the Natives, and upon the Ships that should come from *Cuba*, and ordering two Jars of Wine to be sent him for saying Mass, and for the Sick, having used all that he carried with him. When he arrived at *Tlascala* on the 18th of September 1519, the Lords of the four great Quarters of the City came out to meet him, attended by several others of the greatest Persons of the Commonwealth, and above an hundred thousand Men. The Province complimented him at several Places, first at *Tezonpantzinco*, next at *Atliquetzan*, a very large Town, whither *Pilteculti* came with a very numerous Retinue; thence *Cortes* proceeded to *Tezatliala*, belonging to old *Xicotencatl*, who came not because of his great Age. The other Lords being *Maxciscatzin*, *Zitlacpopucatzin* and *Tlevexolotzin*, with all the prime Nobility, came up in good Order. Young *Xicotencatl* embraced *Cortes*, as did the other Lords, whom he received very courteously, and they all proceeded together to the Place where he and his Men were to be quartered, always expressing their Desire to serve them; when the *Spaniards* had been put into their Quarters at the great Temple, and the *Indians*, their Friends, with them, they were generously treated and supplied with all Necessaries.

The more to assure *Cortes* of their Affection, they presented him with above three hundred beautiful Women, all very well dressed, that had been condemned to be sacrificed, which they gave the *Spaniards* as an Offering, and they lamented their Misfortune. *Cortes* would not accept of them, alledging, that their Religion would not permit any Man to have more than one Wife, and she a Christian: At last, in regard that the *Indians* take it very ill to have their Gifts refused; some of them were received under Colour of serving Donna *Marina*, who was present at all Conferences, and much respected; for it was the Custom among the *Indians*, for a Woman of Quality to have a great Number to wait on her. And the *Indians* observing, that these and other Women Slaves they gave the *Spaniards* lived contentedly with them, the prime Men afterwards gave them their Daughters, that the Race of those brave Men might continue among them. *Xicotencatl* gave a beautiful Daughter, he had, to *Peter de Alverado*, and she was afterwards called Donna *Louisa Tecbquiluasín*; those People having no Ceremony in Marriage more than the Consent of the Parties. They gave *Cortes* the Name of *Calchichitl*, signifying an Emerald, and Emeralds are highly valued among those People. They called *Peter de Alverado* the Sun, because he was very fair of Complexion, with an agreeable Red, and much beloved by the *Tlascalans*. *Cortes*, by Degrees, enquired very particularly into the Power and Condition of *Moteczuma's* Empire, and the Enmity between him and the Republic, and omitted nothing that might afford him Means of

providing amply for the Accomplishment of his Enterprize.

9. This bringing over of the Government and People of *Tlascala* to his Interest, uniting them in the Confederacy against *Moteczuma*, and engaging them to furnish an Army for that War, was one of the greatest Strokes of Policy that was shewn by *Cortes*, in the Management of this whole Affair; and without taking which, it had been simply impossible for him to have succeeded. It may not be amiss therefore, before we proceed further, to give a more particular Account of this celebrated Republic, which makes so great a Figure in the History of the New World. The Town of *Tlascala* is situated in Lat. 20° in a Climate extremely temperate, and in a Soil wonderful fruitful; the whole District belonging to it was about 50 Leagues in extent, and yet within that narrow Compass, from the great Mildness of its Government, more especially in Comparison of that of the *Mexican* Monarchs, the Republic was able to raise those prodigious Armies that have been before-mentioned.

The Place itself was built amongst the Rocks and white Cliffs, so as to provide rather for Strength and Security than for Neatness and Beauty, though, as far as the Ground would permit, the City was not destitute of either. It was from this Situation that it derived the Name of *Tlascala*, which signifies a Place of Rocks, tho' it was afterwards called *Tlascallan*, which some *Spanish* Writers call a Corruption; but, as they allow that in the *Indian* Tongue it implies, a Place well stored with Corn, and consequently belonged as justly to this City as the other; I cannot see why we should not rather suppose the City had two Names; the first, perhaps imposed by their Enemies, and the latter by themselves. There was a fine River passed through their Territory, and washed a Part of the City, which commonly overflowed in the Winter, and thereby greatly enriched the Soil, but sometimes over-ran its Banks with such Violence, as to do a great deal of Mischief, and rendered Dykes necessary, which they, wanting Skill to raise, had recourse to superstitious Ceremonies and bloody Sacrifices, which instead of curing increased the Mischief. The Town was divided into Parcels at small Distances, without any Order; many Houses crowded together, and between them several narrow winding Lanes, the Houses terraced at the Top on Beams, some on Mud-walls, some boarded, some on Brick, and some of Lime, and Stone, according to every Man's Ability; they had no upper Floors, but all on the Ground; having very large Rooms of irregular Shape, nor had they Doors or Window-Shutters, but only Matts, made of a Sort of Sedge, which they hung on and took down at Pleasure, with Hawks-Bells, of Gold, Copper, or other Metals, and Sea-Shells hanging on them to make a Noise, when they were taken down, opened or shut. Most of this Country was inhabited, for from the City there stretched out other Towns, like Suburbs, extending two or three Leagues beyond the Walls of it; every House had Land about it, and there were eighteen Towns adjacent, belonging to *Tlascala*. The Inhabitants being above one hundred thousand, and all the Country round this Province was enclosed by other Nations, Subjects to the *Mexicans*, who had maintained War against *Tlascala* for sixty Years past, and pressed them on all Sides.

The *Tlascalans* had expelled the *Ulmecans* and *Zucatecans* out of their Country, and kept it to themselves, calling themselves at first *Chicimecans*. Having settled their Boundaries to be known by, and refusing to submit to any King, or General, there ensued Civil Wars among them, by their conspiring against their best Commanders. The prime Men were so hard pressed that they craved Aid of *Tescuco*, and other Towns, being much straitened in *Tlascala*. With those Succours they enlarged their Borders, and grew too hard for their Enemies, who sought Assistance of *Matzaliutzin*, King of *Mexico*. He sent Word to the *Tlascalans*, that though he had promised to assist their Enemies, it should be only in Shew, for which he prayed them not to hurt his Subjects.

jects. When the War was over, those *Chichimecans* of *Tlascala* struck a great Terror into the Country, and all the *Culus* and *Mexicans* joined in Alliance with them, and living long in Peace, had Leisure to build their Towns and settle the Frontiers. *Tlascala* enjoying Peace, all the Province was inhabited, and *Kalliuacuth*, who was looked upon as the only Lord, divided what he had with his Brother *Teyobualminqui*, and went down to govern his People into the Vale of *Ocoteculco*.

These Brothers left the Sovereignty to two Sons of theirs; and one of them, though very brave, grew so tyrannical in his old Age, that his Subjects, being uneasy, conspired, and slew him and all his Friends and Kindred; but two Nurses hid two young Sons of his, from whom descended *Maxiscatzin*, the most faithful Friend of the *Spaniards*; the other three Lords of *Tlascala* were of no less remarkable Descents. After the Death of *Culhuacutli*, the City and its Territory began to be governed as a Commonwealth. The *Mexican* Language was spoken at *Tlascala*, though there was another which they called *Otomitick*, from a Nation, which revolting from the Kings of *Mexico*, was received by the *Tlascalans* as their Subjects, and had Lands given them to till, on Condition that they should guard the Frontiers against the *Mexicans* and *Culus*. These were the barbarous *Otomies*, on whom the *Tlascalans* at first laid the blame, for having taken up Arms against *Cortes*. They are very hardy, excellent Husbandmen, obstinate Idolaters, leud, savage, and hard to be brought to Christianity, Drunkards, and fond of living in remote Places, being the reverse of those that speak the *Mexican* Tongue, who were docile and polite. These *Otomies* were once possessed of all that Country, and there are of them scattered every where, but nothing is known of their Original; because they are so barbarous, that they can give no account of themselves.

10. *Cortes* being come into *Tlascala*, to please *Maxiscatzin*, removed into his Quarter of the Town called *Ocoteculco*, where a Market was kept every Week. The four Lords that governed the Commonwealth, and other great Men, went thither to discourse *Cortes*, and intreat him to acquaint them with his Intentions, promising to concur sincerely in whatsoever he should propose. *Cortes* gave them to understand that he was come to instruct them in the Christian Religion, to abolish Idolatry, and to assist them against all their Enemies; and particularly *Moteczuma*. *Maxiscatzin* replied, in Defence of their Gods, and *Cortes* rejoined, still pressing them to renounce their Idols; but, by the Advice of *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, and some of his Officers, he thought fit not to urge the Point of Religion any farther at that time. They promising not to eat any more human Flesh, yet they all returned to it as soon as he was out of the way. Being now satisfied that his Friendship with the *Tlascalans* was established, he proposed his Journey to *Mexico*; and though they represented to him the Power of *Moteczuma*, the Strength of the City, the Danger he was running into among the *Culus*, who, they said, were given to change; as also their Multitude; in Conclusion, to please him, they consented to all he said, and offered to assist him, if he would make War, or to bear him Company, if, as he said, he only designed to visit *Moteczuma*: Accordingly they immediately began to appoint Commanders, raise Men, and lay up Provisions.

The Fame of the Alliance between the *Spaniards* and the *Tlascalans* being spread abroad, put all the Country into a Consternation, and especially *Moteczuma*, who was still resolved to obstruct *Cortes*'s coming to *Mexico*; though, at the same time, in order to draw him from *Tlascala*, he proposed his removing to *Chulula*, where he might be better entertained. The *Tlascalans* earnestly opposed it, and zealously offered fifty thousand Men to attend him, because the People of *Chulula*, after having been long at Peace with them, being corrupted by *Moteczuma*, had, in a Battle they had with the *Mexicans*, and in which the *Tlascalans* led the Van, fallen in upon their Rear, and killed many of them, since which time they had been Enemies. The *Tlascalans* advised *Cortes* to consider that the *Chululans* said they did not fear

him, because their God *Quetzalcoatl* was so powerful, that he would destroy his Men with Fire from Heaven, or drown them with Water: He smiled at this, and continued his Preparations. On the Part of the *Tlascalans* nine Sons of the Prime Men of the Quarter of *Ocoteculco* were appointed Commanders of the Troops that were to attend *Cortes* from thence, the other Quarters nominated thirteen Commanders. The several Commanders had also their peculiar Colours, and all very gay, with Plumes of Feathers, after their Manner. Certain it is, that the *Tlascalans* were very dubious of the Event of the Journey, being apprehensive of the *Chululans*, and bearing much Respect to their City, as it was a Place of great Devotion and reputed Sanctity among them. *Cortes*, by the Advice of the four great Wards, sent to call those that governed at *Chulula* to him.

Eight Leagues from the City of *Tlascala* is the Mountain called *Popocatepod*, the Top whereof always smoaked; and whilst the *Spaniards* were at *Tlascala* it cast out more Fire than usual, to the great Astonishment of the Natives. *James de Ordaz* took a Fancy to see that Wonder, for till then it was a strange Thing to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* affirmed that no Mortal had ever been upon the Top of that Mountain. *Cortes*, to shew the *Indians* that the *Spaniards* made small Account of what they thought impracticable, was well pleased that *Ordaz* should go and view it: He took with him some *Spaniards* and a few *Indians* for Guides, who stopped at a certain Distance; and *Ordaz* advancing, they heard the dreadful Noise that was within, felt the Earth quake, and arrived at the Place to which the Fire and Stones cast out of the Mountains reached, the great Quantity of Ashes choking up the way. These Things making some uneasy, and being very weary with going up, they would willingly have turned back; but *Ordaz* telling them, it was a Shame for *Spaniards*, who had undertaken any thing not to go through, they advanced, making their Way through the Ashes, and arriving at length at the Top, through a thick Smoak, they for some time viewed the Mouth, which seemed to be round, and above a Quarter of a League in Compass, with a deep Cavity, within which the Fire raged as it does in a Glass-House. From the Eminence appeared the great City of *Mexico*, seated in its Lake, and Towns about it: Not being able to make any longer Stay by reason of the excessive Heat, he returned the same way he came for the Benefit of the Track. The *Indians*, being astonished that mortal Men should do such an Action, kissed their Garments, believing that to be one of the Mouths of Hell: Where such Lords, as were Tyrants, suffered for their Sins; and afterwards went to rest.

11. The Events which we have reported in this Section are in themselves so great and extraordinary, that if their Consequences had not put them out of all Question, they might very easily pass for Things altogether incredible. If *Cortes* could have exhibited to the *Spanish* Ministry a Scheme of his Expedition, and had therein laid it down as a thing practicable to have beat the Republic of *Tlascala*, though capable of bringing three or four hundred thousand Men into the Field, into begging a Peace, and then making use of their whole Power against *Moteczuma*, it would certainly have been taken for the wildest, most romantic, and ridiculous, Proposition that was ever seriously recommended to the Consideration of Persons intrusted with the Management of public Affairs; and yet it is very evident, that from the Time he first heard of this Republic, he actually formed such a Scheme, foresaw all the Difficulties that would attend it, provided for them, and by firmly persisting in the Execution of his own Plan brought it to bear. This plainly shews us, that there is scarce any thing insurmountable to a great Genius, or which may not be brought about if Men are obedient to a Commander, and awed with those extraordinary Abilities which constitute what we call a Hero.

There seems to be no Question made by the *Spanish* Historians, that the whole Success of this amazing Enterprize was entirely due to the Wisdom, Fortitude, and steady Resolution of this great Captain, who yet,

for any thing that appears, was made so rather by the Strength of his natural Abilities, than from any Helps which he received from Discipline, or Experience; for it is certain that he had seen little of War before he undertook this Expedition, and had never acted as a Commander in chief, till such time as he put himself at the Head of it, which is another Circumstance full of wonder, or rather more surprizing than all the rest taken together.

But it may be suggested, that such as have written his History, may be partial in this Respect, and attribute more to *Cortes*, and less to those who attended him, than they deserve; which, however, the very Circumstances

of the History demonstrate to be false, since it very plainly appears that there were always in his Army a considerable Number of Malcontents, who, if they durst, would have declared against his Authority, and in favour of that of *James Velasquez*, which must have ended in overturning the Expedition; so that from hence it very plainly appears, he was so far from having much Assistance from those about him, that, in reality, a great Part of his Care was necessarily employed in preventing those Seditions, which they were continually labouring to stir up, and which, as we shall see hereafter, no Successes could induce them to leave off.

SECTION XI.

The March of the Spaniards to Mexico, the Reception given to CORTES by MOTEZUMA, his Imprisonment and other Transactions to the Time of his ordering the Spaniards to quit his Dominions.

1. *The Manner in which Cortes marched from Tlascala towards Mexico, and the Number of Tlascalans that accompanied him in his Way to Chulula.*
2. *His Reception in that City, the Methods used by Motezuma to bring the Inhabitants to conspire against the Spaniards, and the Mischiefs that ensued.*
3. *Upon Peace being restored at Chulula, Cortes continues his March towards Mexico, and is complimented on the Road by many of the Mexican Nobility.*
4. *His solemn Entry into Mexico, the Manner of his first Interview with Motezuma, the prodigious Splendor of that Monarch's Equipage, and his Civility to the Spaniards.*
5. *The Manner in which the Spaniards were disposed of, and settled, in the Palace of Motezuma's Father, and the Provision made for them by the Orders of that Emperor.*
6. *The first Causes of Qualpopoca's Irruption into the Country of the confederate Indians; John de Esculante assists them, and is killed, the News of which alarms Cortes excessively.*
7. *He resolves to seize the Person of Motezuma, executes that Resolution, and carries away the Emperor from his own Palace to the head Quarters of the Spaniards.*
8. *Qualpopoca, who occasioned this Rupture between the Spaniards and Mexicans, is sent for by Motezuma, and to satisfy the Spaniards is burned alive.*
9. *A Conspiracy formed against the Strangers by Cacamazin the Emperor's Nephew, discovered and defeated by the Diligence and discreet Behaviour of Motezuma.*
10. *At the Persuasion of Hernan Cortes the Indian Monarch declares the King of Spain his Successor, and does Homage to Cortes as his Representative.*
11. *The true Motives of Motezuma's Conduct in this Affair, and his Demand that Cortes and his Soldiers should quit his Dominions.*

1. **T**HE Embassadors from *Motezuma*, taking great Pains to infuse Jealousies into the Mind of *Cortes*, of the People of *Tlascala*, and pressing him daily to depart, at last, to content them, and being willing to ease the *Tlascalans* of the strange Dread they had conceived of the Gods of *Chulula*, he resolved to remove; after he had resided twenty Days in *Tlascala*, and been informed of all that related to the City of *Mexico*, its Situation and the Power of *Motezuma*, and his Empire, and having concluded a Peace between *Guacozingo* and *Tlascala*, obliging both Parties to restore all that had been taken during the War. He was attended by a hundred thousand Men; many were much concerned at his going upon that Enterprize, believing he would be lost; but others concluded that his Valour would extricate him from all Difficulties. Merchants went along with them to trade for Cotton and Salt; the *Chululans*, to whom the Interpreter, *Aguilar*, had protested that *Cortes* would make War with them, unless they went to submit themselves to the King of *Spain*, being informed that he was upon his March, sent several great Men, who said they came not before, because the *Tlascalans*, their mortal Enemies, were false, whereas they themselves were sincere, and then they, in a solemn Manner, declared themselves Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*: They reached not the City that Day, to avoid entering by Night, though the Distance was but five or six Leagues, but encamped, where the *Chululans* prayed *Cortes* not to permit the *Tlascalans* to do them any harm. He, seeing no sign of War, ordered them to return home, taking his Leave of the Officers with much Courtesy and Affection, and presenting them with such things as he had. He retained with him only three thousand *Tlascalans*, or, as other Authors say, six thousand, and would not take a greater Number to avoid putting himself into the Hands of a barbarous People, of whose Fidelity he hitherto had had but little Tryal.

The *Tlascalans* said those People where he was going

were faithless, that he must be upon his Guard; and, as an Instance, mentioned how they had betrayed them. They offered to go to *Mexico* whensoever they should be called, and declared they would most willingly have proceeded with their whole Army, to see the Event of the Affair; but *Cortes* told them he was satisfied with those he had, being for their Valour worth four times as many. The next Day above ten thousand *Chululans* came out to meet him, bringing Roses, Flowers, Bread, Fowl, and Music: One great Body came to welcome *Cortes*, and then drew off in good Order, to make Way for another; which was done, because that City, being divided into six large Wards, three of them were for *Motezuma*, and three were not. When they came to the City, all the rest of the People came out much surprized at the Shape, Mien, and Weapons of the *Spaniards*: Their Priests advancing in white Garments, like Surplices, their Arms naked, and Cotton Fringes about the Edges of their Robes: Some of them carried Idols in their Hands, and others burned Perfumes, others sounded Horns, beat Kettle Drums, and played on several Sorts of Music, all of them singing, and some perfuming the *Spaniards*. In this pompous Manner they entered *Chulula*, and went where they lodged all together, and their *Indians* with them always upon their Guard, being plentifully supplied with all kinds of Provisions.

A few Days after, *Cortes* observed very suspicious Circumstances; that some of the Streets were barricaded, and abundance of Stones laid on the tops of Houses, to throw down; the Supplies of Provisions grew shorter, the great Men and Commanders of the City seldom visited him, and *Motezuma's* Embassadors started Objections against his going to *Mexico*, with more Boldness than before; nor was this all, for the *Chululans*, by order of the Embassadors, had presumed to tell him that there were Alligators, Tygers, and other fierce Creatures, where *Motezuma* was, which, if he ordered them to be turned loose, would

would devour the *Spaniards*; to which he answered, he could not believe he would put any Affront upon those that came to visit him, but that in case he should do so, they were to understand that those savage Animals did not hurt the *Spaniards*; these things made him resolve with himself how he should subdue the People of *Chulula*, before he went farther.

2. *Moteczuma* in the mean Time sent fresh Agents, by whom he promised mighty Rewards to the Lords of the Quarters of *Chulula*, if they would cut off the *Spaniards*, giving the Commander a gold Drum, and promising to assist him with thirty thousand Men. The Commander undertook to perform all, on Condition that the *Mexicans* should not come into the City, because he was afraid they would make themselves Masters of it. They agreed to barricade the Streets, and pelt the *Spaniards* from the tops of their Houses, that so they might take and deliver them bound. The thirty thousand *Mexicans* being so posted, that without coming into the City, they might take all the *Spaniards* that should happen to escape out of it, they also began to convey away their Goods, and secure their Wives and Children, which afforded new Grounds for Suspicion. Whilst *Cortes* was thus uneasy and dissatisfied, *Marina* acquainted him that a Lady of Quality had told her, that having taken a Kindness for her, she advised her, if she would avoid being killed with the *Spaniards*, to stay with her, and she would hide her in a House where she should be safe, because the *Mexicans* and the *Chululans* had agreed to destroy them.

Cortes, upon this, caused two Priests to be seized, who being examined asunder, and threatened, confessed the same that *Marina* had declared: Whereupon he called the prime Men and Priests, and bid them not deal underhand, but if they had any thing to say to him, to speak plain like Men of Honour. They answered they were his Servants, that he might let them know when he designed to depart, and they would attend him armed, for fear of any Difference between him and the *Mexicans*; he told them he would set out the next Day, and therefore ordered they should find Men to carry their Baggage, and furnish them with Provisions.

The *Chululans*, thinking they had a sure Game to play, carried the Men to be loaded with Provisions, but as those *Indians* never used to undertake any considerable Enterprize without consulting their Gods, they sacrificed ten Children of three Years old, four Boys, and six Girls, being the usual Sacrifice upon commencing a War. Their Commanders posted themselves, with as many of their Men as they could, at the four Gates of the Quarters through which the *Spaniards* were to march out. *Cortes*, who omitted nothing conducive to his Safety, had ordered his Men to Arms, the Horses to be ready, and the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoallans* to observe when the Signal was given, by firing a Musket; when all things were ready, he called the principal *Chululans*, pretending that he would take his Leave of them: Forty were admitted; and more would have come if they might, but the most considerable of them being wanting he was sent for. *Cortes* then, in the Presence of the *Mexican* Embassadors, said he had loved them as Friends, and they had hated him as an Enemy, as appeared by their Usage; though all his Men had been inoffensive, that they had desired the *Tlascalans* might not come into their Country, and he had consented to it; and that though he had advised them to deal fairly, and challenge him like brave Men, if they had any thing against him, yet they had agreed with the *Mexicans* to destroy his Forces by Treachery; for which heinous Offence he had resolved to put them all to Death, and raze their City.

They were for a while struck dumb, and beside themselves; but being a little recovered, said, "This Man is like our Gods, who know all things, it is in vain to deny any thing." And accordingly they confessed all he had said was true. Then taking four or five of them aside, he asked them for what Reason they would have done such a wicked Deed? They answered, that *Moteczuma* was so averse from his going to *Mexico*, that the Embassadors, to obstruct it, had put them upon it. *Cortes* told the Embassadors what the *Chululans* said, but at

the same time pretended not to believe *Moteczuma* could be guilty of so foul a Design, and they endeavoured to excuse themselves. The Signal of firing a Musket being then given, the *Spaniards* sallied out, and, meeting with little Opposition from the Inhabitants, though they were in Arms, killed almost six thousand of them, without touching Women or Children, and set fire to all the Houses and Towers where any Resistance was made.

The Cries of the *Indians* on both Sides were prodigious, and the Confusion not to be expressed. Many Gentlemen got up into the Tower of the great Temple, with the Priests, where they stood upon their Defence: Their Lives were offered them if they would surrender: Only one complied, and was well received, the rest were all burnt. The Cross-bow Men shot those that were got up to the Tops of the Trees in the Court of the Temple, and it was observed that the Priests complained of their Gods for not defending them. A great Part of the City was plundered: The *Spaniards* took the Gold and Feather-work, though not much were found; and their *Indians* had the Cotton and the Salt, which was esteemed a great Booty by them. The News of what had happened was immediately carried to *Tlascala*, where the Lords of the Republic ordered their General *Xicotencatl* to march with all speed, to the Assistance of their Friends, which they did; and *Cortes* having returned Thanks, and bestowed Presents on the General and other Officers, sent them back well pleased to *Tlascala*, where their Joys were incredible, for the Booty taken from the Enemies, and no less for being free from the Fire from Heaven, and the Tempests with which the *Chululans* threatened to destroy the *Spaniards*, and all their Adherents.

The Lords that were Prisoners intreated *Cortes* to put a Stop to his Resentment, since they were not so much to blame as the King of *Mexico*, and to permit two of them to go and see what was become of the Multitude. He thereupon ordered the Slaughter to cease, and many stood up who had lain on the Ground among the Dead: So great was the Authority of the two Lords of the Commonwealth, whom *Cortes* permitted to go about the City, that the next Day it was full of People, and as quiet as if nothing had happened. He set at Liberty the other Lords and Gentlemen he had taken Prisoners, at the request of *Maxiscatzin*, and *Guacozingo*, who had resorted to him, telling them they might be thankful he did not entirely subvert the City, and put them all to the Sword, for so he was accustomed to punish Traitors. He then proposed a Reconciliation between them and the *Tlascalans*. By the Advice of *Cortes* they also made choice of a new General, the former being dead, and that City was a Republic as well as *Tlascala*. Next he ordered the *Tlascalans*, and his other confederate *Indians*, to clear the Court of the great Temple, and the Streets, of the dead Bodies, because they began to stink.

Moteczuma being informed of all that had passed, and that nothing could divert *Cortes* from the Prosecution of his Design of coming to *Mexico*, sent fresh Embassadors with four large Dishes of Gold, and a great Quantity of Provisions, with Orders to assure him that he knew nothing of the Design that the Inhabitants of *Chulula* had to have murdered his Men, and that he might freely come to *Mexico* if he thought fit, because he had opposed his Journey only to spare him the Fatigue of it. As this flattering Message was false in itself, so the Conduct of the Emperor at home was as mean-spirited and base. For when he heard that his Plot was discovered, and his Confederates destroyed, for having attempted to put it in execution, he shut himself up in the great Temple, fasted and prayed for a Week together, and in the mean Time sacrificed a multitude of poor innocent Men to his Gods, in hopes of appeasing them.

3. It was in Consequence of these long Meditations on the present melancholy State of his Affairs, that he sent a great Lord of his Court to *Cortes* under Pretence of a friendly Visit; but in reality, with a View to dissuade him from proceeding further, by assuring him the Roads were dangerous, Provisions scarce, and the Climate unwholesome. The *Spanish* Commander answered cheerfully, that to many of these Hardships they were

were enured, and that he did not at all doubt they should be able to overcome the rest. *Moteczuma* was informed of all by some of his People, though most of them staid among the *Spaniards*; and as it was suspected that they were privately armed to fall upon them by Surprise, *Cortes* bid the *Mexican* Lords not stir into the Quarters of the *Spaniards* at Night, because they never slept, and were wont to kill all that came among them. Notwithstanding this Precaution, some Spies were employed to find whether that was true, and the Sentinels killed three or four of them, being forewarned, which proved so advantageous, that the *Mexicans* afterwards took up Quarters very far from the *Spaniards*.

The next Day they marched to a Town called *Amascameca* in the Province of *Chalco*; the Lord came out to meet *Cortes* with a great Retinue; gave him forty Women Slaves, the Value of three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Provisions for two Days; and told him in Secret afterwards, in what a tyrannical Manner *Moteczuma* treated him, and all others; *Cortes* comforted, encouraged, and gave him some Toys, so that they parted very good Friends. The Army advanced from thence to a small Town, half of which stood in the Lake, and the other half at the Foot of an uncouth stony Mountain. Many of the King's Servants kept with the Army, supplying it with all Necessaries, and that Night they designed to have murdered all the *Spaniards*; but *Cortes* was so watchful, that his Sentinels, and a small extraordinary *Corps de Garde* he had appointed killed twenty Men that were skulking in the Quarters; the next Morning before they set out abundance of People came from *Mexico*, and many Gentlemen attending on *Cacamazin*, Nephew to *Moteczuma*, Lord of *Texcuco*, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, who was richly clad, and carried on a Sort of Sedan upon Mens Shoulders; and when he alighted, some went before sweeping the way; *Cortes* came out of his Tent to meet him, paying him much Respect, and treating the others very courteously; twelve Noblemen went with him into the Tent, and *Cacamazin*, with much State and Gravity, said, that he and these Gentlemen were come to wait on him; adding, to excuse his Uncle, that he came not in Person, because he was indisposed. *Cortes* answered him fully, and yet *Cacamazin* insisted that it was not fit for him to go to *Mexico*, because he suspected there might be some Difficulty in his Admittance, or that it would be opposed. *Cortes* gave him a Present of such Things as he had, treating him in a very courteous and loving Manner, but held on his way; and it was wonderful to see what a Multitude of People came out from *Mexico*, and the other Towns on the Lake to see the *Spaniards*, admiring their Habit, Beards, Arms, Horses, and the Strangeness that appeared in every particular, saying, these are truly Gods.

Cortes warned them not to cross the Soldiers Ranks, nor to come near the Horses, nor to touch their Garments, which would immediately cost them their Lives, lest growing familiar with his Soldiers they should fear them the less. They came to *Texcuco*, which was twice as big as *Seville*, the Streets very regular, the Houses beautiful, and seated in a Plain on the Salt-Lake, and had fresh Water in Pipes brought from the Mountain to every House, which made it a very agreeable Habitation; from thence they proceeded to *Lavaca*, which they called *Venezuela*, or *Little Venice*, containing about two thousand Houses, all in the Water, pleasant, and plentifully supplied with Fish; they entered it by a Causeway, twenty Foot broad and above half a League in length, with good Houses and Towers.

The Lord of the Place came out to meet *Cortes* with Necessaries; and at his Request they staid there that Night; he discoursed *Cortes* in private, declaring, how much he wished to be discharged from his Subjection to *Moteczuma*, made grievous Complaints, adding, that if he and his were Gods, as they seemed to be, he ought to set many great Men at Liberty, who would all be assisting to him. He comforted and assured him that the Great Monarch *Moteczuma* would do whatsoever he would ask of him. As for the way to *Mexico*, that Lord assured him it was all good, being along a Cause-

way, and broader than that which had brought him thither.

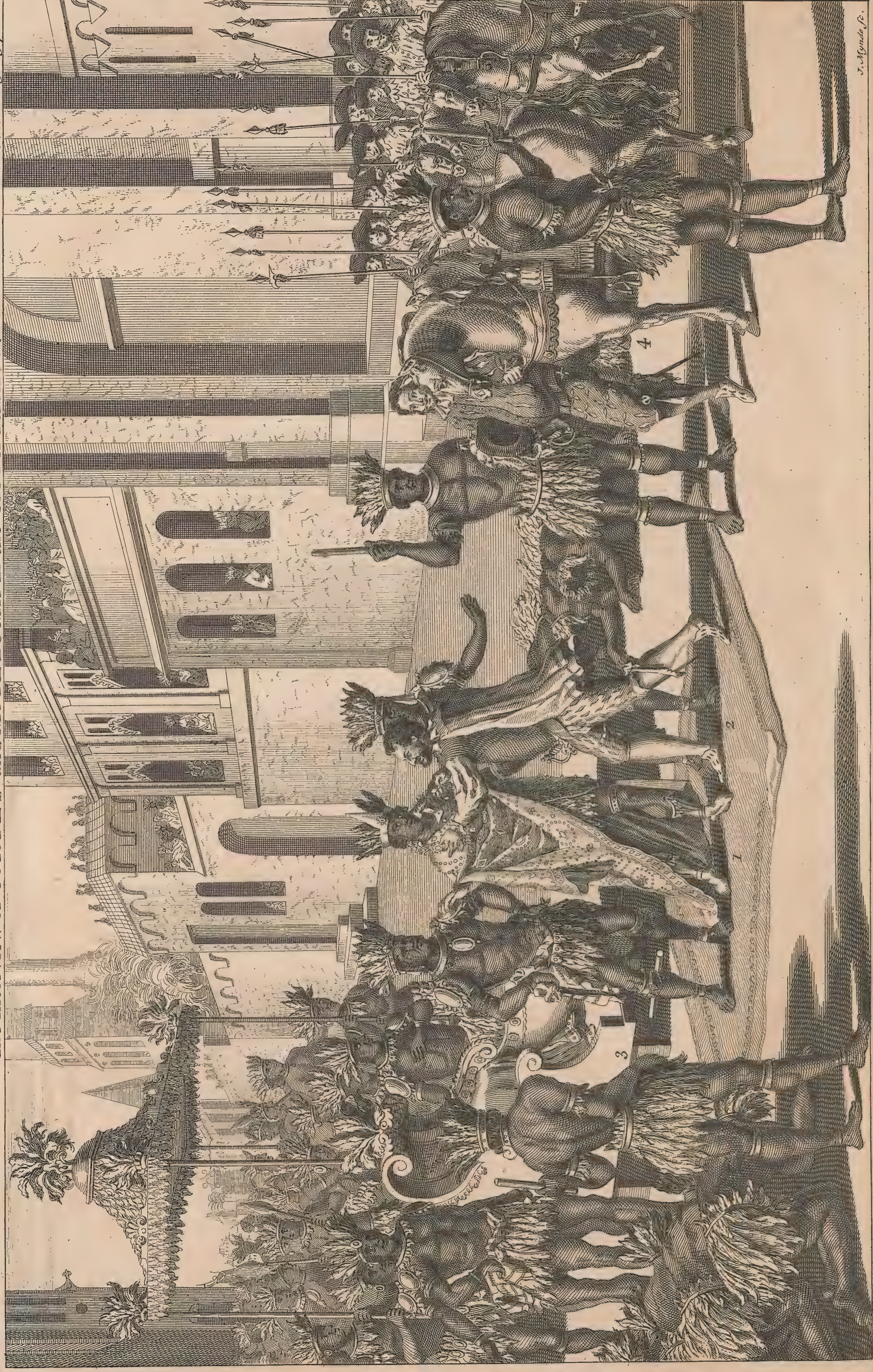
4. After this Conference, from which he learned many things that were of very great Use to him, *Cortes* set out better satisfied, having resolved to make Boats to enter into *Mexico*, being afraid they should break down the Causeways; he marched with much Circumspection, sending some Horsemen before to discover what passed. At the Request of *Cacamazin*, he went two Leagues farther, to *Xztacpalapa*, a Town belonging to another of *Moteczuma's* Nephews, who came out to meet him with another Prince of the Royal Family, and with them came an infinite Crowd of People. They presented him with Women Slaves, Plumes of Feathers, Garments, and to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Lord of *Xztacpalapa* made a Speech, bidding *Cortes* welcome, in the King's Name; *Cortes* answered very discreetly, and presented him some Toys, which were more acceptable for the Rarity than the Value.

At *Xztacpalapa* he was well entertained in a House that had large Courts, upper and lower Floors, and very delightful Gardens; the Walls were of Stone, the Timber-work well wrought; there were many and spacious Rooms hung with Cotton Hangings extraordinary rich in their way; on one Side of it was an Orchard, with abundance of Fruit and Greens, the Walls were all inclosed with Reeds, interwoven, covered with odoriferous Flowers. There were Ponds of fresh Water, with much Fish in them; one of them was four hundred Paces square, with Steps to go down to the Water and to the Bottom; such Numbers of small Herons, wild Ducks, Gulls, and other Sorts of Fowls resorted to the Lakes, that they were sometimes covered. This City contained ten thousand Houses, one half in the Salt-Lake and the other on the Continent; on the way from it to *Mexico* was a Spring of good Water encompassed with tall Trees.

Cortes attentively observed all these Particulars, and having considered the Grandeur of *Mexico*, he is reported to have rejoiced very much, and to have bid some of his best Friends cheer up, for they should soon receive the Reward of all their Labours. *Moteczuma*, who still desired nothing more than to obstruct *Cortes* from coming to *Mexico*; when he was at *Xztacpalapa* sent some Gentlemen to advise him to go back, representing to him many Dangers, and offering to give him whatsoever he should demand. *Tuch*, the Nobleman of *Zempoalla*, being informed of what they had said, told *Cortes* he should not give Credit to those Difficulties and Dangers they talked of, for he had been himself in *Mexico*, and offered to conduct him to the King's Palace, over a very fine Causeway. *Cortes* then advancing, ordered an Indian to go before, and make Proclamation as he went, in the *Mexican* Language, that no Man should cross the way, for if any did, they should be immediately killed, which proved of great Use, by giving them room to march notwithstanding the Crowd of the People.

Xztacpalapa is two Leagues from *Mexico*, joined to it by a Causeway, so broad, that eight Horsemen can easily go abreast, and it is so strait, that, were it not for one Angle it forms, the Gates of *Mexico* might be seen at the first setting out; on the Sides of it are *Mexicatzingo*, a Town of four thousand Houses, seated in the Water; *Cuyoacan* of six thousand Houses on the Land, very beautiful and pleasant; and *Hiucilopucheo* of five thousand Houses. In these three Towns there were many Temples, and high Towers all plaistered over with white Lime, which, when the Sun shone upon them, at a Distance, looked like Silver, being a great Ornament to those Places, and now are Monasteries; there was in them a great Trade of Salt, but not white, nor agreeable to eat, especially to the *Spaniards*, yet good for salting of Meat: It is made of the Surface of of the Earth, that is near the Lake and full of Saltpetre: The Lumps of it are round, and almost of Brick Colour, and they yielded *Moteczuma* a very great Revenue. The Trade still continues, and this Salt is carried into Provinces very far distant.

On the Causeway there were Draw-bridges, at certain Distances over the Openings, through which the Water runs, out of one Lake into the other. The Fresh-water Lake



1 Motezuma in his Royal Robes. 2 Cortes with a rich Collar about the Neck of Motezuma. 3 The Chair and Canopy of Motezuma. 4 The Guard that Attended Cortes.

Lake is higher than the Salt, and though it runs into the other, they do not mix much, because of the Causeways that part them. *Cortes* had three hundred *Spaniards*; and when they marched out of *Tlascala* their Number seemed so small to him, that, fancying some stayed behind, he sent *Peter de Alverado* to fetch them out, but he found none. The *Indian* Confederates that followed him were six thousand; for some *Tlascalans*, *Chululans*, and others, had joined him at *Chulula*: Being come near to *Mexico*, where another Causeway joins the former, he found a Stone Bulwark two Fathoms high with two Towers at the Ends, and between them a Breastwork with two Gates: There *Cortes* halted, because four thousand Gentlemen of the Court, richly clad all in the same Livery, came out to meet him; every one of them, when he came to the Place where *Cortes* was, made Obeisance, touching the Ground with his Right-hand, and kissing it, and passing along returned to the Place from whence he came.

To this Bridge the Emperor himself advanced, to meet *Cortes* under a Canopy of Green Feathers and Gold, carried on the Heads of four Lords: Before him walked three Lords one after another, each of them holding a Gold Rod upright, which was carried before *Moteczuma* every time he went abroad, either by Land or Water, like a Standard or Token that the great Lord was there, to the End that all who were in the Way, though they did not see him might pay the due Respect. Two principal Lords, his Brother *Quequatbuac*, and his Nephew *Cacamazin*, led him by the Arms; they were all richly clad after the same Manner, bating that the King had Golden Shoes, which they call *Zagles*, not unlike those of the antient *Romans*, and on them many precious Stones of great Value, the Soles fastened with Thongs. The two Lords that led him were barefoot, for the Respect they paid him was so great that no Man durst come in his Presence without taking off his Shoes, nor might they lift up their Eyes.

Moteczuma kept along the Middle of the Street, and two hundred followed him, as close to the Wall as they could, their Eyes fixed on the Ground, because it was accounted Disrespect to look on his Face. As soon as *Cortes* saw him he alighted off his Horse, at a small Distance with some Gentlemen, and drawing near saluted him after the Manner of *Spain*. Those that led *Moteczuma* stopped *Cortes*, thinking it a grievous thing that any Man should touch him, being held as some Deity; they saluted one another after their Manner: *Moteczuma* touched the Ground with his Hand, kissing it, a Ceremony used among the *Indians*, and then bid him Welcome: *Cortes* returned him Thanks for having come out to meet him, and put about his Neck a Collar of fine Glass and precious Stones with some Enamel. *Moteczuma* bowed a little, in token of accepting the Present. He went on a little before, with the Nephew that led him by the Arm, and ordered the other to stay and wait upon *Cortes*, leading him by the Hand along the Middle of the Street, not permitting any *Spaniards* or *Indians* to come near. This was the greatest Honour *Moteczuma* could have done *Cortes*. The two hundred Gentlemen in one Livery that went behind, as soon as they turned about, came one by one to welcome him; the Day would have been too short if all the Nobility in the City were to have done the like; but the King going before, they all turned their Faces to the Wall, in token of Respect; so that the others, who were behind, could not come up.

The King was much pleased with the Collar *Cortes* gave him; because, though it was not costly, it was gay, sparkling, and very strange to him. That he might not be thought to fall short in any thing that became a great Prince, he called two Officers of his Bed-chamber, and bid them bring two Collars of large red Prawns as big as great Snails or Walnuts, at every one of which hung eight Gold Prawns wrought to the Life, and about half a Foot long: When brought, the King stopped till *Cortes* came up, and with his own Hands threw them upon his Neck. The *Indians* were amazed that *Moteczuma* should do *Cortes* so singular a Favour, for he had never done the

like to any other Man. The *Spaniards* were astonished to see such a Multitude of People, and after a long time passing through them came to a very large Court, which was the Wardrobe of the Idols, and had been the House of *Axyacazin*, *Moteczuma's* Father.

5. At the Door of it, the Emperor taking *Cortes* by the Hand, led him into a spacious Room, placed him on a rich elevated Place, adorned with precious Stones, and said to him: "You are in your own House, eat, rest, and take your Pleasure, I will soon return." *Cortes* made him profound Obeisance without answering one Word. Such was the Reception that mighty Prince gave *Cortes* in that vast City of *Mexico*, on the 8th of November, 1519. They were lodged in a House that contained so many spacious Rooms, with Bed-chambers, that one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* could all lie single. It was also worth observing that, though so big, every Part of it, to the least Corner, was clean, neat, matted, and hung with Hangings of Cotton and Feather-work of several Colours, and had Beds of Matts with Pavillions over them, no Man of what Quality soever having any other: There was Fire with Perfumes in every Chamber, and so many Servants every where, as sufficiently discovered the Grandeur of that Prince. When *Moteczuma* was gone, *Cortes* assigned every Man his Apartment, placing the Artillery before the Door, and when he had ordered all that was requisite, the prime Men serving him in such a Quality as is usual in the Houses of the greatest Persons there, in Honour to him, and because it was then convenient, stood in order about the Walls.

When they had all dined and rested, *Moteczuma* returned, and *Cortes* went to meet him; they both walked together to the raised part of the Room, and when they were seated in the Presence of many *Mexican* Gentlemen and *Cortes's* chief Commanders, *Moteczuma* gave *Cortes* many costly Jewels of Gold, Silver, Feather-work, and six thousand rich Cotton Garments. *Cortes* returned Thanks for the noble Present in such a Manner as shewed good Breeding and Discretion. Soon after, the Emperor entred into a long Conference with the *Spanish* Commander, in which he shewed himself a very great Politician, and a deep Master in the Art of Dissimulation: He set out with giving abundance of plausible Reasons why he was so very unwilling to admit them into his Capital: He next took notice of the strange Reports that had been spread about them; and then told them, he believed, that as strange as they appeared to one another, they were really Countrymen, since it was certain that the Ancestors of the *Mexicans* came from a Land at a great Distance, and had not been settled there above a Century, that therefore he regarded them as Brothers; that they were free to take what they pleased, and that they should study to amuse and divert themselves the best way they could.

6. *Cortes* thanked *Moteczuma* for these singular Marks of his Kindness and Affection, took a View of the City, and for some time passed his Days very agreeably; however, before he had formed in his own Mind any Scheme of fixing the *Spaniards* in that Country, Things began to change their Aspect; and he saw great Cause to esteem himself in more Danger than he had yet been exposed to in the Prosecution of this Design. The Occasion of his Apprehensions was the Arrival of two *Tlascalans*, disguised so as to pass all *Moteczuma's* Guards, whose Business was to inform him, that the *Indians* allied to the *Spaniards*, finding their Lands ravaged by one of *Moteczuma's* Captains, whose Name was *Qualpopoca*, and apprehending that he had a Design upon *Zempoalla*, they applied themselves, as he had directed, to *Esculante*, whom he had left Governor of *Vera Cruz*, and desired his Protection. The *Spanish* Governor sent immediately to *Qualpopoca*, to desire that he would forbear injuring the Friends of the King of *Spain*; but, notwithstanding he repeated his Instances more than once, he found them ineffectual; and therefore, in pursuance of his Instructions, he marched to their Relief with all the Force he could spare, which consisted of no more than forty *Spaniards*, and those but indifferently armed; having

with them only two small Field-Pieces; but being joined by two thousand of the Confederate *Indians*, he ventured to engage the *Mexicans*, though double his Number; that is to say, between four and five thousand Men.

If the Confederate *Indians* had behaved as they ought, he would probably have obtained an easy Victory; but they fled as soon as the Battle began, having lost a few Men: The *Spaniards*, being forsaken by their Allies, stood their Ground, and routed the *Mexicans*, who, having never felt them before, could not stand the Edges of the *Spanish* Swords. They pursued them as far as the Town, which was afterwards called *Almeria*, and burnt it. *John de Esculante* was dangerously wounded in this Fight and his Horse killed, and six of the Men were greatly hurt: *Esculante* died of his Wounds as soon as he came to *Villa Rica*. The *Indians* carried off one Soldier alive, whose Name was *Arguillo*, a Native of *Leon*; a Man of a large Head, black Beard, very lusty and strong, who being sent to *Moteczuma* (for this happened before *Cortes* entered *Mexico*) died by the Way of his Wounds; and because he stunk, they carried the Head, which, being of a lusty Man, put him into a Consternation: He would not have it offered at any of the Temples in *Mexico*, but in some one without; and said, he wondered how it fell out that his Men, being so numerous, did not vanquish that small Number; and, that he was convinced that those Men were not immortal, though they appeared to be very brave. The Consternation he was put into by the Sight of *Arguillo's* Head, some say, proceeded from the Predictions he had, That such Men should conquer his Monarchy, and change the Religion of his People. It is to be observed, however, that this last Circumstance was not known to *Cortes* at that time; so that he was in doubt, whether this Action was performed by Order of the Emperor, or even whether he knew or approved it.

However, as the Situation he was in made him very uneasy, he sent privately to the most sensible and best affected *Indians* of his Army, of whom he demanded, "If they had observed any Alterations in the Minds of the *Mexicans*, and in what Esteem the *Spaniards* were at that time among them?" They answered, "That the common People were taken up with their Festivals made for the Diversion of the *Spaniards*, whom they revered because they saw them honoured by their Emperor: But that the Nobility seemed pensive and mysterious: That they had secret Conferences, the Result of which they kept very private. They said, they had observed some Expressions which admitted a sinister Interpretation, one of which was, that it would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges of the Causeway, with others of the same kind; which all together gave sufficient Cause of Suspicion." Two or three of those *Indians* heard it whispered, That some few Days before a *Spaniard's* Head was brought as a Present to *Moteczuma*, and that he commanded it to be taken away and concealed, after he had viewed it with some Astonishment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face of a fierce Aspect; Marks which agreed very well with that of *Juan de Arguillo's*. This added to the Uneasiness of *Cortes*; for hence it appeared that *Moteczuma* was privy to the Proceedings of his General.

7. As these Informations left him no longer any room to doubt, that notwithstanding all the Kindness shewn him, *Moteczuma* was actually contriving his Destruction, he saw it was necessary some quick Measures should be taken to deliver himself and the *Spaniards* out of those Dangers with which they were at present surrounded; but the Difficulty was, to fix upon that which might best answer the End, and, when fixed upon, to carry it into Execution. He meditated upon this Subject a whole Night by himself; and, having settled in his own Mind what was to be done, he then called a Council of War, in order to hear the Opinion of his Officers; in which they differed extremely, most of them, however, inclined to make a Retreat; and some of them suggested, that as *Moteczuma* had made them such large Offers to prevent their coming to *Mexico*, he would probably be willing to give them as much Gold as they

could reasonably ask, in order to get them out of his Capital; but *Cortes* disapproved this: And having in a set Speech shewed the Impossibility of their putting any such thing in practice, concluded, that the only Method they had left to secure themselves, and put a speedy Issue to this Business, was to seize the Person of the Emperor; and the Reasons he gave for it were so strong, and the Method he proposed for executing it liable to so few Objections, that at last it was unanimously agreed upon, and a Resolution taken to do it without Delay.

A most surprising Scheme surely, considering the Force that *Cortes* had, and the many thousands that were in daily waiting about *Moteczuma's* Person. Yet this Design, as it was contrived with great Wisdom, was executed with no less Spirit and Success. The Hour which the *Spaniards* were accustomed to wait upon *Moteczuma* was chosen for the Execution of their Design, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unseasonable Visit. *Cortes* gave Orders to his Men to arm themselves in their Quarters, to saddle their Horses and to hold themselves in Readiness without making any Noise, until they received fresh Instructions. He possessed himself of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to *Moteczuma's* Palace, with a small scattered Detachment of Soldiers, and went to the Palace accompanied by the Captains *Pedro de Alverado*, *Gonzala de Sandoval*, *Juan Velasques de Leon*, *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Alonso Davila* having ordered thirty private Men to follow at a Distance.

It was no surprising Sight to see them enter with their Arms, which they usually carried as a military Ornament. *Moteczuma*, as usual, came out of his Apartment to receive the Visit, and they all took their Seats: His Servants, as by his Order they were always accustomed to do, retired to another Part of the Palace, and when *Donna Marina* and *Geronimo Aguilar* were come up, *Cortes* began his Complaint with becoming Resentment: First, he laid before *Moteczuma* the Action of his General who had the Insolence to form an Army, and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace, under which they thought themselves secure: Then he urged as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the spilling the Blood of a *Spaniard* by the *Mexicans*, after they had made him Prisoner, to revenge upon him in cold Blood the Ignominy of their own Defeat: And lastly, he exposed in proper Colours, as a Point of still greater Consideration the Excuse made by *Quialpopoca* and his Captains, who declared they had undertaken that unjustifiable War by the Emperor's express Order; concluding, that he thought he owed so much to his Majesty, as not to give Credit to any Action so unworthy of his Greatness, as that of favouring the *Spaniards* in one Place, while he was endeavouring to destroy them in another. But *Moteczuma* denied it.

Cortes interposed upon this, telling him, he believed what he said to be true, and that he could never entertain any Notion that so great a Man as he, could be guilty of so base an Act; but that what convinced him, did not seem to have the same weight with his People, and that, for their Satisfaction, it would be very proper he should remove from his own Palace, and go and live with the *Spaniards* in that he had assigned him, till such time as *Quialpopoca*, whom he immediately sent for, arrived. *Moteczuma* was extremely surprized at so strange a Proposition, and for some time refused to hear of it; neither could all the Eloquence of *Cortes* have brought him to consent if *Donna Marina* had not interposed; who told him, she was his Subject, and had therefore nothing so much as his Interest at Heart: That his Life was in the utmost Danger, and that nothing but his yielding to this Necessity could save him; and that it was in vain to dispute where the only Question was, Whether he would chuse the Loss of Life, or temporary Liberty? This determined *Moteczuma*. Let us go, said he, to your Quarters, since I find it can be no otherwise.

When he had said this, he left the Palace, without any more Delay, taking with him all his usual Attendants, the *Spaniards*, marching on Foot close by his Chair, surrounded it, under pretence of waiting on him. A Report was

was presently spread about the City, that the Strangers had carried off the Emperor, and the Streets were crouded, some in Despair, and some discovered the Tenderneſs of their Concern by their Tears. But *Motezuma*, with an Air of Gaiety and Compoſure, appeaſed the Tumult, and ſatiſfied them in ſome Meaſure. He commanded them to ceaſe their Cries, and, at the firſt Motion of his Hand, a profound Silence enſued: He then told them, “ That he was not going to Priſon, but for his own Diverſion “ to paſs a few Days with his Friends, the Strangers.” As ſoon as he was ſettled in his new Lodging, many Noblemen reſorted to *Motezuma*, expreſſing their Sorrow for that Innovation, and offered to do any Service that ſhould be enjoined them.

Cortes being ſenſible of the Boldneſs of his Enterprize, and the Danger he was in, to provide for the worſt, ordered two Brigantines to be built, that would carry two hundred Men, to come into, and go out, of the City, as there ſhould be Occaſion.

They were ſoon finiſhed, and he kept them under a ſtrong Guard near his Quarters, to the no ſmall Amazement of the *Indians*. *Motezuma* fearing leſt any harm that might be done to the *Spaniards*, by his People, might affect him, put on a chearful Countenance to conceal the Grievs that perplexed him, telling the Men of Quality that ſerved and viſited him, there was no Occaſion to be ſo much concerned, ſince he was well, lived in that Apartment at his Eaſe, and no Injury or Affront was offered him; that he had choſen to go thither to convince the *Spaniards* that what had been ſaid of him, in relation to *Qualpopoca*, was not true; that he deſigned to puniſh him, that no other ſhould be guilty of the like; that he would ſtay there till *Cortes* was ſatiſfied, and that ſince he might depart from thence whenſoever he ſhould think fit, they ought to ſet their Hearts at reſt, and as they had always loved him, they ſhould ſhew it at that Time.

As ſoon as he was brought into the Apartment, *Cortes* ſet a Guard over him, and gave the Command thereof to *John Velasquez de Leon*; and if particular Care had not been taken, he would have been conveyed away; for Walls were broke through, and other Methods uſed; and one Day he attempted to throw himſelf off from the flat Roof of a Houſe, that was ten Fathoms high, for his People that were underneath to catch him, had not a *Spaniard* that was upon the Guard, and near his Perſon, held him. *Cortes* viſited him every Day, and for his Diverſion, ordered the Soldiers to exerciſe their Weapons, at which he was very much pleaſed, and generously rewarded them. His own Servants waited on him, as they were wont to do in his Palace, and ſo did the *Spaniards*, who, by *Cortes*’s Command, honoured and reſpected him as a King.

There he decided Law-ſuits, diſpatched all Buſineſs, and adminiſtered the Government of his Kingdoms, ſpeaking, either in private or public, to any Perſon whomſoever; and yet the *Indians* were ſo reſtleſs and uneaſy, that they never ceaſed by Day or Night to attempt reſcuing him: For this Reaſon *Cortes* ordered *Roderigo Alvarez Chico*, a brave and watchful Man, to guard the backſide of the Houſe, with ſixty Men, twenty mounting at a time; and *Andrew de Monjarraz* to do the ſame before the Palace, with the ſame Number.

Motezuma was ſerved like a great Prince, the Diet that was brought him by four and four Men holding up the Diſhes, with much Reſpect, made a long Train, and when he had done, all the Meat was divided among the Gentlemen that ſerved, and the *Spaniards* that guarded him. His Bed conſiſted in many coſtly Cotton Blankets, ſome of them very fine, ſome quilted, and covered with others of great Value, made of Feathers and Wool, of various and natural Colours. The Bed was laid on Matts, and a wooden Beadſtead, all ſuited either for the Heat or the Cold. It was this Confinement of the Emperor which afforded *Cortes* all the Opportunities he could wiſh, of enquiring narrowly into the Situation of his Affairs, and of penetrating into all the Secrets of his Government; he likewiſe found Ways and Means to draw out of the *Indian* Monarch, in this Confinement, very large Sums of

Money, or, which was the ſame thing, Gold and Jewels to an immenſe Value.

8. In all outward Appearance *Motezuma* was very eaſy and well ſatiſfied, the *Spaniſh* Soldiers behaved to him with the greateſt Civility and Reſpect imaginable, and as for the Officers, they were his conſtant Companions, with whom he converſed continually, and ſhewed a great deal of Pleaſure, as alſo in playing at certain *Spaniſh* Games, particularly at Skittles, in which he became, very ſoon, a great Proficient. In the miſt, however, of all theſe Condeſcentions, he ſhewed himſelf a great Politician; for, obſerving how fond the *Spaniards* were of Gold, he took care to loſe, that he might have an Opportunity of giving, and of obtaining, by this Means, an Intereſt amongſt them.

While things were in this Situation, *Qualpopoca* arrived with his Son and fifteen Men of Quality, who had been concerned with him in killing the *Spaniards*, in twenty Days after the Confinement of *Motezuma*; he was conducted to *Mexico* by many great Men that went out to meet him, and he was brought in upon their Shoulders and thoſe of his Vaffals: When come to the Place he alighted, put on Garments of leſs Value than he had before, and took off his Shoes, waited ſome Time till he had Leave to go in, drew near alone, all that went with him, ſtaying behind; and having made many Bows, and performed the uſual Ceremonies, with his Head hanging down, and his Eyes fixed on the Ground, he ſaid, “ Moſt high “ and mighty Sovereign, here is your Slave *Qualpopoca*, “ whom you have commanded to come; what will “ you have done, for I am your Slave, and muſt of Neceſſity obey you?” *Motezuma* ſternly answered, “ He “ had done very ill in killing the *Spaniards* without any “ Provocation, and ſaying he had done it by his Order, “ and therefore he ſhould be puniſhed as a Traitor to the “ Strangers, and to his King.” *Qualpopoca* going to excuſe himſelf, he would not hear him, ordering that he, his Son, and the reſt, ſhould be delivered up to *Cortes*, who, having fettered, cauſed them to be examined, and they confeſſed the killing of the *Spaniards*; being asked whether he was *Motezuma*’s Subject, he answered, “ Is “ there any other Lord that I could be ſubject to?” They were examined a ſecond time more ſtrictly, and threatened with the Rack, and unaniſmouſly averred that they had killed the two firſt *Spaniards* by *Motezuma*’s Order, as they had likewiſe thoſe in the Field.

When they had made this Confeſſion, and confirmed it, *Cortes* condemned *Qualpopoca* and the reſt to be burnt. The Sentence being made known to him, he ſaid, That though he was to ſuffer Death for having killed thoſe two *Spaniards*, his great Lord, *Motezuma*, had commanded him, and that he ſhould not have preſumed to have done it, unleſs he had thought it for his Service. He, with his Son, and the reſt, were conducted under a ſtrong Guard of *Spaniards*, to a large Square, and being ſet on a large Pile of broken Bows and Arrows that were dry, with their Hands and Feet bound, Fire was ſet to it, they again confeſſing the ſame as they had before: He prayed as the reſt did, and the Fire blazed, and they were ſoon burnt, without Diſturbance; the *Mexicans* admiring the Execution done by the *Spaniards* in ſuch a great City and Kingdom, and in the Preſence of their Monarch. Before and after this Execution, that the *Spaniards* might be always in readineſs, *Cortes* made Proclamation that none of them ſhould go naked to Bed, and that the Horſes ſhould ſtand all Night ſaddled, with their Bridles at the Pommels of their Saddles, becauſe it was ſuſpected there would be an Infurrection, and that they would attack the *Spaniards* when aſleep; but the Vigilance of *Cortes* was thought to have diſappointed that Deſign; and he cauſed the firſt Soldier that was found to have lain in Bed naked, to be expoſed to public Shame, keeping him two Days in Fetters in the Air, induring the Dew in the Night, and the Sun in the Day, and a Clog at his Foot; no Intreaties prevailing to relieve him, alledging that Severity was requiſite in ſuch Caſes.

After the Confeſſion was made, whiſt they were carrying *Qualpopoca* to Execution, *Cortes*, attended by his Commanders, went to *Motezuma*, and ſaid to him, “ You know

“ know you denied your having ordered *Qualpopoca* to
 “ kill my Companions, you have not done therein as
 “ became so great a Prince, and since you have occa-
 “ sioned the Death of my Men, as also of *Qualpopoca*,
 “ his Son, and so many of his People, had I not Regard
 “ to the Affection you have shewn to my King, and in
 “ his Name to me, I should think you ought to pay
 “ for it with your Life; for both the divine and hu-
 “ man Law, appoints that a Murderer, as you are,
 “ should die: However, that you may not go altogether
 “ unpunished, and that you and your People may be
 “ sensible how advantageous it is to deal sincerely, I will
 “ order you to be put in Irons.” *Moteczuma* was very
 much surprized at this Reproof, and could scarce utter
 his Words for Confusion, but only said that he was inno-
 cent, and he might do what he would with him. *Cor-
 tes* went from him in a very angry Manner, and immedi-
 ately after he was fettered.

It was thought that *Cortes* used this Policy to divert
 him from the Grief he might justly conceive at the Exe-
 cution of *Qualpopoca* in his own Sight. It is impossible
 to express how much *Moteczuma* was concerned, when he
 saw himself in Irons; he affirmed he was innocent, and
 lamented his Condition; his Kindred and Nobility
 were astonished, and in that Consternation they wept,
 and kneeled down, bearing up his Fetters with their
 Hands, and thrusting fine Cloths through the Links, that
 they might not touch his Flesh, nor could they think
 what to do; for if they had had recourse to Arms, they con-
 cluded that their Lord would certainly be put to Death,
 which added to their Terror. When *Qualpopoca* was ex-
 ecuted, *Cortes*, thinking he had gained his Point, went in
 the Afternoon to *Moteczuma*, and, saluting him with an
 Air of Kindness, ordered his Fetters to be taken off, tel-
 ling him, that though, according to the Confession of the
 People executed, he deserved to be more severely punish-
 ed, yet for the Love he bore him, and because he could
 not believe so great a Prince guilty of such a foul Acti-
 on, he had commanded him to be set free. *Moteczuma*
 was as much rejoiced at those Words, as he had been be-
 fore dejected, upon being removed and put into Irons.
 He embraced *Cortes*, returned him Thanks, and bestow-
 ed many Favours that Day, as well on the *Spaniards*
 as his own People.

By this Means both Parties were satisfied with each
 other, and *Moteczuma* came by Degrees to have such a
 Confidence in *Cortes*, that he represented to him the Ex-
 pediency of granting him Leave to go to visit some of
 his Temples, that his Subjects might not look upon
 him to be longer a Prisoner, which was granted, upon
 Condition that human Sacrifices were abolished. As *Cor-
 tes* perceived that this Confidence in *Moteczuma* had gain-
 ed upon him extremely, he laid hold of this Opportunity
 to demand his Assistance, for the accomplishing of vari-
 ous things he had in view, which were very necessary to
 him, and which, however, he could not accomplish, but
 by the Emperor's Assistance.

The first of these was, the Knowledge of the gold
 Mines, where they were, to whom they belonged, how
 wrought, and what Quantities of that precious Metal,
 were obtained from them. *Moteczuma* gave him very
 clear and distinct Answers to all these Inquiries, and, for
 his farther Satisfaction, allowed such of his People as he
 could trust, to go to the Mines, both within and without
 his Dominions. In the next Place, *Cortes* was willing to have
 a Map of the Sea-coasts of the Mexican Empire, that he
 might be the better able to fix upon some Port, to which
 Succours and Supplies might be sent him; he was, ac-
 cording to his Desire, furnished with a very accurate and
 extensive Description of the maritime Provinces under
Moteczuma's Dominion, finely painted after their Manner,
 which answered his Purpose perfectly. The last thing
 that he aimed it was, the obtaining of a sufficient Quan-
 tity of Gold to be sent to *Spain*, in order to maintain his
 Credit there, and secure the King's Favour. In obtaining
 this, he met with no Difficulty, the Emperor and the
 great Men of his Court, readily yielding him their Assis-
 tance.

9. But in the Midst of this Tranquility, there arose a

new and very unlooked for Disturbance, which neither
Moteczuma nor *Cortes* could foresee or prevent. It was
 occasioned by the Emperor's Nephew, *Cacamazin*, who
 mortally hated the *Spaniards*; and going to *Tezcucoco*, told
 his chief Counsellors how much he loved them, desir-
 ing they would reflect how they were kept under by a
 handful of Strangers, who dared to confine his Uncle
Moteczuma, to whom the greatest Respect was due; that
 it was intolerable so small a Number, and those of ano-
 ther Religion, should turn them out of their Houses, and,
 what was still worse, set up their Gods in the Temples, in-
 stead of those of the Country; that it was high time to
 stand up for Religion, Liberty, Honour, and their King,
 without delaying till the Strangers had Succours from
 their own Country, from *Tlascala*, and from other Parts;
 and therefore they should make ready, for he was resolv-
 ed to fall upon the Intruders; yet if they differed from
 him in Opinion, they might tell him so, and he would be
 advised by them.

They approved of the Design, and offered to stand by
 him; but some ancient Men, who had no mind to flat-
 ter him, said, he should consider what he did, that *Cor-
 tes* was brave, had gained several Victories, and they be-
 lieved there was very great Friendship between him and
Moteczuma, for if he would have drove him out of *Mexico*
 he might have done it; they advised him therefore not
 to be carried away by the Fire of Youth, or the Ambiti-
 on of Rule, since there were other Heirs as near as he.
 However, War was agreed on, and Preparations were made
 with the greatest Privacy, that nothing might be known
 by *Moteczuma* or *Cortes*; but, notwithstanding their Care,
 they soon had Notice of it.

Cortes perceiving the View of this turbulent Youth, and
 suspecting that *Moteczuma's* want of Resolution, or great
 Affection for the *Spaniards*, encouraged him to undertake
 the Design, sent Word to the Emperor that he had much
 Cause to suspect him, because, since what had happened
 about *Qualpopoca*, his Nephew, *Cacamazin*, was conspir-
 ing against him; and therefore he desired him to put a
 Stop to those Proceedings, otherwise all would light upon
 himself. *Moteczuma* was much surprized at this Mes-
 sage, and affirmed he knew nothing of what his Nephew
 was doing; that he was very well pleased there, and
 would send for his Nephew *Cacamazin*, and if he refused
 to come, would order him to be brought by Force, and
 delivered up into his Hands to be punished, if convict-
 ed of that Crime. *Cacamazin* was then preparing for
 War, and the People readily came in to him, because he
 gave out that he would rescue the King.

This Affair put the *Spaniards* upon their Guard, and
Cortes designed, for making an Example, and establishing
 his own Reputation, to go himself to *Tezcucoco*, and attack
Cacamazin in his own House; but *Moteczuma* prevented
 it, alledging that the City was strong, and the People of
Culua at his Nephew's Command, and therefore it was
 better to take another Course. *Cortes* followed his Ad-
 vice, and sent to bid *Cacamazin* remember their Friend-
 ship, that he should consider it was an easy Matter to be-
 gin a War, but not so to put an End to it; and that it
 would be for his Advantage to keep on good Terms with
 the King of *Spain* and his Subjects. He answered plain-
 ly, He would entertain no Friendship with those that
 oppressed the Country, and overthrew their Religion;
 that he knew not who the King of *Spain* was, nor did
 he desire to be informed; and that if he would not
 have him make War, he should immediately depart
Mexico. *Cortes* again advised him to desist, and desired
Moteczuma to lay his Commands upon him.

The Emperor sent for him, which he was so far from
 regarding, that he said, If his Uncle were the Man he
 ought to be, he would not suffer himself to be confined;
 and since *Moteczuma* was so mean-spirited, he was resolv-
 ed to restore the Monarchy to its former Splendor, which
 had been lost through his Cowardice. *Cortes*, upon this,
 resolved to march out to meet *Cacamazin*, though the
 Danger was great, considering the Multitude of Ene-
 mies within and without: But still *Moteczuma* hindered
 him, contriving with some of his Nephew's Command-
 ers, that they should deliver him into his Hands. These
 being

being bribed, as they were with *Cacamazin*, consulting about the Management of the War, secured him, and before it was known abroad, conveyed him, by Water, to *Mexico*, and had him carried on Mens Shoulders, richly clad, to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, who would not see him, but ordered he should be delivered to *Cortes*, who, well pleased to have escaped that Danger, ordered him to be close confined.

The next Day, by the Advice of *Moteczuma*, *Quizquizcatl*, younger Brother to *Cacamazin*, was constituted Lord of *Culua*, being then at *Mexico* with his Uncle, having made his Escape from his Brother; and *Moteczuma* conferred on him the Crown and the Title of King, with the usual Solemnity; telling him he designed to look upon him, for the future, as his Son: *Quizquizcatl* kissed his Hand, promised Obedience, and then, turning to *Cortes*, gave him Thanks, protesting he would ever be his Friend. *Cacamazin* was much concerned, when he heard that his Brother was made Lord of his Dominions, and *Cortes* had him strictly observed, knowing that there were many that would willingly have conveyed him back to *Texcuco*. *Moteczuma* sent two Embassadors to signify to that City the new Election, and caused the elected Monarch to be attended by many of his Courtiers, and *Cortes* sent along with him several of his prime Men, both of them in Person bearing him Company to the Gates of *Mexico*; he was received at *Texcuco* with all public Demonstrations of Joy, being carried on Mens Shoulders.

At the Entrance into the City, the Magistrates took him up, and when come to the Palace, an ancient Gentleman set a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and, all the Company being silent, made a Speech to him; the Purport of which was, "That he was sensible, how, when he was serving *Moteczuma*, being fled from his Brother, on Account of his Pride, the Gods had raised him to that high Dignity, for which Reason he ought to take care not to change his noble Disposition; for that the thing Kings should most endeavour to acquire, was the Love of their Subjects, &c." These Ceremonies performed, the People withdrew, and *Cortes* was delivered from the Dangers that had threatened him. This, in itself, and independent of its Consequences, could not but be very agreeable to our Hero, who saw himself, by this Means, raised to the highest Authority, exclusive of the sovereign Power in that Empire; for the People being well enough acquainted with *Moteczuma's* natural Disposition, attributed this mild Way of punishing, entirely to *Cortes*; and on the other Hand, the first Prince of the Empire looked upon himself as his Creature, so that there appeared a Probability of his establishing some kind of Interest in *Mexico*, and the bare Appearance of this, was enough to engage *Cortes* to do all that lay in his Power to cultivate and increase it.

10. All things seemed at this time to concur in favour of the *Spaniards*, and to render their Stay in the Empire of *Mexico* more safe and more agreeable than it had hitherto been. Yet, of a sudden, this fine Prospect was intirely over-cast, and the Face of Affairs unexpectedly changed. It seems that *Moteczuma*, though he had dissembled his Resentment, was far enough from being pleased with the long Stay which the Strangers made; and, indeed, if we consider their Behaviour towards him, it was no Wonder; but he dissembled so well, that neither *Cortes* nor any of his People suspected him; and was so great a Politician, that when he actually propounded the Scheme he had framed to be rid of them, they were so far from conceiving it in that Light, that they took it for the highest Act of Favour he had ever done them.

In short, *Moteczuma* offered to call a general Assembly of his Nobles, and there acknowledge, in a most solemn Manner, the Sovereignty of the King of *Spain* over his Dominions, and his own, and his Subjects Duty towards him. There could be nothing more acceptable to the *Spanish* Captain than this unexpected Offer of the *Indian* Monarch's, and therefore he encouraged him to carry it into Execution as soon as possible, without ever suspecting that the Emperor was as much inclined to this

as himself, though from a very different View. The Assembly was accordingly called, and *Moteczuma*, being seated on his Throne, made a very long, and a very extraordinary Speech: He said they all knew well enough, that their first Emperor came from the East; and that he had left them a Prophecy, that his Descendants should return to govern these Countries; that without doubt the King of *Spain* was the lawful Successor to the Empire, that if he had come thither in Person, he would have laid down his Crown at his Feet; that as it was, he was resolved to do him Homage, and send him a Present of the most valuable Things in his Dominions, and that he expected they would likewise contribute out of their own Possessions, that this Present might be the more worthy the Acceptance of so great a Prince.

In this Manner *Moteczuma* concluded his Discourse, though he did not utter it all without Interruption; for in spite of all the Efforts made upon himself in this Act of his, when he came to pronounce himself Vassal to another Prince, he found something so shocking, and so repugnant to his Nature, in those Expressions, that he paused a while as if he wanted Words to proceed, and he shewed his Concern so publicly, that some Tears were seen trickling down his Cheeks, which seemed as if they had escaped his Eyes, without their Consent; and the *Mexicans*, sensible of his Disturbance, and of the Cause from whence it proceeded, began likewise to shew their Concern, breaking forth into loud Sighs, desiring in Appearance, not without something that favoured of Flattery, that by the Noise they made, their Fidelity should be taken Notice of; so that *Cortes* thought it necessary to desire Liberty to speak, in order to encourage *Moteczuma*, and put him out of the Perturbation he was in. He said, "That it was not the Intention of the King his Sovereign, to dispossess him of his Royal Dignity, nor to make the least Innovation in his Government; but, that all he desired was, that they would, at the present Assembly, settle his Right to the Succession, in Favour of his Descendants or Posterity; by Reason of his being so far distant from those Regions, and so taken up in other Conquests, that the Case mentioned in their Traditions and Prophecies, might not happen in many Years." With which Explanation *Moteczuma* recovered Heart, re-assumed an Air of Tranquility, and finished his Discourse, as has been before observed.

The *Mexicans* remained astonished, and utterly confounded to hear such a Proposal, wondering at it, as a Thing inconsistent with, and unbecoming, the Majesty of so powerful a Monarch, and a Prince so extremely jealous of his Authority. They looked on each other without daring either to contradict, or to give any Sign of Consent; as being apprehensive, that by doing either, they should but confirm him the more in his strange Determination. This respectful Silence lasted till his prime Minister, as a Person who had a better Knowledge of his Prince's Disposition than any other, took upon him to speak for the rest, and said, "That all the Nobles who composed that Assembly, respected him as their Lord and natural Sovereign, and should be ready to obey whatever his Majesty had been pleased to propose, and to follow any Example he should think fit to set them; they not doubting but that he had well weighed every thing, and had consulted with Heaven; and they had no Instrument more sacred than that of his Voice, whereby to be informed of the Will of their Gods." The whole Assembly agreed in the same Sentiment, and *Hernan Cortes*, when it came to his turn to make his Acknowledgments, dictated to his Interpreters, a Speech no less artful than the former; in which he gave Thanks to *Moteczuma*, and all who were present, for this Demonstration of their Respect, accepting their Service in the Name of his King, without seeming to think it strange that they complied with their Obligations, but, rather as one who receives his Debt, and is pleased with his Debtor's punctual Payment.

The Emperor took immediate Care to collect in Gold and Jewels, particularly Emeralds, a Present suitable to his own Dignity; and his Nobility followed his

Example with the utmost Alacrity. All these rich Gifts were carried, by *Moteczuma's* Order, to the Apartment of *Cortes*, who named a Receiver and Treasurer, that they might take an exact Account of what was delivered; and in a few Days they amassed such a Quantity of Gold, that besides the precious Jewels, and pieces of curious Workmanship, after they had melted down the rest, they found 600000 Pesos of Gold, in Bars of good Alloy; out of which the fifth Part was set aside for the King, and of the remainder, a second Fifth for *Hernan Cortes*, with the Approbation of his People, and to defray the Expence of providing for the public Necessities of the Army; he likewise set aside the Sum for which he stood accountable to *Diego Velasquez*, and that which his Friends, in the Island of *Cuba*, had lent him; the rest was divided among the Officers and Soldiers, including those that were at *Vera Cruz*.

Those who had Employments had equal Shares, but amongst the private Men there was some Difference made; for those were distinguished and best rewarded, who had done best Service, or had been least troublesome in the past Disturbances. An Equity of a very dangerous Nature, where just Rewards are looked upon as Grievances, and Distinction of Merit occasions Complaints: There were great Murmurings and bold Words uttered against *Hernan Cortes* and the Captains; for at the Sight of such a Mass of Wealth, those whose Deserts were least, required an equal Recompence with the most Deserving. Their Avarice could not possibly be satisfied, nor was it convenient to publish the Reasons of that unequal Distribution; by degrees, however, and by the Dexterity of his own Management, *Cortes* got the better, and reduced the whole Army, not only to a peaceable Deportment, but to a voluntary Submission to his Method of managing.

In order to this he found it necessary, not only to part with some of his Share, but even to give considerable Sums in ready Money, to such as were worst dealt with, and complained loudest; amongst whom, there was one Fellow that had but 300 Pieces of Eight for his Share, who said, merrily, that he would take care not to engage himself again in a Contract with two Kings; alluding to the General's taking one fifth for his Catholic Majesty, and another for himself, upon which *Cortes* gave him 200 Pieces of Eight more, with which the Soldier was very well content.

II. The General was perfectly well pleased with the Situation he was now in, for he thought that he had entirely got the better of the Factions in his own Army, and that he stood higher in the Favour of *Moteczuma* than ever; but it was not long before he was convinced to the contrary; and found, when he least suspected it, that the *Indian* King was bent upon obliging him to quit his Country, a Thing he never apprehended would have come into the Emperor's Head, or if it had, that he would have had Spirit and Courage enough to avow it. But as wise and as penetrating a Man as he was, he found himself deceived in both.

The Manner in which this great Affair broke out, was thus: One Day as *Cortes* was diverting himself with the *Spanish* Commanders, *Moteczuma* sent *Orleguilla*, a young *Spaniard* who had learned the *Indian* Language, and of whom he was very fond, to tell him that he wanted to speak with him immediately, and at the same time that the young Man delivered this Message, he informed *Cortes* that *Moteczuma* had spent a great Part of the Night in close Consultation with his principal Ministers, and some of his Priests. As soon as he had heard this, *Cortes* could not help saying that he did not like the Message, but, however, he resolved to wait upon the Emperor immediately, taking with him about a Dozen of the *Spaniards* that were by when he received the Message, and laboured to conceal, as well as he could, the Confusion he was in. When he came into *Moteczuma's* Presence, he saluted him with profound Respect, and then asked him very courteously, what were his Commands?

The Emperor received him with more Gravity than usual, and with an Air of Greatness that till then he had never put on; and being now somewhat acquainted with

the Forms of *Spanish* Civility, called for Chairs, and all the rest standing, and two Interpreters on their Sides, he said, "Captain *Cortes*, my Gods are angry with me for having permitted you to stay so long in my City, destroying our Religion; they say they will give me no Rain, will destroy my Corn, send the Plague, and subject my Empire to my Enemies. I intreat you to depart this Place immediately; ask what you will have, for I love you entirely, and if I did not I should not beg it of you, since I have it my Power to do you harm, and shall not tell you so again. Take what you will out of my Treasures, and go away satisfied, for my Gods will not allow of what has been done; and since you see I can do no less for their Honour and my own, be not concerned." When he had uttered these Words, before the Interpreter began to speak, *Cortes* turned to a *Spaniard*, and said, "Run to our Comrades, and bid them be in Readiness, for their Lives are at Stake." When the Interpreter had done, *Cortes* rousing his Courage, very sedately answered, "Experience had made him sensible of his Affection, and that it was not his Fault if he did not continue in his Company; but, that since his Gods and his People were of that Mind, he should consider when he would have him be gone."

The King was so well pleased with his Answer, that he said, "He would not have him go till he thought fit himself, and he would then give him four Loads of Gold, every Horseman two, and every Foot-Soldier one." *Cortes* replied, "That he could not return to his own Country without Ships, and since he had sunk those that brought him, it was his Request, that he would cause Timber to be felled at *Vera Cruz*, which the *Indians* called the Coast of *Calchicoeca*, and he would find Men to build them." *Moteczuma* approved, and ordered Timber to be felled. *Cortes* appointed Workmen to do what *Martin Lopez* should direct them, and *Moteczuma* believed it. *Cortes* acquainted his Men with *Moteczuma's* Will, encouraged them, and said, "That God, whose Cause they had in hand, would in the mean Time, while the Ships were building, so dispose their Affairs, that they should not lose that good Country." He directed *Martin Lopez* to make shew of carrying on the Work with Diligence, but to retard it as much as might be, and send him Advice of every thing that happened.

There were various Motives induced *Moteczuma* to take this Resolution, which might, in some Respects, be thought not so agreeable to his Temper and Constitution, that was, as various Instances we have given plainly shew, rather timorous than enterprising. But after all, the great and true Spring of this sudden and surprizing Resolution, was his considering that if things went on in their present Channel, one or other of these Events must necessarily follow, viz. that either the *Spaniards* would absolutely acquire the Possession of his Dominions, by the Consent of his Subjects, or else the Inhabitants of the *Mexican* Empire, to preserve their ancient Government and Religion, would elect a new Emperor, under whose Conduct they might drive them out by Force; and in either Case he looked upon himself as undone. It was for this Reason that he determined to comply with all the Demands that *Cortes* had made, that he might have no Pretence for staying longer; and that he might likewise furnish his Priests with an Opportunity of telling the People, that their Emperor having now fulfilled the Will of the Gods in every Respect, had thereby regained their Favour, so that now they might depend upon the Assistance of Heaven, in expelling the Strangers.

On the other hand, the great Design of *Cortes* was to gain Time, in Hopes that he should receive the King's Commission, and a great Reinforcement from *Spain*, which might enable him to act with Vigour, and secure that extensive Empire to his Catholic Majesty; and of this he had the greater Hopes, because he had now brought his Men to have an absolute Confidence in him; and they no longer thought there was any thing impossible

fible to be done that *Cortes* thought practicable. But alas! all these fine Notions were but Dreams, and this great Commander found, to his Cost, that a Civil War amongst the *Spaniards* must first be gone through, before

all the Pains he had taken, and all the Arts he had practised, would open a Passage, for completing what he apprehended was at hand, the entire Conquest of the Empire of *Mexico*.

SECTION XII.

The History of CORTES's Expedition continued to the Death of MOTEZUMA, and the Spaniards being forced to abandon the City of Mexico.

1. The first Intelligence of a considerable Squadron and a new Army of *Spaniards*, landing in the Dominions of *Motezuma*, communicated by him to *Cortes*, and the Consequences of that surprizing Piece of Intelligence.
2. The Rise and Occasion of this second Expedition formed by *James Velasquez* for the Destruction of *Cortes*, and the gaining to himself the Province of New Spain.
3. The Pains taken by the Royal Audience at *Santo Domingo*, to prevent *Velasquez* from executing so rash a Design, and so prejudicial to the public Service.
4. The Fleet sails under the Command of *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, arrives at *Vera Cruz*, and the bold Stand made in that Fortrefs by *Sandoval* in favour of *Cortes*.
5. The Measures taken by that great Commander for securing *Mexico*, and for marching with the rest of his Forces against *Narvaez*.
6. He executes this Design, and endeavours to come to Terms of Accommodation with the other Army, which are absolutely rejected.
7. He attacks *Narvaez* in the Night, and after a short Dispute defeats his Forces entirely, and takes him Prisoner.
8. The Consequences of this Victory, and the wise Measures taken by *Cortes* to improve it, till he is informed of the Troubles at *Mexico*.
9. A short Account of the Occasion of this Sedition at *Mexico*, and of the Methods taken by *Peter Alverado* to quell it, and to reduce the Indians to their Duty.
10. The Arrival of *Cortes*, and the several Engagements that afterwards happened between his Troops and the People of *Mexico*, who notwithstanding his Arrival persisted in carrying on the War.
11. *Motezuma* endeavours to pacify his Subjects, and while he is speaking to them receives a Wound on the Temples by a Stone, of which he dies.
12. The Conduct of *Cortes* after this unfortunate Accident, and the Pains he took to reconcile himself to the Indians, though to no Purpose.
13. The Reasons which induced him to resolve upon quitting *Mexico*, and to make the best Retreat from thence he could.
14. The manner in which he executed this Retreat, and the many Difficulties and Dangers with which it was attended.
15. Observations and Remarks upon the principal Occurrences mentioned in this Section.

1. **T**HE Satisfaction that the Emperor received from the Hopes he entertained of being shortly rid of the *Spaniards*, and the Expectations of *Cortes*, that he should be for some time quiet, from the Measures he had taken, were entirely destroyed by a very unforeseen Accident, equally inconsistent with both their Intentions. In short, *Motezuma* had Intelligence brought him that eighteen Sail of Ships were seen off the Coast of *Ulua*; and his Officers, who commanded in that Part of the Country, had sent the Figures of all these Ships painted upon Cloths, which served instead of Letters, with a Description of the People they had seen in them; and some Characters, which signified what they suspected of their Intentions, being *Spaniards* in Appearance, and arriving at a time when he treated of dispatching those who were already at his Court. Whatever Impression these Representations had on the Mind of *Motezuma*, the Result was, that he immediately sent for *Cortes*, laid the Picture before him; and told him, "That now the Provision he was making for his Journey was unnecessary, since some Ships of his Nation were arrived upon the Coast, in which he might embark."

Cortes viewed the Painting with Attention rather than Surprise; and though he did not understand the Characters, which described them, he knew enough by the Habit of the People and the Mark of the Vessels, not to doubt their being *Spaniards*: The first Motion of his Heart inclined him to Joy, since he believed that his Commissaries were arrived, and flattered himself that they had brought him very considerable Supplies, in such a Number of Vessels. The Imagination is easily carried away to that which one desires; and he could not suppose, at that time, that so powerful an Armada was designed against him, for he formed his Judgment by his own sincere and noble Manner of acting, and the Well-intentioned are with Difficulty brought to believe that which is against Justice and Reason.

His Answer to *Motezuma* was, "That he would depart immediately if these Ships were bound back for any of the King of *Spain's* Dominions." And, without being surprized that the Emperor should have the

first News of these Particulars, because he was no Stranger to the indefatigable Diligence of his Couriers, he added, "That it would not be long before he should have an Account of this Accident from the *Spaniards* who were at *Zempoalla*, and that then he should know with Certainty whither those Ships were bound, and the Designs of their Owners, and whether it would be necessary to proceed in the building of those Vessels." *Motezuma* approved this Answer, being well pleased with his Readiness. But in a short time, a Letter came from *Vera Cruz*, in which *Gonsalo de Sandoval* sent *Cortes* Word, "That those Ships belonged to *James Velasquez*, and brought eight hundred *Spaniards* to oppose and deprive him of his Conquest." This unexpected Stroke he received in the Presence of *Motezuma*, and stood in Need of all his Courage and Resolution to conceal his Perturbation of Mind; for he found himself in Danger from the very Quarter from whence he expected Succour.

In order to understand however this Point of Fact clearly, and to judge perfectly of the Danger in which *Cortes* stood from his Countrymen, it will be requisite to cast our Eyes over to *Cuba*, and consider what passed there after the Departure of the Fleet under the Command of this great Man.

2. *James Velasquez* was at first equally angry and uneasy at the Step which *Cortes* had taken; but after he had received Advice from his Agent in *Spain*, that he had obtained for him the Title of the King's Lieutenant, not only in *Cuba*, but also in all the Countries which should be discovered by him, or by his Means, he became possessed with a kind of Fury, and conceiving this Disrespect to him, even before he became the King's Lieutenant, to be a kind of Treason, he resolved to punish it as such, and to exert the whole Strength of the Colony for that Purpose.

What contributed to heighten his Choler extremely, was the Substance of certain Letters he received from his Agent, in which he was told, that the Bishop of *Burgos*, President of the *Indies*, was his best Friend; but that the King was highly pleased with the Conduct of *Cortes*, and

and that all *Spain* rung of the great Things he had performed, and the mighty Discoveries he had made. The Applause given to *Cortes* made him impatient and outrageous, and notwithstanding he was not sorry to see the Conquest so far advanced, yet he could not bear that another should receive the Thanks which, in his Opinion, were due to him alone, so vain was he, in the little Share he had in the first Disposition of that Enterprize, that without any other Foundation he took to himself the Name of Conqueror. Upon those Motives he immediately prepared to form a Fleet and Army for the Destruction of *Cortes*, and all who had followed his Fortune. He bought Ships, listed Soldiers, and went in Person over the whole Island, visiting the *Spaniards*, and encouraging them to the Undertaking.

He shared with them before-hand the immense Riches of that Conquest, which he said was usurped by ill advised Rebels, who had basely made their Escapes from *Cuba* by flight. With those Hopes, and some Expence, he got together a Body of Men, which in those Parts of the World might be termed a formidable Army. It consisted of eight hundred *Spanish* Foot, eighty Horse, and ten or twelve Pieces of Artillery, with abundance of Provisions, Arms and Ammunition. He appointed for chief Commander of that Expedition *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a Man of Capacity, and of the first Distinction in that Island, but highly opinionated, and obstinately positive in his Resolutions.

He gave him the Title of his Lieutenant, naming himself Governor of *New Spain*. He gave him likewise secret Instructions, in which he ordered him, "That he should endeavour to the utmost of his Power to take *Cortes*, and send him Prisoner under a strong Guard, that he might receive from his Hands the Punishment he had deserved; that he should do the same by the chief Officers who followed him, in case they refused to abandon his Interest, and that he should take Possession in his Name of all that had been conquered, and adjudge it to be all within his District, as the King's Lieutenant." He never so much as considered that it was possible his Design might not succeed, or that the new Officer he sent might not have it in his Power to treat the old one in the Manner he directed.

3. But while he was thus employed in taking Measures to gratify his private Resentment, under Colour of promoting the public Service, some wiser People in the *Indies* were much better employed; for the *Royal Audience* at *St. Domingo*, as soon as they were informed of these Preparations, foreseeing the Inconveniencies that might result from so public a Competition, sent the *Licenciate Velasquez de Ayllon*, Auditor of the same Audience, to endeavour to bring *Velasquez* to reason; and if he found gentle Means insufficient, to acquaint him with the Orders he carried; commanding him upon great Penalties to disarm his People and unrig his Fleet, and not disturb or give any Impediment to the Conquest, in which *Hernan Cortes* was employed, under the Colour of its belonging to him; and in case he had any Complaint against *Cortes*, or any Claim of Right to the Country he was then gaining, to appear before the *Royal Tribunal*, where he should be sure of Justice in a regular way.

The *Licenciate*, according to his Instructions, did all he could to reduce *Velasquez* to reason, making use of what Arguments he thought most proper to persuade him to desist from his Enterprize; and seeing him incapable of Advice, he shewed his Orders, and caused them to be notified by an *Escrivano* he had brought with him for that Purpose, accompanying them with Requests and Protestations. But nothing was sufficient to stop his Resolution, for the Title of the King's Lieutenant had so raised him, in his own Conceit, that it seemed he would acknowledge no Superior in his Government, and obstinately persisted in his untractable Humour.

The *Licenciate* seeing that he endeavoured to hasten the Embarkation of his People, feigned a Desire of beholding this Land, so much applauded and cried up, and under the Pretext of Curiosity offered to accompany them, to which Proposal *Velasquez* agreed, that the News of his Insolence might come later to the Isle of *Santo Do-*

mingo. Whereupon he embarked with general Approbation. *Andres de Duero*, that Secretary of *Velasquez*, who favoured *Cortes* so much, in the beginning of his Fortune, likewise, made one in this Expedition; some say, he offered himself for this Voyage, purely to share some of the Wealth *Cortes* had acquired, by putting him in Mind of the Services he had formerly done him; and others say, it was to pacify *Narvaez*, and prevent as much as he could the Ruin of his Friend.

4. The Fleet set sail, and, having a favourable Wind, in a few Days got Sight of the desired Land. They came to an Anchor in the Port of *Ulua*, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, sent some Soldiers ashore to get Intelligence, and make what Discoveries they could in the neighbouring Villages. These were not long before they surprized two or three *Spaniards* who were straggling about that Place. They brought them before the Commander, and the Men either fearful, or inclinable to Novelty, informed him of all that had passed in *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*, endeavouring to flatter him, by discrediting of *Cortes*; Upon this Intelligence the first thing he resolved on, was, to treat with *Gonsalo de Sandoval* about the Surrender of the Fortrefs under his Command, and to engage him either to maintain it for him or to disarm it, and with his Garrison to join the Army.

He intrusted this Negotiation with a Clergyman, named *Juan de Guevara*, a Man of a less gentle Temper than his Profession required. There went with him three Soldiers, who served as Witnesses, and a public Notary. *Gonsalo de Sandoval* had his Sentinels in proper Places, to observe the Motions of the Fleet; and they gave Advice from one to another, by which Means he had an account of their Approach a good while before they arrived, and being assured that there was no greater Number to follow, he ordered the Gates to be opened, and retired, to wait their coming.

The Priest after the first Civilities were over, gave him an Account of the Forces with *Narvaez*, who were come to take Satisfaction for the Injury which *Cortes* had done *Velasquez*, by withdrawing from his Obedience, the Conquest of that whole Country being intirely his Property, as having been begun by his Order, and at his Expence. *Sandoval* answered him with some Warmth, which he could not well conceal, "That *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was his Friend, and so loyal a Subject, that he would certainly desire nothing but what should be convenient for his Majesty's Service. That the present Juncture of Affairs required that he should join his Forces with those of *Cortes*, and assist him to perfect that which was in such Forwardness, for that the Quarrels of private Persons were not, at the King's Expence, to be decided by a Civil War: But that if *Narvaez*, preferring private Revenge to public Interest, designed any Violence against *Cortes*, he might be assured not only himself, but all the Garrison, would rather chuse to die, than to agree to so dishonourable an Action."

The Priest received this Repulse as an unexpected Stroke, and broke out into injurious Language and Threats against *Cortes*, calling him Traitor, and went so far as to say, that *Sandoval*, and all who espoused that Traitor's Interest, deserved no better Title. They all endeavoured to bring him to reason, putting him in mind of his Profession, that he might be sensible of the Consideration upon which they bore with him: But he, raising his Voice without changing his Stile, commanded the Notary he had brought with him to publish the Orders he had, "That all might know that they were to pay Obedience to *Narvaez* on Pain of Death." But this was what could not be put in Execution, for *Gonsalo de Sandoval* told him roundly, "That he would order him immediately to be hanged, if he presumed to publish any Orders which did not come from the King."

At last Things rose to such a Height, that, to prevent a Mutiny, *Sandoval* found it requisite to make these People Prisoners; and upon mature Consideration, he likewise thought proper to send them Prisoners to *Mexico*, being carried by *Indians* in Chairs, or a kind of Litters, that

that are used in that Country, under a small Guard, commanded by *Pedro de Solis*, of whom he had a very good Opinion, and who behaved in this Affair admirably well.

5. In the mean time *Cortes* was extremely at a loss how to behave in this Conjunction. He had many things to do, and many Points to carry; stood exposed to a Multitude of Crosses, and had little or nothing in his Favour; yet his Behaviour was perfectly sober and discreet. He told *Moteczuma*, that his King had sent a considerable Army to prosecute his Rights to his Country; but, as he had already received his Homage, he would go to his Countrymen, persuade them to return, and go back with them himself. He gave his Soldiers to understand, that, notwithstanding *Narvaez* was sent, with the whole Force of the Island of *Cuba*, for his Destruction; yet he did not doubt he should be able to bring him, or at least his Soldiers, to join with them; and, in that Case, he made no sort of Question of their being strong enough to make a total Conquest of the Empire of *Mexico*. To his Officers he was very sincere, and found in them the most perfect Obedience.

In the mean time, *Solis* arrived with the Prisoners, sent by *Sandoval*; but *Cortes*, who had been before informed of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary Attendance. He immediately ordered their Fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great Humanity, and *Guevara* more than once, with particular Civility, telling him, "That he would chastise *Sandoval* for the little Regard he had shewn to his Person and Dignity." He afterwards conducted him to his own Apartment, gave him his Table, and, with a seeming Satisfaction, intimated, "How much he esteemed the Happiness of having *Narvaez* in that Country, on account of the past Friendship and Intimacy that had been between them." He took care that the chief Spaniards should all appear chearful before him. He made them Witnesses of the Favours he received from *Moteczuma*, and the great Respect with which he was treated by the Mexican Princes. He presented them with some Jewels of Value, which greatly mollified their Tempers.

He did the same by their Companions; yet without letting them know he stood in need of their good Offices to induce *Narvaez* to Peace. He dispatched them in four Days, fully persuaded by his Reasons, and engaged by his Liberality. After he had taken these Measures, he resolved to send some Person of Account to make such Proposals to *Narvaez* as were reasonable. He chose Friar *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, a Person of known Wisdom and Eloquence. He hastened his Dispatches, and gave him Letters for *Narvaez*, for the Licenciate, and for the Secretary *Duero*, with several Jewels to distribute as he should think proper.

It is easy to apprehend, from the Account that has been already given, that, in the whole Progress of this Expedition, this great Commander had never met with so much Trouble and Perplexity, or apprehended himself in so great Danger as in this Conjunction, when, with all the Forces of the Mexican Empire, he had likewise a superior Army of Spaniards to deal with, and those no less inclined to destroy him than his foreign Enemy. *Moteczuma* saw his Trouble, notwithstanding he took all the Pains he could to hide it; and, in a Conversation he had with him upon the Subject, told him plainly, That he perceived either he, or the new Spanish Commander, must be a Rebel; which mortified *Cortes* extremely. But he remained firm, notwithstanding, in his first Resolution, which was to march in Person against *Narvaez*, and to leave a sufficient Body of Spaniards behind him in *Mexico* to secure the Person of *Moteczuma*, and preserve the City under their Obedience. The Number of Men that were to be employed for this Purpose was no more than fourscore; but they were picked and chosen Men, to whom he assigned for their Commander, Capt. *Peter Alverado*, a Man of Fidelity and Resolution, extremely beloved by the Spaniards, and very highly esteemed by *Moteczuma*. He sent Orders likewise to *Sandoval* to quit the Fortrefs of *Vera Cruz*, and to leave it to the confederate Indians, that he might be able to march against *Narvaez* with the greatest Force he could draw together.

He gave Directions also for raising considerable Bodies of well-affected Indians; but he absolutely refused to accept of the Succours which *Moteczuma* offered him, that he might not put either himself, or the Spaniards under the Command of his Rival, into the Power of those who were naturally Enemies to both. These were vast, and indeed almost incredible, things to be performed in so short a space of time; and yet such was his Diligence, such was his Dexterity, that they were performed, and every thing was ready for his Departure against the Day he had appointed. But what was still stranger, and more extraordinary, he not only found his Soldiers perfectly well inclined to his Service, but all his Indian Confederates as chearful and hearty in his Interest as he could either wish or desire; so that, difficult as his Enterprize was, he entered upon it with a fair Prospect of Success.

6. *Cortes*, being resolved to lose no time in marching against *Narvaez*, thought fit to acquaint *Moteczuma*, and received a suitable Answer from that Monarch, who, at his Departure, bore him Company as far as the Causeway of *Papalapan*, where he took his Leave very kindly. Many Mexicans went with him; some returned because he desired them so to do; and others because they grew weary. Those that followed went to bring the King word of every thing that happened, as they hourly did. He was very well received at *Chulula*, where the Men were refreshed; and, half a League from thence, he met a great Number of *Tlascalans* coming to compliment him. The *Chinantlans* had Pikes, and *Cortes* ordered all the Men to wear Escapiles, or Armour made of Cotton. *Sandoval* likewise came to the Place assigned him, where, upon a Muster, there were found two hundred and sixty-six Men, including the Commanders, five Horsemen, and the Friar.

Cortes's Friends that were with *Narvaez*, being informed that he drew near, advised to send *Andrew Duero*, who had an Influence over *Cortes*, to propose an Accommodation. *Duero* went, and discoursed *Cortes* in private, and the Result was, that they treated one another like Friends. When *Duero* was gone, *Cortes* ordered *John Velasquez*, who was a Relation to *Narvaez*, to go to his Camp, and take with him his Gold Chains, and all he had, besides much he gave him. *Velasquez* excused himself; but *Cortes* would have him go, offered him his own grey Mare, and, having discoursed him in private, and given him some Jewels, he departed. *Velasquez*, arriving at *Zempoalla*, alighted at the Cazique's House, and from thence went to *Narvaez's* Quarters, who, being informed that he was come, was going out to seek him, and, having received him very lovingly, said, He should be his Guest. He answered, He must return immediately; for that he only came to kiss his Hands, and to try whether any Accommodation could be made. *Narvaez* flew into a great Passion, and said, He wondered he should chuse to reconcile him to a Traitor, who had revolted from his Cousin *James Velasquez*. *John Velasquez* was much offended at it, and said, That such Words were not to be spoken in his Presence of *Cortes*, who was a very worthy Gentleman. Capt. *Salvatierra*, and other Officers, thinking that *Velasquez* took too much Liberty, advised *Narvaez* to secure him; but *Augustin Bermudez*, who was Chief Alguazil, *Andrew de Duero*, and *John de Leon*, opposed it, and persuaded *Narvaez* to make much of him, who did so, and desired him to persuade *Cortes* to surrender himself, and put an end to all Controversies. *Narvaez* would have *Velasquez* see his Army, which passed in review before him, and so they went to dinner. Immediately after *Velasquez* took his leave, thinking he had done what he came for, which was to see the Forces, speak to some particular Persons, and render *Narvaez* secure. The Friends of that Commander were become absolutely tired of the Company of *Velasquez*, and were therefore glad to be rid of him, so that they prevailed upon his Friend not to importune him to stay; and indeed *Narvaez* himself was, by this time, of their Opinion.

After his Departure they held a Council of War; in which the Friends of *Narvaez* represented to him the Danger he was in from the Money that *Cortes* had taken care to distribute among his Soldiers; and, while they were discoursing on this Subject, the Cazique of *Zem-*

poalla came, and asked him what he was about; adding, That, when he least expected it, *Cortes* would be there and kill him; for that he had so many Spies that he knew every thing that was done. Tho' they made a Jest of him, the War against *Cortes* was proclaimed to be carried on with Fire and Sword, and all Plunder to belong to the Taker. *Narvaez* marched out, with his Forces and Artillery, about a Quarter of a League from *Zempoalla*, intending to wait for *Cortes* there; but, it happening to rain all that Day, and those Men not being inured to Hardships, they murmured, saying, It was proper to return to their Quarters. Those who were acquainted with *Cortes*'s Valour thought otherwise; and insisted that it was ill Advice to go back. *Andrew Due-ro* gave *Cortes* Notice of all those Particulars, by a Soldier who deserted.

Narvaez retiring, upon the Confidence that *Cortes* durst not attack him, ordered Soldiers to be posted on the River he was to pass, forty Horsemen to stay all Night on the Road to *Zempoalla*, Twenty more to be in the Courts of his Quarters, and the Artillery, consisting of eighteen small Guns, to be planted before the Doors: And thus he thought himself secure. He then proclaimed he would give two thousand Pieces of Eight to any Man that should kill *Cortes*. *Sandoval* had ordered a considerable Number of Musketeers, Cross-bowmen, and other Soldiers, with Partisans, to lye in his Apartment; and the Captains *Salvatierra*, *Gommerera*, and others of his Confidants with them.

Cortes, coming to the River of Canoes, found much Difficulty in passing it, because there was a great Flood, and two Soldiers were drowned seeking for the Ford. As soon as they got over they heard firing of Muskets in *Narvaez*'s Army, which much frightened the Indians; who sent *Motezuma* an Account of all, magnifying his Power, and looking upon *Cortes* as a lost Man, which was no small Satisfaction to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes*, in that Place, drew his Men together; and, in a long Speech, acquainted them with all the ill Practices of *Narvaez*, extolled their Valour, and told them, they were then to fight for their Lives, for their Honour, and for their Estates; the Design of their Enemies being to make them Prisoners, and seize all they had. *John Velasquez*, *James de Ordaz*, and other Commanders, answered, He might be assured they would either conquer or die, and should take heed not to be ensnared by any fallacious Terms. *Cortes* was over-joyed to find his Men in this Disposition, and desired them to keep their Order exactly, for many great Misfortunes happened for want of it; and it was very remarkable that he never gave them the least Intimation of the Intelligence he held in the Enemy's Army, that his Soldiers might believe that his whole Dependence was upon their Valour. He further said, He designed to attack the Enemy at Midnight, or before break of Day, which was the best Method for a few to deal with a great Number. *Alonso Davila* answered, That they did not desire to live without him, so that he might go when he pleased, and do as he thought fit, for they would be satisfied to die with him at all Times.

As soon as *Narvaez* heard where *Cortes* was, he sent *Gonsalo Carrasco*, a bold Man, and his Servant *Hurtado*, to approach as near *Cortes*'s Forces as he could, and bring him Advice of his Motions. *Cortes*'s Forerunners met with *Carrasco*, and took him; who spoke aloud that *Hurtado* might make his Escape; and so he did. *Hurtado* came among *Narvaez*'s Forces, ran thro' their Quarters crying, Arm, arm! telling them, That *Cortes* was at hand, and *Carrasco* taken; but could give no Account of the Men or their Number. Some said *Cortes* could not come in such a dark, rainy Night, and *Narvaez* bid *Hurtado* go to sleep, for he had certainly fancied it. *Cortes*, to justify his Proceedings, gave *Sandoval*, who was his chief Alguazil, a Warrant to secure *Narvaez* for raising Commotions in the Country; and, in case he resisted, to kill him, requiring all his Officers and Soldiers to be assisting. Then he divided his Men into three Parties; the First under *Sandoval*, which was of sixty Men; the Second under *Christopher Olid*, a good Soldier, and a Man of extraordinary Strength. *Cortes* himself took the Third. They had, among them all,

seventy Pikes made of Oak, with the Spears before-mentioned, being thirty-eight Spans in Length. The Word was *The Holy Ghost*. He appointed *Sandoval*'s Pikes to attack *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and the rest the Cazique's House, where he was kept under a Guard that he might not run away; and fifty Men to fall upon the Alcalde *John Jusse*; and *Olid* was to attack *Narvaez*'s Artillery, and he to support them.

The three Bodies advanced within a Stone's-throw of one another. *Cortes* halting, intreated *Carrasco* to tell him the Disposition of *Narvaez*'s Forces, threatening to hang him if he lyed; and he, refusing, was so near being hanged, that his Throat was sore for some Days: And one of the Horsemen saved him. Being come to a Place where the Road divided itself into two, they prayed, put on their Escapiles, or Cotton Armour, and marched towards the Town in good Order, observing strict Silence. *John Velasquez*, then seeing a Light on high, told *Cortes* that was *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and he answered, I am glad that the Light guides us. He commanded *Sandoval* to move directly to *Narvaez*, which was a good Choice, for he was a daring Commander, and the other Parties to guard his Flanks. *Sandoval* charged *Canillas* not to beat his Drum till he ordered him, and kept him before him. When they were close by *Narvaez*'s Quarters, *Cortes*, who was giving Directions, said to *Sandoval*'s Party, Gentlemen, stick close to the Houses on both Sides of the Streets, that the Cannon-balls may pass along without doing any execution. All this could not be done so silently but that there was Notice given of it. *Narvaez*, who was putting on a Breast-plate, said to him that brought the Advice, Be not uneasy, and ordered to beat the Alarm; but none came in from the other Towers, where the rest of his Men were quartered, for they could not come, being hindered by *Cortes*'s Men. When *Sandoval* came to *Narvaez*'s Quarters, the first Sentinels, who stood at the Foot of the Stairs of the Court, cried out. *Sandoval*, seeing he was discovered, ordered *Canillas* to beat his Drum. *Cortes* cried, Fall on, fall on! *Holy Ghost, Holy Ghost!* Advance.

Sandoval going up the first Stairs, with his Men following, found in the first Court a Room full of Blacks; one of them came out with a Light in his Hand, and was killed with the Pikes. They passed on towards *Narvaez*'s Apartment, and going up four Steps saw the Artillery planted. One Gun was fired, which killed two of *Cortes*'s Men; but the rest pressed on so fast that the other Pieces could not be fired. *Cortes* caused the Artillery to be thrown down the Steps, and went up five more to get into the Room where *Narvaez* was with about forty Soldiers. *Sandoval*, who was already come up with *Narvaez*, required him to yield, but he made a Jest of it, and stood upon his defence till *Martin Lopez*, one of *Cortes*'s Men, set fire to the Thatch that was on the Tower, and the Smoke drove *Narvaez* and his Men out of the Place, and then he was run into the Eye with a Pike. *James de Rojas*, Ensign to *Narvaez*, fought bravely in Defence of his Colours, till two Pikes were thrust into him, when falling he cried out, Lady help me! and *Cortes* answered, She shall save you, not permitting him to be killed.

When *Narvaez* was wounded, *Peter Sanchez* came up and closed with him, and then *Sandoval* said, Yield yourself Prisoner, so they dragged him down the Steps till Fetters were put upon him, and carried him to *Cortes*; to whom he said: My Lord *Cortes*, value your good Fortune in making me Prisoner this Day. He answered, That the least Action he had performed in that Country was the taking of him; and therefore ordered he should be well secured. He was not dressed that Night, by reason of the Confusion all Men were in, but the next Day was sent to *Villa Rica*. *Narvaez* being taken, and his Men making no further Opposition, *Cortes* ordered himself to be proclaimed Captain-General, and Chief Justice of both Armies, in the King's Name; commanding all Men to come in and take an Oath to him as such, upon pain of Death.

They all did so, some voluntarily, others because they did not know how to avoid it, except three hundred Soldiers, who fortified themselves in their Quarters; to whom

Carrasco

Carrasco now released said, It was a fit time to fall upon *Cortes's* Men, because those who had taken an Oath to him were disarmed, and his own Soldiers dispersed, plundering. Tho' the Advice was not disliked, those Men having no Head, and many aspiring to be so, they staid till it was Day; when *Christopher de Olid* came to offer them a good Reception, from *Cortes*. Most of them cried, *God bless the King and James Velasquez*. When the Shout was over, *Olid* told them, they would be compelled by Force to what they refused to do voluntarily. Whilst he went to acquaint *Cortes*, *Carrasco* advised them to fall upon *Cortes's* Baggage, and they should be all rich; and might then embark, and carry *James Velasquez's* Treasure enough to fit out another Fleet. Though they liked the Proposal they could not agree, so that *Carrasco* went alone, and finding no Guard but *Marina* and *John de Oreaga*, Page to *Cortes*, he took a Horse and a Spear, returned to those Men who were still together, and shewed them what an Opportunity they had lost. *Cortes* then ordered his Artillery to advance against those that would not submit, and commanded the Gunner to fire one Piece in the Air: He did so. *Olid* spoke to them again, and they again answered, *God bless the King and James Velasquez*. One Gun being then fired upon them killed two Men, and the next one. Whereupon some of them went over to *Cortes*, and the rest held out till wanting Ammunition they surrendered.

All had taken the Oath to *Cortes* except *Carrasco*, and he appearing on the Horse he had stolen, *Cortes* said to him: Friend, that Horse is mine; alight. He said he would not unless his own was restored. *Cortes* replied, he should quit him immediately, and Orders should be given for returning his. As to the Oath, he refused it; for which he had a Clog fastened to one of his Feet, which continued three Days, and then he took the Oath. He was not hanged, to avoid exasperating those People.

8. When all had been sworn, he mustered his own Men, to see how many were missing; and *Narvaez's* Party seeing they were only two hundred and sixty without the great Army of the *Tlascalans*, that had been reported, and that they had but those few Pikes without Armour or Horses, and some Coats of Mail, Spears, and Cross-bows, and their Swords in bad Condition, they were much ashamed, that they, with their little Pannels, as they called the Cotton Armour, should have defeated so many Men of Note, and, blushing, cursed *Narvaez* for his ill Conduct; which much troubled *Cortes*, till by Degrees he gained their Affections: Two only of his Men were killed and one wounded; and eleven of *Narvaez's* Party slain.

Then came the Cazique of *Zempoalla* with his *Indians*, bringing Garlands of Roses, and setting them on the Heads of *Cortes* and the other Commanders, congratulated their Victory, and desired them to go to his House; and in return *Cortes* gave him some *Spanish* Baubles; and having ordered all that had happened to be painted, *Narvaez* taken and put into Irons, his Men submitting, and *Cortes* victorious, the Cazique sent it to *Moteczuma* by the Advice of *Cortes*, who also sent a *Spaniard* to inform *Alverado*. When first *Cortes* came to *Zempoalla*, the Lord presented him with a beautiful Woman of Quality, who took the Name of *Catherina*, and now he took up his Quarters in the Woman's House, because it was strong. She treated him very kindly; but he was uneasy in his Mind, seeing those conquered People indisposed. Whilst he was thinking how to get over this Difficulty, Capt. *Barrantes* came to him with the *Chinantlans* well armed after their Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to him, that *Narvaez's* Men might see how he was obeyed in *New Spain*.

He resolved to send those *Indians* back, and to divide the *Spaniards*; and accordingly ordered *James Ordaz* to march with Three hundred Men to subdue the Province *Guacacoalco*, and *John Velasquez* with another Detachment to the River of *Garray*; thus to employ them, and secure himself, which at the same time was acceptable to them. *Cortes* next commanded *Peter de Malvenda*, Steward to *Velasquez*, to pick up what belonged to his Master and *Narvaez*, and secure it. A Black belonging to *Narvaez*, having the Small-Pox, infected the whole Town

of *Zempoalla*, and the *Indians* frequently washing themselves, Numbers of them died, and lying unburied occasioned a pestilential Distemper which spread through all *New Spain*, and there ensued a very great Mortality. Others affirm, that this Distemper was not brought over by the Black, but that they had it at certain Times in the *West-Indies*, and this seems the more likely, because it affected none of the *Spaniards*.

Whilst *Cortes* was endeavouring to settle his Affairs at *Vera Cruz*, wherein he met with some Difficulty, and *James Ordaz* was gone upon the aforesaid Commissions, the *Spaniard* he had sent to *Mexico* with the News of his Victory returned, and said the *Mexicans* were in Arms, and shewed some Wounds they had given him; saying he had escaped miraculously. He pressed *Cortes* to march to the Relief of *Alverado*, telling him, that the *Indians* had burnt the four Brigantines he had built at *Mexico*, thrown down a Wall at the *Spanish* Quarters, which had been repaired with much Difficulty, undermined another, set Fire to the Ammunition, taken up the Draw-bridges, cut off the Provisions, killed *Pena*, *Moteczuma's* Favourite; that the *Spaniards* had defended themselves bravely, killing many *Indians*; and that, if *Moteczuma* had not sometimes commanded his People to give over the Attacks for fear *Alverado* might kill him, the *Spaniards* had been destroyed. Hereupon he settled the Government at *Villa Rica*, leaving *Narvaez* and his Men Prisoners there; commanded those he had sent abroad to halt till further Orders; made a Speech to the Men, saying, That those who were willing to follow him should have Arms given them; and the Occasion being urgent, all unanimously offered their Service.

9. It now plainly appeared that *Cortes* was become entirely Master of all the *Spaniards* under his Command, the new obeying as well as the old Soldiers, and shewing as much Zeal for his Service. He had already given the necessary Orders for securing the Fleet, and for putting a good Garrison into *Vera Cruz*; so that it was more in his Power to execute the Design he had formed, and which indeed the Circumstances of Affairs required, marching directly to *Mexico*, and forcing a Passage through the Rebels, to the Relief of his Countrymen. He directed his Rout accordingly from *Zempoalla* towards *Tlascala*, having with him One thousand Foot, and One hundred Horse; but they were soon obliged to take different Roads for the sake of Subsistence, which, notwithstanding all the Care and Circumspection *Cortes* could use, they found it sometimes difficult to procure; insomuch that in the Course of this Journey, they found themselves more than once exposed even to the highest Extremities of Hunger and Thirst, and, which is very strange, the new Troops that had shewn themselves so uneasy, and so impatient, under much lighter and less grievous Hardships, behaved upon this Occasion with all the Firmness and Constancy that could be desired, either from the great Hopes they had formed to themselves of being made rich and happy by this Expedition, or because they were desirous of shewing their new General, that whatever Opinion he might have formed of them from what was passed, he should find them, in every Respect, as brave, as hardy, and as capable of enduring Fatigue as those he had trained up himself.

In this March, but especially at *Tlascala*, *Cortes* found Means to gain a very clear and distinct Account of the Causes of that Sedition which had happened in his Absence, and of which it is necessary likewise that we should say somewhat, that the subsequent Part of this Section may be the more perfectly understood. A very short time after the Departure of *Cortes* from *Mexico*, *Peter Alverado* began to perceive visible Marks, not only of Coldness and Dislike, but of Hatred and Disaffection in the People of *Mexico*; neither were his Conjectures unsupported by Proof, since he was quickly informed, that, at the Persuasion of their Priests, the *Mexicans* were providing Arms, and whatever else was requisite, in order to attack the *Spanish* Troops. He was certainly very much to be commended for being constantly on his Guard, and neglecting nothing that might contribute to the defeating of their Design. In this, however, he was much to blame

blame, that he did not either communicate his Suspicions, or his Discoveries to *Moteczuma*, or so much as confer with him on the present Posture of his Affairs, since that Monarch testified great Affection to the *Spaniards*; and, if applied to in time, might have prevented things from coming to Extremities.

But *Alverado*, it seems, depended upon his own Forefight, and the Courage of his Soldiers; and understanding that the *Indians* were actually preparing, under Colour of a solemn Dance, which was one of the principal Rites of their Religion, to surprize and cut off the *Spaniards*, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and to put it out of their Power, by shutting them up in the great Temple where this Dance was to be performed by their principal Nobility, in which he succeeded; but when he had them in his Power, and saw that they were richly adorned with Gold and Jewels, he either commanded, or at least permitted, his Soldiers to fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces, and strip the dead Bodies of their valuable Ornaments, which afforded the *Indians* that escaped, a fair Pretence of carrying on an open and avowed War, which from that time they did, and almost every Day attacked the *Spaniards* in their Quarters; which, though they were not able to force, and notwithstanding they killed but three or four, and lost several hundreds, nay, some thousands of their own People, yet they continued the War with the greatest Obstinacy, supposing, that in Time the *Spaniards* would expend their Ammunition, and, that sooner or later they should destroy them all. The *Spaniards* themselves apprehended this, and therefore pressed *Cortes* to hasten his March, in order to relieve them.

10. He was very sensible of their Distress, and of the Necessity of extricating them from it; and therefore, with as little Delay as possible, he quitted *Tlascala*, taking with him some of the bravest Troops of that Republic, with whom he continued his March towards *Mexico*; which City, without meeting many Difficulties on the Road, he entered upon the Feast of St. John, 1520. He met with no Opposition, for the *Indians* had quitted a great Part of the City, and had broke down several Bridges. However he advanced with great Caution, and at length arrived at the *Spanish* Quarters, where he was received with the utmost Joy by *Alverado*.

The *Spanish* Writers differ as to his Behaviour towards *Moteczuma*; some say that he used him kindly, but others expressly affirm, that he did not so much as pay him a Visit, and that he afterwards repented of this, as of one of the greatest Mistakes he ever made. He added, however, another of a different Nature; for, in Hopes of pacifying the *Indians*, he released *Moteczuma's* Brother, who proved his most dangerous Enemy, and therefore the *Indians* chose him for their Captain. He aimed, at first, at an Accommodation, but he soon found that impracticable, and that *Moteczuma* had entirely lost his Authority, which proved of very ill Consequence to the *Spaniards*, *Cortes* sent *Antony del Rio* to *Zempoalla*, to give an Account of the Posture of Affairs, and hasten the March of those that stayed behind; and as he was passing a Horseback, through *Tlatlelulco*, which is the Market-Place, the People howled, and began to pursue him; being thus followed, and seeing a Stop before, he thought it best to turn back, and breaking through the Crowd with his Horse, Sword in Hand, returned to the Quarters. *Cortes* then sent five Horse-men to see how Matters stood, who found some Timber taken of the Bridges, under which the Cuts of Water ran, and turning another Way, found the like in other Streets, many People on the Tops of the Houses pointing to them to pass the Bridges.

The next Day *Hojeda* and *Marquez* went to seek Provisions, and finding a Bridge broken, and the Waters in the Trench deep, they made a shift to get over, by throwing in Rubbish, pieces of Matts, and other Things; then passing along a little Street, *Marquez* heard a great Cry, and returning to his Companion, they agreed to fly, and had it not been for a *Tlascalan* they had with them, who was their Guide, there were so many Windings of Streets, that they had been in great Danger: They met

with an *Indian* Priest crying out, and behaving himself like a Mad-man; they pursued him, and he ran into an House that was full of tame Cranes, which, when they saw him, began to set up their Cry, in such a Manner, that *Hojeda* came out in a Consternation; the Citizens flocked together on all Hands, great Cries were heard, and the Tops of the Houses were full of Men. Six *Spaniards* that were at the Top of the Temple looking out, gave Notice of the Disturbance, and *Hojeda* and *Marquez*, coming in, two hundred Men sallied out of the Quarters, whilst the rest were arming. They fought with a great Number of *Indians*, who pressed on furiously, without any Dread of the Swords; the Action lasted till Night, an infinite Number of *Mexicans* being slain, and not one *Spaniard*; thus was *Cortes* convinced that the War was unavoidable, and therefore he endeavoured to send privately for *Salcedo*, who had been left behind with the Wardrobe. He ordered Men out to throw down some Trenches the *Indians* had cast up, that the Horses might pass.

As soon as it was Day, the Shouting, Whistling, and Fighting, began again, and continued the whole Day, with the Destruction of many *Mexicans*; and some *Spaniards* were hurt, because the *Indians* threw Stones from the Tops of Houses; but the Fire-arms and Cross-bows drove them. The next Day the *Indians* assaulted *Cortes* the third Time, in a most desperate Manner, killing *Carezo* an Horse-man; and *Cortes* finding that the greatest Mischief came from Tops of Houses, he left the Horse-men, and with one hundred and forty Musketeers and Cross-bow Men, entered the Street of *Tabuca*, gained it entirely, and came to *Tabuca*, where they might have fortified and secured themselves with all their Wealth; but, despising the *Indians*, they returned to their Quarters, and were set upon, in the Streets, by vast Numbers of *Indians*, where the Horses having no room, were of little Use.

They took one *Spaniard* alive, and sacrificed him in Sight of all the rest; they also took two Pieces of Cannon, and threw them into the Trenches, so that the *Spaniards*, with much Difficulty, returned to their Quarters; and the *Indians* again cleared those Places which the *Spaniards* had filled up for their Horses to pass; the next Day they engaged the fourth Time; the *Indians* being so numerous, that it was wonderful to behold; who attacked the Court of the great Temple, where, though it was large, no Use could be made of the Horses, because it was paved with broad Stones; many great Men were on the Top of the Temple, commanding where the Attack should be made. *Cortes* sent *Escobar*, his Chamberlain, against them, with one hundred Men; and by that time they were got up four Steps, there came down upon them, such a Shower of Stones, pieces of Timber, Sticks, and Fire-brands, that they were forced to retire: Three times they were repulsed in this Manner. *Cortes*, being informed of it, tied a Target to his Arm, because he was wounded in the Hand, went to that Place, said it was a Shame there should be any longer Delay in that Affair, advanced foremost, and was followed by many.

They got up the Steps, and though many *Spaniards* were knocked down, fell upon the three hundred Gentlemen that were there, and left not six of them alive, some being killed with the Sword, and others throwing themselves headlong from the Parapet of the Temple; two laid hold of *Cortes* to cast themselves down with him, but he being a strong Man, got loose. The same happened to *Hojeda*, and he would have perished in that Manner, had not one near him relieved him. They went up to the Top of the Temple, where they found no Man, but much *Cacao* and Meat; and the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoallan* *Indians* had a good Day of it, for they fed upon the *Mexicans* that were killed. The *Mexicans* came on again the next Day in a greater Rage, and had new Ways of fighting, being assisted by the neighbouring Towns. They threw their Javelins close by the Ground, to wound the Feet and Legs, and in this Manner above two hundred *Spaniards* were hurt, till they provided Armour.

The Arrows flew so thick, that those who were appointed to

to gather them up every Day, burnt forty Cart-Loads of them. Provision was become so scarce, that the *Indian* Allies had but a little Cake, every Day, each Man, for their Allowance, and every *Spaniard* fifty Grains of *Indian* Wheat; nor was there less Want of Water, so that they endured much Drought. They dug in their Quarters, and, though the Earth was full of Salt-petre, they found fresh Water, which was wonderful; a *Tlascalan* looking over some of their Works, to see what was doing, the *Mexicans* cried to him, "You Dog, you and those Christian Dogs shall now perish with Hunger and Thirst." He answered, "You infamous false Scoundrels, who know not how to fight, but in Crowds, take that Cake which I had to spare this Day, out of my Allowance, for you shall all be destroyed by degrees."

The next Morning the Battle revived, and the *Indians* set Fire to the House; it was put out by throwing down a Wall, and that Breach made good with Cannon, and a Work raised; and because some Mischief was done from a Tower of *Moteczuma's* House, *Cortes* resolved to make himself Master of it. He attacked it with two hundred Men, and it was wonderful that long Pieces of Timber being rowled down the Stairs at Length, which might have overthrown ten or twelve Men, they all turned end Ways, and did no harm. He gained the Tower; killed those that defended it; advanced into the City; burnt above one thousand Houses; gained seven Bridges; killed a prodigious Number; and here a Horseman came to tell him, that the great Men of *Mexico* would treat with him of Peace: He was glad of it, sent *Alverado* and *Sandoval*, with sixty Horse, and ordered *John Velasquez* to stay there with four hundred Foot, to secure the Bridges; then he went to the *Mexicans*, whom he saluted very courteously. They asked him why he did not go away as he had promised, since he had Ships, and restore them their Lord *Moteczuma*? Whilst he was in Discourse about this Affair, Advice was brought him that the Bridges were lost; he hastened away thither, and found *John de Soria*, and another Soldier, dead, and five Horses fallen down; he recovered them, and fought so resolutely, that his Presence alone was the saving of many Lives.

II. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters, with two Contusions on his Knee, made by Stones, where he found the Men in Confusion, believing he had been killed, because he stayed so long. They rejoiced at the Sight of him; the Battle continued; the *Indians* broke the Bridges, and fought from the Tops of their Houses: *Cortes* seeing one of them very fine, and obeyed by all the rest, sent *Marina* to ask *Moteczuma*, whether he thought they had put the Government into his Hands. He answered, that they would not presume to chuse a King in *Mexico*, while he was living. He looked at them, and said they were his Kindred, and that, among them, were the Lords of *Texcoco* and *Xztapalapa*; the Engagement still grew warmer; *Cortes* was in Confusion, and *Moteczuma* in no less, apprehending, as is likely, that they would kill him; he bid *Marina* acquaint the General that he would go up to a Parapet on the House, to speak to his Subjects, which might perhaps induce them to come to an Accommodation. *Cortes* was pleased with it, he went up with a Guard of two hundred *Spaniards*, in Royal Apparel, and *Marina* with them, to know what was said.

The Noblemen that went up with him made a Sign, and he was presently known, and raising his Voice said, "He should be pleased if they would behave themselves gratefully, for the Good he had done them: That he had been informed they had chosen another King, because he was confined, and loved the Christians, but could not believe they would forsake their natural Sovereign, for another which God would punish; that if they had fought so long to set him at Liberty, he thanked them, but they were mistaken, for he was there by his own Consent; that being his own House, in order to entertain his Guests, and therefore he desired them to lay down their Arms; since every Man they killed, cost them above two thousand; especially considering that they offered Peace, and had not taken their Goods, ravished their Wives or Daughters,

and were willing to be gone; that he could go out from thence whensoever it pleased him, having always had the Liberty so to do; and therefore, if they loved him, they should give over, and lay aside all Prejudice, which never permitted Men to act indiscreetly." The *Mexicans* listened to him with much Attention: But, as soon as he had done, cried out, "Hold your Peace, you effeminate Scoundrel, born to weave and spin; those Dogs keep you a Prisoner, you have no Heart, you are a Coward." Then they fell on again, casting abundance of Stones, and shooting their Arrows, and, though a *Spaniard* took care to cover *Moteczuma* with a Target, yet, as ill Luck would have it, a Stone hit him on the Temple.

He went down to his Chamber, laid him on his Bed, and was so much ashamed, and out of Countenance, that, though the Wound was not dangerous, he died in four Days with Grief, forbearing to eat, and refusing to be dressed. The Fight continued, without Intermision, all the while that *Moteczuma* kept his Bed; who, finding his Strength fail him, sent for *Cortes* in great haste, and, sitting up, leaning on the Pillows with Tears in his Eyes, taking hold of his Hand, said, "That he knew not where to begin, that he was the same *Moteczuma*, whom he had so positively insisted to visit, whom the World had so much respected, that he knew not what ill Fate attended him; for he had not usurped another's Kingdom, had done Justice, conquered many Nations, bestowed many Favours, and yet those, who before durst not look him in the Face, had insulted their King, giving him such Language as was not fit for a Slave, and throwing Stones at his Royal Person; that his Heart was ready to burst, and he died in great Rage, wishing he could see those Villains punished; but it was now too late, and his End was rather occasioned by Vexation, than by the Wound; he therefore begged, that since he died for his Sake, he would take care of his Children, and punish those that had insulted him, and the Person that had usurped the Crown." *Cortes* could not help being moved at these Words, and holding him by the Hands, begged that he would not cast himself down, for he would perform all his Commands, as if they were the King's; adding, that he had been in the Wrong in not suffering himself to be dressed; that he gave him his Word to take care of his Children, and revenge his Wrongs to the full; these and other Words, uttered by *Cortes*, very much comforted him; but *Cortes* was forced to take his leave, to go and see what was doing abroad.

The next Day, being told he was very ill, he came back to see him, found him in a great Agony, and said, "That since he had agreed to be baptized, he should do it then to save his Soul, for *Francis Olmedo* was there ready to do it." He answered, "That having but half an Hour longer to live, he would not forsake the Religion of his Ancestors." And soon after he died, some of the great Men that were Prisoners with him being present, to whom he recommended his Children; and the Revenge he desired to his last Gasps. He never would suffer any Cloth or other thing on the Wound, but if any was laid on, he pulled it off, wishing for Death. Four Hours after he was dead, *Cortes* looked out at the Top of the House, made a Signal for a Cessation, desiring to speak to the Commanders, and told them, "That they ill requited their Sovereign, having killed him with a Stone; but, that he had died rather of Vexation, than of the Wound: That he would deliver them his Body, to be buried according to their Manner; bidding them not contend any longer, for that God, who was just, would destroy that City by his Hands." They answered, "They had a Commander, and would have no more to do with *Moteczuma*, dead or alive," with other such insolent Expressions. *Cortes* turned his Back upon them, and ordered those great Men that had attended him to carry out the Body, that they might see he died by the Blow of the Stone. As soon as it was out of the House, an *Indian* richly clad, ran up to him, making ugly Faces, without speaking, as if he had asked whose Body that was, and being

told it was *Moteczuma's*, he made Signs to have it carried back to the *Spaniards*, and then ran to his own Party. Those that carried him vanished on a sudden, and the *Spaniards* heard no more of him, but supposed he had been buried in the Wood of *Chapulteque*, because great Lamentations were heard there.

It is conceived that these were the greater, because they intended, by this Ceremony, not only to pay the Funeral Honours due to their deceased Sovereign, but in some Measure, also to expiate the Crime of which they had been guilty in taking away his Life; for the new World afforded no Nation so barbarous, as not to account it a most infamous Wickedness, for Men to embroe their Hands in the Blood of their lawful Prince. This *Moteczuma* was the second of his Name, and the eleventh in the Order of the *Mexican* Emperors; he was, before his Accession to the imperial Dignity, accounted one of the bravest Men, as well as one of the best Officers in the Territories of *Mexico*, having fought nine Battles, and obtained in each the Victory; he was dreaded by his own People, but esteemed and beloved by the *Spaniards*, for whom he had a singular and very extraordinary Affection.

He left several Children; two of his Sons who accompanied him in his Confinement were killed by the *Mexicans*. When *Cortes* made his retreat, he had two others, with three Daughters, which Ladies were afterwards converted, and married to *Spaniards*. But the most illustrious of all his Children, was *Don Pedro de Moteczuma*, who was also soon after converted to the Catholic Religion, and had that Name given him at his Baptism: He was next Heir to his Father, his Mother being Princess of the Province of *Tula*, and one of the Queens who resided in the imperial Palace, with Royal Dignity; which Princess likewise followed her Son's Example, and was baptized by the Name of *Donna Maria de Niagua Suchil*, keeping up in these Surnames the Nobility of her Ancestors. His Majesty bestowed many Favours on *Don Pedro*, giving him an Estate, and considerable Rents in *New Spain*, with the Title of Count de *Moteczuma*, whose legitimate Succession is still preserved in the Counts of that Title, with the heroic Remembrance of their royal Original.

12. The *Mexicans*, as soon as they had finished the Funeral of their Emperor *Moteczuma*, resolved to elect a Successor, under whose Command they might carry on the War, against the *Spaniards*, with Effect; and, with this View it was, that they elected *Quetlavaca*, one of their greatest Princes, and the Second Elector in virtue of his Principality. But he dying in a few Days, they made choice, in his room, of *Gatimozin*, a Man of great Reputation in War, and who seemed the most capable of answering their Purpose. It was under his Conduct that they attacked the *Spaniards* again, with greater Fury than ever; but not with greater Success, but rather the contrary.

In one of their Engagements, however, they killed a considerable *Spaniard*, and wounded several others, tho' with great Loss to themselves; the Day following, therefore, they desired a Conference, to which *Cortes* consented, in hopes of coming to some Accommodation; he went to hear their Proposals from the Wall, and some of the Nobles drawing near, on the Part of the new Emperor, proposed, "That he and his People should prepare to set out and direct their March to the Sea-side, assuring him, There should be a Cessation for as much Time as was necessary for him to make ready for his Departure; adding, that, if he did not determine to come to that Resolution, he might depend upon it that both himself, and all who were with him, should perish: For that they were now convinced that the *Spaniards* were not immortal; and that, tho' the Death of every *Spaniard* should cost them the Lives of twenty thousand Men, there would still remain a Multitude to celebrate the conclusive Victory." *Cortes* answered, "That the *Spaniards* never pretended to be immortal, but valued themselves upon being Men of Valour, and knew themselves to be so far superior, in every Respect, to the *Mexicans*, that, without any

greater Force than what he then had with him, he had Courage enough to undertake the total Destruction, not only of their City, but of the whole Empire. But that, being moved at the Calamities they had suffered, he was determined to depart, since the Subject of his Embassy, and all the Business he had there, was at an End, by the Death of the great *Moteczuma*, whose Friendship had detained him at *Mexico*; and that he would put his Design in execution without the least Delay, as soon as some Articles, which were necessary for his March, should be mutually agreed on." The Deputies gave Signs of being well satisfied; but these Overtures of Peace were made with perfidious Views.

This new Emperor had called a Council of his Ministers and Grandees, in which it was resolved, That, to avoid the Damage they received from the *Spanish* Arms, the Slaughter of their People, and the Ruin of their City, the best Method would be, to keep them close blocked up, in order to distress them by Famine, and to weaken them, that when they were dispirited and wanted Strength, they might attack them with more Advantage. Having invented this new Way of reducing an Enemy, till then utterly unknown amongst their Stratagems of War, it was resolved to make Overtures of Peace, in order to obtain the Suspension of Arms they desired; flattering themselves that they might be able to protract the Treaty till the small Reserve of Provisions, laid up in their Quarters, were consumed; to which Purpose all possible Care should be taken to hinder the Besieged from Relief; to block up, with Works, and Bodies of Men posted at a proper Distance, all the Ways by which they might attempt to make their Escape, and to break down the Bridge at the Entrance of the Causeway which led to the Road of *Vera Cruz*; thinking it no longer convenient to suffer them to depart the City, left at this Juncture, when the Provinces were ill satisfied with the present Government, they might excite the Malcontents to a Rebellion, or reinforce themselves by an Army of *Tlascalans*. Some of the Assembly called to mind several Persons of great Distinction Prisoners in the *Spanish* Quarters; reflecting upon what they must suffer, since of necessity they must perish with Hunger before the Calamity could affect the Enemy. But they were all so zealous for the public Cause that they unanimously voted, that those Prisoners would be happy, and discharged their Duty if they sacrificed their Lives for the Benefit of their Country; and it is not unlikely that they fared the worse on account of *Moteczuma's* three Sons, who were with them, and whose Deaths would be no way unwelcome to the Assembly, the Eldest being a hopeful young Prince, capable of wearing the Crown, highly esteemed by the People, and the only Person of whom the new Emperor had reason to be jealous. Their only Concern was for the chief of their idolatrous Priests, who was likewise in the same Prison, for he was universally revered as the second Person in the Empire; and to produce his Liberty they made use of a very notable Stroke of Policy.

The same Deputies returned that Evening and proposed, on the Part of their Sovereign, "That, in order to prevent any Misunderstandings which might retard the Treaty, it would be proper for the *Spaniards* to send some one of the *Mexican* Prisoners to the Emperor, well instructed on the Subject of the Capitulation." This Expedient seemed reasonable; and the Deputies no sooner found it admitted but they artfully let drop, by way of Advice, that none would be so proper as a certain ancient Priest, because he was an intelligent Person, able to remove all Difficulties which might be started; which specious and well managed Pretext sufficed for the obtaining what they proposed: Not that *Cortes* was ignorant of the Artifice of the Proposal, but, considering of what Importance it was, to found the Minds of those People, he esteemed it a small Matter to part with a Prisoner who was troublesome and detestable. Soon after the Priest was dismissed, fully instructed by the General in some Demands relating to the March; intending afterwards, in case he returned, to employ him further in other matters of greater Consequence. But it was to no Purpose to wait for his Return, it being soon evident

evident that there was no such Design. The Sentinels discovered that the Enemy besieged the Quarters at a greater Distance than they were wont, that they appeared more circumspect than ordinary, casting up Trenches, and other Works, to defend the Passage of the Canals, and that they had detached some bodies of Men to the Lake, who were breaking down the Bridges of the principal Causeway, and cutting off all Communication with the Road which leads to *Tlascala*; a Proceeding which fully discovered the Artifice of their Designs.

This Intelligence *Cortes* received with Concern; but, inured to overcome great Difficulties, he reassumed his natural Calmness, and, upon his first Reflections, which always pointed directly at the Remedy, he ordered a Bridge of Planks to be made, wherewith to cover the Opening of the Causeway, capable of bearing the Weight of the Artillery, and so contrived that it might, without much Difficulty, be carried by forty Men: And, without losing more Time than what was necessary for the completing of this Work, he assembled his Captains to consult with them, and to take their Opinion concerning the Retreat, whether it should be made by Day or by Night. His Commanders differed in Opinion, but the Majority of them inclined rather to the Night, and *Cortes* yielded, or at least seemed to yield, to them, because they were the Majority; but, as the greatest Minds are not exempt from some Weakness, so it is said that *Cortes* was in a great Measure influenced by the Advice of a private Man, whose Name was *Botello*, and who passed for a kind of Prophet; this Man had the Boldness to declare, that if they marched by Night, and without Delay, they should certainly get off safe, but, that either himself or his Brother should be killed. It was the Custom of *Cortes* to despise his Predictions, while he listened to him, and to treat them as ridiculous, though he suffered them to make an Impression upon him, in which, if Company could be any excuse, *Cortes* might have pleaded the Examples of others, as great Heroes as himself.

13. This Resolution of retiring being thus taken in the Morning, it was farther agreed, to execute it immediately, and to take the Opportunity of the succeeding Night. The very same Evening the General dispatched another *Mexican*, as his Ambassador, to the City, with Pretence of continuing the Treaty begun by the Priest, giving them to understand that all Things should be got ready for their Departure, within eight Days, at farthest. *Cortes*, in the mean while, was diligently disposing Matters to begin the March, the Shortness of the Time making every Moment precious. He distributed his Orders, and gave his Captains the necessary Instructions, providing against all Accidents which might happen upon the March, with all imaginable Precaution.

He formed his Van Guard of two hundred *Spanish* Soldiers, with the choicest of the *Tlascalans*, and about twenty Horse, under the Conduct of the Captains *Sandoval*, *Azebedo*, *Ordaz*, *Lugo* and *Tapia*; he gave the Command of the Rear Guard, with a greater Number both of Horse and Foot, to *Alverado*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, and other Captains, of those who came with *Narvaez*. In the main Body or Centre, he placed the Prisoners, Artillery, and Baggage, with the rest of his Army, resolving himself to be employed as Necessity should require, at the Head of one hundred choice Men, with the Captains *Davila*, *Olid*, and *Vasquez de Tapia*. Things being thus disposed, he made a short Speech to his Soldiers, laying before them the Difficulties of the Undertaking, upon which he enlarged a little the more, because it was a current Report among them, that the *Mexicans* never engaged by Night, and it was necessary to inspire them with Distrust, lest they should fall into over-great Security. He next caused all the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were in the Custody of *Christoval de Guzman*, Groom of his Chamber, to be brought into his Apartment, and out of it he separated the Fifth, belonging to the King, in those Things which were least bulky, of which he made a formal Delivery to those Officers, who had Care of the Accounts and Provisions of the Army, giving a Mare of his own and some wounded Horses for the Carriage thereof, in order to spare the

Indians, who might be in other Respects serviceable upon that Occasion.

The Remainder, according to the best Computation could be made, amounted to upwards of seven hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, all which Wealth he left with little or no Reluctancy, protesting publicly, "That it was no Time to embarrass themselves with it, and that it would be a Shame to employ those Hands so unworthily, which ought to be left free for the Defence of Life and Reputation." But finding the Soldiers not so well contented with this inestimable Loss, he added, as he was going away, "That they ought not to look upon their Retreat from thence as abandoning of that acquired Treasure, and their main Design, but as a necessary and indispensable Disposition, in order to return with a greater Force. After the same Manner as a Man draws back his Arm, in order to give the greater Blow." And withal, gave them to understand, that he should not think it a Crime in them to take away as much of that Wealth as they conveniently could; and though the greatest Part of them took Care to go light, there were some, and particularly those who came with *Narvaez*, who gave themselves up to pillage, loading their Shoulders beyond what they were well able to bear; a Permission, in which all the military Care and Circumspection of *Cortes* seemed to be asleep. It was very near Midnight when they marched out of their Quarters, without the Sentinels or Advance Guards finding any thing to give them the least Suspicion, and notwithstanding both the Wetness of the Weather and the Darkeness of the Night favoured their Intention of marching, and freed them from any Jealousy of the Enemies continuing Abroad in their Works; they so punctually observed Silence, and Circumspection, that Fear itself could not have wrought what Discipline did in those Soldiers; the portable Bridge went with the Van Guard, and those who had the Charge of it, laid it over the first Canal, but the Weight of the Horses and the Artillery made it stick so fast in the Stones, which supported it, that they could, by no Means, remove it to the other Canals, as they designed, nor had they indeed an Opportunity to do it, for before the Army had passed the first Breach of the Causeway, they were obliged to take to their Arms, with the greatest Precipitation, finding themselves assaulted on every Side, when they least of all suspected any such Matter.

The Address with which those Barbarians disposed their Enterprize was worthy Admiration. They observed with a still and silent Vigilance the Motions of the *Spaniards*. They assembled and distributed, without Noise, the Multitude of their Troops. They took Advantage of the Silence and Darkeness of the Night, to compass their Intention of drawing near without being discovered. They covered the whole Length of the Lake on each Side of the Causeway, with armed Canoes, beginning the Attack with so little Confusion, and such excellent Order, that the *Spaniards* heard their Shouts, and the warlike Sound of their Shells, almost at the same Time that they felt their Arrows. The whole Army had undoubtedly been destroyed, if the *Indians* had observed the same good Order in the Heat of the Engagement, as in the Beginning of the Attack; but to them Discipline was a Restraint, and when once they began to be enraged, Custom prevailed. They charged in Heaps where they perceived the Bulk of the Army, pressing upon each other after such a Manner that their Canoes were broke to Pieces by striking on the Causeway, and the Violence of those who were furiously endeavouring to advance, proved a new Danger to those who were foremost.

The *Spaniards* made terrible Destruction among the naked Multitude, but they had not Strength sufficient to hold out such incessant Exercise of their Swords and Spears, nor was it long before they found themselves likewise attacked in Front, and were obliged to turn their Faces, where the Danger grew most pressing; for the *Indians*, who were at a Distance, or who could not bear the Tedioussness of the Oars, flung themselves into the Water, and by the Help of their Arms and natural Agility, climbed up the Causeway, in such Numbers, that

that they were not able to make use of their Weapons ; and this new Assault proved a Relief to the *Spaniards*, for the *Mexicans* were easily routed, and all of them in a Manner being killed, their Bodies were sufficient to fill up the Canal, with no other Trouble than the flinging them in, where they served to supply the want of a Bridge, for the Army to pass over. After this Manner, some Writers relate it, though others say, that they luckily found a Beam of sufficient Breadth, which the Enemy had left whole in the second Bridge, on which the Soldiers passed over in Files, guiding the Horses through the Water by the Bridles.

14. *Cortes* passed with the first Body of his People, and, ordering *Juan de Xarmillo* to take Care to form the Men as fast as they arrived, he returned, without Delay, to the Causeway, with the Captains *Sandoval*, *Olid*, *Davila*, *de Morla* and *Dominguez*: He entered the Engagement, animating those who fought as well by his Presence as by his Example ; he reinforced his Troop, with as many Soldiers as he thought necessary to stop the Enemy on both Sides of the Causeway, and ordered the rest to file off from the Centre, causing the Artillery to be thrown into the Water, to free the Passage, and facilitate the March. *Cortes* at last retired, with all he could pick up of the Rear-Guard, and as he was penetrating through the second Space of the Causeway, with little or no Opposition, he was joined by *Alverado*, who owed his Life to little less than a Miracle of Resolution ; for having found himself closely beset on every Side, his Horse killed under him, and one of the Canals still before him in his way, he fixed his Lance or Spear in the Bottom of the Lake, and, raising his Body by Force, and supporting his Weight in the Air, by the Strength of his Arm cast himself on the other Side ; a surprising bold Action, which has since been looked upon as something surpassing Nature ; and *Alverado* himself, when he afterwards reflected upon the Distance, and the Success he had met with in the Attempt, easily became sensible of the Disproportion there was between the Fact itself, and the Feasibility of it.

The Army gained the firm Land by the first Appearance of the Day, and halted near *Tabuca*, not without some Jealousy of that Town, which was very populous, and in the Interest of the *Mexicans*, but they took Care not immediately to quit the Neighbourhood of the Lake, that they might give Time to those who could escape from the Battle to save themselves ; nor was that Precaution unnecessary, for several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* found the Advantage of that Stop, who, by their Valour and good Management, got off by swimming to the Shore, where they hid themselves in the Fields of Maize in the Morning. These gave the General an Account that the last Division of the Rear Guard was entirely cut off ; and *Cortes* having drawn up his Troops, found that he had lost about two hundred *Spaniards*, more than one thousand *Tlascalans*, forty-six Horses, and all the *Mexican* Prisoners, which last not being able to make themselves known in the Confusion and Obscurity of the Night, were treated as Enemies by those of their own Nation: The *Spaniards* were fatigued and discouraged, their Numbers diminished, and the Artillery all lost, expecting every Moment to be attacked, and the Place of their Retreat far off ; and among so many Motives of Concern, their Misfortune received a great Addition, by the Loss of some principal Captains, in which Number, those of the greatest Note were *Amador de Larez*, *Francisco de Morla*, and *Francisco de Salcedo*, who lost their Lives, all discharging their Duties with extraordinary Valour. *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, who retreated in the very last of the Rear Guard, likewise lost his Life, oppressed by Multitudes, after having endured incredible Fatigue, shewing an invincible Courage, even to the latest Gasps ; a Loss, which was generally lamented, for all Men respected him, as the second Person in the Army.

Cortes sat down upon a Stone to rest himself a little, while his Officers were putting the Troops in order, and disposing them, to prosecute their March. He found himself so oppressed with Concern, that he never more stood in Need of all his Magnanimity to temper his Grief.

He summoned all his Constancy to his Assistance ; and, at the same Time he gave his Orders, animated his People, and exerted himself with his wonted Alacrity. He enquired for the Astrologer, either in order to reprimand him for the Part he had in hastening the March, or to divert his Melancholy, by rallying him upon his Science ; but he was told, he was killed in the first Assault, off the Causeway ; that Wretch having met with the Fate common to those of his Profession. But, in the midst of those Misfortunes, it was no small Consolation to *Cortes*, and the whole Army, that *Donna Marina* and *Hieronimo de Aguilar* had found Means to escape from the Battle, in the terrible Confusion of that Night : They being the principal Instruments of the Conquest, and no less necessary than they had been before ; for without them, it was altogether impossible to engage the Friendship of the Nations they were going to seek ; nor was it less happy, that the *Mexicans* did not follow the Chace, for they gave Time for the *Spaniards* to breathe after their Fatigue, and to march in better Order, and with less Hasten, mounting the disabled Men on the Strongest of the Horses. This Stop of the *Mexicans* proceeded from an unexpected Accident, which may be attributed to the Providence of God. The Sons of *Moteczuma* who had attended on their Father, during his Continuance in the Quarters, together with all the *Mexican* Prisoners, who were last under Convoy, with the Baggage, were unfortunately killed by the Enemy ; and in the Morning, the *Indians* allured by the Spoils of the Dead, beheld pierced through with their own Arrows the Bodies of those unhappy Princes, whom they revered with that kind of Adoration they once did their deceased Father. They stood amazed, stupified, and confounded at the Sight, without daring to pronounce the Cause of their Astonishment. However, it was not long before the News was carried through the Troops, and they were all seized with Fear, and that kind of sudden Terror, which the Antients called Panic.

The *Mexican* Chiefs resolved to send an Account of this Accident to the new Emperor ; and he, who was forced to affect a Concern, out of Compliance with those whose Grief was unfeigned, commanded the Army to halt : Beginning the Ceremony of the Funeral with Outcries and Lamentations, which used to precede the Obsequies, whilst the Priest, followed by all who had remained in the City, came to receive their Royal Bodies, in order to conduct them to the burying Place of their Ancestors. It was to the Death of those Princes, that the *Spaniards* were indebted for the first Recovery from their Confusion, and that seasonable Respite ; but they lamented, notwithstanding, their untimely Fate, and particularly *Cortes*, who loved those Princes, respected in them the Memory of their Father, and had founded Part of his Hopes in the right of the Elder. *Cortes*, in the mean while, directed his March towards *Tlascala*, with Guides of that Nation, his Army continually in order of Battle, as not being without Suspicion of some Design in the Enemies Delay ; and upon such Occasions Diffidence is oftener attended with Success than too confident Security. It was not long before some Corps of armed *Indians* appeared, who followed the Army, without approaching within Shot. These were the Inhabitants of *Tabuca*, *Escapugaleo*, and *Tenecuga*, whom the *Mexicans* had summoned, to observe the Motions of the *Spaniards* on the March, till such Time as they had discharged themselves of their Duty towards the Sons of *Moteczuma*. *Cortes* extended his Front, where he posted his Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, being obliged to engage in the open Field, without having any Place of Security to retire to.

As many of the *Indians*, as had Courage enough to venture near, died without Discouragement to the rest. The Horse sallied out to skirmish, and made a very great Slaughter ; But the Number of the Enemy continually increased, and their Arrows and Slings did considerable Damage ; the *Spaniards* were tired, and without Hopes of repulsing that enormous Multitude, and now their Valour began to slacken for want of Strength ; when *Cortes*, who behaved himself in the Battle like a Soldier, without forgetting the Duty of a General, observed a Rising-ground at no great

Distance from thence, which commanded the whole Plain; upon the Top of that Eminence was a Building which appeared like a Fortrefs, or at least the Exigence in which he found himself made him fancy it such: He resolved to possess himself of that Post, for the Advantage of its Situation, and, detaching a Party of Men to reconnoitre it, he moved with the Army to gain it, which he did not find could be effected without Difficulty, being obliged to face the Enemy all the while ascending the Hill, and to place some Companies of Harquebussiers, to defend the Avenues; but he happily compassed his Design, possessing himself of the Tower without Resistance, and in that found all the Convenience which at that time he could desire. It was a Temple; but the Priests and Servants who attended the Worship of that Place had quitted it, flying from the Neighbourhood of War, as People of a different Profession; the Court of this Temple was encompassed with a Wall after their Manner of building, which, together with the Towers wherewith it was flanked, rendered it tolerably defensible; and under the Shelter of those Works the *Spaniards* began to breathe.

The Enemy did not dare to scale the Hill, nor did they give any Signs of their intending an Assault, but they approached within Musket-shot, surrounded the Eminence on all Parts, and made some Advances to shoot their Arrows. In the mean time nothing was to be heard but barbarous Shouts and Menaces, which served only to discover their Weakness. They were kept off till Evening began to approach, at which time they all retired; whether to comply with the Observation of their Custom, of retiring with the Sun, or that they found themselves fatigued with having been in a manner continually engaged, is uncertain. *Cortes* disposed every thing in his Quarters with all the Care and Circumspection that a Post so threatened obliged him; he ordered the Guards and Sentinels to be sooner relieved than ordinary; that all might have their equal Share of Rest: They made some Fires, as well because of the Coldness of the Season, as to consume the Arrows of the *Mexicans*, to deprive the Enemies of their Ammunition. He gave some Refreshment to the People out of the Provisions found in the Temple, and what the *Indians* had saved with the Baggage; particular Care was taken of the Wounded, which was attended with no small Difficulty in a Place where all Necessaries were wanting.

Cortes attended in Person to all, but still without forgetting the Danger to which he lay exposed; and before he would retire to Repose he assembled his Officers, to consult with them what was to be done in this Juncture: He had already formed his Resolution, but he always declined positively deciding in such Matters; and he was a great Master in bringing People over to what was reasonable, without shewing his own Opinion, or making Use of his Authority: He proposed different Methods which might be taken, with the several Inconveniencies attending each of them; leaving them to judge which Expedient was most adviseable; but that which he judged best was, to continue the March so as to be out of Reach of the Enemy before they renewed the Attack: In support of which Advice he advanced many Reasons. He had scarce finished his Discourse when all the Captains agreed that no other Resolution was practicable; and it was determined to begin their March at Midnight. *Cortes* conformed to what was really his own Opinion, though he treated it as the Opinion of others, a Policy which he was accustomed to make Use of, in order to prevent Disputes when the Affair was urgent and admitted of no Delay, and which only those can practise who understand the Art of deciding by asking Advice, and of making a Proposal

in such a manner as to leave no room for Objection. As we have now conducted *Cortes* and his Army out of *Mexico*, and have seen with how much Prudence and Discretion he managed every thing when Fortune seemed to desert him, it seems but reasonable to put an End here to this Section, and to reserve the Restoration of his Fortunes and the Recovery of his Conquests, to the next.

15. But, that we may not proceed too hastily, let us pause a Moment, in order to consider the great Events we have been reading, and from thence form a true Judgment of the Merit of this illustrious Conqueror. We have in the former Section shewn, that with a meer handful of Men, he undertook to conquer one of the most extensive Empires the World ever saw; and to which no Power, now subsisting, can be esteemed equal. We have seen that this could not be called a rash or improvident Action, though it was, certainly, one of the boldest and most daring, that ever entered the Breast of Man. As a Person skilled in Mechanics, may, with good Sense and great Reason, undertake to perform, with an inconsiderable Force, what, to a Person unacquainted with that Science, would be esteemed beyond the Reach of Nature; so the Vigour of this Man's Understanding, his incomparable Sagacity, and wonderful Penetration, enabled him to foresee most of the Events that did fall out; and to contrive the proper Means for converting them to his Purpose, as his Fortitude, Presence of Mind, and happy Equality of Temper, put it always in his Power to exert his superior Abilities upon all Occasions, and set him above the reach of Accident or Danger, however great or unexpected. We have seen him in this Section, performing things almost incredible; and some of them also, particularly the seizing and imprisoning *Moteczuma*, not altogether justifiable. But this is so far from being a new Thing in a Hero, that I believe it may be fairly said, there is scarce a Character of this kind in ancient or modern History, in which more immoral and more outrageous Actions do not frequently occur.

One Thing more I shall remark before I proceed in this History, because it seems to do more Honour to the Courage and Conduct of *Cortes*, than any thing else; and in few Words it is this: The only Shadow of an Objection that can be raised against the Praises that have been bestowed upon this illustrious Person, arises from the Suggestion that he acted with regular and well disciplined Troops, against a barbarous and uncivilized People, unskilled in the Arts of Policy or War: But the Measures taken by the *Indians*, to drive him out of *Mexico*, and the Manner in which they acted in the Execution of those Measures, very plainly prove that this Suggestion was ill grounded. Since, from thence, we plainly see that they neither wanted Skill as Politicians, nor were destitute of Discipline as Soldiers. The Success likewise that they met with in the Conduct of their Scheme, plainly demonstrates, That if they had been to deal with a Man of less Abilities than *Cortes*, they would effectually have carried their Point, and have driven the *Spaniards*, not only out of *Mexico*, but out of all their Dominions, and have preserved their Empire, perhaps, till this time; for, had they once acquired a thorough Knowledge of the Artillery and Powder, they were certainly ingenious enough to have acquired the Use of them; which if they had done, there is no Reason to doubt that they would have kept their Ground, and have preserved, at least, the interior Part of their Country; though, by dint of their Naval Power, the *Spaniards* had made themselves Masters of their Coasts.

SECTION XIII.

The Conclusion of HERNAN CORTES's Expedition, including the History of the remaining Part of the War, to the Reduction of the City and Empire of Mexico; by which the Spaniards acquired their extensive Dominions on the Continent of North America.

1. *The Spaniards continue their Retreat under fresh Difficulties, while the Indians labour to intercept and bring them to a general Engagement.*
2. *The whole Force of the Mexican Empire defeated in the famous Battle of Otumba, and the imperial Standard taken.*
3. *The Precautions taken by Cortes to improve this Victory, and to prevent the bad Effects of a Mutiny that had like to have broken out among his People.*
4. *The Mexicans send an Embassy to Tlascala, in hopes of gaining that Republic; in which they are disappointed by the Interposition of such Lords as were Friends to the Spaniards.*
5. *The War renewed with great Success, and a new Colony founded by the Spaniards on the Frontiers.*
6. *The Measures taken by Cortes for the Prosecution of the War, the bad Disposition of the Army, and the Difficulties which he found in keeping the Troops from running into a general Mutiny.*
7. *He receives, very unexpectedly, very considerable Succours from Spain, which encourages him to think of recovering Mexico.*
8. *He is so fortunate as to obtain still larger Reinforcements, but is obliged to discharge a Part of his Army, on Account of their seditious Behaviour.*
9. *While Preparations were making for a new Expedition, Cortes resolves to send over fresh Agents to Spain, in order to procure a Commission from the Emperor.*
10. *An Account of what happened at Court upon the former Application, by the Father of Cortes and his first Agents, and of the timely Arrival of the second.*
11. *The History of this Matter farther continued, to the obtaining a Declaration of Council in favour of Cortes, against Velasquez.*
12. *An Account of his memorable Expedition into the Province of Tezcuco, which submits without a Stroke.*
13. *The War with Mexico renewed by Cortes, with great Danger to his Army and to himself.*
14. *Upon a Foresight of the Difficulties that might attend the War, he makes Proposals of Peace to the Mexican Emperor, which are haughtily rejected.*
15. *The War breaks out afresh, and Cortes gains several Victories over the Mexicans.*
16. *The Indians are defeated in a general Engagement, in which, however, Cortes run a great Hazard of being killed or taken.*
17. *A Conspiracy formed among the Spaniards to murder him, and a Sedition amongst the Allies.*
18. *Cortes ventures to attack three Causeways of the City of Mexico at once, and at the same Time carries on the War upon the Lake.*
19. *The Progress of the War, and the unexpected Difficulties the Spaniards met with therein.*
20. *Cortes makes a general Attack, in which, after an obstinate Engagement, he is defeated.*
21. *The Spanish Prisoners are sacrificed to the Indian Idols, and all their Affairs surprizingly decline.*
22. *Cortes renews the Attack, and forces the Indian Emperor to retire to the farthest Part of the City.*
23. *The Emperor, Guatimozin, successor to Motezuma, is taken Prisoner, after which the City immediately surrenders.*
24. *A succinct Account of the Reduction of the whole Mexican Empire, and of the Rewards bestowed upon Hernan Cortes.*
25. *Observations and Remarks upon this and some of the foregoing Sections.*

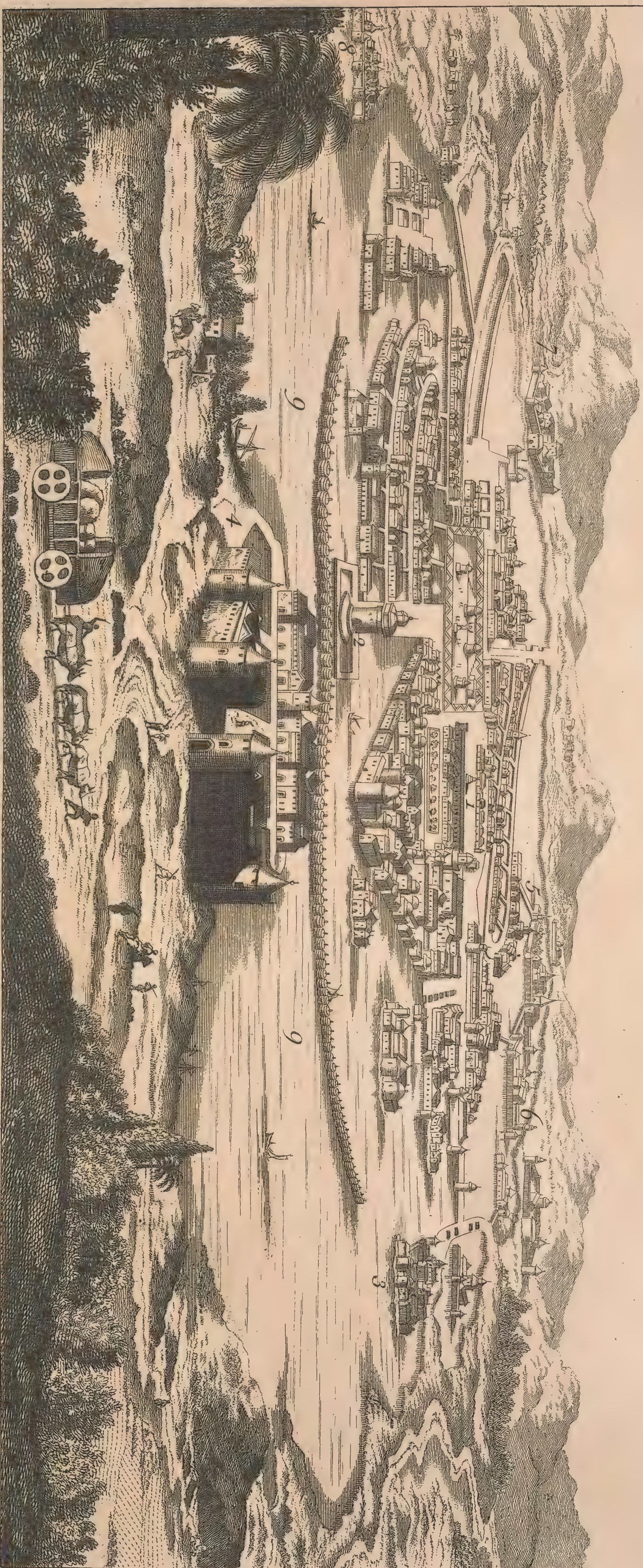
1. **A** Little before the appointed Hour, the Troops were assembled: The Order to march, and the Reason for so doing, was given at the same time, upon which they prepared for setting out, applauding the Resolution. Cortes ordered to conceal their Motion, that they should leave all their Fires burning, and, giving to Diego de Ordaz the Charge of the Van-Guard, with some intelligent Guides, he placed his chief Strength in the Rear, where he remained, that he might be the nearer Danger, and be a Security to those who passed before. They set forward with all necessary Caution; and, the Guides being ordered to keep at some convenient Distance from the high Road till the Morning, they marched, little more than half a League, without the Silence of the Night being interrupted by the least Noise: But, upon their entering into a broken and hilly Ground, the Scouts fell into an Ambush; divers Troops of Indians came pouring down from the Eminences, and rushing from among the Bushes, without Order, attacked the Flank; and though not so numerous as to oblige the Army to halt, yet the Spaniards were obliged to beat off such of the Enemy as ventured nearest, to break through several Ambuscades, and to dispute many narrow Passes.

The Spaniards were apprehensive, at first, that it was the whole Army which they had left on the other Side of the Temple, and some report this Action as a Pursuit made by those Mexicans; but they were the Militia of the neighbouring Towns; who, by Orders received from Court, endeavoured to disturb the March, posting themselves in the broken Parts of the Road. With this kind of Opposition the Army advanced two Leagues, and before Day halted in another Temple, situate upon an Eminence, not altogether so high as the former, but of sufficient Height to view the Country round about; that by the Number of Enemies they should discover, they

might judge what Measures were fittest to be taken for their Security. The Indian Peasants continued their Shouts, following at a Distance, till, having advanced about two Leagues farther, they discovered a Village advantageously situated, and as they believed well peopled. Cortes pitched upon this Place for his Quarters, and gave Orders for his Troops to possess themselves of it; and they found it wholly forsaken by the Inhabitants, together with some Provisions, which they could not carry off; and which, at that Juncture, were very welcome. Here the Army stayed a Day or two; the Condition of the Wounded being such, that they could not proceed. They made two Marches more, through a Country more rocky and barren, always out of the great Road, and somewhat doubtful whether their Guides were right. They had no Cover in the Night, nor did the Persecution of those Indians cease, who continually kept in Sight; or, perhaps, they might be others who came out after the first, in order to follow them through their respective Districts. But the greatest of all Inconveniencies was, they suffered Hunger and Thirst to that Degree, that they wanted little of being quite dispirited. The Officers and Soldiers, however, animating each other to move on.

They were forced to have recourse to the Herbs and Roots of the Field for Sustenance, without examining whether they were venomous; though such as were the most prudent governed themselves by the Knowledge and Example of the Tlascalans. One of the wounded Horses died, and the Want they had of that Creature's Service in the Army, was forgot with Joy; for it was divided as a Regale among those who were in the greatest Extremity, who celebrated the Feast by inviting their best Friends to partake of that dainty Food: A relishing Banquet at that time, at which all Scruples of Stomach gave way to Necessity. The last of these two Marches terminated

Ancient MEXICO.



1 The Great Square. 2 The Temple. 3 Village of Tlacotalpa. 4 Defence of the Royal Palace.
5, 6 The Pleasure House & Garden. 7 A Wharf to supply the City. 8 Village of Texcoco or Texcoco. 9 The Great Lake.

terminated in a little Village, whose Inhabitants, without abandoning their Dwellings like the others, gave them free Entrance, neither were they wanting in their Assistance to them, with a seeming Cheerfulness in every thing they were ordered; which unexpected Entertainment was a new Stratagem of the *Mexicans*, that their Enemies might come less prepared to the Snare which they had provided for them.

These People freely shewed their Stores of Provision, and, from other neighbouring Villages, procured what was sufficient to make the fatigued *Spaniards* forget their past Sufferings. Early in the Morning the Army was disposed to ascend the Mountain, which on the other Side declined into the Valley of *Otumba*, through which they must of Necessity pass to take the Road to *Tlascala*. They observed some Alteration in the *Indians* who followed their March; for their Shouts and Scoffs express rather Satisfaction than Indignation; and Donna *Marina* took notice, that they frequently said go on Tyrants, go on, for you will quickly arrive at the Place where you will all perish. These Expressions gave them Occasion to reflect; some began to doubt that these *Indians*, confiding in the *Tlascalans*, rejoiced at the Danger to which the *Spaniards* were marching, as having received some Notice that there had happened a Change in the Fidelity of that Nation. But *Cortes*, and those of better Judgment and Penetration, looked upon this Novelty as a Token of some Ambush, that was nearer than *Tlascala*; for there wanted not Examples of the Simplicity and Easiness with which the *Indians* were wont to publish the very thing which they endeavoured to conceal: An Error not peculiar to this People, and though a certain Indication of Levity, no direct Mark of Barbarism.

2. They continued their March disposed for fresh Action; when the advanced Guard, having reached the Mountain Top, came with an Account that the Enemy had possessed themselves of all the Valley, barring up the Passage to the Road whither they were directing their Course with a formidable Multitude. It was the same Body of *Mexicans* which they had left at the first Temple, reinforced with new Troops, who had discovered, in the Morning, the sudden Retreat of the *Spaniards*; and, notwithstanding they did not doubt but that they should be able to overtake them, yet they feared, by the Experience of the Night, that it would not be possible to destroy them before they reached the *Tlascalan* Territories, if they went on securing Mountains; for which Reason they sent Dispatches to *Mexico* for Reinforcements, that an Affair of so much Importance might not miscarry for want of necessary Force, which Proposal was so well received in the City, that all the Nobility instantly set out, followed by the rest of the Troops which they had assembled, to join the Army, and in the Space of three or four Days they divided themselves into different Roads, marching under Shelter of the Mountains, with such Expedition, that they got before the *Spaniards*, and filled the whole Valley of *Otumba*, which is a very spacious Plain, where they might undiscovered wait for their Enemies, and attack them without embarrassing each other for want of Room.

The Captain General of the Empire was distinguished in the Centre of the Multitude, borne up upon Mens Shoulders in a Litter sumptuously adorned, in such a Manner, that being a Witness of every one's Behaviour, his Orders might be punctually executed. Upon this Chair, or Litter, stood erect the Royal Standard of *Mexico*, which was not intrusted into any other Hand but his, and could only be brought into the Field in Cases of the greatest Exigence. This Standard was a Net of Massy Gold hanging on a Pike, and crowned with a Plume of Feathers of various Colours; both the one and the other mysteriously denoting a Superiority. The *Spanish* Army perceiving the fresh Danger for which they were to prepare, *Cortes* began to examine the Countenances of his People, with that natural Fire in his Look, which influenced their Hearts far better than Words; and finding them inspired with a generous Resentment, he thus addressed them: "Our Case is now such, that we must either die or conquer: The Cause of our

"God fights for us;" nor had he time to say any more, for the Soldiers themselves interrupted, crying out for the Word of Command; and he advanced with his Front extended, and united the Body of the Army with the Wings of the Horse, who were appointed to defend the Flanks, and secure the Rear. The Fire-arms and Cross-Bows made their first Discharge so opportunely, that the Enemy had scarce time to make use of their missive Weapons. The Swords and Lances did still greater damage; the Horse taking care, at the same time, to break, and to put to Flight those Troops which endeavoured to inclose the *Spanish* Army.

They gained some Ground by the first Charge. The *Spaniards* gave no Stroke without a Wound, nor any Wound which needed a second Blow. The *Tlascalans* threw themselves into the thickest of the Battle, with an infinite Thirst after *Mexican* Blood, and all had such Command of their Passions, that they killed first those who appeared to be Leaders. But the *Mexicans* fought with great Obstinacy, advancing, though not in the best Order, yet, with surprizing Resolution, to supply the Places of those who fell; and the *Spaniards* were fatigued with the Slaughter, for the Battle was continually renewing with fresh Men. Their whole Army seemed to give way whenever the Cavalry charged them, or the Fire-Arms advanced; but they returned with new Vigour to recover their lost Ground, the Multitude moving so from Place to Place, that the whole Field appeared like a Sea of Men, the perpetual Flux and Reflux seeming to justify that Comparison.

Cortes fought on Horseback, carrying Death and Terror wheresoever he came. But the obstinate Resistance of the *Indians* gave him no small Concern; for it was not to be hoped, but that the Strength of his Men must abate, with such unintermitting Action; and reflecting upon the Measures he might take, to advantage himself, or to make his way to the Road, he was relieved by one of those Observations he was accustomed to lay up in his Mind. He remembered to have heard among the *Mexicans*, that the whole Fortune of their Battle depended upon the Standard Royal; the gaining or losing of which decided the Fortune of the Day, on either Side; and being not insensible into what Confusion the Enemy was always put by the Charge of the Cavalry, he took a Resolution to make an Effort, for the gaining the Imperial Standard. To this Effect, he called for the Captains *Sandoval*, *Alverado*, *Olid*, and *Davila*, to follow and secure his Rear, together with the rest of the Horse which generally attended him; and having encouraged them with a short Harangue, and given the necessary Instructions how they were to proceed, he advanced, and attacked on that Part which appeared weakest, and least distant from the Centre.

The *Indians* gave back, dreading the Shock of the Cavalry, and before they could recover themselves, the *Spaniards* threw themselves upon the disordered Multitude, treading under Foot whole Battallions, and, without much Opposition, arrived at the Place where the Imperial Standard was defended by the Nobles who were appointed for its Guard; and while the Captains were dispersing that numerous Guard, *Cortes* closed with the Captain General of the *Mexicans*, who at the first Stroke of his Lance fell, being dangerously wounded, on the other Side of his Litter: He was soon forsaken by his Guard, and left alone; when *Juan de Salamãca*, a private Gentleman, leaped from his Horse, and put an End to the little Life he had left; and seizing the Standard, gave it into the Hands of *Cortes*. This *Salamãca* was a Person of some Distinction in the Army; and, for having done his General such a Piece of Service, the Emperor conferred some Favours upon him, giving him for the Crest of his Arms the Plume of Feathers which crowned the *Mexican* Standard.

The *Mexicans* no sooner saw their Imperial Standard in the Power of the *Spaniards*, than they struck all the rest of their Colours, and betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, seeking Shelter in the Woods and Fields of Maize: The neighbouring Mountains were covered with the terrified Remnants of the Army, and in a few Moments the Field of Battle remained to the *Spaniards*, who

who pursued their Victory with all the Rigour of War, and made a terrible Destruction of the Fugitives; it was so absolutely necessary to ruin and disperse them, that they might not return. On the Side of the *Spaniards* some were wounded, of which Number two or three died at *Tlascala*; and *Cortes*, himself, received a Blow on his Head, with a Stone, so violent, that it battered his Head-Piece, and made a small Fracture in his Skull. The Spoil was given to the Soldiers, which was very considerable, for the *Mexicans* came with costly Jewels and Ornaments, as to triumph. The *Spanish* Authors say, that twenty thousand *Indians* lost their Lives in this Battle. A round Computation indeed! and perhaps, what is not uncommon in such Cases, a certain Number put for an uncertain.

3. The same Spirit which *Cortes* shewed in his utmost Difficulties, appeared in the Precautions taken by him in making the most of this Victory, and taking an immediate Care for securing such a Post, as might give them time to concert what was to be done next. There appeared on the Top of a Mountain, at some Distance, a large old *Indian* Palace, which he gained. There they staid that Night, and as soon as it was Day advanced a considerable way through the Plain; then going up a small Hill they found a Spring of good Water, where they halted and refreshed themselves, for till then they had met with very little, and that not good; they came to *Gualipa*, a Town of two thousand Houses, belonging to the Republic of *Tlascala*: The People of that Place went out to receive them, shewing extraordinary Compassion for their Sufferings; the Women wept at the Sight of them, and they were supplied with Necessaries, in a most affectionate Manner.

Cortes blessed God he found such Entertainment among Infidels. Those People asked why they would not believe them, when they always told them they should not trust the *Mexicans*, who were treacherous. That Day, in the Afternoon, came to them *Maxiscatzin*, and another Lord, who was Governor of *Guaxacingo*, and, when christened, called Don *John Xuares*, and many others, as did *Xicotencatl*; but this last only in a Compliment. They brought much Provision. *Cortes* received them with Joy; but they were amazed to see him and so many others wounded. *Maxiscatzin*, in that Astonishment, delivered himself very elegantly, saying, that since his Valour was sufficient to withstand all the *Mexican* Empire, there had been some Treachery in the Case, comforting him, and bidding him be easy; for, since he was alive, he might revenge that Injury, being among the *Tlascalans*, his sincere Friends, who he promised should assist him with all their Power; all the other Lords gave him the same Assurances, and *Cortes* returning Thanks in a most courteous Manner, producing the *Mexican* General's Standard and Arms, delivered the same to him, and gave the rest much of the Booty taken in the Battle of *Otumba*.

The other Commanders and Soldiers, following the same Example of *Cortes*, distributed abundance of the Booty they had gained in that Fight, which was very acceptable, as being *Mexican* Trophies. Here *Cortes* was informed, that about twelve Days before, *John Juste* and *Morla*, with about thirty *Spaniards*, had set out from *Gualipa*, carrying *Cortes*'s Equipage to *Mexico*; and that tho' they fought well, they were all cut off by the *Mexican* Garrisons, together with one of *Maxiscatzin*'s Sons, who he sent along with them. This was afterwards verified, for they found cut on a Tree. *This way passed the unfortunate John Juste, and his unhappy Companions, being reduced to such Want of Food, that they gave a Wedge of Gold, weighing eight hundred Pieces of Eight, for a few little Cakes of Italian Wheat.* Thence the *Spanish* Army proceeded to *Tlascala*, and the Country being populous, the Roads were crowded with the Inhabitants coming out to see them. The Magistrates met *Cortes*, with above two hundred thousand Men in good Order. The Women and Children went foremost, and wept as soon as they saw the *Spaniards*, cursing the treacherous *Mexicans*; next came the Citizens, and received them in a most courteous Manner. The Lords of the four Quarters

took *Cortes* into the Middle of them; there was much Music at the Entrance into the City; he was lodged in *Maxiscatzin*'s House, who made him a great Entertainment, and in this Court there was much dancing and rejoicing.

At *Tlascala* *Cortes* found Capt. *Paez*, whom he had left there, with eighty *Spaniards*, and was glad to hear that he had been well used; he assured him, that *Maxiscatzin* was his real Friend, and that *Xicotencatl* hated him. When he understood that *Maxiscatzin* had offered *Paez* an hundred thousand Men to march with the *Spaniards*, to his Relief, and that *Paez* excused himself, alledging, that he had observed his Orders, considering how much Service the Succour might have done him, he gave him some hard Words, calling him Coward; for that brave Commanders, in such Perils, are not to adhere literally to Orders, but to act as Exigencies may require. *Hojeda* was the Person that entertained the greatest Friendship with the *Tlascalans*, and brought Provisions from the Country Towns; some reproached him, saying, why come you hither to devour our Substance; go your way, you come in a wretched Condition from *Mexico*, being turned out like cowardly Women. He gave them good Words; but *Cortes* was much concerned at it, being informed that *Xicotencatl* was the Occasion of it: He acquainted *Maxiscatzin*, who said, that whilst he lived no Man should presume to affront him; however he kept himself upon his Guard.

A Numbness seized his Head, occasioned by his Wound, and, it being followed by a violent Fever, he was in much Danger; but it pleased God, as he was well taken care of, he recovered. Whilst his Distemper held him, those few *Spaniards* he had, hearing some suspicious Words from the *Indians*, muttered that they would return to the Sea Coast, alledging that *Cortes*'s Contrivances to return to *Mexico* would be their Ruin, and that they were now fattening to be sacrificed and eaten, as the *Indians* designed; few being of a contrary Opinion, the greater Number, with a Notary, forcibly required *Cortes* to go away to *Vera Cruz*, to avoid the Danger that threatened. *Cortes* answered with much Gravity and Calmness: In the first place, he extolled their past Actions, put them in mind of the Victories they had obtained, and the Valour of the *Spanish* Nation, blamed their Faint-heartedness, for that having made the World ring with the Fame of their Exploits they should shew Fear, which would turn to their Shame; he promised them much Wealth and Prosperity; dispelled the Fears they had conceived of the *Tlascalans*; said, he would try their Friendship by making War on the *Tepeacans*, who had lately slain several *Spaniards*; he put them in mind, that all he had said to them had proved true; that he had performed all he promised, and then, in case the Affair of *Tepeaca* did not succeed, he would find some Expedient for them to return with Honour to *Vera Cruz*.

This appeased them for the present, but he had several Consultations with the chief Commanders, as to the Confidence that was due to the *Tlascalans*: Some affirmed, that there was no trusting of them, so that if they took a small Number of them the War would not be carried on; and if they had many, it was dangerous: Others added, that the Enmity between these two Nations was well known, as were the Advantages the *Tlascalans* reaped by the War with the *Culus*; for which Reason their Fidelity was not to be called in question. *Cortes*, having maturely weighed this Affair, and made some Enquiry into the Matter, adhered to this Advice, which made him believe that his good Fortune would not forsake him in this Enterprize.

4. The *Mexicans* having offered up their Sacrifices, returned Thanks to their Gods, repaired their City, and, understanding how well the *Spaniards* had been received in *Tlascala*, resolved to send six Men of Note Embassadors thither with a Present of Cloth, Feather-works, and Salt, which were the Things those People wanted most. Notice being given of their coming, they were met as usual, and the Council being assembled to hear them, the Eldest delivered his Present and said, That as they were

were Relations, spoke the same Language, and observed the same Religion, it would be convenient to put an End to the long Wars that had been between them, and that they should partake of those Things wherein the *Mexican* Empire abounded. And they wanted besides other Advantages that would accrue by Peace; and therefore in order to bring that to pass it was proper they should sacrifice those few Christians, with whom their Gods were offended for many Reasons, and who would insult them in the same Manner if they did not look to themselves. The Present was received, and they said they would consider of it. When the Embassadors were withdrawn, their Proposals were debated: *Xicotencatl* and others spoke for the Confederacy; *Maxiscatzin*, defending the *Spaniards*, advised them to be Friends with them, alledging the Fidelity and Honour due to Guests.

He extolled their Valour, assuring them of the same Advantages the *Mexicans* proposed, and particularly insisted, that the Friendship of the *Spaniards* ought not to be slighted, as it might contribute to enlarge the Dominions of their Commonwealth, which they could not expect from the *Mexicans*, whose Ambition and Perfidiousness was well known; besides, that if once the *Spaniards* were expelled, no question was to be made but that they would be greater Enemies than before, though it were only for having entertained them in *Tlascala*. *Xicotencatl* still obstinately insisted, that the *Spaniards* were ill Men; and both Sides reflecting on each other, it came to such a Height, that *Maxiscatzin* gave *Xicotencatl* a Push from him, and threw him down some Steps, telling him he was a base Man, and a Traitor to his Country. The *Mexicans* returned home without any other Answer, and reported what had happened. *Cortes* being immediately informed of all these Particulars returned Thanks to *Maxiscatzin*, promising he would endeavour to make good all he had in his Name promised to the Republic. *Xicotencatl*, being satisfied that *Cortes* would be acquainted with what had been done in the Council, went to him and said, he had tried by all Means to acquire Honour, by opposing him; but that since the Gods had made him invincible, he begged he would take him into his Favour, offering his Person, and desiring he would make Trial of him in carrying on the War against *Tepeaca*, *Chulula* and *Guaxacingo*, since they had offended him in breaking the Friendship and Faith contracted with him, going over to the *Culus*, and killing the *Spaniards* that were marching through that Country; besides, that to make the War on *Mexico*, as he intended, it was proper first to take off their Confederates, and begin with *Tepeaca*.

Cortes embraced him, returning Thanks for his good Will, and promising to take such Measures for the Service of the Republic, that it should be revenged on all its Enemies. Fifty Days were now passed since *Cortes*'s Arrival at *Tlascala*, after his Return from *Mexico*, and *Xicotencatl* pressed him daily, saying the Men were ready whensoever he should think fit. Though *Cortes* had more need to have attended his Cure than to enter on fresh Fatigues so soon; yet, for fear of losing so favourable an Opportunity, understanding that the *Tepeacans*, and the *Mexican* Forces with them, had secured all the Passes that led to the Sea, he sent Messengers to the *Tepeacans*, and to the other Towns, desiring them to quit the Friendship of the *Mexicans*, and to embrace that of the *Tlascalans*, and he would forgive them the Injury done him by breaking their Faith, which they had engaged to him when he marched to *Tlascala*. They made little Account of his Offer, but resolved to adhere to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* signified the same to the Council of *Tlascala*, and they, being Enemies to the *Tepeacans*, naturally inclined to War, desirous to please *Cortes*, who had gained all the prime Men, having sent them many Presents from *Mexico*, and done them much Honour; and believing that the War would be very advantageous to the Republic, offered to supply him with fifty thousand Soldiers.

5. As *Cortes* found all things succeeded to his Mind, and that it was not only just, but necessary to chastise the Injury done by the *Tepeacans*, he began to prepare for his March. And here he first thought to send the King an Account of all that had happened; because he had not done it

since he set out from *Villa Rica* for *Mexico*: He told his Majesty all his Successes, as also his Misfortune at *Mexico*, with all the Particulars relating to it; shewing all his Disappointments to have been occasioned by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who could not be brought to an Accommodation, for which Reason he kept him Prisoner at *Vera Cruz*; he likewise demanded Men and Horses, promised to subdue that vast Empire with little Assistance, and without Expence to the Crown; for he offered to pay for the Horses, Arms, and Ammunition that should be sent to him: He desired some Reward might be bestowed on *Jerom de Aguilar*, the Interpreter, who did extraordinary Service; and prepared to send *Mendoza* with this Account, and the Value of thirty thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Alcaldes and Regidores of *Villa Rica*, who were always with *Cortes*, wrote at the same time. *Tepeaca* being but eight Leagues from *Tlascala*, the Inhabitants knew what was coming upon them, and on their Side prepared for War; but we must here mention what occasioned this War; viz. the Affair of the *Spaniards* those People destroyed.

The News of the great Wealth of *New Spain* being spread throughout the Islands, several *Spaniards* transported themselves to *Vera Cruz*; where, about fifty or sixty of them, joining together, set out for *Mexico*, by the Way of *Tepeaca*, at the Time that *Cortes* was retired to *Tlascala*; and all the Country having been informed that the War was declared against the *Spaniards* at *Mexico*, the *Tepeacans* resolved to kill them and their Captain, whose Name was *Corenado*, which they actually put in Execution; and the like was done in other Parts, concluding that the *Spaniards*, at *Mexico*, would be all destroyed, as the *Mexicans* every where reported. *Cortes* marched out of *Tlascala* with his *Spaniards*, and six thousand Indian Archers, till such time as the fifty thousand *Tlascalans* were raised, to be under the Command of *Xicotencatl*, assisted by *Alonso de Hojeda*, and *John Marquez*, who spoke the Language tolerably; he advanced three Leagues, and took up his Quarters at *Cinpancingo*, whither so great a Multitude resorted from the Lordships of *Guaxacingo* and *Chulula*, that it was not doubted but that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand fighting Men.

The People of *Zacatapeque*, and of *Acazingo*, having made it their Choice to join in this War with the Inhabitants of *Tepeaca* against the *Spaniards*; they, as lying nearest *Tlascala*, were first entirely destroyed; and then *Tepeaca* was reduced to such Extremities, that the Inhabitants submitted, and took an Oath to be good Subjects to the King of *Spain*. This War happily over, *Cortes* divided the Profits between his own Forces and the Republic of *Tlascala*, after deducting the Fifth for the King. The Republic of *Tlascala* was highly pleased to see *Cortes* share the Booty so punctually with them, and besides, their City was full of Slaves, Salt, Cotton, Feather-works, Jewels, and other things they had Occasion for. The City of *Tepeaca* being perfectly reduced, *Marina* understood that the *Mexicans* were preparing to fall upon the *Spaniards* when they least suspected it. *Cortes* seized some that were nearest about him, who, he was informed, knew of it; and, having examined into the Affair, punished them severely. The *Mexicans* having Advice that *Cortes* was marched to make War on *Tepeaca*, took care to send Armies to several Parts to secure their Frontiers, persuaded their Allies to stand by them, and made all possible Preparations, not only to defend themselves, for that they looked upon as a Matter of no Difficulty, but to offend the *Spaniards*; and like a subtle People, sent the Heads of Horses, and other things they had taken, to the several Provinces they suspected might be inclinable to forsake their Interest, giving out that *Cortes* was dead, and encouraging the People with the Hopes, that having no Commander, they would easily make an End of all the rest. This Notion so far prevailed with the *Indians*, who are naturally fickle, that most of them revolted, though they had sworn Obedience to the King of *Spain*; and wherever any *Spaniards* were they slaughtered them.

When all things were settled at *Tepeaca*, and in the

neighbouring Parts, *Cortes* sent some Commanders to reduce those that still held out; enjoining them to try all gentle and fair Means; and gave out that he would return to *Tlascal*. The chief Men of *Tepeaca* entreated him, that since they were become the King of *Spain's* Subjects, pursuant to the Oath they had taken, he would not forsake them; but, in case he could not avoid going, he would leave some *Spaniards* there, or else they should be destroyed: *Cortes* answered, that he would endeavour to satisfy them, and that they need not fear the *Mexicans*, for he hoped in God they should soon see them quite disabled; and thinking the Situation of that City very convenient to secure the Way to *Villa Rica*, as commanding the Passes through which the *Spaniards* came into these Parts; and that the Province was in the Midst of the Country, near to the Republic of *Tlascal*, *Guaxacingo*, and *Chulula*, on which it bordered; and on another Side upon the *Culuas*, who, being so close by, might occasion new Commotions there: Upon all these Considerations, and to please the *Tepeacans*, who had desired a Garrison of him, he sent for the Alcaldes and Regidores of the Council, who were with him, and told them it was convenient to settle a Colony there, for the Reasons aforesaid; who approving of it, he appointed the proper Officers, and *Ferom de Aguilar* to be Regidore, being always ready to requite those that deserved it. He called this Place *Segura de la Frontera*, i. e. the Security of the Frontier, because founded upon the aforesaid Motives, and because it lay on the Frontiers of *Culua*.

6. It has been before observed, that for the better carrying on the War against the *Spaniards*, the *Mexicans* had thought fit to elect *Guatimozin* for their Emperor, the Nephew and Son-in-law to *Moteczuma*: He was a young Man about twenty-five Years old, of so much Spirit and Vigilance, that, contrary to the Manner of his Predecessor, he entirely gave himself up to the Care of the Public; being desirous, immediately, to shew the Advantages of Government when placed in proper Hands: He knew what the *Spaniards* were doing in the Province of *Tepeaca*, and, foreseeing the Designs they might form, when assisted by the united Forces of the *Tlascalans*, and other neighbouring Provinces; he began to have those reasonable Apprehensions, which are necessary to prudent Measures.

Cortes received an Account that his Army was upon the Frontiers, which was confirmed by three or four Nobles, sent by the Cazique of *Guacachula*, a populous City, situate on the Road to *Mexico*, and a Place which the new Emperor looked on as one of the Ramparts of his Empire. They came to request Succour against the *Mexicans*, complaining of their Violences, and offering to take up Arms against them, so soon as the *Spaniards* should come within Sight of their Town. They made the Undertaking appear easy and just; saying, that their Cazique ought to assist as a Vassal of the King of *Spain*. *Cortes* asked them what Force the Enemy had in those Parts? They told him twenty thousand in the District of their City, and ten thousand more in another City, called *Yzucan*, four Leagues from them; but that, in *Guacachula*, and its Dependencies, they could raise a very considerable Number of Men, who would be glad of an Opportunity to take up Arms. *Cortes* examined them very carefully, that he might discover the Intentions of their Cazique; and they gave so good an Account of themselves, as fully convinced him of their Sincerity; and, though he should have had some remaining Suspicion, he would, at that time, have dissembled it; for, in case the Treaty could not have been depended on, it was nevertheless necessary to drive away the Enemy, and subject the frontier Towns before the *Mexicans* came with a greater Force to defend them.

Cortes applied himself so earnestly to this Enterprize, that the very same Day he formed an Army of three hundred *Spaniards*, twelve or thirteen Horse, and above thirty thousand *Tlascalans*, under the Command of *Christopher de Olid*; and after he had made this Disposition, he put his Design in Execution with so much Expedition, that the Army marched next Morning. *Olid* car-

ried the Envoys, sent from *Guacachula*, with him, and had Orders to advance with Circumspection, till he came near the City; and in case he suspected any Treachery, to engage the *Mexicans* in some advantageous Post, and break them before they attacked the Town. They all marched on very cheerfully, till, at six Leagues from *Tepeaca*, and almost at the same Distance from *Guacachula*, they found it rumoured among the Peasants of the Country, but without any good Foundation, that the Emperor of *Mexico* was on the March with his whole Force, to relieve those Cities.

The Soldiers of *Narvaez* believed the Report, and so multiplied the Enemies Forces in their Imagination, that, without hearkening to Reason, or obeying Orders, they insolently protested that they would march no farther: So that *Christopher de Olid* grew angry, and in a contemptuous Manner bid them return; threatening them with the Displeasure of *Cortes*, since they were not touched with the Dishonour of their Retreat. But as he was preparing to prosecute his March without them, there happened a new Accident, which, if it did not altogether shake his Constancy, yet retarded the Success of the Expedition. They saw several Bodies of Men descending from the neighbouring Mountains, and advancing with more than ordinary Diligence; and *Christopher de Olid*, believing the *Mexicans* were coming to attack him, drew up his Men in order, in which he acted rightly; for too much Care never did hurt in an Army. But some Horse, whom he had sent before to gain Intelligence, returned with an Account, that it was the Cazique of *Guaxacingo*, with his confederate Caziques, who were come to assist the *Spaniards* in their War against the *Mexicans*, who had ravaged their Frontiers, and threatened their Dominions. Upon this, *Olid* ordered their Troops to halt, and the Caziques to come before him, which was presently done.

But that which should have given them all entire Satisfaction, occasioned a second Uneasiness in the Soldiers. It began amongst the *Tlascalans*, and next infected the *Spaniards*; for they both declared, that those People were not to be trusted; and that they were sent by the *Mexicans* to serve them by falling on the *Spaniards* during the Engagement. *Christopher de Olid* heard them, and, without enquiring sufficiently into the Matter, entered into their Suspicions presently, seized those Caziques, and sent them away to *Tepeaca*, for *Cortes* to determine concerning them. An inconsiderate Action, by which he ran the risque of raising a Disturbance between his own People and those who really came as his Friends. The Prisoners were brought before *Cortes*, complaining with a good deal of Reason of *Olid*. *Cortes* heard them with great Kindness, and, ordering their Irons to be taken off, endeavoured to regain their good Opinion. But upon further Consideration he found it would be necessary to carry on this Enterprize in Person; the Distrust which his *Indian* Allies had of each other, and the Uneasiness among the *Spaniards*, seeming to threaten some fatal Event. He presently set out, and in a few Hours came up with the Army: There every body was pleased with his Presence, Things looked in quite another Manner, and the Storm that was beginning to gather dispersed; he reprimanded *Olid*, for not sending him an Account of the Accident, since he was so near, and for discovering his Jealousy by the Imprisonment of the Caziques; and, having joined all the Forces, without any farther Delay he marched on to *Guacachula*, ordering the Envoys from that City, to go and inform their Caziques where he was, and what Force he had brought along with him.

The *Mexicans* were posted on the farther Side of the City, but on the first Notice from their Sentinels they advanced with so much Speed, that by the Time the *Spaniards* came within Musket-shot they had formed their Army, and possessed themselves of the Road, with an Intention to try their Strength under Cover of the Town. The Victory was very vigorously disputed; the *Mexicans* not only defending themselves, but advancing with all the Signs of Resolution to maintain their Ground to the utmost; when the Cazique of *Guacachula* laid hold of this Occasion to give a Proof of his Fidelity, falling on

on their Rear, and at the same time assaulting them from the Walls with such Bravery as much facilitated the Victory; and in half an Hour the *Mexicans* were intirely defeated, there being but few who were not either killed or wounded. When *Cortes* had settled his new Conquests, he returned to *Tepeaca* which he called *Segura de la Frontera*, and there he received the News, that his firm Friend *Maxiscatzin* was at the point of Death, at *Tlascala*, which hastened his Return thither, though not time enough to find him alive: He died a Christian, and as much attached to the *Spanish* Interest as ever; so that *Cortes* was much concerned for the Loss of him, but his Grief however was soon lessened by the coming of a fresh Reinforcement of *Spaniards* in the following Manner.

7. A Ship of moderate Burden arrived at *Juan de Ulua* and brought thirty *Spanish* Soldiers, two Horses, and some Provisions and Ammunition, which *Velasquez* sent to *Narvaez*, taking it for granted that all the Conquests in that Country were his own, and the Troops of *Cortes* at his Devotion. Their Commander was *Pedro de Barba*, the same who was Governor of the *Havanna* when *Cortes* sailed from the Isle of *Cuba*, having by his Friendship escaped the last Snares that were laid to stop his Voyage. *Pedro Cavallero*, who commanded on the Coast, no sooner discovered the Vessel, but he went out in a Boat, saluted the new Comers with great Civility; and having found by the very respectful Manner with which *Pedro de Barba* inquired after *Narvaez* the Design of their coming, answered him, without the least Hesitation, that he was not only in good Health, but in great Prosperity, all those Countries having submitted to him, and that *Cortes* and some of his People were fled to the Mountains; which induced them to land without the least Distrust, and go to *Vera Cruz*, where they discovered the Deceit, and found themselves Prisoners to *Cortes*. *Barba* commended the Stratagem of *Cavallero*, for in reality he was not sorry to find his Friend in so good a Condition.

They were carried up to *Segura de la Frontera*, and *Cortes* shewed a particular Satisfaction at the Arrival of more *Spaniards*, with the agreeable Circumstance of receiving this Succour from the Hands of his Enemy. He treated *Barba* very kindly, and gave him a Company of Cross-bows, upon the Confidence he had of his Friendship. He distributed Gifts among the Soldiers, upon which they agreed to serve under his Command. He afterwards read the Letter privately, which *Barba* brought for *Narvaez*; in which *Velasquez*, supposing him Master of all those Conquests, gave him Orders to maintain himself there at all Adventures; for which End he promised him very powerful Succours; and, lastly, told him, that if *Cortes* was not dead, he should immediately send him away with a sufficient Guard, for that he had received express Orders from the Bishop of *Burgos* to send him Prisoner to Court. About eight Days after arrived a second Vessel with another Reinforcement for *Narvaez*; which *Pedro Cavallero* seized after the same manner. She brought eight Soldiers, and a Mare, with a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, under the Command of Capt. *de Lobera*. They all immediately went to *Segura* and lifted themselves, as the others had done.

These Succours came by a Way so unlooked for, that *Cortes* considered them as good Omens, and Forerunners of future Success. He had already resolved on the Conquest of *Mexico*, and the great Number of Allies by which he found himself supported in his last Expedition confirmed him in his Resolution. But the Passage on the Lake was the grand and unavoidable Difficulty, and gave him great Concern; for, after the Enemy had once found out the Secret of breaking the Bridges of the Causeways, there was no depending upon portable Bridges, which were only to be used when they were pinched in Time; wherefore he began to think of building twelve or thirteen Brigantines, which should be able to resist the *Indian* Canoes, and transport his Troops to the City; and these he proposed to carry in Pieces on the Shoulders of the *Indian Tamenes* for fourteen or fifteen Leagues at least of very bad way, over the Mountains of *Tlascala*, to a River near the Lake. He had a vigorous Imagination, and was naturally an Enemy to such lazy Spirits as fancy

difficult Things to be impossible. He communicated his Thoughts to *Martin Lopez*, on whose Ingenuity and great Abilities he depended for the compassing this important Design; and found he did not only approve of it, but also undertook to execute it without Difficulty.

He sent him before to *Tlascala*, with all the *Spanish* Soldiers who had any Skill in the Carpenters Trade, in order to begin the Work, with a sufficient Number of *Indians* to cut Wood, or do any other Service for which there might be Occasion; at the same time he ordered the Iron-work and Rigging, and whatever had been preserved out of the Ships that were sunk, to be brought up from *Vera Cruz*; and, having observed that those Mountains produced Trees which afford a kind of Rosin, he drew out such a Quantity as was necessary for the careening of his Barks. He was in want of Powder, but soon found Means to make very good, sending to search for Sulphur in the Vulcano discovered by *Diego Ordaz*; for he believed they could not fail of finding it there: And some *Spanish* Soldiers belonging to the Artillery offered their Service; and, in fine, returned with as much Sulphur as was wanted. When this Affair was over, he began to think of returning to *Tlascala*, to hasten as much as he could the Preparations for his Expedition; and before he went he left his Instructions with the new Council at *Segura*, and appointed Capt. *Francisco de Orozco* Commander of the Garrison, with about twenty *Spanish* Soldiers, and the Militia of the Country, at his Disposal.

8. *Cortes* complained with some Warmth of *Francisco Garay*, because, knowing the Progress he had made in the Empire of *Mexico*, he did not, notwithstanding, endeavour to make a Settlement in the Province of *Panuco*; but such a happy Ascendant had the Fortune of *Cortes*, over that of his Rivals, that as *Velasquez* furnished him with Succours, the same Way by which he intended to destroy him, and support *Narvaez*; so the Measures which *Garay* had taken to usurp some Part of his Government, turned likewise to his Advantage. We have already related how *Garay* was repulsed, when *Cortes* was with his Troops at *Zempoalla*; notwithstanding which, he prepared another Fleet, with a greater Number of Soldiers, commanded by his best Officers.

But the second Expedition was as unfortunate as the first; for the *Spaniards* were no sooner landed, than they met with such Resistance from the *Indians*, that they were glad to retreat to their Ships in the utmost Disorder; and, being wholly intent how to avoid the present Danger, put to Sea without observing the same Course. They were separated for some Days, and, without knowing any thing of each others Design, they arrived almost all at the same time, on the Coast of *Vera Cruz*, where they agreed to serve under *Cortes*, without any other Motive than that of his great Reputation. This Succour was looked upon as sent from Heaven; for tho' it be certain that the Confusion of the Soldiers and Sailors might help to disperse these Vessels, which forced them on the Coast, where they were so much wanted, yet their coming so opportunely, and after so many Misfortunes, to augment the Troops of *Cortes*, is an Event worthy of particular Reflection.

The first Ship that arrived was commanded by Captain *Camargo*, and had on board sixty *Spanish* Soldiers; a little after came another with fifty choice Soldiers, and seven Horses, commanded by Captain *Miguel Diaz*, a Gentleman of *Arragon*, who had signalized himself on all Occasions; and lastly, though somewhat late, arrived the Vessel commanded by Captain *Ramirez*, with forty Soldiers, ten Horses, and great Abundance of Provisions and Arms. They all landed, and the first, without staying for the rest, made the best of their Way to *Tlascala*, leaving an Example to the Followers to take the same Rout, which they all did with entire Satisfaction; for the great Advantages made by *Cortes*, in *New Spain*, had made such a Noise over all the Islands, that the Soldiers were easily led whither they thought Prosperity invited them. This Succour augmented the Number of the *Spaniards*, and inspired them with fresh Hopes. The Soldiers received the new Comers with Joy; they embraced each other as Friends of a long Acquaintance, without

without any other Tye than that of coming from the same Country.

Notwithstanding this good Fortune, he could not quiet the Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who were importunate with him, for leave to return to the Isle of *Cuba*; they put him in Mind of his Promise, and he could not deny but that they went upon the Expedition to *Tepeaca* on that Condition; for which Reason he was not willing to enter into any new Disputes with them, and the rather because he found his Troops augmented with Soldiers, better disciplined, and did not think it a proper time to march at the Head of unwilling Mutineers.

For these Reasons therefore he ordered a Proclamation to be made: *That whoever had a Mind to return home, was free to go, and should be furnished with Vessels, and every thing else that was necessary.* The greatest Part of the Soldiers of *Narvaez* made use of the Opportunity, but some stayed; and what deserves to be remarked is, that *Andres de Duero*, who appeared on several Occasions so much attached to the Interest of *Cortes*, was one of those who retired; and although there be no Account of the Reason of this Separation, we may very well believe there was but little Sincerity in the Pretences with which he coloured his Retreat; since we find him, shortly after, making use of all his Interest at Court in favour of *Velasquez*.

9. *Cortes* having now got rid of these Mutineers, whom *Alverado* had the Care of conducting to the Vessels, began to consider of the Time necessary to be employed in building the Brigantines. He dispatched new Orders to the Confederates, to hold themselves in readiness to march upon the first Notice, directing the Quantity of Provisions and Arms they were to provide: And at his Leisure Hours he wrote an Account of all the Particulars of the Conquest, to be sent to the Emperor; designing to equip a Vessel, and send new Agents, who might hasten the Dispatch of the former, or give him Notice of the Condition his Affairs were in at the Court of *Spain*; his Uncertainty therein being now one of his greatest Difficulties.

Cortes drew up this Account in form of a Letter, and repeating every thing of Importance in the Dispatches he sent the Year before by the Captains *Portocarrero* and *Montexo*, he gave his Majesty a faithful Relation of all his Adventures, from the Time he marched out of *Zempoalla*, and by his Courage and Conduct made his triumphant Entry into the capital City of the Empire, till he was afterward forced to retreat to *Tlascala* with considerable Loss. He also acquainted him with how much Security he was able to maintain himself in that Province, together with the Number of *Spaniards* that had augmented his Troops, and the great Confederacies he had made with divers *Indian Nations*, for renewing the War against the *Mexicans*. He expressed, with a noble and generous Confidence, the Hope he had of reducing to his Majesty's Obedience all that new World, whose Bounds to the North were unknown even to the Natives. He enlarged upon the Riches of that Empire, the Fertility of the Soil, and the Wealth of the several Princes. He highly extolled the Valour and Constancy of the *Spaniards*, and the Affection and Fidelity of the *Tlascalans*; with Relation to himself, he left it to his Actions to speak for him. He desired speedy Justice against the unfair Proceedings of *Velasquez*, and *Francisco Garay*; and made pressing Instances of an immediate Succour of Soldiers, Horses, Arms, and other warlike Provisions. He represented, in yet stronger Terms, the Necessity of sending some Ecclesiastics and Regulars of approved Virtue, to assist Father *Olmedo* in the Conversion of the *Indians*; giving an Account that some of the Chief among them were already baptized, and that in the rest there was such a Disposition to receive the Truth, as gave great Hopes of its making a considerable Progress.

The General sent these Dispatches by the Captains, *Mendoza* and *Ordaz*. His private Instructions to them were, "That before they discovered their Commission, or made any Declaration of their being sent by him, they should first find his Father, and the two Agents who were sent the Year before, and jointly carry on

"their Negotiation, according as the Condition of his Affairs should require." He remitted also a second Present to the Emperor, consisting of Gold and other Curiosities, which had been preserved at *Tlascala*, to which the Soldiers also contributed, and were, upon this Occasion, very liberal; adding the Booty acquired in the Expeditions of *Tepeaca* and *Guacachula*; a Present less in Value than the former, but more deserving, as being amassed in the Midst of their Disgraces, after those Losses whereof *Cortes* had given a faithful Account in his Letters.

10. It is now necessary, in order to the perfect understanding of what is to follow, that we should look over into *Spain*, in order to see what Effects both these and the former Applications produced in his Favour had; since, at present, he was not in more Danger from the Arms of his Foes in the new World, than from the repeated Efforts of those implacable Enemies which, in spite of all his glorious Successes, laboured his Destruction in the old. That we may perform what we intend of this kind at once, we will take up things from the Beginning, reducing the whole of this Controversy in the *Spanish* Court, into as narrow a Compass as is possible. It was a long time that *Martin Cortes*, with the two first Envoys of his Son, *Alonso Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montexo*, held the wretched Employment of waiting in the Antichambers of the Ministers, so far from being admitted to Audience, that, not daring to importune them, they only presented themselves in the Throngs as they passed by, and were forced to content themselves with receiving an accidental Glance of an Eye, the comfortless Notice taken of those who are afraid to ruin their Pretensions, by advancing them unseasonably. The Emperor, however, gave them a very favourable Hearing, and found sufficient time to inform himself, exactly, of all that passed in new *Spain*, and to judge what might be expected from the Enterprize. And, in order to this, he made himself Master of the whole Affair, not disdaining to ask Questions upon many Points. By this Means the Emperor discovered the great Advantages which might be expected from such wonderful Beginnings: And the Idea he at that time formed of the Merit of *Cortes* helped to recommend him to his Favour, as he was naturally inclined to value extraordinary Men.

The sudden Departure of the Emperor did not permit him to come to any Resolution, in a Matter wherein so many Difficulties were raised, as well by the Agents of *Velasquez*, as by some Ministers who supported them. But when the Day of his Embarkation came, which was the 20th of *May*, 1520, his Majesty did, in a particular Manner, recommend the Affair of *Cortes* to Cardinal *Adriano*, Governor of the Kingdom in his Absence. The Cardinal was very sincerely desirous to favour his Cause; but as the Informations, by which he was to govern himself, came from the Council of the *Indies* (where the Votes were influenced by the Authority and Prejudice of the President the Bishop of *Burgos*) he found himself at a Loss how to come to any Resolution; nor was it an easy Matter to assure himself of making a right Judgment, while the Representations of *Velasquez* came cloathed with the Appearance of Justice, and the noble Exploits of *Cortes* were discredited with the Name of Rebellion. Afterwards, when it was most necessary, there wanted Time to examine into the Truth of this Affair, the Cares of the Ministers being employed in Matters of the last Importance. It was, indeed, a very improper time to consider of new Enterprizes, when the Ministers were so wholly employed in finding Remedies for the Evils which afflicted the State within Doors, that those without made no Sort of Impression upon them: So that *Martin Cortes*, and his Friends, sensible of the small Advantages they reaped by their Solicitations, and of the general Disorders of Affairs, retired to *Medillin*, with a Resolution to let the Storm blow over, and expect the Return of the Emperor, who was perfectly well apprized of the Affair, and had shewn a Disposition to do Justice to their Pretensions; and they plainly saw that his Authority was necessary to surmount the Opposition of the Bishop of *Burgos*, and other Impediments which arose from the present Posture of Affairs.

Some little Time after *Ordaz* and *Mendoza* arrived at *Seville* after a prosperous Voyage; and, without discovering themselves, or their Commission, they took Care to be informed about *Cortes's* Affairs, a Precaution which imported no less than their Liberty; for they understood, to their great Surprise, that the Commissioners of Trade had express Orders from the Bishop of *Burgos*, to stop and imprison any Person who should be sent from *New Spain*, and to seize on the Gold and other Merchandize that he should bring, either on his own Account, or by way of Commission. Upon which they only endeavoured to secure their Persons, and thought themselves very happy in preserving their Letters and Dispatches, leaving the Present for the King, with every thing else, in the Hands of those Judges, and to be disposed of at the Pleasure of the Bishop of *Burgos*. They parted from *Seville*, not without great Apprehension of being discovered; determining, if possible, to find out at the Court either *Martin Cortes*, or the two Agents, in order to get Light how to proceed; but hearing, on the Road, that they were retired to *Medellin*, they went on to that Town, where their Arrival was welcomed with all the Demonstrations of Joy which such wonderful and wished for News could inspire. It was debated among them, whether it would be proper to carry the Dispatches of *Cortes* immediately to the Cardinal-Regent, without delaying to inform him of such important News: But, considering the present Disturbances of the Kingdom, they thought it would be to no Purpose to speak of distant Advantages, upon which they resolved to continue in their Retirement, till the Ministers were more at leisure.

The Account which came soon after, of the Emperor's Return, contributed very much to restore the public Tranquility; he gave Assurance, in his Letters, that he would leave all other Affairs, to come where his Presence was so necessary. This Assurance entirely settled every thing, and *Martin Cortes*, judging it a proper Time to renew his Solicitations, set out immediately for the Court, with the four Commissioners from his Son; where, after some small Delays, they had a particular Audience of the Cardinal-Regent. They informed him, in general, how far Matters were advanced towards the Conquest of *Mexico*, and referred him to the Letters of *Cortes* for the Particulars. They gave him also an Account of the Orders they found at *Seville*, for imprisoning any one who should come from *Cortes*, and of the Seizure of the Present they had brought for the King. Upon this Occasion, they represented the Reasons they had to distrust the Bishop of *Burgos*; and, lastly, desired Leave to except against him, in a legal way, as a Judge, offering to make good the Reasons of their Exception, or suffer the Penalty of their taking such a Step. The Cardinal heard them with Attention; he seemed touched with their Misfortune, and comforted them with Promises of a speedy Dispatch: He was particularly displeased with the Orders given at *Seville*, and the Seizure of the Present, as being done without his Knowledge. And farther, the Cardinal answered them, with regard to their Request concerning the Bishop, That they might take their Remedy against him at Law.

With these Encouragements to hope for better Fortune they immediately entered their Exception against the President of the Council of the *Indies*, in his own Court, delivering their Reasons in Writing, with all the Temper and Moderation necessary to a due Respect. But their Reasons were so strong, and the Truth of what they alledged so well known to the other Judges, that they durst not deny Justice in an Affair of that Importance, and more especially on the Approach of the Emperor's Return. After a full Hearing, the Bishop was absolutely forbid to interfere in any Matter between *Cortes* and *Velasquez*. His Orders were revoked, the Embargo at *Seville* taken off, and the Importance of the Undertaking appeared in its true Light. The heroic Actions of *Cortes*, which were almost obscured before by the Suspicion of his Fidelity, were now celebrated as they deserved, and the Cardinal, by several Decrees, recommended the Dispatch of the Envoys, and was so sincerely desirous to forward the Affair, that, even after he had

received the News of his Exaltation to St. Peter's Chair, he dispatched some Orders favourable to *Cortes*, as he was on the Road to embark.

11. In a short Time after the Emperor's Arrival in his *Spanish* Dominions he gave Audience to the Envoys of *Cortes*, and notwithstanding those of *Velasquez* at the same Time presented their Request; yet, as he had been well informed of the Case, on both Sides, by Letters from the Cardinal, now Pope, he, by a new Sentence, confirmed the Recusation of the Bishop of *Burgos*, and appointed Commissaries to determine this Affair. The first thing the Council did was, to look over the Memorials, drawn from Letters and Relations produced at the Trial; but there they were so embarrassed by contradictory Accounts, that they thought it necessary to order the Agents, on both Sides, to explain themselves *viva voce* at the next Meeting; for they were all desirous to dispatch this Affair, and examine strictly into the Accusations brought by the Parties against each other, and into the Strength of their respective Arguments, that so they might come to the Knowledge of the Truth.

The next Day the Agents appeared before the Council, with their Advocates, and, amongst those for *Velasquez*, *Andres de Duero* signified himself. But People were the less surprized to see him unfaithful to his Friend, knowing he had been so first to his Master. The Memorials were read, and the Parties at the same Time were examined, in order to discover how they justified themselves from their respective Accusations. From their Answers the Judges drew what was sufficient to decide the Affair; and, after some few Days Hearings, the Court unanimously agreed, "That it was not reasonable for *Velasquez* to appropriate to himself the Conquest of *New Spain*, without a better Title than that of having expended some Money in the Preparations for that Enterprize, and naming *Cortes* for Commander: That he could only have his Action for what he had laid out: That the Nomination of *Cortes* afforded him no Pretence; for besides that he gave him the Commission without the Authority of the Commissioners of the Royal Audience, whose Orders he should have received, or so much as acquainting them with it, he lost those Prerogatives the Day that he revoked it, and could have no right to say, that the Conquest was made by his Order; *Cortes* being, by that Revocation, left free to act as he should judge most advantageous for the Service of the King, with the Troops and Vessels, which for the most Part he had equipped at his own Expence, and that of his Friends: And lastly, they censured *Velasquez*, as a Person who had shewn a very ungovernable Ambition, in aspiring to usurp the Glory and Advantage of the Actions of another, and as having been guilty of a Rashness, which deserved a very severe Reprimand, in sending an Army against *Hernan Cortes*, without considering the Consequences which might have attended such violent Proceedings, or regarding the Orders he had received to the contrary, from the Ministers of the Royal Audience of *Santa Domingo*."

These Conclusions were laid before the Emperor, which being approved by his Majesty, Sentence was pronounced, declaring *Hernan Cortes* to be a good Minister and faithful Subject, honouring with the like Approbation the Officers and Soldiers under his Command; imposing perpetual Silence on *Velasquez*, on the Subject of having any Pretensions to the Conquest of *New Spain*, and strictly commanding him, on Pain of severe Punishment, not to raise the least Obstacle to that Affair, directly or indirectly, with a Reservation to any Demand he might have, on account of Monies by him expended in the Armament of the Vessels which he was to sue for, in the ordinary way of Justice. And thus ended this Affair; the Judges referring the Honours designed for *Cortes*, the reprimanding *Velasquez*, and other Conclusions of the Council, to the Dispatches that were to be sent in the Name of the Emperor. The next thing taken into Consideration was the Assistance to be given *Cortes*, the Care of which the Emperor referred to the same Council. He gave a very favourable Audience to

his Agents, bestowed several Marks of his Kindness upon *Martin Cortes*, on account of his Son's Merit, whom he promised to reward according to his Service.

Several Regulars were named for the Conversion of the *Indians*: He ordered a considerable Number of Arms and Horses to be embarked in the first Fleet, and, considering how much the utmost Dispatch imported to them, he commanded the Orders to be immediately drawn, and sent; one was directed to the Royal Audience of *Santa Domingo*, another to *Velasquez*, strictly enjoining him to desist from further interfering in that Enterprize, and severely censuring his violent Proceedings; another to *Francisco Garay*, blaming him for attempting any thing on *New Spain*: The last was directed to *Cortes*, and abounded in those Marks of Honour and Favour, which Kings bestow on those from whom they have received extraordinary Services, when they do not disdain to own the Obligation. These Dispatches were signed by the Emperor in *Valladolid* the 22d of *October* 1522, and sent away with two of the Envoys of *Cortes*, the other two remaining to solicit Succours, and receive Instructions that were framing for the Government of the new conquered Country. But to return,

12. When our Hero resolved to renew the War, it was towards the Year 1520, and he had no sooner resolved than so lucky an Accident happened, as gave both himself and his Soldiers fresh Spirits. A Ship arrived at *Vera Cruz* with Arms and Ammunition on the Account of private Merchants, but both the Captain and all his Men were so charmed with the Reports they heard of the Riches of *Mexico*, that they quitted their Ship, and joined the Army. The next Day there was a general Muster, when it appeared, that there were five hundred and forty Foot, and forty Horse, together with nine Pieces of Cannon. The *Tlascalans* furnished ten thousand Men, and the Confederates in Proportion.

The Army marched that Day six Leagues, and took up their Quarters in a Place called *Texmeluca*, which signifies a Grove of Oaks. It was a considerable Town, situate on the *Mexican* Confines, and in the Jurisdiction of *Guaxacingo*, whose Cazique took Care to provide sufficiently for all the Troops. The Day following they continued their March with all necessary Precautions. They received Advice, that the *Mexicans* were assembled on the other Side of a Mountain, which rendered the Road of *Texcuco* very difficult, and because they came not to that Place till towards Evening, and it was not adviseable to march through such broken mountainous Ground when Night was approaching, the Army made a halt. In the Morning they began to mount the Hill, and penetrate the Woods, but they had not marched much above a League, when the Van-guard returned, with an Account that the Enemy had stopt up the way, with Trees laid a-cross, and sharp Stakes, which they had fixed in the loose Sands, to wound the Horses; upon which *Cortes* said to the *Spaniards* aloud, These valiant People don't seem very desirous to meet us, since they take so much Pains to stop up our way to them; and he ordered two thousand *Tlascalans* to join the Van-guard, and clear the Road, which they executed with so much Expedition, that the Rear of the Army scarce seemed to stop.

From this Place they discovered the great Lake of *Mexico*, and upon this Occasion *Cortes* put his Soldiers in Mind of the Riches they had enjoyed, as well as of what they had suffered in that City, mixing the good and bad, that he might animate them to Revenge. They likewise discovered several Fires in distant Towns, succeeding one another with some Intermision; and, tho' there was no doubt but these were Signals made on the Discovery of the Army, they pursued their March, with the same Precaution. They soon discovered, at a great Distance, the Enemy's Army, which took up all the Plain, without making any Motion, seeming resolved to continue in a Post from whence they could easily make a Retreat. The *Spaniards* rejoiced at the Opportunity of coming so soon to an Action, and the *Tlascalans* did the same: But the Joy of the latter soon turned to Fury; so that *Cortes* was obliged to make

use of his Authority, and the Diligence of some of his Captains, to prevent their running into Disorder.

The *Mexicans* were on the farther Side of a great Baranco, or Chasm in the Earth, which must of Necessity be passed. It was made deeper by a Brook, which, collecting all the Waters from the Mountains, ran through it, and was at that Time considerably swelled. The *Mexicans* had a little wooden Bridge over it for the Use of Passengers, which they could easily have broke down, but had left on Purpose, as was afterwards supposed, that they might destroy their Enemies in that narrow Pass, thinking it impossible that they could ever form themselves on the other Side, when so vigorously opposed. After this Manner they reasoned, when at a Distance from Danger; but when they discovered the Army of *Cortes*, which they had believed to be so numerous, their Imaginations were struck with other Notions: They wanted Courage to defend their Post, and therefore began to retire by little and little, without turning their Backs. *Cortes* advanced with Speed, and when he came up to the Baranco, he esteemed it a Piece of good Fortune that the Enemy had quitted it; for, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* found no Resistance, they had some Difficulty in passing it. He detached twenty Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascalans*, to keep the Enemy in play, without engaging farther, until such Time as the rest of his Troops were passed. But the *Mexicans* no sooner saw them drawing up on the other Side of the Baranco, than they laid aside all their Policy, dispersing themselves at once, some betaking themselves to the most unfrequented Paths, and others seeking Refuge in the Mountains.

Cortes did not care to lose Time, but marched to possess himself of *Texcuco*. The Army in their March made some Slaughter of the *Mexicans*, who had absconded in the Woods. The same Night the Troops quartered in a Place lately forsaken by the Inhabitants, within three Leagues of *Texcuco*, where they doubled their Sentinels, and were in a Manner all Night under Arms. But the next Day, at a little Distance from the Town, they discovered about ten *Indians*, who were coming in Haste along the Road, with the Appearance of a Message, and who brought with them a Plate of Gold, in form of a Flag, hanging to the Top of a Lance, which was looked upon as a Sign of Peace.

The Chief of them came as Ambassador from the King of *Texcuco*, desiring *Cortes* to spare his People and Country; acquainting him, that he desired to be his Confederate, for which End he had provided good Quarters for all the *Spaniards* in the City; and that the rest of the Nations, under his Command, should be supplied with every Thing that was necessary. *Cortes* put some Questions to him; and, as he came well instructed, he answered without Hesitation; adding, that his Master had just Reason to complain of the Emperor, who was about to execute his Revenge upon him by some Extortions, and other Oppressions not to be endured, for his having refused him his Vote in his Election, for which Reason he was resolved to unite himself with the *Spaniards*, as one of the most interested in the Ruin of that Tyrant.

It does not appear from any of the *Spanish* Historians who this King of *Texcuco* was; but they all agree, that he was both a Tyrant and a Usurper, so that as soon as the *Spaniards* were in Possession of the Place, the Nobility desired *Cortes* to restore their lawful Prince; which, as it was an Act of Justice, and seemed to promise much in favour of the *Spanish* Interest, he readily performed, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants.

13. As they made some Stay in this City, *Olmedo* found Means to convert the King to the Christian Religion; and he proved both a faithful, and an useful Ally; sending six or seven thousand of his Subjects to assist in widening the Canals, that they might the better receive the Brigantines, which had been prepared in order to sail into the great Lake, against the armed Canoes, which the *Indians* employed thereon. *Cortes*, at the same time, desiring to undertake something to facilitate the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, resolved to advance to the City of *Iztapalapa*,

Iztapalapa, six Leagues forward, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of the Shelter for their Canoes, and partly to give the confederate *Indians* some Employment.

The City of *Iztapalapa* was situated upon the same Causeway by which the *Spaniards* made their first Entry into *Mexico*; and disposed after such a Manner, that the greatest Part of the Building was within the very Lake, whose Water was brought into that Part of the Town, which was built upon the Bank, by Trenches, to let it in as Occasion required. *Cortes* charged himself with the Care of this Expedition, and took with him the Captains *Alverado* and *Olid*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Tlascalans*; and though the young King of *Tezcuco* was desirous to accompany him, he would not permit it, telling him his Presence would be more useful in the City; the military Government of which he left to *Sandoval*, and, with both of them, such Instructions as he thought necessary for the Security of their Quarters, and to keep things in order in his Absence. They presently began their March by the Causeway, designing to possess themselves first of that Part of the City which was built upon it, and dislodge the Inhabitants from the other Part, with the Artillery and Fire-arms: But the Enemy was informed of their Motions, and the Army was no sooner come within sight of the Place, than they discovered a Body of about eight thousand Men; at a little Distance from the Walls, who came out to defend them with so much Resolution, that, though they found themselves inferior in Number, they stood the Engagement, and fought with Bravery enough to retire with Reputation, which they did in a little time to the City; where, without staying to defend the Entrance, or shut up the Gates, they instantly disappeared, throwing themselves into the Lake in disorder.

Cortes was sensible that this kind of Retreat had the Appearance of a Stratagem, to draw him into some greater Danger, and therefore marched his Army into the City with all possible Precaution, but he found the Houses utterly abandoned; and, though the Noise and Cries of the Enemy continued in that Part, which stood in the Water, he resolved, with the Advice of his Captains, to maintain himself in the Post where he was, and lodge within the Walls, without attempting any thing farther, the Day being far spent: But it scarce began to be dark, when they perceived the Canals every where to overflow, the Water running impetuously over the lower Grounds.

Cortes immediately understood that the Enemy's Design was to drown this Part of the City, which they might easily do by opening the Sluices of the great Lake; and, as the Danger was inevitable, he was obliged to give Orders, instantly to quit the Place; and, though they made all the haste possible, the Water came above their Knees. *Cortes* was very much mortified, that he had not prevented this Stratagem of the *Indians*; as if it was possible, with the utmost Vigilance, to provide against all Accidents. He drew out his Army into the Road of *Tezcuco*, to which Place he thought to retire, deferring the Enterprize of *Iztapalapa* to a more favourable Opportunity; for it was impracticable, at this time, without a greater Force on the Lake-side, and some Vessels, to drive the *Mexicans* from the Place. The Troops lodged that Night on a little Hill free from the Water, where, nevertheless, they suffered very much, being wet and without any Defence against the Cold; but in such good Heart, that there was not the least Murmuring among the Soldiers.

At the first Appearance of Day, he continued his Retreat, and hastened the March of his Men. As soon as it was broad Day, they discovered a formidable Body of Enemies in pursuit of the Army. *Cortes*, notwithstanding this, marched on, but more slowly, though the Soldiers moved but very unwillingly, being animated with a Spirit of Vengeance against their Enemies. When *Cortes* thought convenient, he ordered his Troops to halt and face about; and the Enemies began the Attack with the same Precipitation that they pursued; but the *Spanish* Cross-bows, and the Bows of the *Tlascalans*, gave a Check to their first Fury; and at the same time the

Horse charged them, making Room for the confederate Troops, who entirely broke that disorderly Multitude, and obliged them to leave the Field with considerable Loss.

Cortes pursued his March without stopping, to reach his Quarters before Night. But the Enemy, no less diligent in rallying than retiring, advanced a second and third time to the Attack, without being terrified with the great Slaughter they had sustained; till such time as, fearing to approach too near *Tezcuco*, where the whole Strength of the *Spaniards* lay, they marched back to *Iztapalapa*, sufficiently chastized for their Boldness, having lost, in the three Attacks, six thousand Men: And tho' *Cortes* had some wounded, he lost only two *Tlascalans* and one Horse, who, covered with Arrows and Cuts, yet lived to bring off his Master. *Cortes*, and all his Army, a little before Night, entered the City of *Tezcuco*, with the Glory of three Victories obtained by the Way, which gave Reputation to the Expedition, and covered the Disgrace of the Retreat.

Whilst *Cortes* remained in *Tezcuco*, he received frequent Visits from the Neighbouring *Caziques*; among the rest there came Messengers from the Provinces of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, with an Account that there was a powerful Army of *Mexicans* upon their Frontiers, who had Commission to destroy them, for having made an Alliance with the *Spaniards*. They desired Succour to assist them in their Defence: This Request appeared necessary, for it imported *Cortes* very much, not to suffer the *Mexicans* to fix themselves in a Place where they might cut off his Communication with *Tlascala*. He immediately dispatched *Sandoval* and *Lugo*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, fifteen Horse, and a sufficient Number of *Tlascalans*; among whom, there were some who had obtained his Permission to retire to their own Country, and secure the Spoils they had obtained in the War. These Wretches marched with the Baggage of the Army, and, as Avarice regulated the Weight of their Burdens, they had so overloaded themselves, that they could not keep up with the Troops, but were forced to stop frequently to take Breath.

The *Mexicans* being informed of this, fell upon them in one of their resting Places; *Sandoval* and *Lugo* returned immediately to their Relief, and fell upon the Enemy so vigorously, with their whole Force, that they turned their Backs as soon as attacked: Five or six *Tlascalans*, who were disarmed and embarrassed with their Burdens, perished upon this Occasion, but the *Spaniards* recovered all the Booty, with some Addition. They continued their March, till the Army, having passed the Province of *Chalco*, approached the Frontiers of *Tlascala*. The *Mexicans* had assembled all the Troops of the neighbouring Provinces, to chastize the Rebels of *Chalco* and *Otumba*; and, knowing that the *Spaniards* were coming to the Relief of those two Nations, they reinforced themselves with Part of the Troops quartered about the Lake; and, having thus a very formidable Army, posted themselves on the Road the *Spaniards* were to pass, to try their Strength in the Field. *Sandoval* and *Lugo*, having given what Orders they thought necessary, advanced in order of Battle, without altering their Pace: But, on Sight of the Enemy, the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* halted, to examine more narrowly the Intention of that Body of Troops.

14. The *Mexicans* had the Advantage in Numbers, and advanced in Crowds, and made the first Discharge, without any Effect. The two Captains, taking Advantage of their Confusion, ordered the Horse to advance, whose Attack immediately made Room for the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, breaking this disorderly Multitude with great Slaughter. The Flight of the Enemy soon became universal; and the Troops of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, which had sallied out on the Noise of the Battle, coming up at the same time, the Chace was so bloody, that the *Mexican* Army was entirely defeated, with little or no Loss. Eight of the most considerable Prisoners were reserved, in order to get some Information from them; and the Army passed that Night to the City of *Chalco*, whose *Cazique* went before to prepare Quarters with great abundance

abundance of Refreshments for all the Troops; nor did he forget to have the Victory celebrated with Rejoicing, after the usual Manner of that People.

The Inhabitants of *Chalco*, as Subjects of the *Mexican* Empire, were Enemies to the *Tlascalans*, and had, besides, perpetual Disputes with them about their Frontiers: But this Night all their Quarrels were forgot, at the Desire of the *Chalqueses*. The *Spaniards* were Mediators at the Treaty, and, the Chiefs of both Nations being assembled, Peace was concluded: *Sandoval* and *Lugo* undertaking to get it confirmed by *Cortes*, and the *Tlascalans* to have it ratified by the Republic. This Affair thus finished, they returned to *Cortes*, who highly commended both the *Spanish* Officers, the Soldiers under their Command, and all the *Indian* Auxiliaries. He set the eight *Mexican* Captains at Liberty, and sent them with Proposals of Peace to their Emperor; not that he hoped any thing from it, farther than shewing the Justice of the War to all the People in that Part of the World, by obliging the Enemy to draw it upon themselves, by repeated Refusals of all Terms of Accommodation.

15. About this time *Cortes* was informed that the Brigantines were finished, by the Industry and Care of *Martin Lopez*, and the Republic of *Tlascala* granted him ten thousand Men to carry these Vessels from the Place where they were built to the Lake, which they accordingly performed; and, if we consider it attentively, this will appear one of the wisest Contrivances of this great Captain, and the happy Execution of it, one of the most surprising things performed by the *Spaniards*, in the Course of this Expedition. He was no sooner acquainted with this, than he again took the Field, and had several Engagements with the Enemy, in most of which he was successful; but, at the Attack of a Place called *Tacuba*, he was compelled to retreat. A Vessel arrived at this time at *Vera Cruz*, and, in her, *Julian de Alderte*, a Native of *Tordesillas*, with the Character of the King's Treasurer, Father *Urrea*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, *Antonia de Caravaial*, *Geronimo Ruiz de la Moto*, *Alonso Diaz de la Reguera*, and several Soldiers of Distinction, with a very considerable Succour of Arms. They immediately marched to *Tlascala*, and there had an Escort to conduct them safe to *Tezcuco*, themselves carrying the first News of their Arrival.

Soon after there arrived Messengers, dispatched in haste from the Caziques of *Chalco* and *Thamanalco*, to demand Succour; for the Emperor *Guatimozin*, as appeared by his Conduct, applied himself entirely to the Arts of War; and had considered that there was no better way to compass his Design, than by seizing on that Frontier, whereby he might cut off their Communication with *Tlascala*, and prevent Succours from *Vera Cruz*; a Point of so much Consequence, that *Cortes* found himself absolutely obliged to protect those Allies, to whose Fidelity he owed the Preservation of this Pass. He immediately dispatched *Sandoval* to their Relief, with three hundred *Spaniards*, twenty Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascala* and *Tezcuco*. *Sandoval* marched with such Diligence, that his Succour arrived very opportunely. The Caziques had assembled all their Troops, which, joined to those, made a very considerable Body. The Enemy was not far off their Army, having lodged the Night before at *Guatepeque*, and it was resolved to attack them before they entered the Territories of *Chalco*. In the mean time the *Mexicans*, depending upon the Number of their Forces, possessed themselves of some hollow Ways, in order to wait their coming in a Place where they might be secure against the Horse.

The *Spaniards* saw the Difficulty when they came to the Charge, and *Sandoval* stood in need of all his Resolution to dislodge the Enemy from the Post; which, however, they did, Sword in hand, but not without Loss. The *Mexicans* lost a great Number in this Conflict; however, they thought themselves strong enough to rally, and draw up upon the Plain: But *Sandoval*, having overcome the Difficulty of the Passage, attacked them so briskly that they had not time to form. The Van-guard continued the Fight with desperate Fury, but soon gave Way, and dispersed; and the *Spaniards* followed with so

much Vigour, that the *Mexicans* lost the greatest Part of their Troops. *Sandoval* remained Master of the Field, and chose a Place for his Army to halt in, and take a little rest, resolving to advance that Night to *Guatepeque*.

But scarce had the Troops began to enjoy the Repose they so much wanted, when the Scouts gave the Alarm so warmly, that it was necessary to form the Army with all Expedition. A Body of fourteen or fifteen thousand *Mexicans* were advancing so near, that the *Spaniards* could hear their Drums and Horns. These Troops were sent as a Reinforcement to those which had marched from *Mexico* before. The *Spaniards* advanced to receive those new Comers, and attacked them so seasonably, that they made Way for the Horse to charge; who made such a Slaughter of the Enemy, that they were soon obliged to retire to the Town of *Guatepeque*; but the *Spaniards* followed them so close, that they entered the Place at the same time, and maintained the Entrance; till the rest of the Troops coming up, they divided into the several Streets, and Sword in Hand drove the Enemy out of the Town. The *Mexicans* lost great Numbers, and the rest fled. This Town was so large, that *Sandoval* was resolved to quarter there that Night; and the *Spaniards*, with the greatest Part of their Allies, lay under Cover.

He was soon after obliged to take the Field again; the Enemy having rallied; and *Cortes* himself came quickly after into the same Country, where he had several Engagements with the *Mexicans*, not much to his Advantage; for, confiding in the Bravery of his Troops, and despising too much the Inexpertness of the *Indians*, he attacked them even in the most difficult Posts, and thereby gave them such Advantages, as he found it very difficult to struggle with. Yet his old and new Allies remained firm and faithful, which induced him to accept the Invitation given him of going to *Guatepeque*, in order to refresh himself and his Army; and, before he well arrived there, he found himself called to fresh Toils, by the News that the *Mexicans* had assembled a very powerful Army at *Quatlavaca*, so that it was absolutely necessary for him to march thither.

16. This large and famous Capital of an *Indian* Principality, *Quatlavaca*, was a populous Town, strong by Nature; situate between Baranco's, or Breakings of the Earth, above eight Fathoms deep, which served as a Ditch to the Place, and Passage for the Water that descended from the Mountains. The Army arrived at this Place, after having subdued all the Towns which lay in their Way, without any Difficulty. The *Mexicans* covered the Banks with such a Number of Soldiers, that the Passage seemed impossible: But *Cortes* drew up his Army at a convenient Distance; and, while the *Spaniards* and the Confederates endeavoured to divert the Army with their Fire-arms and Arrows, he went to view the Baranco, and, finding it at some Distance lower much narrower, he immediately ordered two or three Bridges to be made of Trees, cut at the Root, which reached from one Side to the other; and which, laid together as well as was possible, made a Road for the Infantry to pass.

The *Spaniards* of the Van-guard, leaving the *Tlascalans* to keep the Enemy in play, immediately passed over, and formed a Battallion on the other Side of the Ditch, which was continually augmented by the Allies. But the *Mexicans*, who were quickly sensible of their Negligence, poured down upon those that had passed with so much Resolution, that they had much to do to keep their Ground; and the Success had been very doubtful, if *Cortes* had not opportunely arrived; who, whilst the Foot were getting over, had found out a Passage for the Horse; which, though very difficult and dangerous, was of great Use in the extreme Danger to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. The Horse wheeled in order to charge the *Mexicans* in the Rear, which they did; assisted by some Foot, who had passed the Ditch by the Means of two or three Trees, which were fallen down by their own Weight, and lay across the Baranco. But the *Mexicans*, who now saw the Danger that threatened them in the Midst of their Fortifications, gave themselves over lost; and, dispersing, sought only to escape in the best

best Manner they could to the Mountains. They lost great Numbers both in the Defence of the Ditch and in their Flight, nevertheless the greatest Part of them saved themselves among the Rocks and Precipices. The Town was found entirely abandoned, with great Store of Provisions, and some Spoil; which was given to the Soldiers.

A little after, the Cazique, and some of the chief Inhabitants who were willing to submit, called to the *Spaniards* from the further Side of the Ditch, desiring Leave to return to the Town, and prepare Quarters for the Troops; which was granted, and they were of Use afterwards, by the Intelligence they gave of the Enemy's Motions, and by the Knowledge they had of the Country. Early the next Morning, the Army took the Road of *Suchimilco*, a Place which deserved the Name of a City, seated on the Edge of a fresh Water Lake which had a Communication with the great Lake; the Buildings were partly on the Land and partly in the Waters, where a great Number of Canoes served them to pass from Place to Place. It was of great Importance to take a View of this Town, which was within four Leagues of *Mexico*, but the March was very troublesome; for after they had passed a Defile three Leagues long, they came into a dry barren Country, where the Soldiers suffered much for Want of Water.

The Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Summer, increased their Thirst to such a Degree, that, at their Entrance into a Forest of Pines, they were insensible of any Relief from its Shade. Near the Road they found some Farm-houses: Here the Army lodged, and enjoyed that Night the Rest and Refreshment they wanted. The Enemy had purposely quitted them, to wait for the *Spaniards* in a stronger Post. *Cortes* drew up his Army in Order of Battle at break of Day, and began his March, expecting to meet with a good deal of Difficulty in his present Enterprize, it not being likely that the *Mexicans* would leave a Post of so great Importance, and so near *Mexico*, without a strong Garrison, especially since all who had escaped from their past Engagements went to that Place. His Conjectures proved right, for the Enemy had drawn up their Battalions in a Plain at some Distance from the City, having a great and rapid River in their Front, which discharged itself into the Lake. They had double lined the Banks of this River, and disposed their main Body for the Defence of a wooden Bridge, which they would not cut down, having barricaded it with Planks and Fascines; and supposing, that though this Fortification should be forced, they should have a sufficient Advantage in the Narrowness of the Pass, and be able to destroy their Enemies as fast as they came over the Bridge: *Cortes* perceived the Difficulty, but, without appearing concerned, extended the Troops of the Allies along the Bank of the River, and, whilst both Sides made some Discharges at each other with little Effect, he commanded the *Spaniards* to advance, and go and take the Bridge. They met with such an obstinate Resistance, that they were twice repulsed; but, returning a third time with greater Valour, and making Use of the Enemy's Trenches against them, they soon gained the Pass; which so discouraged the *Mexicans*, that they began every where to fly; their Commanders ordering the Signal for a Retreat.

The *Spaniards* made haste to seize upon the Ground the *Mexicans* had quitted, and at the same time several Companies of *Tlascala* and *Tezcucó* threw themselves into the River and swam to the other Side, and joined the Army. The Enemy was drawing up in Order of Battle, under the Walls of the Town, but upon the first Advance of the *Spaniards* they began to retire, provoking them still by some Discharges of Arrows, which did no Execution, to signify that they retreated out of Choice: However, *Cortes* fell upon them with Vigour, as they continued retiring into the City; in the Entrance of which they lost great Numbers; but, sheltering themselves within the Barricadoes, with which they had blocked up the Streets, they began again to use their Arms, and defy their Enemies.

Cortes left Part of his Troops without the Town, to secure his Retreat, and to oppose any Attacks that might

be made from abroad, and entered with the rest: For which Purpose, ordering some Companies to force the Barricadoes in the Streets on the Right and Left, he advanced to the principal, where the Enemy had their greatest Force. With some Difficulty he broke through their Blockade, and, carried away by his Courage, forgot the Care he ought to have taken of his Person; for throwing himself, with more Bravery than Prudence, into the midst of a Multitude of Enemies, he found himself surrounded by them; when he would have retired to the Assistance of his Foot. He supported himself for some time with the utmost Courage; until his Horse, being tired, fell under him, and put him in extreme Danger of his Life. Those who were nearest, immediately advanced, and before he was in a Condition to make use of his Arms he was in a manner taken; the only thing that defended him, being the great Desire the *Mexicans* had to seize him alive, for a Present to their Emperor. At this Instant *Christoval de Olea*, a Native of *Medina del Campo*, a Soldier of distinguished Valour, who was not far off, saw the Distress of his General, and, calling to some *Tlascalans* who were fighting near him, forced his way to the Place with so much Resolution, and was so well seconded by those that followed him, that, after having killed with his own Hand those who pressed most upon his General, he had the good Fortune to restore him to his Liberty.

Cortes immediately made use of it to punish the Enemy, who, upon escaping to that part of the City which stood in the Water, left the *Spaniards* Masters of all the Streets upon the firm Land. *Cortes* came off with two slight Wounds, and *Olea* with three dangerous Cuts with a Sword. *Herrera* informs us, that *Cortes* owed his Liberty to a *Tlascalan* unknown, both before and after; and relates the Action as a kind of Miracle; but *Bernal Diaz*, who was one of the first that came to the Relief of the General, attributes the whole Honour to *Olea*; and the Descendants of this valiant Man may very well be excused if they rather believe an Author who relates what he saw, than one who goes upon Conjectures. Whilst this Engagement lasted in the Town, the Troops that were without were not idle: The Nobles of *Mexico* made an extraordinary Effort to reinforce the Garrison of *Suchimilco*, the Preservation of which their Emperor *Guatimozin* had very much at Heart. They embarked with ten thousand chosen Men, and landed at some Distance from the Town, knowing the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Streets, designing to fall upon their Rear; but they were discovered, and charged with so much Resolution, that they were glad to reembark, leaving a good Number of their Men behind them, dead in the Field.

This happy Success made *Cortes* Master of the Place, and of all the Streets and Buildings upon the firm Land, and, having placed sufficient Guards by the Water-side, he lodged his Troops near the principal Temple, which, having a sort of a Wall capable of resisting the Arms of the *Mexicans*, seemed commodious for the Repose of the Soldiers, and the Cure of their Wounds; at the same time he ordered some Companies to mount, and view the Top of the Temple; which being forsaken, he posted an Officer and twenty or thirty *Spaniards* in the upper Court, with Instructions to relieve the Sentinels often, that they might observe every thing that passed, as well by Land as by Water: A very necessary Precaution, and of which the Usefulness was soon experienced; for at Close of Evening they gave notice, that they discovered on the Side of *Mexico*, above two thousand armed Canoes that advanced with all Speed; by which timely Advice the *Spaniards* were enabled to prevent the Dangers of the Night, by doubling their Guards at the landing Places, and in the Morning they saw the Enemy disembark, at a great Distance from the City, in Appearance about fourteen or fifteen thousand Men. *Cortes* went out to receive them, chusing advantageous Ground for his Horse, and leaving behind him a good part of his Troops for the Defence of his Quarters.

The two Armies quickly drew near, and the *Mexicans* began the Charge; but upon receiving the first Fire they gave Ground, and the rest of the Troops coming up

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Sword in Hand, and charging them briskly, they soon turned their Backs and fled, and the whole Action was rather a Chace than a Victory. The Day appointed for the Retreat came, which was executed as had been resolved, the Enemy still advancing to seize the difficult Passes, in order to disturb their March; but this Opposition was easily overcome, and with considerable Advantage, and Cortes returned to *Texcuco* with the Satisfaction of having obtained the Ends he proposed by this Sally; the Knowledge of *Suchimilco*, and breaking the Force of the Enemy, in order to weaken their Defence of *Mexico*. However, he was inwardly dissatisfied and melancholy, having lost nine or ten *Spaniards* in this Expedition; for besides those that were killed at the first Assault of the Mountains, the *Mexicans* took three or four of them alive at *Suchimilco*, as they were pillaging, and two of his Servants who fell into an Ambuscade by separating from the Army: What mightily increased his Concern was, the Circumstance of their being taken alive in order to be sacrificed upon the Altars of the *Indian* Idols, and their Misfortune recalled to his Mind his own past Danger, when in the Enemies Power, of dying after the same abominable Manner.

17. The Brigantines were now in a Condition to be launched, and the Canal had Depth and Capacity to receive them. The Day was appointed for the Confederate Caciques to appear with their Troops, and particular Care was taken to bring Provisions. The General looked into the most minute Matters that related to the carrying on the War, wherein great Dangers are often occasioned by small Faults, and therefore a very extensive Prudence is required. But while Cortes had his Thoughts employed in these Affairs, a new Accident happened which gave him much Trouble, put his Valour to the Test, and was a convincing Proof of his Judgment: A *Spaniard*, who had been long in the Service, came to him full of Concern, and desired to speak with him in private: When that was granted, he informed him, That during his Absence a Conspiracy had been forming against his Life, and all his Friends; the Author of it, as he said, was a private Soldier, his Name was *Antonio de Villasana*; and his first Intention was to get off clear from that Enterprize, the Difficulties of which to him appeared insuperable: He shewed his Uneasiness at first, by murmuring, and soon proceeded to dangerous Resolutions: He, and those of his Faction, blamed the General for his Pursuit of that Conquest, declaring, That they would not destroy themselves to gratify his Rashness, talking of returning to the Island of *Cuba* as if it was a thing very easy to be performed.

They met to consult about this Point with much Secrecy, and though they found no great Difficulty in quitting the Camp, and passing as far as *Tlascala*, by Virtue of a supposed Order from the General, the Inconvenience of going to *Vera Cruz* immediately occurred; for there they could not pretend a Commission, or Leave from Cortes, without a Pass under his Hand, or avoid the Danger of being severely punished. This put them to a Nonplus, and yet they persisted in their Resolution of withdrawing themselves, without fixing on the Way how to compass it. *Antonio de Villasana*, at whose Lodgings they held their Assembly, at last proposed to bring all to pass by killing Cortes and his chief Counsellors, and electing another General, who, having not set his Heart so much upon the Conquest of *Mexico*, would be more tractable, and under whom they might treat without incurring the Name of Fugitives; and they might give it the Turn of a Piece of Service to *Velasquez*, by whose Representation of it to the Court of *Spain*, it might be esteemed a Service done to the King. They all approved of the Project, and began by applauding the Scheme, and drawing up a Writing signed by all that were present, whereby they obliged themselves to follow *Villasana*, in the Execution of this horrible Attempt. And this Affair was managed with so much Dexterity, that the Numbers of those who signed increased considerably; and it was to be feared that this secret Contagion might break out into such an Evil as would admit of no Remedy.

They had agreed to feign a Packet from *Vera Cruz*,

with Letters from *Spain*, and to give it to the General, when he was at Table, all of them going in together, under Colour of hearing the News; and that, whilst Cortes was reading the first Letter, they should make use of that Opportunity to murder him, and all his Friends, with their Daggers, after which they were to go out and proclaim Liberty in the Streets, which they thought sufficient to make the Army declare for them. The Persons they had marked out for Destruction were *Olid*, *Sandoval*, *Alverado*, and his Brothers, *Tapia*, the two Alcaldes, *Martin Irico*, *Castillo*, and some other Soldiers, Favourites of the General. They had also agreed to chuse *Francisco Verdugo* for their Captain General, because he had married a Sister of *Velasquez*, and therefore they thought he might be easily brought over, and was the most proper Person to support their Party; but they durst not acquaint him with their Design till the Crime was committed, when they concluded he would be obliged to take upon himself the Employment, to prevent greater Evils. Such was the Account given by the Soldier, who begged his Life, for he was concerned in the Conspiracy. Cortes resolved to assist in Person at the seizing of *Villasana*, and, as the first Measures that were to be taken, to convict him, because he foresaw that the clearing up the Truth depended on the first Steps.

The Importance of the Affair required Precaution, and, as it was no Time to preserve the slow Proceedings of Justice, he went immediately to secure *Villasana*, attended by two Alcaldes, and some of his Captains, and found him in his Quarters, with three or four of his Accomplices. The Trouble he was in at the Sight of his General, was a plain Proof of Guilt. And Cortes, after he had caused him to be put in Irons, ordered all to retire, pretending to examine him, when, making Advantage of the Account that had been given him, he took out of his Bosom the Paper signed by all the Conspirators: He read it, and found the Names of some Persons, whose Treachery much increased his Concern; but, concealing it from his Friends, he directed the Soldiers, who were found with *Villasana* to be put into another Prison, and then withdrew, leaving Instructions with the Officers of Justice, to proceed in his Trial with all possible Speed, without taking any Notice of his Accomplices. There was not much to do in it; for *Villasana*, being convicted by the seizing of his Paper, and believing that his Friends had betrayed him, immediately confessed his Crime: Whereupon, according to military Justice, he was condemned to die, which Sentence was put in Execution that very Night, and the next Morning he was seen hanging at the Window of his own Lodging; so that the Punishment was executed at the same Time that the Cause was published, the Guilty being struck with Fear, and the rest with just Abhorrence of the Crime.

Cortes was equally afflicted and provoked, to see the Number of those concerned in the Conspiracy; but it was no proper Time to be strict in doing Justice at the beginning of his Enterprize; and therefore, to avoid punishing the Guilty, and the Inconveniencies of Impunity, he gave out, that *Villasana* had swallowed a Paper, which he believed contained the Names of the Conspirators. Soon after he assembled his Captains and Soldiers, and gave them an Account of the horrid Design and Conspiracy of *Villasana*, against his Life, and the Lives of many present; adding, "That he thought himself very happy, in not knowing whether he had any Accomplices, though the great Care *Villasana* took to destroy the Paper he carried in his Bosom, made him suspect he had some: But that he did not desire to know them, and only intreated his Friends to enquire whether the *Spaniards* had any Complaint to make against his Proceedings; because he was desirous, above all Things, to give entire Satisfaction to his Soldiers, and was ready to correct his own Faults, as he knew how to use the Rigour of Justice, when Lenity appeared of no use." At the same Time, he ordered the Soldiers that had been taken with *Villasana* to be set at Liberty; and this, confirmed by the Care he took to shew no Change in his Behaviour to those who had offended, fully persuaded them that he was ignorant of

of their Crime, and they ever after served with extraordinary Care, to remove any Suspicions of their Fidelity: However, not thinking such an excessive Security which lays Care asleep, and seems to invite Danger, at all consistent with Discretion, he ordered twelve Men for the Guard of his Person, commanded by an Officer; and 'tis likely he made choice of this Opportunity, that the People might without Surprize see this new Addition to his Authority.

Soon after he was perplexed with another Affair, though of a different Sort, which had yet some Circumstances of Sedition; for *Xicotencatl*, who commanded the first Troops that came from *Tlascala*, either upon some Disgust, which may easily be supposed, considering his haughty Temper, or that he still preserved in his Mind some Remains of his former Enmity, resolved to leave the Army. Assembling some Companies, which, upon his earnest Intreaty, engaged to stand by him, he took the Advantage of the Night for his Retreat; and *Cortes*, who was presently informed of it by the *Tlascalans* themselves, was much concerned at a Behaviour of such dangerous Consequence, in so considerable a Commander among those Nations, at a Time when he was just ready to put his Designs in Execution. He sent some noble *Indians* of *Texcuco* after him, to persuade him to return, or at least to stay till he heard what he had to offer; but the Answer of *Xicotencatl* so provoked *Cortes*, that he immediately sent three Companies of *Spaniards*, with an additional Force of *Indians*, with Orders to take him Prisoner, or kill him, in case of Resistance. The latter was put in Execution; for he made an obstinate Defence to the last; but the *Tlascalans*, who followed him, contrary to their own Inclination, shewed but little Resolution upon this Occasion, and returned with the *Spaniards* to the Army, leaving their Commander hanging upon a Tree.

Some say that the *Spaniards*, sent after him by *Cortes*, had private Orders to kill him, which seems the safest Resolution that could have been taken; but which way soever it was done, the extraordinary Foresight and Prudence of the General in managing this Affair cannot be denied, since neither the *Tlascalans* of the Army, nor the Republic, nor even his own Father, made the least Complaint for his Death; for, having been informed some Days before, that the young Man so far forgot himself, as to speak ill of his Conduct, and endeavoured to discredit, among those of his Nation, the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, *Cortes* sent an Account of it to *Tlascala*; and the Senate, in which his Father was present, answered, That, according to the Laws of the Republic, whoever was guilty of Mutiny in the Army deserved Death; and that he might proceed against him with the utmost Rigour, if he found it necessary; as they would do, both against *Xicotencatl*, and all that followed him, if they returned to *Tlascala*.

18. These Transactions did not hinder his attending to the necessary Preparations for his great Design. The Brigantines were launched by Degrees, a Work happily brought to a Conclusion, by the Industry of *Martin Lopez*; and, whilst they were carrying on Board the Sails, Rigging, and every thing else wanting, *Cortes* reviewed his *Spaniards* under Arms; They consisted of nine hundred Men, of which, a hundred fourscore and fourteen were Fire-arms and Cross-bows, the rest were armed with Sword and Buckler, and Launces; eighty-six Horse, and eighteen Pieces of Cannon; the three largest of Iron, and the other fifteen Brass, with sufficient Stores of Powder and Ball. *Cortes* put five and twenty *Spaniards* on board each Vessel, under the Command of a Captain, with twelve Rowers, six on each Side, and one Piece of Artillery, who immediately embarked; and each prepared to defend his own Vessel, and succour the rest. Things being thus disposed for the Entry by the Lake, *Cortes* resolved, by the Advice of his Captains, to possess himself, at the same time, of the three principal Causeways, viz. *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cuyoacan*, without regarding that of *Suchimilco*.

But, that he might avoid separating his Troops, he divided his Army only into three Bodies, and committed the Execution of *Tacuba* to *Alverado*; with the Title of

Governor and Commander in chief of that Avenue. He had under his Command one hundred and fifty *Spanish* Foot, and thirty Horse, in three Bodies, with thirty thousand *Tlascalans*, and two Pieces of Artillery. The Attack of *Cuyoacan* was committed to Colonel *Olid*, with one hundred and sixty *Spanish* Foot, in three Companies, with thirty Horse, two Pieces of Artillery, and thirty thousand confederate *Indians*. Lastly, he gave the Charge of the Attack of *Iztapalapa* to Col. *Sandoval*, with one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, commanded by two Captains, with two Pieces of Cannon, twenty-four Horse, with all the Troops of *Chalco*, *Guaxacingo*, and *Chulula*, amounting to above forty thousand Men.

Olid and *Alverado* marched together as far as *Tacuba*, where they were to separate, and took their Quarters in that City, without any Opposition, the same being abandoned, as were all the Towns upon the Lake; the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms being gone to *Mexico* to defend their Capital, and the rest retired to the Mountains, with their Effects. There they had Intelligence, that the *Mexicans* had formed a considerable Body, within half a League of the Town, to cover the Aqueducts, which came from the Mountains of *Chapulteque*. *Guatimozin* took this seasonable Precaution as soon as he received News of the Motions of the *Spaniards*, which preserved those Conveyances that supplied all the Fountains in the City with fresh Water. There appeared on that Side two or three Rows of Pipes, made of Trees hollowed, supported by an Aqueduct of Lime and Stone; and the Enemy had cast up some Trenches to cover it. But the two Captains marched out of *Tacuba* with most of their Troops; and though they met with a very obstinate Resistance, they drove the Enemy from their Post, and broke the Pipes and Aqueduct in two or three Places, and the Water took its natural Course into the Lake. Thus *Olid* and *Alverado* began the Siege by cutting off their Water, obliging the *Mexicans* to seek it, at a Distance, in the Brooks that ran from the Mountains, and to employ their People and Canoes in Carriage and Convoys.

Olid marched on with his Party, and took Post at *Cuyoacan*; and *Cortes*, allowing what Time he thought sufficient for *Sandoval* to reach *Iztapalapa*, took upon himself the Command on the Lake, that he might carry Relief where it should be necessary: He had with him Don *Fernando*, Lord of *Texcuco*, and his Brother *Suchel*, a young Man of brave Spirit, who was baptized soon after, and took the Name of *Carlos*. *Cortes* left a sufficient Number of Troops in that City, to cover his Place of Arms, and make Excursions to secure the Communication of his Quarters. Having disposed all Things after he embarked, drawing up his thirteen Brigantines in a Line; his Design was to draw near to *Mexico*, and shew himself, and afterwards to fall upon *Iztapalapa*, being under some Concern for *Sandoval*, who had no Vessels to dislodge the *Mexicans* from that Part of the City, which stood in the Water, and served as a Retreat for their Canoes: But, in his Return, he discovered at a small Distance from the City, a little Island, a considerable Height above the Water; on the Top of which stood a pretty large Castle, which the Enemy had possessed themselves of, to no other End, but to provoke the *Spaniards* with ill Language and Threats, from a Post where they thought themselves out of Danger of the Brigantines.

Cortes did not leave unpunished that Insolence, in View of the City, the Terraces and Balconies of which were filled with innumerable People, who came to see the first Action of the Fleet: He drew near to the Shore of the Island, and landed with one hundred and fifty of the *Spaniards*, who took two or three different Paths, that led to the Top: They mounted, with some Difficulty, by reason that the Enemy were numerous, and made a brave Defence, 'till despairing of being able to preserve the Eminence, they retired to the Castle, where they were so crowded, that they had not room to manage their Arms: Many perished, though most were saved. Having, by this Enterprize, chastised the *Mexicans*, the *Spaniards* returned to their Brigantines; but, when they were disposing themselves to make for *Iztapalapa*, they were obliged

obliged to take other Measures; for the same Canoes came out of *Mexico*, which advanced, encreasing continually in Numbers. The first that drew near, rowing gently, were about five hundred, waiting for the rest to come up; and, in a short Time, those that came out of the City, and other neighbouring Places, made so great a Number, that it was judged they were four thousand, which, with the Motion of their Feathers and Arms, afforded a Sight both beautiful and terrible, and seemed to cover the Lake.

Cortes drew up his Fleet in form of a Half-Moon, that he might extend his Front: He confided in the Valour of his Soldiers, and the Advantage of his Brigantines, every one of which was able to make Head against a great Part of the Enemy's Fleet. With this Assurance he advanced towards the *Mexicans*, to let them see he did not decline Battle; and then ordered his Men to lie upon their Oars, and rest; that they being refreshed, he might break in upon the Enemy with the greater Force; for the Calmness of the Day left the whole to the Labour of the *Mexicans*, who did the same, and perhaps, for the same Reason; but of a sudden there came a Land-Breeze, which taking the Brigantines astern, gave them all the Force that was necessary to fall upon the *Mexicans*.

They began the Attack with the Artillery, and then the Brigantines made up with Sails and Oars, oversetting all that stood in the Way; the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows made their Discharges without losing a Shot; the Wind too was favourable, driving the Smoke upon the Enemy, blinding them, so that they were obliged to retire to avoid it; the Brigantines themselves staving the smaller Vessels. The Nobles of *Mexico*, who were in the first 500 Canoes, made some Opposition; but the rest were all Disorder and Confusion, the Canoes running foul upon, and oversetting, one another. The Enemy lost most of their Men, and their Fleet was entirely broke and defeated. The Brigantines pursuing the miserable Remains with their Cannon-Shot, till they forced them into the Canals of the City of *Mexico*. This Victory was of great Moment, on account of the Reputation the Brigantines gained, of being invincible; and because it was a great Discouragement to the *Mexicans*, to see themselves deprived of that Part of their Power, which consisted in the Management and Swiftmess of their Canoes, not for the Number of them that they then lost, which was inconsiderable, in regard of what they had still left; but because they were convinced that they were incapable of sustaining the Shocks of the Brigantines.

19. The Night was passed but indifferently; and in the Morning, when the Brigantines were preparing to sail for *Iztapalapa*, they discovered a considerable Number of Canoes, that were making the best of their way towards *Cuyoacan*; whereupon he resolved to succour that Place first where it was immediately wanted. It was not possible to come up with the Enemy's Fleet. But he arrived soon after them, at the Time when *Olid* was engaged on the Causeway, and obliged to make a Front against the Enemy that defended it, and to the Canoes on each Side, and was on the Point of retiring, and losing the Ground he had gained. Necessity taught the *Mexicans* as much as the Art of War could have done for the Defence of their Causeways: They had drawn up towards the City the Bridges that were over the Passages, by which the Waters of the great Lake discharged themselves into the other, and fixed Timber and Planks behind them, in such a Manner, that they might mount in Ranks, to charge from the Top; they left Trenches, at proper Distances, with Water running before them, which obstructed the Access. After this Manner they had fortified the three Causeways attacked by the *Spaniards*, who, in each, were obliged to take almost the same Measures to overcome the same Difficulties.

The Fire-arms and Cross-bows played upon those who appeared above the Trench, whilst others handed Fascines to fill the Ditch, after which they brought up a Piece of Artillery, and in a few Discharges cleared the Passage, filling up the next Ditch with the Ruins of its own Fortification. *Olid* had just made himself Master of the first Ditch, when the *Mexican* Canoes arrived. But, on Sight of the Brigantines, all those on that Side fled with

the utmost Diligence, and none suffered but those who could not get out of the Reach of the Cannon. But because the *Mexicans*, on the other Side, who thought themselves secure, continued the Engagement, *Cortes* ordered the Ditch in the Rear of *Olid* to be widened, to make a Passage for three or four Brigantines; at the first Sight of which all the Canoes fled, and the Enemy who defended the next Bridge, finding themselves exposed to the great Shot from both the Land and the Water, retired in Disorder to the last Rampart next the City.

That Night the Troops took rest, without abandoning the Ground they had gained upon the Causeway, and the next Morning continued their March, with little or no Opposition, till, coming to the last Bridge, which was at the Entrance into *Mexico*, they found it fortified with stronger Works, Trenches cut in the Streets, and defended by such a Multitude of People that the Enterprize seemed hazardous, but the Difficulty did not fully appear till they were engaged. The Artillery from the Brigantines made a miserable Slaughter of the People, who were in Crowds, in the Openings of the Streets, whilst *Olid* was employed in filling up the Ditch, and ruining the Fortifications of the Causeway, which, when he had done, he charged the *Mexicans*, who defended them, making room for the confederate Troops, under his Command, to come up. The Enemy, at the same Time, were supported by Troops from the City, and made an obstinate Resistance on all Sides, but they soon lost some Ground; and then *Cortes*, who could not bear the Slowness with which they retreated, landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and gave so much Life to the Attack, that the Enemy quickly turned their Backs, and the chief Street of *Mexico* was gained.

Another Difficulty occurred; for the *Mexicans* that fled had possessed themselves of a Temple near the Entrance of the City, covering all the Outside with such Numbers of Men, that the whole Building appeared like a Hill of Arms and Feathers. They defied the *Spaniards* with as much Boldness as if they had been always Conquerors. *Cortes*, provoked at their Pride, when they had just before shewn so much Cowardice, ordered three or four Pieces of Artillery to be landed; the first Discharge whereof made them sensible of their Danger, and the *Spaniards* were soon obliged to point their Cannon lower, against those that fled to the inner Part of the City. Thus all that Part of the City was forsaken; for those who fought from Windows and the Tops of the Houses went off with the rest, so that the Army advanced, and the Temple was gained without Opposition. That Day the *Mexicans* sustained a very great Loss of Men. The Idols were cast into the Fire, and served to make Illuminations for the Victory.

Cortes was satisfied that he had gained Footing in the City; and, finding the Temple capable of more than ordinary Defence, he not only resolved to lodge his Troops there that Night, but had Thoughts of maintaining that Post, to streighten the Enemy, and of removing his Quarters from *Cuyoacan* thither. He communicated his Design to his Captains, but they opposed it with such Arguments that *Cortes* was convinced, and accordingly, the next Day, he retired to *Cuyoacan*, protected on each Side by his Brigantines; so that the Enemy durst not disturb his March. The same Day he proceeded to *Iztapalapa*, where he was put to the last Extremity: He had possessed himself of the Buildings on the Land, and lodged his Army there, fortifying himself the best he could; but the Enemy, who retired to that Part in the Water, endeavoured from their Canoes to do him all the Damage they could. *Sandoval* had made great Havock among those that approached, ruined some Houses, and had overthrown two or three Succours from *Mexico*, that came to attack him by Land: And that Day the Enemy forsaking a large House, which was but a little from the Land, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his Quarters. He made a Passage with Fascines, and got into the House with some of his People; but he had scarce entered when a great Number of Canoes, which had lain in ambush, advanced with a Multitude of People, who threw themselves into the Water, and, taking away the Fascines, cut off *Sandoval's* Retreat, by which

which Means they besieged him on all Sides, shooting from the Terraces and Windows of the neighbouring Houses. He was in this Distress when *Cortes* arrived, who, discovering that vast Number of Canoes in the Water-streets that looked towards *Mexico*, made his Brigantines advance with all possible Speed, and played his Artillery with such Effect, that, terrified by the Destruction the Balls made, they all fled at once through the most retired Streets in the Town, with a Design to get through into the Lake; and such was their Disorder, that the People who were upon the Terraces, crowding into the Canoes, sunk many of them, and the rest in their Flight fell in among the Brigantines.

The *Mexicans* sustained such a Loss that Day, as diminished their Forces considerably; and the *Spaniards*, afterwards taking a View of that Part of the City they possessed themselves of, made some Prisoners, and found a sufficient Booty to please the Soldiers. *Cortes* perceived by the Difficulties which *Sandoval* had met with at *Iztapalapa*, that it was impossible to make Use of the Causeway without first ruining that half of the City which was the Retreat of the *Mexican* Canoes; and because this would occasion a Delay which might be of dangerous Consequence to the other Attacks, resolved to quit that Post, and dispatch *Sandoval* to possess himself of *Tapeaquilla*, where there was another narrow Causeway, less commodious for attacking, but more advantageous for cutting off the Enemies Provisions, which they began to want, and which were brought that Way. This Design was immediately put in Execution, and *Sandoval* marched by Land, escorted by the Brigantines, till he had got Possession of the new Quarters; the Place was forsaken, and he lodged himself there without Resistance. Afterwards *Cortes* failed to *Tacuba*; *Alverado* found this City deserted, and in his further Progress he met with various Successes; he beat down the Works, and filled up the Ditches in the same manner *Olid* did; but though he did the Enemy considerable Damage, and had once advanced so far as to fire some Houses in *Mexico*, he had lost eight *Spaniards* when *Cortes* arrived, who found the Measures he had taken did not answer his Designs; for this Way of attacking and retreating consumed his Time, and exposed his Men, without any Advantage, and was rather doing Acts of Hostility than making any Progress.

To proceed by the Causeways was very difficult, by reason of the Ditches, which the *Mexicans* were fortifying every Day, and the continual Persecutions of the Canoes, which always charged in great Numbers wherever the Brigantines quitted; for which Reason he was obliged to think of other Measures for the facilitating of his Enterprise. He then commanded all Attacks to cease till farther Orders, and applied himself to the providing such a Number of Canoes as might secure him the Dominion of the Lake, to which End he sent such Persons as he could confide in, to bring all the Canoes that remained in the Towns of his Allies; with which, and those that came from *Texcuco* and *Chalco*, he made up such a Number as gave fresh Terror to the Enemy: He divided them into three Squadrons, all managed by *Indians* who knew how to conduct them, under the Command of Captains of their own Nation; and, having distributed this Reinforcement among the Brigantines, he sent four of them to *Sandoval*, four to *Alverado*, and himself with the other five joined Colonel *Olid*.

20. Upon this Occasion the *Mexicans* not only shewed Valour, but added military Skill; for they stood in need of new Inventions, against an Invasion by a People whose Weapons, and Conduct in War, were unknown in their Country; and they gained some Advantages, by which they raised the Reputation of their good Service: They sent, by round-about Ways, Canoes full of Pioneers, to clear the Ditches which the *Spaniards* had been filling up, that they might fall upon them with their whole Force when they should be obliged to retire, a Stratagem which occasioned the Loss of some Soldiers in the first Attacks. By degrees they brought out another Stratagem still more remarkable; for they acted contrary to their Custom, and made some Sallies by Night, only to alarm the Enemies, and fatigue them by want of Sleep, that they might afterwards at-

tack them with the Advantage of fresh Troops; but nothing shewed their Ingenuity more than what they contrived against the Brigantines, by engaging them separate; for which End they built thirty great Vessels of that sort which they called *Piraguas*, but of a larger Size, and strengthened with great Planks, to receive the Shot, and engage under better Shelter. They sallied in the Night with this Fleet, to post themselves behind the Reeds in the Lake, which grew so high and thick, that they formed as it were several Groves impenetrable to the Sight.

Their Design was to draw thither the Brigantines, which cruized, about two at a time, to prevent any Relief getting into the City; and to entice them into that Wood of Reeds they had provided three or four Canoes laden with Provisions, having likewise fixed a good Number of large Stakes in the Water, in hopes to destroy the Brigantines, or to make it easier to board them. These Contrivances sufficiently shewed, that they knew how to defend themselves and offend their Enemies, and that they wanted not those Subtilties. The next Day, four of the Brigantines that attended *Sandoval* were to cruise about that Part, under the Command of the Captains *Barba* and *Portilla*. As soon as the *Mexicans* spied them, they sent out their Canoes another Way, that, being seen at a Distance, they might fly among the Reeds: Which was so well executed, that the two Brigantines pursued the Prize with the utmost force of their Oars, and soon fell in among the hidden Stakes, where they were so embarrassed, that they could neither go forward nor backward. At the same time the Enemies *Piraguas* came out, and attacked them on all Sides with such desperate Fury, that the *Spaniards* were very near being lost.

But, exerting the utmost Efforts of their Courage, they maintained the Fight until such as were expert Swimmers, with Hatchets and other Tools, removed those Stakes amongst which the Brigantines were fastened; and, being thus at liberty to work their Vessels, and play the Artillery, they sunk most of the *Piraguas*, and followed the rest as far as Cannon-ball would reach. The *Mexicans* suffered exceedingly, but the Brigantines were much damaged, several *Spaniards* wounded, and all much fatigued: Capt. *Portilla* was killed, to whose indefatigable Bravery the Success was chiefly owing, and Capt. *Barba* received several Wounds, of which he died three Days after: Both these Losses *Cortes* greatly lamented, and particularly that of *Barba*, for in him he lost a Friend ever steady, and a brave Soldier. It was not long before this Disaster was revenged; for the *Mexicans*, having repaired their *Piraguas*, and reinforced them with new Vessels of the same Kind, concealed themselves a second time among the Reeds, fortifying the Avenue with a great Number of Stakes, believing the *Spaniards* would again fall into the same Snare, without their giving a different Colour to the Deceit. *Cortes*, having Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemy, and being desirous of revenging the Loss he had sustained, as soon as he could ordered six Brigantines, in the Night, amongst another Parcel of Reeds, not far from the Place where the Enemy had hid themselves; and, making Use of their own Stratagem, one of them was to sally early in the Morning, as if in search for the Canoes laden with Provisions, and afterwards draw as near the concealed *Piraguas* as was necessary, to let them see they were discovered; which done, she was to tack, and by a hasty Flight to draw them to the Place of the Counter-ambuscade: Every thing succeeded as could have been wished: The Enemy sallied with their *Piraguas* in Pursuit of the Brigantine which they looked upon as their own, till, being come within a convenient Distance, the other Brigantines rushed out, and, before they could stop or turn, gave them such a terrible Salute with all their Artillery, that the very first Discharge overset best part of them, and put the *Mexicans* who were on board the rest, into such a Consternation, that before they could recover themselves almost all the *Piraguas* were sunk by the next Volleys, and most of the Men perished; so that the Enemies Fleet was entirely ruined; and *Cortes* had the singular Satisfaction of having given them a Defeat by their own Stratagem.

The *Spaniards* had Intelligence of what passed in the City, by the Prisoners they took; and finding that Hun-

ger and Thirst, and Want of all Necessaries, began to occasion Murmuring among the People, and Difference among the Soldiers, *Cortes* applied himself with the greatest Diligence to cut off all Relief from the City; and, to justify his own Proceedings, he sent two or three Noblemen, who were Prisoners, to *Guatimozin*, with Overtures of Peace, on very advantageous Conditions; offering to leave him in full Possession of his Empire, provided he would only acknowledge the sovereign Dominion of the King of *Spain*, whose Right was already owned among the *Mexicans*, from the Tradition of their Ancestors, and the Consent of several Ages. This was the Substance of his Proposal, which he repeated, because it grieved him to destroy so beautiful and so wealthy a City, which he looked upon as a rich Jewel in his Sovereign's Diadem.

Guatimozin received the Proposal with somewhat less Pride than he was wont, and, as several Prisoners reported, he called a Council of his chief Officers and Ministers, with the Priests, whose Opinions were principally considered in all public Affairs, in which he laid before them "the miserable Condition to which the City was reduced, the Numbers they had lost, the Complaints of the People upon their beginning to want, the Destruction of their Habitations, and desired their Advice, expressing as much Inclination to Peace as was sufficient to give room for their Flattery or Respect to second him."

This so far succeeded, that all his Officers and Ministers concluded immediately to receive the Overtures towards an Accommodation, leaving it till afterwards to consider of such particular Conditions of Peace as would be most for the Interest of the State: But the Priests positively oppos'd all Treaty, feigning to have receiv'd some Answers from their Idols, which gave them fresh Assurance of Victory. The Opinion of the Priests so far prevailed, that all who had Votes concurred with them; and *Guatimozin*, not without much Regret, because he had already begun to preface his own Ruin, resolved to carry on the War, and said to his Ministers, "That he would put to Death the first Man who should presume again to mention Peace, to whatever Distress the City should be reduced, without excepting the Priests themselves, who were most obliged to support the Oracles of their Gods." *Cortes*, being informed of this Determination, resolved to push his Attacks by all the three Causeways at the same time, and carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the City, and sending his Orders to the Commanders of the two Attacks of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, he, at the Time appointed, marched himself by the Causeway of *Cayoacan*, at the Head of the Troops commanded by Colonel *Olid*. The Enemy had cleared the Ditches, and cast up Works; but the five Brigantines which were stationed upon that Attack easily overthrew their Fortifications at the Time the Ditches were filling up, and the Army advanced without any considerable Opposition, till coming to the last Bridge, which opened upon the Quay, they met with another sort of Difficulty.

The *Indians* had broke down some part of the Causeway to enlarge the Ditch, which was sixty Feet long, and turned into it the Water of the Canals, that it might be the deeper. On the opposite Bank, they had raised a Fortification covered with Planks, in which were Rows of Loopholes with some sort of Traverses; and they had provided a Multitude of Men to defend that Post: But the first Discharges of the Artillery destroyed all that Fortification, and the Enemies, having suffered much by the Fall thereof, and finding themselves exposed to the Balls, retired into the City, without turning their Backs or abating their Threats. Thus they left the Shore free, and *Cortes*, unwilling to lose a Moment, immediately ordered the *Spaniards* to possess themselves of it, making Use of his Brigantines and Canoes to land his Men, and the Horse passed the same way with three Pieces of Artillery, which he thought sufficient for that Service.

Before they advanced against the Enemy, who were still posted behind the Trenches made across the Streets, he ordered the Treasurer, *Julian de Alderete*, to stay there and fill up and secure that Ditch, and the Brigantines

to draw near to the Place where the Action was, and do what Damage they could to the Enemy. The first Engagement presently began, and *Julian de Alderete*, hearing the Noise of the Battle, and seeing the Advances of the *Spaniards*, looked upon the Employment of filling up a Ditch to be unworthy of him when his Companions were fighting, and inconsiderately advanced to join the rest, leaving that Charge to another of his Company, who either did not know how to perform it, or else would not take upon him a Piece of Work which was thought dishonourable to him who committed the Care of it to him; so that all the Men under his Command followed him to the Engagement; and that Ditch which at the Time of the Attack had been thought impracticable remained intirely abandoned.

The *Mexicans* resolutely stood the first Charge. It cost the *Spaniards* no small Trouble and some Blood, to make themselves Masters of their Trenches; and the Hazard was still greater when they had passed the ruined Buildings, and were obliged to defend themselves from the Arrows and Darts of the Enemy, which came pouring on them from the Tops of the Houses and the Windows; but in the Heat of the Engagement there appeared a sudden Slackness in the Enemy, which seemed to be the Effect of some new Order, for they hastily quitted the Ground they had defended. This Change was then supposed, and afterwards appeared, to spring from *Guatimozin's* being informed that the great Ditch was abandoned; whereupon he ordered his Commanders to preserve their Troops, and to fall upon the *Spaniards* in their Retreat.

Cortes suspected this Motion of the Enemy, and, in regard that he had but barely time enough to return to his Quarters before Night, he began his Retreat, ordering first some Houses to be set on fire, in order to prevent their receiving any Damage from them on the next Attack; but they had scarce began to march, when their Ears were stunned with the melancholy Sound of the Sacred Trumpet, so called by the *Mexicans*, because it was not permitted to any but the Priests to sound it, and that only when they animated the People on the Part of their Gods: The Sound was vehemently loud and strong, and the Tune composed of dismal Notes, which inspired those *Barbarians* with a new kind of Rage, such as made them despise Life, through a Motive of Religion. Next followed the intolerable Noise of their hideous Outcries; and, when the Army marched out of the City, they fell upon the Rear, which was brought up by the *Spaniards*, an incredible Multitude of their most resolute Warriors being picked out of the whole Army, for this Action.

The Fire-arms and Cross-bows faced about, and made Head; and *Cortes*, with the Cavalry, endeavoured to put a stop to the Enemy; but, being informed of the Difficulty of the Ditch, which hindered the Retreat, he would have formed his Battalions, and could not; because the Confederates, who had received Orders to retire, being the first that came to the Ditch, hastily threw themselves into it, in the greatest Confusion; so that his Orders were not heard, or not obeyed. Many got to the Causeway in the Brigantines and Canoes, but more threw themselves into the Water, where they found whole Troops of *Mexicans*, who either wounded or drowned them. *Cortes* was left with some of his own People to maintain the Fight, his Horse was killed under him, and Captain *Guzman*, alighting to give him his, was taken Prisoner, without Possibility of being rescued. *Cortes*, at last, got to the Brigantines, and returned to his Quarters, wounded and defeated: Above forty *Spaniards* were taken alive, to serve as Sacrifices to their Idols; one Piece of Cannon was lost; above a thousand *Tlascalans* were killed; and there was scarce any one *Spaniard* that was not hurt. This was, in reality, a very terrible Blow, of the Consequence of which *Cortes* was very sensible; but he would not suffer his Countenance to speak the Grief of his Heart: On the contrary, he appeared, if not cheerful, serene; and tho' not gay, yet tolerably composed.

While *Cortes* was employed in this Attack, *Sandoval*

doval and *Alverado* entered at the same time, and met with the same Opposition, with very little Difference in the Success of their Attacks: But they did not meet with the Misfortune of the Ditch, and therefore their Loss was less; though in both Attacks they lost about twenty *Spaniards*, which makes up the Account of above sixty of his own People, in the Action of *Cuyoacan*. The Treasurer *Alderete*, considering the Damage which his Breach of Orders had occasioned, was sensible of his Offence, and hastened to the General's Presence with much Sorrow, offering his Head to atone for his Crime. *Cortes* gave him a severe Reprimand, without any farther Punishment; not thinking it proper, at that Juncture, to discourage the Soldiers, by inflicting upon that Officer, the Chastisement which he merited. Upon this Occasion they were very sensible, says a *Spanish* Author, of the singular Gift of a private Soldier, *Juan Gatalan*, who, without any other Medicine than a little Oil, and certain Benedictions, cured their Wounds in so short a time, that it did not look like the Work of Nature.

21. The *Mexicans* celebrated their Victory with great Rejoicings, and that Night the *Spaniards* saw, from their Quarters, all the Temples of the City crowded with innumerable Lights, and Vessels of Perfumes; and in the principal Temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the Sound of military Instruments in several Concerts, which were not altogether disagreeable. With these pompous Preparations they celebrated the Sacrifice of those miserable *Spaniards*, who were taken alive; the Blood of whose leaping Hearts, still warm, was sprinkled upon their Idol; while these wretched Victims, with their last Breath, were calling upon the God of Truth. This was supposed to be the Occasion of that extraordinary Solemnity; and the Fires gave so great a Light, that the Motion of the People was perceived. The Advantage they had gained, joined to the Satisfaction of having appeased their God of War, by the Sacrifice of so many *Spaniards*, so far raised the Pride of the *Mexicans*, that the very same Night, a little before Break of Day, they advanced by the three Causeways, to beat up the Quarters, with a Design to set fire to the Brigantines, and to compleat the Destruction of those People; whom they, with good Reason, concluded to be either wounded or spent with Fatigue; but they knew not how to conceal their Motion; for the infernal Trumpet, which inspired them with so much Fury, turning their Despair into religious Worship, gave Notice of their Approach, and the *Spaniards* were so well prepared to receive them, that they were repulsed by the Artillery of the Brigantines, and some Pieces which were mounted at their Lodgment; which, playing upon the Causeway, upon those throngs of People, sufficiently chastised their Presumption.

The next Day *Guatimozin* employed several Artifices to intimidate the *Indian* Allies; he gave out that *Cortes* had been killed in his Retreat on the Causeway, thereby giving the People Hopes that they should shortly be delivered from their Oppressions: He sent the Heads of the sacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring Towns, that those Tokens of his Victory might bring such as had fallen off from him, back to their Obedience: And lastly, he reported that their supreme Deity, the God of War, being appeased by the Blood of these their Enemies, had informed him by an intelligible Voice, that the War should be at an End in eight Days, and, that all should infallibly perish who neglected this Advice. This he invented, concluding that he should quickly make an End of all the *Spaniards*; and he found Means to send several Persons unknown, into the Enemies Quarters, who spread these Threatenings among the *Indian* Nations which served against him.

The Oracles of that Idol had such Reputation among the most distant Nations, that the *Indians* were persuaded of the Infallibility of these Threats: The Notion of eight Days so precisely limited for the fatal Period of their Lives, had such an Effect, that they resolved immediately to quit the Army; and, during the two or three first Nights, the greatest Part of the confederate Troops deserted, even the *Tlascalans* and *Tezcucans* dis-

banded with the same Disorder, either because they really feared the Oracle, or that they were led away by the Example of those who did. This was a fresh Affliction unto *Cortes*, almost causing him to despair of the Success of his Enterprize. But the Moment that he was informed of the Occasion of that sudden Change, he sent their own Commanders after the Fugitives to stop them; delaying till the eight Days assigned by the Oracle being past, they might be sensible of the Imposture of the Prediction, and better disposed to return to the Army.

22. This notable Contrivance of *Cortes* had the desired Effect; for when the eight Days were expired, the *Indians*, having fully recovered from their Fright, returned to their Quarters with fresh Vigour and Resolution. Don *Hernando*, Prince of *Tezcuco*, sent his Brother to bring back those of his Nation, who returned with him, and some new Levies that were coming to join the Army. The *Tlascalan* Deserters did not dare to proceed on their Journey, for fear of exposing themselves to Punishment, but waited to see the Event of the Prediction, with a Design to join such of their Nation as should have the good Fortune to escape after the imaginary Defeat; but at the time they were undeceived of their Credulity, they had an Opportunity of incorporating themselves with a Reinforcement that was coming from *Tlascala*, and were better received in the Army upon their Return. The Noise this Increase of Forces, and the Distress of the capital City, made in the neighbouring Countries, prevailed with several Nations who had been Enemies or Neuters, to declare in Favour of the *Spaniards*. One of the most considerable, was the Nation of *Otomies*, a fierce unnatural People; who, after the Example of Beasts, preserved their Liberty amongst Mountains, and had hitherto kept themselves free from the *Mexican* Empire, without any other Fortification than the Sterility of their Country, which afforded no Temptation to a Conqueror.

Thus *Cortes* once more found himself at the Head of an Army, of upwards of two hundred thousand Men, passing in a few Days from a terrible Storm to an agreeable Calm. The *Mexicans* were not idle during this Suspension of Arms, to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. They made frequent Sallies, beating up the *Spanish* Quarters both by Night and Day, and were always repulsed with Loss. By some of the last Prisoners, *Cortes* was informed of the great Distress the City was in; that the Soldiers were dissatisfied, and the People reduced to Extremity for want of Bread and Water; that abundance of People died by drinking the brackish Water of their Pits, and that the Provisions they got by Canoes were equally divided among the Nobles, and became the Subject of Impatience and Discontent to the Populace, whose Clamours began to give some Suspicion of their Fidelity. Upon which Intelligence *Cortes* assembled his Captains to consult what was proper to be done. He represented the small Hopes he had that Want would oblige the Besieged to surrender, because of the implacable Hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, and of those pretended Answers of their Idols. He gave his own Opinion to proceed immediately to Action, for the Reasons he had alledged, and for fear the Allies should again desert him. And it was also resolved not to retire as before, but that each of the *Spanish* Corps should endeavour to make their Quarters good in that Part of the City, into which they should be able to penetrate.

The General, after this Resolution was taken, and having made Provision necessary for the Subsistence of his Troops, in a City where all things were wanting, caused the Forces, at the dawning of the appointed Day, to march out of their respective Quarters; *Alverado* from *Tacuba*, *Sandoval* from *Tapeaquilla*, and the General, with the Body of Troops, commanded by *Olid*, from *Cuyoacan*; each having his Brigantines and Canoes to support him. They found all three Causeways in a posture of Defence, the Bridges drawn up, and the Ditches all cleared and guarded. All these Difficulties they surmounted with the same Industry they had done others, and, after some small Delay, the three Bodies arrived in the City; and soon gained the ruined Streets. All the *Spaniards* attempted the first Day was, only to lodge themselves, each

Body

Body fortifying their Quarters with the Ruins of the Houses, in the best Manner they could.

This caused great Confusion among the *Mexicans*, and entirely broke all the Measures they had taken to charge the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. The Rumour of it was soon spread, the Danger greatly magnified, and every one's Thoughts was employed about providing some speedy Remedy. The Ministers instantly repaired to *Guatimozin's* Palace, and, by their pressing Intreaties, prevailed with him to retire that very Night to a more distant Part of the City. Councils were continually held, and the Opinions were different, being either bold and resolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the Understanding followed the Dictates of their Hearts; some voted that the King, for the Security of his Royal Person, should be immediately conveyed to some Place less exposed; others for fortifying that Part of the City where the Court then was, and others pressed hard to dislodge the Enemy from the Posts they possessed. *Guatimozin* inclined to the Advice of those who expressed the greatest Resolution; so that he declared he was fully determined to share his Fate with his People; and that Moment gave Orders that Preparations should be made to attack the Enemy at Day-break, with the Remainder of his Forces. To this Purpose the Chiefs, with all possible Expedition, assembled all the Troops, which were divided into three Battalions, with a Design of exerting their last Strength in this Effort, to the total Destruction of the *Spaniards*.

Soon after dawning, the Enemy presented themselves within Sight of the three Lodgments; but the Artillery which played upon the Avenues, made such a terrible Slaughter in their Van-guard, that they durst not advance to put their Orders in execution, and were soon convinced that their Attempt was wholly impracticable; so that without venturing nearer they began to give back, endeavouring to make what was in reality a Flight, looked upon as an orderly Retreat. But the Motion, as it was slow, gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity to rout and disperse the Enemy, and bettered their Quarters for the ensuing Night. All was so happily and so expeditiously effected, that in less than four Days the three Leaders came in Sight of *Tlateleuco*, whither they had all directed their Course. *Alverado* was the first that came to that spacious Square, where he found the Enemy endeavouring to draw up in order of Battle: But he gave them not time, neither was it an easy Matter for *Indians*, when once in Disorder, to return to a Charge; so that, at the very first Onset, they abandoned the Ground, and in great Confusion retired to the Streets on the opposite Side. *Alverado* observed that there was at a small Distance a very large Temple, the Towers whereof were possessed by the Enemy; and thereupon he immediately detached some Companies to drive them from thence, in order to secure his Rear; which Orders they soon performed. Soon after came up, by a different Avenue, the Detachment belonging to *Olid*, but then under the Command of *Cortes* himself; and the confused Throng of *Mexicans* that fled before him into the Square, fell in upon the Battalion which *Alverado* had drawn up in order of Battle; where these Wretches being attacked on every Side, most of them perished, and the like Fate attended those who were driven by *Sandoval*, who presently after arrived.

Those of the Enemy who had retired to the Streets which led to the other Parts of the City marched with the utmost Precipitation, to defend the Person of their Prince, whereby the *Spanish* General had an Opportunity to lodge himself to the best Advantage, without any Interruption, ordering the Brigantines and Canoes to ply about the three Causeways, and to give him Notice of what should occur. The next Morning all the Streets were filled with armed *Indians*, but they were posted there only to cover those who were working upon the Fortifications, which were making for their Retreat; and *Cortes*, perceiving that they did not attempt by any Hostilities to provoke him, suspended the Attack which he at first had determined, being inclined to offer them Peace, as supposing they might be now disposed to an Accommodation. The Message was carried by three or four principal Pri-

soners, and *Cortes* was impatiently waiting for an Answer, as not doubting but the Proposal would be gladly received; because it was observed that those Multitudes of the Populace who were wont to be always ready to defend the Streets, were entirely withdrawn. The Quarter to which *Guatimozin*, with his Ministers and Soldiers was retired, was a very spacious Angle of the City, the greatest Part whereof was defended by the Lake, and the rest was at no great Distance from the great Square of *Tlateleuco*; and it was fortified by a strong Wall made of huge Planks and Fascines, which reached the Buildings on each Side of those Streets, before each of which was a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water, which they had dug across the Streets, to give a Current to the Waters of the Canals.

The ensuing Morning *Cortes*, followed by the greatest Part of the *Spaniards*, marched to view the Ground which the Enemy had forsaken, and advanced till he came within Sight of these Fortifications, which he found covered with an incredible Multitude of Men in Arms; but who seemed to be disposed to Peace, for they neither founded their warlike Instruments, nor made any Outcries. The General drew back, and returned several times with the *Spaniards* without offering to molest them: And it appeared that the *Mexicans* had orders to do the like. During the three Days Suspension of Arms, *Guatimozin* held several Councils to deliberate on the Overtures of Peace, and the Majority voted the admitting the Treaty, sensible of the miserable Condition to which they were reduced, while others, conforming their Sufferings to the Inclination of their Sovereign, shewed themselves willing to continue the War; but the detestable Priests supported the lesser Number, assuring Victory with dark and mysterious Menaces, and inspired the whole Assembly with the same diabolical Fury which possessed their own Breasts. Upon this it was resolved to prosecute the War, and to renew their Hostilities, while *Guatimozin*, before he broke up the Council, gave Orders that all the Piraguas and Canoes should retire to a Bay which the Lake made in that Part of the City, in order to secure a Retreat, in Case they should be driven to Extremity.

This Order was instantly put in Execution, and an incredible Number of these Vessels made to that Bay, of which Motion immediate Notice was sent from the *Spaniards* who were upon the Lake, to *Cortes*; who, without Hesitation, presently concluded, That the *Mexicans* were using these Precautions, with no other View than to secure their Prince's Person. Hereupon he appointed *Sandoval* for Commander in chief of all the Brigantines, with Orders to surround the Bay at a Distance, and to have a watchful Eye upon whatever Motion the Enemy should happen to make. Soon after he advanced with his Troops, but the Enemy had already received Orders to defend themselves; and, before the *Spaniards* came up, the *Indians* declared the Breach of the Treaty by their hostile Cries; and, with a steady and resolute Countenance, prepared for the Encounter; but it presently appeared that their Courage began to fail them, for they no sooner perceived the terrible Havock which the first Discharge of the Cannon made in their wooden Fortification, which they foolishly imagined to be impenetrable; but they sent Notice thereof to *Guatimozin*, for it was not long before they made Signs of demanding a Parley, by hanging out white Cloths, and frequently repeating the Word *Peace*.

They were given to understand, that whoever had any Proposal to offer from their Prince, might approach; upon which, four *Mexicans*, who seemed to be Persons of some Note, appeared on the further Side of the Ditch: These Deputies, upon a Motion made by *Cortes*, promised, in the Emperor's Name, that he should confer with him the next Day; and then brought an Excuse; which Method they pursued for four Days together, while *Guatimozin*, who never intended any such thing, was preparing to make his Escape by the Lake.

23. The Day being come, which *Cortes* had appointed as the utmost Period he would allow, *Sandoval* discovered at the Dawn of the Morning Multitudes of *Mexicans*,

Mexicans, with all imaginable Diligence, embarking on board the Canoes which were in the Bay, upon which he approached them slowly, and then the Canoes of the Enemy, on board of which were the Nobility and all the principal Persons of the City, began to move, having unanimously resolved to make their last Efforts, and at all Hazards to maintain the Fight, till their Prince had made his Retreat, after which they were to follow him by several Ways. Accordingly they put this Design in Execution, attacking the Brigantines with Vigour: But, at the same Time that the *Mexicans* were engaging with such extraordinary Fury, *Sandoval* observed, that from the farthest Part of the Bay six or seven Piraguas, with the utmost Force of Oars, were making the best of their way, upon which he ordered Capt. *Garcias de Holguin* to chase them with his Brigantine, and endeavour to take them.

That Captain, without losing a Moment's Time, used such Diligence that he soon overtook them; when turning the Head of his Brigantine, he fell in upon the foremost Piragua, which seemed to command the rest. They all at once ceased rowing, and lay upon their Oars, when they found themselves attacked, and some of those who were in the first Piragua called out to the Brigantine not to fire, saying, his *Mexican* Majesty was on board that Vessel, which Words were interpreted by some *Spanish* Soldiers, who began to have a Smattering of the *Mexican* Language. Upon this the Brigantines boarded the Piragua, into which *Holguin*, with some *Spaniards*, immediately leaped in order to secure their Prize. *Guatimozin* instantly advanced, and distinguishing the Captain, by the Respect paid him by the rest, said, "I am your Prisoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me: All I have to desire is, that some Regard may be had to the Honour of my Confort, and to that of the Women who accompany her."

He then passed into the Brigantine, and gave his Hand to that Princess to help her up, and was so much Master of himself, and so far from being in any Consternation, that, perceiving *Holguin* to be in some Concern about the other Piraguas, he with great Sedateness of Countenance added, You have no Occasion, Sir, to give yourself any Trouble concerning those, for they will all come to die at the Feet of their Prince; and upon the first Signal he made them, they let their Weapons drop out of their Hands, and followed the Brigantine as Prisoners. *Sandoval* was all that time hotly engaged with the Canoes, and by the Resistance he met with, he became sensible of the Quality of those who defended them, and of the Courage and Fidelity of the *Mexican* Nobility, who, at the Hazard of their Lives, had undertaken to secure their Prince's Liberty. But they soon had Notice of his being taken, and then their loud military Cries were converted into less noisy Lamentations. *Holguin* came up at the same Time, having first dispatched a Canoe with the News to *Cortes*, and, without bearing down too near upon *Sandoval's* Brigantine, he gave him as he passed by a brief Account of what had happened, but perceiving he was desirous of taking care of that important Prisoner, he made the best of his Way, lest *Sandoval* should send him an Order to that Purpose.

As soon as this News was brought him, *Cortes*, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, as acknowledging the supreme Author of all his Success, ordered two Companies of *Spaniards* to the Landing-place, to guard the Royal Prisoner, and then went himself to receive him not far from the Quarters, which he did with great Respect, Signs and Gestures serving instead of Words, to which *Guatimozin* made a Return in the same Manner, endeavouring to conceal the Agitations of his Breast by a forced Complaisance.

Guatimozin was about twenty-four or twenty-five Years of Age; so brave, that he had, by his Exploits and Victories in the Field, risen to those Honours which qualified the Nobles to ascend the Throne. He was as to his Person well proportioned, tall, robust, and strong built, and of so fair a Complexion, that among those of his own Nation he looked like one of a different Climate. The Empress, who was about the same Age, by the Gracefulness of her Carriage attracted the

Eyes of all, but her Beauty was rather majestic than delicate; she was Niece to *Motezuma*, or, as some say, his Daughter; which when *Cortes* understood, he renewed the Offers of his best Service, professing himself obliged to pay to the Person of that Princess the Veneration he owed to the Memory of that Monarch. This great Event happened on the 13th of August 1521, and therefore we may from thence date the Dominion of the *Spaniards* over this Empire. The Captive Emperor sent his Orders to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, and to submit to him who had their Monarch in their Power, which they accordingly did, and thereby put an End to the War for the present.

The kind Usage given at first to the Emperor *Guatimozin* did not last long, but the Change made in his Treatment did not properly arise from *Cortes* himself, but from the Soldiers, who, remembering what vast Quantities of Gold they had formerly seen in the Possession of *Motezuma*, demanded an Account of what was become of them; and when *Cortes* very truly protested that he knew as little of them as they did, they grew so furious and insolent, as to suggest that he had secretly secured them for his own Use. They were so much the bolder in this Matter, because they found themselves supported therein by the King's Treasurer *Julian de Alderete*, who had great Authority, and who, as he was Nephew to the Bishop of *Burgos*, hated *Cortes* heartily, and inclined to do him all the Mischief he could. This Man, finding that no Account could be obtained of these Treasures, demanded that the unfortunate *Guatimozin*, and his first Minister, should be put into his Hands in order to be examined about them, which in his present Circumstances *Cortes* durst not refuse. The Method this Gentleman took to make them discover what he sought was pretty singular.

He put them upon the Rack, as some Writers say; but as others more truly affirm, caused them to be extended upon burning Coals. The Minister looking upon the Emperor cried out violently, upon which *Guatimozin* said, *Do you think I lie here upon Roses?* Which Reproof struck the poor Creature silent, so that he expired without any farther Complaints. But *Cortes*, hearing his first Cries, broke into the Apartment and released the Emperor, and the Soldiers themselves approved his Conduct, and blamed the Treasurer's Barbarity. This Cruelty had not the designed Effect; for there was no Discovery made of the Treasure for which they sought, which made them almost distracted. They searched all Parts of the Lake to no Purpose, ransacked the Temples without finding much, and tore to Pieces the Tombs, in which indeed they found some little Gold, which *Cortes*, to pacify them, divided amongst them.

24. The Provinces of the *Mexican* Empire that were nearest that Capital immediately submitted to the Conqueror, and *Cortes*, having received Intelligence of the Kingdom of *Mechoacan*, which lies to the Westward of *Mexico*, he first sent *Montano*, with three other *Spaniards* as Embassadors, to visit the King, who at first received them indifferently, though afterwards he treated them magnificently; and went himself to see *Cortes*, who soon after dispatched *Christopher Olid* to take Possession of that Country with an Army, which he accordingly did, and forced the King, who shewed himself displeased with his Proceedings, to fly for Shelter into the Mountains. This great Flow of Success altered the Temper of the *Spanish* General, who began now to discover such Haughtiness and Cruelty in his Disposition, as nothing could justify. *Cortes*, having through this Country penetrated to the South-Sea, erected Forts and built Ships there, for farther Discoveries on that Side, and sent also *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to subdue the Countries near *Tabasco* and *Tecountepec* on the North-Sea; and *Pedro de Alverado*, another Commander, was detached with a Body of *Spaniards* and confederate *Indians* to take Possession of the Countries bordering upon the Vale of *Guaxaca* to the Eastward of *Mexico*, who all submitted to the Conqueror.

While *Cortes* was thus employed in reducing this Country to his Obedience in the Name of the Emperor *Charles V.* *Christopher de Tapia* arrived at *Vera Cruz*,
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with a Commission from that Prince, to command all the new Conquests : But the Garrison *Cortes* had left at *Vera Cruz* so threatened and terrified *Tapia*, that he was glad to make his Escape, and leave the General in Possession of *Mexico*. Having got rid of this Rival, *Cortes* marched in Person to the Province of *Panuco*, which he obliged to submit to him, whereupon he divided the Country and all the *Indian* Inhabitants among the Officers and Soldiers, who treated them as Slaves ; and this was his Practice in every Province, where the People voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force. But notwithstanding this bad Behaviour to the Natives, and his refusing to resign his Government to those who were sent to succeed him in his Command, so powerful were the rich Presents he from Time to Time sent to the Emperor, and such were the Representations made to that Prince in his Favour, that *Cortes* was declared Captain-General and Governor of *New Spain* by the Emperor.

The Governor of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba* were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all possible Assistance : Whereupon, finding himself now established in his Command, he set about rebuilding the City of *Mexico*, which he had burnt and demolished. He assigned Places for building Churches and other public Edifices, laid out Market-Places, divided the best Part of the Ground among the *Spaniards*, and the rest among the Natives, giving them Encouragement to build and people the Place again : He assigned one quarter Part particularly to *Moteczuma*, a Son of the late Emperor, and another to one of the most popular *Indian* Generals, and they soon erected a much finer Town than that which had been destroyed, having now the Advantage of Iron Tools, Carriages and Engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the Palace *Cortes* erected for himself upon the Ground where *Moteczuma's* Palace formerly stood, about which 'tis said he used seven thousand Beams of Cedar, some of them 120 Foot in Length ; he also provided himself with a numerous Train of Artillery, consisting of thirty-five Pieces of Brass Cannon, and seventy of Iron, which gave the *Indians* a vast Opinion of his Power ; but that which was his real Strength, and did him most Service, both in *Mexico* and *Europe*, was the prodigious Wealth he acquired by the Plunder of all the Provinces he became Master of, and the rich Mines of Gold and Silver he every Day discovered, or took from the Owners.

All his great Conquests, however, could not procure him Rest, and a peaceable Establishment ; for sometimes he was in Danger from the Intrigues of the *Indians*, who were very desirous of recovering their Country, and driving out or destroying the *Spaniards* : And to put an End to these Contrivances, he, in 1527, found himself obliged to hang *Guatimozin*, and two other *Indian* Princes, whom he had detected in a Conspiracy against him. Sometimes he found no less Uneasiness from the Ambition, Avarice and Malice of some of his own Countrymen. Thus, for Instance, *Christopher Olid*, who had behaved so gallantly in the War against the *Mexicans*, revolted from him, but was soon taken off by a violent Death. *Julian de Alderete*, whom we have so often mentioned, contrived the Murder of *Cortes* while upon his Knees at Mass, which he afterwards confessed to him, and asked his Pardon. At another Time, a Priest, whose Name was *Leon*, formed a Design of blowing him into the Air by setting Fire to a Barrel of Gunpowder, which either by Contrivance or by Chance was placed immediately under his Lodgings. These Accidents shew how fortunate a Man *Hernan Cortes* was.

But how great soever his Courage, his Conduct, or his Success, yet he wanted not many Enemies envious alike of his Merit and his Fortune, and who therefore took abundance of Pains to prejudice the Emperor *Charles V.* against him.

In the Year 1528 *Cortes* found it convenient to return into *Spain*, in order to justify his Conduct against his Enemies. The Emperor *Charles V.* received him with great Respect, gave him the whole Vale of *Atrisco*, with the Towns and Villages therein ; conferred on him the

Title of Marquis of the Vale of *Guaxaca*, and, to complete his Favours, procured him a very honourable Marriage. The next Year he returned to *Mexico* with his Lady, but with a very limited Commission, which turned more to the Disadvantage of the *Spanish* Government, than to the private Loss of the Marquis, who was so much beloved and esteemed in that part of the World, as to stand in no Need of Authority to procure him Respect. He was some time afterwards Captain General, *Mendoza* being Viceroy of the Province, at which Time there happened many private Grudges between them ; but yet they joined together for the finding out a Passage from those Seas to ours, which we properly call the North-West Passage, as also the Conquest of *Ciboa* and *Quivira*, where they were persuaded by certain Friars that the People worshiped the Cross, and had other Tokens of Christianity : But all proved false ; and few *Spaniards* returned Home, their Misery was so great, and the Country so cold and barren, the People cruel, and five hundred Leagues from *Mexico*. *Cortes*, after his taking *Mexico*, sent to discover the northern Parts, and his People arrived in a Country where *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe* was King, who received them kindly, and sent an Ambassador to *Cortes*, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Vessels were great Whales. They wondered at their Horses, and accepted a friendly Peace, offering *Cortes* fifty thousand Men to assist in conquering *Tutepac*, who was his Enemy, for using the Christians well.

Some new Troubles that he met with in relation to his Discoveries, wherein the Viceroy interfered, inclined him in the Year 1542 to make a second Voyage into *Spain*, where he was received with as much Honour, and yet obtained as little Satisfaction as before. To speak impartially, the Emperor had conceived a kind of Jealousy, that if *Cortes* was rewarded according to his Merits, he would become too formidable for a Subject. The Marquis was a Man of too much Sense and Penetration not to discern the Judgment that was formed of him at Court, when he had resided there but a little while : He was however too wise, and too much a Man of Honour, to think that any Mistakes made by his Prince could cancel any Part of the Duty he owed him. For this Reason he applied himself more assiduously than ever to merit the Emperor's Affections. He attended him in his dangerous and disastrous Expedition against the *Algerines*, and notwithstanding all his former Services, and so low a Commission, as to be without a Voice in the Council of War, being unhorfed in a Charge he made against the Infidels, he is said to have lost in the Field two Emeralds of immense Value. After his return to *Spain* from that Expedition, he affected to lead a quiet and retired Life, employing most of his Time in the Instruction of his Children, of whom he had many both legitimate and illegitimate. His second Wife was the Daughter of the Count of *Aguila*, by whom he had a Son who succeeded him in his Titles, and some of whose Descendants are still remaining. As for the great *Cortes* himself he died at a Village near *Seville*, called *Castilleja de la Cuesta*, on the 2d of December 1554, in the 63d Year of his Age : But his Corpse, by his own Direction, was carried into *New Spain*.

25. In relating the History of this great Event, we have taken in every thing that is material in the best *Spanish* Writers, so that the Reader sees at one View, and in the Compass of a few Sheets, what has filled many large Volumes. When he comes to reflect seriously upon all the Passages herein related, and to consider the Conduct of *Cortes* from first to last, he will certainly be convinced, that this great Man merited the Praises that have been given him, and that he was very much superior to many, if not to most, of the Heroes of Antiquity. It must not however be dissimbled, that notwithstanding his great Abilities and many Virtues, he was far enough from having a Character altogether blameless, or from behaving in a such a Manner as that no Imputation could be fixed upon his Conduct.

If this had been the Case, it is highly probable, he would not have been attacked by *F. Bartholomew de Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, who went over to *Spain* on Purpose

to complain of him, and indeed with good Reason, if what he says be true, that in the Space of twelve Years he destroyed upwards of 4,000,000 of People; but though, without doubt, the Design of this Prelate was very laudable, and he was in himself a Person of a true Christian Spirit; yet there want not many Objections capable of destroying, or at least of weakening, to a very great Degree, the Accusations he has brought against this noble Person. In the first Place, we ought to consider the wide Difference there was between these Peoples Characters; and that a Monk is not, by any Means, a fit Person to decide on the Behaviour of a Statesman and a General. The Principles he maintains are not more destructive of the Character of *Cortes*, than the Characters of all the great Men, who have attempted Discoveries or made Conquests in these Parts of the World; and therefore if we admit his Judgment in its full Extent, we must not only give up the Cause of this great Captain, but of almost all the great Captains in every Age and Country; which will perhaps be thought too great a Sacrifice. In the next Place, we ought to remember that from the very Beginning of his Expedition, our Conqueror was opposed and persecuted by the Bishop of *Burgos* and his Party, not from any Christian Spirit of Moderation and Charity towards the *Indians*, but because he had embraced the Party of *Velasquez*, who certainly meant to do all that *Cortes* did, by Means not at all milder than those which *Cortes* employed; and the Bishop of *Chiapa*, who was of the same Party, may be, in some Measure, suspected of condemning in a Person he disliked, what perhaps he would have excused in one for whom he had a greater Esteem.

We may farther observe, that though this Prelate takes a great deal of Pains to justify the *Indians*, and to lay a heavy Load upon his Countrymen, by alledging, that for one Man sacrificed by the former to their false Gods, the latter offered a thousand Victims to their Goddess *Avarice*; yet, inasmuch as he allows that they did offer human Sacrifices, he, in some Measure, allows the Truth of this General's Relations, and indeed it cannot well be supposed, that a Person of the Spirit and Temper of *Cortes* would write long Letters full only of Lies to the Emperor, his Master; and therefore we ought to make some Allowances for the Provocations he received, and for the Circumstances he was in at a Time he cut off so many *Indians*. What seems to justify our Suspicion that this good Bishop exaggerated, either wilfully or by Mistake, the Cruelty of *Cortes*, is his charging him expressly with massacring in cold Blood all the Inhabitants of the City of *Chulula*, notwithstanding they had given him a very kind Reception.

The Reader has already seen an Account of that whole Transaction, as it is related by the best Historians; and from thence it appears, that *Cortes* inflicted upon that City no greater Cruelties than they meant to have exercised upon him and his Soldiers, and that by a most treacherous Contrivance; and, if this had not been the Truth, one can hardly conceive that the *Indians* that were Confederates with *Cortes*, would have adhered to him so closely as they did, on that and all other Occasions. If he had been really so base and bloody a Person, he could scarce have gained the Affections of so many Nations, or granting that by his artificial Behaviour he might have done this, it would have been impossible for him to have preserved their Affections, as it is evident he did from the very Commencement to the End of the War: Besides, if the Ambition and Barbarity of *Cortes* deserved, in the Bishop's Opinion, no Sort of Favour or Excuse, why should we have more Indulgence for the Pride and Tyranny of *Moteczuma*, who certainly had no better Title than he to trample upon the Rights of Mankind, and to make so many Millions miserable as he did.

These are Things that deserve to be very particularly considered, because they enable us to judge truly and decisively of the Subject under our Consideration, without hesitating in our Opinion, or being doubtful whether when delivered it can be sustained. To launch out in the Praises of *Cortes*, as a Man in whose Character there was nothing amiss, and all whose Actions may be

reconciled to the strictest Rules of Religion and Morality, would be undoubtedly carrying the Thing too far, and shewing such a Prepossession in his Favour, as neither Facts nor Reason could support. But we are not to consider him in that Light; we are to look upon him as an Officer sent to extend the Power of the King, his Master, in that Part of the World; and though *Velasquez* deprived him of his Commission, yet, as he acted upon Principles of Honour, and took all due Care of the Royal Interest, as far as he understood it, we cannot refuse him that Applause which is due to his Wisdom and Courage, without acting against Reason. As to Religion he seems to have been as zealous for it as the Priests themselves; and if that Zeal was intemperate, or ill-placed, it was not so much his Fault as theirs, who taught him no better. He seems, as a Christian, to have had a great Abhorrence of Idolatry; and as an honest Man a hearty Detestation of human Sacrifices; so that if his Actions were in any Degree wrong, yet the Motives to them, so far as we can perceive, might be very right. As to his Ambition and Avarice they are not to be excused, supposing them to have been his Vices. But then we ought to reflect how difficult a Thing it is to distinguish between a laudable Desire to serve one's Prince and Country, and what is called Ambition; as well as between a criminal Love for Money, and complying with the Necessities of Times, by sending over to *Spain* what he knew was requisite to maintain his Credit, and to support him against his Enemies. Taking therefore all things together, and making the same Allowances for *Cortes*, that are usually made for Men in his Station, we may venture to affirm, that he behaved as well, and performed as great Things, if not greater, than any of the *Spanish* Captains that bore Command in this Part of the World; so that if we measure his Merit by the Importance of the Conquests he made; by the small Forces he made them with; and the Difficulties he met with and surmounted, which are the usual Measures of such Actions, there is no reason to apprehend, that we err in the Commendations we bestow upon him.

At the same Time, however, we must allow that he shed a great deal of Blood; that he introduced a new Government to this Part of the World; and did many other Things, that, however great they may appear, yet, in the Judgment of such as are Friends to a rigid Morality, subject him to Censure. But as every Man has Faults, and every Man's Faults, who moves in a superior Sphere, have very extensive Consequences; so even in this Respect, we ought not to have a worse Opinion of *Cortes*, than of his Master, the Emperor *Charles V.* or any other great Captain, that pursues a System which, for any Thing we know, may be more agreeable to the Views and Designs of Providence, than such a Conduct as might have pleased us better. I have insisted the longer upon this, that I might not be under the Necessity of making Reflections of the same Kind in other Places; for what I have said upon this Occasion will serve to shew my Sentiments upon all other like Occasions; and therefore there will be no Need of repeating them.

I am very sensible that Writers frequently value themselves upon destroying great Characters, by setting them in this disadvantageous Light; and arrogate to themselves a Power of judging in the last Resort of Mens Actions and Motives. But this I think is very unfair, and I can see no Reason, why the having this Opportunity of raising or sinking the Reputation of so illustrious a Person, should tempt me to endeavour raising in the Reader an high Idea of my Penetration or Probity, at the Expence of one who is already in Possession of Fame, from the Approbation of his Behaviour by those who ought to be, and as far as I can judge from their Writings really were, better Judges of it than I am. All the Merit I pretend to is, the having stated his Actions fairly from the best Authorities, and said of them freely what I thought, which, whether it be right or not, I most readily submit to the judicious Reader, and so return to my Task of pursuing the Conquests made by the *Spaniards* in *America*.

SECTION XIV.

The Discoveries made by the Spaniards in the Province called Golden Castile; their first Knowledge of the South-Sea, and their Establishment of Panama, by which a Passage was opened to the Discovery and Conquest of the great Empire of Peru.

1. *The Manner in which Vasquez Nunez de Balboa established himself in the Government of Santa Maria, in the Province of Castilla del Oro.* 2. *He sends two Agents to solicit Succours; one to the Admiral James Columbus, and the other to the Court of Spain.* 3. *The first Expedition of Balboa against the Indians, in which he subdued the Cazique Careta, and entered afterwards into a closer Friendship with him.* 4. *He goes, at the Request of that Indian Prince, to visit another Cazique, whose Name was Comagre.* 5. *He obtains there the first certain Intelligence of the South Seas, and of the Empire of Peru, and its vast Riches.* 6. *He returns to Santa Maria, and, receiving ill News from Spain, resolves to attempt a Discovery of the South Seas, in hopes of pacifying King Ferdinand and his Ministers.* 7. *The Manner in which he executed this Resolution, and the wonderful Success of his Expedition.* 8. *Bestows the Name of St. Michael on a Bay in the South Seas, and carries from thence a vast Treasure in Gold and Pearls.* 9. *Sends another Agent to the Court of Spain, with a full Account of the Importance of these new Discoveries.* 10. *Don Pedro Arias d'Avila, by the Interest of the Bishop of Burgos, is sent from Spain to take the Government of Castilla del Oro.* 11. *This new Governor first cruelly persecutes Nunez de Balboa, and afterwards most unjustly causes him to be beheaded.* 12. *Arias lays the Foundation of the City of Panama, which by reason of its unwholesome Situation proves very destructive to its first Inhabitants.* 13. *He fails in most of his Attempts for making Conquests and Discoveries in America, and finds it difficult to maintain his Power in the Midst of so many Disappointments.* 14. *He barbarously murders, under a form of Justice, Francis Hernandez, Governor of Nicaragua, and seizes that Province.* 15. *Observations on the foregoing Section, and on the great Difference between Genius and Cunning.*

IT is a Rule that I think ought to be observed in all Works of this Nature, to explain one Subject thoroughly before we proceed to another; and to dwell more or less upon a Subject, according to its Weight and Importance: We have hitherto observed this Rule strictly in both its Branches, which was the Reason of dwelling so long upon the Expedition of Cortes: Since this alone, in respect to its Consequences, was more than equal to all we had mentioned before taken together. In this Section, the Matters we propose to handle, though necessary to understand the Discovery and Conquest of America, and more especially the Manner in which Peru came first to the Knowledge, and then fell into the Hands, of the Spaniards; yet being in themselves of far less Consequence, we shall speak of them more concisely, in order to keep within due Bounds, and inform the Reader fully without tiring him.

We have already shewn how the Province of *Castilla del Oro* was discovered, and settled by the Industry and Pains of *Vasquez Nunez de Balboa*, a Man no less remarkable for the Success of his first Beginnings, than for the Miseries that befel him at the Conclusion of his Adventures. We have likewise shewn how he arrived by his personal Merit, at the extraordinary Authority he exercised in the new Colony, on the Banks of the River *Darien*, where he deprived *Enciso* of his Command; and, upon his endeavouring to recover it, seized and imprisoned him, under Pretence that he had usurped an Office which the King only could bestow; and for which he confiscated all his Effects: A very harsh and severe Sentence, which was certainly founded, rather in personal Resentment, for the ill Usage he had met with from him, than from any real Concern for the Interest of the Colony, which was far enough from requiring such a violent Proceeding, though that was the Pretence. But when Men have acquired Power, it is not at all strange that they should lose Moderation in the Use of it; however, there were some in the Colony better inclined than himself; who, with some Difficulty, prevailed upon him to set *Enciso* at Liberty; but it was upon this express Condition, that he should transport himself, either to *Spain*, or to *Hispaniola*, on board the first Ship that should come to *Santa Maria*, which was the Name of this Settlement.

The next Care of *Nunez de Balboa*, was to secure those Supplies, of which the Colony stood in need, and with this View it was that he made choice of his old Friend *Valdivia* to go to *Hispaniola*, in order to engage the Governor and Council there, to furnish him and his People with all they wanted; of which he had the greater Hopes

because the Admiral, *James Columbus*, was then there, and he very well knew that no body could have a greater Inclination than he had, to contribute all that lay in his Power to promote the King's Service.

2. This Point being settled, he persuaded the Colony that it was highly for their Service to send a Person they could confide in directly to *Spain*, that the Court might be informed of the Situation they were in, and of the great Probability there was of their making very advantageous Discoveries and Conquests. The Person he chose for this important Employment, was his Colleague in the Magistracy, whose Name was *Zamudio*, to which no body had any Objection. By proposing him *Balboa* gained two great Ends; for, in the first Place, he secured the sole Authority to himself, which was what he always affected; and in the next Place, he committed the Care of his Concerns to one whose Interests were the same with his own: Since he had been as deeply engaged in the before mentioned Revolution as himself. There was a small Ship belonging to the Colony in Port, and this he caused to be fitted up as well as it was possible, in order to carry the two Deputies, and his old Antagonist *Enciso*.

Before their Departure, however it was suggested to *Balboa*, that he departed not a little from his usual Wisdom in sending the last mentioned Person, whom he had used so very ill, to a Place where he might represent his Proceedings in Lights far enough from being to his Advantage. But this did not induce him to alter his Resolution, though it put him upon taking a Precaution, which answered his Purpose very effectually. He remembered that one *Passe-monte*, who was the King's Treasurer General at *Santo Domingo*, had a great Interest with the Ministers in *Spain*, and therefore he gave *Valdivia* a considerable Quantity of Gold, which he desired him to present the Treasurer, in his Name, supposing that this would attach him closely to his Interest, and therein he was not at all mistaken; for the Possession of this Gold, and the Hopes of more, induced him to espouse the Cause of *Nunez de Balboa* ever after. These Measures thus taken, he sent the two Deputies, together with *Enciso*, on board the Ship, which presently after sailed for *Santo Domingo*.

After their Departure, *Nunez de Balboa* began to contrive, in his own Mind, how to make the best Use possible of the great Power he had obtained, in order to make further Discoveries, and to acquire more Gold, which he foresaw would prove the most effectual Means for securing to him this Government, at which he had so strangely arrived, and of which he had conceived such Advantages might be made to the Crown of *Spain*, as

would perhaps have entered into no Head but his own, considering the Circumstances the Colony was then in: He was, indeed, a Person every way fit for undertaking vast things; for he had a deep Cunning, stuck at nothing, and had a Courage superior to every kind of Danger, so that nothing could fright him from his Purpose, or put him out of any Road which he thought likely to attain it.

3. It was not long before such an Opportunity offered as he expected, and he made the Use of it which it might be supposed a Person of his Abilities would make in a Matter that so nearly concerned him. At this time many *Indians* resorted to *Darien*, to see whether the *Spaniards* were going away, or what they designed; and, to cover their Intention, carried *Indian* Wheat and other Provisions to exchange for Beads, Knives, and other *Spanish* Baubles; and, to persuade them to be gone, said there was much Gold, and plenty of all Eatables, in the Province of *Coyba*, which was thirty Leagues from thence. *Nunez de Balboa* sent *Francis Pizarro*, with six Men, to discover the Country; who, having travelled three Leagues up the River, was attacked by four hundred *Indians*, under the Command of the Cazique *Zemaco*, and hard pressed: But they closing, ripped up the Bellies of one hundred of them with their Swords, and wounded many more, whereupon the rest fled.

The *Spaniards* then returned to *Darien* in a bad Plight, leaving one *Francis Hernandez* behind them, lying on the Ground; at which *Nunez* was so much offended, that he commanded *Pizarro* to go back, with some Men, for him, as he did, and brought him to the Colony: *Balboa* thinking it a Discredit to leave any one behind him alive. *Nunez* then marched himself, with one hundred Men, and advanced some Leagues towards the Province of *Coyba*; the Cazique of which was *Careta*: But, meeting the *Indians* by the Way, he soon returned to his Colony, and sent two Brigantines for the *Spaniards* that had been left at *Nombre de Dios*.

As they were sailing along the Coast, when they came to a Port belonging to the Cazique of *Coyba*, two *Spaniards* stark naked, painted red, came out to meet them: They, and one more, had a Year and an half before made their Escape out of *Nicuesa's* Ship, when he was in quest of the Province of *Veragua*, to avoid the Punishment due to some Crime they had committed, and put themselves into the Hands of this Cazique *Careta*, who always treated them very well; but, not agreeing among themselves, though in Captivity, they one Day drew their Swords, and one of them, whose Name was *John Alonso*, wounded the other dangerously, whereupon the Cazique made him a Commander in the War he had against some of his Enemies, looking upon him as the braver Man, and did nothing without his Advice. These two Men were very acceptable to those in the Brigantines, and gave an Account that the Country abounded so much in Gold, that if *Nunez* would invade it, they should be all rich. Hereupon it was agreed that one of them should go and acquaint *Nunez* of the State of the Country, and the other should stay to be serviceable, as Occasion should offer. When the Brigantines returned to *Darien*, *Nunez* was well pleased with the Intelligence they brought of the great Wealth, and at having Interpreters to deal with the Natives; and, being thoroughly informed of the Nature of that Country, sent back the Brigantines to bring away from *Nombre de Dios* those they could not fetch off at first.

In the mean time he provided one hundred and thirty of the ablest Men, with Arms, Provisions, and other Necessaries they were to carry; and, as soon as the Brigantines arrived, he set out to seek *Careta* at his Dwelling, which was thirty Leagues off. The Cazique hearing of it, waited for him in his House, where *Nunez* asked him for Provisions for his Men, and to carry to *Darien*. *Careta* answered, that when any Christians had passed that Way, he freely gave them Part of his Provisions; but that at present he had none, being at War with a neighbouring Cazique, whose Name was *Ponca*, for which Reason his People had not sowed, and were then in great Want. Having received this Answer, *Nunez*, by the Advice of

John Alonso, pretended to go back the same Way he came; and *Careta* thinking himself very safe, *Nunez* returned at Midnight, and attacked the Town in three Places, killing and wounding many, and taking the Cazique, his two Wives and Children, and several others; all of whom he sent away to *Darien*, loading the Brigantines with Provisions. At *Darien*, *Careta* intreated *Nunez* not to keep him in Captivity, promising to do all that was in his Power to furnish the Christians with Provisions, and to be his Friend: As a Pledge of which he would give him one of his Daughters, who was very beautiful; and, that his People might have leisure to till and sow the Ground, he should assist him against his Enemy *Ponca*. *Nunez* accepted of the Offer, and took his Daughter, whom he kept as his Mistress, though *Careta* thought he had taken her for his Wife; but he always loved and used her kindly, which highly pleased the *Indians*.

4. This *Indian* Cazique, *Careta*, not only kept his Word, but treated *Nunez*, and eighty Men who accompanied him, so well, that they willingly agreed to assist him in his Wars; which, when the other Cazique, whose Name was *Ponca*, heard, he fled to the Mountains; and the *Spaniards*, entering his Country, found some Provisions there, and a considerable quantity of Gold. It was not long before *Careta* informed his Guests, that he had another Neighbour more powerful, and of a better Disposition, than *Ponca*; whose Name, as well as that of his Country, was *Comagre*; that he had several Wives, and a great many Children, and lived in greater Splendor than any other Cazique. He likewise told them that this *Indian* Prince had a great Inclination to be acquainted with the *Spaniards*; and, as his Dominions were larger and more fruitful than his own, *Careta* advised them to go thither, and offered to accompany them, as he did; and the *Spaniards* found every thing agreeable to the Account he had given them.

For the Palace of *Comagre* was a large wooden Building, one hundred and fifty Yards in Length, and eighty in Breadth; surrounded with a good stone Wall, and well furnished within, after the Manner of those People. They likewise found there good store of Provisions: They had several Sorts of Drinks of several Colours, not much inferior, either in Strength or Flavour, to Wine. The Reception they met with, was equally kind and hospitable; *Comagre* and his Sons taking all the Pains imaginable to make them welcome and easy, and discovering in their Conversation a Knowledge and Politeness much superior to any of the *Indians* they had hitherto met with: They made them Presents also of Gold and Pearls, to a very considerable Value; so that they had no Reason to repent of their Journey, or distrust *Careta*, who had brought them thither; and who seemed to be likewise highly pleased with the courteous Entertainment that his Friend had given them, hoping it would make the *Spaniards* still more willing to oblige him.

Nunez and his Men being thus joyfully received and entertained, *Comagre's* eldest Son, who was a discreet Youth, being desirous to oblige his Guests, caused several pieces of Gold, valuable both for their Workmanship and Fineness, weighing about four thousand Pieces of Eight, and seventy Slaves, to be brought, all which he gave to *Nunez* and *Colmenares*. They immediately set apart a fifth of the Gold for the King, dividing the rest among themselves; about which some quarrelled, struggling and making a Noise for the best and finest of those Pieces.

Comagre's eldest Son, who was present, ran to the Scales, and, striking them with his double Fist, threw all the Gold upon the Ground; saying, "That Christians need not fall out about such a Trifle; but, if they were so fond of it as to disturb peaceable Nations, and leave their own Native Country for the sake of it, he would shew them a Province where they might have as much as their Hearts could wish, but that there must be a greater Number of them, because they were to encounter a Monarch who defended his Dominions with much Bravery: That they first would meet with a Cazique, who had a vast Quantity of what they looked upon as Wealth, who was six Suns, that is, six Days Jour-

ney from thence, pointing with his Finger towards the *South-Sea*; which he told them they would see as soon as they were past certain Lands; and that there were other Nations had Vessels little inferior to those of the *Spaniards*, with Sails and Oars; and that, beyond that Sea, they would find immense store of Gold, out of which those People eat and drank." And having understood from the *Spaniards* that there was great plenty of Iron in *Spain*, he signified that there was more Gold in those Parts than Iron in *Biscay*.

This was the first Intimation given of that large Country; and, because the Youth was acquainted with the great Extent of that Kingdom, and the Number of its Inhabitants, he added, that there ought to be one thousand Christians, at least, to invade it; and he offered to go with them, to assist them with his Father's Men. This Discourse was interpreted by the two *Spaniards* who had fled from *Nicuesa*, and lived with *Careta*. *Nunez* and his Followers, having heard of all this Golden Country, were so overjoyed, that they thought they could never make haste enough to discover it.

6. After a short Stay in the Dominions of this Indian Prince, *Nunez de Balboa* retired to his own Government of *Santa Maria*, in order there to consider at his Leisure of the properest Means for making the Discoveries, upon which himself and his People were so much bent. A very little before *Valdivia* was returned from *Hispaniola*, and brought from thence, on the Part of *James Columbus*, the strongest Assurances of Support, which induced *Balboa* to send him over a second time with the same Views and the same Instructions, but with fresh Proofs of the Services he had rendered to the Crown, and fresh Presents for those he thought might do him Kindnesses with the Ministers. But the Vessel that carried *Valdivia*, and such as attended him, was very unfortunate, being ship-wrecked in her Passage on the Coast of *Jucatan*; the Men with great Difficulty got on Shore, which proved a new Misfortune; for it had been much better they had perished at Sea, since they were quickly surrounded and made Prisoners by the Natives; who, with all the cruel Circumstances imaginable, sacrificed them to their Idols.

Such was the End of *Valdivia* and his Companions, two only escaping, one of whom was *Aguilar*, who was of so great Use to *Cortes*, and with whose History the Reader is already acquainted. The News greatly afflicted *Balboa*, inasmuch that, to prevent the ill Consequences that might follow from it, he had some Thoughts of going himself to *Spain*; but the Colony would not suffer him, looking upon his Presence as absolutely necessary to their own Preservation. He had very soon sufficient Reasons to believe that they had judged right; for, by the Dispatches he received from his Agent *Zamudio*, he was informed that *Enciso* had incensed the Court against him to such a Degree, that there was no pacifying the Ministers, or persuading them that he was not the very worst of Men, and one who had in the highest Degree contemned and trampled upon the royal Authority.

When *Nunez de Balboa* had considered the Contents of these Letters, and the melancholy Situation he was in, he saw plainly that there was nothing could deliver him, or restore his Character in *Spain*, but making an immediate Use of the Informations he had received, by proceeding in, and perfecting his Discoveries of larger and richer Countries, than hitherto the *Spaniards* had been acquainted with. This he very rightly judged would cover all past Faults, and atone for every Irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the Colony any of the Particulars contained in his Dispatches, he applied himself solely to persuade them to such an Expedition, as the most likely Means to make them all rich and happy; and his Labours in this Respect proved so effectual, that all Hands were immediately employed in making the necessary Preparations for going in search of those golden Regions; and this, with a full Confidence, that if once they could be found, they might, without Difficulty, be subdued. Such were his and their Designs; let us now see how they were executed.

7. *Nunez de Balboa*, having resolved to march over to the *South-Seas*, and provided all things for the Expedition, set out from *Darien* about the Middle of September, 1513; going by Sea as far as the Territories of the Cazique *Careta*, who received him in a very friendly Manner. He there left the Brigantine and Canoe, and advanced towards the Mountains, and the Country of *Ponca*, *Careta* assigning some of his Subjects to attend him. The Cazique *Ponca*, who had Spies abroad, being informed that the *Spaniards* were coming up his Mountains, hid himself. *Nunez* sent some of *Careta's* Indians to assure him, that he would do him no harm, but would be his Friend; and he thought fit to come to him, carrying as a Present the Value of one hundred and ten Pesos of Gold, which was all he had.

Nunez received him with much Joy, that he might have no Enemy behind. He gave him abundance of Beads, Looking-glasses, and Hawk's-bells, and that which the Indians most valued, viz. some Iron Axes. He demanded of him Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, whilst he went up the Hills, and advanced farther. The Cazique granted all he desired, and gave him Plenty of Provisions, and then the *Spaniards* marched on into the Dominions of a great Lord, whose Name was *Quarequa*, whom he found ready to oppose him with a great Number of Men, armed with Bows and Arrows, and a sort of Slings, with which they threw Pieces of Wood hardened in the Fire like Darts. They had also Macanas, made of Palm-tree Wood, as hard as Iron, which they used, like Clubs, with both Hands. In this manner the Indians met the *Spaniards*, asking what they would have, or what they came for? requiring them, at the same time, to proceed no farther. Observing that they valued not what was said, their Lord came forward, clothed in Cotton, with some of the prime Men; all the rest stark naked.

They attacked the *Spaniards* with dreadful Cries and extraordinary Fury. *Nunez*, seeing such a Multitude, ordered his Soldiers to discharge some Cross-bows and some Firelocks, whereupon some dropped down dead. The Indians, seeing the Fire, and hearing the Report, believing they had been Flashes of Lightning, and that the *Spaniards* had Power to destroy them, fled, to a Man, in such Consternation, that they thought the *Spaniards* were Devils. The Dogs were set on them, whilst their Masters cut off the Limbs of some with their Swords, the Dogs tearing others in Pieces. The Cazique was there killed, and about six hundred more; some were taken, and their Town plundered, where the Conquerors found a considerable Quantity of Gold. Among the Prisoners were a Brother of the Cazique, and some others, clothed like Women; and *Nunez*, judging that they were guilty of Sodomy, set the Dogs at them, and they were in a Moment torn to Pieces; which was all the Proof there was in this Case, though *Gomera* positively affirms it.

Some *Spaniards* were grown sickly with Hunger and Weariness, for which Reason *Nunez* left them in *Quarequa's* Town, where he took fresh Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, to dismiss those that belonged to *Careta*; thus proceeding to the Top of the Mountains, whence they said the other Sea might be seen. From *Ponca's* Lands to this Mountain's Top was about six Days Journey; but they spent twenty-five, through the Uncoothness of Lands, and because they were scarce of Provisions, and had little Rest. At length they arrived, on the 25th of September, 1513, whence the Sea could be seen.

Nunez, having notice given him, a little before they came to the Top, that they were very near, commanded all to halt, went up alone, and, seeing the *South-Sea*, on his Knees returned Thanks to Heaven for being the first that had seen it. Having performed this, he called his Men, and repeated the same; they followed his Example, whilst the Indians stood amazed to see them so overjoyed. He then extolled the Intelligence given him by *Comagre's* Son, promising all his Men much Wealth and Happiness; and they believed him: For he was very much beloved, because he made no Difference between himself and every Soldier. Besides, he was familiar, and shewed much Compassion for the Sick and Wounded,

Wounded, every one of whom he visited, and was himself undaunted in Dangers, never shewing the least Concern in the greatest Perils. He then caused a Certificate to be drawn of his taking Possession of that Sea, and all in it, for the Crown of *Castile*; in testimony whereof, he cut down Trees, erected Crosses, raised Heaps of Stones, and cut the King of *Spain*'s Name on some Trees. He then resolved to go down the Mountains, to observe what there was on them, and on the Sea-coast.

Being informed that, near this Place, there was another Town, belonging to a Lord whose Name was *Chiapes*, he advanced very cautiously; and *Chiapes* went out to meet him with a great Number of Men, in which he confided, for the *Indians*, seeing so few *Spaniards*, generally made little account of them till they had felt their Swords. When they drew near, the *Spaniards* saluted them with their Fire Arms first, and then with their Cross-bows, after which they let go the Dogs; the *Indians*, seeing the Fire of the Muskets, hearing the Report, smelling the Gunpowder, observing how many dropt down dead, and that the Dogs tore all they came at, turned their Backs and fled with the utmost Precipitation: The *Spaniards* pursued, with their Dogs, killing some, but chusing rather to take Prisoners, in order, by their means, to make Peace with *Chiapes*, that he might not retard their Passage. They dismissed some of those they had taken as Messengers to their Lord, with some of *Quarequa*'s Men to assure him they would do him no Harm if he would be their Friend. He thought it safest to put himself into the Hands of these dreadful Enemies, and carried the Value of four hundred Pieces of Eight in Gold. *Nunez* received him very graciously, and gave him Beads, Looking-glasses, and some Hatchets; and here he dismissed *Quarequa*'s *Indians*, giving them Trifles, with which they went away well pleased.

From thence he sent Captain *Francis Pizarro* to view the Sea Coast, and what there was about the Country; as also *John Escarray* and *Alonso Martin*, with twelve Men each, to find out the shortest Ways to the Sea. *Alonso Martin* hit upon the readiest Road, and, in two Days, came to a Place where he found two Canoes upon dry Land; yet saw no Sea; but, whilst he was considering which Way these Canoes were come up the Land, the Sea-water came in and lifted them up about a Fathom in Height: For, upon that Coast, the Sea ebbs and flows every six Hours, two or three Fathoms, so that great Ships are left dry, and no Sea-water appears for two or three Leagues at least. *Alonso Martin*, seeing the Canoes swim, went into one of them, and bid his Companions bear Witness that he was the First who entered the *South-Seas*; another, whose Name was *Blaez de Atienza*, did the like, and bid them bear Witness he was the Second. They returned to *Nunez* with the News, at which all rejoiced very much.

8. The sick and wounded *Spaniards* that were left behind being come up, *Nunez* resolved to proceed himself to the Sea-side, and to try what farther Discoveries could be made, taking the *Indian* Chief with him. When they came to the Shore the *Spanish* Commander marched on, armed as he was, till the Water took him up to the Middle; causing a Notary to draw and subscribe a public Instrument, importing, That he had taken possession of that Sea, its Coasts, and the Islands in it, on Behalf of the Crown of *Castile*; at which Ceremony the *Indians* were very much amazed.

He proceeded next to pass the Mouth of a great River, and landed on the opposite Side, in the Territories of another *Indian* Prince, whose Name was *Coura*, and who, at first, endeavoured to make some Resistance; but, finding that it was in vain, he suffered his Son to go and treat with them, and himself was soon after reconciled, and carried them a considerable Present. *Balboa* observing a large Bay of the Sea, resolved to navigate it; and, to that Purpose, desired the *Indians* to furnish him with Canoes, which they did, and offered to accompany him, though, at the same Time, they advised him to suspend his Discovery, because the Winter was coming on. But he, being obstinate, embarked

with fourscore *Spaniards*, together with *Chiapes*, and some of his *Indians*, on board nine Canoes.

They weighed anchor upon the twenty-ninth of September, 1513, which was the Reason he called it *St. Michael's Bay*. When they were at some Distance from Land the Waves began to swell so high, that *Nunez* repented he had not taken *Chiapes*'s Advice. It was a wonderful Providence that they did not all perish; and the *Indians*, who swim like Fish, made the Danger more evident, as being better acquainted with the Place, which rendered the *Spaniards* more apprehensive. The Roughness of this Bay is occasioned by the many little Islands, Rocks, and Shoals, that are in it. The *Indians*, being best skilled in those Affairs, had recourse to their usual Remedy, fastening two Canoes together with Cords, for then they do not so easily overturn. They made the best of their Way next towards an Island, where they landed, and lashed the Canoes to the Rocks or Trees. There they continued all the Night, with as much Uneasiness as if they had been looking Death in the Face; for upon the Flood the whole Island was covered with Water, and they stood in it up to their Waists, or very near it: When Day appeared, and the Water ebbed, they went to look for their Canoes, and found some beaten in Pieces, and others split, all of them full of Water and Sand; and nothing remained of all their Goods and Provisions; which was a very dismal Sight. In this Distress, they pulled off the tender Bark of the young Trees, and, bruising it with Grass and other Herbs, caulked the Crannies of the Canoes that were not quite staved, and thus embarked again half famished.

They immediately steered to the Land of an *Indian* Lord, whose Name was *Tumaco*, in the Creek of the Bay, where they found him ready to oppose them. *Nunez* seeing his Men weak and hungry, picked out a few of the ablest, whom he placed in the Front, and engaged: In a very short Space the Dogs and the Swords made sad Havock among the *Indians*, the Cazique himself being wounded. *Chiapes* sent some of his Men to acquaint *Tumaco* with the Power of the *Spaniards*, and how kind they were to their Friends, as himself, and other Lords they had met in their Way, very well knew by Experience. *Tumaco* would not be persuaded the first Time, but the second Messenger prevailed so far, that he sent his Son, whom *Nunez* entertained very courteously, giving him a Shirt, and some Toys, and bidding him advise his Father to come himself and be his Friend. *Tumaco* seeing his Son had been well used, went the third Day with a great Attendance of his Subjects, but carried no Present; however *Nunez* paid him much Respect.

Chiapes told him, that the *Spaniards* were good, and it was but reasonable to assist them, since they were Strangers in their Country: Being pacified, and out of Fear, he sent some Servants home, who brought Gold, to the Value of six hundred and fourteen Pieces of Eight, and, what was much more, two hundred and forty large Pearls very fine, and many more that were bright but small. The Joy *Nunez* and his Men conceived at the Sight of them is inexpressible, believing the immense Treasures *Comagre*'s Son had told them of were now at hand, and thinking all their Sufferings well repaid. The large Pearls were of a great Value, and would have been of greater, but that the *Indians* using Fire to open the Oysters they grew damp, and were not so white as they naturally are: The *Spaniards* afterwards taught the *Indians* how to open them without Fire. *Tumaco*, observing that the Pearls occasioned such Joy among them, to shew that he valued them but little, sent some *Indians* to fish, and within four Days they brought as many as weighed no less than ninety six Ounces. Both *Spaniards* and *Indians* were well pleased, the former concluding they should be possessed of all that Wealth, and the latter, especially the Caziques, for the Friendship of the *Spaniards*, seeing them fond of Gold and Pearls, which they valued but little; but *Chiapes* rejoiced most because he had been instrumental in gaining *Tumaco*'s Friendship.

Those two Caziques assured *Nunez*, that there was an Island about five Leagues from thence, in that Bay, governed

verned by a powerful Cazique; where there were abundance of large Oyfters, which had Pearls in them as big as Beans. *Nunez* ordered the Canoes to be immediately made ready to go over to it. The Caziques intreated him not to think of it at that time, but to stay till Summer, when the Sea was calm, and he might then go with ease, and they would bear him company, and he approved of their Advice. The Cazique *Tumaco* also informed *Balboa*, that the Coast extended prodigiously, pointing towards *Peru*; that there was an immense Quantity of Gold, and that the Natives used certain Beasts to carry their Burdens, being the Sheep of that Country, and made a Figure of them with Earth to represent them the better. The Spaniards were amazed; some said they were Camels, others that they were Stags, or Fallow Deer, of which there are many on the Continent about as big as small Calves, but their Legs so short, that they are not above a Span in length, and their Horns small. This was the second Intimation *Nunez* had of *Peru*, and its Wealth.

9. It was about the Middle of *January* that *Nunez de Balboa* returned back to *Santa Maria*, carrying with him Gold to a very great Value, and Pearls to a much greater; of which he made a very fair Division, reserving the fifth Part for the King, and distributing the rest among the Soldiers in such a Manner, that they were perfectly satisfied with his Conduct. He judged now, and not without great Appearance of Reason, that he had performed so signal a Service, that it was impossible for the Ministers to deny that it made amends for any Indiscretions into which he had fallen. He resolved therefore to send another Agent to *Spain* with the King's Money, and with more considerable Presents than it was in his Power to send by the former. The Person he made choice of for this Negotiation was *Peter Arbolanchos*, a Man of Capacity, and, which was of greater Consequence to him, a Person of great Integrity and unshaken Fidelity.

He applied himself, when he came to Court, to the famous Bishop of *Burgos*; who received his Letters with Civility, which changed into the greatest Kindness and Friendship upon the Sight of the Gold and Pearls that *Balboa* had sent him; for these fully convinced him that he was innocent, and a good Officer, and therefore he took Pains to set him right in the Opinion of King *Ferdinand*, who was then living, and who had hitherto a great Aversion to *Nunez de Balboa*; but the Favours of this Prelate came too late, for he had already done this unhappy Man such an Injury as he was not able to repair. It was a Maxim with this Bishop, that there was nothing so dangerous as to suffer the great Men who made Discoveries in the *Indies* to perfect them; and therefore as soon as they had opened the Road to new Countries, and had overcome the first, which are always the greatest, Difficulties, it was his constant Method to send some of his own Creatures to reap the Fruits of their Labours.

The Person he had fixed upon, before the Arrival of *Balboa's* Agent, to go Governor of *Castilla del Oro*, was one *Don Pedro Arias d'Avila*, whom the Spanish Writers, by joining his two first Names, commonly call *Pedrarias*, a Man of Birth, of a Court Education, which had furnished him with several Qualities very suitable to the Climate of *Spain*, but not at all calculated for the King's Service in the *Indies*: He was haughty and proud to the last Degree, naturally insincere, and a very artificial Dissembler, barbarously unjust, and cruel beyond Expression, one who thought the only Compensation that could be made for leaving his native Country, was to raise a vast Fortune, which, as he wanted Talents to do in an honest Way, he resolved to bring about by the Methods he understood, which were Violence, Fraud, and Oppression; in all of which he was a complete Master.

We have his Character drawn to the Life by the Hand of the Bishop of *Chiapa*, who represents him as the wickedest Monster that was ever sent into those Parts; but out of Respect to his Patron the Bishop of *Burgos*, after giving so true a Character of him he does not name him. Such was the Person that was sent over to take Possession of that Country which *Balboa* had discovered.

10. This new Governor, *Pedrarias*, sailed from *Spain* the 12th of *April*, 1514, with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, with two thousand Soldiers on board, and a Fryar, one *John de Quevedo*, who had been consecrated, before his Departure, Bishop of *Darien*, and many other Persons, in other great Offices; and amongst the rest *Enciso*, the mortal Enemy of *Balboa*, was his Provost Marshal. He arrived in the latter end of the Month of *July*, in the Gulph of *Uraba*, and from thence proceeded to *Santa Maria*, where he was received with all imaginable Respect, by the famous *Nunez de Balboa*, of whom he had heard so much, and for whom he cared so little.

He was very much surprized at his Appearance, and at the State in which he found the Colony. There was indeed a very strong Fort, and four hundred and fifty brave Fellows to defend it; but the Governor's House, or if you will, his Palace, consisted but of three Rooms, and his Dress corresponded with his Dwelling: He had a Pair of Canvas Drawers, and a Cotton Waistcoat over his Shirt, and that was all. His Diet was of a piece with the rest; a Joint of roast Pork, some Greens and Fruit, was all his Table afforded; at which no other Liquor was drank but good Spring-water. Such were the Manners of this Conqueror, who fared nothing better than the meanest of his Soldiers; but there was no Murmuring, no Complaints; he maintained his Authority by the Means which had acquired it, his Merit; and his Soldiers loved him, and feared him as a Father. His sole Fault was his Ambition, that had led him to do some unwarrantable things to obtain Power; but when obtained, none used it better.

His Accounts were clear; he made good every Point he had written to *Spain*, and opened a Passage to the *South-Seas*, and subdued all the Country between them and his Colony; in return for which good Services *Pedrarias* committed him close Prisoner to the Custody of *Enciso*, and did not set him at Liberty till he had fined him in above half his Fortune. In order to justify this Proceeding he sent over a very false Report to the Court of *Spain*, and expected that this should have procured him a Power of going greater Lengths; but in this he was mistaken. He had brought over some honest Men with him, who ventured (which was strange) to send the naked Truth to Court; and, which was stranger still, it met with all the Credit that it deserved.

When the King's Letters came to be opened, his Majesty declared in them, that he was perfectly satisfied with the Conduct of *Nunez de Balboa*, that therefore he had created him Lord-Lieutenant of the Countries on the *South-Seas*; that he expected the Governor should take his Advice; and that the Measure of his Obedience to his Orders would appear from the Respect he shewed to *Balboa*. *Pedrarias*, equally displeased and disappointed, took care to conceal both, and, like a true Courtier, resolved to conform, in Appearance, to his Master's Orders, but to disobey them in effect, and to leave no Means untried, to work the Destruction of the Man he hated, in which, as we shall see, he succeeded to the full.

In order to lessen the Character of his Predecessor, and raise his own, the new Governor sent several of his Officers to make Excursions into the Country, which he thought must produce new Discoveries, as indeed they did, but not to the Advantage of the Colony or of the Crown of *Spain*, since they contributed only to shew the Avarice and Cruelty of the Spaniards in the most glaring Lights: His Officers knew the only Method to obtain his Favour and Protection was to make him large Presents, and to plunder all the Caziques without Mercy; so that in a few Months time, that Reputation for Honesty and kind Usage which *Nunez de Balboa* had been at so much Pains to establish, was entirely lost, and War between them and the Natives broke out afresh with greater Fury than ever, so that there were no great Hopes of his making any Progress; which when he came seriously to consider, he entered upon a new Scheme, and, by the Assistance of his Bishop *Quevedo*, reconciled himself to *Balboa*, who very sincerely applied himself, as he had done formerly, to the public Service, and that too with his usual Success, which

which received, as might be naturally expected, the Envy of *Pedrarias*, notwithstanding that *Nunez* had promised to marry his Daughter, and he had thereupon called, and in public treated, him as his Son.

The Business in which he had employed him, was the building a Town, establishing a Port, and from thence fitting out Ships upon the *South-Seas*; all which, with incredible Labour and Fatigue, he at length accomplished, which added to the great Reputation he had before acquired. *Pedrarias* seeing this, and that most People in his Government were inclined to remove, and to settle in the Town built by *Nunez de Balboa*, as soon as it was finished, resolved no longer to delay the removing out of his way a Man, whose Superiority became more and more conspicuous; he sent for him therefore to *Santa Maria*: And *Nunez de Balboa* made no Difficulty of obeying his Order, either because he did not suspect his ill Intentions towards him, or that, relying upon his own Innocence, he thought it out of the Governor's Power to hurt him.

Upon his Arrival, however, *Pedrarias* commenced a fresh Prosecution against him on the same Pretences for which he had fined him before; and to these he added another very extraordinary Accusation, which was a treasonable Intention to usurp the King's Domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's Licence, some Timber for erecting public Edifices; and upon this Charge he condemned him to suffer Death, to the Amazement of the Colony and the Terror of all the Inhabitants. He persisted however in his Design, and caused this unfortunate Gentleman to be publicly beheaded. Such was the Fate of *Vasquez Nunez de Balboa*, who, in the forty second Year of his Age, suffered as a Traytor, for having served his Prince with too much Zeal and Fidelity. The Royal Audience at *Santo Domingo* condemned this Action of *Pedrarias*, as a downright Murder; but it does not appear that he was ever called to any Account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the same base and barbarous Track for many Years together. This happened in the Year 1517, and in the third of *Pedrarias*'s Government.

12. When he had thus, at the Expence of Law and Justice, freed himself from a Man whom he both hated and feared, *Pedrarias* resolved to settle a new Colony at *Panama*; notwithstanding that, from the Heat and Moisture of the Country about it, it was very unwholesome; but, as it stood commodious for Trade, and was a Place very convenient for the Discoveries then making, the Governor remained fixed in his Resolution, built a Palace there, and made it the Seat of his Government. Upon this others came thither to dwell, so that by degrees it grew a tolerable Place, and increased in its Inhabitants very fast, because it was pretty well fortified, and because the Harbour is very spacious, where the Ships upon the Ebb are left dry. The Circumference of the City is small, by Reason of a Morass that encloses it on one Side, and the Damps that rise from it render the Place very unhealthy: It stretches out from East to West, so that when the Sun rises there is no going along the Streets, because there is no Shade; and the Heat is so offensive, that it occasions many Distempers. Though it has been several times proposed to remove it to some better Place, it has not been done on Account of the great Price the Houses bear, and that the ancient Inhabitants are dead; and such as live there now are generally Traders, and stay there no longer than they can acquire enough to go somewhere else.

There is a River runs near the City, and the District is large, in which there are many Farms, and store of black Cattle, the Soil being proper for them; several Sorts of *Spanish* Fruit have been planted, and there are of the Country very good, as Pine-apples, Plantain, Guayabas, besides others about the Fields. The Rivers afford Gold, which was found in plenty upon the first building of the City. It is well supplied with Provisions, being furnished from both Seas. Neither Wheat nor Barley grow within its District, but there is much Maize or *Indian* Corn carried from *Spain* and *Peru*. There are good Fish in the Rivers, and in the Sea, though different from

what are found in *Spain*: Near the Houses along the Coast there are vast quantities of Cockles, by the Natives called *Chucha*; and it is thought, that for the Sake of them the *Spaniards* at first built the City there, as being some Supply in time of Want. In the Rivers of this Province, there are vast Numbers of Alligators, so large, that they are hideous to look at; and one has been found in the River of *St. George*, that was twenty five Foot long: The Flesh of them, which the *Spaniards* were wont to eat for want of better, when they were upon their Discoveries, is bad and ill-scented: The Creatures themselves are fierce and frightful, and have devoured many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and even Horses, while crossing Rivers. There are few of the Natives in the Territories of this City, having been destroyed in the Wars: The Trade there is extraordinary, rich Ships coming in continually from *Peru*, laden with Gold and Silver.

The Commodities carried from *Spain*, on board the Fleets, are conveyed thither on numerous Teams kept for that purpose; a considerable Part being sent up the River *Chagre*, within five Leagues of *Panama*, which lies in between eight and nine Degrees N. Latitude. This Place being considerable, the King ordered many Religious Men to be sent over to convert the *Indians*, and made it a Bishopric. Yet it is said, that during the first twenty eight Years after the Conquest of *Peru*, above forty thousand Men were computed to have died there, of violent Distempers. Soon after, *James Albetex* founded another Town at *Nombre de Dios*, which was also famous for many Years, those two being noted for the Trade between the North and South Seas; and here, as well as at *Panama*, many thousand *Spaniards* perished by the bad Air.

In the Reign of King *Philip II*, to avoid the said Mortality, *Nombre de Dios* was quite abandoned, and the Inhabitants removed to *Porto Bello*, where the Trade now continues. As soon as these two Towns were founded, Orders were taken for making a Road between them, being the nearest between the two Seas; though the Mountains were very uncooth, on which there were then infinite Numbers of Lyons, Tygers, and other wild Beasts, and such a multitude of Monkeys of several Sizes, as deafened their Ears with their Cries; which, running up the Trees when any People passed by, were wont to throw Stones at them, but the *Spaniards* kept them in awe with their Cross-bows.

13. It must be allowed that this *Pedrarias* did not want Talents suitable to his Office; for he had Courage, Diligence, and a strong Desire to do great things; and yet, notwithstanding all this, in the Compass of eight or nine Years, he did little or nothing, which the *Spaniards* attributed to the just Judgment of God, for his cruel Usage to *Nunez de Balboa*. There is no doubt that God is always just; but perhaps we are not wise enough to distinguish his Judgments, and, therefore, it may be as well to refer the want of Success in this Governor's Administration, to Causes more manifest, without excluding, however, the divine Justice, which has certainly connected Misery and Vice, and plagues the Neglect of moral Duties, by a continual Train of Misfortunes. The Truth of the Matter is, that his Vices defeated all his Schemes, and rendered all his Undertakings abortive. Instead of treating the *Indian* Caziques as his Predecessor *Nunez* had done, with Civility and Justice, he behaved towards them like an imperious Master, and yet he was not able to extort half the Quantity of Gold that had been freely bestowed on *Balboa* in Presents. He granted Licences to various Persons to undertake Discoveries, but on such hard Terms, and with so many Restrictions, that they had no better Success than himself; and all their Endeavours had no other Effect than to waste great Numbers of Men, and to bring an Odium upon Expeditions into the *South-Seas*.

But what chiefly employed the Care of this Governor, was reducing *Urraca*, Cazique of the Mountains, whose Country was very rich in Gold; and who, after the Decease of *Nunez*, would have nothing to do with the *Spaniards*, presuming, as he said, that they could mean no good to others, who persecuted and murdered each other.

other. *Pedrarias* made war upon him for five Years together, and in that Space of time destroyed a great Number of his Subjects, yet was never able to subdue or render him tributary. On the contrary, this *Indian* Prince was frequently too hard for the *Spaniards*; his Subjects were stout and warlike, the Situation of his Dominions gave him great Advantages; for the *Spaniards* could never act against him with Horse, and with all this he was himself a Prince of great good Sense, extremely brave and enterprising, one who foresaw Advantages as soon as any Man, and there were very few who could manage them better. This the Reader will easily believe, when he is told that *Pedrarias* lost more Men in the Course of this War, than *Cortes* in the Conquest of *Mexico*, without getting a Foot of Land, or an Ounce of Gold by the Bargain. But he made himself some amends by his grievous Extortions, upon such of the *Caziques* as had submitted to the *Spaniards*; and, with the Gold he forced from them, maintained so great an Interest at Court, that notwithstanding every Enterprize of his was attended with Loss, yet every new Project he sent over, was approved and applauded.

This will appear the more extraordinary, when it is considered that never any Man met with more Opposition than he did; for, on the one Hand, he was hated to the last Degree by the *Indians*, for whose Sake the Bishop of *Chiapa* went in Person to *Madrid*, to solicit Relief. The *Spanish* Officers were likewise uneasy, and wrote home a true Representation of his Conduct, which was such as would have ruined the Fortune of any other Man. Besides all this, he was upon very bad terms with the Royal Audience at *St. Domingo*, which was then, what it still is, the supreme Tribunal in the *West-Indies*; and the chief Reason for his removing the Seat of his Government from *Santa Maria* to *Panama* was, that he might be farther out of their Reach. Thus it plainly appears, that this Man's selfish, haughty, and overbearing Temper, was very near as fatal to himself and his Dependents, as to others that he had to deal with; and that he might have been infinitely more happy, as well as made others so, if he had behaved better; which might prove an useful Lesson to other Governors, if they were a Sort of People capable of learning any Good from the Examples of their Predecessors, or of listening to such Truths as they might always learn from the Voice of the People.

14. We shall have occasion to mention this Man sometimes in the following Pages; but as we shall have no Opportunity of continuing the History of his Administration to its Close, we will take leave of him here, by relating another extraordinary Exploit of his, while he continued in full Possession of Power. He was informed, about the Beginning of the Year 1526, that the Court of *Spain*, wearied with continual Complaints against him, was at length resolved to send him a Successor. As he knew no Means of avoiding this, and yet had no Mind to part with his Power, he began to cast about in his own Mind, where to find another Establishment. There was only one Expedition which had met with any kind of Success under any of his Creatures, and that was the Conquest of *Nicaragua*, by *Francis Hernandez*, who acted under his Licence, and he had also been at some Expence in fitting him out.

He resolved therefore to retire into this Country, for two Reasons: First, that he might secure it for himself, though of right it belonged to him who had subdued it; and next, that he might avoid delivering up his Province to his Successor in Person, for fear he should treat him as he had done *Balboa*. One would have imagined, that when his Affairs were in such a Situation, he should have abated somewhat of his Pride, or at least of his Cruelty; but whether it was that he had no Power over his Temper, or, that he knew he had still Interest enough with the Ministers to prevent his being called to an Account for so small a Matter as a Murder, so it was, that he committed one more base and barbarous, if possible, than that of *Nunez de Balboa*.

The thing happened thus: He pretended, as soon as he came into the new Province, that he had Information his Deputy had a mind to revolt, he therefore sent for him to answer to this Charge. *Francis Hernandez*, who knew there was not a Word of Truth in it, came with that Boldness that is natural to Innocence; and *Pedrarias* had him no sooner in his Power, than he caused his Head to be struck off, alledging that there was no other Way for a Government to be safe against Persons in Power, when their Fidelity was once suspected. As black and heinous as this Fact was, he escaped being questioned for it; and was confirmed in his Government of *Nicaragua*, as if the gratifying his own unjust Resentments had been an indisputable Proof of his Attachment to the Crown of *Spain*, and Zeal for its Service.

15. I shall close this Section with remarking that there never was an Observation more true than that which was laid before the Reader when we opened this History of the *Spanish* Conquests in *America*, which was, that they were entirely owing to the Abilities of particular and private Persons, called forth by Accidents, and never to the Wisdom or Foresight of the *Spanish* Ministers; who, on the contrary, were so ready to cramp such as they ought to have encouraged, that they really made the Disobedience necessary, which they pretended to correct, and gave Birth by their ill Management to those Inconveniences they endeavoured to avoid.

I am not at all afraid of owning that I first made, and now repeat, this Observation with a View of shewing how weak and foolish a thing it is for Men who want Genius to think of limiting and circumscribing such as are endowed with it. It is a Sort of Policy not much unlike erecting Banks to stop a Torrent, which is the surest Way to increase the Mischief. That natural Fire, which a warmer Writer perhaps would have stiled Divine, and we call Genius, is a noble and generous Flame, that, like the Rays of the Sun, cherishes and enlivens all within their Reach, and which becomes dangerous only when artificially contracted. We have seen what *Cortes* did, and how he was treated. In the next Section, which is the last that regards the *Spaniards*, we shall see several Instances of the same kind, all which prove that it is infinitely more adviseable for Statesmen to use fair and gentle Methods, with Persons of such extraordinary Abilities, and rather lead them by proposing the just Rewards of Glory, than pretend to compel them by little Arts which are equally vain and fatal, either to those by whom they are used, or the Nation in whose Service such Talents are exerted. Had *Velasquez* and the Bishop of *Burgos* been able to circumvent *Cortes*, the *Mexican* Empire had stood, and the *Spaniards* had lost those Treasures which it has since yielded. Had *Nunez de Balboa* escaped the Snares that were laid for him, *Peru* had been sooner subdued; and if *Francis Pizarro* had not been wise enough to take Warning by his Example, it had very probably never been subdued at all.

Heroes, like other Men, have their Faults, but, perhaps, their Faults merit more Indulgence: Those who have none of their Excellencies, have frequently more Faults and blacker Vices. Envy is not the Produce of a rank, but of a barren, Soil; and Malice is a Weed that springs in dirty Minds, as the most poisonous Plants are found in Marshes. Whoever reflects on the pitiful Creatures that extinguished so great a Genius as our Sir *Walter Raleigh*, will pardon this Digression, and forgive a Man for indulging his Desire of securing future Merit from those Mischances which have been fatal to it in former times. It is all that lies in the Power of one who is immersed in Books; it is the utmost Service his Pen can render to those whom his Mind adores; and if by celebrating the Memory of great Men, who are gone, he can contribute to excite others to an Imitation of their Actions, and recommend Virtue to the Practice, as well as the Praise, of Posterity, it is the utmost Extent of his Wish, and it is the only Way he knows to be useful to Mankind and his Country.

SECTION XV.

The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Empire of Peru by FRANCIS PIZARRO, together with the Discovery of Chili, and the Conquest of that Country also.

1. *An Account of the first Notice which the Spaniards had of Peru and of the Copartnership of Pizarro, Almagro, and Luquez, for the Conquest of that Country.* 2. *The Terms upon which that Agreement was made, and the Shares of the respective Parties.* 3. *Francis Pizarro undertakes the Discovery with the Assistance of Almagro, and meets with many Hardships.* 4. *They resolve to prosecute their Designs notwithstanding these Discouragements.* 5. *They proceed to the Port of Tumbez, and the Riches of this Country engages them to send Pizarro into Spain, for which Purpose they return to Panama.* 6. *The Voyage of Francis Pizarro to Europe, his Commission from the Emperor and Return to America.* 7. *The Difficulties he found in resuming the Discovery, and what followed on his sailing for the Coast of Peru.* 8. *His surprising Success which spread the Terror of the Spanish Arms throughout all that Empire.* 9. *The State of the Incas of Peru at this Time, and the History of the Brothers Huescar and Atahualpa.* 10. *This Subject continued, to the Time of their Application to Pizarro.* 11. *The Interview between Atahualpa and the Spanish Embassadors.* 12. *Atahualpa goes to visit Pizarro in Person, and the Consequences of that Visit.* 13. *The Spaniards seize on the Person of Atahualpa, and demand a most extravagant Ransom.* 14. *While a Prisoner he plots and executes the Murder of his Brother Huescar.* 15. *A Conspiracy charg'd upon Atahualpa, for which he is barbarously and unjustly put to death.* 16. *The Confusions into which the Empire of Peru fell for want of a Chief.* 17. *Discords and Divisions among the Spaniards.* 18. *The noble Dispositions of Mango Inca, with other Particulars.* 19. *The Discovery of Chili by Diego de Almagro, and the Return of Ferdinand Pizarro from Spain.* 20. *A civil War breaks out between the Marquis Francis Pizarro and his Colleague Almagro, in which the latter is at first successful.* 21. *The Marquis Francis Pizarro obtains a signal Victory, and thereupon puts his old Colleague Almagro to death, which is followed by new Troubles.* 22. *A Bastard Son of Almagro sets up for himself, and causes the Marquis Pizarro to be assassinated.* 23. *Vaca de Castro is sent by the Emperor Charles V. into Peru, who defeats the young Almagro and puts him to death.* 24. *The Wisdom and Firmness of this new Governor extinguishes all the Troubles in this Province.* 25. *A succinct Account of the subsequent Discoveries of the Spaniards in America.* 26. *This Subject continued and concluded.* 27. *Observations and Remarks upon this Section, and upon the State of the Spanish Empire in the West-Indies.*

1. **T**HE Designs formed by Men of superior Abilities do not perish with them; for Envy, being satisfied when they are no more, cherishes their Memory, and preserves their Schemes, in order to depress and keep under succeeding Pretenders to Merit. This was the Case of *Vasquez Nunez de Balboa*, who first formed the Project of extending the naval Power of Spain on the South-Seas, and at the same Time enlarging her Conquests by Land into the Empire of Peru, of which he had procured some tolerable Accounts before he died. It was the Desire that *Pedrarias* had of wrenching this Project out of the Hands of its Author, that put him upon treating *Balboa* as he did; but, as we have shewn before, all his Expeditions failed, and so did those of several Persons, to whom he granted Licences, for prosecuting their Discoveries. At last, in the Year 1524, three Gentlemen, all Inhabitants of the new City of *Panama*, rich, far in Years, and of great Reputation, offered to venture upon this Undertaking at their own Risk and Expence, provided they might be allowed fair and reasonable Terms; suggesting, at the same Time, that it was more honourable for the Governor to grant them such Conditions, than to look for new Adventurers, out of the Bounds of his own Jurisdiction. *Pedrarias* listened very readily to this Proposal, nor did he at all scruple granting them as easy Terms as they could desire, believing that he ran no Hazard in so doing, since, if they miscarried, as every body thought they would, he was to lose nothing; and, on the other Hand, if they succeeded, he flattered himself that he should always have Force sufficient to maintain his Authority, and secure to himself the Fruits of their Enterprize.

In order to conceive rightly on this Affair, it will be requisite to give some Account of these Undertakers. The first of them was *Francis Pizarro*, whom we have mentioned more than once before: He was a Native of the Town of *Truxillo*; and most of the Spanish Writers agree, that he was a Man of Quality. But how noble soever he might be by Birth, most certain it is, that he quitted his Country and went into the *West-Indies*, in order to repair his broken Fortune. He served first

in the Wars of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, and sailed afterwards with *Hojeda* to the Gulph of *Darien*, and was left by him as his Lieutenant, in the Colony which he settled there. He served afterwards under *Vasquez Nunez de Balboa*, and in the Course of several Years, that he bore Command in these Parts, he had justly gained the Character of a bold, enterprising, and experienced Officer: He had likewise attained to a very considerable Fortune; and on the first Building of *Panama* settled there, and seemed disposed to have passed the Remainder of his Days in quiet. The second of these Adventurers was *Diego de Almagro*, who took his Name from the Town in which he was born in Spain, and thereby did it Honour; for as to his Family, it was so obscure, that even the Glory of his Exploits could not afford Historians Light enough to find out who was his Father; but he was a Man of Genius and Experience, and, at the Time he entered upon this Affair, of Fortune likewise. The third was a Priest, one *Ferdinand de Luques*, or, as some Writers call him, *Lugne*, a Man likewise in Years, of great Parts, and a much larger Fortune than either of the former; for he was Proprietor of the Island of *Tabago* in the Bay of *Panama*, had a good Estate besides, and a very large Sum in ready Money. This Partnership made a great Noise, as it was indeed a very singular thing in its Kind, for three private Men to undertake raising a joint Stock for conquering a great Empire; and, like other Projects above the Reach of common Minds, it was treated as a wild and visionary Scheme, which would certainly end in the Ruin of the Projectors.

2. These three great Men did not however give themselves much Pain about what other People said; in which they shewed themselves wise and firm. The Manner in which they sealed and ratified their Agreement, was no less singular than the Agreement itself; for they repaired solemnly to high Mass, which was celebrated by the Priest *Ferdinand de Luques*, who having broke the Wafer into three Pieces, took the first himself, and gave the others to his Companions, in Token that they should pursue this Design with the same Zeal and Steadiness as they did that of their Salvation. It is now proper to see what the Nature was of this Agreement;

of

of which the best Authors report, that they entered into Articles never to abandon each other, for any Hazards or Disappointments they might meet with in the Enterprize, till they had made a Conquest of *Peru*; and solemnly took their Oaths in public, for the Confirmation of these Articles; each of them being assigned a particular Part, in conducting and executing the Scheme: *Francis Pizarro* was to command the first Party that went upon the Discovery; *Almagro* was to carry him Recruits, and reinforce him from Time to Time; and *Ferdinand de Lugne* was to remain at *Panama*, and lay in Ammunition and Provisions to support the Enterprize; and whatever Gold, Silver, precious Stones, or other Effects should be acquired, after the Charges, and the Emperor's Fifths, paid, were to be divided equally amongst them.

They took care to make the best Enquiries they could into the Causes of the Miscarriages which had formerly happened, that they might the better avoid them; they were likewise very assiduous in finding out Persons who had been employed in former Undertakings, that they might have the Benefit of their Experience; and they bought for the Service of this Expedition a fine new Ship, that had been built by the Direction of *Vasquez Nunez de Balboa*, and which was just finished as he died. Their Pilot was *Francis Penate*; *Nicholas de Ribera* was Treasurer; *John Carillo* had the Charge of keeping an account of the King's Fifths; and one *Salzedo* was next in Command under *Pizarro*. The whole Number of Men employed were no more than one hundred and fourteen; and exclusive of Officers they had but fourscore, the most inconsiderable Body surely that ever had the Boldness to undertake such an Enterprize.

3. About the Middle of the Month of *November 1524*, all Things being ready, *Pizarro* embarked, and proceeded to the Island of *Tabago*, distant from *Panama* about five Leagues, from whence he sailed to the *Pearl Islands*, in the Middle of that Bay, where he took in Wood, Water, and Hay for his Horses, and sailed to *Port Pinas*, or *Prineaple*, upon the Continent, on the South Side of the Bay of *Panama*. Here *Pizarro* went on Shore, with his Soldiers, and endeavoured to penetrate into the Country; but meeting with nothing but Bogs or Mountains, over-run with Wood and Deluges of Rain, as they approached the Equator; and the People having fled from their Habitations, so that no Provisions were to be had, *Pizarro* ran farther down the Coast to the Southward, and then landing again found the Country no better; and lost a great many of his Men by Sicknes, want of Provisions, or the Hardships they suffered in their Marches and Counter-Marches. Whereupon he sent the Ship to the *Isle of Pearls* for Provisions; and, in the mean time, was followed by *Almagro*, with two other Ships, and a Recruit of sixty Men and upwards. These two Captains meeting upon this wretched rainy and unwholesome Coast, and landing their united Forces, had some Skirmishes with the Natives, in which *Almagro* lost an Eye; but happening, in some of their Excursions, to meet with a Parcel of Gold, of the Value of fourteen or fifteen thousand Crowns, they resolved, notwithstanding all the Difficulties and Hazards they underwent, to proceed in the Enterprize, in which they were the more encouraged by the Pilot *de Ruys*, who (while *Pizarro* marched with the Soldiers on Shore) ran down as far as *Cape Passaro*, under the Equator, and taking some Prisoners, was assured by them, that the Treasures of *Peru* were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them, whereupon he returned to *Pizarro* with the agreeable News. In the mean time, that General suffered incredible Hardships in the Absence of *Almagro*, who was gone to *Panama* with the Gold they had got, to procure another Reinforcement of Troops and Provisions, without which it was very evident that nothing could be done.

4. At the Time of his returning to *Panama*, *Almagro* found *Pedrarias* removed from his Government, and succeeded by *Peter los Rios*, who permitted him to raise what Men he could to reinforce *Pizarro*; whereupon he embarked again with forty Soldiers more, some Horses and Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, Provisions, and Medicines,

and returned to *Pizarro*, whom he found in a very miserable Condition, great Part of his Men being sick or dead: They removed therefore from that unhealthy part of the Continent, and put their Men on Shore in the Island of *Gallo*; here they remained fifteen Days, and then returned towards the Continent again, running along the Coast further to the Southward; however, they still met with such a drowned Country, and bad Weather, that it was once proposed to return back to *Panama*. Even *Pizarro's* Heart failed him, and the two Commanders, it seems, were upon the Point of drawing their Swords, so hot was the Contest for and against the proceeding in the Enterprize; but at length it was agreed, that they should go to the Island of *Gallo* again, where *Pizarro* should remain with the Men till *Almagro* went to *Panama* for Recruits; and great Care was taken that none of the Men should write home, and discover their wretched Condition; for most of them had shewn an Inclination to desert the Service whenever they should have an Opportunity, and threatened to apply to the Governor of *Panama* to be recalled from an Expedition which had consumed such Numbers of them, and, if prosecuted, would probably destroy the rest; and, notwithstanding all the Care their Commanders took, one of them found Means to send a Paper subscribed by most of them, desiring to be recalled, which was enclosed in a Bottom of Cotton Yarn, and thereby concealed from the Knowledge of their Officers.

This Paper coming to the Hands of the Governor of *Panama*, he was so far from suffering *Almagro* to levy any more Recruits, that he sent a Ship with a Commissary on board to the Island of *Gallo*, on purpose to bring back all the Men that survived: The Commissary arriving, *Pizarro* begged of him that he would, however, suffer as many of them to stay with him as were willing to remain in the Enterprize; which the Commissary consenting to, *Pizarro* drew a Line with the Point of his Sword, and haranguing his Men, told them, they were at Liberty to return to *Panama*, if they thought fit; but it grieved him, that they should now abandon the Enterprize, when they were upon the Point of reaping the Reward of all their Sufferings: As for his Part, he would perish in the glorious Undertaking rather than desert it; and those that voluntarily remained with him, should share with him the Treasures of which they had so near a Prospect, desiring those that were willing to proceed in the Enterprize to come over the Line he had drawn. But such were the Sufferings of these poor Wretches, that much the greatest Part of them forsook him; only thirteen Men and a Mulatto came over the Line he had drawn, the rest embarked and returned to *Panama* with the Commissary.

5. The Affairs of *Pizarro* never seemed in a worse Situation than at this Time; for he was not only deprived of all Hopes of performing any thing remarkable for the present, but had also a very indifferent Prospect for the future. In this Distress he removed to the Island of *Gorgona*, in order to supply himself with fresh Water: There he remained till he was joined by *Almagro* and his Pilot, with some few Recruits, which they, with some Difficulty, had prevailed upon to enter into this Expedition. With these Men they embarked, and sailed still along the Coast till they had passed the Equator, and found themselves in the Latitude of 30° South; having spent about two Years in making a Voyage, which may very well be performed, now the Currents, Trade, Winds, and their Seasons, are known, in as many Weeks. In this Passage, however, they took several Indian Floats, with Cargoes of considerable Value; and gained such Intelligence of the Situation of Things upon the Coast, that *Pizarro* resolved to send one *Peter de Candia*, so called, because he was born in that Island, to *Tumbez*, in order to learn whether the Informations they had hitherto received might be depended upon or not; which was a very well contrived Expedient.

This Man had a great deal of good Sense, a very fair Character, and was so expert in his Conduct, that he found Ways and Means to render himself so agreeable to the *Indians*, that he executed his Commission as effectually as could be desired, and returned safely to *Pizarro*,

with

with a full Account of all that he had seen. By which it plainly appeared, that the Riches of this Country very far exceeded even the Reports they had received concerning them. For he declared, that he had seen their public Edifices erected with wonderful Art and Skill, and so excessively rich, that the very Walls of them were covered with Gold and Silver, with many other Things of the like Nature.

After hearing this Man's Relation, they held a kind of Council amongst themselves upon the present State of their Affairs, and unanimously agreed, that the wisest Course they could take would be to return all together to *Panama*, where they made no Question that the News of such important Discoveries would effectually restore their Affairs, and procure them such Supplies, as would enable them to prosecute their Design with all the Success imaginable. This Resolution once taken, they proceeded to put it in Execution; being thoroughly satisfied that in the Situation they were in, they could undertake nothing; and that by remaining upon this Coast, they should lose all their Men by degrees, and thereby bring an irretrievable Disgrace upon the Project, which would not only ruin themselves, but discourage all future Attempts of this Nature.

6. Upon the Return of *Francis Pizarro* to *Panama*, with many indubitable Proofs of his Discoveries, it occasioned a vast stir in that Colony; for those who had before derided this Project as absurd and impracticable were now convinced of their Error, and that it was likely to prove a much more considerable Discovery than any hitherto made by the *Spaniards*; yet the Opposition made by the new Governor to his levying Men for the carrying on his Design, and some other Accidents, made it evident, that it would be impossible for him or his Associates to proceed farther, without the Assistance of a superior Authority. It was therefore agreed by them all that *Pizarro* should go in Person to *Spain*, in order to obtain the necessary Powers from the Crown, for removing all those Difficulties; and it was likewise agreed, that he should solicit for himself the Title of Governor; for *Almagro* that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant; and for *Lugne*, the Protectorship of the *Peruvians*, and the first Bishopric of that Country. *Pizarro* accordingly set sail, and, arriving in *Spain*, proceeded to the Court of the Emperor *Charles V.* which was then at *Toledo*; here he met with a very gracious Reception, on his presenting his Imperial Majesty with some *Peruvians* in their proper Habits, two or three *Peruvian* Sheep, and several Gold and Silver Vessels and Utensils of the Fashion of the Country.

The Emperor was pleased to hear him relate the Difficulties he had met with in these three Years Voyage; and in the End referred the Overtures he made to the Council of the *Indies*; who having framed their Report, *Pizarro* was ordered to proceed in the Conquest of *Peru* for the Space of two hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Tumbez*, which lies at the Bottom of the Bay of *Guiaquil*: He procured also the Title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for Life, with the Offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant, and of Alguazil-Major; he was also empowered to erect four Castles in *Peru*, where he thought proper, and retain the Government and Inheritance of them to him and his Posterity. He obtained for *Ferdinando de Lugne*, that he should be recommended to the Pope to be made Bishop of *Tumbez*; and, in the mean Time, constituted Protector-General of the *Peruvians*. *Almagro* was constituted Governor of *Tumbez*, and a twentieth Part of all the Profits and Revenues of the Country, when conquered, were to go to *Pizarro* and *Almagro*; two Thirds thereof to the former, and one third to the latter; *Almagro* was made a Gentleman, and his Bastard Son legitimate: The thirteen Men that remained with *Pizarro* in his Distress on the Island of *Gallo* were made Gentlemen, if they were not so before; and those that were Gentlemen then were ordered to be knighted.

These Commissions and Powers were executed at *Toledo* on the 26th of *July* 1528, and six Dominican Friars were ordered to go over with *Pizarro* as Missionaries, to assist in the Conversion of the *Peruvians*; and

thus this great Affair was finished much to the Satisfaction of our Adventurer, who found himself vested with a legal Authority to pursue his Conquests, which was all he wanted, and no less to the Satisfaction of the Court, which gained thereby a Prospect of annexing another Empire to their Dominions in *America*, without being at any Expence. It may not be amiss to remark here that the *Spaniards* had a Felicity in making their Conquests, which never attended any other Nation; since neither *Columbus*, *Cortes*, *Balboa*, or *Pizarro*, who brought so many Millions of Pistoles into the royal Coffers, ever received so much as a Marvedy from thence towards the Charge of their respective Expeditions.

7. When *Francis Pizarro* had received his Commissions of the Tenor before-mentioned, he repaired to his native Town of *Tuxillo* in *Estremadura*, in order to raise Forces, and to visit his Family, of which it may not be amiss to say something farther in this Place. His Father *Gonzalo Pizarro*, surnamed *The Long*, because he was very tall, was a Man of Family, and had served as a Captain of Foot; he married a Woman of Family likewise, by whom he had two Sons, *John* and *Ferdinand*, but as for *Francis* he was illegitimate, and the Son of a Country Girl, who was afterwards married to an honest Farmer, by whom she had *Francis Martin de Alcantara*. Old *Gonzalo Pizarro* had also another natural Son, of his own Name; and the whole Family being well beloved in their Neighbourhood, they made great Dispatch in providing all that the new Governor wanted, which having effected, he embarked at *Seville*, with his four Brothers, viz. *Ferdinand*, *John*, *Gonzalo*, and *Francis*, in the Month of *January* 1530, and arrived at *Nombre de Dios* on the Coast of *Terra Firma*, from whence he marched with his People to the City of *Panama*.

But his ingrossing all the Honours and Commands to himself, so disgusted *Almagro*, that he refused to assist in the intended Expedition, till *Pizarro* promised to relinquish the Title of Adelantado, and to give him an equal Share in whatever they should acquire; and upon these Concessions, *Almagro* promised to assist him as formerly, and smothered his Resentment for the present, that the Service might not suffer; but they were never thoroughly reconciled, as will appear hereafter. At length *Pizarro* embarked at *Panama* in three Ships, taking with him one hundred and eighty-five Soldiers, thirty-seven Horses, and such a Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Stores, as might enable him to fix Colonies on the *Peruvian* Coast; but meeting with the like contrary Winds as he had done in the first Voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable to keep his Horses longer on board, he was obliged to land above an hundred Leagues to the Northward of *Tumbez*; and now, thinking himself strong enough to drive the naked *Indians* before him, he fell upon them, plundered their Towns, and made many of them Prisoners without any manner of Provocation, whereupon the rest fled from the Sea Coasts up into the Country; and *Pizarro* was afterwards so distressed for Provisions, and lost so many Men by Sicknefs and Hardships, and the fatiguing Marches through Bogs and Thickets of *Mangroves* in this extraordinary hot Climate, that his Forces were exceedingly diminished; and he now too late perceived his Error, in not courting the Natives, being in no Condition to make a Conquest of *Peru* with the Forces he had left.

He took therefore most of the Treasure he had plundered the *Indians* of, and sent his Ships back with it to *Panama*, to raise more Recruits; inviting, at the same Time, some Adventurers from *Nicaragua*, and other Parts of *North America*, to come and join him, promising them a Share of the vast Treasures he was now assured of finding in *Peru*; which had a very good Effect, and procured him soon after a very considerable Reinforcement. In this Expedition he had already gained so much that he was able to send thirty thousand Pezoes in Gold to *Panama*, besides a considerable Quantity of fine Emeralds; and might have sent many more, if it had not been for the Folly of some of his People, who took it into their Heads that these precious Stones were as hard

as Diamonds, or at least ought to be so, so that in trying them with Hammers they broke abundance of them to Pieces.

8. *Francis Pizarro* resolved to continue in Action till his Recruits arrived; and, having in some Measure informed himself of the State of the Country, he judged it very possible to make some Advantage of the Disputes that reigned at this time, between the Inhabitants of *Tumbez* and those of the Island of *Puna*. He endeavoured to gain the good Will first of the Islanders; but finding them to be a very false and perfidious People, he attacked and routed them, which he hoped would have opened a Means of contracting a close Alliance with the *Tumbez*; because he found six hundred of them, together with one of the most considerable Persons of the City, Prisoners amongst these People, whom he set at Liberty, and sent home, together with three of his own People; who, if the *Spanish* Writers are to be believed, this barbarous Nation sacrificed to their Idols, which however was not known immediately to *Pizarro*, who continued to reckon the *Tumbez* as his Allies, upon whose Assistance he might depend at all times.

In the mean time *Almagro* having sent *Pizarro* a considerable Reinforcement from *Panama*, and *Ferdinand de Soto*, and other Adventurers, arriving with their Troops from *Nicaragua*, he thought himself in a Condition to carry on the War upon the Continent, especially as he had some Reason to expect to be supported by the *Tumbez*: Accordingly, having provided a sufficient Number of Floats or Barklogs, he transported his Troops to *Tumbez*, in which he lost some Men on going ashore by the Roughness of the Sea, which runs very high on that Coast; and some of his People were attacked and cut off by the Natives, which was a Surprise to him as he took them to be his Friends. The *Spanish* Writers give various Reasons for this Alteration in the Conduct of the Natives of *Tumbez*; who, but a very little before professed themselves their very good Allies and Confederates. Some relate, that, observing the *Spaniards* had enslaved the Natives of the Island of *Puna*, and perfectly subverted their Religion and Government, demolished their Temples, and every thing they held sacred, they expected to be treated in the same Manner by the *Spaniards*, and therefore thought fit to oppose their landing in their Country.

Others inform us, that while the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Reduction of *Puna*, a very great Alteration in the Face of Affairs happened upon the Continent. *Atabualpa* had defeated the Forces of his Brother *Huescar* the Emperor; cut in Pieces most of the Inhabitants of *Tumbez* and the neighbouring Provinces for adhering to him; and the Troops that opposed *Pizarro's* landing in *Tumbez*, were those detached by *Atabualpa* to that Province, on purpose to repel the Invasion of the *Spaniards*. But whatever was the Reason of the *Peruvians* opposing the Descent of these Strangers, it is evident that they were put in such Confusion by the *Spanish* Horse and Artillery, that they fled as the *Spaniards* advanced; and, after the Slaughter of some thousands of them, were forced to abandon the Town and Castle, and even the whole Valley of *Tumbez*; leaving behind them all the Gold and Silver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich Spoils which lay heaped up in the Temple of the Sun, and the Inca's Palace, being so vast a Treasure, that the *Spaniards* could scarce believe their Eyes, when they found themselves so suddenly possessed of it; and such was the Consternation of *Atabualpa* and his whole Court, when the Fugitives related what Slaughter the Thunderer's Ordnance had made among them, and how impossible it was to escape the *Spanish* Horses, to which Animals their Fears had added Wings; that they concluded, if the *Spaniards* were not Gods, as they at first conjectured, they were certainly Devils, and that it was not possible for any human Force to defend their Country against them; of which *Pizarro* receiving Intelligence, resolved to take Advantage of the Terror they were in, and march immediately to find out *Atabualpa*, while he remained under that Delusion.

But he found it necessary to defer his March, till he had erected a slight Fortress upon the Sea Coast (to which

he gave the Name of *St. Michael*) for receiving the Recruits that he expected, and to serve him for a Place of Retreat and Security, in case any unforeseen Accident should happen. This was the first *Spanish* Colony planted in *Peru*, and here the first Church was erected, in the Year 1531, and *F. Reginald de Pedraga* was constituted Protector of the *Indians*, *Ferdinand de Lugne* being unable to execute that Employment, on Account of his Indisposition. This Measure was certainly the wisest that he could take; for he not only wanted such a Settlement for the Reception of his Recruits, but shewed likewise his Judgment in the Choice he made, since there was no Place so proper for his Purpose upon the whole Coast.

He took another Step that was equally judicious; he divided all the Gold and Silver in his Possession fairly amongst the Soldiers; and to such as were to remain in the Colony, he delivered their Shares without Abatement, that they might have wherewithall to subsist, and to carry on their Trades; but for such as continued to march with him, he gave them only Acknowledgments of his having so much in his Hands, with a Promise to pay it when they came to *Panama*. By this Establishment, he shewed plainly his Intention to remain in the Country, which it was evident he could not do but by Force; and therefore the very News of his erecting a Town, fortifying that Town, and compelling the *Indians* who lived near it, to obey not him only, but the meanest of his *Spaniards*, as Lord, soon filled the whole Empire with the Noise of this Enterprize, and engaged the two Brothers, who were contending for the Empire, to turn their Eyes upon those who might very soon have that Empire to give, since the Terror of their Arms was already spread among Nations of whom the *Spaniards* had not the least Knowledge.

9. As the Differences between these two Brothers proved their Ruin, and the chief Cause that this great Empire fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, it is absolutely necessary that we should give some Account of them, in order to render this History perfectly intelligible; and this shall be done in as few Words as the Subject will admit. *Huana Capac*, or as some of the *Spanish* Writers call him *Guana Cava*, was the Sovereign of *Cuzco*, and had annexed to his Empire many Provinces, so that his Dominions were five hundred Leagues in extent from his capital City. The Country of *Quito*, which was still governed by its natural Princes, grew next the Object of his Ambition; he resolved to make himself Master of it, which, considering the Superiority of his Force, was no hard Matter for him to do: He did it accordingly, and, having visited it as a new Conquest, he was so much charmed therewith, that he resolved to make it the Place of his Residence; and accordingly, leaving his eldest Son *Huescar*, *Mango Inca*, and other Children at *Cuzco*, under proper Guardians, he transferred the imperial Residence to *Quito*, where he married the Daughter of the deceased Prince, and thereby gained a legal Title to a Country, the Possession of which he had acquired by Force. In Process of time, however, finding that great Inconveniencies ensued from his quitting his ancient Residence, he returned thither for a time, and left his Son *Atabualpa*, whom he had by the Princess of *Quito*, and for whom he had the greatest Tenderness, under the Care of the most eminent Persons in that Principality, whither he proposed shortly after to return, as he did, and then to settle the Affairs of that Principality, and pass the Remainder of his Days at *Cuzco*; but Providence otherwise disposed of him, and he died at *Quito*, having left the best Part of his Treasures, and the old imperial Army, at *Cuzco*; declaring by his Will, that as *Quito* never made a Part of the Empire of the Incas, there was no Reason that it should descend, together with the Empire, to his legal Successor, and therefore he bestowed it upon his youngest Son *Atabualpa*, whom the *Spanish* Writers generally call *Atabaliba*, who was, indeed the Heir of it by his Mother.

After his Death, the young Prince secured the Army and the Treasures of his Father, and then sent an Embassy to *Huescar*, to signify the Nature of his Father's Will,

to render Homage to him in his Name, and to desire from him the Confirmation of the Kingdom of *Quito*, which he was willing to hold from the Incas. *Huescar* was by no means pleased with this Embassy, and therefore sent his Brother Word that he should suffer the Troops to return to their Duty; that he should quit the Sovereignty of *Quito*, which being a frontier Province of his Empire, he could by no means leave in his Hands; and, that after doing this, if he repaired to *Cuzco*, he would give him a Share in his Father's Treasures, and assign him Lands for his Subsistence. He added, that in case he did not accept these Proposals, he would certainly make War upon him, and recover the Possession of *Quito* by the same Method his Father acquired his first right to it. Upon receiving so unkind a Message from his elder Brother, *Atabualpa* called the principal Persons his Father had intrusted with his Education, to Council; who advised him, since Peace could no longer be preserved, to take the Field first; since that was a Measure by which he might gain much, and could lose nothing at all.

10. *Atabualpa*, or *Atabaliba*, embraced this Proposal, as indeed it was the wisest that could be offered, and the most suitable to his Circumstances; and with the Army his Father had left, immediately entered the Dominions of his Brother. *Huescar*, on his Part, brought a more numerous Army into the Field, and it was not long before a general Engagement ensued, which lasted for three Days, and was as bloody as it was obstinate. It ended however in the Defeat, and which was still worse, in the Imprisonment of *Atabualpa*, who was taken upon the Bridge of the River *Tumibamba*, and shut up in a Palace which bore the same Name. But observing that the Soldiers, elevated with their late Victory, were entirely given to Feasts and Sports, he took his Opportunity; and, having provided himself with the necessary Instruments, pierced a Hole through one of his Apartments, and thereby made his Escape. He returned to his own Subjects, whom he found broken and dispirited by their last Defeat; but he revived their Courage in an Instant, by assuring them, that his Father had appeared to him in his Prison, changed him into a Serpent, and thereby gave him an Opportunity of sliding through the Wall. What to a sensible People would be ridiculous, is to a superstitious and credulous Multitude, a Miracle. The News was spread throughout the whole Principality; the People in general quitted their Habitations to take up Arms in his Service, and he had, in a very short Space of Time, a much greater Body of Troops than before. He defeated with these, two or three Armies that opposed him; took, and levelled with the Ground, the Place where he had been imprisoned; and having by his Victory vastly augmented his Conquests, he drew from the Provinces he subdued prodigious Numbers of Troops. When he arrived at *Tumbez*, he purposed to have made himself Master of the Island of *Puna*, in which however he failed. This did not at all discourage him; but leaving that War to be renewed at some happier Juncture, he marched with all his Forces to give *Huescar* battle, who, he was informed, was coming against him with a prodigious Army.

When *Atabualpa* was come to *Caxamalca*, he sent two of his best Officers with three or four thousand light-armed Troops, to reconnoitre his Brother's Army; these drawing very near to the Camp of *Huescar*, found it necessary to quit the high Road, to prevent being discovered. It happened very unluckily for *Huescar*, that, to march more at his leisure, and without being disturbed by the Noise of the Army, he had taken the same Bye-road with about seven hundred of his principal Officers, and who formed at once his Court and his Guard. The Officers of *Atabualpa* knew the Imperial Standard, and soon saw how Matters stood: They laid hold therefore of this Opportunity of making a short End of the War, and attacked *Huescar* and those about him with so much Fury, that after a short Dispute the Inca was made Prisoner. The Victors were soon in as much Danger as the Vanquished, for the Army of *Huescar* being informed of what had happened, surrounded this Handful of Men, and threatened to cut them to Pieces immediately. In this Distress

they were obliged to have Recourse to a very natural Expedient; they told *Huescar*, that if he did not order his Troops to retire, they must be obliged to secure themselves from Shame at least, if not from Death, by cutting off his Head, and then fighting it out to the last Man. The Officer who delivered this Message, observing that it had a great Effect on the Mind of *Huescar*, added, That as it was a necessary, so he would find it both a just and profitable Measure; for that as his Brother pretended to nothing more than his own little Sovereignty of *Quito*, so if he could resolve to gratify him in that Particular, there was no doubt of his restoring him to Liberty, and even acknowledging him as his Sovereign; but that he must resolve speedily, since there was not a Moment's Time to be spared. *Huescar*, finding himself in this Distress, and seeing no other way to escape, submitted to the Terms prescribed, and, making a Signal to his Forces to forbear charging, directed the principal Officers to come to him, and ordered them to march with the Army back to *Cuzco*. They implicitly obeyed the Commands of their Sovereign. And this was the Situation things were in, when both the Brothers had recourse to *Francis Pizarro*, and claimed his Assistance.

It is evident enough from what has been already said, that scarce any People could be more superstitious than the Inhabitants of *Peru*, and certain it is, that the Fables upon which their Religion was founded, proved of greater Consequence than any other thing to *Pizarro* and his Associates; who otherwise would never have reduced them. One Instance of this shall suffice, and indeed that is so extraordinary that there is no need of adding another: They were thoroughly persuaded that their Incas descended from the Sun, and they very soon came to believe that the *Spaniards* were the Children of the Sun likewise, in which the Story I am going to tell fully confirmed them. The eldest Son of the Inca *Tabuarhuacac* beheld in antient Times, as their Tradition taught them, a very strange Phantom, different in Aspect and Dress in the highest Degree from the *Peruvians*; for whereas they have no Beard, and the Cloaths they wear come no lower than their Knees, this Spirit, who called himself *Virachoca*, had a long Beard, and his Robe reached down to his Feet; and he likewise led in his Hand an Animal absolutely unknown to the young Prince. This Fable, universally spread, and generally received, operated so strongly upon the Minds of the People, that they no sooner saw a *Spaniard* with a long Beard, his Legs covered, and his Horse in his Hand, than they cried out: *Look, look, there is the Inca Virachoca, the Son of the Sun.*

11. It was immediately after the settling of the new Colony by the *Spaniards*, that the Embassadors from *Atabualpa* arrived, and signified to *Francis Pizarro*, the great Desire their Master had to cultivate a good Correspondence with him; upon which he immediately took a Resolution to advance towards *Caxamalca*, where he understood the Inca was, in order to visit him. It so fell out, that the Rout between these two Places lay through a burning Desert of about twenty Leagues over; in passing through which the *Spanish* Soldiers suffered excessively; but however, when they came to *Motapa* they met with rich Vallies, and a plentiful Country; wherein they refreshed themselves, and then continued their Journey. They met soon after with certain Embassadors, that had been dispatched by *Atabualpa* to compliment *Pizarro*, who presented him, on the Part of the Inca, with a Pair of Gold Buskins very finely wrought, and Bracelets of the same Metal set with Emeralds; which they desired him to put on when he had Audience of the Emperor, that by the Sight of his own Presents he might know him. The Chief of this Embassy was himself of the Race of the Incas, and shewed much Ceremony and Politeness in his Behaviour. He brought, besides these Presents for the General, Provisions and Gifts for the Army, the former in great plenty, and very acceptable; the latter rich, and therefore no less satisfactory; which raised the Minds of the *Spaniards* prodigiously, inasmuch as they attributed it wholly to the Fear of that Monarch and his Subjects, in which without doubt they were right, and

and yet not in the Sense in which they understood it; for it was not so much the Fear of their Arms, as the Dread the People had of them on a religious Score, as supposing them the Offspring of the Sun.

It fell out unluckily for these Embassadors, that the *Spaniards* had no Interpreter but an *Indian* of *Puna*, baptized by the Name of *Philip*, and on the Score of his Youth called *Philipillo*, i. e. *Little Philip*, a mean, villainous Rascal, born of the Scum of the People, and whose Mind was yet more dirty than his Original: He had not Sense enough to comprehend the Compliment of the Inca; and therefore, instead of the true Meaning of it, delivered *Pizarro* some Nonsense of his own. After the Embassador was departed, the *Spaniards* deliberated upon his Message; some suspected, that the Inca had bad Designs; others swore, that as his Gold was good, they had no Reason to doubt of his Intention: In the End, they resolved to continue their March, and they did so, meeting every where with a kind Reception; and being extremely well entertained at the public Expence. In the mean time, *Atabualpa* employed his Time very indifferently, endeavouring to secure the Possession of the Empire, by murdering most of the royal Family, and such as were most attached to the Prince his Brother. When they came to *Caxamalca*, they found the Inca gone, but to a Place not far distant, whither the General sent, as his Embassadors, his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and *Ferdinand Soto*.

They were received with great Ceremony, and immediately introduced to the royal Presence; which struck the *Spaniards* at once with Reverence and Joy; for not only the Inca himself, but all who were near him, glittered with Gold and Jewels, and the Embassadors were served with perfumed Liquors, by two beautiful Princesses, in Vessels of Gold set with Emeralds. *Ferdinand Pizarro* made the Inca a long Compliment; in which he told him, or rather would have told him, of the great Kindness done him by the Pope and the King of *Spain*, who had sent them expressly, to deliver him and his Subjects from the Tyranny of the Devil; but the Interpreter, who understood nothing of this, delivered such strange Stuff of his own, that the Inca could comprehend little or nothing of his Meaning. He shaped however the best Answer to this Speech that he could; in which he recommended his Subjects to their Favour and Protection, beseeching them, as they were the Children of the Sun, to be gracious and beneficent as their Father; but the Interpreter murdered this Speech too, in such a manner, that though the Tenderness of it drew Tears from the Officers attending upon the Inca, yet neither of the *Spanish* Captains were able to make any thing of it; and therefore all they could say at their Return to *Pizarro*, was, that they had been very kindly entertained, and that the Inca's Court was splendid beyond Description, and almost beyond Imagination; which raised the Hopes, and sharpened the Desires of the *Spaniards* exceedingly; and they likewise told him, that the very next Day, the Inca intended to come in Person, and pay him a Visit in his Camp, attended by his Guards and his Nobility.

12. *Francis Pizarro* divided his Cavalry, which amounted to no more than sixty Men, into three Troops of twenty each, commanded by *Ferdinand Pizarro*, *Ferdinand Soto*, and *Sebastian Belalcazar*, whom he ordered to draw his Men up under the Cover of an old Wall, that they might not be seen at first; and that, discovering themselves suddenly, the *Indians* might be the more surprized. He put himself at the Head of the Foot, which consisted but of one hundred Men, and so waited for the Inca in order of Battle. *Atabualpa*, on his Side, advanced in as regular Order with his Army, which was divided into four Battalions, consisting of eight thousand Men each; and, as soon as they drew near, the Inca said to his Officers, these People are Messengers of the Gods, let us be sure to do nothing that may offend them; but, on the contrary, use our utmost Endeavours to gain them by repeated Civilities. The Person who advanced to harangue him from the *Spaniards*, was Father *Vincent de Valverde*, who carried in one Hand a Cross, and in the other his Breviary.

The Figure of this Man surprized the Emperor very much; however, he ordered him a Chair, and then the reverend Father began a long wretched Discourse, which was to be delivered again by a more wretched Interpreter. This Harangue of his was divided into two Parts; the first consisted of an Account of all the Mysteries of the Christian Faith, the Mission of *Jesus Christ*, and his Mission of the Apostles, of whom he told him *St. Peter* was the first and Head. In the second Part of his Discourse he held forth the Power of the Pope as the Successor of *St. Peter*, and talked likewise much of the universal Monarchy of the Emperor *Charles*, to which it was necessary that the Inca should submit; for otherwise God would harden his Heart as he did *Pharaoh's*, and then the *Spaniards* were to inflict upon him all the Plagues of *Egypt*. We may easily guess what strange Stuff this must be, when passing through the Canal of such a Fellow as *Philipillo*, who delivered it so sadly, that the Inca himself perceived his Ignorance, and therefore delivered his Answer not in the Court Language as he would otherwise have done, but in the vulgar Tongue; which, however, did not hinder *Philipillo* from murdering it so effectually, that the Priest knew no more of the Emperor's Meaning, than the Emperor did of his.

Thus the whole was a strange Scene of Confusion, which, however, ended much worse than it began; for the *Spaniards* observing an *Indian* Idol upon a Tower excessively adorned with Silver, Gold, and precious Stones, their Avarice would not suffer them to wait any longer, so that they fell to pillaging it as fast as they could; in which the *Indians* were going to oppose them, but the Inca commanded them not to resist, let the *Spaniards* do what they would. Father *Vincent* hearing this Noise, turned about, rose from his Chair, and running to appease the *Spaniards*, threw aside his Cross and dropped his Breviary, which greatly increased the Confusion; the *Spaniards* pretending that they apprehended the *Indian* Monarch had insulted the Cross; but without doubt the Insult was on their Side, who thus scandalously betrayed and profaned their Religion, and made the Gospel of Peace a Pretence for perpetrating the most barbarous, the most perfidious, and most inhuman Cruelties, by slaughtering thousands of poor Creatures, so obedient to their Prince, that they did not move a Hand in their own Defence.

13. There is some Doubt whether *Pizarro* engaged himself at the Beginning, but it is certain, that when this Confusion rose to such a Height, he caused his Horse to pour in, and advanced in Person to seize *Atabualpa*, of whose Robe he laid hold; and, falling down himself, dragged the Inca after him from his Chair, at which time one of the *Spaniards* striking at him with his Sword, wounded *Pizarro*, who was the only *Spaniard* that lost any Blood in this dishonourable Fray; for certainly it could not be called a Battle, since the *Indians* fell like Sheep, without offering the least Resistance. The *Spanish* Writers differ widely from each other in their Accounts of this Transaction, at which we need not wonder; for, being naturally proud, and unwilling to injure the Reputation of their Countrymen, they endeavour all they can to disguise the Truth, and to hinder their Readers from seeing a Series of Facts utterly inexcusable. The Desire of imposing Falshoods will always beget Confusion; for let the Parts or Abilities of Men be what they will, there is no giving Consistence or Connection to a Bundle of Lies.

Herrera informs us, that *Pizarro*, before *Atabualpa* and his *Indians* entered the Square, commanded his Musketeers to take Post, and that, upon a Signal given them, the Captains *Ferdinand Pizarro*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, and *Christopher de Mena*, who commanded the Cavalry, should fall upon the *Indians*, and the Foot should do the like; and directed them before the Execution began, that they should permit a certain Number of the Enemy to enter the Gates, which they should afterwards take special Care to shut and secure: That Father *Vincent* having made his Speech to the Inca, told *Pizarro* he was treated with Contempt, and that the Tyrant demanded Restitution of the Gold and Silver the *Spaniards*

Spaniards had plundered his Subjects of ; whereupon, says *Herrera*, *Pizarro* did not think fit to lose more Time, for he had before resolved what to do, being a Man that had served twenty Years in the *West-Indies* ; and, knowing the Victory depended on seizing the Persons of the Sovereigns, he lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed Signal for executing the Orders he had given ; and thereupon *Peter Candia* fired the great Guns, and the Musketeers their Pieces, to the Amazement of the *Indians* ; and the more so, because it was unexpected : Then the Drums beat, the Trumpets sounded, the Horse fell in three several Ways among the *Indians*, while the Infantry made a Slaughter of them with their cross Bows, Pikes, and Swords ; and *Pizarro*, in Person, with fifteen chosen Men, marched up to the Chair on which *Atabualpa* was carried, and, killing those that supported it, with many more that crowded to supply their Places, after a very great Slaughter of the *Indians*, seized the Inca, and pulled him down from his Chair ; after which the *Peruvians* fled and were pursued by the *Spaniards*, who did not leave off killing them till the Fugitives broke down part of the Wall of the Square, by which Means some of them escaped.

De la Vega, who was himself an Inca, or a Descendant from the Family of those Princes, whose History he writes, observes, that the *Spanish* Generals pretended the *Indians* were treacherous, that *Atabualpa* had formed a Design to surprize the *Spaniards*, and put them all to the Sword ; and that *F. Vincent* complained to the General, they refused his Invitation to become Christians, and treated him and the Cross with Contempt, and thereupon incited the General to fall upon them. But in these Accounts, says *de la Vega*, the General and Captains were not sincere ; they endeavoured to put the best Gloss upon their Actions, leaving out of the Narrative they sent to the Court of *Spain* all their cruel and unjustifiable Proceedings, and adding whatever had a fair Appearance ; it being confirmed, says that Historian, by several other Writers, that *Atabualpa* commanded his Subjects not to resist the *Spaniards* ; for if the Inca had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, said he, they would never have endured to see their Prince overthrown and taken, having Weapons in their Hands ; they would all rather have died in his Defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to support his Chair, and not have suffered an hundred and sixty *Spaniards*, whom they were able to have subdued with Stones, to commit such Outrages ; whereas, there was not one *Spaniard* either killed or wounded, unless *Francis Pizarro* the General ; who received, as has been said, a little Hurt in his Hand by one of his own Men, as he went to seize on *Atabualpa*.

The Truth is, the *Indians* did not fight, because they held every Command of the Inca to be a Part of their Religion, and of the Divine Law, though it was to lose their Lives and Estates. Such are the Variations with which this Story is told, by the most considerable Writers ; and indeed, take it in what Light we will, or can, it admits of very little Excuse, and ought to be considered as an Instance, that the Thirst of Wealth corrupts even the noblest Minds. But we have not room to expatiate upon the Subject ; our Business is to pursue the History, and to shew the Reader what the Consequences were of this barbarous and bloody Action.

13. When all was over, *Pizarro*, having seized the Inca, and conveyed him to his own Quarters, directed the Spoils of the Field to be brought to him, which were great ; consisting of large Gold and Silver Vessels, Utensils, fine Garments, Jewels, and Ornaments, belonging to the Inca, the Royal Family, and great Officers ; there were taken also several Ladies, Wives of the *Caziques* and *Orejons*, and some of the *Mamacons*, or consecrated Virgins ; and *Pizarro* directed Thanksgiving to God to be observed that very Day, being the 3d of May 1533, and in that very Field where the Ground was covered with the dead Bodies of the miserable *Indians* they had thus murdered and plundered. Next Day he sent out a Detachment of his Forces to plunder the Inca's Camp, where he met with another rich Booty ;

though, it is said, the *Peruvian* Generals had carried off three thousand Loads of Gold and Silver before the *Spaniards* arrived there ; therefore, in order to induce the *Indians* not to carry off or conceal any more of their Treasures, he caused it to be proclaimed that their Inca was alive, and that they were at Liberty to come and attend him, and perform their usual Services ; whereupon several of the *Indian* Generals and great Officers returned to *Caxamalca* to attend their Captive Sovereign. He also caused the Inca's Women to be brought to him, and suffered him to be served in the same Manner he used to be before this Misfortune : Though he still kept him in Fetters, which made the Inca apprehensive they would take away his Life in the End, unless he could find some way to obtain his Liberty.

Having observed therefore the insatiable Thirst of the *Spaniards* after Gold and Silver, he promised to give them as much of those Metals as a great Room in the Castle of *Caxamalca* would hold for his Freedom ; and, that the *Spaniards* might not doubt the Performance of what he offered, he proposed sending some *Spanish* Officers, with his People, to *Cuzco*, to the Temple of *Pacha Chamac*, and other Places, to bring the Treasures repositied there to *Caxamalca* ; and, at the same time, issued his Orders, that the *Spaniards* who were dispatched to those Places should be hospitably entertained, in the Countries through which they passed, and receive all the Assistance his Subjects could give them.

In the mean time, *Almagro* having lifted an hundred and fifty Men in his Service at *Panama*, embarked with them for *Peru* to reinforce *Pizarro* ; but was obliged, by contrary Winds, to land at *Cape Francisco*, to the Northward of the Equator, where he was joined by another strong Party of *Spaniards*, that were going to share *Pizarro's* Fortunes, making together a Body of between two and three hundred Men ; but being obliged to pass so many Morasses and Mouths of Rivers, and march through continual Rains under the Equator, he lost thirty or forty of his Men, and fell sick himself : However, surmounting all these Distresses and Difficulties, he arrived at length at the *Spanish* Colony of *St. Michael's*, near the Bay of *Guiaquil*, and there he understood that *Pizarro* had made the Emperor *Atabualpa* Prisoner, and possessed himself of a vast Treasure ; whereupon, it is said, *Almagro* consulted with his Officers, whether they should join *Pizarro* or go upon some further Discoveries, independent of him, if he refused to let them share the Treasure he had got ; and *Almagro's* Secretary, it seems, sent *Pizarro* Intelligence, that his Master had no good Intentions towards him.

But *Pizarro*, either believing he should not be able to keep so large an Empire as *Peru* in Subjection, with the few Troops that were with him, or that *Almagro*, having more Forces than he commanded, might join a Party of the *Indians*, and take his Booty from him, and set up for himself, sent very obliging Messages to *Almagro*, inviting him to advance and join him ; and, at the same time, acquainted him with the Arts that were used to set them at Variance, and thereby ruin their Enterprize on *Peru*, which was not to be carried on but by their united Forces and Endeavours ; and particularly, he acquainted *Almagro* with the Treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon ordered him to be hanged up, and immediately began his march towards *Caxamalca*. There was certainly a great deal of Policy in this Conduct, and *Pizarro* shewed himself therein a Person of deep Penetration, and great Parts ; but, at the same time, there was something in it of Ingratitude ; so that we ought to place it among the Number of those Actions of his, which instead of deserving Praise stand in need of Excuse.

14. The coming of *Almagro* made a very great Noise, and the Inca *Atabualpa*, receiving Advice that another Body of *Spaniards* was arrived upon the Coast, began to reflect that this would not be to his Advantage ; for *Pizarro* would now no longer be under a Necessity of carrying Matters fair with him ; being enabled, by this Reinforcement, to maintain his Conquests by force. He hastened therefore the bringing in the Treasure he had offered for his Ransom, that he might obtain his Liberty before

Pizarro was joined by *Almagro*; but another Accident happened about the same Time, which he apprehended might be still more fatal to him.

The three *Spanish* Officers that were sent with his People to *Cuzco*, happening to pass through the Town where *Huescar*, his Brother, was Prisoner, went to see him; and acquainting *Huescar* with what *Atabualpa* had offered for his Ransom, that Prince informed them how unjustly he had been deposed by *Atabualpa*, his Brother, who had no Right to the Empire or the Treasures he had promised; and as he understood one principal Design of the Expedition of the *Spaniards*, was to relieve the Distressed, and to do Justice to those that were oppressed, he did not doubt but they would release him from his Captivity, and restore him to his Throne; which he should not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furnish them with much more Treasure than the Usurper could possibly do; for his loyal Subjects had buried most of their Gold and Silver Plate after the Battle, wherein he was made Prisoner, to conceal it from the Rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the *Spaniards* for his Ransom, if they required it.

Pizarro's Messengers seemed to listen to his Overtures, and promised the Inca that Justice should be done him; but left that Prince, however, in Prison, and continued their Journey to *Cuzco*; and Advice being immediately carried *Atabualpa*, of the Conferences between the *Spanish* Officers and his Brother, he soon saw that he should be undone, unless *Huescar* was immediately despatched out of the way, knowing that the greatest Part of the Subjects of the Empire were little in his Interest; and, as they would infallibly be supported by the *Spaniards*, to whom his Brother had discovered his Treachery, and promised such Mountains of Gold and Silver, they would certainly sacrifice him to their Avarice, if they had no regard to the Justice of his Brother's Cause; but reflecting, if he should order his Brother to be put to death, the *Spaniards* might make this a Pretence for taking away his own Life, he was forced to act with Caution.

He resolved, in the first Place, to sound how *Pizarro* stood affected towards *Huescar*; which he did by feigning he had Intelligence, that the Officers who had his Brother in Custody, had put him to Death without his Knowledge, for which the Usurper expressed a very great Concern. But finding *Pizarro* was not moved at the Relation, and that he only said, *This was the Fortune of War, and the Lives of Captives were at the Conqueror's Disposal*; *Atabualpa* dispatched an Express for putting *Huescar* to Death, and his Orders were immediately executed, though it remains uncertain what Death he died; for some Writers affirm he was burnt, others, that he was drowned, and some, that his Body was cut in small Pieces, that his Subjects might not pay those Honours to the Corpse of their deceased Inca as were usual. However he suffered, there is one Thing worthy of Remark, which is, That when the Murderers came into his Presence, and *Huescar* understood their Business, he expressed himself in these Words: "My Reign is indeed
" but short; but the Person by whose Orders I am put
" to death, who was born, and ought to have continued
" my Subject, will not live to enjoy long that Power
" which he endeavours to purchase at the Expence of
" the Blood of his Brother and his lawful Prince."

The *Peruvians*, however, made great Lamentations for him as soon as his Death was known, crying to Heaven for Vengeance on his Murderers: Some also desired the *Spaniards* to revenge it on the Usurper *Atabualpa*. In the mean time, the three Officers that were sent to *Cuzco* being arrived there, were adored by that People as the true Descendants of the Sun: But the *Spaniards* lamented that they were Men of mean Parts and Education, who knew not how to preserve that Respect and Veneration the *Peruvians* had conceived of them, which was then so necessary to facilitate their future Attempts. The *Indians*, we are told, soon perceived they must deduce the Original of the *Spaniards* from some baser Fountain than the Sun, and the Esteem and Affection they at first entertained for the Christians, on the mighty Pro-

fessions they made of their Justice and Honour, was on a sudden converted into Dread and Aversion.

They were afflicted to find so vicious and profligate a Race of Men, who trampled on every thing that was sacred, and whose Avarice seemed to exceed all Bounds, should become Masters of their Country; and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable Yoke which they found the *Spaniards* were about to impose upon them. However, they durst not disobey the Commands of their Inca *Atabualpa*; but having amassed a considerable Quantity of Treasure, they loaded it on the Backs of their Tamenes or Porters, and conveyed it to *Caxamalca*, with a View, possibly, of asserting their Liberties to greater Advantage, when they should have procured the Release of their Inca: But the most valuable Treasure, consisting of Gold, Silver, and Emeralds, being lodged in the Temple of *Pacha Camac*, the invisible God, as *Pizarro* was informed, he dispatched his three Brothers thither, with the *Peruvian* Officers *Atabualpa* deputed, to fetch it to *Caxamalca*.

But the Priests of *Pacha Camac* receiving Advice how the Temple of *Cusa* had been ruined by the *Spaniards* that went thither, to prevent the like Misfortune sent away four hundred Loads of Gold, Silver, and Jewels before the *Spaniards* arrived, which were buried in the Earth, or carried to such a Distance that the *Spaniards* could never discover them; however, *Ferdinand Pizarro* found as much Plate in this Temple as amounted to ninety thousand Crowns besides what the Soldiers embezzled, and returned with it to *Caxamalca*.

The Marshal *Almagro* being advanced by this time into the Neighbourhood of that Place, *Pizarro*, the General, went out to meet him, and congratulated his Arrival, received him with all the Marks of Affection and Esteem imaginable, and offered him such a Share in the Spoils as made him perfectly easy; but his Soldiers, who expected to divide the Booty with those that served under *Pizarro*, were told, they were intitled to no Part of it, as not having been present in the Action when the Inca *Atabualpa* was made Prisoner, which was near creating a Mutiny amongst them; but they were pretty well appeased when *Pizarro* agreed to distribute an hundred thousand Ducats among the Men which came with *Almagro*. The rest of the Plunder, after the Emperor's Fifth was deducted, was divided by *Pizarro* among his Officers and Soldiers, in such a Proportion as he saw fit, in which he pretended to have a great Regard to the Merit of the respective Adventurers. And it is said, after he had reserved the Inca's golden Chair to himself, he distributed as much Gold and Silver Plate amongst the Soldiers, as amounted to 1,500,000 Crowns and upwards; which, considering the Value of Gold and Silver at that Time, was more than fifteen Millions at this Day. But as large as this Sum appears in round Numbers, it will be yet found more extraordinary and surprising, if we consider amongst how small a Number of Men it was divided.

We cannot exactly say what every private Man's Share came to, but we learn from good Memoirs, that each Horseman had near two thousand Ounces of Gold for his Share, and the Foot in Proportion; so that I see no Reason to doubt of the Truth of what I once saw in a MS. of Sir *John Hawkins*: That the meanest of *Pizarro's* Soldiers had two thousand Pounds for his Share, and some of them, that is, of the Foot, twice that Sum; and yet it is agreed, that the whole Money then divided did not exceed a Fifth part of *Atabualpa's* Ransom, which, at this Rate must have amounted to more than one Million and an half of our Money. After the Division was made, about sixty of the private Men insisted upon their Discharge, that they might go home and live in peace upon what they had got. *Almagro* opposed this vehemently, alledging, That it would greatly weaken their small Army; and most of the Council were of his Opinion. *Francis Pizarro*, who had more Sense than *Almagro* and all the Council put together, agreed to the Demand, and gave this wise Reason for it: That when once it appeared that private Men could get so much in so little a time, there was no doubt to be made, if one
Man

Man went away they should have then come in his Place; and having given this Reason there was no farther Dispute about it.

As *Ferdinand Pizarro* was the Person made choice of to go over to *Spain* with these Men, and this vast Mass of Treasure, he went to take his Leave of *Atabualpa*, with whom he was in much greater Esteem than any of the *Spanish* Officers. The Emperor received the News with great Sorrow and Concern, and could not help speaking his Sentiments freely. My Lord, said he, you are going home; which is certainly matter of Joy to you, though tis matter of Grief to me; for I already apprehend, that before your Return, that Fellow with one Eye, meaning *Almagro*, and that other Fellow with the great Belly, which was the King's Treasurer, will send me to my long home, and therefore let us take our last farewell.

He made a very right Judgment in this; for when the *Spaniards*, who had been sent for the rest of *Atabualpa's* Ransom, made a Report of the prodigious Quantities of Gold they had seen, and the Reasons they had to believe that much greater Quantities were concealed, *Almagro* gave it as his Opinion, that they should wait no longer, but get rid of the Inca as soon as they could; and then make as much haste as possible to get Possession of all the Gold in *Peru*. A base and bloody Resolution, which, though *Francis Pizarro* at this time rejected with Horror, yet it was not long before he approved and agreed to it.

15. The Fate of *Atabualpa* is undoubtedly one of the most memorable things that falls within the Compass of this Section, and therefore it is requisite that we should give a clear and distinct Account of the Fact, tho' in as few Words as possible; and this is what we shall labour to perform with the strictest Impartiality, and the greatest Regard to Truth. There were various Reasons why *Francis Pizarro*, though a very brave and gallant Man, had not that Tenderness for this *Indian* Monarch, that *Cortes* had for *Moteczuma*; but that which governed him principally was, a sort of Contempt with which *Atabualpa* treated him, and the visible Preference he gave in point of Esteem and Regard to other Officers in the *Spanish* Army. The Cause of this Behaviour is one of the most singular Passages that occurs in all the *Spanish* Histories of the Conquest of *Peru*, and cannot fail of giving great Pleasure to the judicious Reader.

Atabualpa, however cruel to his own Family, appeared to be a Prince of great Wisdom and Penetration; and one who laboured to inform himself as thoroughly as it was possible, with respect to the Manners, Customs, superior and inferior Qualities of the *Spaniards*, that he might be the better able to deal with them, if upon the Payment of the Sum proposed for his Ransom they should actually restore him to his Liberty. That which most of all perplexed his Enquiries and disturbed his Meditations, was their Art of Writing and Reading, as to which he could not comprehend whether it was a natural Endowment, or whether it was acquired by Labour and Application. In order to satisfy himself in this Point, he asked one of the *Spanish* Soldiers whether he could express the Name of God upon his Thumb-nail. The Man readily said he could, and did accordingly; after this the Inca went about to several of the Captains and Soldiers, and shewing them his Thumb-nail, asked them if they knew what that Mark signified; and from their Answers, he began to entertain an Opinion that reading and writing were natural to this Nation, which he thought a very great Advantage: But unfortunately he asked the same Question of the General, who, not being able to read it, was put greatly to the Blush, which not only changed *Atabualpa's* Opinion, with respect to reading and writing, which he now saw plainly were the Fruits of Education, but gave him likewise a very low Opinion of the General, supposing that he must have been of a very mean Original, since he was less knowing in this Respect than many of his Soldiers.

This Contempt that he shewed for *Pizarro*, begat a Prejudice in him, which very soon turned to the Dis-

advantage, and in the End proved the Ruin, of the Inca. It fell out that *Philippillo*, or *Philip* the Interpreter, fell in love with one of *Atabualpa's* Wives, which incensed that Monarch so much, that he signified to *Pizarro*, that he ought not only to punish such a Fellow, but even to put him to Death; which the General was so far from doing, that he only made a Jest of the whole Affair; in which without doubt he shewed as little Regard to his own Character, as to that of the Emperor's. *Philippillo* took the Jealousy of *Atabualpa* much to Heart; and as all such low Fellows suffer Hate and Fear to compound their Resentments, so he determined in himself to destroy that Monarch immediately out of the Way, as the sole Means of providing for his own Safety. It was with this View that the Villain insinuated to *Pizarro* that he ought to be very watchful of the Inca's Motions, because he was actually contriving the Destruction of the *Spaniards*. This wild and ridiculous Story was digested into a formal Accusation, by the Direction of the General and his Favourites, who appointed Commissioners to try *Atabualpa*; directing *Sancho de Cuellar* to take upon him the Office of Attorney General, to exhibit a Charge against the Inca, which he did; and it consisted of the following Particulars, viz. That *Huescar*, Inca, being his eldest Brother and lawful Sovereign, and himself a Bastard, he had caused *Huescar* to be deposed and imprisoned, and afterwards usurped his Throne: That he had caused his said Brother to be murdered, since he became a Prisoner to the *Spaniards*: That *Atabualpa* was an Idolater: That he caused his Subjects to sacrifice Men and Children: That he had raised unjust Wars, and been guilty of the Blood of many People: That he kept a great many Concubines: That he exacted Taxes and Tribute of the *Peruvians*, since the *Spaniards* possessed his Country, and consumed and embezzled the public Treasure: That he had incited the *Indians* to rebel and make War against the *Spaniards*, since he had been their Prisoner.

The very reading these Articles sufficiently proves that they were not calculated to bring a bad Man to Justice; but to give the Colour of Law, and the Form of a fair Tryal, to one of the wickedest and vilest Contrivances that ever entered the Heart of Man. Yet black and villanous as this Affair was, it is very doubtful to say whether it reflects more Honour or more Infamy upon the *Spanish* Nation. For no sooner was this dark Design set on Foot, than almost all the Persons of Family and Distinction that served in the Army, declared against it; and declared in Terms that spoke them equally Men of Sense and Men of Honour: They declared that they knew no right the *Spanish* Nation had to make themselves Judges of an *Indian* Prince, or of his Title to his Dominions; that with regard to the *Spaniards*, he had behaved so well, and done them so many Kindnesses, that to treat him in this Manner, was not only the highest Barbarity, but the most flagrant Ingratitude; that if after all they were resolved to be rid of him, the best thing they could do was, to send him into *Spain*, together with their Charge, and leave the Cause to be decided by the Emperor. But *Pizarro* and his Council were determined to go on, and though the other Party delivered a Protest in Writing against all their Proceedings, and appointed one *John de Herreda* Protector of the Emperor's Person, yet they persisted in trying him, and assigned him one of their Party for an Advocate; who to be sure made such a Defence as did no great Service to his Client.

The Issue of this Business was, that after a mock Shew of Justice, they condemned the Inca to suffer Death, which at first they resolved should be by burning; and to this Sentence, to give it a fairer Appearance in *Spain*, where it might very well be expected that it would be reviewed, they procured the Approbation of Father *Vincent*, who prostituted his Character as an Ecclesiastic in this bloody Affair; and, which was much worse, prostituted, as far as in him lay, the Christian Faith, and the Credit of the Gospel; for which his Memory ought to be infamous in every Country where the People call themselves Christians. Yet this cruel and blood-thirsty Friar, after being so great an Instrument in his Sufferings, undertook

dertook the Conversion of *Atabualpa*, and the Argument he used to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of such a Preacher. He told him that if he would consent to die a Christian, he should not be burnt, but strangled only, which had the desired Effect, and he was accordingly baptized in the Evening, and strangled the next Morning, to the eternal Dishonour of all who were concerned in so iniquitous and scandalous a Proceeding.

There are some who pretend that this Murder of the Inca was chiefly owing to the *Indians* themselves, who were for revenging the Death of their lawful Emperor *Huascar*; and thereby fulfilling the prophetic Threatning of that Prince at his Death, which has been already mentioned, and this has been very gravely insisted upon as an Apology, if not a Defence, for the Conduct of *Pizarro* and his Officers. A little Consideration, however, will shew us that there could be no Truth in this: First it appears, that notwithstanding his Brother's Death, *Atabualpa* was universally acknowledged and obeyed as the lawful Inca throughout the whole Empire, which does by no Means agree with this Story of the *Indians* desiring to have him put to death. It may indeed be said that things may be true, though they are not probable, but then we cannot know them to be true without Proof, of which none of the Historians who report this bring us any, either good or bad.

Secondly, if it had been so, the *Spaniards* would certainly have made the *Indians* his Prosecutors, or rather have set up the Inca his Brother, who had a fair Title to the Crown, and have left them to have taken Vengeance for that Crime, which, if they could have done it, would have answered their Purpose, and saved their Credit; and as they did not do it, we may very fairly presume that no such thing was in their Power. It must indeed be allowed that these are only negative Arguments, but yet Arguments they are, whereas what is said on the other Side is meer Suggestion.

But thirdly, there is the clearest Proof of the contrary; for as soon as *Atabualpa* was murdered, the *Indians* began every where to act offensively against the *Spaniards*, which they had never done before; and this shews that the former Conduct was the Effect of Duty to that Prince whom the *Spaniards* would have us believe they disowned; and the latter is as clear a Mark of their universally detesting that Crime, which it is pretended was done at their Persuasion. If therefore we take these Considerations together, there can be no longer any Doubt but what the *Spaniards* have advanced is a pure Fiction, contrived to give some Sort of Colour to an Action too foul to be avowed, even by those who committed it.

16. The Events that followed upon the Death of the Inca *Atabualpa*, very plainly shewed that human Nature is the same in all Countries and Climates; that some Men from Principles of Honour, Fidelity, and Love to their Country, adhere to what is right, whatever seeming Advantages may invite them to pursue a contrary Conduct, while others, after gaining to themselves Character, Credit, and Employments, by putting on a specious Appearance of Virtue, shew their natural Dispositions at once, when tempted by the Hopes of Gain, and released from the Fear of any other Punishment than what results from the Consciousness of having done Evil.

Rumrivi, one of *Atabualpa*'s Generals, who retired from the fatal Slaughter at *Caxamalca*, with the Rear-guard of his Army, made himself Master of *Quito*; and, as soon as he heard of his Master's Death, cut to pieces such of his Officers as he believed loyal to the deceased Prince, and endeavoured to keep what he could for himself. *Quisquis*, another of these Generals, acted much the same Part; but, having a better Army under his Command, secured a greater Part of the Country, and yet shewed himself far from being valiant, by flying before a handful of *Spaniards* who were sent in pursuit of him, and gave a farther Proof his Cruelty, which is a quality inseparable from Cowardice, by murdering a few *Spaniards*, who, by their Temerity in pushing on too far, had fallen into his Hands.

This Man, justly apprehending that it would be impossible for him to maintain himself against the other *In-*

dian Commanders, as well as against the *Spaniards*, while his Power had no other Authority than what it derived from Force, contrived to get into his Hands a younger Brother of the Inca's, whose Name was *Paullu*, whom he would have persuaded to have taken the Title of Emperor, hoping under the Shadow of his Title to have preserved the Power he had obtained. But this Prince, though very young, discovered a Greatness of Soul truly admirable, and worthy of the highest Praise; for disdaining a Crown, which he knew could not be worn but at the joint Expence of his Family and his Country; he generously refused it, telling *Quisquis* that he scorned to derive from the Misery of the Empire, that Authority which he could not hope for in better Times; and, that he esteemed it far more honourable to be thought a worthy Man, than a bad Monarch; which had such an Effect even on *Quisquis*, that, though he had him in his Power, he did not attempt to seize his Person, but allowed him to retire, as he did, to *Francis Pizarro*, towards whom he behaved with the same Dignity and Firmness. He told the General that the true Heir of the Empire was his elder Brother *Manco Capac*; and that if he had any such Purposes as he pretended, of doing Justice, and protecting such as had right on their Side, he ought to shew it by declaring in favour of that Prince who had already a good Army about him; and who, with the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, would infallibly restore the Lustre of the imperial Diadem; which, as we shall see hereafter, had the desired Effect. I mention this, though it carries me a little beyond that Period of time of which I was speaking, that I might not omit altogether so singular an Example of Virtue and good Sense.

As for *Quisquis* he still went on in his old Way, and having had Information that the *Spanish* General had left but a small Body of Men to guard *Requelma*, the royal Treasurer, with all the Riches he had taken in his Hands, he made a very bold Push in Hopes of surprizing him, but met with so brave a Resistance, that he was obliged to retire without carrying his Point; and this shews us another thing, that there are in all Nations Men of such low and profligate Dispositions, as not to be ashamed of encreasing the Calamities of their Country, by attending solely to their private Interest in Times of public Confusion; when a little Reflection would shew them that acquiring Wealth is only exposing themselves to greater Dangers than such are in who have less, and consequently is acting as much against their Interest as against their Duty and the Public. All Passions indeed obscure Fore-sight, but Avarice makes Men stone blind.

It is impossible to conceive a Country in a worse Condition than *Peru* was now in, or a Nation in greater Distraction than its Inhabitants. On the one hand they were dispirited with superstitious Fears of the *Spaniards*, which hindered them from considering, in a proper Light, their Force, and the Strength they were able to bring against them; on the other, they were no less confounded with respect to their own Government, some following one of the Incas, and some another; and thus, when Union alone could afford them any Chance for Safety, they split themselves into Factions and Parties, and thereby drew on their own Ruin. This is a Lesson worthy of Attention; for what was then the Condition of *Peru*, may be that of any other Country upon the Globe, and consequently the Behaviour of its Inhabitants may serve to instruct all other Nations. But it is now time to return to the Progress of the *Spaniards*, and the Effects of their Arms; from which we digressed only with a View to state some Points to the Reader, as agreeable to the Subject, and no less worthy of his Attention; which Task having thus fulfilled, we will resume the Thread of our Narrative.

17. *Pizarro*, however, did not carry his Resentment so far, but that, after he had taken and killed, he thought fit to treat the Corps of the Inca with the Respect due to a sovereign Prince; he celebrated the Inca's Funeral with great Solemnity, and went into Mourning for him; but he soon discovered how detestable this Murder rendered him among the Natives. The two Factions immediately united

united against him, under *Manco Capac*, the Brother and Heir of *Huescar*, whom they proclaimed Emperor of *Cuzco*. Whereupon *Pizarro* proclaimed *Toparpa*, a Son of *Atabualpa*, Emperor; caused him to wear the Imperial Coronet, and to be treated with the same Honours his Father had been, issuing such Orders in his Name, as might best serve the Interest of the *Spaniards*; but this Inca died soon after; and so *Pizarro* conjecturing that nothing could tend to establish the *Spanish* Dominion in *Peru*, more than his possessing himself of the capital City of *Cuzco*, he began his March thither with all his Forces, consisting of near four hundred Men, besides such as were stiled confederate *Indians*.

In the mean time *Atauchi*, Brother to the late Emperor *Atabualpa*, having collected a great Quantity of Treasure, to purchase his Brother's Ransom, brought it to *Caxamalca*; but finding *Atabualpa* murdered, and the *Spaniards* marched from thence, determined to be revenged on them, and joining his Forces with some *Peruvian* Generals, surprised the *Spaniards* upon their March to *Cuzco*, killed some of them and made several Prisoners, and amongst the rest *Sancho de Cuellar*, who had drawn up the Process against the late Inca *Atabualpa*, and attended his Execution. With these Prisoners the *Indian* Generals retired again to *Caxamalca*, where they strangled *Sancho* the *Spaniard*, at the very same Post where their Emperor was put to death; but understanding that *Francis de Chaves*, *Ferdinando de Haro*, and some of the rest of their Prisoners, had protested against the Inca's Death, they resolved to give them their Lives and Liberties, entering into the following Articles of Peace and Friendship with the captive *Spaniards* before they dismissed them: *Viz.* That neither Party should, for the future, offer any Violence to the other; and particularly, That the *Spaniards* should not attempt to depose *Manco Capac*, who had been proclaimed at *Cuzco*, and was the lawful Heir of the Inca *Atabualpa*; That both Sides should release their Prisoners; and, That the *Spaniards* should not treat the *Indians* as Slaves, but Freeman: That the Laws of their Country should be observed inviolably when not repugnant to those of Christianity; and that this Treaty should be ratified by the *Spanish* General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the *Romans*.

The *Spaniards* insisted, on their Part, That the *Indians* should profess the Christian Religion: That a Part of the Country should be assigned them for their Subsistence; and, That they might retain the *Indians* as hired Servants, though not as Slaves; which the *Indians* agreed to; and dismissed their Prisoners with rich Presents. But *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, at first, positively refused to ratify the Articles, and would hear of nothing but an absolute Submission, and an entire Surrender of their Country and their Persons, to the Will of the Christians: Which occasioned long and bloody Wars afterwards. Whereas the *Spanish* Historians admit they might have established Christianity in *Peru* without spilling a Drop of Blood, if the Ambition and Avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The General *Pizarro*, continuing his March towards *Cuzco*, was again attacked by several Parties of the *Indians* at some difficult Passes in the Mountains; but, finding themselves unable to resist the Fire-arms and Horses of the Christians, they fled, after a faint Resistance, to the capital City, declaring it was in vain for any human Force to oppose the *Spaniards*, who were armed with Thunder and Lightning, and could kill their Enemies at so many hundred Yards distance. Whereupon the People of *Cuzco*, without offering to defend the Walls, or that impregnable Castle already mentioned, fled with their Wives and Children, and what was most valuable to them, to the Woods and Mountains; and *Pizarro* entered the City without Opposition, in the Month of *October*, 1532, where he met with a prodigious Booty, notwithstanding the Citizens had so much time to carry off their Goods and Treasures.

We have not room here to enter into a long Account, either of the Particulars, or of the Amount, of the immense Wealth, which the *Spaniards* say was found in this City; but shall content ourselves with observing, that as it was the Custom in this Country to bury with their great Men the best part of the Riches of which they died possessed,

so their Conquerors, who made no sort of Difficulty of rifling Sepulchres as well as Temples, found not only as much Wealth in the Dwellings of the Dead, but rather more, than in the Habitations of the Living; so that such as rate the Plunder of this City at the lowest, compute it at the full Value of *Atabualpa's* Ransom. When the General *Francis Pizarro* had thus got into his Hands the Capital of *Peru*, from whence the Inca *Manco Capac*, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants were fled, he thought fit to invite them to return to their Dwellings, apprehending, if they were made desperate, that the whole Power of the Empire might assemble against him, and reduce him to great Streights by cutting off his Provisions, though they durst not meet him fairly in the Field.

The *Indians*, accepting *Pizarro's* Invitation, returned to their Houses in *Cuzco*, and even the Inca made some Overtures to him, intimating, that he should be content to embrace the Christian Religion, and hold his Dominions of the Emperor of the *Romans*, provided, that neither he nor his Subjects should be molested for the future, in their Persons or Estates: And, being encouraged by *Pizarro* to believe he should have the Terms he demanded, the Inca came in Person to *Cuzco*, and had an Interview with the *Spanish* General, who caused him to be crowned, and invested in the Empire, by binding the royal Wreath, or Coronet about his Head, and proclaiming him Inca in the same manner his Predecessors used to be inaugurated into that Dignity; and assured the Inca he would strictly observe the Capitulation made by *Francis de Chaves*. These pacific Measures the *Spaniards* found themselves under a Necessity of taking at this time, not only because they saw all the southern Provinces of *Peru* assembling against them under the Inca *Manco Capac*; but because *Rumnavi*, *Quisquis*, and other *Peruvian* Generals, had collected a very great Army in the southern Provinces, and possessed themselves of *Quito*, which obliged him to send out a considerable Detachment of his Forces, under the Command of *Sebastian Belalcazar*, to reinforce the new Colony at *St. Michael's*, and to make Head against the *Peruvian* Generals in *Quito*.

This Measure was taken with great Wisdom and Prudence, and the Commander last mentioned, upon his Arrival at *St. Michael's*, found there a great Reinforcement of Volunteers, who came from different Parts of the *Spanish* Settlements, in order to obtain a Share in the Riches of *Peru*. Out of these he chose one hundred and twenty Foot, and fourscore Horse; which having incorporated into his own Army, he marched directly to *Quito*, in order to make himself Master of the Riches of the deceased *Atabualpa*, most of which he knew remained there. The *Indian* General, who commanded in that Province, did all that lay in his Power to harass and fatigue the *Spanish* Army, and to prevent their coming to a decisive Action; but this turning to no Account, and finding that *Belalcazar* continued to advance directly to the Capital, he caused all the Riches of the late Emperor to be brought into the Hall of the Palace, to which he set fire: and then, abandoning the City, marched off with his Troops, and left the *Spaniards* in possession of the Place: But while *Francis Pizarro* and his Officers were thus employed in the Reduction of the several Provinces of the Empire, they were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected Invasion from their Countrymen in *Mexico*, who on the Report of the vast Wealth obtained by these Adventurers, resolved to come in for a Part. The Story is too remarkable, and too closely connected with our Subject to be entirely neglected, and therefore we shall endeavour to give the Substance of it in the concise manner possible.

The famous *Peter de Alverado*, of whom we have said so much in the foregoing Section, was the Person who formed this Project, and the Condition he was in at that time, gave him a fair Opportunity of putting it in Execution: He was possessed of the Province of *Guatemala*, where he fitted out several Ships, and, to increase his Force, he seized upon two Vessels more that were actually fitting out in one of the Ports of *Nicaragua*, for the Service of *Pizarro*; and on board these Ships he embarked five hundred Horse and Foot, as good Troops as any that were

were at that time in *America*; and with these, in the Year 1535, he landed at *Puerto Vejo*, after having endured very great Hardships in his Voyage. He found himself next, obliged to traverse a rough mountainous Country near the Equator, in which March, if all the *Spanish* Writers may be believed, he suffered still greater Calamities, and lost no less than sixty of his Men, by the unexpected Severity of the cold Weather.

However, as he had been very long in the Service, and was accustomed to all Sorts of Difficulties and Dangers, he continued to prosecute his Design; and arriving in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Colony of *St. Michael*, he there refreshed his Forces, and disposed every thing for continuing his Progress into the Heart of that Country; but, in the mean time, *Pizarro* had sent *Almagro* to reinforce *Belalcazar*, and they had together a considerable Body of Troops, with whom they had performed some great Exploits against the *Indians*, but were now resolved to act against *Alverado*, in case he continued obstinately bent on the Prosecution of his Design, and would not return into his own Government. The two *Spanish* Armies advanced 'till they came in Sight of each other in the Valley of *Riobamba*, where it was expected a Battle would have ensued; but *Alverado* foreseeing the Consequences that must attend an Action, let Victory remain on which Side it would, willingly listened to a Negotiation, which very soon ended in an Agreement between him and *Almagro*, in the Management of which they shewed themselves to be both very able Persons; for they agreed, that two Treaties should be drawn, one of which only was to be made public, whereby it was stipulated that both Parties should be at Liberty to prosecute the War against the *Indians*, and the Discovery of distant Countries, with like Freedom, by which *Alverado* seemed to carry his Point; and by which he really carried thus much, that he provided for such of his People as desired to remain in *Peru*, who were put upon the same Footing with the Forces of *Pizarro*.

But by the secret Treaty he agreed to return into his own Government, and to accept the Sum of one hundred thousand Pesos in Gold, in consideration of the Expences he had been at in fitting out his Fleet and Forces; and at the same Time he promised never to return to *Peru* so long as either *Pizarro* or *Almagro* lived: These Treaties thus settled, they marched together towards *Cuzco*, the Capital of *Peru*, in order to confirm them with *Pizarro*, and to receive the Money from him. But when *Pizarro* was informed of this Transaction, he took a Resolution of preventing *Alverado's* Visit by going to meet him, because he was a little doubtful whether the Sight of *Cuzco* and the rich Country about it might not revive the Ambition of his Competitor, and render him less willing to execute his Agreement, of which he very well knew the Value, and therefore highly approved it: But before he could accomplish his Intention, there happened some other Events, which had like to have changed the Face of Affairs, and renewed both the general and civil War, which, however, by his Prudence and Generosity he prevented.

18. We have before mentioned the generous Manner, in which one of the *Indian* Princes of the Royal Family refused to assume the sovereign Dignity, because of Right it belonged to Inca *Manco*; which Prince, notwithstanding what had befallen *Atabualpa*, resolved to go to *Pizarro* to obtain the Ratification of that Treaty, which had been made with his Subjects by the *Spanish* Prisoners in the Manner before-mentioned; in which he succeeded, and lived upon very good Terms with the General. *Quisquis*, the *Indian* Commander, remained all this Time at the Head of a great Body of Forces, yet declared he was ready to lay down his Arms, and submit, as soon as he knew of the Ratification of the Treaty before-mentioned. While he waited for this, *Alverado* and *Almagro* came into his Neighbourhood with their Forces, and, knowing nothing of this Negotiation, prepared to attack him; the *Indian* General retired for some Time, in Hopes they would receive contrary Orders; but when he perceived they continued to advance he

resolved to venture upon a Battle, in which he was defeated, with great Loss; which might have renewed the *Indian* War, if the rest of the Chiefs of that Nation had not been partly so frightened by his losing an Engagement, in which he was greatly superior in Number, that they durst undertake nothing, and partly satisfied from the Assurances given them by *Pizarro*, that this Accident should not hinder their having the same Terms they were promised before.

The rich Booty obtained by this Victory might also have renewed the Disputes amongst the *Spanish* Generals, if *Francis Pizarro* had not resolved to perform all that *Almagro* had promised immediately; and accordingly, leaving *Cuzco* to the Care of the Inca and his Brothers, he set out with a Party of Horse and a Detachment of *Indians*, and arrived at the Valley of *Pacha Camac*, where he met with *Alverado* and *Almagro*; and to ingratiate himself with the former, gave him the Command of all the Troops while he remained there, commanding all the Officers to obey Don *Alverado's* Orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in *Peru*; and was so much better than his Word, that he paid *Alverado* twenty thousand Pesos more than he had stipulated for the Expences of his Journey; besides, a great Number of Turquoises, Emeralds, and Vessels of Gold, for the General's particular Use; whereupon *Alverado* returned to *Mexico*, entirely satisfied with his Reception, and the Treasures he had acquired, especially when he saw all the Gentlemen that had accompanied him in his Enterprize well provided for.

This Matter being thus settled, *Pizarro*, leaving the Care of the Frontiers to *Almagro*, employed himself in building Towns and settling Colonies on the Sea Coasts, particularly *Lima*, which is now the Capital of *Peru*, though this City was originally called the City of the Kings, because the first Stone of it was laid upon the Feast of the Epiphany in the Year 1534, and was inhabited by *Spanish* Gentlemen, who had the *Indians* of the Neighbourhood assigned them to do their Drudgery, which they looked upon as a very great Hardship, and which was directly contrary to the Instructions sent to the Governors of all the Provinces of the *West-Indies*; though I do not believe, that this was agreeable to the Designs of the *Spanish* Court. After the General had built the City of *Lima* he advanced a little farther, in order to discover the Country effectually, while he laboured to do something of the like kind nearer Home. Then he marched Southward, and founded another fair City, which from the Place of his Birth he called *Truxillo*, assigning his *Spaniards* Lands and People, according to their several Conditions, as he had done before at *Lima*.

While *Pizarro* remained at his new City of *Truxillo*, Advice came from *Spain* that his Brother *Ferdinand* had, in a great Measure, succeeded in his Negotiation at that Court; for whereas Don *Francis Pizarro* had petitioned his Imperial Majesty to extend his Government 200 Leagues farther Southward, to grant him the Province of *Atabillios* in *Peru*, with the Revenues thereof, the perpetual Vassalage of 20,000 *Indians*, and the Title of Marquis; his Brother wrote Word, that the Emperor had conferred the Title of Marquis of that Province, and enlarged his Government considerably to the Southward; but as to the Command he desired over the *Indians*, he would inform himself of the Customs of that Country, and of what Damage or Prejudice such a Concession might prove, and then he would shew him all the Grace and Favour in that particular that was consistent with Justice. And as to *Almagro* the Title of Marshal of *Peru* was confirmed to him, and a Government of two hundred Leagues Extent of Country conferred on him to the Southward of the Country assigned to the Marquis *Pizarro*.

Almagro residing at the City of *Cuzco* at this Time, and receiving Advice that the Government of the Country which lay South of the Marquis's Government was conferred on him; and observing that *Cuzco* was not within the Limits assigned to Don *Pizarro*, he immediately took upon him the Title of Governor of *Cuzco* and the District belonging to it, in his own Name, and no more acted in Subordination to the Marquis.

John

John and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brothers to the Marquis, opposed this Usurpation, as they called it; and their Differences rose to that Height, that they entered into War with *Almagro* at *Cuzco*, and several were killed on both Sides, of which the Marquis receiving Intelligence, caused himself to be carried in a Hammock on the Shoulders of *Indians*, who, relieving one another at proper Stages, carried him thither with such Expedition, that he arrived at *Cuzco* before he was expected by either Side; and representing to both Parties, that these Feuds would probably end in the Destruction of themselves and their Enterprize, if they were not speedily accommodated, he entered into a Treaty with *Almagro*, for adjusting all their Differences; and first, he observed that *Almagro* was mistaken in his Opinion, that *Cuzco* was without the Limits of his Jurisdiction, for the Emperor had made him a new Grant of the Country, which lay South of that conferred on him by the first Grant.

The Marquis also suggested to *Almagro*, that the Country which lay to the Southward of the District of *Cuzco*, was richer in Gold and Silver than any that had been yet discovered, of which he was contented *Don Almagro* should take the Government upon him, and that he should march at the Head of the best Part of their united Forces, and possess himself of it; and, in the mean Time, he would apply to the Emperor to get him confirmed in the Government, to which they gave the Name of *New Toledo*, extending it from the District of *Cuzco* to the Country of *Chili*, which lies South of *Peru*. The Marquis also stipulated that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that Government on *Almagro*, he would divide that of *Peru* with him, with which Overture *Don Almagro* and his Party were then well satisfied, and immediately made Preparations for an Expedition to the Southward.

About the same Time another Detachment of *Spaniards* and *Indians* were sent to reinforce *Don Belalcazar* in *Quito*, to enable him to finish the Conquest of that Province; and a third Body marched to the North East, to reduce some Provinces bordering on the Ridge of Mountains called the *Andes*; thus the *Spaniards* shewed very plainly what their Designs were, and how far it was from their Intentions to perform the Agreement they had made with the *Indians*; yet they endeavoured still to keep fair with these People, and to amuse them with Promises, that they might make use of their Assistance in the Performance of such Enterprizes, as very far surpassed the Strength which they had in this Country.

19. It was in the Year 1535, that *Almagro* resolved to carry into Execution the Project formed in Concert with *Francis Pizarro* for penetrating into *Chili*; and for the facilitating so arduous an Enterprize, he demanded the Assistance of *Inca Manco*, who still confiding in the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the Manner in which he had been treated, offered to do for him all that was in his Power: As a Proof of this, he appointed his Brother *Paullu*, with whose Character we have before acquainted the Reader, to accompany him in this Expedition, and joined with him the High Priest of the *Indians*, called in their Language *Villachumu*, from whence the *Spaniards* found the Word *Villahoma*, which is the Name we find him mentioned by in their Histories. He added, under the Command of these Chiefs 15,000 Men, in hopes, that by rendering them so notable a Service, he should prevail upon the *Spaniards* from Principles of Honour and Gratitude to fulfil their Treaty towards him. *Almagro*, with this Body of Men, began his March Southwards, and marched as far as the Province called *Charcas*, which he found a very barren and inhospitable Country, and therefore slighted it, as not worth keeping; but it has since proved the most valuable of the *Spanish* Acquisitions, since therein lies the famous Mountain of *Potosi*, from whence more Silver has been brought into *Europe* than from all the other Places in which Mines of that rich Metal had been before discovered.

In this Province the Adelantado *Almagro* was informed that there were two Passages into *Chili*, both of them attended with Difficulties, though directly opposite in their Nature; the one long and tedious, through a sandy Desert, where his People would be sure to feel great In-

conveniencies from Heat and Thirst; the other much shorter, but exposed to still greater Inconveniencies in the Judgments of his Guides, since it lay through the Mountains, which were not only excessively steep and rugged, but covered likewise with Snow, which rendered them excessively cold and impassable, except at one Season of the Year. *Almagro*, considering that this was the shorter way, and the Cold however sharp, more supportable to *European* Constitutions than excessive Heat, resolved to take this Rout, notwithstanding all that the *Indians* could say to dissuade him from it. In their Passage they found the Cold so excessive, that it cost the Lives of ten thousand *Indians* and one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, exclusive of such as escaped with the Loss of their Fingers and Toes.

They likewise lost all or the greatest Part of their Baggage, but at length they came down into the Plains, where such of the Inhabitants as had formerly obeyed the Incas submitted to the *Spaniards* out of Respect to *Paullu* and the High Priest, but those who had hitherto remained free determined to continue so; and it was not till long after, and in Consequence of many bloody Wars, that they were reduced under the *Spanish* Yoke. But while *Almagro* was thus employed, all things fell again into Confusion in *Peru*.

Francis Pizarro finding the *Inca Manco* a little impatient under the bad Usage he had received, thought proper to deliver himself from his Remonstrances by shutting him up in Prison, which was so far from frightening him into a tame Submission, that it induced him to undertake what he was suspected of before he was imprisoned. But as it was impossible for him to execute his Design of raising the whole *Indian* Nation, unless he was at Liberty, he contrived a Method to get out of Prison, which was singular enough. He applied himself to *Ferdinand Pizarro*, now returned from *Spain*, a Person of great Generosity, and who bore much Affection to the *Indians*, desiring his Leave to go to a solemn Feast, and promising to bring him, at his Return, his Father's Statue, which was all of solid Gold.

In the mean time, the *Indians* that were with *Almagro* grew discontented at the ill Usage they suffered, and complained to one another of the Barbarity of the *Spaniards*; and in these Conferences, none had a greater Share than the Interpreter *Philippillo*, who at last engaged in a Plot against *Almagro's* Life; but, being no less a Coward than a Villain, when he reflected on the Danger to which he was exposed, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. He was soon retaken, and then he attempted to inform against the *Inca Paullu*; but, being put to the Torture, he confessed that to be a Lie, and owned likewise, that by false Suggestions he had procured the Death of *Atabualpa*, for all which he suffered a most cruel Death, as he well deserved. In order, however, to understand this Matter clearly, it is very requisite the Reader should know the Nature of this Plot or Conspiracy against the *Spaniards*, which in Fact was this: The *Inca Manco* had now not only lost all Confidence in the *Spaniards*, but was likewise so sensible of the Injuries he received, and of the little Hopes there were of ever being better treated by these haughty People, that he determined to try what could be done by Force; and as he was satisfied that his Subjects were as brave and as faithful as the *Spaniards*, he judged it better to rely upon the Justice of his Cause and the Assistance of his People, than upon the Promises of those who had so basely broke their Words to his Brother, and had never kept the Conditions they made with him.

His Feast, to which he went with the Leave of *Ferdinand Pizarro*, was in reality a kind of Assembly of the States of *Peru*, in which it was debated how the Strength of the whole Empire might be the soonest raised, and the most effectually employed; this Question was soon resolved, for every one of the *Indian* Chiefs undertook to raise their Troops in an Instant, and indeed they were very soon as good as their Words, so that the *Inca* was able to take the Field at once, with three considerable Armies. He took the Castle of *Cuzco*, and closely blocked up the City with the first; the second marched against the General *Francis Pizarro*, who lay in the City

City of *Lima* with a good Body of Troops ; and the third was intended to act against *Almagro*, of which Notice was sent to the High Priest, who took Measures for making his Escape, in which he was so lucky as to succeed ; and for his Concern in these the *Spanish* Interpreter was put to Death.

The Inca *Paullu* had also Notice given him of the Situation his Brother's Affairs were in, and what was expected from him towards putting them in a better Condition ; but he rejected these Propositions totally, and declared, that he would never break his Faith to the *Spaniards* ; which Secret the Interpreter having disclosed with his last Breath, *Almagro* declared *Paullu* Emperor ; and though he refused that Title before, yet for the Sake of Safety, and that his Nation might not want a Protector, he now suffered it to be given him. These Misfortunes engaged *Almagro* to hasten out of *Chili* with the *Spaniards* under his Command, notwithstanding that he had received some Reinforcements ; and this March was not performed without considerable Loss, notwithstanding he took the other Road, to avoid the Inconveniencies he had met with in entering this Country : But, as in his first March he suffered by Cold, so in the second his Army endured all the Miseries of excessive Heat and Thirst, notwithstanding all the Pains and Precautions that could be taken to avoid them ; but, however, their Loss was not so great as before, and he returned into *Peru* with a better Army than was left in it.

20. The Affairs of that Country were now in a dreadful Situation, and grew daily worse and worse, a double Civil War breaking out in its Bowels. The Inca *Manco* still continued to besiege *Cuzco* with an Army of two hundred thousand Men ; the *Spaniards* in the Place were but seventy, yet having some Horse and a good Train of Artillery, they vigorously defended the Place, and, which is still more wonderful, they made several Sallies, with great Success, in one of which *John Pizarro* lost his Life ; as for the General he sent from *Lima* four several Detachments, amounting in the whole to near three hundred Horse, under the Command of four experienced Generals, who were notwithstanding so unlucky as to lose themselves, and their respective Parties, under their Orders. This not only troubled but weakened the Governor at *Lima*, to such a Degree, that he was obliged to call in all his Garrisons, and even then had been too weak to have done any thing considerable, if he had not declared all the *Indian* Vassals and Slaves free, who would serve the *Spaniards* against their Masters and Countrymen, which had a very good Effect, and put him very soon in a Condition to raise both the Sieges of *Cuzco* and *Lima*, and this was the first Civil War wherein the Natives of *Peru* served against each other.

It was followed by another between the *Spaniards*, who one would have thought should have chose any other Time rather than this to have quarrelled amongst themselves. But *Almagro* finding himself at the Head of so powerful a Body of Troops, resolved to renew his old Claim to *Cuzco*, and in Case he could make himself Master of that City, determined to make it the Seat of his Government, and in this Disposition marched directly towards it. The Inca *Manco*, about this Time, took a very surprizing Step, for he resolved to disband his Army and return to the Mountains. All his chief Officers endeavoured to dissuade him, by representing that as the *Spaniards* were quarrelling amongst themselves, he had now the fairest Opportunity of recovering his Dominions ; to which he answered, that while he kept the Field, the *Spaniards* would undoubtedly endeavour to compromise their Differences ; but if he withdrew, as he designed and intended, what they suggested might very well come to pass, and that then it would be time enough to think of proper Measures for renewing the War, to which they assented, and the *Indian* Armies accordingly dispersed.

Almagro being arrived before the Walls of *Cuzco*, and finding the *Indians* drawn off, sent a Summons to Don *Ferdinand Pizarro*, the *Spanish* Governor, to deliver up that Capital to him ; but he answered, he held that City by a Commission from the Marquis, and should not

deliver it up without his Orders, especially as he knew it to be within the Limits of his Brother's Government, and immediately proceeded to put the Place in a Posture of Defence ; but part of the Garrison being Friends to *Almagro*, and holding a Correspondence with him, introduced his Forces into the Town at Midnight ; and *Ferdinand* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* were surprized in their Beds and made Prisoners, by which *Almagro* became possessed of *Cuzco*, with little or no Bloodshed, and most of the Troops which had served the *Pizarro's* entered into his Pay. In the mean Time, the Marquis *Pizarro* hearing no News from his Brothers at *Cuzco*, and concluding all the Parties he had sent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the *Indians*, determined to send such a Body of Troops thither as should be able to force their way against all the Opposition the *Indians* could make ; and having assembled five hundred *Spanish* Horse and Foot, gave the Command of them to Don *Alonso de Alverado*, with Orders to march with all Expedition. *Peter de Lerma* was also ordered to march with his Detachment, as Captain of a Troop of Horse, though he was an older Officer than *Alverado*, and had done great Service in those Wars, which so disgusted *de Lerma*, that from this Time he meditated the Ruin of the Enterprize.

Alverado continuing his March with the utmost Diligence, most of the *Indians* that were pressed to carry his Baggage, amounting to upwards of five thousand, perished in the first Part of the Journey by the intolerable Fatigue, being loaden and driven beyond their Strength, insomuch that he was forced to halt till he could press some thousands more of the *Indians*, to supply the Places of those he had lost. *Almagro* receiving Intelligence at *Cuzco* that Don *Alonso Alverado* was advancing, sent some *Spaniards* of Quality to him, to represent that *Cuzco* belonged to his Government, according to the Division the Emperor had made of *Peru* between him and the Marquis *Pizarro* ; and therefore advised him to retire to *Lima* again, till he and the Marquis should adjust the Limits of their Governments ; but *Alverado*, not entertaining any such Thoughts, made all the Gentlemen Prisoners who were sent to treat with him ; whereupon *Almagro* took the Field, constituting *Orgonez* his Lieutenant-General, and having made a Party of *Alverado's* Horse Prisoners, understood by them, that great Part of his Troops were better affected to him than they were to the *Pizarro's*, particularly *Peter de Lerma*, who, with a great many of his Friends, would desert *Alverado* the first Opportunity.

He advanced therefore as far as the Bridge of *Abancay* on the other Side, whereof *Alverado* lay encamped ; so that there was nothing but a small River that parted their Forces : They remained quiet, however, without endeavouring to attack each other all Day ; but in the Night *Orgonez*, fording the River at the Head of *Almagro's* Horse, put *Alverado's* Forces into great Confusion, and giving *Peter Lerma* and the rest of their Friends, by this Means, an Opportunity to join them, *Almagro* gained an easy Victory, with very little Bloodshed, making Don *Alonso* his Prisoner, with whom he returned in Triumph to *Cuzco*, on the 20th of July 1537. Some of the principal Commanders advised the Conqueror to secure his Peace for the future, by putting the *Pizarro's* to Death, and then march with his victorious Army against *Lima*, which, however, he refused to do ; alledging, that it was a Shame for a Gentleman and a Soldier to put People to Death in cold Blood, and that by attacking *Francis Pizarro* in the City of *Lima*, he should plainly become a Rebel to the Emperor ; since he neither had, nor pretended to have, any Claim upon that Part of the Country : He held, however, that nothing could be more just or reasonable, than that he should march towards the Sea-side, to establish there a Colony that might maintain his Correspondence with the other *Spanish* Settlements, that from them he might from Time to Time draw Recruits.

He began to move very soon from *Cuzco* towards the Coast, that he might execute his Design of securing a Port before the Marquis could have any Intelligence, or at least be able to collect a Force sufficient to withstand him.

him. In this, however, he failed, though by an unforeseen Accident; for the Marquis, not hearing from *Alonso Alverado*, began to apprehend that the *Indians* had blocked him up in the Mountains, and therefore, collecting his whole Force, which did not much exceed four hundred Men, he marched with them towards *Cuzco*; but on the Road he received full Intelligence of all that had happened, and that *Almagro* was in the Field, carrying with him his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro* as his Prisoner, but that his other Brother, *Gonzalo*, was left with *Alverado* Prisoner at *Cuzco*.

This gave the Marquis great Uneasiness, because of the small Force he had with him; so that he plainly saw himself at the Mercy of his Enemy, who, by advancing to *Lima*, might have carried all before him: However, he behaved himself with great Prudence and Dexterity in this time of Distress; for marching directly back to *Lima*, he began there to recruit his Forces, and in the mean time sent Commissioners to amuse *Almagro* with a Treaty, offering to compromise Matters with him, upon such Terms as he should think reasonable; tho' this was done only to prevent his attacking him before he was prepared. In the mean time, *Gonzalo Pizarro* and *Alverado* made their Escape from *Cuzco*, with about one hundred *Spaniards* of their Party, and not long after a new Treaty was set on foot, in Appearance, for settling the Differences between these two great Generals; but in reality, with a View to engage *Almagro* to set *Ferdinand Pizarro* at liberty, which was become the more necessary, because *Almagro's* chief Officers pressed him daily to put that Man to death. The Method taken by the Marquis to procure his Liberty was as singular as it was successful.

He sent to *Almagro*, to let him know that if he persisted in carrying Arms in that Country, which plainly belonged to him by the Emperor's Grant, he would find the other *Spanish* Settlements would consider him as a Rebel; but that, if he meant no more than to obtain Justice to himself, and pay due Obedience to the Laws, he was content that Things should remain as they were, till such time as the Emperor should decide them, and would likewise provide *Almagro* with a Ship, to carry his Agents wherever he thought fit, provided his Brother *Don Ferdinand* was immediately set at liberty. *Almagro* readily accepted this Proposal, and, to his own great Prejudice, restored Freedom to *Ferdinand Pizarro*; after which the Marquis did not shew himself very ready to comply with this Treaty; but, on the contrary, put his Brother at the Head of all his own Forces, joined to a great Succour he had a little before received from *Panama*, and the other *Spanish* Settlements.

21. *Almagro* saw too late the Error that he had committed, and how difficult a thing it would be to repair it: He gave Orders, however, for fortifying *Cuzco*, and taking all possible Precautions to cover himself from the ambitious Designs of the Marquis. In this he succeeded in some measure; for he got back to *Cuzco* before *Ferdinand* and *Gonzalo*, the Marquis's Brothers, could reach that City, with the Forces the Marquis intended should besiege it. But here again, the Cautions of *Almagro* proved fatal to him; for tho' he had it in his Power to have starved and destroyed his Enemies in the Mountains, yet he neglected it, either from an Unwillingness to hurt his Countrymen, or from a Confidence in his own Force; neither was he less to blame, when those Commanders, at the Head of seven hundred Horse and Foot, invested the City of *Cuzco*; for as the Place was strong, and the Garrison very numerous, he must have destroyed the Enemy if he had contented himself with acting upon the defensive; but this he scorned to do, as looking upon it beneath his former Actions, and therefore he marched out with all his Troops to the *Salinas*, or salt Mines, with a full Resolution to give the Enemy battle, supposing that their Army had been new raised Men, and consequently much inferior to his own in Point both of Courage and Discipline; but here once more he was mistaken, the Enemy proving superior to his Troops in all respects; for, first, they had the Advantage in Numbers; in the next place, they were better armed, being for the most part Musketiers; whereas *Almagro's* Men had only Cross-bows and

Swords; and lastly, instead of being raw, new raised Soldiers, they were regular Troops that had served in *Flanders*.

The Battle however was extremely bloody and obstinate, but in the End *Almagro* was totally defeated, most of his Captains killed; and himself, who was so weak that he was carried into the Field in a Litter, obliged to take Shelter with a Handful of Men he had left in the Castle of *Cuzco*; which he could not keep long, but was obliged to surrender at Discretion, which he did the rather, because he hoped that *Ferdinand Pizarro* would return the Kindness he had shewed him when so long a Prisoner in his Hands. In this too he was greatly mistaken; for tho' he was upwards of seventy Years of age, and withal very infirm; yet *Ferdinand Pizarro*, knowing his great Courage, and the many Friends he had in the Army, was excessively afraid of him, and therefore confined him closely, and suffered none of the Officers to visit him.

He likewise took care to send away most of the other Prisoners to *Lima*, and dispatched on different Expeditions such of his own Officers as expressed any kind of Tendernefs or Concern for *Almagro*. After he had remained Prisoner some Months in *Cuzco*, the Lawyers were employed to draw up Articles against the old General; the principal whereof were, That he had seized on *Cuzco* by force; that he had entered into a secret Treaty with the Inca; that he had encroached on the Government granted to the Marquis, and fought two Battles with the Emperor's Forces under the Command of the Marquis, the one at the Bridge of *Aboncaj*, and the other at the *Salinas*: And, his Enemies sitting in Judgment on him, he was capitally convicted and condemned to die, though he appealed to the Emperor, and applied in very moving Terms to *Ferdinand Pizarro* to save his Life: He bid him remember that he had spared his Life, and even refused to put to death any of his Relations, on Account of the Friendship he bore him and the Marquis; that he would do well also to remember how instrumental he had been in enabling his Brother to make those Conquests, and raising him to the Honours he possessed; desired the *Pizarros* would consider he was an old gouty Man, who could not live many Years, and suffer him therefore, after the innumerable Hardships he had sustained, to die a natural Death. But they, looking upon their old Companion and Fellow-Soldier as the only Obstacle to their Glory and Ambition, and believing by his Death they should obtain the sole Dominion of *Peru* without a Rival, were deaf to his Intreaties; and having ordered him to be strangled privately in Prison, they afterwards ordered his Head to be cut off on a Scaffold in the great Square of *Cuzco*.

His Body lay all Day exposed almost naked on the Scaffold, his Friends not daring to bury him, lest they should incur the Displeasure of the merciless *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and his Enemies not thinking it worth while to give themselves any trouble about his Funeral: But towards the Evening a poor Negro, who had been a Slave to the Deceased, brought a course Sheet, and with the Help he had of some *Indians*, who had been Servants likewise to that General, wrapped up the Corpse and carried it to a Church, where the Friars buried it under the high Altar.

As the Design of this Work is to give the *English* Reader a full and fair View of the Transactions of these Conquerors in *America*, together with just Characters of those Heroes who were at the Head of their Armies, it is requisite to subjoin to this Account a true Picture of this unfortunate Commander: *James Almagro* was of low Stature, but well set and strong; his Enemies said he was of mean Parentage, which might be Matter of Fact, and yet it was more than they knew or could know, since he was found in the Streets, and, being never owned by any Body, went by the Name of the Town in which he was found. His Education was of a piece with his Birth; that is to say, we find it very uncertain what it was, or where he received it: He became a Soldier almost as soon as he became a Man, and his Behaviour was such that he forced a Passage even to superior Commands: He was

truly brave, without valuing himself much upon it : He had a wonderful Presence of Mind, so that no Danger could disconcert him ; he had so much Fortitude, that no Difficulties could discourage him. He was very kind to his Soldiers, liberal in Rewards, slow, and not severe, in Punishments, yet he maintained a very strict Discipline, merely from the Force of his Example ; for he was very exact in doing his own Duty, and, though he kept a good Table for his Officers, he fared himself as hard as any private Man in the Army ; and when some spoke of this as an Affectation, he said Monks were prescribed to by their Rules, sick Men by their Physicians, and that his was the Diet of a Soldier. He was very loyal to his Prince, merciful to the *Spaniards*, generous in the highest Degree, and knew not what it was to frame a base Design ; but with all this he was haughty and ambitious, very cruel at first to the *Indians*, but living some time with an *Indian* Woman, by whom he had his Son *James*, he grew first mild, and at last so kind to them, that they loved him better than any other *Spaniard*.

Ferdinand Pizarro, after his Death, went over to *Spain* to justify it ; but, though he corrupted most of the Ministers, he had much ado to avoid paying for it with his Life ; for *James Alverado*, who was Guardian to the young *Almagro*, prosecuted him so steadily, that it is thought he took him off by Poison, notwithstanding which he suffered an Imprisonment of three and twenty Years, which afforded him time for true Repentance.

22. The Death of *Almagro*, though covered with all the Appearances of Justice, was extremely resented by the *Spaniards* ; and, instead of extinguishing, as was expected, increased his Faction ; which shews, that Cruelty, or even Severity, is far from being the best Remedy for civil Dissentions, which it often irritates and seldom cures : But this was not the only Mischief that followed this Action. The Loss of so able a Commander proved a great Prejudice to their Affairs, retarded their Discoveries, and gave a Check to their Conquests ; and this, not only by hindering their Proceedings, and diverting them from compleating what he had begun, but by raising them up new Enemies. For thereupon the *Indians*, observing the Divisions among the *Spanish* Generals, had recourse to Arms again ; and though the *Spaniards* in *Peru* amounted to two thousand and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their Ground at this time, than at first, when not four hundred Men ; for the Terror the *Indians* were under from the Fire-arms and Horses, which they had never seen before, was in a great Measure worn off, and they had learned of the *Spaniards* how to ride and handle their Arms ; and, having taken some Horses, were not afraid to fight the *Spaniards* at their own Weapons, nor did there want Instances of some Parties being defeated by them ; and had not the *Indian* Slaves and Vassals stuck close to the *Spaniards*, discovered the Passes and Places of strength, and from time to time brought them both Provisions and Intelligence, probably *Pizarro* had been obliged to have abandoned his Conquests at last.

The most considerable Acquisition made after the Death of *Almagro*, was the Conquest of the *Charcas*, in which lay the invaluable Mines of *Potosi* ; whose Treasures drew such Multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the *Indians* of that Province were compelled at length to submit and become Slaves to the *Spaniards*. But they were not so successful in *Chili*, that brave People disputed the Ground with the *Spaniards* by Inches, nor could they ever make themselves entirely Masters of it. And even in the Province of *Los Charcas*, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Forces, were so surrounded and distressed by the *Indians*, that the Marquis was forced to march in Person, with the Garrison of *Cuzco*, to his Relief. The Conquest of *Los Charcas* being finished, the Marquis founded the Town of *La Plata*, so named from the Silver Mines, and divided the City and the Country about it, with the *Indians* that inhabited it, amongst the Conquerors : To his Brother *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who was then in *Spain*, he allotted a very large Share ; and to his Brother *Gonzalo*, another Part of the Country, in which, some time after, the Silver Mines of *Potosi* were discovered.

Ferdinand Pizarro also had a Share in these Mines, as a Citizen of *La Plata*. And a particular Part of it being assigned to his Officers, they discovered so rich a Vein, that 'tis said they digged from it the finest Silver without any Alloy.

This Division of the Country was made in the Year 1538 and 1539 ; and now the Marquis found himself possessed of a Territory seven or eight hundred Leagues in Length, viz. from the Equinoctial to the South Part of *Los Charcas*, in which were more rich Mines than in all the World besides ; and yet was not his Ambition or Avarice satisfied, but in an extreme old Age he employed his Brother *Gonzalo* in the Conquest of other Nations. This Gentleman, who had all the Qualities of a great Commander, was at this time Governor of *Quito* ; and the Method he took for Discovery, was to strike off to the Eastward, that they might know something of the Breadth of *America* ; but his Endeavours were obstructed by very great Difficulties, under which he had like to have perished ; but one of his Captains, whose Name was *Orellana*, by his Direction sailed down the great River of the *Amazons*, quite to the Mouth of it, and from thence returned to the *Spanish* Settlements on the other Side of the Continent of *America* ; which, considering the Time at which it was performed, must be acknowledged as great and surprizing as any of the *Spanish* Enterprizes in the new World, and opened a Way to the Discovery of Countries as rich and valuable as any that had been yet found.

As for the Marquis *Pizarro*, after he had dispatched his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Spain*, and employed his Brother *Gonzalo* in the Manner before mentioned, he applied himself solely to securing and establishing his Authority ; in order to which he thought it necessary to continue those Severities which had been used against the Party of *Almagro*, and even to encrease them ; for he not only discharged many, and discouraged all the Officers that had been attached to the old Marshal, but likewise restrained them from going home to *Spain* on any Pretence whatever ; and at last, seeing them reduced to live upon the Alms of such of their Countrymen as were more in his Favour, he resolved to deprive them even of this pitiful Subsistence ; and with this View he published an Edict, forbidding any to relieve them ; which threw those unhappy Persons into Despair, and him into greater Danger from their Distress, than he could ever reasonably have feared from their Power.

For after the Publication of this Edict they grew wild and desperate, and seeing no End to their Miseries, but by dispatching themselves or the Marquis, or by a general Insurrection ; they resolved upon this last, and attempted it in this Manner :

The bravest of the *Almagrians*, singly, or two or three at a time, resorted privately to the capital City of *Lima*, where they did not want Friends who concealed them in their Houses, till they found they amounted to two or three hundred Men, all hardy Veterans, and several experienced Officers amongst them, who resolved to attack the Marquis as he went to the great Church on Midsummer-day, 1541 ; but he, having some Intelligence of the Design, did not go out of his Palace that Day ; and the Conspirators, upon this Disappointment, had resolved to wait for the Arrival of *Vaca de Castro*, whom they understood the Emperor had sent over. But being informed that their Plot was discovered, and they were in Danger of being sacrificed to the Fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by some bold Attempt, twelve of them met at the House of young *Almagro*, which stood on the Side of the great Square in *Lima*, on Sunday the 26th of June, at Noon, and with their Swords drawn marched cross the Market Place to the Palace of the Marquis, crying out " Long live the King, but let the Tyrant die." Nor were they opposed by any, though there were not less than a thousand People assembled in the Square ; nay not a Man stirred to give the Marquis Intelligence of it ; insomuch that the Conspirators found the Gates of the Palace, and all the Doors, open ; and the first Notice the Marquis had of their Approach, was by one of his Pages, after they had entered the House ; where-

whereupon he ordered some Doors to be shut, imagining he should be able to defend himself till Assistance came in.

But *Francis de Chaves*, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to fasten the Door, and believing it had been some ordinary Tumult that would have been easily suppressed by his Presence, went out, and, meeting the Conspirators upon the great Stair-case, demanded the Reason of that Insolence, which they answered only by several mortal Wounds they gave him; and rushing forward, the Servants and all the Company that were with the Marquis fled, except his Brother-in-law, *Don Francis de Alcantara*, and two of his Pages who defended the Doorway of the drawing Room whither the Marquis was retired for some time. But at length the Conspirators broke through and killed the Marquis and his Brother, and the two Pages, who behaved themselves, however, very bravely, and desperately wounded four of the *Almagrians* before they fell.

Then the Conspirators went into the Market-place again, declared the Tyrant was dead, and proclaimed the young *Almagro* Governor of *Peru*; for all the *Almagrians* immediately assembled when the twelve attacked the Marquis in his Palace, securing his Guards, and preventing any Assistance coming to him. They also secured all the Horses and Arms in the City, and commanded all the Inhabitants that refused to join not to stir out of their Houses without leave. They also plundered the Houses of the Marquis, of his Brother *Francis de Alcantara*, of his Secretary *Pizarro*, and some other of the principal *Pizarrists*, wherein they found an immense Treasure. In the Marquis's Palace alone, 'tis said they found to the Value of one Million of Crowns in Gold and Silver, but did not meddle with the Furniture, leaving it standing for the Use of the young *Almagro*, whom they had carried thither, after they had proclaimed him their Governor. Thus fell *Don Francis Pizarro*, in the capital City of *Lima*, which he had founded ten or eleven Years before, and was privately buried by his Servants, by the young *Almagro's* Permission; no Person of any Figure daring at this Juncture to attend his Funeral, lest it should give Offence to the prevailing Party.

His Fate was very like that of his unfortunate Associate, *Almagro*. He died a violent Death like him; like him was a Victim to Ambition; and like him went to the Grave in Obscurity, after a Life of Splendor! The Marquis *Pizarro* was never married, but had several *Indian* Concubines, some of them Daughters and Sisters of the Incas. He was undoubtedly brave, prudent, endowed with public Spirit, and had almost all the Qualities that are thought necessary in a great Man, together with that essential Ingredient, a blind and boundless Ambition; which alone rendered him dangerous to others, and thereby made the Resentment of others fatal to him: For few fall by the Sword who know how to forgive.

23. As soon as it was publicly known that the Marquis *Pizarro* was dead, *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and most of the principal Towns, declared for *Don Diego de Almagro*, the natural Son of old *Almagro*. Some Places, however, refused to acknowledge *Almagro's* Authority, but expected the coming of *Vaca de Castro*, with the Emperor's Commission, in which they were encouraged by *Pedro Holguin*, and several other Generals and Officers; who assembled a good Body of Troops, and took Possession of *Cuzco* again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor, and declared War against *Almagro*. *Alonso de Alverado* assembled another Body of Troops, between *Lima* and *Quito*, and declared also for the Emperor; and these two Generals preparing to unite their Forces, *Almagro* marched out of *Lima*, at the Head of six Hundred Horse and Foot, towards *Cuzco*, with an Intent to retake the Place, or give Battle to *Pedro Holguin*, before he should be joined by *Alonso de Alverado*.

This new Governor *de Castro* was, in all Respects, a very singular Person. He was a Gentleman by Birth, and by Profession a Lawyer; but it is said he made no great figure in that Profession on account of the great Strictness of his Notions as to Justice, which would not allow him to undertake any thing that was not

perfectly right, or to take any Steps in Favour even of a good Cause which were not strictly just as well as legal. The Emperor, being informed of this Man's Abilities, resolved, without consulting his Ministers, to make use of them in a Manner much superior to their Owner's Expectations. I will free, said he, the Bar from this strange Fellow, and see what his Probity will be able to do in the *Indies*. He came without Money or Forces, but, by the Accident before mentioned, found two Armies ready to receive him, upon which he went directly to *Lima*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Governor of *Peru*; but such a Governor *America* had never seen before. He shewed himself an absolute Stoic; he threatened no body, he flattered no body; he acted like a Governor, but he lived like a private Person: He shewed no Respect to Persons, nor made any Distinction between *Indians* and *Spaniards*.

The People were amazed at first, but in a few Weeks he was obeyed with that Submission no Tyrant ever exacted, merely because the People saw he meant nothing but their Good. He marched against young *Almagro*, in *September*, 1542, with a very powerful Army; upon which that young Gentleman sent two Deputies to treat of a Peace, and to propose various things in his Name; several of his Officers writing to the Governor on his Behalf and their own, representing that they had been always good Subjects, and were desirous of continuing so; that they were driven into their present Condition by the Cruelties of the Marquis, and that they were willing to submit upon reasonable Conditions. The Governor would never talk upon the Subject; he said he had all the Authority from the Emperor that Prince could give, that he had done no body any hurt by Virtue of that Authority; but had done, and would do, all the Good he could. He said farther, that such as obeyed him were the Emperor's good Subjects, to whom he would behave as their Governor; that for such as acted otherwise they were Rebels, who in time would find a Judge that would never depart from the Letter of the Law, but would punish as that directed him to do; for, though as a Man, he was compassionate, yet, as an Officer of Justice, he knew not what Pity was.

The Report of the Governor's Conduct was far enough from giving Satisfaction to young *Almagro*, and those about him; therefore Orders were sent to his Deputies to make still greater Offers, in case *Almagro* might be suffered to reside at *Cuzco*, and to enjoy his Father's Government without Molestation, till the Emperor should decide this great Controversy, having already all the necessary Lights given him by the Agents on both Sides, by *James Alverado* and *Ferdinand Pizarro*, from whom News was suddenly expected, which might prevent the Effusion of *Spanish* and *Christian* Blood: But *Vaca de Castro*, instead of treating with *Almagro*, endeavoured to gain his Officers, and induce them to desert him; which *Almagro* discovering, both Parties prepared for Battle, and drew up their Troops in the Vale of *Chupas*. These little Armies were both composed of Veteran Officers and Soldiers. The Governor had the Advantage in Point of Numbers, his Troops consisting of seven hundred *Spaniards* besides *Indians*, and *Almagro's* of five hundred *Spaniards*; but then the latter had the Advantage of a Train of Artillery, and of good Ground, and would probably have gained the Victory if all his Officers had been true to him; for his Artillery was so pointed that the Enemy could not approach his Camp on any Side without considerable Loss. However, to his Amazement, when the Cannon were fired, they did no manner of Execution, and the Enemy advanced as if they had nothing to fear from the Artillery: Whereupon *Almagro* made up to *Pedro de Candia*, who commanded the great Guns, and, suspecting Treachery, killed him with his own Hands, and leveling one of the Cannon himself cut off a whole Rank of the Governor's Troops, putting the Army in Disorder.

But the Enemy were now advanced too near his Train of Artillery to suffer from them, and his Men had quitted the Ground where they were so advantageously drawn up to meet the Enemy, which occasioned the Loss of the Battle, though it was fought with great Obstinacy till two

two Hours within dark, when *Almagro*, finding his Troops over-powered, retired out of the Field with *Manco Inca*, and three or four *Spanish* Officers, intending to have taken Refuge in the Mountains with the *Inca* and his *Indians*, till he should meet with a favourable Opportunity of recovering his Government; but taking *Cuzco* in his Way, with a Design of carrying off his Treasure, and such of his Effects as would have been most useful to him in his Exile, the very Men in whose Hands *Almagro* had put the Government of the City, hearing he had lost the Battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own Peace with him; and young *Almagro*, who was not much above twenty Years of age, was formally tried, condemned, and executed in the same Place, and much in the same manner, as his Father had been, and was afterwards buried by some Friars of the Convent of *Merced*, in the same Grave with his Father, having obtained a much greater Fame for his Humanity, Parts, and Education, tho' his Conduct and Experience in War could not be supposed equal to his Father's; and indeed it was unfortunate he was so young and unexperienced, and consequently had so little Influence and Command of his Troops, every Officer almost imagining he merited the chief Command in the Army, and that *Almagro* was infinitely obliged to him for taking his Part, while others were contriving to purchase their own Peace by betraying their General. They had but very indifferent Success, however, from the Practice of these base Measures; for the Governor proved as inexorable as he professed himself, and as he gave no Quarter in the Field of Battle, so he did not think the taking off *Almagro's* Head a sufficient Attonement for his Rebellion and its Consequences; but, on the contrary, caused such as had been his principal Counsellors to be apprehended, tried, and put to Death without Mercy, by which Means he totally extinguished, not only the Rebellion, but the Faction that had raised it.

Yet there was no Suspicion that he mingled any thing of private Malice, or particular Resentment, with his Zeal for the public Service; for he behaved very kindly to such as had in due time returned to their Obedience; and though no Governor ever had a fairer Opportunity of raising his Fortune by the vast Confiscations made in his Time; yet such was his Contempt for Money, that he took nothing; but contented himself with his own Appointments, and employed the Wealth he saved out of them, which was very great, for the Service of the Crown and the Good of the People. This had such an Effect, that though Multitudes deplored the Fate of those unhappy Men who died by his Sentences, yet they bore no Dislike to him; but acknowledged, that what he did was the Effect of an honest Zeal, and not of any Cruelty in his Nature, and many of the Criminals professed this to be their own Sentiments in their very last Moments: The only People who shewed any Discontent, were the Officers and Soldiers of *Pizarro's* Party, who thought they were not enough considered, and told him, as much; but he told them in return, That he did not come there to support or reward any, but to extinguish all Parties; and that they ought to think themselves happy, that in Consideration of their late good Behaviour, he forgot what was past, since they must be sensible that he punished in *Almagro's* Partizans no other Crimes than those of which themselves had been guilty.

24. The Peace of the Province being restored by this strict Distribution of Justice, the Governor *de Castro* disbanded the best part of his Troops, laid aside all his Severity, and began to cultivate with the utmost Diligence the Arts of Peace: He caused the old Colonies to be better settled, and was mindful to have new ones planted: He took care to have the old Mines improved, and such as were daily discovered, to be wrought, for the Benefit of his Master and the lawful Proprietors: He was very attentive to the Administration of Justice: He erected Colleges and Schools in all the Cities and great Towns. He obliged the Clergy to labour diligently in converting the *Indians*, relieved most of their Grievances, and in the Space of little more than a Year, made such Alterations as could scarce have been expected in fifty. He would have done still more, but that the *Spanish* Ministers,

whom he neither courted nor bribed, prevailed upon the King to erect a kind of Royal Audience in *Peru*, and to give very great Powers to Commissioners who composed the Audience, who made it their Business to cross the Governor in every thing; which begat new Disturbances, both among the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and fresh Complaints to the Court of *Spain*, with which perhaps the Ministers were not displeased, because whenever they came the Money came along with them. Whereas in the Governor *de Castro's* Time, though the Emperor received large Sums from *Peru*, yet the Ministers got nothing; and when Things went once wrong they quickly grew worse and worse, and Matters were in Danger of falling once more into Confusion.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in *Peru*, and the ill Usage of the *Indians*, he displaced his Commissioners there, and chose others, giving them an Oath to deal justly, and to order Things uprightly. He made forty Laws, and signed them at *Barcelona*, the 20th of *November*, 1542; but those Laws were ill taken in *Peru*. They were certainly well intended, and very agreeable to the Rules of natural Justice and Equity; but in the Situation Things were in, by no Means expedient to be published in *Peru*, where Things grew daily more perplexed: Besides *Blasco Nunez Vela*, who was appointed Viceroy in 1544, and who had Directions to see these Orders put in execution, was a Man no way qualified for his Employment. On his Arrival he caused his Predecessor, who was a much wiser Man than himself, to be imprisoned, and behaved in every Respect so severely that he gained no Friends, though he provoked many to become his Enemies. Three of the Judges who should have supported him, conspired against him, and caused him to be imprisoned, while in the mean time *Gonzalo Pizarro* drew together Troops, and disposed all Things for a Rebellion.

The Disputes between the Judges and the Viceroy facilitated his Design; for tho' the latter quickly recovered his Liberty, and drew one of the Judges to his Party, yet the rest of the Judges continued to act by their own Authority, and behaved so cruelly, and so tyrannically, that at length, perceiving they had no other Remedy, they were glad to admit *Gonzalo Pizarro* Governor of *Peru*, to send him a Commission in the King's Name, and to receive him with all Demonstrations of Respect into the City of *Lima*. The Viceroy returned into the Province of *Quito*, where he discovered, in his Adversity, much greater Abilities, and many more Virtues, than in his Prosperity; and though his Forces were considerably inferior to those of the Rebels, yet his own Intrepidity, joined to that loyal Disposition, which is natural to the *Spaniards*, enabled him to make a long Dispute. At length, however, a decisive Battle was fought between him and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, on the 19th of *January*, 1546; in which the Viceroy, being wounded and taken Prisoner, had his Head struck off; for whose Death, though done by his own Command, *Pizarro* hypocritically wore Mourning. Henceforward this Man behaved himself rather as a sovereign Prince than a Governor, busying himself in amassing Wealth, and in taking all the Precautions he could think of for securing himself and his Associates from the Effects of the royal Resentment, which without question they had reason to dread. In the mean time, the Emperor, justly alarmed at the Consequences of those Seditions, which threatened the Loss of so considerable a Territory as that of *Peru*, came at length to a Resolution of trusting rather to the Wisdom of one Man, than to the Force of many.

This Man was the Licenciate *Peter de la Gasca*, who had the Title of President of the Royal Court of *Peru*, and a Commission so ample, that, had it not been some way limited by his Instructions, he would, in effect, have had royal Authority: But to balance this he had neither Men nor Money, the Court trusting altogether, though surely not very prudently, to his great Capacity. He was, in few Words, a Man of unshaken Courage, deep Prudence, mild Behaviour, unblemished Probity, and absolutely disinterested; he was not afraid to go in a Manner naked, against insolent and victorious Rebels; and all the Reward he demanded for the Services he should

should perform, was, that, having settled the Province in Peace, he might be at Liberty to depart into *Spain*. *Gasca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, and carried himself mildly, saying, he came not to make War; but, according to his Profession, to make Peace, and rebate the Rigour of the Laws that caused the War. From *Panama* he sent the Emperor's Letters, and wrote himself to *Pizarro*, telling him, he was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satisfaction to his People, and if he refused this Grace, but not till then, to make War.

Pizarro was enraged at the Receipt of these Letters, and would not suffer the Person who brought them to sit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. *Pizarro* called for his Friends, to know what Answer to give to the President's Letter. *Carvajal*, the chief Incendiary, was absent, and therefore it was hoped he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, some advised to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, that the President might have no Places to receive his Men and Shipping; and they having all the Ships in the *South-Sea*, might keep *Peru* to themselves, and then they doubted not but to make *New Spain* revolt too, or at least they would rob all the Towns on the Sea Coast, and live by Spoil and Rapine; which indeed they might have done, having the General of the Sea true to them. At last *Pizarro* cunningly answered *Gasca*'s Letter, by consent of thirty of his Men, under their Hands, That they understood of his coming by *Hinojosa*, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended; but it was too late, after so many Murders, occasioned by the Viceroy's Cruelty; persuading him to return, to inform the Emperor that they would receive no Governor but *Pizarro*, and offering to send some Men of Quality into *Spain* to make their Case known to the Emperor.

Carvajal returning, diverted *Pizarro* from all good Intentions, and would not suffer him to make any Acknowledgments to *Spain*; they sent these Letters to *Gasca*, and offered to give him a great Quantity of Money to return Home, and if he refused it, they wrote to the Admiral *Hinojosa*, to apprehend him. These Letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gasca* in Fear that he should be killed, for they absolutely refused to receive him in *Peru*. But *Gasca* dealt so cunningly with *Hinojosa*, that he brought him to submit himself and Fleet, and become a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of *Pizarro*, and *Hinojosa* was continued General, and none of his Captains displaced. *Gasca* now prepared again for War, and furnished himself for his Journey to *Peru*; and before his Arrival sent a Pardon to all the common Sort. In his Expedition he carried himself courteously and friendly. *Gasca*'s Carriage, and the Submission of the Ships, made a great Change among the Rebels, for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. *Pizarro* was much grieved to hear of these Alterations; but like a courageous Captain sent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces, but most Part of them forsook him; and the Towns of *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and the rest, took Part with the Emperor.

When *John de Casta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they consulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty Men and the whole Country against them: He resolved to go to *Chili*, where never *Spaniard* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno*, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battle. *Pizarro*, gaining the Victory, lost two hundred and twenty Men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled, but the others, having so great a Loss, did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into several Parts. *Cepeda*, a principal Man on his Side, persuaded him to make Conditions with *Gasca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew suspicious of him; who out of pure Kindness had proposed it. *Gasca* came into *Peru* with two thousand Men, where he heard of the Overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his Men being sickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much discouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the Remainder of his Forces put them in Heart, whereupon he went in

Pursuit of *Pizarro*; but had great Trouble in passing the River *Apurrima*; but *Pizarro* being apprized of it, departed from *Cuzco* with one thousand Soldiers. A little before this *Donna Maria Calderon* speaking against the Tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Francis Calderon* entered her Chamber one Morning, and strangled her in her Bed.

Now came their Armies in View of one another, every one taking Advantage of the Place. *Gasca* delayed giving Battle, in hopes that most of *Pizarro*'s Men would leave him, but they did not; and he being forced by Snow, Cold, and Hunger, engaged in a general and bloody Action. *Cepeda*, who, as I said, before advised to accept of Conditions, fled to *Gasca* which, much disheartened *Pizarro*'s Side; this Example, and others, that did the like, made most of them yield. *Pizarro* seeing it, chose rather to submit than fly, and yielded himself to *Villa Vicentia*, Serjeant-Major, who carried him to *Gasca*. Never was such a Battle fought, in which the Heads and chief Commanders were Doctors and Scholars. *Gasca* sent Forces to cut off those that escaped in their way to *Cuzco*, and to secure the Town. The Day following, being the 9th of April 1548, *Gasca* committed the Cause of *Pizarro* and other Offenders to Judges, who condemned him and thirteen more to Death; whereof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief Promoter of all the Mischief in these Parts; he was 84 Years of Age, and had been an Ensign in the Battle of *Ravenna*, had served under the great Captain *Gonzalo Fernandez*, and was the most noted Soldier in the *Indies*, yet never esteemed valiant or skilful; it was a Bye-word, as cruel as *Carvajal*, because he had been the Executioner of four hundred *Spaniards*, *Pizarro* caused to be put to Death after *Blasco Nunez* came into *Peru*, carrying Blacks with him continually for that Purpose. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this Battle, though he had fought many. *Gasca*'s Soldiers looked for a better Reward than was given them, though indeed they were well dealt with; yet they mutinied upon it, but were soon quieted again. *Gasca* took a Course for the pacifying of the *Indians*, and reducing them to the Christian Religion, as also for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom.

When *Gasca* arrived at *Nombre de Dios* out of *Spain*, he brought not an hundred Men with him, nor had he any Money, but procured Credit; and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almost two Millions, but for himself not a Penny; being the first Man, in Authority, that ever did the like; for Covetousness was the Bane of all the *Spanish* Affairs 'till his Time. Indeed any Nation must be quickly ruined where the Men great aspire to Authority, with no other View than to make themselves rich. As for this celebrated Governor, when he had thoroughly settled Things in *Peru*, he prepared for his return into *Spain*, and came to *Panama*, having much Wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that two Sons of *Rodrigo Conberas*, Governor of *Nicaragua*, with two hundred Soldiers, entered the Town and took that Treasure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two Brothers put himself with his Wealth on board two or three Ships, the other followed *Gasca*, thinking to rob and kill him, murdered many, and slew a Bishop; because he sent to their Father in *Spain* an Account of their Villanies. They drew to them all factious and discontented People, that favoured the Party of *Pizarro*. *Gasca* hearing of those Disorders returned with Speed, fought with and overcame them; one of the Brothers was drowned in passing a River; and he dispatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth.

This proved a fortunate Affair to *Gasca*, and got him great Honour: He embarked at *Nombre de Dios* for *Spain* in 1550, with much Wealth for others and Reputation to himself. His going, coming, and staying, was little more than four Years. This Man completed what *Vaca de Castro* had only begun, and left every thing in tolerable good Order; for which, upon his Return the Emperor gave him the rich Bishopric of *Placentia*, and sent for him into *Germany*, that he might receive a clear and distinct Account of the State of his

Affairs in *America*. It is very remarkable, that these Governors, who did such wonderful Things; and instead of enriching themselves promoted the Welfare of the Crown, and provided for the Revenues of the People, were not Courtiers but Lawyers, not Men of great Nobility, not yet mere Adventurers, not the Creatures of any Ministry, or supported by any Minister, but owing their Preferment entirely to their Reputation, which made them known to the Emperor, their Master, and secured his Choice.

We shall here end our Account of the Discovery and Conquest of *Peru*, which has been so fully treated; that the Reader cannot but have a very clear Idea, as well of the Maxims, upon which the *Spanish* Court proceeded, as of the Characters of these great Men, by whom these Discoveries and Conquests were achieved, and of the Troubles that were afterwards occasioned by their excessive Ambition. But, as the Pursuit of this Method, with Respect to the other Provinces of the *Spanish* Empire, in the new World, would swell this Work to too great an Extent; we shall content ourselves with giving as concise an Account as is possible of the Times when, and the Persons by whom, the rest of the most considerable Discoveries and Conquests were made, without entering into any farther Particulars, that we may have the more Room to speak of what other Nations have performed in those Parts, and thereby render this Part of our Work as compleat as possible.

25. While *Hernan Cortes* was employed in reducing, under his Obedience, all the Provinces of the *Mexican* Empire, and while *Francis Pizarro* was occupied in *Peru*, there were other great Captains and experienced Seamen employed in the Discovery of several other Parts of *America*: As for Instance, *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian* born, and who had been long in the Service of the Crown of *England*, entered about the Year 1526 into that of *Spain*; and the same Year sailed up the great River of *Plate*, and discovered Part of the Country of *Paraguay*. The Year following *Francis de Montejo* settled and subdued the Country of *Yucatan*; and about the same Time, *John Bermudez* first saw one of those Islands, which have since borne his Name, and make at present a Part of our Possessions in the *West-Indies*. From the Year 1528 to 1533 various Discoveries were made by the Captains of *Francis Pizarro*, both on the East and West Coasts of *South America*; and within this Space it was, that *Peter Heredia* caused the Foundation to be laid of the City of *Carthagena*, to which he gave that Name from the Resemblance it bore in its Situation to the City of *Carthagena* in *Old Spain*.

In 1535, *Peter de Mendoza* founded the Town of *Buenos Ayres*, on the River *Plata*, which City was twice abandoned, and twice rebuilt. At this time the famous *Hernan Cortes* made, in Person, an Expedition by Sea, to discover the Northern Coasts of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and was himself the first that took a View of *California*, which then, and long after, was esteemed to be an Island. In 1537, the Province of *New Granada* was entirely discovered: And in 1539, as if the Discoveries Northwards were to keep exact Pace with those of the South, the great Kingdom of *Cibola* was first made known to the *Spaniards* by a *Franciscan* Friar; which Discovery at first was very little regarded, but has been since found to be of as great Consequence, or rather of greater, than any of the Discoveries on the Northern Continent in *America*. In 1540, one *Peter de Baldivia* made his Expedition into *Chili*, and reduced a great Part of that rich Country.

The very next Year, *John Cabrillo* a Native of *Portugal*, in the Service of *Spain*, discovered the most Northern Parts of *California*, and gave to a great Cape or Headland, in the Latitude of 44 Degrees, the Name of *Cape Mendocina*, in Honour of Don *Antonio de Mendoza*, at that time Viceroy of *New Spain*. In 1543, *Lewis de Alverado* discovered the great River of *Mississippi*, which he clearly described, though he did not give it any Name. In the Year 1545, the Mines of *Potosi* were first opened; and in 1554, the *Spaniards* discovered those of *St. Barbe* and *St. John*. In the Year 1574, *Juan Fernandez* discovered, in the *South-Sea*,

the two Islands that have been since known by his Name, though in the old *Spanish* Maps there are four laid down, the other two being called the Islands of *St. Felix* and *St. Ambrose*, lying somewhat more to the North than those to which we generally give the Name of *Juan Fernandez*. In 1582, the *Spaniards* completed the Discovery of that great Country to which they have since given the Name of the Kingdom of *New Mexico*. In 1589, Don *Pedro Sermiento* made that famous Settlement in the Streights of *Magellan*, of which we have given so large an Account in our first Volume. In the Years 1638 and 1639, some *Spanish* Missionaries travelled through, and described most of the Countries that lie upon the great River of the *Amazons*; and considering the Report they made of the Fertility and Riches of those Countries, it is surprising that the *Spaniards* did not make this Discovery turn to greater Account; but perhaps this may be ascribed to their Want of People, at least in Proportion to such a vast Extent of Country.

In 1675, some Missionaries discovered, in the Heart of *South America*, the Country of the *Moxas*, of which to this Day we have no farther Account than what those Missionaries have given us. This Country lies in the Torrid Zone, from 10 to 15 Degrees of South Latitude; and it is believed that there are Mines of great Value therein, though hitherto it has been visited only by the Priests, who have erected the same sort of Sovereignty there which they possess in *Paraguay*.

26. In the Year 1701, *F. Eusebius Kino*, a Jesuit, discovered that the Country of *California* was not an Island, as till that time it had been supposed, but was separated from the Continent of new *Mexico* only by a River, over which he passed without much Trouble. And thus we have given the Reader a short Account of the *Spanish* Discoveries, in the Order of Time in which they were made, from their first Entry into the new World, down to our own Days; and if it appears that since their having established so great and powerful an Empire in this Part of the Globe, they have discovered much less in Proportion than when they first came thither, we must not attribute it either to their having absolutely surveyed all Parts of those two vast Continents, of which they are reputed Masters, or that they have lost that Thirst after Gold and Silver with which they were so strongly possessed in past Times: For the Truth is, that both in North and in *South America*, there are vast Tracts of Country of which they know very little; but then the Provinces of which they are at present in Possession afford them such certain Supplies of Gold and Silver, and at the same Time they find that the Preservation of these Countries requires such a strength of People, that they are cautious of extending their Settlements for fear of lessening their Security; and therefore the great Maxim of their Policy is to conceal the Notices they from time to time receive of new Mines, that they may not come to the Knowledge of Strangers, whose Neighbourhood they dread, and not without Reason; since if any hardy and industrious Nation should ever fix themselves effectually in any Part of either of these Continents, the *Spaniards* would soon feel what they so much fear, the Impossibility of keeping the Countries they possess at present. But it may not be amiss before we conclude this Section, and part with the Subject, to give the Reader a general Notion of the Advantages derived to *Spain*, from the Conquests made by her Subjects in the two *America's*.

The common Opinion is, that his Catholic Majesty possesses larger Dominions than any Prince in the World, and without doubt it is very well founded; for, with regard to *America*, the whole Coast from thirty-seven Degrees of North Latitude, to fifty-three Degrees of South, is on one Side entirely theirs; and on the other there are only the *Portuguese* Colonies in *Brazil*, with a few inconsiderable *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, but what belongs to them or to the Natives. In a Word, the *Spaniards* command in the South Seas the most extended Coast in the new World, that is, from Cape *St. Sebastian*, the most Northern Point of *California*, to the Streights of *Magellan*, at least two thousand Leagues, or between six and seven thousand Miles: They likewise possess the largest

largest and most valuable Islands, viz. *Cuba*, Part of *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*.

It is an Opinion commonly received amongst us, that the *Spanish West Indies* are very unwholesome, but, like many other general Propositions, this may be said to be true and false at the same time; a very considerable Part of *Mexico* and *Peru* are in the Torrid Zone, and yet, where they have the Advantage of a favourable Situation, are both healthy and pleasant; but besides these there are many fair Provinces in both the temperate Zones: Neither can the habitable World boast of more delightful Regions than there are in the Kingdom of *New Mexico* in the North, and about *Buenos Ayres* in the South, as the Reader will be told more particularly hereafter; the Truth is, that the Country about *Porto Bello* is extremely agreeable and unwholesome, and so is part of the Sea Coast of *Chili*, by Reason of the great Rains which fall there, and the want of Inhabitants. And from hence we form an Idea of the rest, though very unjustly. Perhaps too, the Luxury of the *Spaniards*, and the Inactivity of their Lives may contribute to shorten their Days, and thereby discredit the Places they inhabit; but as it is certain that the *Indians*, before their Arrival, lived to a good old Age, and many who are temperate do so still, I say, all this considered, we may conclude, that if any active and industrious People were to settle in these Countries, they would not be very much incommoded by the Climate.

As to the Soil of the Countries in general, it is wonderfully rich and fruitful, producing Corn in abundance, and such Pastures as are nowhere else to be seen; Trees for Fruit, Beauty, and Use; Shrubs odoriferous, and of physical Virtues; Herbs and Roots, in plenty; and, in short, every Thing that can be sought for, either grows naturally or may with very little Pains be produced here. In the Bosom of the Earth all Sorts of Metals are found, especially those which Men value most, Silver and Gold; Springs and Rivulets are every where to be seen: And then, for the Convenience of Navigation, there are the noblest Rivers which the World can boast; such as the River of *Plate*, the *Amazons* River, and many others. If the *Spanish* Councils were turned for the Encouragement of Trade, there are in these Countries such a vast Variety of valuable Commodities as might furnish the People possessed of them with inexhaustible Treasures; for besides Gold and Silver, of which prodigious Quantities are annually exported, both from *Mexico* and *Peru*, here are Emeralds, Pearls, and various other sorts of Stones; not to speak of Copper and other baser Metals: Rich Drugs of all Kinds, Logwood, Santal, Redwood, and many other sorts of Materials for dying: Tobacco, Ginger, Sweet-meats of all Kinds, with a vast Variety of luxurious Articles: And then, as to Things of more necessary Use, *Vigonia* Wool, the Hides from *Buenos Ayres*, Tortoise-shell, Indigo, and many more, might be enumerated. Neither is the Country deficient in Sea-ports, especially in the *North-Seas*, where there are several safe and spacious Harbours, besides good Roads, Bays, and Creeks. Yet these in the *South-Seas* are, in a great measure, wanting, and the *Spaniards*, not without Reason, esteem it an Advantage, because it makes it the easier for them to defend the Coast against Strangers; and in Respect of one part of the Country trading with the other, this is no great Hinderance; because they have a good Port for the carrying on of their *East-India* Trade, which is what they chiefly value on this side. And if ever they should increase their Shipping so as to make new Ports requisite, Engineers would soon put them in a Way to improve the imperfect Efforts of Nature: But while they continue to act on the Maxims which they have hitherto pursued, they are not likely to think their Havens on the *South-Sea* too few. We ought now to speak of the Number of Inhabitants, because therein consists the true Wealth and Strength of a Government: But we must ingenuously confess, that with any tolerable Accuracy it is not easy to settle it. The *Spanish* Writers are remarkably silent on this Head, and as to what others report on this Subject, it deserves less Credit than any other Part of their Relations, be-

cause it is impossible that what they assert should consist with their own Knowledge.

This however is certain, that the *Spanish America* is but thinly peopled if we consider its Extent; and, on the other hand, it seems to be as certain, that it is much better peopled than we commonly imagine, of which I will give several apparent Proofs: Sir *Francis Drake* made his first Expedition in 1578, and with a very slender Force; acquired immense Riches, and did prodigious Damage to the *Spaniards*. In 1587, *Candish* did the like, in a Vessel of One hundred and twenty Tons, though he had not in her above thirty Men; landing in several Places, and bringing away as much Riches as he could carry. These Successes established an Opinion, that the *Spaniards* were very weak in these Parts, yet all the following Expeditions, which were undertaken with much greater Force, miserably miscarried; which induced that wise Princess, Queen *Elizabeth*, to restrain her Subjects from such Attempts. This, however, did not discourage the *Dutch*, who in 1623, fitted out a grand Fleet for the *South-Seas*; it consisted of fifteen stout Ships, and there were three thousand picked Men on board. They came happily into these Parts of the World, and made several Descents, but to no Purpose, being constantly repulsed, so that they returned with great Loss and Shame. Our Countryman, *Gage*, persuaded *Cromwell*, and indeed the *English* Nation, that the Conquest of the *West-Indies* was a very practicable Design, but it did not prove so in the Event; for though we made ourselves Masters of *Jamaica*, yet whoever considers the mighty Force that *Penn* and *Venables* had, will rather wonder that much more was not done, than admire what they did; so that it seems to be a Thing out of dispute, that it is not so much the Weakness of the *Spaniards* as the Weakness of their Councils, which has occasioned their Losses in those Parts. And, to say the Truth, we can scarce doubt of this, if we reflect that they have found a Way to make their *American* Colonies contribute to the Destruction of their Power at Sea. Though the same Cause is the great Source of ours, and is the only one that can create a naval Force to *France*.

But to return to the Point; viz. the Number of People in the *Spanish* Settlements: A certain Author has guessed, that there may be in the whole three Millions of *Spaniards*, Mulattoes, and Negroes; besides which, there are certainly a much larger Number of *Indians*; for though it may be, and without doubt it is true, that the *Spaniards* practised intolerable Cruelties when they first arrived in these Parts, yet we are assured that this was done contrary to the express Direction of their Catholic Majesties, and that they have long since altered their Policy in this Respect, though many *Indian* Nations are still their implacable Enemies, and so are likely to continue. When these Countries were first reduced, the settling many Ecclesiastics might be a very proper Measure, since it is certain they were, in those Days, very zealous not only in converting, but in protecting the *Indians*; interposing on all Occasions in their Favour; but as Times are altered since, they and their Measures should have altered accordingly. Monasteries and Nunneries, if they are not contrary to the Spirit of Christianity, are at least incompatible with that of settling Colonies, and so they have been found: Priests, generally speaking, proceed upon narrow and selfish Views, and so do all religious Orders, particularly the *Jesuits*, who therefore are the least qualified for Missionaries, though deficient in no other Respect, as fully appears from their Conduct in *Paraguay*, where the Fathers have established a much more regular Government than subsists any where else in *America*, and are able to raise a greater Number of regular Troops in a Week, than could be assembled by the Viceroy at *Peru* in a Year.

The Corruption and Tyranny which reigns among all the Officers who derive their Authority from the Crown, sensibly affects the State, since it not only ruins the Revenue, but discourages Industry and extirpates Public Spirit. An unaccountable Fondness for Gold and Silver is another Prejudice to the *Spanish* Settlements; has pre-

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vented the Government from encouraging new Discoveries, and spread such a sordid Spirit through all its Subjects as is visibly productive of the worst Effects; for tho' Mines may be most beneficial to the Sovereign, and to the Mother Country in the first Instance, yet, taking all Things together, they are least so; of which the present State of *Spanish America* is the strongest Proof.

27. We have now treated this Subject so fully and so clearly, that we hope the Reader has nothing farther to expect. We might indeed have confined ourselves within narrower Limits, and have run through the Story of these great Events in fewer Pages; but then the Account must have been very superficial, and instead of satisfying, it would only have raised the Curiosity of the ingenious Reader; whereas now we dare assure him that with respect to the Discovery and Conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru*, he has seen as good an Account as we were able to give him, after perusing and comparing the best *Spanish* Writers; and we have always thought that it was our Duty to execute Things to the full, and not leave People under the Necessity of consulting many other Books, in order to come at what they might justly expect from its Title to have found in this.

There are some speculative People that have taken Pains to depreciate the Character of the Conquerors of the new World, by pretending that the Advantages derived to *Spain* by the Countries added by them to her Dominions are scarce an Equivalent for the Mischiefs she has sustained by the draining away such incredible Multitudes as have transported themselves to *America*, since those Conquests were made; but, with their Leave, this does not so much concern the Conduct of those Conquerors, as that of the *Spanish* Ministry, which we never took upon us to vindicate, and in which we should most certainly have failed if we had: But the great Point which deserves notice, and which can alone enable our Readers to form a true Judgment of this Matter, is the Profits that might accrue to the Crown of *Spain* from these prodigious Acquisitions, if she had known how to have managed them with Skill and Prudence proportionable to that Wisdom and Spirit which these brave and active Officers discovered in bringing such extensive, and such valuable, Provinces under her Dominion.

In order to give them some Opportunity of doing this, it may not be amiss to inquire, as far as it is in our Power to do, what these two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* really produce; for when this is once known, we may very well judge who is in the Fault, and whether, in respect to the *Spanish* Nation, the boundless Ambition of those Conquerors, or the ill Management of those who have received the Benefits that have arisen from these Conquests, deserves the Blame.

To begin then with *Mexico*: The Ecclesiastical State of the Country at present consists of an Archbishop, and eleven Suffragan Bishops, whose Revenues, computed according to their own Returns of their Tenths, which we may be sure do not exceed the Value of them, amount to one Million and a Half Sterling *per Annum*. It is farther computed, that their Revenues make about a Fourth of those belonging to the Clergy, and that the Estates of the Ecclesiastics may be reckoned a Fourth of the Whole Province or Viceroyalty; according to which Computation the Total Revenues of *Mexico* may be taken at twenty-four Millions of our Money. But there is another Way of calculating the Wealth of *Mexico*, which I will present to the Reader, because I am pretty confident he will find it nowhere else: There was brought into the King's Exchequer at *Mexico*, in the Year 1730, somewhat better than a Million of Marks of Silver. This was the King's Duty from the Mines, which ought to be one Fifth of the Metal taken out of them. It is true, most People think the King is pretty roundly cheated; but because this does not appear to us, we will suppose he is honestly paid, and that this is a Fifth Part of what is dug out of the Mines; the Whole therefore must amount to five Millions of Marks (a Mark is equivalent to eight of our Ounces); so that if we compute this Silver

at five Shillings *per Ounce*, then the Inhabitants of *Mexico* receive annually from their Mines ten Millions in Money.

With respect to the Riches of *Peru*, we cannot give quite so distinct an Account; but, however, we will give the Reader the best Account we can; and first, as to the Mines of *Potosi*, we have a clear Relation of them for fifty Years, that is, from their first Discovery, to the Year 1595: Within which Space they had produced forty-four Millions of our Money; but it is allowed, that since that time, they have sunk very much in their Value, and it is no less certain that other very rich Mines have been since discovered. The Gold and precious Stones, brought from this Country and *Chili*, are of incredible Value; and, if we may trust to the Accounts that are given us of the City of *St. Jago*, in the last mentioned Country the Wealth of the Inhabitants is so great, or rather they have such a Plenty of Gold, that almost all their Utensils, for common Kitchen Service, are made of that rich Metal. After all, if we had the clearest Accounts of the Produce of their several Mines, they would not go a great Way towards satisfying us as to the Advantages that *Spain* reaps from these Countries, inasmuch as the *Spaniards* settled in *America* are known to have vast Hoards of Plate; send annually prodigious Sums in Silver to the *East-Indies*; and employ much larger Quantities in a Contraband Trade with the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*. But we have a tolerable Account, after all these Deductions are made, of what is annually returned to *Spain* in Time of Peace; and therefore, upon this, we shall chiefly insist: The Galleons bring home about three Millions in Gold, and the Flota one: In Silver, the ordinary Cargo of the Galleons is twenty Millions, and of the Flota ten: In precious Stones, such as Pearls, Emeralds, Torquoises, &c. they export about half a Million; in other rich Commodities, such as Cochineal, Indigo, Logwood, &c. about three Millions and an half; so that taking all these together, they bring home thirty-eight Millions, without reckoning what comes by register Ships, and in a clandestine Way; which those who are best acquainted with it, have estimated at twelve Millions more: Upon the whole therefore, keeping ourselves within the strictest Bounds of Moderation, we may venture to assert that *Spain* draws now from seven to ten Millions Sterling from these Countries every Year, and must formerly have drawn much more.

If she is able to keep very little of this, which is very positively said, and I believe may be very true, it does not at all lessen the Value of these Acquisitions: She might keep every Penny of it if she would, by setting up and encouraging proper Manufactures in her Dominions. As she does not, it is become the common Interest of all the trading Countries in Europe, that she should be maintained in these rich Possessions, not for her Sake, but for their own; and indeed, as things are now managed, she wastes her unhappy Subjects the *Indians*, and her still more unhappy Negro Slaves, in digging Gold and Silver for other People. Such, according to the wise Dispositions of Providence, are the Rewards of Industry, and the Punishments of Idleness, Luxury, and a People's want of Attention to their own Concerns.

But if a few wise and good Princes were to rule in *Spain*, the Case would very soon be altered; they would first make use of their Treasures to erect Manufactures in their European Dominions, and next lay open this rich Trade to all their Subjects in those Dominions. Such a Conduct would, in the Space of a few Years, change the Face of their Affairs entirely; and nothing could hinder their becoming again what they once were, the most formidable maritime Power in this Part of the World.

It would then appear what vast Advantages accrued from the Discoveries and Conquests of *Columbus*, *Velasquez*, *Balboa*, *Cortes*, *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, *Baldivia*, and all the other Heroes, that stand recorded in *Spanish* Histories: Heroes, who, without doubt, merit all the Praises that have been bestowed upon them; and who, with prodigious Labours, with infinite Hazards, and at the Expence of the Lives of many thousands of brave Men, purchased

purchased those Treasures which have been wasted away in gratifying the Pride of Princes, the Lusts of Priests, and the innumerable Vices of a long Train of weak and wicked Ministers. Happy would it be for all other Nations if *Spain* alone was infamous for this kind of Extravagance and Madness! Happy for them; if after following they would grow wiser by her Example! Happy for them, that she is not yet sensible of her Faults!

The Mistakes that have been made by the *Spaniards*; however strange, however amazing, they may appear, when thus examined and pointed out upon Paper, are such as any other Nation may be very easily betrayed into, when her Circumstances become like those of the *Spaniards*. All Colonies are a kind of political Children, and, as such, contribute to the Honour, Safety, and Riches of their Parents, if those Parents are not wanting to themselves; it is, however, very common for Governments, as well as private Persons, to fall into many great Errors upon this Head; such as treating young Colonies with vast Tenderness and Indulgence, forming from thence very sanguine, and sometimes very unreasonable Expectations; and, because these are not answered as soon as expected, falling out with, and disregarding, those Colonies, at the very time when, if they had been attended to, they might have more than answered their Expectations. It is likewise common with them, as well as Parents, to grow unreasonably, I was going to say ridiculously, jealous of their Off-spring; by this foolish Conduct, actually producing those Mischiefs they endeavoured to avoid, and which could have been produced only by such Endeavours.

They are apt to fancy, that, because these Children are settled at a Distance, they forget that they are Children; and, full of this idle Fancy, they soon forget that they are Parents, and begin to treat them with an arbitrary Authority; because they live at a Distance, and support themselves by their own Labours, they make it their Study to draw from them wherewith to maintain the Luxury and Prodigality of those Children who live at home with them, and are thereby become the Objects of an irregular Affection, which very soon degenerates into an excessive Indulgence. Hence arise all those Mischiefs that are so warmly deplored by those, who, if they would act with proper Care and Spirit, might easily amend them; for it is with Colonies as it is with Children, nine times in ten their Errors spring from the Usage they have met with; and they are blamed for their Miscarriages by those who are in reality the Authors of those Miscarriages, and ought therefore to blame themselves.

An ancient and almost incurable Mistake this has been; but it is nevertheless a Mistake for all that, and a Mistake which it imports every great and wise People to amend. A Nation that has great Colonies abroad can never want Trade, Riches, or maritime Power, unless she is wanting to herself. A familiar Example will illustrate this, and that in such a Manner as must convince every Person of the Truth of this Remark. A Man who has a large Estate and no Children, must of necessity employ many Servants, of whose Fidelity he cannot be altogether, or at least always, certain; and, with respect to a Nation, Subjects obtained by the Sword, that is, by Conquest, or Slaves purchased by Money, are in the Nature of Servants; but the natural Subjects of a State, by which I mean such as have been born or bred up under its Laws, are to all political Purposes Children, let them live where they will; and, if due Care be taken of them, will discharge the Duties of Children. But if Parents, who are in this Condition, instead of seeking the Advantages they might attain from it, employ their Cares another Way, and divert their Thoughts and their Affections from their Children to Servants and Strangers, it is no Wonder that their Affairs go wrong.

Now this was precisely the Case of the *Spaniards*: The Emperor *Charles V.* happened not to be born in *Spain*, and, which was still more fatal to that Country, was chosen Emperor of *Germany*, which quite turned his Thoughts from *Spanish* Affairs; so that though he was as great a Captain, as able a Statesman, and as wise a Monarch as ever sat upon that Throne, yet with all his

Virtues and all his Abilities he laid the Foundation of their Misfortunes, at the very Time when he thought he was laying the Ground-work of an universal Monarchy; and at a Time too, when, by attending closely to the Affairs of *Spain*, he might have made it a greater, happier, and more potent Nation, than ever the *Persians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans* had been. His Son *Philip* heightened all these Misfortunes, though he pursued quite a different Conduct; but then he pursued it to the same End, that is to say, by affecting universal Monarchy he ruined his own.

He was generally and very justly reputed a Prince as well versed in Politics as any of his Age, or perhaps of any other; yet he was so much taken up in endeavouring to reduce the Netherlands, enslave *Italy*, conquer *England*, over-run *France*, and in annexing *Portugal* to his Dominions, that he never considered his Subjects in the *Spanish America*, farther than as they enabled him by constant Supplies of Money to carry on these his vast Designs. From what has been said it is evident, that however wise, however penetrating, these Princes might be, they certainly over-shot themselves in their Schemes concerning the *Western Indies*. Instead of looking upon it as an Estate, they seemed to think it only a Farm, of which they were to make presently what they could. In doing this it must be owned they acted with Skill and Vigour, for they drew immense Sums from thence; which they wasted in *Europe*, to disturb others, and in the End to destroy their own State. Mr. *Lewis Roberts*, Author of the *Map of Commerce*, an excellent Book for the Time in which it was written, tells, that it appeared by the Records in the Custom-house of *Seville*, that in the Space of seventy-four Years, computing backwards, from the Time in which he wrote, the Kings of *Spain* had drawn into that Country, from *America*, two hundred and fifty Millions of Gold, which make about ninety-one Millions Sterling. He also observes, that this very Prince, *Philip II.* of whom we have been speaking, spent more in his Reign than all his Predecessors in the whole of their respective Reigns, though no less than sixty-two Kings had reigned before him. Yet this cunning, this ambitious, Monarch left his Subjects in a manner quite exhausted; and, by establishing a most pernicious System of Politics, left the total ruining of his Dominions, by way of Legacy, to his Successors; a Point which, with wonderful Obstinacy, they have steadily pursued ever since.

All who are in any Degree acquainted with the History of *Europe* know, that, for a long Course of Years, *Spain* maintained at once Wars in *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and sometimes in *Ireland*, which created a prodigious Expence of Treasure and of Troops, neither of which from the Death of *Charles V.* they were in any Condition to spare. As Families were reduced by the Expence of serving in the Army, they were induced to seek new Fortunes in the *West-Indies*; and thus Numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the Country, or to improve Trade, but to strip and plunder those who went before them. Other great Families again concurred with the Measures of the Crown, in hopes of Vice-royalties and other valuable Offices in its Conquests; but, if ever their Schemes were beneficial to their Families, which may admit of doubt; certain it is, that they contributed more and more to the Ruin of the *Spanish* Nation. For though his Catholic Majesty once possessed *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Milan*, with other Territories in *Italy*, besides the Low Countries and some other Provinces, which are now lost; yet, for want of attending to Commerce, and by having no Sort of Oeconomy, all this turned to his Prejudice; and it plainly appeared, towards the Close of the last Century, that with all their boasted Sagacity and Firmness the *Spaniards* had ruined themselves, by acquiring too great Power; and rendered themselves Beggars, by abusing their immense Riches: With swelling Titles, and wide Dominions, they were despicably weak, and scarce any but Copper Money was to be seen, in a Country which received above twenty Millions annually from its Plantations.

Before I quit this Topic I must take notice of another Thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong Turn in the *Spanish* Policy had a wonderful Effect: It made all the Enemies of that Nation rich, and all its

Friends poor. Every body knows that the *United Provinces* not only made themselves free and independent, but rich and powerful also, by their long War with *Spain*. Our Maritime Power was owing to the same Cause. If *Philip* the II^d had not disturbed Queen *Elizabeth*, our Fleet might have been as inconsiderable at the Close of her Reign as it was at the Beginning, when we were pestered with Pirates, even in the narrow Seas. Our Plantations abroad were chiefly owing to Expeditions against the *Spaniards*. Our Manufactures at home were the Consequence of affording Refuge to the King of *Spain*'s Protestant Subjects. When Queen *Elizabeth*'s Successor closed with *Spain*, he suffered by it, while *France*, the only Country then at War with *Spain*, was a Gainer. I say nothing of *Cromwell*'s Breach with *Spain*, and the Advantages he drew from it; because the World seems well enough apprized of all I could say on that Subject already.

But I cannot help observing, that both the *Dutch* and we were at vast Expences after the Restoration, to preserve the *Spanish Flanders*, while the *Spaniards* themselves were inactive, and left all to be done by their Allies. As soon as the Tables were turned by the Accession of King *Philip* V. the *French* became great Losers by siding with this Nation, though they had always got by fighting against them; insomuch, that all the true Patriots in *France* complained, that while *Lewis* XIV. shewed himself an excellent Parent, in his Family, he discharged but indifferently his Trust, as the Father of his People; but to what End should I look abroad, when it is plain, for our own Situation, that we were never Friends with her, but at our Cost; and never Foes, but at her's. By so long a Series of Mismanagement the *Spaniards* have brought their Affairs into so wretched a Situation, that they neither have, nor can have, any very great Benefit from their vast Dominions in *America*. They are said to be Stewards for the rest of *Europe*; their Galleons bring the Silver into *Spain*, but neither Wisdom or Power can keep it there. It runs out as fast as it comes in; nay, and faster; insomuch, that the little Canton of *Bern* is really richer, and has more Credit than the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding his *Indies*.

At first Sight this seems to be strange and incredible; but, when we come to examine it, the Mystery is, by no Means impenetrable. The Silver and rich Commodities, which come from the *Indies*, come not for nothing (the King's Duties excepted) and very little of the Goods and Manufactures, for which they come, belong to the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*. This shews how the Wealth

of the *Spanish Indies* becomes the Property of other Nations; and how the Preservation of their Dominions becomes as much the Concern of their Neighbours, as it is their own. It likewise shews how terribly they are hurt by the ambitious Schemes of their Court, in *Europe*; and how every fresh War in *Italy* serves to weaken *Spain*, and exhaust her Colonies; so that, in the End, some great Revolution will happen there, but of what Kind, it is not easy to foresee; but certain it is, that the *Spanish* Power gradually declines, and many of their best Settlements are already sunk to nothing.

As for Instance, *Florida* is become a Burthen to them; they having nothing there of Consequence but Fort *St. Augustine*, which they keep to cover the Passage of their Plate Fleets; the Island of *St. Domingo* is impoverished, to the last Degree, and the City of that Name had been long enough ago left desolate, if it was not for the general Tribunal of Justice held therein, which is its sole Support: Yet the *French* have a large and flourishing Colony on the same Island; and if ever they should, as 'tis more than probable they will, elbow out the *Spaniards* from thence, it will change the Face of Affairs in the *West-Indies* extreamly. The Island of *Cuba* is no longer what it was; and, in short, their Affairs decline so fast, under their present Management, that, unless some timely Remedies are applied, the Ruin of their Colonies must follow very soon.

This is a Lesson fit to be considered by other Nations; and it was for that Reason I have insisted upon it so much. It would, however, be no difficult Task to proceed still farther, and to examine the Consequences that may follow, in case the *Spaniards* should either be deprived of their Islands in *America*, or should abandon them, which I look upon as the more likely Event of the two: But I have already bestowed too much Time upon this Subject, and I am sensible, that such a Discourse might appear too grave to some, and too chimerical to others; and therefore I shall not insist upon it here: However, as I have Reason to hope, this Work will long outlive its Author, I flatter myself that, whenever the Event happens, Posterity will take notice of my Conjecture; and it will be very happy for the *British* Nation, if right Measures are taken in Time to secure those Advantages that may be derived from such an Event; or at least to avert those Dangers to which our Colonies must be exposed, if, whenever it happens, our Strength in the *West-Indies* should not be great enough to enable us to seize a considerable Share of what they forsake.

SECTION XVI.

A concise History of the Discovery, Settlement, and Cultivation of Brazil by the Portuguese; the Conquest of the greatest Part of that Country by the Dutch, the Recovery thereof by the Portuguese, and the vast Advantages that have accrued to them of late Years from this noble Colony.

1. A short Introduction, shewing the Nature, Necessity, and Importance of this Section.
2. The Discovery of this Country, A. D. 1500, by Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral.
3. The small Advantages expected from Brazil, when first visited by the Portuguese.
4. Some Account of its antient Inhabitants, and their Manners and Customs, from Dutch and Portuguese Writers.
5. The Methods taken to settle it first by Europeans.
6. The Establishment of a regular Colony under a Governor General from the Crown of Portugal.
7. The Attempts made by the French to establish themselves in this Country, and the Manner in which they miscarried.
8. Another Attempt of the same Nature, by the same Nation, attended with no better Success.
9. The Dutch undertake, under Colour of their War against Spain, to make themselves Masters of Brazil.
10. Their wonderful Success and the surprizing Progress of their Arms in that Country.
11. The Endeavours used by the Portuguese to repel these Invaders, and to maintain themselves in the Possession of Brazil.
12. Count Maurice of Nassau is sent over by the States General and the Dutch West-India Company, to take upon him the Government of their new Conquest.
13. His wise and prudent Administration, by which the best Part of that noble Country was secured for and settled on the Behalf of the Dutch.
14. Their Treaty with the Portuguese; they recal Count Maurice, and begin to act tyrannically in that Country.
15. The Portuguese again take up Arms, fall upon the Dutch in their Settlements, and after a long War drive them

them entirely out of Brazil. 16. The History of this Colony continued from thence down to the present Times, with some curious Remarks on the Gold and Diamond Mines discovered there. 17. Observations and Reflections upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

1. IF we consider the admirable Situation of this Country, its great Extent, and other Advantages derived from Nature, we might readily pronounce, that a Settlement there must be attended with almost all the Benefits that Men usually seek or desire in such Establishments; and though it be very true, that this Country was not only discovered and settled by the *Europeans*, near two hundred Years before any important Discovery was made of the rich Gold Mines which it contains, yet this only shews, that Judgments built upon Reason, and the natural Structure of this terraqueous Globe, are not only as sound and certain, but even more so than such as are grounded on Experience. If towards the Middle of the last Age, a Man of the greatest Reading, and soundest Understanding, had declared, that there were Gold Mines in this Country, he would have been looked upon as an Enthusiast, one of those whom too much Learning had made almost mad; for it would have been said, That after inhabiting this Country for near two Centuries, the *Europeans* would certainly have discovered such Mines, if they had been there; but the Fact comes out quite otherwise: Those Mines were there, and yet they were not discovered; and it seems to be a very high Reflection upon the boasted Knowledge of Mankind, that, with respect to *Europeans* as well as *Indians*, most of these valuable Discoveries have been made by Chance.

If those Relations which are printed under the Name of *Americus Vespucius* were really his, we must be obliged to own, that he pretended, amongst other Things that he never performed, to the Discovery of this Country; but the Matter of Fact is, that all the Dates in these Pieces so manifestly give the Lye to the Matters contained in them, that the only Way to save the Honour of this famous Man is, to deny that they are his: Some alledge, that the old Admiral, *Columbus*, gained some Knowledge of the Coast in the Year 1499, in his third Voyage; but, not to dwell upon Uncertainties, we will fix the Discovery to the succeeding Year, wherein we have the concurrent Authority of both *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Writers to support us; and we shall next enter into a regular and succinct History of this Colony from that time to this, which is certainly a Thing not to be met with in our Language, or perhaps in any other.

2. Don *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*, a Man of Quality as well as of great Abilities, sailed in the Month of *March*, 1500, with a Fleet of thirteen Vessels of various Sizes, for *Sofala*; from whence he was to have continued his Course to the Coast of *Malabar*; but, after passing the *Cape de Verd* Islands, he stood so far out to Sea, in order to avoid the Calms, so common on the Coast of *Africa*, that on the 24th of *April*, he fell in with an unknown Coast on the West, and as the Sea ran very high he was obliged to sail along that Coast as far as the Latitude of 15 Degrees South, where he found a good Haven, to which he gave the Name of *Porto Seguro*, or the *Safe Port*, and the Country itself he called, *the Land of the Holy Ghost*, which Name was afterwards changed for that of *Brazil*, on account of its abounding with a kind of Wood of that Name, which had been so called in *Europe* about three hundred Years before this Country was discovered. Don *Pedro* having sent People on Shore, to examine this new Land, and they reporting that it was extremely well watered, very fertile, full of Fruit-Trees, and inhabited by a mild and gentle People, he resolved to land his Men there, in order to refresh them.

He did so accordingly, and found it exactly agreeable to what his People had reported; and that the Savages were so far from offering any Insult to the *Portuguese*, that they received them with more Kindness and Good-will than they had Reason to expect. It so fell out, that Don *Pedro* had with him some condemned Criminals, whose Sentence, by the Clemency of the King of *Portugal*, had been changed from Death to Transportation; of these

he thought fit to leave two in the Country, to learn the Language, to make farther Discoveries, and to acquire the best Knowledge they could of the Land, and its Inhabitants; but believing, as he very well might, from the very first View of this Country, that the Discovery he had made was of very great Importance, he resolved to lose no Time in giving an account thereof to his Master, and therefore dispatched immediately one of his Vessels back to *Lisbon* for this Purpose, with some Persons on board upon whose Fidelity he could depend, together with one of the Savages of that Country, to be instructed in the *Portuguese* Language, to facilitate the perfect Knowledge of this new found Land. He likewise set up a Stone Cross, as a Monument of his having been there, and of his having taken Possession of that Country in the Name, and on the Behalf, of his Majesty the King of *Portugal*, a Thing at that Time the more necessary, because of the Disputes that were then subsisting between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, about their Discoveries.

It was in consequence of this Account, that the King of *Portugal* sent several Persons to discover upon these Coasts; who very soon found that this was Part of the Continent of *America*; upon which, as might have been very easily foreseen, there arose great Disputes between the two Crowns, about the Extent and Boundaries of this Country; but at last it was settled, that from the River of *Maranon* to the River of *Plate*, should be yielded to the King of *Portugal*.

3. It cannot be supposed that these first Discoverers could form any distinct or just Notion of the Nature and Importance of so vast a Country, which, according to its present Boundaries, may be fairly reckoned two thousand four hundred Miles, from North to South; and two thousand from East to West; tho' the *Portuguese* have scarce penetrated five hundred Miles, any where, even to this Time. The Northern Parts of the Country lie near the Equator, are subject to great Rains and variable Winds, more especially about the Months of *March* and *September*, when they are frequently disturbed with most dreadful Hurricanes and Tempests, by which the Country is frequently under Water, and must consequently be very unwholesome. Here, therefore, the *Portuguese* content themselves with the bare Edge or Sea-Coast, without endeavouring to penetrate deeper into the Country, desiring only to maintain their present Possessions and thereby keep out Foreigners.

In the middle Part of *Brazil*, from the Latitude of five Degrees South to the Tropic, it is observed that the Winds and Seasons are the Reverse of those in other Parts of the World within the same Latitudes; for whereas in them a dry Season comes on when the Sun goes Northward, and the wet Season begins when the Sun returns to the Southward; here the wet Season begins in *April*, when the South-east Winds set in with violent Tornadoes, Thunder and Lightning; and in *September*, when the Wind shifts to East-north-east it brings with it a clear Sky and fair Weather; and this is the Time of their Sugar Harvest. There are but two Winds blow upon this Coast; viz. the South-east from *April* to *September*, and the North-east from *September* to *April* again; but thirty or forty Leagues at Sea they meet with the constant Trade-wind, which blows in the *Atlantic* Ocean all the Year round, from the Eastward, with very little Variation. There is no Country, between the Tropics, where the Heats are more tolerable, or the Air more healthful than this, being constantly refreshed with Breezes from the Sea, and abounding with Lakes and Rivers, which annually overflow their Banks; and in the Inland Part of the Country, the Winds from the Mountains are still cooler than those that blow from the Ocean.

That part of *Brazil* which lies still more to the South, and without the Tropic of Capricorn, is one of the finest in the known World, in all Respects; but the

the *Portuguese* Dominions are but narrow here, confining on the *Spanish* Territories on the River *la Plata*. We have taken this Opportunity of describing the whole Country as it lies; but the Reader will easily conceive that it was subdued and planted by Degrees, and that the Accounts transmitted from Time to Time to *Lisbon* were agreeable to the Alterations in the State of the Colony. It was from the Nature of these Reports, that Things at the beginning went on slowly. The first *Portuguese* Inhabitants were sensible enough, that the Soil was fertile, the Air temperate, and the Country well watered; but alas! they could report no more. *Brazil* appeared to them no otherwise than as a pleasant, fruitful, and well situated Country, capable indeed of furnishing Abundance—but not of Gold and Silver—very fit for any Sort of Improvement; but destitute, as they supposed, of Mines.

Upon these Reports the Ministry did not indeed order it to be deserted; but they transported wicked People thither, according, as from Time to Time their Crimes brought them under the Censure of the Law, which had two very bad Effects; for first it discredited the Colony in the Eyes of the *Portuguese* Nation; and next, it proved the Means of corrupting the poor *Indians*, who were much more apt to catch the *Portuguese* Vices, from their Example, than to receive the Christian Religion by their Teaching; and indeed in all Colonies. I am afraid the Lives of Christians are such as may be justly esteemed the Source of untractable Infidelity among the *Indians*.

4. But, to apprehend this more thoroughly, we must have some Acquaintance with the Natives of *Brazil*, and their State and Condition at the Time of which we are speaking. These Savages differed very little in Stature or Complexion from the *Portuguese* themselves, but they much exceeded them in the Strength, Robustness, and Vigour of their Bodies. The Manner of their Living, however, was barbarous enough; for they lived in the wide Plains, some in Villages, and others moving about, according to their Humours. Their Villages consisted only of three or four very large Houses, not unlike our Barns, in which a whole Family or Tribe lived together, under the eldest Parent, in the State of Nature; but, however, we can say nothing as to the Extent of their Authority.

They made use of Fowling and Fishing for their Subsistence, and made up the rest of their Diet with the Fruits of the Earth; so that though they had not any luxurious Plenty, yet, in so fertile a Country, they could not suffer any great Degree of want. But, what seems somewhat extraordinary, they were, notwithstanding this seemingly frugal and temperate way of Living, continually at War with each other; but for what Causes it is not easy to imagine; unless we should admit what some old Writers affirm, that they made these Wars chiefly, that they might kill and eat each other, esteeming human Flesh the greatest of Dainties. But perhaps the Testimonies of those who own themselves guilty of extirpating thousands of these poor Creatures, to whom they could have no Quarrel worthy of rational Beings, ought not to be received, or at least not received in its full Extent; for there is a certain kind of Malignity in human Nature, which leads us to calumniate and misrepresent those that we injure; as if by aggravating their Vices we could justify, or at least excuse, our own.

But, at the Bottom, this will be found a Doctrine equally false and absurd, for we ought to reclaim bad Men, and not to murder them; and Experience shews us, that with regard to other *Indians*, who have been painted in as black Colours as the People of *Brazil*, they derived their Characters rather from the heated Imaginations of *European* Writers, than from any bad or brutal Conduct in them all. But let us descend a little into Particulars from such Authorities as we have. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* Writers give the Name of *Tapuyers* to the Natives which inhabit the North Part of *Brazil*, and the Name of *Tupinambies* or *Tupinamboys*, to those who dwell in the South of *Brazil*; but divide these again into several petty Nations, differing in Lan-

guage, but not much in Manners and Customs; and therefore, I shall only treat of them under the two first grand Divisions of *Tapuyers* and *Tupinambies*.

The *Tapuyers* are Men of good Stature, and as they inhabit a hot Climate, almost under the Equator, are of a dark Copper Colour, their Hair black, and hanging over their Shoulders; but they suffer no Hair on their Bodies or Faces, and go almost naked; the Men only inclosing the Penis in a Case, as some other *Americans* do, and the Women concealing their Nudities with Leaves. The Men have also a Cap or Coronet of Feathers, but I don't perceive the Women have any Covering on their Heads. Their Ornaments are glittering Stones, hung upon their Lips or Nostrils, and Bracelets of Feathers hung about their Arms; some of them paint their Bodies of all Manner of Colours; whereas, others, rubbing their Bodies with Gums, stick beautiful Feathers upon them, which makes them look more like Fowls than human Creatures, at a Distance. The *Tupinambies*, who inhabit the South of *Brazil* are of a moderate Stature, and not of so dark a Complexion as their northern Neighbours, who lie nearer the Line; but neither the one or the other are so dark as the *Africans* are, who lie in the same Latitude, it having been more than once observed, that there were no Negroes in *America*, till they were transported thither by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*.

The *Tupinambies*, however, resemble the *Africans* in their flat Noses, which are not natural, but made so in their Infancy; a flat Nose being esteemed a Beauty among them. They have also black curled Hair on their Heads, but suffer no Hair to grow on their Bodies and Faces, any more than the *Tapuyers*, and paint themselves like the northern *Brazilians*. The general Food of the *Brazilians* was the Cassavi or Mandioca Root dried to Powder, of which they make Cakes like our Sea Bisket. They carried this Flower with them also on Journeys, and it served them infused in Water both as Meat and Drink; but I don't find they had any Sort of Corn till the *Europeans* carried it thither. They used also to feed on other Roots, Fruits, and Herbs, and such Venison as they could take in Hunting, as also on Fish and Fowl, if they lived near the Water; and with every thing eat a great deal of Pepper. Some have added, that they were Cannibals, and eat human Flesh from one End of *Brazil* to the other, but late Travellers observing no such thing, little Credit can be allowed to this, for Reasons already given.

The general Liquor the Natives drink is Spring-Water, of which 'tis said they have the best and the greatest Variety in the World; but there are other kind of Liquors, which have a very good Body, made of their Fruits, pressed and infused; or of Honey; with which they sometimes get very drunk, sitting whole Days and Nights over their Cups. They are charged also with being a very lazy Generation, that will never work or hunt, but when Necessity compels them. And as to Arts and Sciences, they were scarce Masters of any, unless the Art of Spinning and Weaving, and forming their Arms (which consisted of Bows, Arrows, Lances, and Darts) and the Art of Building, which was but mean; for their Houses did not need any great Contrivance. As for Letters, Characters, and Arithmetic, they were perfectly ignorant of them. They had some Knowledge of the Virtues of several Herbs and Drugs, which they frequently administered with Success to the Sick; but, a certain Writer relates, that when they despaired of recovering the Patient, all his Relations agreed to knock him on the Head, which they thought much better than a lingering Death, and this probably may be just as true as their devouring human Flesh.

Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, were rather their Business than Amusements, being absolutely necessary for the Support of their Families, in a Country where they had no tame Cattle or Corn. Drinking, Singing, and Dancing, were more properly their Diversions; these they practised on their rejoicing Days, for a Victory, or the Birth of their Children. They are great Smokers, and take the strongest Tobacco. Their Pipes are a hollow Reed or Cane, the Bowl a large Nut-shell, that holds almost a handful of Tobacco. They are a tractable

and ingenious People, ready to learn any Art or Science the *Portuguese* will teach them: And take nothing so kindly of the Fathers as the instructing their Children, which has given the *Jesuits* an Opportunity of making abundance of Converts; and those who live under the *Portuguese* generally conform themselves to their Customs in eating, drinking, cloathing, &c. few of these go naked.

Such were, and such are, the Natives of this famous Country, little addicted to Labour, because not at all infected with Avarice; their Desires but few, and those easily gratified; their greatest Vice, the Desire of Revenge, and that easily raised. But let us now return to our History, and the Steps by which the *Portuguese* Settlements in *Brazil* became so considerable as we now find them; in spite of the many Difficulties they had to struggle with, particularly one, of which, though far from being the least, I do not find any Notice has been taken; by which I mean the vast Disproportion between the Mother Country and the Colony; the Country of *Brazil* being three hundred times as big as that of *Portugal*; I do not, however, intend by this, the Country she has settled in *America*, but that whole Tract of Land to which she lays claim, and which passes therefore in the Maps under the Name of *Brazil*.

5. To facilitate the new Establishments made here, the Crown had first of all recourse to the making very extensive Grants to such as were inclined to go and settle there, or who had a Power of sending others thither. Upon this Plan it was that some of the richest and most powerful of the Nobility had Districts given them equal in Extent to *Portugal* itself. This was for some time attended with little Inconveniency; for the Crown might very well give to others what was useless to herself, and what was to be improved and made useful without her being at any Expence. In short, there was little more reserved than Quit-rents, and these too of no great Value; the State being content with the Sovereignty, and leaving the Property in a Manner wholly to the Subject.

These Methods were extremely necessary at that time, when the *East Indies* took up the whole Attention, not only of the Ministers, but of the Nobility; who found Means to repair their shattered Fortunes, by obtaining Governments in that Part of the World where they soon acquired to themselves vast Estates. Those who were content to try their Fortune in this new Colony, found many Obstacles in their Way; the Natives had not, indeed, any Notions of Liberty; but, upon their first feeling of Slavery, they grew desperate, and, if any Credit be due to the *Portuguese* Historians, killed and eat without mercy every Christian that fell in their Way.

But the Fertility of their Country made some amends for these Inconveniencies, and drew abundance of People from other Parts of *America* to settle there; where they erected a new kind of Government among themselves, which, perhaps, sprang, like most other Governments, from downright Necessity, the very Nature of which Necessity prescribed the Form of their Constitution; in short, every Master of a Family was a Planter and a Soldier. In the former of these Capacities he laid out as much Land as himself and his Family could cultivate, in the latter Profession he was no less assiduous, performing his Functions duly and vigorously, because in Defence of his own Property; and hence it was that every District in the new Colony had the Title of a Captainship, which Title they still retain, though the State of things is absolutely changed; and from being the bravest and most martial, they are now become the most lazy, most luxurious, and most effeminate People in the World.

But in those early times, when Honesty and hard Labour were the only ways of thriving, they grew apace, and in the Space of fifty Years they spread over a very large Space of Country, and erected abundance of good Towns, amongst which the five principal were these, *Tamacara*, *Fernambuca*, *Ilbeos*, *Porto Seguro*, and *St. Vincent*, each of which had a well peopled and a well cultivated Territory about it. The flourishing State of *Brazil* soon awakened the Attention of the Court, and

the Crown began to repent of having been so liberal in its Grants, when it appeared that those Grants were become so profitable: A thing common enough in all Countries as well as *Portugal*, though there are very few Countries in which Governments have acted with the same Spirit as that of *Portugal* did upon this Occasion.

6. It was in the Reign of King *John III.* that these great Improvements were made, or at least that the Crown became so sensible of them; and therefore the first Step that Monarch took, was to revoke all the Grants made to the original Proprietors, which he did in the Year 1549. The same Year he sent over *Thomas de Sousa* with the Title of Governor-General of *Brazil*; he carried with him abundance of Officers civil and military, with a considerable Body of Soldiers on board a Fleet of six Sail of Men of War; he carried over likewise six Fathers of the new Order of *Jesuits*, to convert the *Indians*, and an entire new Plan of Power, adjusted according to the Will and Views of the Court. He was also instructed to build a new Town in the Bay of *All Saints*, and to take the necessary Measures for securing the Colony against its Enemies; and to do every thing that might increase either its Trade or its Reputation.

He arrived in the Month of *April* that Year, and began very soon to enter upon the Execution of what he was directed to perform, making War upon the Savages, building the Town of *St. Salvador*, and Monasteries for his *Jesuits*. What he could not finish, his Successor *Edward Acosta* saw compleated; so that in his Time the Number of Towns was doubled, together with the Inhabitants. He was obliged to think likewise of strengthening these Towns, by raising better Fortifications than those with which they had been till then surrounded; and this, because other Nations began to think of settling in *America*, and sharing with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* those Advantages they saw derived to them from their Colonies.

He executed this Design with all the Precaution necessary, demolishing the old Fortifications of Earth as fast as he was able, to raise stronger of Brick and Stone, and to furnish them with Artillery, which, however requisite for his Purpose, were furnished him but very slowly from *Portugal*. It was not long before the Expediency of this new Method of fortifying, which Reason had suggested, was justified by Experience, the *French* making more than one bold Attempt to disturb the *Portuguese* in their Possession of this Country.

7. It is a Piece of History of which the bare reminding our Readers is sufficient; that in the Reign of *Henry* the II. of *France*, the Affairs of that Kingdom were in great Confusion; the Disputes between the *Catholics* and *Hugonots* being then at the greatest Height, which threw the Natives of the Kingdom into Parties, and made Numbers of active and industrious People willing to leave their native Soil, and seek an easier and more contented State in distant Climates. Amongst these there was one *Nicholas Durant*, Lord of *Villegagnon*, a Man of good Family, some Fortune, a Knight of *Malta*, and who had served at Sea with very great Reputation, which so far entitled him to the Favour of the Government, that he was made Vice-Admiral of *Bretagne*. But though this Preferment was rather honourable than lucrative, yet it created him so much Envy, and he was so ill treated at *Nantes*, that he took a sudden Resolution to quit the Kingdom at all Events, and carry a Colony into some distant Part of the World. He had by Chance received some tolerable Accounts of *Brazil*, and, having weighed them attentively, he drew up a Scheme for fixing a Settlement in that Country, and a View of the Advantages that might be expected from it; both which he presented to *Gaspar de Colligny*, then Admiral of *France*; and demanded his Assistance towards the fitting out a Squadron capable of making such a Settlement as he intended.

The Admiral was a Man of great Abilities and great Virtues; he was zealous for the Protestant Religion, and knew that the *Sieur de Villegagnon* was no very warm Catholic; he therefore very readily accepted of his Proposal, and promised to give him all the Encouragement in his

Power. The more the Admiral conversed with this Gentleman, the better he was pleased with him; he found him brave and enterprising; a Man of sound Sense, eloquent, and a good Scholar; therefore he opened to him freely the Cause of his taking this Affair so much to heart; which was, the settling in a good Soil and wholesome Air, a Protestant Colony: That in Case the Affairs of his Friends should ever come to be totally ruined in *France*, they might have some Place to which they might repair out of the Reach of their Enemies. The *Sieur de Villegagnon* very readily approved what his Patron desired, and undertook the Execution of it. Upon which the Admiral represented Things so to the King, that three Vessels of convenient Size were fitted out in the most effectual Manner, with a sufficient Number of Seamen, as well as Adventurers, on board: And in the Month of *May*, 1555, this small Squadron sailed from *Havre de Grace* for *Brazil*, where, after a tedious and troublesome Voyage, they arrived in *November*. At first they landed upon a Rock, which they found to be uninhabitable, and therefore, marching farther within Land, they fixed upon a very commodious Spot of Ground almost under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, where they erected a convenient Fortrefs for their Security, both against the Natives and the *Portuguese*, which they called *Fort Colligny*. When they were there fixed, the *Sieur de Villegagnon* sent the Admiral a large Account of his Proceedings and Situation; he described to him both the Country and the Inhabitants; observed to him, that it was extremely practicable to maintain themselves there, and to make it both a useful, and a thriving Colony; but at the same time he remarked, that such as were sent over to him, must not expect the Delicacies of *Europe*; that they had no other Bread there but what was made of a certain Root ground to Powder, no Wine, much Fish, and some Venison; and that People who could live contentedly upon such Provision would be welcome to him, and find a secure Retreat at his Fort in *Brazil*.

The Admiral, as soon as he had received this Letter communicated it to the famous *John Calvin* of *Geneva*, who prevailed upon a Dozen of zealous Protestants of that City, to engage in the Design of improving this new Settlement. One *Du Pont*, a Man of good Sense and Character, was put at the Head of this Affair, and with him were joined two Ministers, *Peter Richer*, who had been formerly a *Carmelite*, and *William Chartier*; very good Men, but withal great Zealots: They set out all together, from *Geneva*, in the Month of *September*, 1556; and went first of all to *Chatillon*, where they were very kindly received by the Admiral, and by his Assistance, joined to their own Interest, soon got together three hundred Men, who embarked at *Honfleur* on board three Vessels well provided, about the Middle of *November* following. They arrived at *Fort Colligny* on the 7th of *March*, 1557, and were received with great Joy and Satisfaction; but it was not long that Things continued in this State, for the *Sieur de Villegagnon* and the Minister *Richer* fell out about Religion, and their Disputes rose so high, that the former drove the latter, and all his Adherents, out of the Colony; upon which they sailed up the *Rio Janeiro*, and established themselves upon the Continent, where they continued about eight Months, and then, either through the Difficulty they found in subsisting, or from their being weary of a Country which so little answered their Expectations, they returned home to *France*; where they did not fail to represent the *Sieur de Villegagnon* in the blackest Colours, as a Traitor and Apostate. This did his Business effectually with the Admiral, who, as he had no other View than serving the Protestant Cause by protecting this Establishment, so when he found it would not answer that End, he gave himself no farther Concern about it.

The *Sieur de Villegagnon*, finding himself thus abandoned, lost all Patience, and, taking the best Measures he could for the Security of the Colony in his Absence, returned to *France*, where he published an Apology for his own Conduct, in which he painted out the Ministers in a Light as bad as that in which they had placed him; and finding this produced no Good, he retired to a

Commandery of his own Order, and spent the remainder of his Days in writing against the Protestants. The *Portuguese*, in the mean time, laid hold of this Opportunity to rid themselves of their new Neighbours, and the very next Year, 1578, *Emanuel Sa*, then Governor of *Brazil*, cut off the *French* that were left behind, and demolished their Fort. I have dwelt the longer upon this Story because it is very instructive, and shews the Folly of attempting to raise Colonies upon any other than a national Interest. Before I quit this Point, there is one curious Circumstance which I must relate, for the Information of the Reader: The *French*, during the short time they were possessed of this Settlement, made a greater Progress in Trade, and established a more friendly Correspondence with the Natives than the *Portuguese* had been able to do in about fifty Years; so that the Loss of this Colony was a very great Disadvantage to that Nation.

We must not, however, attribute this to better Conduct, or Superiority of Genius; for it was owing to neither, but the Effect of a very odd Accident: About twenty Years before, a Ship from *Normandy* had been lost upon that Coast; some of the Men got ashore, were well received by the Natives, married amongst them, grew as much Savages as themselves; and having perfectly learned their Language, without absolutely forgetting their own, did the new Colony, in quality of Interpreters, great Service; yet I do not find that they joined it, or laid hold of this Opportunity to return to *France*; which I the less wonder at, because I have always observed that the *French* have a greater Propensity to these sort of Measures than any other Nation, and it is this that secures them so great an Interest with all the Savages bordering upon their Settlements in *North America*. But to return.

8. The *Portuguese* after this, continued to enjoy their Settlements quietly, till the Year 1612, when they were again disturbed by the *French*. It is true, that in this Space of Time there happened some Disputes between them and the *Spaniards*, but those were about Limits only, had no extraordinary Consequences, and were quickly adjusted; but in regard to the *French*, it fell out quite otherwise: One Capt. *Riffaut*, who had been cruising on the *Spaniards*, happened to touch at the Island of *Maragnan*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, and there contracted so great an Intimacy with the *Indian* Chief of the Island, that he invited him to bring a sufficient Number of his Countrymen to fix a Settlement there, assuring him in the first place, that it would turn to a very good Account; and in the next, that he would give him all the Assistance in his Power in support of such a Design. Which Offer the *French* Captain readily embraced, and promised to make Use of all the Interest and Credit he had to carry this Scheme into Execution.

Accordingly, in the Year 1594, he found means to equip three Ships, and those too so effectually, that there might have been just Grounds to have hoped some extraordinary Success from the Expedition; but, whether it be really an easier matter to deal with Savages, than with those who take themselves to be the most civilized People in the World, so it was, that Captain *Riffaut* had three or four Mutinies to quell before he could reach his intended Island; upon the Coast of which, either by Accident, or by the Quarrels among his own People, the biggest of his three Ships ran ashore and was lost, which obliged him to return to *France* without doing any thing; but, however, some few of his People, and amongst them one Mr. *de Vaux*, chose to stay with the Savages, who made them very welcome. This young Gentleman was very brisk and active, liked the Climate, and continued there some time very well pleased. His Behaviour to the *Brazilians* was so engaging, and he proved useful to them in so many Respects, that they made the same Applications to him as the *Indian* Chief had formerly done to Captain *Riffaut*, which at last engaged him to think seriously upon the Subject; the Consequence of which was, that he took the first Opportunity of going home, in order to bring about what his Friends seemed to desire so earnestly.

On

On his Arrival in *France*, he applied himself to King *Henry IV.* and endeavoured to persuade him that vast Advantages would flow from such an Establishment. That Monarch, who had the Good of his Subjects at Heart, as much or more than any Prince that ever sat upon his Throne, was very far from rejecting the Proposal; but, not caring to risk much on the Faith of a young Adventurer, he directed a small Vessel to be equipped; and gave Orders to a Person of great Merit and good Sense, upon whose Report he could perfectly depend, whose Name was Monsieur *la Rivardier*, to go over with Mr. *Vaux*, which he accordingly did in the Spring of the Year 1604, and remained six Months in *Brazil*; where having informed himself of all things necessary, he returned to *France*; from whence he made several Voyages back to *Brazil*, before the Government could come to any Resolution on the Head of a Colony, because the Propositions he made were such as required considerable Expence; and he declared, if less were done, it would be thrown away.

At length, however, the thing was resolved upon, and Preparations were actually making for sending a strong Squadron thither, when the Murder of *Henry IV.* put a stop to it, and all things of the like Nature; however, Mr. *Rivardier* was so fond of the Place, and so much persuaded that a Settlement there would turn to Account immediately, that he embarked his whole private Fortune, and drew several of his Friends to do the like, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution. By this Means he found a Way to equip three stout Vessels, and to engage about three hundred Men to go to *Brazil*; having obtained from the Queen Regent the necessary Powers for that Purpose; and, on the 19th of March, 1612, he embarked with them at *Cancale*, on the Coast of *Bretagne*.

A Storm, however, forced them into *Plymouth*, from which Port they sailed again in April, and arrived, in July following, at the Island of *Maragnan*. There he began to erect a Fortrefs, on the Summit of a Hill, near the best Port in the Island, and between two fine Rivers which washed both Sides of the Mountain, and ran from thence into the Sea. Upon the Bastions of this Fort they mounted twenty-two pieces of Cannon; and every thing seemed to promise them all the Success they could desire; when, about two Years after their first Arrival, a strong Squadron presented itself before the Bay, sent by Don *Jerom de Albuquerque*, the Portuguese Governor of *Brazil*, who soon forced them to surrender; and, according to his Orders, the Place was instantly, and absolutely, demolished; which cured the *French* of all farther Thoughts of settling in that Country, or disturbing its Inhabitants for the future.

9. The Crown of *Portugal* devolving on the Head of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; in the Year 1581, he became thereby Possessor of *Brazil*; which he left to his Successors, together with the War against the Inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces in the Low Countries, who had formed themselves into a Republic, and shaken off their Dependence on the Crown of *Spain*. The Progress of this new Republic was so rapid, that, after forming an *East India* Company, which in a very short Space of Time brought prodigious Advantages to its Proprietors, they, in 1624, proceeded to set up a *West India* Company likewise, which proved fatal to the Portuguese from its first Institution. *James Willikens*, and the famous Sea Captain *L'Hermite*, were sent to cruize upon the Coast of *Portugal*, where they took abundance of rich Prizes; and, upon their Return, it was determined to equip a new Squadron the very next Spring, in order to attack *Brazil*.

The *Dutch* were very well apprized of the State of that Country, and of the small Resistance they were likely to meet with in it. The Coasts, which were no less than twelve hundred Leagues in Extent, were not like to be every where well fortified; the People, who had for so long a Tract of Years enjoyed a profound Peace, those Attempts of the *French*, before mentioned, only excepted, could scarce be thought martial; and almost all the great Families in *Portugal* having some of their younger Branches settled in that Country, they might very well

hope to meet with vast Riches. And, besides all this, the *Dutch* had taken great Care to carry on a kind of Smuggling Trade there, for several Years, by which they had many fair Opportunities of penetrating into the Secrets of the Country; and, having been so often received as Friends, the coming of their Vessels upon the Coasts was not like to create immediate Apprehensions of an Enemy.

Such was the Situation of things when *James Willikens* entered the Bay of *All Saints*, with a Squadron under his Command; and began to shew, very clearly, what his Intentions were; which so frightened the Portuguese, that they immediately used all possible Methods to carry off, and secure, their Effects, instead of providing for their Defence. The *Dutch*, taking Advantage of their Consternation, landed immediately; and their Admiral, without much Difficulty, made himself Master of the great City of *St. Salvador*, which was the Capital of *Brazil*. The Portuguese Governor, Don *Diego de Mendoca*, had neither the Courage to defend the Place, nor the Prudence to withdraw himself in time; and his Behaviour, though very bad in itself, appeared so much the worse, from the Conduct of another Person; who, though in like Circumstances, shewed himself of quite a different Temper: This was the Archbishop *Michael Texeira*, of one of the best Families in *Portugal*, and in Years; who summoned all the Clergy and Monks about him; and, having represented to them the Necessity there was of laying aside their clerical Capacities at such a Juncture, prevailed upon them to take up Arms; and, though deserted by the Governor, his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants, they made for some time a very gallant Defence, and at last made a good Retreat to a neighbouring Town; where, after acting the Part of Soldiers so well, they turned Pioneers; and, under the Conduct of their Archbishop, fortified the Place, and gave the Enemy as much Trouble as if they had been the most regular Troops in the World; which Instance shews, at once, the Danger of having a Coward; and the Advantage of having any Man of Spirit, at the Head of a Colony, let the Force he commands be what it will.

But the *Dutch*, by the taking this Town, besides acquiring an immense Booty, became Masters of the largest and best peopled District in the whole Country; so that it looked as if they were in a fair Way of making a complete Conquest, in a very short Space of Time, of the whole Colony; which it is very probable they would have done, if it had not been for the heroic Archbishop, who took upon himself the Quality of Captain General; which he said came to him from Heaven, in the legible Characters of public Necessity; and every Man of Spirit in *Brazil* thought this Authority sufficient.

As soon as the News of this Misfortune reached *Portugal*, it threw, not only the City of *Lisbon*, but the whole Kingdom, into Confusion; and so much the greater, because most of the Nobility suspected that the Spanish Ministry were not much displeased at an Event which might lessen the Wealth and Power of their great Families, and abate somewhat of that high Spirit which they had hitherto shewn, ever since they fell under the Dominion of the Spanish Monarchs. This was, indeed, probable enough, for at that time two thirds of the Portuguese Nobility had their Estates, or at least the best Part of them, in *Brazil*; so that, by the Loss of that Country, they must have been brought very low.

But, however, it very soon appeared, that this refined Notion had nothing in it of Truth; for King *Philip IV.* in whose Reign this fatal Affair happened, shewed himself as much concerned as any Portuguese Prince could have been, when he was informed of this Descent of the *Dutch*. He immediately sent his Orders to *Portugal* for equipping a Fleet for the Recovery of *St. Salvador*; and, at the same Time, wrote a Letter, with his own Hand, to the Nobility, desiring their Assistance on this Occasion, and promising to send a strong Spanish Squadron to join whatever Fleet they could fit out. This revived the Spirits of the Nation, and the Portuguese Lords exerted themselves so effectually, that in three Months time they had a Fleet of twenty-six Sail, well equipped, and thoroughly manned, ready to put to Sea. The Spaniards

niards were not quite so hasty in their Preparations; but, however, in 1626, so early as the Month of *February*, their Fleet joined that of *Portugal*. The whole was commanded by Don *Frederic de Toledo Otorio*, Marquis of *Valduesa*, and there were on board it fifteen thousand Men.

But it is now Time for us to look over to *Brazil*, where the *Dutch* being in Possession of *St. Salvador*, and the Country about it, began to extend themselves very rashly on every Side, either from Contempt of the *Portuguese*, who had behaved so ill, or from an extravagant Thirst of Plunder. The brave Archbishop soon convinced them of their Mistake; he had now got together fifteen hundred Men, and with these he not only cut off most of their Parties, but at last fairly drove them into the Town, cut off their Provisions, blocked them up, and reduced them to great Distress. As soon as he had done this, however, he put the Army under the Command first of *Nunez Marino*, and then of Don *Francis de Mauro*; for he declared, that his own Commission expired with the Necessity that bestowed it.

In these Circumstances were Things in this Country, when the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Fleet arrived in the Bay of *All-Saints*. Don *Emanuel de Menezes* landed immediately four thousand Men, and with these joined the Army before the Place, which, as we may easily apprehend, did not hold out long; though, to do the *Dutch* Governor Justice, he was inclined to defend it to the last Extremity; but the Garrison, differing from him in Opinion, mutinied, and forced him to surrender on the 20th of *April*, upon which the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Fleet returned triumphant, supposing the War to be at an End; and that the *Dutch* like the *French* would have a care how they made Attempts again upon *Brazil*.

10. In this, however, they were greatly mistaken, for the rich Plunder of *St. Salvador* being brought by Admiral *Willikens* into *Holland*, the People were continually enquiring whether there were not other great Cities in *Brazil*, and when they should go and take them. This Spirit, which at that Time of Day did not at all displease the Government, encouraged the *West India* Company to think of making another Expedition. Accordingly in 1629 they began to equip a very strong Squadron for this Purpose, which was to be commanded by Admiral *Lonk*, and was to take a considerable Body of Land Troops on board under General *Wardenbourg*. This Fleet, which consisted of no less than forty-six Sail of Men of War, arrived in Sight of *Fernambuca* on the 3d of *February* 1630; and on the 15th of the same Month General *Wardenbourg* landed with near three thousand Men, and marched directly towards the City of *Olinda*. He found it covered by three good Forts, in each of which there was a numerous Garrison. He attacked, however, and carried them all, but not without a vigorous Resistance; but this Success in taking these Forts, so effectually frightened the Inhabitants of the City, that they immediately submitted, though the Natives shewed a great deal of Spirit, and behaved on this and every other Occasion with great Courage and Fidelity.

I cannot lose this Opportunity of making one Remark, which, however, has been made before by the ingenious Mr. *Salmon*; which is, that the *Portuguese* have lost nothing by the great Pains they have taken in converting the *Brazilians*, since by making them Christians of their own Communion, they have made them good Subjects; and thereby added great Strength to their Colony, which has proved a Means of securing it against all Enemies; and one would think much might be done by some other Nations, if they would follow the same Method, instead of extirpating the *Indians* in the Countries where they are settled, or, which is much the same Thing, leaving them in a State of Infidelity, and allowing them to extirpate each other, which if they were Christians they would not do, but join the *Europeans* as they did here.

While the *Dutch* General was thus employed on Shore, the *Dutch* Admiral was no less active by Sea; and as the *Portuguese* had no naval Force to resist him, or at least none in Comparison of that employed against them; it is no great Wonder, that they reduced all the Sea-Coast to the South of *Olinda*, which they did in a very short

Space of Time, and likewise took care to secure and fortify every Place that fell into their Hands, being resolved not to fall into the same Error which had been fatal to them before; but to obtain such a Footing in the Country, as might enable them to keep their Ground against the whole Force of the *Portuguese*, and lay a solid Foundation for the Execution of the great Design they had formed, of making themselves Masters of the best Part of *Brazil*; which, it must be confessed, was a very bold Undertaking, considering the *Portuguese* had been so long in Possession of this Colony, and were become so numerous. It was with this View that Admiral *Lonk* resolved to make himself Master, at all Events, of a very strong Post, which seemed the fittest for his Purpose; and of which, therefore, it is necessary, that we should give the Reader some Account. The whole Coast of *Brazil* is as it were guarded, or defended, by a long thick flat Ridge of Rocks, in some Places twenty, in others thirty, Yards broad: If it were not for Breaks and Passages here and there in this rocky Intrenchment, it would be impossible to approach the Shore. There is a very large Passage two Leagues to the North of *Olinda*; but almost before this City this Ridge of Rocks appears again, and the Inhabitants pass to it in Boats at High-Water, for at low the Rocks even in the Passage are visible enough.

This Part of the Ridge the *Portuguese* call *Reciffo*, and the *Dutch* *Receif*. On the North Point was an open Passage for the Ships to approach the Shore, very narrow, and at Spring-Tide not above twenty-two Foot deep. Between this Ridge of Rocks and the Continent lay a sandy Island, about a League in length, which was called the *Sandy Receif*, to distinguish it from the stony. It lay in the Latitude of 8°. 20'. South, and had a good Castle, called *Fort St. George*, well furnished with Artillery, and esteemed impregnable; this was the Place the *Dutch* Admiral sought to make himself Master of, which he did; and it was in a great Measure the Cause of the City being taken. After the *Dutch* were possessed of it they made the *Receif* very strong, and the chief Seat of their Commerce; so that it became one of the most considerable Places in *Brazil*, especially after they had demolished the City of *Olinda*, that they might not divide their Forces too much, as they must have done, if they had long endeavoured to keep it.

11. The News of this second Attempt upon *Brazil* by the *Dutch*, and their having actually conquered the Captainship of *Fernambuca*, alarmed the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* excessively, and obliged them to think of sending thither immediately, such a Force as might be able to drive out the Enemy, and secure the Country effectually for the future. It happened at a very bad Time for them, as the Disaffection of the *Portuguese* to the *Spanish* Government was, at this Juncture, greater than ever; but the Necessity was so strong, and so apparent, that, notwithstanding the many Difficulties they had to struggle with, and the Weakness of their Government, a Fleet and Army was ordered for this Service. But the equipping of the one, and the raising the other, took up a great deal of Time, which the *Dutch* employed in fortifying themselves in extending their Conquests, and taking all the necessary Precautions for the Defence of them, in which they proceeded with all that Industry and Vigilance, for which, in those Days, their Nation was famous.

Before we proceed farther, it will be proper to take notice of those Causes, which induced the *Dutch West-India* Company to become so extremely sanguine in their Endeavours to make themselves Masters of this Country; which I am the better able to assign, having seen a Copy of a Memorial, presented by that Company to the States in the Year 1643, containing the very Reasons in support of their Conduct in this Particular. In the beginning of this Memorial it is said, that the Causes which can best justify launching into an extraordinary Expence, for acquiring any Place whatever, are reasonable Views of immediate Profit, which ought to be very considerable, or future Prospects of Gain, that ought to be still more so; and both these, they affirm, induced them to prosecute with so great Zeal the Conquest of *Brazil*. As to the former,

former, they alledged three Things: First, the Wholeness of the Climate, the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Country, which rendered it, of all others yet known, the fittest for receiving and maintaining a considerable Colony; they next take notice of its convenient Situation for Trade, as being in a manner at an equal Distance, or at least in a more equal Distance than any other Country, from *Europe* and the *Indies*: And thirdly, they mention the rich Product of this Country in Sugars, as alone deserving all the Expence they had been at about it, since they were better in Quality, made with much less Expence, and transported with far greater Ease from hence, to all Markets where this valuable Commodity could be sold, than from any other Place. As to the second Point, what might be hereafter expected from their being in Possession of this Country, they likewise took notice of three several Heads: First, they laid it down as a Thing evident, that the Possession of *Brazil* was of equal Consequence, in time of Peace and in time of War: In regard to the former, it would afford the Means of raising very large and very convenient Magazines, for the Supply of such Ships as might either touch there in long Voyages, or be driven into their Ports, as very often happened from Distress of Weather. And as to the latter, it would afford greater Advantages in equipping, refitting, and sheltering, either whole Squadrons of Men of War, or Privateers, than any other Place in the known World. They next alledged, that it was so placed as that not only their *East* and *West India* Fleets might touch there very conveniently for Refreshments; but that they must be obliged to put in there, and could not easily, or at least not safely, proceed in such distant Voyages without having such Assistance. And lastly they suggested, that no Place in the World was so happily seated for commanding, at once, both the *East* and *West India* Trades, and consequently the whole Commerce of the Globe. It is true, that these Reasons were given to the States ten Years after the Time of which we are now writing; but without doubt they had occurred to, and been considered by, the Directors of the *West India* Company long before, which induced us to place them as we have done.

It is very probable that either these Reasons, or some of a like Nature, were laid before the States by the *West India* Company about this time, since we find the utmost Readiness expressed to assist and support them. It was with this View, that as soon as their Fleet returned from *Brazil*, Admiral *Pater* was sent thither with a much stronger Force, in order to put the *Dutch* in a Condition to conquer that whole Country. He arrived in Sight of the Coast of *Fernambuca* on the first of May 1631, where he found the City of *Olinda* in the Possession of his Countrymen, but closely blocked up by the famous *Portuguese* General *Albuquerque*, with a numerous Army. The Admiral thought fit, thereupon, to land four hundred Men, under the Command of an experienced Officer, to take a View of the Enemies Works, that he might be the better able to judge how to attack them. But the *Dutch* Garrison, in the City, no sooner saw his Fleet come to an Anchor, and these Troops debarked, than they made such a vigorous Sally upon the Besiegers, as forced them to retire from before the City with considerable Loss. After this, Admiral *Pater* landed two thousand Men; and, at the same time, acting upon the Sea Coast with his Fleet, enabled his Countrymen to extend their Conquests very considerably, especially towards the South, having an Intention to enter the Bay of *All Saints*, and attack the City of *St. Salvador* by Land and Sea; but while he was thus executing great things, and projecting greater, he had Intelligence that the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Fleet was actually at Sea, and of a Strength sufficient to undertake the Relief of *Brazil*.

This Fleet, which was commanded by Admiral *D'Ouendo*, had sailed from *Spain* in a very indifferent Condition, though it consisted of about thirty Sail. At the *Canaries* it was joined by fifteen more, and in the Height of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, met with such an Accession of Force, as rendered it fifty four Sail of large Ships. The *Dutch* Admiral had but sixteen, but he was

jealous of the Honour of his Country, and therefore resolved to fight at any rate. It was with this View, that he might render his Countrymen the greater Service, that he resolved not to wait for, but to meet, the Enemy, which he accordingly did in the Latitude of six Degrees South. As soon as they appeared in Sight, and the *Dutch* Fleet saw how unequal the Dispute was like to prove, ten of their Captains bore away, and left the Admiral with six Ships only, to fight an Enemy almost ten times his Strength. Admiral *Pater* had two Flags under him, who, to their immortal Honour, were two of those who joined him; so that there were three Admirals to six Ships.

The Battle was long and bloody; abundance of the *Portuguese* were sunk; and it plainly appeared that if the other ten Ships had staid, Victory would have declared for the smaller Number; but at last, Admiral *Thys*, in the *Prince William*, was sunk; and not long after, a *Portuguese* Man of War discharging a Broad-side at the *Dutch* Admiral, a Ball unluckily fell in the Powder Room, by which the Ship was blown up, and that brave Man lost. The four *Dutch* Ships that remained, retired upon this, and did it with so much Courage and Address, that they not only arrived safely at *Olinda*, but likewise carried off a *Portuguese* Man of War that they had taken; so that, upon the whole, it may be safely affirmed there never was a more glorious Action than this, since the *Dutch* became a maritime Power. When Admiral *D'Ouendo* arrived, he contented himself with sending Refreshments and Reinforcements to the Army of *Albuquerque*, but attempted nothing against the City of *Olinda*, and consequently left things in very little better State than he found them; which he excused from the great Loss he had suffered in the Battle; amounting, in the whole, to no less than thirteen Sail taken and sunk.

In the Month of *October* he set sail for *Lisbon*, but had the Misfortune to meet in his Passage with four *Dutch* Men of War well manned, who made no scruple of attacking him, though he had still forty Sail, and most of them large Ships. He lost in this Engagement the Captain of his own Ship, twenty two Captains more, his Vice-Admiral, three Men of War, two Frigates, and about seven hundred private Men; so that he brought home the wretched Remains of a Fleet unfortunate from the Beginning, and yet without any Impeachment of his own Character; the Blame falling entirely upon the Ministers, who had obliged him, in spite of his Remonstrances, to sail with Ships half equipped and half manned.

However, when the Misfortune could not be remedied, these Ministers declared that they were willing to do all that was left in their Power, which was, to repair it; and therefore Orders were given for providing a greater Fleet, and for equipping and manning thereof, as it ought to be; the Command of which was to be given to Don *Frederic de Toledo*, whose Reputation was remarkably high, and not without Reason. But, after abundance of Pains taken, it was found that nothing could be done that Season, and therefore it was deferred till the next Spring; when it was resolved to send such a Force as should put an End to the War at once; but as it is much easier to talk of such things, and to lay fine Schemes in the Cabinet, than to carry them into Execution; so, notwithstanding this famous Admiral actually proceeded on his Voyage with a very large Fleet, every way well provided; yet he did so little, that none of the Authors I have met with have recorded what he did.

12. These Delays to which the *Spanish* Affairs have been always liable, proved extremely prejudicial to them in *Brazil*; where the *Dutch*, having the Advantage of several good Officers both by Sea and Land, made a most surprizing Progress; reducing, in the Space of seven Years, four intire Captainships under their Dominions, viz. *Fernambuca*, *Tamaraca*, *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*; and the Importance of these Conquests very quickly appeared in the Mischiefs done to the *Spaniards* in this and other Parts of *America*, of which we have a very exact Computation: From whence it is evident, that from the Time of the *Dutch West India* Company's being erected, to the Year 1637, they had destroyed and taken, in Money and Merchandize, to the Value of forty-five Millions

of Florins, or four Millions and an half of our Money; and of eight hundred Ships, which the Crown of *Spain* had fitted out against them, they destroyed or took five hundred and forty-seven. These extraordinary and unexpected Strokes of good Fortune raised the Spirits of the Directors of the *Dutch* Company to such a Degree, that they resolved to put themselves at once upon a level with the *East India* Company; and to do this effectually, they could think of no better Way than to make choice of some Person of great Quality and Interest, whom they might put at the Head of their Affairs, and whose Credit and Power might add a greater Strength to their own.

It was with this View that they cast their Eyes on Count *John Maurice de Nassau*, who was nearly related to the Prince of *Orange*, and who had served the States for several Years, in their Armies, with great Abilities and Applause. He very readily accepted the Proposal that was made him, and, with the Consent of the Prince of *Orange* and the States-General, was declared Governor of *Brazil* and *South-America*, with the same Powers given to the Governor-General of the *East Indies* in all Affairs Civil and Military. That this new Officer might take Possession of his Dignity in a Manner suitable to his Quality and Character, the Company resolved to fit out a Fleet of thirty-two Sail of large Ships, and to embark a Body of two thousand seven hundred Land-Forces; but as this took up a good deal of Time, and Count *Maurice* was impatient to be gone, he sailed from the *Texel* on the 25th of *October*, 1636, with four Ships only, and no more than three hundred and fifty Soldiers on board; with which small Squadron he arrived on the Coast of *Brazil* on the 23d of *January*, 1637, with *Adrian Vander Dussen*, who had joined him near the Island of *Madeira*: He was soon after followed by the Captains *Selan*, *Carpenter*, and *Giselin*, who were to serve under him, and very soon took the Field with two great Bodies of Troops, the one consisting of near three thousand Men, with which he prepared to act against the *Portuguese* Army; and the other of six hundred, which was to be employed in various Expeditions, to divide and distract the Enemy.

On the other hand, as they could not help perceiving that their All was now at Stake, the *Portuguese* had a great Army in the Field under the Command of the Count *de Banjola*, an Officer of great Courage and Experience, who had served under the Marquis *de Spinola* in *Flanders*; and another Body of light-armed Troops under one *Cameron*, who was a *Brazilian* by birth, had raised himself by his Merit, and always served them with equal Reputation and Fidelity. They had a strong Garrison at *Porto Cavallo*, with which they harassed the *Dutch* in the Captainship of *Fernambuca* extremely; and as they did not doubt this would be the first Place attacked, they assembled the Bulk of their Forces under Count *de Banjola* for the Defence of it. It very soon appeared that, in this Respect, they had formed a very right Judgment; for Count *Maurice* had no sooner put himself at the Head of his Army, than he marched directly towards *Porto Cavallo*; upon which a Battle ensued, wherein, after a very obstinate Resistance, the *Portuguese* were defeated and afterwards forced in their Camp, though it was very strongly intrenched. Upon which the Count *de Banjola* retired with the Remains of his Forces under the Cannon of the Citadel of *Povacaon*; from whence however he retired on the Approach of the *Dutch*, who besieged that Fortress in form: There was in it a Garrison of six hundred Men, who very bravely defended the Place for a Fortnight, and were then obliged to capitulate.

Count *Maurice* pursued this Success, and advanced with his Army to the Town of *Openeda* on the River of *St. Francis*, at the Distance of about six Miles from the Sea, which he took, and built a Citadel there, and another at the Mouth of the River, by which he effectually covered his new Conquest. He then returned to *Olinda*, and having provided for the settling the Civil and Military Government in the manner directed by his Commission, he resolved to fit out two Fleets; one under the Command of Admiral *Lichtbart*, with Orders to attack the South-Coast of *Brazil*, the other under the Command of Commodore *Hanskins*, which was destined to a Service

of still greater Importance, and of which therefore I think myself obliged to give an exact, though concise, Account. From the very Time that the *Dutch West India* Company made their first Attempt upon *Brazil*, and were so successful in taking the City of *St. Salvador*, they had meditated the bold Design of fixing themselves likewise on the other Shore of *Africa*, supposing that if they could once make themselves Masters of the two Points of the opposite Continent, they should be able to bridle the Ocean, and by having the Command of this Passage to the *Indies*, distress the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *English*, and, in short, all other Nations in the North. There was something very wise and very great in this Project, something equal to the Genius of a trading Nation; and in short, something worthy of being imitated; which is the Reason that I have mentioned it.

But though with a View to execute this Scheme, they had searched all the Coasts from *Cape Verd* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, yet they had found no Place proper for that Purpose: At last it was agreed, that nothing could answer this End so well as the Castle of *St. George de la Mina*, on the Coast of *Guinea*, in the Possession of the *Portuguese*. This Place accordingly they attempted in the Year 1625, but miscarried with very great Loss, which however did not discourage them. For, having a strong Settlement in that Neighbourhood, their Governor, whose Name was *Nicholas Van Yperen*, sent to advise Count *Maurice*, that now was the proper Time, and if he sent him a small Squadron with a competent Body of Troops on board, he made no question of his being able to carry this important Project into Execution.

It was with this View that Commodore *Hanskins* was dispatched: He joined the *Dutch* Governor on the 25th of *July*, and they attacked the Castle with such Resolution, that though it was one of the strongest Places in that Part of the World, yet it surrendered on the 29th of *August*; so that Commodore *Hanskins* returned to *Olinda* in the Month of *October* following, and was received by Count *Maurice* with all the Marks of Honour and Respect that the Performance of so important a Service deserved. The Campaign in 1638 was equally glorious for the *Dutch*; the Count *de Banjola* had again assembled a very numerous Army, for the Defence of the Captainship of *Segerippa*, which however Count *Maurice* attacked and defeated; after which he took the Capital, and reduced the whole Province.

This great Run of Success made such a Noise in that Part of the World, that the Inhabitants, or rather the Natives, of *Siara*, one of the Northern Captainships, declared for the *Dutch*; and, upon a Promise of being left free, offered to assist them against the *Portuguese*. A Body of Troops was accordingly sent to join them, under the Command of Captain *Gartman*, who with the Help of a *Brazilian* Prince, *Algodojo*, reduced that whole District. It is, however, to be observed, that it was the Infidel *Brazilians* that were Enemies to the *Portuguese*, for those whom they converted remained always firm to them, and began even at this time to raise Insurrections in their Favour in the Captainships of *Paraiba* and *Rio Grande*, which the *Dutch* had subdued; and this obliged Count *Maurice* to reduce and demolish several of their best Towns, and, the better to keep them under, he likewise found it necessary to rebuild and fortify the Town of *Philipina*, which he called *Frederickstadt*, in honour of the Prince of *Orange*.

Count *Maurice*, having been so fortunate in all his Undertakings, resolved now to put in Execution the repeated Orders he had received from the *West India* Company, for attacking *St. Salvador* in the Bay of *All Saints*, which was looked upon as the Capital of all *Brazil*: He embarked for this Purpose all the Troops he could draw together at *Olinda*, and he landed with them in the Bay before-mentioned on the 8th of *April*, 1638; thinking to have surprised the *Portuguese*. The Count *de Banjola* was in the Neighbourhood with a small Body of regular Troops, with which he immediately threw himself into the Place, though the Governor of it was his Enemy, and it was upon the Differences known to subsist between them, that Count *Maurice* chiefly reckoned. The *Portuguese* Governor at first disputed the Command with Count

Banjola,

Banjola, but that Nobleman told him, their Quarrels could only serve to ruin them; whereas, if they agreed, each of them might become as great as he could wish. To which Proposal the Governor answered: *Sir, I perceive you are a wiser Man than I, and no body shall obey your Orders more punctually.*

Count *Maurice* attacked, and, without much Resistance, made himself Master of the strong Fort of *Albert*, that of *St. Bartholomew*, and the famous Castle of *St. Philip*. This Success encouraged him to erect two Batteries against the City of *St. Salvador*, and to attack at the same Time Fort *Roses*, which covered the City on one Side; and a Hornwork, which was its principal Strength, on the other: There lay between these a Piece of Ground covered with Shrubs and Bushes: Count *Banjola* advised the Governor to post himself there with four hundred of his own Troops, while he made a Sally with his Forces. This Scheme had the Effect he desired, for, after an obstinate Dispute, the *Dutch*, endeavouring to retire through that Piece of Ground, were attacked in the Rear; and, besides three hundred of their best Men, lost four Officers of Distinction, and their principal Engineer. Upon which Count *Maurice* abandoned the Castles he had taken, and raised the Siege with some Precipitation.

This proved in many Respects fortunate for the *Portuguese*, who otherwise were in the utmost Danger of being totally undone. In the first Place, it shewed that neither Count *Maurice* nor his *Dutch* Troops were invincible; but that if other Men did their Duty they might be overcome; in the next, it totally reconciled the *Portuguese* Generals; who perceiving, that the Count *de Banjola* was far enough from depreciating other Mens Merit; and that, on the contrary, he ascribed much of that to their Courage, which in reality was due to his own Conduct, they changed their Measures immediately, and, from thwarting his Councils, received and executed his Orders with the highest Respect. Lastly, it hindered the savage *Brazilians* from taking Arms in favour of the *Dutch*, which was what the *Portuguese*, of all Things, feared the most; because they knew that a little Discipline made them excellent Soldiers, at least for that Climate.

But as Misfortunes seldom come alone; so on the very Heels of this Mischance on Shore followed another at Sea, no less to the Loss, and much more to the Discredit, of the *Dutch* Arms. We have, in another Part of this Work, spoke of the taking the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, by *Peter Hein*, which was the greatest Action performed under the Auspice of the *Dutch West India* Company; and, next to that, was their taking *St. Salvador*, which made them so eager to see both these great Actions repeated. We have already shewn what became of the Attempt to gratify them in one; and, though, we digress a little from our Subject, yet the Reader will probably be glad to learn what was the Fate of the latter. Thus then the Case stood. The *States General* and the *West India* Company equally approved the bold Spirit and sage Conduct of *Cornelius Jol*; who, by mere Dint of Merit, had raised himself from the lowest Station in the Fleet, to be thought worthy of the Command of it; and he it was that, about this Time, they pitched upon to repeat the glorious Action of *Peter Hein*, and to bring the *Spanish* Treasures, once more, into the Low Countries; a Commission which he readily accepted, and to which, it was thought, they had no Seaman, in their Service, more equal.

He sailed from the *Texel* the 14th of *April* 1638, and, touching at *Brazil*, communicated to Count *Maurice* the Instructions he had received, who thereupon furnished him immediately with six hundred good Men, and Provisions for seven Months, after which he sailed in Search of the *Spanish* Fleet. He fell in with them a little to the West of the Island of *Cuba*, but escorted by a greater Number of Ships of War, and those too larger and better equipped than he expected; his Squadron consisted but of thirteen Sail; with which, however, he ventured to attack them, and there is little Doubt to be made, that he would have given a good Account of them too, if those who served under him had followed his Example; but when the Dispute grew warm all his Squadron left

him and their Vice-Admiral, except two Ships, who fought very gallantly, till their Captains were killed.

Cornelius Jol disengaged his four Ships from those of the Enemy, and, returning to his own Squadron, sent for the Officers on board, dismissed such as had behaved worst, reprimanded the rest, and exhorted them all to do their Duty better the next Time, as he was determined to renew the Attack: He did so accordingly, but it was with the like Success; his Captains abandoned him again, and he again disengaged himself, but with more Difficulty: He sent for his Officers the second Time; and being now persuaded, that it was not so much through Fear of the Enemy, as Aversion to him, that they misbehaved; he treated them with greater Gentleness, displaced none of them, but engaged them all to sign a Resolution to fight the Enemy, when they should be next commanded so to do, and to obey their commanding Officer exactly, and with Alacrity, which they did cheerfully.

Highly pleased with this Pledge of their Fidelity, he fell upon the *Spaniards* a third time, when they behaved a little better at first, but soon after shewed that they were more afraid of Danger than of Perjury; for they abandoned him again, which so provoked that gallant Officer, that he cashiered five of his Captains, gave their Ships to inferior Officers, and went in search of the *Spaniards* for the fourth time. He then found his Opportunity was lost, the *Spaniards* were separated and retired into several Ports, so that he was able to do nothing. He then divided his Fleet into three small Squadrons, stationed one before the *Havanna*, detached another to *Brazil*, and returned home with the third, where he was received with Honour and Respect; his Masters declaring that they were intirely satisfied with his Conduct, and that they did not impute the Miscarriage to him, but to those who out of Fear and Pride had disobeyed his Orders.

13. After Count *Maurice* returned from his fruitless Expedition against *St. Salvador*, he applied himself with the utmost Diligence to the Establishment of good Order and perfect Discipline in all Parts of his Government; reviewing his Troops in Person; appointing experienced Officers to command them; fortifying all the frontier Places; and giving all Sort of Encouragement to such of the Natives as shewed an Inclination to assist him, and to live peaceably under the Protection of the *Dutch*; by which wise and prudent Measures he prevented the Enemy from making those Advantages that might have been expected from their late Success. The *Spanish* Government, having received an exact Account of the State of Affairs in *Brazil*, came to a settled Resolution of repairing their past Mistakes, by sending thither such a Fleet, and such an Army, as should effectually put an End to the War, by obliging the *Dutch* to abandon all their Conquests in that Country.

This Fleet of theirs consisted of twenty-six Galleons doubled manned, and provided with every other Necessary in the same Proportion; twenty large Men of War, and five thousand regular Troops, under the Command of a *Portuguese* Nobleman of a great Family, and whose Virtues were still more illustrious than his Birth, the famous Don *Fernandez Mascarenhas*, Count *de la Torres*, who sailed in the Autumn of 1639, and received considerable Reinforcements in his Passage; but, being detained by Calms upon the Coast of *Afric*, the excessive Heats produced a Plague on board his crowded Ships, which swept away above three thousand Men before he reached the Bay of *All Saints*; and the rest of his Troops were in so bad a Condition, that he was under a Necessity of putting them into Quarters of Refreshment, which certainly saved the *Dutch*, who were at that time but in a low Condition, expecting with great Impatience those Succours from *Holland* that soon after arrived, and by means of this Accident arrived in time. The Vigilance, however, of *Mascarenhas* was such, that in the Month of *January*, 1640, he put to Sea with a Fleet of ninety-three Sail great and small, and twelve thousand Men on board.

Count *Maurice*, on the other hand, was far from being negligent; and, having drawn together forty-one Men of War, well manned and provided in every Respect,

spect, he waited within four Miles of the Port of *Olinda* for the Enemy; the Fleet being commanded under his Excellency, by *William Loos* a Dutch Admiral, reputed as brave a Man, and as good a Seaman, as any at that time in the Service of the States. On the 12th of the same Month the Fleets met, and engaged between the Island of *Tamaraca* and the River *Gojana*; and fought from one in the Afternoon till it was Night. The Loss sustained by the Dutch was not great; for they had but four Men killed, and as many wounded, and one Ship rendered unserviceable. Amongst these four Men, however, was their Admiral *William Loos*, who might be truly said to die in the Arms of Victory. He was replaced the next Day by *James Huyghens*, who engaged the Spanish Fleet a second time; and, by dint of his superior Skill as a Sea Officer, obtained great Advantages. On the 14th he attacked them a third time on the Coast of *Paraiba*, where he had still greater Advantages; but the great Victory of all, was after the fourth Day's Fight, wherein they suffered excessively, and were at last driven where the Dutch durst not follow them, that is to say, upon those Sholes on the Coast, to which the Portuguese have given the Name of *Baxes de Rochas*; where many perished by Shipwreck, and more by Hunger and Thirst. The Remainder that escaped endeavoured to return home; but, great Disputes arising amongst their Commanders, they separated; and of all this mighty Fleet only four Galleons and two Men of War arrived safe in the Ports of *Spain*; and these too escaped with much Difficulty a Dutch Fleet that was steering for *Brazil*.

While these great Transactions happened at Sea, the Portuguese, being very well informed that Count *Maurice* had embarked his whole Strength on board his Fleet, assembled a Body of regular Troops, under the Command of Don *John Lopez Vervailho*, an Officer of great Experience and Courage, and a great Body of *Brazilians* under their Countryman Colonel *Cameron*; who, falling into the Dutch Settlements, unexpectedly took several Places, and did a great deal of Mischief. It was not long, however, before *Hanskins*, who had the Title of Colonel on Shore, as well as Commodore at Sea, put himself at the Head of a Body of Planters, and with them very soon gave a Check to these insolent Invaders. A short Time after Admiral *Lichtbart*, and Commodore *Cornelius Jol*, arrived with great Reinforcements from *Holland*; the former was immediately sent by Count *Maurice* into the Bay of *All Saints*, to destroy the Country, which he did with a Barbarity not to be described, and consequently not to be excused. Commodore *Jol* acted the like Part on the Country near the River *St. Francis*; and this Manner of making War appeared to the Count *de Montalvan*, at that time Viceroy of *Brazil*, so abominable, that he could not be brought to believe that a Person of Count *Maurice's* Quality could be pleased with it; and therefore he sent Deputies to represent to him the Barbarity of such a Behaviour, and to desire that they might settle a Cartel, by which the Proceedings of the War might be regulated; and such horrid Scenes of Murder and Devastation prevented for the future, as proved equally ruinous to both Parties.

As Count *Maurice*, in giving these Orders, had followed the Company's Instructions against his own Inclinations, he very gladly embraced this Opportunity of shewing his own noble and generous Temper, which was ever averse to such kind of Proceedings. He therefore readily embraced the Proposal, and offered to send Commissioners immediately to *St. Salvador*, to settle such a Provisional Treaty with the Viceroy, for the common Benefit of the Subjects of both States: But, just as these Deputies were on their Departure, there arrived two Gentlemen of Distinction from the Viceroy; who, at an Audience they demanded, and obtained from Count *Maurice*, acquainted him with the amazing Revolution that had happened in *Portugal*, which was likely to have a great Effect on the general State of Affairs, and might probably put an End to the War in *Brazil*, since hitherto it had not been carried on by the Dutch against the Portuguese Nation, but against the Portuguese as Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*; and therefore it was very natural to

suppose that the Dutch would no longer consider them as their Enemies, when they could be no longer considered as the Subjects of that Crown, but rather as an independent Nation, inclined, both by Nature and Interest, to cultivate a good Correspondence with the Subjects of the *States General*. At least, these Messengers from the Viceroy were charged to represent things in this Light to Count *Maurice*, who gave them a very patient Hearing, and dismissed them with a favourable Answer, though resolved to do what was most for his Masters Service.

14. It was in the Month of *December* 1640, that *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, seated himself on the Throne of *Portugal*, which was that of his Ancestors; and took the Title of *John the IVth*. This Revolution, one of the most sudden, and most successful the World ever saw, put into his Hands immediately the whole Dominions of *Portugal*, the little Town of *Ceuta* in *Africa* excepted, and the Conquests made by the Dutch in *Brazil*, and elsewhere. It was not long before Count *Maurice* had a very exact Relation of the whole Affair; and, foreseeing that this Revolution would certainly be attended, either with a Peace, or a Truce, between the *States General* and the new King; he resolved to do all that he could in the shortest Time possible, that whenever the Peace or Truce was concluded, it might find the Dutch with their Hands full. I shall not pretend to justify this Resolution of Count *Maurice*, or to reconcile it to the Laws of Nature, and of Nations; but, we know, that great Captains are seldom great Casuists, and perhaps this might be his Case.

He put this Design of his in Execution almost as soon as he had formed it, making himself entirely Master of the Captainship of *Segerippa*, which the Portuguese had recovered; he sent away Admiral *Jol*, with a Fleet of twenty-one Sail, and above three thousand Men on board, to reduce the Island of *Laonda*, on the Coast of *Congo*, and that of *St. Thomas*, immediately under the Equinoctial; both which Services he performed: The latter, however, cost him his Life; for while he was busy in settling the Affairs of his new Conquest, a Distemper broke out in his Fleet, which carried off a great Number of Men, and amongst them the Admiral and six of his chief Captains. He was buried with great Military Pomp in the Cathedral of *Pavofan*, which is the Capital of that Island, and left behind him the Reputation of being the boldest, most resolute, and strictest Officer of his Time; but withal, one of the roughest in his Behaviour that ever bore Commission; yet he was a Man of such nice Honour, that, in his Expedition, the Year before, on the Coast of *Cuba*, being driven to great Distress for Provisions, and in no Condition to take them by Force, he sent to the Spanish Governor for a Supply; who, out of Regard to his personal Merit, granted him all, and more than he desired; upon which he immediately quitted the Coast, declaring, that he could no longer act against an Enemy, who had treated him with such Generosity.

Count *Maurice*, in pursuance of his Instructions, which represented to him the Captainship of *Maragnan* as a Country extremely wholesome, abounding with Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Tobacco, and other rich Commodities, as well as very convenient from its Situation, resolved to seize it likewise. He dispatched, for this Purpose, Admiral *Lichtbart* and Commodore *Hanskins*, with a Fleet of six Sail of Men of War and six Frigates, with which they soon reduced the Island of *Maragnan*, and the Town of *St. Louis*, upon which the rest of the Districts submitted without Resistance; so that at the Close of the Year 1641, the Dutch were actually in Possession of seven of the fourteen Captainships, into which the Country of *Brazil* was divided.

But Things did not long remain in this State; for, partly by Revolt, and partly by Conquest, these Countries returned again to their old Masters.

It is now necessary to look over into *Europe*, in order to see how those Events came about, which furnished the Means of making as sudden a Revolution in *Brazil*, as ever happened in a Country so well secured; and in the Recital of which, it will appear, that the Dutch themselves taught those Arts, by which they suffered; and first practised

practised those Frauds, that proved afterwards so fatal to themselves. King *John*, desirous of being acknowledged by as many Kingdoms and States as possible, in Quality of rightful Possessor of the Crown of *Portugal*, as undoubtedly he was, sent *Don Tristan de Mandoca Hurtado*, his Embassador, to the *Hague*, to represent to the *States-General* the Reasonableness of owning his Title, and the Advantages that must accrue from their living in a good Correspondence together. The first was readily admitted by the *Dutch* Statesmen; and, by Degrees, they came likewise into the Second; but, as they thought themselves Gainers by the War, and a vast Over-match for *Portugal*, unsupported by *Spain*, they put off the Conclusion of the Treaty as long as they could.

At last, on the 13th of *June* 1641, they signed a League offensive and defensive, with the Crown of *Portugal*, for what regarded the Dominions of both States in *Europe*; and a Truce for ten Years in the *East* and *West Indies*: This last was conceived in very general Terms; for it was to comprehend all the Dominions of both Parties, and was to commence from the Day of the Publication of the Truce; it was likewise stipulated, that Commissioners should meet in eight Months, in order to conclude a definitive Peace, and to settle the Pretensions of both Parties; but, at the same Time, the *Dutch* took care to provide, that if this Treaty should prove ineffectual, the Truce, and free Trade between the Dominions of both States, should still continue; only the *Portuguese* should not be at Liberty to export any of the Commodities of *Brazil* into *Holland*; and, on the other Hand, the *Dutch* were to be under the like Restriction, with Respect to the Dominions of *Portugal*. It is evident, from the very Frame of this Treaty, that the States contrived every thing for their own Advantage; and that the King of *Portugal* submitted to it from pure Necessity. Experience, however, soon made this more visible. On Complaints, that several Places were taken from the *Portuguese* after the Publication of the Truce; Restitution was refused, as to some; and though Orders were given, as to others, agreeable to the Spirit of the Treaty, yet they were drawn up in such a Manner, that most of the *Dutch* Governors refused to comply with them.

The *Portuguese* Viceroy, and the rest of that Nation in *Brazil*, entered easily into the Politics of the *Dutch*; and instead of attempting to do themselves Justice, by Force, they practised exactly the same Method for their own Advantage: They magnified the Wisdom of the *Dutch* Government, confided in the Promises made them, and took in good Part all the Excuses that were made for Non-performance of them; by which Means they so over-reached Count *Maurice*, in the two last Years of his Government, that he persuaded himself, and easily engaged the Directors of the *West India* Company, to believe, that their Territories were effectually settled, and that they had nothing to fear in *Brazil*, either from the Natives, or from the *Portuguese*; who thought themselves happy under their Administration, and were as much attached to it as the *Dutch* themselves.

But the Contrivances of their Enemies might probably have proved abortive; if the Managers of the *Dutch West India* Company had not entered into a Conspiracy against themselves. They found that they were now possessed of what they had so long fought; several strong Forts on the Coast of *Africa*, and a very large Part of the rich Country of *Brazil*; and they were desirous of making the greatest immediate Profits possible of both. It was from this Notion, that they sent over repeated Orders to Count *Maurice*, to take such Measures as might increase their Revenue, and prove the Importance of *Brazil*, by sending over vast Quantities of Sugar and other valuable Effects, and not suffering such as were in Debt to the Company to pay in small Sums, or at different Terms, but speedily, and at once. Count *Maurice* observed to them, that the Execution of these Orders would be attended with many Inconveniencies; that a long War had been carried on; that the Country had been but lately reduced; that most of those who were in Debt to the Company were *Portuguese*, who had settled in their Territories, and who had hitherto behaved well,

and ought therefore to be kindly treated, and not driven to Extremities, which might put them upon Things that otherwise would not have entered into their Heads. But this was talking to the Deaf; the Company had heard that *Brazil* was very rich, they were possessed of a great Part of it, and could see no Reason why all that it produced should not be immediately shipped for *Holland*.

There were some other Things also that gave them great Uneasiness. Opposite to the *Receif* there lay a very commodious Island, upon which their Governor caused a new Town to be built, chiefly out of the Ruins of the *Portuguese* City of *Olinda*, fortified it thoroughly, and gave it the Name of *Mauriceburgh*; which, in a short Time, was grown a very considerable Place, and which he united to the *Receif*, which was become the Centre of the *Dutch* Commerce, by a Stone Bridge: This first and last cost forty thousand Pounds. Now, though all this was done for the Benefit and Convenience of the *Dutch* Inhabitants, and to secure the Company's Capital in that Country from Danger, yet they could not help grudging the Expence.

But what put them most out of Humour was the Palace Count *Maurice* built for himself. It was indeed a very stately Structure, standing in the most commodious Part of the Town, in the midst of very fine Gardens, elegantly laid out, and curiously planted with Cocos of all Sorts, as well as Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, Figs, and other Fruit-trees. These Gardens were certainly very expensive; and as to the Palace, it was said to have cost six hundred thousand Florins; and so contrived, as to command the most admirable Prospect both by Sea and Land. Before the Front of this noble Structure there was a Battery of Marble, rising gradually from the River-side, upon which were mounted ten large Pieces of Brass Cannon. Without the City, Count *Maurice* had also a most magnificent Villa or Country Palace, surrounded with fine Gardens, and adorned with curious Fish-ponds, but withal encompassed with strong Walls, and the whole so disposed, as to serve at once for the Governor's Pleasure, and for the Defence of the City, which was covered by it, as a Fort, on that Side; and it proved extremely useful to them when the War broke out again. He likewise made many other Improvements, such as laying out Parks and Meadows within the Fortifications, which, while duly taken care of, produced all Things necessary for the Subsistence of the Garrison; and were, in all respects, equally commodious and beautiful.

In this Manner Count *Maurice* employed those Treasures, which were the Fruits of his many Victories and extensive Conquests; and which, a Man of a less generous Temper, would have found Means to have transported to *Holland*, as his private Fortune. But those Marks of Greatness of Mind, and public Spirit, which ought to have extinguished, nourished that Envy, which had been conceived against him, and while he was labouring to extend and secure the Power of the Company in *Brazil*, the Directors of that Company in *Holland* were employed in censuring his Conduct, and in magnifying his Extravagance, in laying out such vast Sums, while the Colony produced so little to the Company's Stock. Such was the Situation of Things, and such the excellent Reasons which induced the Directors to form a Design of recalling Count *Maurice*, as the only Means of making the Colony turn to an Account, and bring in such a Revenue, as might be proportionable to the Views and Expectations of the Company; which wise Project of theirs, they at last brought to bear; Count *Maurice* himself assisting them therein, being grown to the full as weary of their Management, as they were of his; so that on the 11th of *May* 1644 he took leave of the Council, quitted the Government, when he had held it eight Years, and returned into *Holland*, on board a Fleet of thirteen Sail of large Ships, with near three thousand Soldiers on board; eighteen Companies only being left for the Defence of the *Dutch* Settlements, agreeable to the Instructions he had received, and to that Scheme of frugal Management, which was now to take Place, and by which they hoped to repair that Extravagance and Profusion, with which they charged Count *Maurice*.

I have taken as much Care as it was possible to inform myself fully as to these Particulars, and have represented this whole Transaction to the Reader exactly in the Light it appeared to me, and I flatter myself it will give him as great Satisfaction as I have felt in writing it; by shewing him how the most dangerous Mistakes arise from Narrowness of Thinking, how easily the best Designs of the very best Men may be misrepresented, and with what an Appearance of Wisdom, Disinterestedness, and public Spirit, such Measures may be cloathed, as in reality are big with public Ruin.

After Count *Maurice's* Return, the Government of *Brazil* was put into the Hands of such great and able Men as the *West India* Company could confide in; for that, at this Time, was the Phrase in more Parts of the World than one; and perhaps it will not displease the inquisitive Reader to have a short Account of the Illustrious Persons who were the Successors of the great Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, one of the ablest, bravest, and most worthy Men of that Family, so famous for producing Heroes: The Chief of them then were, Mr. *Hamel*, a Merchant of *Amsterdam*; Mr. *de Bassis*, a Goldsmith of *Haerlem*; and Mr. *Bullestraat*, a Carpenter of *Middleburgh*; all Men of very good Sense, and great Fidelity to the Company; whose Diligence and Activity in its Service, we find greatly commended by some *Dutch* Writers, who certainly meant as honestly as they did; but unfortunately for the Service of the Republic, as well as of their Masters, they mistook their Talents, and by wading out of their Depth became the Authors of a thousand Mischiefs, which to be sure they never intended.

They were bred to Trade, and understood it thoroughly; but this kind of Understanding did not so well answer the Purpose as a Governor's. They forced the *Portuguese* that lived under them, to pay what they owed the Company in a short time; but by the Methods they took to do this they lost their Hearts for ever. They furnished these very *Portuguese* with Fire-arms and Powder, but they sold both very dear; so that the Company were great Gainers by the Bargain. They sent over to *Holland* the Produce of those Lands which Count *Maurice* had assigned for maintaining the Fortifications, which in the mean time ran to ruin. They gave Licences upon very easy Terms to the Soldiers to return home; which lessened the Expence of the Army. In short, they brought the whole Charges of the Government into a narrower Compass than could be expected; but by doing this they brought the Government itself into such a Degree of Danger, as invited those to rebel, who by this very Management were oppressed in their Persons, and the Proprietors of most of their Plantations so intangled by their Debts to the Company, that very few of them were worth a Groat. A very sober *Dutch* Writer, who was there upon the Spot, tells us, That in 1645 there was a greater Quantity of Sugar sent to *Holland* than at any time before, which he attributes to this wise and frugal Administration, and which, to speak the Truth fairly and in plain English, was not either more or less than selling all *Dutch Brazil* for one Year's Purchase.

15. The *Portuguese* Viceroy at that Time was Don *Antonio Telles de Silva*, a Man who seem'd formed by Nature for the Execution of that Employment at this Juncture: He had great Parts, but greater Prudence; much Penetration, more Sagacity; but excelled most in dissembling to Perfection. In private Life, and in all common Occurrences, a Man of strict Honour, humane, easy of Access, familiar with all sorts of People, but without losing his Dignity. As soon as he was informed that Count *Maurice* was gone, and had carried with him two Thirds of the Force of *Brazil*, he formed a Design of getting rid of the *Dutch* intirely; but this he never communicated to his Friends, to the Enemy he always denied it.

He insinuated to the *Portuguese* that were Subjects to the *Dutch*, that they were only labouring for Strangers, and Strangers of another Religion; whereas they might be Masters of all they now farmed at a high Rent, and enjoy good Employments besides, if their King was restored to his just Rights. These Suggestions had their Effect, and those who heard them could not avoid being moved by them.

But the Person who undertook to manage this whole Affair was one *John Fernandez Viera*, a very extraordinary Man, and of whom I shall give a very short Account: He was originally a Butcher's Boy, from whence he was raised to the Rank of a Page to one of the Magistrates of *Olinda*, while in the Hands of the *Portuguese*. He became a kind of Factor, or Manager for the *Dutch*, and by his Industry and Art grew excessively rich, being Master of four Sugar Plantations, and intrusted with the Management of many more.

He had an excellent Head, laid the Whole of the Conspiracy himself, and sent it over to *Portugal* by a Person who was not at all acquainted with the Design; after which he sent a Relation of his to Court, with a Letter recommending him to the King of *Portugal*, by which he got a Troop of Horse, and acted there as Agent for the Conspirators. He foresaw that this must reach the Ears of the *Dutch*; and when it did so, he went directly to the Council, owned the Thing, produced his Letter, and offered to give Security for his good Behaviour, which he did without much Trouble; two of the richest *Portuguese* in the *Dutch* Territories becoming bound for him, who were as deep in the Conspiracy as himself.

It may be justly wondered that, in such Circumstances, this was accepted; but the Wonder will cease when it is known that he owed the chief Persons in the Administration upwards of two hundred thousand Florins, which rendered it adviseable for them not to see him ruined. By this adroit Contrivance he most effectually secured his Liberty, which he made Use of to carry on this great Design with all the Dexterity imaginable; in which he was assisted by two Persons, who made a great Figure in the Province, *Antonio Cavalcante*, and *Amador Argousa*, equally deep in the Management of the *Dutch* Affairs; and determined, like him, to raise their Fortune upon the Destruction of those who trusted them.

The Day fixed for the Execution of this Plot was, the 24th of June, 1645; when one of the Daughters of *Antonio Cavalcante* was to be married, and a great Feast given at the House of *Viera*, to which most of the Officers and principal Persons in the Company's Service were invited, and where, without doubt, they would have been all seized, if not murdered, if the Design had not been discovered the very Evening before it was executed. A Ship that arrived from *Amsterdam*, brought Letters from the Directors of the *West India* Company; with an Account, that the Minister from the *States General* at the Court of *Portugal* had discovered, that a great Conspiracy was carrying on in *Brazil*; and that they would do well to enquire what Supplies had been lately sent from *Lisbon* to the *Portuguese* in those Parts.

This Enquiry produced such Discoveries as struck the *Dutch* with universal Consternation; which gave *Viera* and his Associates time to make their Escape into the neighbouring Woods, where they took up Arms. There *John Fernandez Viera* assumed the Character of General and Commander in chief, assisted by Colonel *Diaz*, with a few *Portuguese* Troops, and Colonel *Cameron* at the Head of a much more numerous Body of *Brazilians*. With this small Army he fixed his Head Quarters at *Pojug*, a Town between the *Receif* and Cape *St. Augustine*; so that the *Dutch* had the Misfortune of seeing the War break out, not only unexpectedly, but in the very Heart of their Dominions. At the same time *Antonio Cavalcante* raised another Part of the Country; and *Amador Aragousa*, at the Head of a flying Party, was burning and destroying all the *Dutch* Plantations without Mercy. In this dreadful Situation the Council assembled all the Troops they could; and, at the same time, published a Proclamation, whereby they promised Pardon and Peace to all who should submit and return to their Duty, excepting only *Viera*, *Cavalcante*, and *Aragousa*. The Person they made Choice of to command their Forces, was Lieutenant-Colonel *Huys*, to whom they gave the Title of General; but it would have been better if they could have given him an Army, since the Troops he got together were few in Number and very ill provided.

But besides this, the Council had a mind to negotiate, and therefore they sent two Captains, *Vandor Voord*, and *Dirck*

Dirck de Hoogstrate, to the Viceroy, at the Bay of *All Saints*, to complain of the Infraction of the Truce, between the Crown of *Portugal* and the *States General*, which had still four Years to come. The Viceroy received them with great Civility, and answered them with much Prudence. He said that he was responsible for the Conduct of the Inhabitants of that Part of *Brazil* subject to the Crown of *Portugal*; and, if they had broke the Truce, he would give them what Satisfaction they could desire; but, with respect to the *Portuguese* settled in the *Dutch* Dominions, if provoked by Oppressions they had taken Arms, it was what he could not help, and for which it was very unjust to make him answerable.

This was what he said in public, but in a private Conference he had with Captain *Hoogstrate*, he drew him over to his Interest, and prevailed upon him to resolve upon giving up the important Post of *Cape St. Augustine*, of which he was Governor. In the mean time General *Huys* attacked Colonel *Cameron*, but had the Misfortune to be beat, with the Loss of one hundred Men. Soon after this the *Portuguese* Fleet, under the Command of Admiral *Salvador Correa de Banavides*, appeared on the Coast; and, though it was very numerous, yet the *Dutch* Admiral, *Lichtbart*, offered them Battle, though he had but five Men of War; but the *Portuguese* Commander refused it, pretending he had no Orders to act against the *Dutch*; and that all his Business was to land a Body of Men in his Master's Dominions, which he accordingly did; but those Men, without any Ceremony, entered the *Dutch* Territories, and made themselves Masters of all the Places that fell in their Way.

The *Dutch* Council, upon this, sent Orders to their General *Huys* to retreat; but he, staying for one Captain *Black*, whom he had sent away for several Ladies and rich Effects out of the Country, had the Misfortune to be surrounded by the *Portuguese*, beaten, and taken Prisoner; which the best *Dutch* Accounts that I have met with attribute to his Want of Conduct and Courage.

Upon this Orders were sent to Admiral *Lichtbart* to attack the *Portuguese* Ships whenever he had an Opportunity, and he exerted upon this Occasion the same Spirit and Courage which he had so often shewn upon others; for, with four Ships, a Frigate, and a Bark, he attacked the *Portuguese* Fleet of seventeen Sail, took three of the largest Ships, together with the Admiral; killed seven hundred Men, and burnt and sunk almost all the other Vessels; which raised the Hopes of his Countrymen not a little, and they began to flatter themselves they should have better Success for the future, than they had hitherto had from the Beginning.

But these Hopes were very soon dashed, by their receiving the unexpected News of the Loss of *St. Augustine*, which was given up by Captain *Hoogstrate*, in consequence of the Agreement which, as we have before mentioned, he had made with the Viceroy, when sent to treat with him by the *Dutch* Council as their Minister. He received for this infamous Action the Sum of 18000 Florins, which Sum he employed in raising a Regiment of six hundred and fifty *Brazilians*, of which he was made Colonel by the *Portuguese*, and wanted not Impudence enough to appear at the head of it, against his Country; and, which was still more astonishing, behaved bravely and with great Fidelity in the Service of his new Master.

Their great Superiority enabled them to make a quick Dispatch in most of the Expeditions they undertook; so that in short Time almost all the strong Places in the Captainship of *Fernambuca* surrendered to them. At last they blocked up the *Receif*, always the strongest, and now the only strong Place the *Dutch* had left; and reduced those who were in it to such Hardships, that they must have been starved out, if they had not been relieved by the Arrival of a Fleet from *Holland*. When the News of these Proceedings arrived in *Holland*, the Mob was excessively irritated, and in their first Fury surrounded the House of the *Portuguese* Ambassador; which, but for the prudent Interposition of the Prince of *Orange*, they had certainly pulled down. That Minister, however,

endeavoured to persuade the *States General* that his Master had no Concern in this Rebellion; that he absolutely disapproved it; and that the Viceroy had never given any kind of Countenance to *Viera*. But the *Dutch* Statesmen were too wise to give any Credit to him: On the contrary, they equipped a Fleet of fifty-two sail of Men of War, under the Command of Mr. *Bankert*, Admiral of *Zealand*, whom they declared Admiral of *Brazil*, *Guinea*, and *Angola*; with him they sent Colonel *Schuppen* and Colonel *Henderson*, who had served under Count *Maurice* with great Reputation; and thus an open War begun between *Portugal* and *Holland*, on the other Side the Line.

But never any Fleet met with so many unfortunate Accidents as this did; for, within two Days after they sailed from the *Texel*, they were forced to anchor in the *Downs*, where they lost two Ships in a Storm; they sailed again, and were forced into the *Isle of Wight*; where, the first Sight they saw, was the Wreck of a great Ship, which proved a *Dutch* Merchantman from *Brazil*, with a Cargo of the Value of two Millions, which was entirely lost; and, out of three hundred Persons, only thirty saved; in the Port of *St. Helen's* they remained wind-bound seven Weeks, and at last met with a Storm on their putting again to Sea, by which they suffered extremely: Many more such Checks they met with before they arrived at the *Receif*; where the People were reduced to such Extremity, that they were on the Point of throwing themselves upon the Enemy, to seek a certain Death by the Sword, rather than expect a lingering one by Famine.

By the Help of these Reinforcements the War was still kept on Foot, and some small Advantages gained; but, in the Beginning of the Year 1647, they were again blocked up in the *Receif*, where their whole Force consisted but of one thousand eight hundred Men, with which they made a gallant Defence; but at length, on the 16th of *May*, they resolved to sally with their whole Strength, and to attack the Enemy in the Field; which they did, at first, with some Degree of Success; but, being overpowered by Numbers, were at length beaten; and, in their Fight and Flight, lost one thousand one hundred Men, most of their Officers, nineteen Colours, and all the Artillery and Ammunition they had carried with them. This great Misfortune hindered them, indeed, from making any more Sallies; but by lessening their Numbers so much, enabled them to make a longer Defence, since their Provisions sufficed now for seven Months, which would otherwise have lasted them but three.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Part of the Story, because I conceive it cannot be considered as either unpleasant or useless; and I have observed, with some Degree of Amazement, that this kind of History is very little known here in *England*; where the being able to discourse pertinently of *Greek* and *Roman* History, passes for Learning; and an Acquaintance with the Story of *Italy* in the middle Ages, has its Admirers amongst the Virtuosi; both which I hold equally laudable and sensible; but still I am persuaded that this kind of History is of more Consequence than both, to the Inhabitants of a Country flourishing by Trade; and therefore I have taken so much Pains to reduce these Matters into Method and Order, that the Study of maritime History might become more pleasant and easy, and consequently grow more into Repute and Fashion, amongst a Nation that so deservedly value themselves upon the glorious Title of a maritime Power. The true Meaning and real Importance of which Title, can only be learned by the Perusal of Works like these. But to return from Reflections to the Current of our History.

The Progress of the *Portuguese* was so great, and so irresistible, and the Disasters that attended the *Dutch* followed so close on each other, that nothing seemed capable of preventing the total Ruin of the *Dutch* Affairs in that Part of the World. This naturally might, and indeed did, produce a kind of national Despair; which hastened, though I think it did not cause, that Ruin which it foresaw. The Province of *Zealand* recalled their Admiral *Bankert*, with whom came home most of the Officers they had sent with him, heartily disgusted with the Service.

Service. The Difficulties they met with in their Passage, when outward bound, were repeated in that which brought them home; so that *Bankert* died before the Fleet arrived in *Holland*, and so did several of his Officers almost as soon as they came ashore; but the *Sieur Shuk*, who was sent home by the Administration in *Brazil*, survived; and upon his Application to the *States*, and his most particular and affecting Account of the Posture of things in that Country, they resolved to make one general and great Effort for the Preservation of so valuable an Acquisition; and accordingly gave Orders for equipping a strong Fleet of fifty Sail of large Men of War, and embarking therein six thousand regular Troops, the Command of which they gave to Admiral *Witte-Wittezen*, at that Time esteemed the ablest Officer in their Service.

This Armament alarmed the Crown of *Portugal* to such a Degree, that Orders were sent to the Ambassador then resident in *Holland*, to promise the *States* any thing that might prevent their prosecuting this Design, which, at first, had some Effect; but the *Dutch*, receiving at this Time the melancholy Account of what had happened at the *Receif*, determined not to be the Dupes of such a Negotiation; and therefore, towards the End of the Year 1650, they not only dispatched Admiral *Witte-Wittezen* with his Fleet, but likewise projected the sending another Fleet after him, with an additional Supply of between five and six thousand Men more. One would have imagined, Succours like these, exceeding, if I am not mistaken, any thing that has been done by other Maritime Powers, in Support of any single Colony, would have answered the End effectually, more especially as *Portugal* did not arm in any Proportion, or send over any regular Troops, at this Time, to *Brazil*: But, however, all proved vain and ineffectual; for the Elements declared as fierce and as inflexible a War against the *Dutch* Fleets and Armies, as the *Portuguese*, the *Negroes*, and the *Brazilians*. The Climate, which seemed natural to all these, proved absolutely mortal to the *Dutch*. The former living there on the natural Produce of the Country, were healthy, hearty, and robust; intermarrying with the Natives, they multiplied apace, and had but one common Interest, whereas the latter subsisting entirely on the Provisions sent them from *Europe*, grew pale, wan, and feeble, and died in great Numbers.

Hence it came to pass, that when the great Fleets before mentioned, after suffering much by Storms and Tempests in their Passage, arrived at length on the Coast of *Fernambuca*, they found, instead of a Colony, a mere Hospital of sick, maimed, and infirm People; and, in the room of those Fortresses they were to have relieved, a Collection of Church-yards filled with the Bodies of those who had been before sent on the same Errand; the Sight of which affected the Admiral in such a Manner, that, notwithstanding the precise Orders he had received, he determined with himself not to bury the remainder of his People there, which from his first Arrival he began to do apace, but to return home without delay, which he accordingly did, leaving things in a much worse Condition than he found them; and the *West India* Company, besides all the rest of its Misfortunes, oppressed by a very heavy Debt, contracted on the Score of his unfortunate Expedition. We need not wonder, therefore, that upon his Return there was a dreadful Out-cry set up against him; to allay which, the *States* were obliged to commit him to Prison; but he very soon justified himself to their Satisfaction, and indeed to the Satisfaction of every body but the Proprietors of the *West India* Company, on whose Directors at home, and in *Brazil*, he laid the blame of all these Miscarriages.

It would be needless to pursue this Subject more particularly from this time to the total Exclusion of the *Dutch*, because it would contain only a Repetition of the same kind of Facts, and consequently prove far enough from being entertaining or instructing. It may therefore suffice to say, that towards the close of the Year 1653, the *Portuguese*, who now publicly owned the Cause of *John Fernandez Viera*, sent a Fleet of sixteen large Men of War to attack the *Receif* by Sea, and to blow up Part of its Fortifications; which so terrified the *Dutch* Gar-

rison, that they absolutely refused to fight; so that the next Year they surrendered every thing they possessed; and, in 1655, they returned to *Holland*. It is inconceivable what an Uproar this raised in that Country, and with what Heat and Fury the People demanded Justice against General *Sigismund Schuppen*, who had commanded in Chief for many Years, and who was Governor of the *Receif* when it surrendered. The *States*, perhaps, out of favour to him and his Officers, sent them to Prison; and they could not, in respect to Justice, refuse him the only Grace he asked, which was to make a public Defence; wherein he laid open, so clearly, his own long and faithful Services to the *Dutch* Nation, recapitulated all the Successes they had under the Administration of Count *Maurice*, and gave so true a Picture of the Miseries and Misfortunes they had suffered since he went thither last, that the People wept, and the Judges acquitted him.

There is something so strange, something so unaccountable in this Transaction, from the Beginning to the End of it, that I cannot think it will be looked upon as either tedious or impertinent, if I point out clearly, and in a narrow Compass, the Causes of this extraordinary Revolution, which I take to have been principally three. The first, and indeed the principal one, was recalling Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, and changing the Government; which I must beg leave to explain, for the Sake of such of our Countrymen as may not fully apprehend it. Count *Maurice* was a great Captain, and a true Politician; he very well knew, that in a conquered Country a military Administration was as requisite as a civil one; and so contrived his own, that it was a proper Mixture of both. His first Care was to extend the Dominions of his Countrymen, that they might have room enough to fix a potent Colony, and a fertile Territory sufficient to maintain it. On the Frontiers he built strong Fortresses, brought the Native *Brazilians* to relish living according to their own Manner, under the *Dutch* Protection, and to be willing to work for Wages; he likewise filled the Country with *Negroes*, from his Conquests in *Africa*; and, when he had thus secured a large, pleasant, and fruitful Country, and People enough to subsist in it, he began to build his new City of *Mauriceburgh*, to raise his admirable Palace, to lay out his fine Gardens, and to do every thing that might encourage Art and Industry; and, by adorning and enriching the Country, fix such People as came to get Estates there, to their Estates when got. By this Policy of his, it must allowed that he did not fill the Company's Coffers, but he served his Country and the Company too very effectually, by putting the Colony upon a right Establishment, and giving it such a Force within itself, as all the Power of his Enemies could not have overthrown: This he was able to do from the extensive Authority lodged in his Hands, by his Commission from the *States*; and yet the Extent of his Power could only reach to what was good; had he endeavoured to carry it farther, his Council might, and would, have interposed: But it was quite otherwise with the Government that succeeded him; for they had a boundless Power of doing Mischief, and very little Capacity of doing Good, as appeared very clearly from their whole Administration, and indeed it could not well be otherwise; for, whereas Count *Maurice* came naturally from commanding at home to a Government abroad, these Men were fetched from behind Counters to act the Part of Soldiers, Seamen, and Statesmen. I do not say this to disparage Trade, but to shew the Folly of supposing that the greatest Masters of Trade should be able by Instinct to manage those Trades they were not bred up to, and consequently upon their own Principles cannot understand. They were of excellent Use to Count *Maurice*, as his Council, and I firmly believe he could not have done without them; but then I hope I shall escape Censure for affirming, that they knew as little how to do without him.

The second Cause of the Declension of the *Dutch* Affairs, was the too hasty Desire of the Company to draw a great Revenue from this Colony, which put them upon most unreasonable Reductions of their Expence. The first Point

Point was, that of a Governor General, who, by keeping a kind of a Court, seemed to be an intolerable Burden upon such as were at the Expence of it; but if they had considered that this Governor, who kept this Court, acquired for them the best Part of that Colony, and put the rest of it into so good a Situation, they would have judged the Services of such an Officer a sufficient Recompence for the keeping Him. Their next Reformation was in the Military Establishment, which in 1641 Count Maurice had fixed at upwards of seven thousand Men, and which, immediately upon his Removal, they very frugally reduced to two thousand seven hundred, and even allowed such of these Soldiers as would pay for it, to go home: The Magazines, that were always well filled in the Time of Count Maurice, and from which, as we have seen, he furnished several Fleets for distant Expeditions, they emptied, to raise Money by the Sale of their Contents, and very foolishly suffered their Servants and Soldiers to live upon *European* Provisions, instead of accustoming themselves to live upon the Produce of the *Brazilian* Territories. It was likewise a great Fault that they laid high Taxes upon the great Manufacture of the Country, Sugar, which threw it entirely into the Hands of the *Portuguese*, their own Subjects being afraid to meddle with a Trade in which the first Miscarriage was attended with total Ruin. Another notorious Blunder was, their sending over a vast Number of *Jews*, who, finding the People sinking under heavy Taxes, brought in that excellent Cordial of high Usury, to keep up their Spirits. By these, and such like Methods, they, in the Space of a few Months, brought all Things into Confusion; and, from that Time forward, never took one sensible Step towards bringing them out.

The third Cause of the Ruin of this Colony was, that the States did not interpose in time, and take the Care of the *Dutch Brazil* into their own Hands, instead of leaving it to a Company which had shewn themselves so unequal to what they had undertaken; and therefore, for their own Good, as well as for that of the Public, this very important Concern should have been taken out of their Hands. But by continuing the same Government, the States and the Company pinned down the unhappy People that were left there, labouring under Miseries and Misfortunes of all kinds, without Remedy and without Hope! If they had sent over in time a new Governor-General, Things might have been restored; but for want of this, they ran continually from bad to worse, as it was very natural for them to do; so that after ten Years Struggle, as well against their own Weakness and ill Management, as the superior Force of their Enemies, they suffered the Colony to expire; but, when they found their Malady incurable, they had better have taken the *Brazilian* Method, and, without waiting Extremities, knocked it on the head at once.

But to conclude this Subject with a short State of both Administrations: When Count Maurice, after eight Years residing in *Brazil*, quitted the Government, he left them seven Captainships, one City, thirty great Towns, forty-five regular Fortresses, ninety Sail of good Ships, three thousand regular Troops, twenty thousand *Dutch* of all Ages and Sexes, sixty thousand Negroes, and above twice as many *Brazilians*: At that Time the Colony yielded twenty-five thousand Chests of Sugar annually, and a Carpenter, Cooper, or Smith, could earn five or six Guilders a-day, and live very comfortably upon one; And, after expending Millions upon this Colony, for ten Years together, and the Loss of several thousands sent thither from time to time, there returned to *Holland*, in 1655, between six and seven hundred Persons, of all sorts, not worth a Groat.

Upon this the States declared War against *Portugal*, by which their *East-India* Company were great Gainers, but the *Dutch* Nation still Losers; so that, after five Years, they were glad to make a Peace, under the Mediation of our King *Charles II.* which was signed the 6th of *August*, 1660, in which the principal Articles relating to our Subject are these that follow: That the Crown of *Portugal* shall be obliged to pay to the States the Sum of eighty

Tons of Gold, either in ready Money or Sugar, Tobacco or Salt, or else assign the said ready Money upon the *Portuguese* Customs: That the Places taken on each Side should remain to those who were then in Possession of them: And that a free Trade should be allowed to the *Dutch* in *Portugal*, *Africa*, and *Brazil*, without paying any more Customs than the native *Portuguese*.

16. The *Portuguese* have, since this time, remained in quiet Possession of all this vast Country, which is the Reason that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to give any distinct Account of what has passed there since this Time: For the *Portuguese* are, in the first place, not much addicted to Writing; and in the next, they are not extremely willing that the World should be acquainted, farther than they must be from Facts, with the State of their Colonies in *Brazil*; and it is for this Reason, that they suffer no Ships to trade thither but their own; a Point in which they are extremely precise, inasmuch that they have made it a kind of capital Maxim in their Policy. But it is with them as it is with all other Nations of this Stamp; they flatter themselves that this Rule which they lay down is inviolably adhered to; yet it is certain that the Fact is otherwise, and that sometimes *English* Interlopers, and now and then *French* and *Dutch*, sell their Cargoes in *Brazil*, especially in time of War; and in time of Peace, when there is not an Opportunity of carrying on a clandestine Trade in this manner, they find out another, which is, sending thither Goods, under the Name of some *Portuguese* Merchant, in the very same manner that the Goods are sent to the *Spanish* Colonies, under the Name of *Spanish* Merchants.

In both Cases they are no more than Brokers; but, to their immortal Credit, the fairest and the most honourable in the World; for they are never known to break their Faith, or to injure those who trust them. As to the Trade which the *Portuguese* themselves carry on to this Colony of theirs, it has for these last hundred Years been so great, that it is thought to have been the principal Cause why they have slighted that of the *Indies*, as we have shewn in its proper Place; tho' formerly it consisted principally in Sugar, Tobacco, *Brazil* Wood, and other Commodities of great Value; yet within these last forty Years they have received from thence Commodities of still greater Value, or rather, to speak in the Language of our Times, of the greatest Value, such as Diamonds, and Gold; and of this precious Metal we have been thought to have so large a Share, that without it we could scarce have carried on the last general War, and the expensive Measures that have succeeded it; and though this may not be strictly true, yet there is certainly so much of Truth in it, that it ought to make us curious in the inquiring after, and obtaining the best Account we can of these Plantations, which is so much the more necessary, because hitherto the Accounts we have had are as far from being satisfactory as Accounts well can be. The Pains I have taken upon this Subject, have not indeed enabled me to give the Reader so exact a View of all the *Portuguese* Settlements in *Brazil* as I could wish; but, however, as I shall have no Occasion to treat of this Country again, I will take this Opportunity of giving him the most particular and satisfactory Accounts I have met with, till something better shall be published upon the Subject.

All the Trade of the five northern Captainships of *Brazil*, viz. *Paria*, *Maragnan*, *Siara*, *Rio Grande*, and *Paraiba*, is carried on in the last mentioned Port, which lies on a River of the same Name, at the Distance of about five Leagues from the Sea; it is a fair and populous Town for that Country; and there are annually about seven or eight Ships sent hither from *Lisbon* and *Oporto*, of the Burden of two hundred and fifty Tons each. Their Lading consists chiefly in Sugar, of which they make more in these northern Captainships, than in the South; especially since the Discovery of the Gold Mines, which has made the Inhabitants of those Parts of the Country negligent. There was a Time when the Trade of *Brazil*, in this Commodity, was superior to any in the World; for the Sugar of *Brazil* was the first that was known in *Europe*; and the *Portuguese* are said to have set up their Works in this Country, about

the Year 1580; and their being so long in Possession has made them more careful and exact in it, than any other Nation; so that even now the clayed Sugars from *Brazil*, are whiter and finer than ours; and yet the Method they take of doing this, is neither a Secret, so as not to be known, nor difficult, so as not to be attained; for in plain *English* it is no more than this:

When their Sugar is put into their Pots, and, by the draining out of the Molasses, they are sunk two or three Inches below the Brim; they scrape off that thin hard Crust that is found on the Top of the Sugar; and then they pour in their Mixture for refining it; it is nothing more than a fine soft white Clay, beat and mixed with Water, till of the Consistency of Cream, with which they fill up the Pan. The white Water in ten or twelve Days passes quite through, and whitens the Sugar as it passes; the thick Body of the Clay lodges on the Top of the Sugar, and is easily taken off with a Knife. Besides Sugar in this State, they bring likewise dying Woods, several Sorts of Drugs, and other valuable Commodities from *Paraiba*; which, however, is the least frequented Port in *Brazil*, though it is generally allowed that these northern Captainships are the best peopled; and that the Inhabitants are very easy in their Circumstances, though there have not as yet been any Mines found, or at least wrought, in these Parts. Though some *Spanish* Writers affirm, that, from the Appearance of the Soil on the Sides of their Mountains, it is highly probable they are rich in Silver; which, perhaps, they are restrained from searching for by the Orders of the Viceroy; or at least this was the Case forty Years ago, when some *Spanish* Deserters made a Proposal of this kind to the *Portuguese* Governor of this Captainship.

Tamarca, which lies next to *Paraiba* and the Captainship of *Fernambuca*, carry on their Trade from the City of *Olinda*, which we have mentioned before. It is seated on a Hill not far from the Sea; and this Situation renders the Streets very uneven and very incommodious. The Port too is but narrow, and the Entry into it extremely difficult; yet there is a considerable Refort thither of Ships from the other Parts of *Brazil*, and from the *Canaries*; and the annual Fleet from *Lisbon* consists generally of about thirty Sail, escorted by a Man of War. These Merchantmen are generally about the same Size with those sent to *Paraiba*, and their Cargoes are composed chiefly of Sugar and *Brazil* Wood; which last is supposed to be the best of its kind in the World; and therefore we shall speak of it somewhat more particularly: Many, otherwise correct Writers, having fallen into very gross Mistakes upon this Subject.

It is an Opinion commonly received, that the Country of which we are speaking gave its Name to this Wood, and that it was called *Brazil* because it came from thence; nay, we are told so in the very last Edition of the *Dictionary of Commerce*, and in one of the new Articles; but, however, the Fact is directly otherwise; and, as we have said elsewhere, the Colony was so far from giving its Name to the Wood, that, on the contrary, the Country was first called the Land of the *Holy Ghost*; and from its abounding with this kind of Tree, lost the Name imposed upon it by its first Discoverers, and took that of *Brazil*. If the Proof of this is demanded against the Authority of abundance of Books, which say directly the contrary, we may cite *John de Barros*, the famous *Portuguese* Historian; who says expressly what we do, and was likely to know as much of this Matter as any Man. But that learned Prelate of France, *Peter Huet*, Bishop of *Avranches*, has put the Matter entirely out of doubt; for he assures us, that the famous Rabbi, *David Kimchi*, in his *Commentary on the Chronicles*, affirms, that the *Hebrew* Word *Algummim*, ought to be translated *Brazil*; now it is certain that this learned Jew wrote before the Country of *Brazil* was discovered, and consequently the Wood was so called before any of it came from thence.

There are also different Sorts of this Wood; such as the *Brazil* of *Japon*, *Brazil* of *Lamon*, *Brazil* of *St. Martha*, and *Braziletto* from *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Islands*; but the very best comes from this Country, and the best in this Country from *Fernambuca*. The *Brazil*-Tree

grows generally in dry barren Places, and amongst Rocks; it is very thick and large, and the Timber usually crooked and knotty; the Flowers it bears are of a most beautiful bright red, have a very fragrant Smell, and, instead of hurting, as most Perfumes do, they cherish and strengthen the Brain: Though the Tree is very large, it is covered with so thick a Bark, that when the *Brazilians* have taken it off, a Tree as big as a Man's Body is left no thicker than the Calf of his Leg. The Wood is very heavy, dry, and hard; it crackles much in the Fire, and scarce raises any Smoak when it is burned, because it has so little Moisture; there is no Pith in it, except in what comes from *Japon*; and therefore it may be doubted whether this be really the same kind of Wood or not.

That is held to be the best which is thickest, soundest, hardest, and without any Bark sticking to it; it ought likewise upon splitting to turn from a pale to a deep red; and lastly, upon chewing the Chips of it, the best Sort yields a sweet sugary Flavour. This Wood is put to various Uses by the Turners, and takes a very good Polish; but it is principally employed in dying, in which it yields a very fine bright Red. It is from the *Brazil* Wood that one kind of Carmine is made, by beating it in a Mortar with Leaf-Gold, and steeping it in White-Wine-Vinegar, and afterwards boiling it; when it yields a thick Scum, which, carefully taken off and dried, becomes, when reduced to a Powder, Carmine, but very far inferior to what is made by another Method, from *Cochineal*.

The next Captainship of *Brazil*, is that of the Bay *Babia*, as the *Portuguese* call it, or Bay of *All Saints*; which is about twelve Leagues over, but in several Places is scarce navigable, on account of Sand-Banks and Shoals: There are in it several small Islands, on which the *Portuguese* have Tobacco and Sugar Plantations, and they have likewise very good Fisheries on the Coast of these Islands, and on the Banks. I have an Account of a Voyage to *Brazil* by a *French* Gentleman, in the Year 1717, which is very curious, and from which I shall give the Reader some very entertaining Particulars, which I do not remember to have met with any where else, or at least not in our Language; and because I am not able to put them in a better Dress, I will give them exactly in his Words.

“ There is not a Place in the World, *China* only excepted, from whence I came, where there is so much Trouble to get on Shore, or to know how to act when one is on Shore, as in *Brazil*. We came into this Bay on the 16th of November; and when we were within a League of the City of *St. Salvador*, we were restrained from proceeding any farther, by a Gun fired from a little Fort; upon which we came to an Anchor, and sent our Supercargo ashore in our Boat. He was a very sensible Man, and withal had a great deal of Gravity, a Quality of all others the most necessary, for one who has any Business to transact with the *Portuguese*: As soon as he came ashore, he was conducted to an Audience of the Viceroy, who received him with a great deal of State; and yet shewed him, at the same Time, as much Civility as he could expect. He told his Excellency that he came on behalf of three *French* Ships homeward bound from the *East Indies*, that were in many respects greatly distressed, and had no Hopes of performing their Voyage, but from his affording them his Protection and Relief.

“ The Viceroy continued for some Minutes silent, and then gave him his Answer to this Effect: That he was very sorry for their Misfortune, because his Master's Orders were very precise against admitting any foreign Vessels into the Port; and that he was the more concerned to hear that they were *French*, because it was chiefly on their Account that these Orders were given; because several Vessels of their Nation, that had been admitted into the Ports of that Country upon the very same Pretences, had carried on an illegal Trade, directly contrary to the King's Orders, and had shipped great Quantities of Tobacco. He told them farther, that the King's Orders were to seize and confiscate without Distinction, whatever foreign



“ foreign Vessels entered that Port; unless it plainly
 “ appeared they were in such a Condition as not to be
 “ able to keep at Sea; that therefore they were to have
 “ twenty-four Hours given them to consider whether
 “ they would come and anchor under the Guns of the
 “ Fort in order to be examined, or to put to Sea with-
 “ out receiving any Relief at all. He added, that if the
 “ Case was such as our Agent represented it, he might
 “ very freely enter the Port; and, upon Examination,
 “ all the Care should be taken to assist and supply him,
 “ that he could desire; but that he would do well to
 “ remember that the *Portugueze* were not to be imposed
 “ upon.

“ As our Ship was really in such a Condition that we
 “ had no Reason to fear any Examination, we made
 “ Sail immediately on the return of our Supercargo, and
 “ came to an Anchor under the Fort. The next Day the
 “ Judge came on board, attended by several Secretaries
 “ and other Officers, all of them very grave sober-look-
 “ ing People, who examined every thing with all the
 “ Nicety and Strictness of an Inquisition. They called
 “ for our Journals, questioned our Pilots, Mariners,
 “ and even the Cabin-Boys, particularly as to this
 “ Point, Whether we had not formed a Design of touch-
 “ ing at *Brazil* before we were in such Distress? They
 “ all answered in the Negative; but still we had so lit-
 “ tle Hopes, that every one in the Ship, who had it in
 “ his Power, made them some Present or other, which
 “ they took indeed, but scarce gave us Thanks. At
 “ last they took their Leaves, and sent some Carpenters
 “ on board, to whom our Captains made such an Ap-
 “ plication, that they reported our Leaks to be so
 “ dangerous, that the Crew were very much alarmed,
 “ and were afraid of sinking before they got out of the
 “ Ship.

“ As soon as this Report was made, we had Leave
 “ to go on Shore, which was refused us before; and we
 “ had also Leave given us to take Lodgings where we
 “ thought fit in the City, but with strict Caution not to
 “ attempt any kind of Trade on Pain of forfeiting both
 “ Ship and Cargo. The Officers put on board the Vessel
 “ talked the same Language at first, but seeing the Im-
 “ pression it made, and that our People were very exact
 “ in that Particular, they were so kind as to explain
 “ themselves the third Day, telling us that this was all
 “ a Farce; that the Judges themselves knew it; that
 “ they understood by our Presents, we were a good sort
 “ of People, and, that we should have, every Night,
 “ Boats come off with all sorts of Merchandize; and
 “ that they would take care we should run no sort of
 “ Risk, either in buying or selling. The Boats came
 “ accordingly, and though at first we were a little sus-
 “ picious, yet in one Week’s time their Language was
 “ perfectly understood, and Trade went on briskly every
 “ Evening, as soon as it was dark.

“ We imagined there would be no Difficulty in pro-
 “ curing Carpenters and other Workmen, if we gave
 “ them good Wages, but we were mistaken; for none
 “ of these People durst take our Money till they had
 “ Leave, and that Leave was not to be had but by dint
 “ of Presents; which being properly bestowed the Car-
 “ penters came on board and went to work. It is lite-
 “ rally true in *Brazil*, that Money will do all Things,
 “ and that nothing is to be done without Money. We
 “ staid there four Months, and found few honest Men
 “ except the Viceroy.

“ He was the first that ever had that Title, all the
 “ former Governors being called Captains-General;
 “ and his Title was not only higher, but his Power much
 “ greater than theirs; which was intended to redress the
 “ many Corruptions and Iniquities that had crept into
 “ the Government. The Nobleman graced with these
 “ Honours, was the Count *de Villaverda*, one of the
 “ greatest Families in *Portugal*, who had served as Ge-
 “ neral of Horse in the last War, and was in every re-
 “ spect a Man of as much Worth and Honour as his
 “ own, or any other Country, could boast. He found it
 “ very difficult to execute his Instructions, but he certainly
 “ set all his People a good Example; for in the corruptest

“ Country in the World he behaved with the greatest
 “ Probity Man could do, and laboured all that was in
 “ his Power to prevent the bad Effects of a contrary
 “ Conduct in others. But it may be naturally expected
 “ that I should give some Account of this great City,
 “ and I shall accordingly do it as exactly as I can:
 “ *St. Salvador* is situated at the Entrance of the Bay of
 “ *All Saints*, and has a very fine Port, which might be
 “ made still more commodious than it is, if Art and
 “ Industry gave a little Assistance to Nature: The pre-
 “ sent Viceroy has attempted this, and it is most certain
 “ that if they execute his Design in its full Extent,
 “ the Harbour of *St. Salvador* will become the best in
 “ *America*.

“ The City is divided into the Upper and the Lower:
 “ We will begin with the second, in which live all the
 “ Merchants, and People of Business; and perhaps
 “ there is not in the World a Place, for its Size, of
 “ greater Hurry or greater Trade: It lies at the Foot of
 “ a Hill which is not very high, but excessively steep.
 “ There is in it a royal Arsenal, besides the King’s Ware-
 “ houses and Magazines; which are large, well filled;
 “ and kept in excellent Order. There is likewise a very
 “ fine Yard for building Ships; and it is very wonderful;
 “ that the Policy of the *Portugueze*, in this respect, is
 “ not imitated by other Nations that have Colonies in
 “ *America*; for Ships are not only built here, at a much
 “ easier Rate than in *Europe*; but are likewise better, and
 “ more serviceable, because the Timber is excellent in
 “ its Kind, and incorruptible in its Nature, so that the
 “ Worms, which in the *Mediterranean* and the *West Indies*,
 “ make a swift and certain Destruction in all our
 “ Vessels, how well soever they may be sheathed, are
 “ not able to penetrate these. The same Thing is
 “ practised in almost all the other Parts of *Brazil*,
 “ which is certainly a very wise, and a very profitable Re-
 “ gulation. And as, on the one hand, we may be
 “ very well surprized, that other Nations have not imi-
 “ tated the *Portugueze* in this respect, so, on the other
 “ hand, there is no less Reason to be astonished; that a
 “ Nation so prudent and politic in this Particular, scarce
 “ acts with common Sense in any other.

“ The upper Town is seated on the Summit of the
 “ Mountain; the Houses are large enough, and some
 “ are pretty convenient; but the Inequality of the
 “ Ground on which they stand spoils their Appearance,
 “ and renders the Streets very disagreeable: The grand
 “ Place, or great Square, is in the Middle of the Town;
 “ and the Viceroy’s Palace, the Town-house, the Mint,
 “ and other public Buildings, occupy four Sides,
 “ which are handsome enough, but have only this singu-
 “ lar in them, that they are built of Stone brought from
 “ *Portugal*, for in all this Country they have none fit for the
 “ Purpose: The *Jesuits* College is, beyond all Dispute,
 “ the largest, fairest, and most finished Building in the
 “ City, more especially the Sacristy, which is lined
 “ throughout with the most beautiful Tortoise-shell,
 “ wrought and fixed together in the most elegant
 “ manner, so that nothing can be conceived more agree-
 “ able to the Eye, or more satisfactory even to the
 “ nicest Taste: There are several other fine Churches;
 “ and that of the *Benedictine* Abbey, which is now
 “ building, will rival, if not exceed, the Church of the
 “ *Jesuits*; but the Cathedral, which without doubt
 “ ought to be the noblest Structure, and which really
 “ seems to be so at a Distance, is however far from ap-
 “ pearing either neat or regular when one comes to
 “ examine it; yet, if the Richness of Gilding may
 “ entitle a Church to be thought fine, this must be ac-
 “ knowledged to surpass not only all the Churches here,
 “ but throughout the greatest Part of *America*.

“ There is also amongst the Convents in this Capital,
 “ one very remarkable of the Order of *St. Clare*, and
 “ another, destined to the Use of such young Girls as are
 “ exposed and abandoned by their Parents. It is amaz-
 “ ing to see how much these Foundlings are considered
 “ in this Country; the Kings adopts them all, and the
 “ Ladies of the first Quality frequently take them
 “ Home, when at a proper Age, and breed them up as
 “ their

“ their own ; which is certainly a very laudable Charity ; but is, in some Cases, attended with great Inconveniencies. The City of *St. Salvador* is the Seat of an Archbishopric, which is usually filled by some Ecclesiastic of the best Family in *Portugal*, as well on Account of its large Revenue, as because of the Share that Prelate has of the Government. The City is much longer than it is broad, and, if we speak of it only within the Walls, it is but small ; but if we take in the Suburbs, it may pass for a pretty large Place ; the Number of Houses having been computed at two thousand, and that Computation is, perhaps, rather below than above their real Number.

“ The Viceroy has two Councils, one of Criminal, the other of Civil Affairs, in which he presides ; but Justice goes on very slowly, and there is not a Country in the World where so much Paper is blotted by the Lawyers as here, before any final Judgment is obtained. In former times it was here as in the *Spanish* Governments, the Captain-General durst not punish, much less put to Death, any Native of his Master's Dominions in *Europe* ; but the present Viceroy has broke through this, and ventures to condemn Murderers and such like Criminals, to suffer the Punishments they deserve ; but the Proceedings are still so slow, and the Precautions taken so many, that there is no sort of Danger of any Man's being sent to the Gallows there, before he very richly deserves it ; and the only Scandal to the Government is, that the Road thither is not quite so much beaten as it ought to be ; for it would be certainly much better that five were hanged every Year, than ten murdered with Impunity.

“ The Commerce of *Brazil* is very considerable, and the Luxury of the Inhabitants as great as can well be imagined. There is an annual Fleet comes from *Portugal* with *European* Goods, consigned by the Merchants of *Lisbon* to their Factors here, where they never wait long for their Cargoes, which consist of Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold Dust, all of which are commonly laid up in their Magazines ready against the Arrival of the Fleet, with the Contents of which they are also perfectly well acquainted ; so that to land the Commodities of *Europe*, and to ship those of the Country, is almost all they have to do. The Inhabitants may be divided properly enough into three Sorts of People, *viz.* Planters, Factors, and Mariners. The former buy as many Slaves as they can employ in their Sugar and Tobacco Works, or in the Mines ; and when the *Lisbon* Fleet comes they ship their Commodities on board it, and receive an Equivalent in *European* Goods and Manufactures by the next Year's Fleet. The Factors keep Magazines of all Sorts of Goods that come from *Portugal*, with which they purchase Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold, of such Planters as want an immediate Supply of the Things they deal in, without waiting for next Year's Fleet. As for the sea-faring People, the chief of their Business consists in making frequent Trips to the Coast of *Guinea* to purchase Slaves. I do not speak here either of the Lawyers or the Soldiers ; and my Reason for it is, they being generally either Planters or Merchants.

“ The *Guinea* Trade is very considerable ; those employed in it from this City or Bay, bringing over usually twenty, or five and twenty thousand Negroes every Year ; and of these, fifteen thousand, at least, are disposed of amongst the Inhabitants of *St. Salvador*. There is not a *Portuguese* there, who has not, at least, a dozen Blacks in his Service, and they very often employ them in such Offices as are equally contrary to the Interest of Religion, and of the State. They arm, for Instance, such of them as are clean-limbed well-made Fellows, each with his Sword and Dagger ; and as they have a Sort of brutal Fierceness, which some miscall Courage, they are capable of doing any thing they are commanded, of what Kind soever ; and, by this Means, they acquire such a Habit of doing Mischief, that they very frequently do it without any Commands at all. There are also Abundance

“ of these Fellows that are free ; that is to say, have either obtained their Liberty, as a Reward of their Services, or, have purchased it with Money. It is really astonishing, all Things considered, that some dreadful Revolution has not happened to the *Portuguese* in this Country, from their weak and ill-judged Indulgence for these Negroes, who are much more numerous, as well armed, and, if it be possible, more wicked than themselves.

“ It may seem strange that I say this, but it will surely appear stranger, when I affirm, that in saying this, I do not at all exceed the Truth. In short, the far greater Part of the *Portuguese* settled here, are Hypocrites in Points of Religion, and totally destitute of Morals ; Thieves and Sharpers by Profession ; and very frequently Murderers from Resentment. There is no Order, no Decency, no Obedience known amongst them ; every Barber, Shoemaker, and Taylor, struts with his Sword and Dagger, and looks upon himself as equal to any Officer in the Colony, because his Face is of the same Complexion. The present Viceroy is sensible of, and detests, this Conduct. When he first came over he laboured to reform it ; but Custom has so strongly established it, that hitherto his Labours have proved vain.

“ Of late Years, and since the Discovery of the Mines, they have formed a kind of new System of living, which some Time or other will prove fatal to them ; for, instead of cultivating their Plantations, they send most of their Slaves to the Mines, upon these Conditions : Their Master finds them a Pound of Meal a Day, and if they eat any thing else they buy it themselves ; in return, the Slave is bound to pay his Master daily such a Quantity of Gold ; if he happens to get more, he lays it by, to make up for Deficiencies, or, by living hard, he saves enough to purchase his Freedom. Thus the Masters are at a kind of Certainty, with respect to their Estates ; for so many Slaves produce so much Money certain : But, in the mean Time, their Sugar and Tobacco is decaying ; and, which is much worse, they are in Danger of wanting necessary Subsistence ; for which they now depend chiefly upon the Fleets from *Portugal* ; and perhaps at *Lisbon* this may be looked upon as an Advantage, because it is a very strong Tie upon the Colony ; since, if they do not continue good Subjects, they must be content not to eat. As it is, indeed, few People live worse, since the greatest Part of their Victuals is salt Meat, or dried Fish, and all the Bread they have is made of a powdered Root, so that there is scarce a Country in *Europe* where a Man cannot live better upon Half a Crown a Day, than he can in *Brazil* for twenty Shillings.

“ The Truth of the Matter is, that the People of *Brazil* love Shew and Magnificence, fine Cloaths, Jewels, and a large Train of Servants, better than what we call Good-Living. Yet some Feasts they have, but Feasts that bring after them a long Train of Fasts ; for every Man has his Guardian Saint, upon whose Anniversary, perhaps, he spends his whole Year's Revenue, or, at least, the best Part of it, and never has a good Dinner afterwards, except at his Neighbour's, upon the like Occasion. Yet there are prodigious Sums of Gold pass through these Peoples Hands, though undoubtedly they were much happier before the Mines were discovered, and would be so again, if there was not a Grain of Gold Dust in the Colony. The Plate Fleet, this Year, from *Rio Janeiro*, was said to be worth thirty Millions ; that is, about a Million and an half of *English* Money ; but the Fleet from the Bay carried but twenty-four thousand Arbores of Sugar, whereas they had formerly made sixty thousand, and their Tobacco Trade decays in Proportion : Yet, I believe, it may be doubted whether *Portugal* is much the richer for all this Gold ; since the *English* and *Dutch* furnish all the Manufactures, or, at least, the greatest Part of them that are sent to *Brazil* ; whereas, when they brought over only Sugar, Tobacco, *Brazil*-Wood, and other such-like

“ Commo-

“ Commodities ; they had considerable Returns made
“ them in Money.

“ They seem to be still under great Apprehensions
“ of being, some Time or other, attacked in this Coun-
“ try, against which they are provided pretty effectually,
“ since there are very few Colonies better fortified,
“ in all respects, than this, as will appear from the
“ Account I am going to give you of their Works for
“ the Security of the Bay. In the first Place, they
“ have at Point *St. Antonio* a great square Fort, and
“ below it a smaller, with ten large Pieces of Cannon,
“ which two Fortresses command the Mouth of the
“ Bay. They are likewise tracing Ground for a new
“ Fort, which is to be called *The Castle of St. Peter*,
“ and, when built, will be very strong. In the Middle
“ of the Harbour they have a large Fortrefs, which of
“ late they have repaired, and have now augmented.
“ The Arsenal is flanked by two strong Bastions, which
“ command the whole Port. On the other Side, between
“ *Monserat* and this City, they have erected a fine Ci-
“ tadel, which is a regular Square, admirably fortified
“ in every respect, and well furnished with Brass Ar-
“ tillery. At the Point of *Monserat* again, they have a
“ small, but strong Fort, with twelve Pieces of heavy
“ Cannon. There are yet two other Fortresses to be
“ mentioned, one between *St. Antonio* and the City,
“ where they make their Gunpowder, and the other the
“ Powder Warehouse, which lies on the other Side of
“ the City, and commands a large artificial Lake made
“ by the *Dutch*; so that the City of *St. Salvador* is cover-
“ ed by the Sea on one Side, and by the Lake on the
“ other. The Garrison consists of two Regiments of
“ Foot, three Regiments of Militia, and a Regiment
“ of free Negroes, besides some Cavalry which the
“ Viceroy keeps up to restrain the *Banditti*, who are
“ very troublesome and do a great deal of Mischief in
“ the distant Parts of the Colony.

“ After having thus related to you the principal things
“ I have seen here, though with little Method, yet
“ with much Truth, I ought now to conclude; but as
“ there are still some things that have escaped my Pen,
“ though not my Observation, I think it may not be
“ amiss to add them here, though without much Or-
“ der, rather than omit them entirely; the rather as
“ they will contribute to explain some Passages that have
“ gone before, and render the whole of my Account
“ more perfect. The better Sort of People in *St. Sal-
“ vador* very much resemble the *Chinese*, that is to say,
“ they are excessively civil and complaisant to Strangers,
“ with a View to obtain from them Presents and Gra-
“ tifications of much higher Value than the Trifles they
“ bestow; and if their Expectations on this head are
“ not answered, they never fail to give Strangers as
“ strong Proofs of Resentment at the End of their Ac-
“ quaintance, as they did of their Politeness at the Be-
“ ginning. Their Forces in *Brazil* are, at present,
“ much superior to any thing that can be sent against
“ them; and what I take to be the chief of their Strength
“ is, their being used and seasoned to the Country; so
“ that I am fully persuaded that an Attempt to dispossess
“ them by any Nation except one, would be vain and
“ fruitless, and serve only to create a vast Expence of
“ Blood and Treasure to no end or purpose: But for all
“ this, it is very certain that either Privateers or small
“ Squadrons of Men of War might distress them very
“ much upon their Coasts, and, perhaps, enrich them-
“ selves considerably, by taking some of their Maritime
“ Places.

“ At the very Time I was there a Pirate did a great
“ deal of Mischief, and took abundance of Ships with
“ Impunity. The Crew, as is usual in such Vessels,
“ was composed of People of all Nations; and it was
“ commanded by a *Spaniard* from the Island of *St.
“ Domingo*. The Force of this Ship was far from being
“ great; for, according to the Accounts the *Portuguese*
“ gave of her, she carried but thirty Guns, and her
“ Crew consisted but of three hundred Men; yet the
“ whole City of *St. Salvador* was alarmed at the Re-
“ port; and though the Viceroy immediately equip-
“ ped a fine new Frigate, which he had caused to be

“ built there, yet she was manned so slowly, that the
“ Pirate had time enough to bear away with her Prizes.
“ In a Word, there is nothing of the old Spirit and
“ Bravery of the *Portuguese* Nation to be seen here; but,
“ on the contrary, the People are all lazy, indolent,
“ and quite given up to their Pleasures; this I take to
“ be owing to their being served by Negroe Slaves; for
“ the Servility of these poor Creatures makes their Mas-
“ ters insolent; and most of them keeping Seraglios
“ of black Women, become enervate in their Bodies,
“ and lose all Firmness and Grandeur of Mind; a thing,
“ which as it occurred to me from Experience, so I be-
“ lieve it will appear very natural to you, from your
“ own good Sense and thorough Knowledge of human
“ Nature.

“ Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe
“ that, unless by a constant Succession of wise and good
“ Governors, the Manners of the Inhabitants are chang-
“ ed, and their ill Customs abolished, there will, some
“ time or other, either from their Want of Provisions,
“ the Insolence of the Negroes, or some such like Cause,
“ happen an Insurrection or Revolution, which will
“ change the Face of Affairs here; for that a Country,
“ where the Inhabitants are plunged into Luxury and
“ Corruption, should enjoy, for a long series of Years,
“ uninterrupted Tranquility, is contrary to all Maxims
“ of Policy; and, indeed, that private Crimes and Public
“ Peace should constantly dwell together, is not very
“ reconcileable to Common-Sense.” Thus far my Au-
“ thor, to whose Account I shall presume to add a few
“ Particulars that I have collected elsewhere.

The City of *St. Salvador* lies in the Latitude of 14°
South, and is at present the Centre of the *Portuguese*
Trade in this Part of the World. Authors differ very
much in the Accounts they give us of the Fleets sent
hither annually from *Lisbon*; for some make them dou-
ble what others report them; but the Reason of this is,
that the one speak of the whole *Brazil* Fleet, which
generally assemble in the Bay of *All Saints*, in order
to return together to *Europe*; and the other of the Fleet
from *Lisbon*, expressly destined for the Bay, which may
be about thirty Sail escorted by two Men of War, and
which usually sail about *March*.

The Commodities they carry are Wine, Brandies,
Meal, or Flower; Oil, Cheese, Cloths, Stuffs, Linnen,
Iron rough and wrought; Paper, all kinds of Kitchen
Utensils, Laces, and most kinds of Apparel. On the
other hand, they bring from thence the best Tobacco
in *Brazil*, which is so much esteemed in *Europe*; Sugar,
Indigo, Balsom Copahu, or Copaiva, Ipecacuanha, Pa-
reira Brava, Cinnamon, long Pepper, Ginger, Woods
for dying, and some for inlaying; Ambergrease, and
other rich Drugs and Perfumes; besides these they also
export from hence raw Hides, Train-Oil, and Whale-
Fins, abundance of these Creatures being taken upon
this Coast, and, for this forty Years last past, Gold,
Amethysts, and Diamonds. There are likewise some
Silver Mines in *Brazil*, which, though not wrought to
such Profit as to allow the exporting much of this Metal
to *Portugal*, yet furnished sufficient for home Circula-
tion; and of this Silver that Money is coined at *St.
Salvador*, which is current through the whole Colony;
and which bears on one Side the Arms of *Portugal*, and
on the other a Cross charged with a Sphere, with the
following Motto: *Under this Sign will I stand*.

All the rest of the Captainships which lie farther to
the South, carry on their Trade by the *Rio Janeiro*, so
called for its having been discovered in the Month of
January 1515; and which, from being scarce known to,
is at present become one of the most famous and con-
siderable Rivers in, the World. The Banks of it are as
beautiful and pleasant as can be imagined; the Climate
fine; the Soil extremely fertile, producing Sugar, In-
digo, Tobacco, and Cotton, all in very great Perfec-
tion. It has been likewise found, that *European* Corn
will grow here with very little Trouble, and to great
Perfection; but, for the Reasons already assigned, this,
and all other Improvements, have been disregarded, tho',
independent of the Gold Mines which have been dis-
covered in this and the neighbouring Captainships of *St.*

Vincent, this might be considered as the very richest Part of *Brazil*. The *Portuguese* that are settled here are quite a different Sort of People from those in the Bay of *All Saints*; for they are active, industrious, well inclined to Foreigners, and suffer the *Indians*, who live amongst them, to enjoy as much Freedom as themselves, which renders the Country a perfect Paradise; and it is not easy to imagine, what vast Cargoes were brought from the *Rio Janeiro* before the Gold Mines in that Country were discovered.

The City of *St. Sebastian*, which is the Capital of this Country, stands very commodiously in 23 Degrees of South Latitude, on the West Side of the River, about two Leagues from the Sea. This City, which is very well fortified, is the Seat of a *Portuguese* Governor, and a Bishop's See, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *St. Salvador*; there are likewise several other considerable Towns on the *Rio Janeiro*, all of which have a large Share of Trade, as may appear from the Number of Ships, which compose the Fleet sent hither annually from *Portugal*, which consists of between twenty and thirty Sail of Vessels, of 500 Tons Burden, which are usually escorted by two Men of War. The Commodities brought from hence are, generally speaking, the same with those brought from the Bay of *All-Saints*, Diamonds only excepted. After saying this, it may be naturally expected that we should give the Reader some Account of the Diamond Mines here; which, however, is a Thing very difficult to do, there being very little known of them, with any Degree of Certainty; but the few Circumstances that we have been able to draw together, in relation to this important Article, are these.

It is about forty Years ago, that some precious Stones were brought to the City of *St. Sebastian*, taken out of a small River lying Westward of that City, which were, at first, judged to be very fine Pebbles; but it was not so soon that they were brought over to *Europe*. About the Close of the last general War these fine Pebbles were found in greater Quantities; and we are told, that some rich Planters began to employ their Slaves in digging the black heavy Earth, on the Sides of the Mountain, from whence this River descended, and then these Stones were found in greater Plenty; some of them were very large, but most of them of a black or yellowish Cast, which hurt their Lustre, and sunk their Value; yet notwithstanding this, many of the yellow Stones were brought to *Lisbon*, and sold for Topazes.

Afterwards, the Crown of *Portugal* interposed, and the working of these Mines was forbidden; which, however, did not hinder their coming in considerable Quantities; for sometimes it was said, they were found in this or that River, and not dug out of any Mine; sometimes they had other Names given them, and many of them were sent to *St. Salvador*, and from thence exported to *Europe*, under a Notion of their coming by the *Goa* Fleet from the *East-Indies*. This involuntary Fraud raised their Value; and, at last, the Crown of *Portugal* became convinced, that such as pretended to great Skill in Stones had deceived them; and that some of these *Brazil* Diamonds were scarce to be distinguished from Oriental Stones: Upon this they altered their Measures, and it was permitted to send over rough Diamonds in the *Rio Janeiro* Fleet, under certain Restrictions; which Licence making the Value of these Jewels still more and more apparent, the King of *Portugal* resolved to put this Trade under a new Regulation; which, as far as I know, has subsisted ever since. This new Order took Place in the Year 1740, when his *Portuguese* Majesty let these Mines to a Company at *Rio Janeiro*, for an annual Rent of one hundred thirty eight thousand Crusades, which is twenty six thousand Pounds of our Money, upon Condition, that they employed no more than six hundred Slaves at these Mines; which Condition plainly proves, that they are far greater and more considerable than they have generally been esteemed to be.

It is very probable, that the coming of these Stones into *Europe* may sink the Price of Diamonds considerably; but it must, at the same Time, be allowed, that it cannot but prove highly advantageous to the *Portuguese*, since it will operate very effectually in their Favour, in

regard to the Balance of Trade; for if they dispose of these Stones to any Nation, upon whom they have already a Balance, they must bring Money into the Kingdom; and if, on the other Hand, they can find a way to sell them, either to us, or to the *Dutch*, this will lessen the Balance in our Favour, and prevent the Exportation of Gold, which must have been otherwise sent abroad, to pay that Balance; so that, take it either Way, the Discovery of these Diamond Mines, is of very high Consequence, and, if wisely managed, may prove of prodigious Advantage to this Nation.

But let us now proceed to what little remains of the History of this valuable Colony. Southward from the Captainship of *Rio Janeiro* lies the Captainship of *St. Vincent*, which I take to be the richest Country in *Brazil*, perhaps in all *South America*; and therefore I shall describe it more particularly. It is bounded on the North by the Captainship of *Rio Janeiro*; on the East by the Ocean; on the South by the new Captainship, or that styled *Del Rey*; and on the West by the Mountains of *la Plata* and Countries inhabited by various savage Nations: It extends from the Latitude of 22 Degrees to 27 Degrees South; and is in length from North to South, about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth, from East to West, in some Places, near one hundred and eighty Miles, but the greatest Part of it is not above half so broad.

The Town of *St. Vincent* is situated on a very fine Bay of the *Atlantic* Ocean, or, as some of the best Maps I have seen represent it, on a kind of Peninsula, very well fortified; a little to the North-west lies the Town of *Santos*, which some look upon to be the Capital of the Province; and which, as I have found, in the Memoirs of a *Spanish* Traveller, has as fine a Port as any in the *West Indies*, capable of holding the largest Ships, and which might be fortified in such a Manner, as to be able to resist any Strength, that either in this Part of the World, or from *Europe*, could be brought against it. The same Writer, who was in these Parts, towards the End of the last Century, has given us a very full Account of them, with which I was furnished by an ingenious Gentleman, who thought it might be of use to me in the History of *Spanish America*, which I was then writing, and which I shall insert here, as in its proper Place; the rather, because I think there is no Part of the World less known, or which, therefore, it can be more agreeable to the inquisitive Reader to find accurately described.

“ The *Portuguese*, says my Author, had not shewn
“ any great Concern, either for extending or improving
“ their Territories in *Brazil* after the Expulsion of the
“ *Dutch*, till a certain Statesman advised Don *Pedro*, about
“ the Year 1685, to think of improving his *American*
“ Dominions; and more especially, the two Extremi-
“ ties of *Brazil*. That Minister suggested, that the Cli-
“ mate, at the Bay of *All Saints*, would frustrate what-
“ ever Endeavours might be used to render the People
“ active and industrious; but that it was otherwise,
“ both with the northern and southern Extremities of
“ *Brazil*; where a wise Government, and a little En-
“ couragement, might render the Country of much
“ greater Advantage to the Crown of *Portugal*, than
“ hitherto it had been. This Advice was received and
“ followed; which gave Birth, on one Hand, to the
“ establishing the *Portuguese* Forts and Settlements to-
“ wards the River of *Amazons*; and on the other, to
“ the Improvement of the new Colony at *Santos*, which
“ was then but very small.

“ The Method taken for this Purpose was singular
“ enough, most of the Persons made Choice of were of
“ the mix'd Herd, or, as the *Portuguese* call them,
“ *Mestices*, who married *Brazilian* Women; and the
“ Person intrusted with the Government of these new
“ Planters, were Priests and Monks; but they were
“ sent expressly from *Portugal*, and Care was taken that
“ they should be fit for the Purpose. The Captain-
“ General of *Brazil*; and all the Officers in the sou-
“ thern Captainships, had Orders to treat these People
“ kindly, and to give them no Disturbance in their
“ Measures. It very soon appeared, by the Effects,
“ that

“ that this Plan was very wisely concerted ; for they
“ multiplied prodigiously, and, in the Space of about
“ fifteen Years, the Priests added several hundreds of
“ Families to their Colony ; extending Westward four-
“ score, or one hundred, Miles farther than the *Por-
tugueze* had any Settlements before that Time. By
“ Degrees they purchased Slaves, more especially the
“ Ecclesiastics, whom they employed in the Silver
“ Mines ; and, treating the Negroes better than most of
“ their Neighbours, they soon became very rich ; so
“ that several Parish Priests, in the Captainship of *St.
Vincent*, were worth from ten to fifty thousand Cru-
“ sades ; that is, from fifteen hundred to eight thou-
“ sand Pounds apiece.

“ They paid the King’s Fifth very regularly, and
“ this was the beginning of the Riches drawn from this
“ Part of the World. But when it was once known,
“ that so much Wealth was to be had in these hitherto
“ uncultivated Regions, there began very soon to resort
“ thither abundance of Adventurers, of all Countries,
“ and of all Characters ; when I say of all Countries,
“ I mean *Spaniards*, as well as *Portugueze*, free Negroes,
“ *Mulattoes*, and all the different Mixtures that are to be
“ met with in *Brazil*, down to the *Carribocos*, who are
“ the Offspring of *Brazilian* Savages, by Negroe Wo-
“ men ; and by different Characters, I mean Monks as
“ well as Laymen, Soldiers, Mechanics, broken Planters ;
“ and, in short, all that Sort of Men, who are ready to
“ go any where, or to do any thing to get a Living. As
“ these were quite a different Race from those of the
“ new Colony before-mentioned, it is not to be sup-
“ posed that they could dwell together, more especially
“ as the former were the quietest, and most simple ; the
“ latter the most riotous and turbulent People in the
“ World.

“ These Adventurers, therefore, took care to look
“ out for a new Settlement, and they found one of the
“ properest Places in the World for their Reception, at
“ no great Distance. This was the thick and vast Forest
“ of *Parnabaccaba*, which overspread all the Mountains
“ at the Back of this Captainship, and in which hitherto
“ none but wild Beasts took up their Dwelling. They
“ soon cleared a Part of this Wilderness for their Habi-
“ tation, in which they established not only a new
“ Town, which they called *San Paulo*, but a new Re-
“ public also, in which they lived after the Manner they
“ liked best. At first this was overlooked, because the
“ Country was judged of no great Value, and the adja-
“ cent Captainships were very well pleased to be rid of
“ those Sort of Folk, who resorted thither. In the Space,
“ however, of a very few Years, they grew too strong
“ to be dealt with ; for, receiving, as they did, all Sorts
“ of People, they quickly increased from two or three
“ hundred, to as many thousand, Men ; and being a
“ bold, hardy, enterprising, and daring Crew, the Go-
“ vernors knew not how to deal with them. In the
“ first Place, they took care to fortify the Avenues to
“ their Territory, which were naturally strong ; and
“ they seldom ventured abroad, but in Bodies of four-
“ score, or one hundred, Men, and in such Parties
“ they frequently traversed the whole Extent of *Brazil*.
“ These were the People who first discovered and wrought
“ the Gold Mines, which must be excessively rich, since
“ they were able to obtain such vast Quantities of Metal,
“ without any of those Assurances which the *Spaniards*
“ have in their Settlements in *Chili*. As this required,
“ however, a great Number of Hands, they seized
“ upon all the straggling *Indians* and Negroes they could
“ meet with, and compelled them to undergo such
“ Fatigues as they thought proper.

“ This new and extraordinary Commonwealth was
“ denominated, from the Place of their Denomination,
“ *Paulists*, and they would not suffer any of the *Por-
tugueze* Officers to enter their Territories ; yet they ac-
“ knowledged the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Portugal*,
“ and paid regularly what they said was the Fifth of
“ the Gold they obtained ; which, in the Year 1691,
“ amounted to one thousand Marks, or eight thousand
“ Ounces ; which shews, that at that time they drew an-
“ nually from the Rivers and Mountains in their Posses-

“ sion, forty thousand Ounces of Gold ; they took care,
“ however, every time they paid the Tribute, to de-
“ clare, they did it freely, and of their own Accord,
“ out of Respect to the Crown of *Portugal*, and not
“ from any sort of Fear or Sense of Obligation. The
“ Tyranny of the Governors of *Brazil*, and the Op-
“ pression of the *Spanish* Governors in the adjacent Pro-
“ vinces, furnished this new State with abundance of
“ Members, so that at last it became a very difficult
“ thing to get Admittance amongst them, and the Me-
“ thod in this Respect was singular enough to deserve
“ Notice:

“ They obliged such as presented themselves upon their
“ Frontiers, which they never suffered any Stranger to
“ enter, to submit to a very strict Examination, that
“ they might know whether they were fit for their Com-
“ munity, and be sure they were not Spies, or Persons
“ who intended to betray them ; upon the bare Suspi-
“ cion of which they made no Scruple of beating their
“ Brains out : But if, upon this Examination, they judg-
“ ed they might prove useful Members, they obliged
“ them to bring in two Slaves for their Support ; assign-
“ ing them a Dwelling and Plantation, by which they
“ commenced *Paulists*, and were to continue so to the
“ End of their Lives ; for any Attempt to desert was
“ punished with Death without Mercy. They made no
“ Exception of Country or Complexion ; a Savage was as
“ welcome to them as a *European* ; and every Man after
“ his Admission was at liberty to lead what kind of Life
“ he liked best, provided he did not disturb the Peace
“ of the Society. The Jesuits of *Paraguay*, either out
“ of Concern for the Souls of these People, or moved by
“ the Report of their great Riches, made several At-
“ tempts to gain Admittance amongst them, but to no
“ sort of Purpose ; yet they lived upon very fair Terms
“ with this strange Society ; and the *Portugueze* shrewd-
“ ly suspected, that the reverend Fathers furnished them
“ with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, because they knew
“ not how they could be furnished any other way.”

Our Author proceeds no farther, and therefore it is
impossible to say when or how this little Republic was
subverted ; but it is certain, that all this Country is now
in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, and as much under the
Obedience of the King of *Portugal* as any other Part of
Brazil ; but the City of *St. Paul* is still looked upon as
the Centre of the Mines, and a Garrison is maintained
there, for their Security. We know not, however, in
what manner the Gold is wrought or refined there ; but,
in all Probability, their chief Works are *Lavadero’s*,
which have been largely described in the first Volume, since
we do not hear of their using Quicksilver, as the *Spaniards*
do ; but it is very certain, that they are much increased
in Value, since the King of *Portugal*’s Fifth amounts very
commonly to one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *per
Annum* : And it appears by the latest Accounts, that these
Mines are continually improving.

The only Captainship to the Southward of that of
St. Vincent, is that of *del Rey*, extending from the Lati-
tude of 28 to 34 Degrees, 30 Minutes, South, being about
four hundred Miles in Length, but not above one hundred
broad in any Part of it. The Country is fruitful and
pleasant ; but the *Portugueze* absolutely neglected it till
the Discovery of the Mines of *St. Vincent* put them upon
planting and securing it, by erecting several Forts on the
North-side the River *la Plata*, to which the *Spaniards*
formerly pretended, and upon which they are still sup-
posed to cast a jealous Eye. The Country in this Pro-
vince is as pleasant and fruitful as any in *Brazil*, and as
capable of Improvement ; but as it has not been so long
inhabited as the other Captainships, it is far from being
thoroughly peopled. There are only a few Villages upon
the Sea Coast, and some Fortresses on the River of *Plate*.

The chief Advantage which the *Portugueze* draw at
present from this Province, is a kind of smuggling Trade,
which they carry on with the *Spaniards*, whom they
furnish with Rum and Tobacco of their own Growth, and
with Wines, Brandy, Cloaths, Silks, and Linnens from
Europe, which occasions Quarrels and Disputes between the
two Nations, though in reality the true Ground of their
Con-

Contentions, is the Thirst of Gold in both Parties, and the Desire that each has of becoming sole Possessors of that large Ridge of Mountains which are the Western Boundaries of this Province and that of *St. Vincent*, and are supposed to be full of Mines. Some speculative Politicians have insinuated, that it is not impossible that the *Spaniards* may, some time or other, carry their Point; but if they do they must begin with reducing the *Paraguay Indians*, who are at present subject only to the *Jesuits*; for otherwise it is very certain, that they cannot raise Men enough to give the *Portuguese* any Uneasiness, who, though they have not People to spare for settling this last District in *Brazil*, have however such Numbers in the adjacent Captainship of *St. Vincent*, as would very soon repel any Invasion from their Neighbours, who, after all, it is very certain, are on this Side rather weaker than themselves. So that Struggles of this Nature if ever this should happen, may be reputed at a great Distance, and if the *Portuguese* were as free from any Apprehensions of intestine Disorders, it might be affirmed that scarce any Colony is more secure than that of *Brazil*.

17. Thus we have given the Reader, according to our Promise, a full and methodical History of this Country, from the very first Discovery thereof to this Day; that is, for upwards of two hundred Years; and have shewn by what Methods it was first peopled, from a Country scarce equal in extent to one of its Captainships; how the new Planters grew excessively rich; and how the Envy of the *French* brought them to attempt an Establishment on the same Coast, with all other Transactions relative to this Colony; so that, what we have to say by way of Remarks, will be but very short; but we hope, notwithstanding that, they will afford the Reader both Pleasure and Profit. When the Spirit of Trade and Discovery, which exerted itself in *Portugal* in the fifteenth Century, first appeared, the Crown made no other use of its Prerogative, than to point out, proportion, and procure, suitable Rewards for such as distinguished themselves in promoting the public Interest; and then every Enterprize was carried on with Vigour, every Expedition was attended with Success. The little Country of *Portugal*, which had hitherto made so inconsiderable a Figure among the Kingdoms of *Europe*, began to take the Lead of them all; and, from creeping along the Coasts of *Africa* with a few little Vessels, her Fleets began to stretch to the *East Indies*, and to embrace that Trade which was the Object of *Alexander's* Ambition. The *East Indies*, by the Rout of the Cape of *Good Hope*, was their proper Discovery; and, though *Columbus* had a little the Start of them, yet the finding and settling of *Brazil* plainly proves that *America* could not have lain long hid from their Researches. The Fruit of these great Discoveries and Conquests, was a prodigious Trade, immense Riches, and an amazing naval Power, all deduced from a right turn in the Government, which established its Power in the Extention of that of its Subjects, without exerting a tyrannical Authority over them. This created Fleets, Armies, and a Dominion superior to any thing the *Europeans* had enjoyed, from the Destruction of the *Roman Empire*. But as a true and laudable Ambition raised the *Portuguese* to such a Height, a false and bastard Ambition made way for their Ruin. *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* was a Hero, he had all the Virtues incident to that Character; but they took a wrong Turn: He embarked the whole Force of *Portugal* in a War upon the Continent for his own Glory, and to serve no national Purpose whatsoever; there he perished, and all his Army with him; which, in itself, was a great Misfortune to his Subjects; but in its Consequences a much greater; for this threw them under the Dominion of *Spain*, which, as we have abundantly shewn in the foregoing Section, was the greatest Mischief that could befall them; for, after this, there appeared no public Spirit in the Government; all their Conquests in the *East-Indies* were either given to Men who had an Interest at the Court of *Spain*, or to such as that Court desired to get out of their Way.

There was no longer any Spirit of Virtue, Generosity, or Concern for public Good, either left or encouraged;

the enriching of private Families took Place of this; and, while a few of these carried their Point, the *Dutch* stript them of their Empire in the *East Indies*, and bid fair for making themselves Masters of *Brazil*; which, if they had, *Portugal* had remained a Province of *Spain*, and not a very considerable Province neither. When the *Portuguese* recovered their former Government, we see they recovered Spirit enough to preserve *Brazil*; but, since that Time, the Court has been infected with the *Spanish* Policy; and, the Desire of extending their royal Power has, in a great Measure, extinguished that Spirit which once made them a great People. But, to confine our Reflections to *Brazil*, the great Point in the *Portuguese* Councils at present is, to secure this Trade, or at least the Profits of it, to the Crown; in order to which the several Fleets destined for *Paraiba*, *Fernambuca*, the Bay of *All Saints*, and *Rio Janeiro*, sail as regularly as the *Spanish* Galleons, and in the very same Manner. If this Trade had been left more open, the Number of Ships would have been vastly greater, and there would have been no need of Men of War to escort them, or of another Squadron being sent to look out for, and bring them home, as is at present the Case every Year, and yet the *Algerines* frequently pick up some. This Method is the last dying Effort of a maritime Power; Convoys and Escorts are pitiful things; the Flag of a maritime Power ought to be a sufficient Protection, and no Nation ought to be esteemed so that suffers another to insult a Cock-boat.

Yet all this Policy is far from producing mighty things, as we shall see from a few Examples; *Brazil* Wood is now a royal Commodity, that is to say, it is sold for the Advantage of the Crown only; and it produces about 100000 Crusades, which is something better than 15000 Pound, annually. We have already seen what the Diamond-Farm brings in; and take the whole of the King's Fifth from the Gold Mines, and it will never be found to exceed half a Million of our Money. To remedy these Mischiefs, they had recourse to Methods that increase them; for they have set up several Companies for the doing what might be better done without any Company at all: For instance, they have an *African* Company for supplying Slaves at *Rio Janeiro*, a Company to manage the Mines, and an *East India* Company, now they have almost lost the Trade to the *East Indies*. But if, instead of these Schemes, they would redress the Grievances of their Subjects in *Brazil*, encourage Plantations rather than Mines, open their Ports to all Nations, and allow of a free Trade thither from *Portugal*; instead of fewer than one hundred Ships that are now annually employed in that Trade, they would very soon have many hundreds, and *Brazil* would quickly have ten times as many Inhabitants as at present; consequently the Country would be better cultivated, and their Dominions more extended, which would produce a much larger Revenue to the Crown than it enjoys at present.

There was, indeed, a Project of quite another kind set on Foot for the Improvement, as they call it, of this Trade in *Portugal*, of which I shall give a very short Account. In the Year 1709 the King of *Portugal*, perceiving that the vast quantities of Gold that came from *Brazil* did but just touch at *Lisbon*, and then travelled over all the Countries of *Europe*, directed this Matter to be very seriously examined in his Council: Supposing that if a Method could be found out to prevent this Gold from straying, the Business would be done, and himself become, at once, the richest Prince in *Europe*. His Council accordingly examined this Point very carefully, and they reported that the *English* and *Dutch* ran away with all the Gold, in Consequence of their furnishing the Goods and Manufactures that were sent to *Brazil*; they therefore proposed, that the using these Goods, and the wearing these Manufactures, should be prohibited in that Colony; and that the People should be content with what could be sent them from *Portugal*. This was considered as a great Stroke of Policy, and was on the very Point of being put in Execution, when it was prevented by the following Method:

The famous Lord *Galway* was then there on behalf of this

this Nation, and had the Confidence of the King, of whom he demanded a particular Audience upon this Occasion, at which he delivered himself in the following Manner: “ Your Majesty cannot be sufficiently commended “ for that steady Attention which you have always shewn “ to the Affairs of your Government, and the Pains you “ have lately bestowed in examining into the Ballance of “ Trade, is a new Proof of that Merit which would “ entitle you to the Crown, had it not descended to “ you from a long and glorious Line of Royal Ancestors. But permit me, Sire, to observe, that there is “ a greater King, one by whom all Kings reign, and “ whose Providence is over all his Works. According “ to his Distribution of things, Riches belong to some “ Nations, and Industry to others; and by this Means “ the Liberality of Heaven is made equal to all. Vain, “ Sire, are all human Councils when opposed to his Wisdom, and feeble the Efforts even of royal Power, “ when directed to cross his Will. You have forbid “ Gold to be exported out of your Dominions, and you “ would willingly enforce this Prohibition, but the thing “ is impracticable. You may restrain your Subjects it “ is true, but you cannot set Bounds to their Necessities. “ But say that this was possible; suppose you could defeat the Industry of the northern Nations, what would “ be the Consequence? Their Husbandmen, Grainers, “ Weavers, and all that infinite Train of Manufacturers, “ that now labour quietly at home to cloath and feed “ your Subjects, would then turn Soldiers; and, instead “ of seeing their Merchantmen in the River of *Lisbon*, “ you would hear of their Fleets conveying them to “ *Brazil*, to fetch much more of that Gold than you “ now fetch for them. Besides, Sire, if they are Gainers “ by your Trade, they become thereby the natural Guarantees of your Dominions: It is not their Treaties “ only, but their Interests that bind them to your Service. You have potent Enemies, and you require “ powerful Friends. The Ambition of *France* knows no “ Bounds: The Pride of *Spain* will teach her to keep “ up a perpetual Claim to your Territories and Crown: “ You can have no Recourse to frustrate the Views, and “ to defeat the Endeavours, of those Potentates, but to the maritime Powers; and therefore let me beseech your “ Majesty to consider, that every Project to distress them, “ is in Effect a Scheme to destroy yourself.” This Speech had the desired Effect; the intended Prohibition was laid aside, and the *English* Nation has reaped the Benefit of this Trade ever since. I came to the Know-

ledge of this Fact, which is very imperfectly related by a *French* Author, by an Accident; and I thought it my Duty, and a Piece of Justice owing to his Lordship’s Memory, to relate it fully and fairly, as I have done; and now I shall take leave of this Subject, in order to give a short, but distinct Account of our own Discoveries in *America*, according to what I proposed at the Beginning of this Chapter.

The Labour of collecting these is great; that of digesting them into Order still greater; and the reducing the Substance of large Books into small Sections greatest of all: But the Encouragement I have hitherto received by the kind Entertainment of my Writings, and the many friendly Communications that I have met with, and to which their Merit is chiefly owing, will enable me, I doubt not, to go through the rest of this large Task, with as much Success as I have hitherto done. The Reputation of doing this is the chief Reward I have in View, because I am satisfied that a *Collection of Voyages* like these, where things are regularly connected, and the Subjects treated in their full Extent, will be of constant Service, as they have been hitherto one of the chief things wanting towards forming a Compleat Body of History. We have, indeed, very large Collections of Materials in several Languages; but then, almost all Nations have produced Writers extremely partial to themselves, and our own amongst the rest; but the Business is to purge these partial Relations, to free them from trivial Circumstances and needless Particulars, so as to bring the Knowledge they convey within a reasonable Compass, that it may be both easily read and easily understood, which is what we have endeavoured in the former Sections, and shall study to perform in what follows. As for large and entire Histories of Colonies, they are not to be expected here, as being frequent enough already, and therefore the less necessary, and requiring, besides, much more Room than we can spare. But in the last Book of this Collection, we shall insert some curious *English* Voyages, which will supply the Reader with a full Account of the Actions of those great Men of this Island, whom we are now to compare with those Heroes of other Climates, that have been already recorded; and when we have paid that just Tribute of Praise that is due to their Memories, we shall proceed in like Manner to a succinct History of the *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, which will effectually compleat the View we promised to give of *America*, and make the *West Indies* as well known as the *East*.

SECTION XVII.

The Discoveries and Settlements made by the ENGLISH in different Parts of America, from the Reign of Henry VII, to the close of that of Queen Elizabeth; interspersed with various Remarks on the Progress of our Trade and naval Power, and the Difficulties which the Nation had to struggle with in their first Attempts.

1. The History of Madoc, one of the Princes of Wales, and his supposed Discovery of America set in a true Light, and vindicated from some groundless Reflections made thereon by foreign Writers.
2. The generous Disposition of King Henry VII, with respect to encouraging Discoveries; and the Voyages of John, and Sebastian Cabot, in his Service, who first visited the Continent of America.
3. The Voyage of Sebastian Cabot, for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, in which he sailed along the Coast of that Part of North America, to which the Spaniards afterwards gave the Name of Florida.
4. The Voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, Vice-Admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, to Brazil, and other Parts of the West Indies.
5. The first Attempt of Mr. Hore, Merchant of London, to establish a Colony in Newfoundland; the strange Misfortunes he met with, and a memorable Instance of the Justice and Generosity of King Henry VIII.
6. The several Voyages of Captain William Hawkins to Brazil, and a singular Proof of his Abilities and Integrity.
7. A succinct Account of the Discoveries and maritime Expeditions to America, under the Reign of King Edward VI.
8. That History continued during the Reign of Queen Mary, and her Consort, King Philip.
9. The Methods taken for extending our Trade, and making Settlements in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.
10. An Account of Sir Francis Drake’s giving the Name of New Albion, to a Country lying in the northern Part of California, and the Importance of that Discovery.
11. The first Settlement of Newfoundland, with a short Account of the Nature thereof, and the Advantages

which have accrued from the Fishery upon its Coasts to this Nation. 12. The first Attempt to settle Virginia, under the Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, with an Account of that Colony. 13. The several Voyages of Captain John Davis, and the great Discoveries made by him in North America. 14. Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana; the Consequences of that Expedition, and Remarks thereupon. 15. Other remarkable naval Transactions, within the Compass of that Reign, relating to this Subject. 16. A succinct View of the State of our Trade to America, at the Time of the Death of Queen Elizabeth. 17. Remarks and Observations on the principal Events mentioned in the foregoing Section.

1. **T**HE Glory of having first discovered far distant Countries, and adding thereby to the Knowledge and Commerce of Mankind, has always had Charms sufficient to invite different Nations to put in their Claims, even though they have not been extremely well founded. When *America* was first made known, it occasioned abundance of Enquiries; and, as it was natural, recalled to many Peoples Remembrances and Considerations, Stories which had before been deemed scarce worthy of Notice: Amongst the rest our Nation put in; and the Tale told in Favour of us, as it is the earliest in Point of Time, seems to merit Relation as well or better than any other. In short, this Story asserts that *Madoc*, Prince of *Wales*, was the first Discoverer of *America*, and the Detail of his Expedition runs thus: He flourished in the twelfth Century, and was Son of *Owen Guyneth*, Prince of *North Wales*; his Brethren raising a civil War about the Division of his Father's Dominions, he chose rather to go to Sea with a few of his Friends, and seek out new Habitations, than run the Hazard of what might happen in this Dispute. Accordingly, about the Year 1170, steering due West, and leaving *Ireland* on the North, he came to an unknown Country, where he settled a Colony; and, returning thence into *Wales*, carried a second Supply of People, but was never heard of more.

That the Country he went to was really *America*, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this Tale was invented after the Discovery of that Country, on purpose to set up a prior Title, is most certainly false. *Meredith ap Rees*, who died in 1477, and was a famous *Welch* Poet, composed an Ode in Honour of this *Madoc*, wherein was contained an Account of his Discoveries. Now as this was several Years before *Columbus* made his first Voyage, we may be sure that this was really a *British* Tradition, and no Tale of late Contrivance. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have suggested that this was a pure Invention, designed to prejudice the Reputation of the great Discovery made by *Columbus*; but in this they rather shew their Malice to us, than discover ours; for beyond all doubt, the *Welch* had, and have still, such a Tradition, and therefore some wiser and better informed Critics have endeavoured to prove that it was not *America*, but *Groenland*, to which our *Welch* Prince sailed. In Proof of which they have observed that this Country was well known in the ninth and tenth Centuries, though it was afterwards lost.

But with Submission to these great Men, this Story does not at all answer their Purpose; for, it is evident, the Course does by no means agree; since, if he had sailed to that Country, he could not have left *Ireland* to the North. I have seen a very ingenious Discourse upon this Subject, in which is suggested, that Prince *Madoc* landed in some Part of *Florida*; that, in process of Time, the Colony he planted there proceeded round by Land, and reached the northern Parts of *Mexico*, which Country they conquered, and were those foreign Ancestors of the *Mexicans*, of whom we have heard so much from the *Spanish* Writers that have recorded the Adventures of *Cortes*, and with which the Reader is so well acquainted, that there is no need of our saying any thing more of them here, except it be this, that several *British* Words have been discovered in the old *Mexican* Tongue, and that no other *European* Nation can shew a better founded Tradition than this; for the Truth of which, however, I am very far from contending.

2. If there had been really any Desire in the *English* Nation to contest the Title of the Crown of *Spain* to the Country of *America*, it might have been undoubtedly fixed upon a much better Foundation; for, in the Life

of Don *Christopher Colon*, written by his Son in the reign of our King *Henry* the VIIIth, it is expressly said, that this great Man sent his Brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, to offer his Discovery to King *Henry* VII. and he did accordingly present a Map, dated the 13th of *February* 1488, to that Monarch; and having explained to him his Brother's Design, and what he proposed thereby, it was readily accepted; and Don *Bartholomew* was sent to invite his Brother into *England*, with an Assurance that the King would grant him all he desired. This Agreement was four Years before the Voyage of *Columbus* in the Service of their Catholic Majesties, and therefore had we been so much inclined to hunt for Titles to this new found Country, here had been a fair Pretence. But King *Henry* the VIIIth was of another Disposition; and, though he was a Prince much addicted to encourage such kind of useful Undertakings, he scorned to aim at reaping the Fruits of other Prince's Adventures; and therefore he contented himself, after missing by mere Accident *Columbus's* Discovery, with inviting other Seamen of known Reputation, to enter into his Service for like Purposes.

Amongst these was *John Cabot*, Citizen of *Venice*, who had been long settled at *Bristol*, and who thought himself capable of performing, as a Seaman, things little, if at all, short of what *Columbus* had done. He accordingly applied himself to the King, who, by Patent inrolled, dated the 5th of *March*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1495, granted to the said *John Cabot*, and his three Sons, *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancias*, Authority to sail with five Ships of what Burthen and Strength they thought fit, upon Discoveries to the East, West, and North; giving them the full Property of such Country or Countries as they should discover, with this Reservation only, that they should return to *Bristol*, and that they should pay him the Fifth Part of the neat Profits of their Voyage; in Consideration of which, they were to have the exclusive Right to the Countries so discovered, to which no other *English* Subjects were to trade, but by their Leave and Licence. But the Year before that Patent was granted, that is in 1494, *John Cabot*, with his Son *Sebastian*, had sailed from *Bristol* upon Discovery, and had actually seen the Continent of *Newfoundland*, to which they gave the Name of *Prima Vista*, or *First Seen*. And on the 24th of *June* the same Year he went ashore on an Island, which, because it was discovered on that Day, he called *St. John's*; and of this Island he reported very truly, that the Soil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the People wore Bear-Skin Cloaths, and were armed with Bows, Arrows, Pikes, Darts, Wooden Clubs, and Slings; but that the Coast abounded with Fish; and upon this Report of his, the beforementioned Patent was granted.

3. The next Voyage made for Discovery was by *Sebastian Cabot*, the Son of *John*, concerning which all our Writers have fallen into great Mistakes, for want of comparing the several Accounts we have of this Voyage, and making proper Allowances for the Manner in which they were written; since I cannot find there was ever any distinct and clear Account of this Voyage published, though it was of so great Consequence. On the contrary, I believe that *Cabot* himself kept no Journal of it by him; since in a Letter he wrote on this Subject, he speaks doubtfully of the very Year in which it was undertaken, though from the Circumstances he relates, that may be very certainly fixed. On the 3d of *February*, in the 13th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* VII, a new Grant was made to *John Cabot*, by which he had Leave given him to take Ships out of any of the Ports of *England*, of the Burden of two hundred Ton, to sail upon Discoveries; but before this could be effected, *John Cabot* died; and *Sebastian*

bastian, his Son, applied himself to the King, proposing to discover a North-west Passage, as he himself tells us; and for this Purpose he had a Ship manned and victualled at the King's Expence at *Bristol*, and three or four other Ships were fitted out at the Expence of some Merchants of that City, particularly *Mr. Thorne* and *Mr. Hugh Elliot*. But whereas *Sebastian Cabot* himself says, that he made this Voyage in the Summer of 1496, he must be mistaken, and he very well might, speaking from his Memory only; and to prove this I need only observe, that this Date will not at all agree even with his own Account of the Voyage; for he says expressly it was undertaken after his Father's Death; who, as we have shewn, was alive in the *February* following; so that it was the Summer of the Year 1497, in which he made this Voyage; and what he afterwards relates of his Return, proves this likewise.

But we have a direct and clear Authority as to this Fact, which is, that of *Robert Fabian*, who fixes this Voyage of *Sebastian Cabot's* to the Month of *May* 1497. And on the 11th of *June*, the same Year, he sailed as high as $67^{\circ} 30'$ finding the Sea still open, and he thought that he might this way have passed through into the *South Seas*, but his Crew mutinied, which forced him to return into the Latitude of 56° and from thence he ran down to 38° along the Coast of the Continent of *America*, which, as he expressly says, was afterwards called *Florida*, where Provisions growing short, he returned into *England*, touching by the way at *Newfoundland*. On his return, he says, he found the Nation in much Confusion, and great Preparations making for a War in *Scotland*, which agrees exactly with *Grafton's Chronicle*, who places these Preparations under the Mayoralty of *William Purchase*, that is, to the Year before-mentioned; and *Robert Fabian* says farther, that in the 14th Year of King *Henry VII.* there were three Men brought to the King, taken in the new-found Island, which he before mentioned, who were cloathed in Beast-Skins, eat raw Flesh, spoke a strange uncouth Tongue, and were very brutish in their Behaviour; but he farther adds, that he saw these People himself two Years afterwards, and that they were then cloathed like *Englishmen*, and he could not have known them to be otherwise, if he had not been informed that these were the Men brought over by *Sebastian Cabot*.

Thus, with the utmost Exactness I could use, I have set this Matter in its true Light; and have thereby shewn, that he was not only the first Person who attempted a North-west Passage; and shewed thereby, that he understood *Columbus's* Principles, but was likewise the first Discoverer of the Continent of *America*, which *Columbus* did not see till a Year after, as well as the first Discoverer of *Florida*, which Country was not so called till the Year 1512; when, as we have before shewn, it was visited by *John Ponce de Leon*, who took Possession of it for the King of *Spain*, and usually passes for the first Discoverer. It may not be amiss to observe, that *Sebastian Cabot* clearly affirms, that his Voyage was made to discover a North-west Passage; which Notion of his gave Light, as is acknowledged even by Foreign Authors, to *Ferdinand Magellan*; and induced him confidently to affirm, that such a Passage might be found by the South, which he happily effected twenty two Years after this Attempt made to the North by *Sebastian Cabot*.

I cannot say that any great Use can be made of this kind of Knowledge, but there seems to be no Reason why we should not pique ourselves upon knowing these Matters with as much Exactness as Strangers; who, by dipping into our Accounts, pretend to great Knowledge in these Matters, and very often impose upon such as will not rake into their own old musty Antiquities, but pay an implicit Regard to the bold Assertions of modern Authors; by taking the contrary Method, and resolving to be satisfied, even in Trifles, we come to judge accurately and truly, of the Deserts both of our own and of foreign Nations; so as to yield the Preference to some, and maintain our just Rights against others. As for Instance, though we cannot dispute with the

Spaniards the actual Discovery of *America*; yet, we may fairly deny, what the present Geographer of his Catholic Majesty asserts, that we rejected *Columbus's* Proposal; and we may likewise call him to a severe Account, for placing the Voyages of *Sebastian Cabot* to *Florida*, twenty-six Years later than he should have placed them, from the Accounts given by *Ramusio*, *Gomara*, *Peter Martyr*, and other Authors, whom he either had read, or ought to have read, before he took upon him to write on this Subject; of which though he writes sensibly, yet this will not excuse his writing Untruths.

Sebastian Cabot is by many of our Writers positively affirmed to be an *Englishman*, born at *Bristol*; but the *Italians* as positively claim him for their Countryman, and say he was born at *Venice*; which, to speak impartially, I believe is the Truth; for, he says himself, that when his Father was invited over to *England*, he brought him with him, though he was then very young. His Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage, gained him so great a Reputation, that he was invited into *Spain*, and employed by their Catholic Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in a Voyage for the Discovery of the Coasts of *Brazil*, in which he had much better Success than *Americus Vespucius*, who missed the River of *Plate*, whereas *Cabot* found it, and sailed up it three hundred and sixty Miles, which gained him such a Character at the Court of their Catholic Majesties, that, on his Return, he was declared *Piloto Maggiore*, or Grand Pilot of *Spain*; and resided several Years at *Seville* with that Character, and had the Examination and Approbation of all the Pilots intrusted by that Government.

4. Yet, after some Years, he thought fit to return into *England*, and was employed by King *Henry the VIIIth*, in Conjunction with *Sir Thomas Pert*, who was Vice-Admiral of *England*; and built a fine House near *Blackwall*, called *Poplar*; which Name still remains, though the House is long ago decayed. This Voyage of his was in 1516, on board a Ship of two hundred and fifty Tons, with another of the like Size, in which he proceeded to the Coast of *Brazil*, and afterwards visited the *Spanish* Islands of *St. Domingo*, and *St. John de Porto Rico*; in the latter of which they traded, and paid for what they had by the Exchange of Vessels, made of Pewter, as we learn from *Oviedo*; who, notwithstanding, asserts that this Vessel was a Privateer, whereas, in Fact, she was a Frigate fitted out at King *Henry the VIIIth's* Expence for Discovery.

It is a very great Misfortune that we have not a clearer and more distinct Account of this Expedition; since it very plainly appears from the Writers of those Times, that great Expectations were raised by it, and that the Miscarriage occasioned a good deal of Noise and some Reflections; but they did not fall upon *Cabot*, as appears from the following Note, taken from a Book, published by *Mr. Richard Eden*, whose Collections led the way to those of *Mr. Hackluit*, and which Book was published in 1553. "If manly Courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath been seen in your Grace as well in foreign Realms, as also in this our Country,) had not been wanting in others, in these our Days, at such Time our Sovereign Lord of noble Memory, King *Henry VIII*, about the same Year of his Reign, furnished, and sent out certain Ships, under the Governance of *Sebastian Cabot*, yet living, and one *Sir Thomas Pert*, whose faint Heart was the Cause that the Voyage took none Effect; if, I say, such manly Courage, whereof we have spoken, had not at that Time been wanting, it might happily have come to pass, that that rich Treasury called *Perularia*, which is now in *Spain*, in the City of *Seville*, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite Riches brought thither from the new-found Land of *Peru*, might long since have been in the Tower of *London*, to the King's great Honour and Wealth of this Realm." I do not find that this worthy Gentleman left *England* after this; but, on the contrary, remained here, and promoted, to the utmost of his Power, whatever Designs were set on foot for the Encouragement and Extention of our Commerce; so that,

as I shall have Occasion to shew hereafter, he may be truly reputed the great Master of *English* Seamen, and the Father of our Colonies and Commerce.

It was this great Man that still kept up an Opinion, which, he had himself first entertained, that some Passage there was into the *South Seas*, by the North-west; and upon this Subject he wrote with so much good Sense and Strength of Reason, that if the Ships, which, while I am writing this Paragraph, have failed in Search of this Passage, should succeed, the Honour of the Discovery will redound to him; and therefore it is but just, to take this Opportunity of reviving his Reputation. His Discourses had such an Effect on King *Henry VIII.* a Prince of vast natural Parts, great Learning, and strongly inclined to heroic Undertakings, that he resolved to send another Ship, or more, on the Discovery, which he did in the nineteenth Year of his Reign. Both *Hall* and *Grafton*, in their Chronicles, speak of this; and tell us, that on mature Deliberation, the King fitted out two fair Ships, which sailed from the Port of *London*, on the 20th of *May* 1527; but not a Word of the Captain's Name, or of the Strength of these Ships; the only Particular we have is, that the King sent several cunning Men on board them. We are to understand, by *cunning Men*, Persons skilled in the Mathematics; who, with the common Sort of People, passed now, and long after, for cunning Men and Conjurers.

The worthy Mr. *Hackluit* has taken abundance of Pains to supply us with some Circumstances of this Expedition, but to very little Purpose; and, notwithstanding all his Inquiries from Persons who lived in and near those Times, could obtain no other Satisfaction than this, that a Canon of *St. Paul's*, who was reputed a great Mathematician, was one of the principal Persons concerned, and actually had took a Share in the Voyage; but to this reverend Person's Name both Sir *Martin Frobisher* and Sir *Richard Allien*, who were Mr. *Hackluit's* Authors, were Strangers; one of them, however, remembered the Name of the biggest Ship, which was *Dominus Vobiscum*, or the Lord with them, which agrees very well with the other Part of the Story, that the chief Promoter of this Voyage was a Priest. These Ships sailing very far to the North-west, the largest of them was cast away in the Mouth of a very large Gulph, very probably in the Entrance to *Hudson's Bay*, and there perished; the other, having coasted along the Island of *Cape Britton* (so they wrote it then) returned in *October* following, and brought a large Account of the Places they had seen, and of the Hardships they had undergone.

It appears from thence, that these early Attempts to discover new Countries, and extend our Commerce, were attended with great Difficulties, much beyond those that were met with by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, which may be attributed to several different Causes, and amongst others these: Our Shipping was then but mean, though both the Kings whom *Cabot* served appeared, to be very desirous of having a naval Force, since *Henry VII.* had spent fourteen thousand Pounds in building one large Ship, and his Son *Henry VIII.* added several others to the Navy; yet I think our Ships were, generally speaking, larger than those of most of our Neighbours; but very probably they were built abroad, and neither in Form nor in Materials were fit for those Seas to which they were navigated. The Skill of our Seamen could not be very great at this time; for as in all other practical Cases, so in this, nothing advances People so fast as Experience, and therefore I reckon that the want of this was a great Deficiency in these Times; we may add, that we pursued, with incredible Diligence, those Discoveries that carried us into dangerous and disagreeable Climates, which was directly contrary to the Practice of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*; besides those Voyages produced little or no Advantage, so there was nothing to provoke the common, or even the trading, sort of People, to engage in them: And lastly, King *Henry VIII.* was bent upon finding a North-west Passage, that he might have a Way of his own to the *East Indies*, and not be obliged to follow the Rout either of the *Spaniards* or of the *Portuguese*.

5. It was this Inclination of the King's, that produced

a Spirit in the Nation of discovering and settling in these Northern Parts, let the Dangers be what they would, or the Difficulties to be overcome ever so many or apparent; a very strong Instance of which occurred in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and is the most remarkable Passage in it to our Purpose: One Mr. *Hore*, a Merchant of *London*, a Man of good Family, considerable Fortune, great Courage, and very well versed in most of the Branches of the Mathematics, was resolved to undertake a Voyage, and attempt a Settlement on *Newfoundland*, and to go thither himself. He no sooner made this Intention of his known, than he received all the Countenance and Encouragement from the Crown that he could expect; and as this gave much Credit to the Expedition, so, in a short time, abundance of young Gentlemen, of good Fortunes and distinguished Families, offered to share both the Expence and Danger of the Undertaking.

Amongst these were Mr. *Wickes*, a West-country Gentleman of five hundred Marks a Year; Mr. *Tuck*, a *Kentish* Gentleman of Fortune; Mr. *Tuckfield*, Mr. *Thomas Butts* Son of Sir *William Butts*, the King's first Physician; Mr. *Hardy*, Mr. *Biron*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Rastal*, Brother to Serjeant *Rastal*, and several others; who went with Mr. *Hore* in the largest of his two Ships, the *Trinity*, of the Burden of one hundred and forty Tons: In the lesser Ship went Mr. *Armigall Wade*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, and much Learning; Mr. *Oliver Dawebney* of *London*, Merchant; and other Persons of Character, to the Number of thirty, in both Vessels. About the End of *April*, 1536, all Things were ready; the *Trinity* and *Minion* fit to sail, and the whole of both Ships Company, to the Number of one hundred and twenty, mustered at *Gravesend*; after which they went with much Ceremony on board.

They soon after sailed, and arrived in the Space of two Months at *Cape Breton*; from whence they sailed round a great Part of *Newfoundland* to *Penguin Island*, in the Latitude of about 50 Degrees, as they computed; but which lies, truly, in 50 Degrees 40 Minutes; where they found great Plenty of those Fowls, from whence the Island takes its Name: They afterwards went on shore upon the East-side of *Newfoundland*, and had an accidental View of a Boat full of the Savages that inhabited that Country, whom they pursued both by Sea and Land, but were not able to overtake them. They staid here till their Victuals began to grow very short, and being then afraid to trust themselves at Sea in such a Condition, they delayed going on board till they were in such Distress that they actually eat one another; that is to say, some killed their Companions privately in the Woods, hid them, and then roasted and eat their Flesh secretly, till this horrid Practice coming to the Knowledge of their Captain, he, by a most judicious and pathetic Speech, brought them to resolve rather to live upon Grass and Herbs than subsist by this detestable Method any longer.

But it fell out soon after, that a *French* Ship put in there well manned and well victualed, of which our Countrymen resolved to take Advantage, being weary of a Country in which they had endured such Miseries; and therefore, watching a fair Opportunity, they possessed themselves of the *French* Ship, and, leaving their own, sailed directly for the Coast of *England*. They returned safely, and arrived at *St. Ives* in *Cornwall* about the End of *October*; and then the Gentlemen, dispersing themselves, returned to *London*; but so much altered by their Fatigues, that Sir *William Butts*, and his Wife, could not know their Son, but by a particular Mark upon his Knee. We had never known a Word of this strange Adventure, if it had not been for Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, who rode two hundred Miles to gain these Particulars from the Mouth of Mr. *Thomas Butts*, the only Person then living, who had a Share in that Expedition; and no wonder, since it was fifty-three Years afterwards that he obtained this Communication: There is another Circumstance relating to this unfortunate Enterprize, which must, by no Means, be omitted.

Some Months after, the *Frenchmen* came to *England*, with a dreadful Complaint, that the *English* had ran away with their Ship, and had left them to starve, if they had

not

not supported themselves by fishing. King *Henry* examined very closely into the Affair, and finding that extreme Want was the sole Cause of an Action, otherwise inexcusable, he satisfied the *French*, to the full Extent of their Demands, out of his own Coffers, and pardoned, in his own Subjects, that Wrong which Necessity forced them to commit. These were very hard Beginnings; and yet to these we owe our *Newfoundland* Trade; and, I think, it is much to the Honour of the *English* Nation, that without having any of those Encouragements, which the *Spaniards* met with from the very beginning, they continued to pursue those Expeditions for Discovery; till in the End they met with those Rewards which they so well deserved.

6. Within this dark Period of Time, for the Accounts of our rising Navigation have been most imperfectly transmitted to Posterity, there were Numbers of *Englishmen*, who, with very little Prospect of private Advantages, spread themselves, by the Help of foreign Shipping, into all Parts of the World; that, by their Enquiries and Observations, they might be able to understand how Trade was managed, and Maritime Affairs conducted, in other Countries; that, in time, by their Informations, the like Advantages might accrue to their own, of which Voyages and Travels, there are many short Notes collected in *Hackluit*; which do great Honour to these Times, and ought to perpetuate the Memory of the worthy Persons; who, with so much Labour and Hazard, laid the Foundation of our naval Strength and Glory.

These Notices soon roused active and industrious Persons, to try what Use could be made of such Helps, and perhaps the Reader will not think his Time mispent in reading an Instance of this Kind. Mr. *William Hawkins*, the Father of the famous Sir *John Hawkins*, and the Grandfather of Sir *Richard Hawkins*, both eminent Seamen, was himself an Officer in the Navy of King *Henry* the VIIIth, and for his Merit much esteemed by that Prince, made about the middle of his Reign three prosperous Voyages to *Guinea* and *Brazil*; in the last of these, having some Dealings with a Prince or Chief of the *Brazilians*, he expressed a Desire of seeing *England*; but, at the same Time, shewed a Suspicion of his not obtaining Leave to come Home again; to cure which, Captain *Hawkins* very readily offered to leave Mr. *Martin Cockram*, of *Plymouth*, who stood next to himself in Esteem with the *Indians*, as a Hostage, which Offer was readily accepted.

This *Brazilian* Chief he brought over, and presented to his Master King *Henry*, who received him kindly, entertained him courteously, and dismissed him generously, after a Year's stay in *England*. But it so fell out, in his Passage home, that, either through Change of Air, Shortness of Provisions, or some other Misfortune, the *Indian* Chief died; which threw the *English* into great Concern, from an Apprehension that Mr. *Cockram* would be either punished with Death, or detained during Life, upon account of this Accident: But the thing fell out better; for upon hearing what the *English* had to alledge; the *Savages* readily observing, that it was far from being likely that they would return to their Country if they had treated their King amiss, and that it was not in their Power to preserve his Life, if attacked by Sickness; they freely set their Hostage at Liberty, kindly entertained the Men, and furnished the Ship with a sufficient Cargo for *England*, which encouraged other Merchants to trade to the unsettled Ports of *Brazil*, (by which I mean the Ports not yet in the Possession of the *Portuguese*) and this from several Places, viz. *Bristol*, *Southampton*, and *London*, during all the latter Part of this Monarch's Reign, who must be allowed to have had a very public Spirit with regard to Maritime Concerns, for the Improvement of which he spared neither Pains nor Treasure.

7. In the Time of King *Edward* the VIth the Court was split into Factions, which necessarily occasioned Disputes and Divisions among the People; so that the Times were by no Means favourable for new and great Undertakings, or even for the Improvement of those Branches of Commerce, which were but newly opened;

on the contrary, it seems that several Persons, who were intrusted with Offices by the Lord High Admiral, and such as had the Care and Direction of the Customs, laid heavy Burdens upon those that engaged in the *Iceland* and *Newfoundland* Fisheries; and took such large Sums for Licences, and under other Pretences, as had like to have ruined the former, which was an old Trade, and greatly discouraged the latter, which was a new one.

Upon Complaint of this to Parliament, the Matter fell under a close Examination, as appears from some Papers of Sir *William Cecil*, which are yet in being; for there are no Journals of the Proceedings of the *House of Commons* so early as this Time preserved: But from the Papers before-mentioned, we are informed, that this Complaint was made by the West-country Members, and by a Burgess from *Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*; and thereupon a Law was made in the Year 1548, and the second of that Prince's Reign; by which it was enacted, that every Officer, who should, for the Time to come, extort, procure, or receive any Sum of Money from a Merchant, Master of a Ship, Factor, or Fisherman, for, or under Colour of, granting him Leave, or Licence, to fish in the North Seas, on the Coasts of *Iceland*, or on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, should, for the first Offence, forfeit treble the Sum so extorted; and for the second, should suffer Fine and Ransom at the King's Pleasure.

The same Year the King was pleased to grant to *Sebastian Cabot*, his old Servant, by the Advice and Council of his Uncle, *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, the Office of Grand Pilot of *England*, with a Fee of one hundred sixty-six Pounds thirteen and four-pence, to be paid him Quarterly at the Exchequer; which shews, that these kind of Services were still regarded; and that in such Intervals of Peace, as the Ministry then had, they were mindful of the Interest of their Country, and inclined to do what lay in their Power to promote Navigation and Commerce. But they were still hurt by a too earnest Desire to grasp at the whole Trade of the *Indies*, which induced them to listen to all the Proposals made for discovering either a North-east or a North-west Passage; and by bending all their Strength that way, neglected those Undertakings that were easier, and which might have been carried into Execution at a much lighter Expence. This was owing to Mr. *Sebastian Cabot*, who first started the Notion of a Passage into the *South Seas* by the North-west, and who fell very readily into the other Project of finding a Passage into the *Indian* Ocean by the North-east.

He was at that time Master of the great Company erected for the Benefit of Commerce, under the Title of *Merchant-Adventurers for the Discovery of New Lands*, and the great Oracle, as he deserved to be, of all the seafaring People; and this gave him an Opportunity of pushing that Point which he had most at Heart, the Importance of which he understood better than any Man, and in the Execution of which no body had gone farther, or managed an Expedition with greater Discretion. But this Turn diverted the whole Attention of the State to this Point, and this alone, as if nothing had been worth discovering but a Passage to the *Spice Islands*; while in the mean time the *Spaniards* attacked and subdued a very great Part of both the Continents of *America*. If, instead of this, the Endeavours of the Seamen in that Reign had been applied to the prosecuting what *Cabot* had so well begun, I mean the intire Discovery of *Florida*, and the Countries adjacent, it must have ended in a Settlement on the Gulph of *Mexico*, which might probably have been attended with very great Advantages.

It cannot however be denied, that the Schemes which were prosecuted had a very fair Appearance of Success, and I think it may be allowed also, by such as take the Pains to peruse Mr. *Cabot's* Instructions to Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, that no Man ever conceived with greater Strength of Judgment, or expressed himself in clearer Terms, than he did. I might, to prove this, give an Extract of these Instructions; but it would be beside my present Purpose, and giving the Reader no more than what he may already find in *Hackluit*; whereas I aim at affording him new Lights, without transcribing other People's Labours, except where I am under a Necessity

of doing it. It must be admitted, that tho' the Prosecution of these Projects, for finding a North-east and a North-west Passage, were not either of them attended with Success, and tho' they consumed a great Treasure, and which is much more to be regretted, were attended with the Loss of several excellent Captains and many able Seamen, the Profits which the Nation reaped, might be truly said to countervail, in some measure, even the vast Expences these Voyages occasioned.

As for Instance: We opened, by our Attempts to find a North-east Passage, the Trade to *Archangel*; and, for some time, engrossed the valuable Commerce of the *Russian* Empire: And even to the North-west our Discoveries were of great Consequence, and led us to a more distinct Knowledge of that Part of the World than any other Nation has attained, insomuch that I think it may be truly said, it is of all our Labours that which has shewn our Excellency in Point of Seamanship most; and, if our present Attempt for discovering a Passage through *Hudson's Bay* should prove successful, as I sincerely believe it will, we shall have no reason to blame those who from time to time have pushed this Design with so much Vigour; because I am thoroughly persuaded, that whenever it is attended with Success, it will, in a very few Years, repay this Nation all that she has expended for Ages upon this Account.

We may from hence see, how much these Expeditions for Discovery are preferable to much more expensive Expeditions in pursuit of Projects dictated by political Views; for in these last we waste Ships, Men, Treasure, and all to little or no Purpose; whereas, with Respect to the former, whether we succeed or not in our main Point, we are sure of making such incidental Advantages as, sooner or later, make us ample Amends for the Pains we take; so that a maritime Power cannot follow a wiser Course than to encourage all such Projects, or employ her naval Force better, than in attempting such of them as have a probable Appearance; because this nourishes and keeps alive that active, penetrating, enterprising Spirit, which is so necessary to a State like ours, and which will always be attended with Advantages upon the Whole, tho' in many particular Instances it may not be attended with Success. But it is now time to proceed from these Reflections which naturally flow from the Consideration of what was done by our Statesmen in the Reign of King *Edward*, to those of the like kind that occupied the Thoughts both of our Politicians and People, in the Reign of his Sister and Successor; in speaking of which, tho' a beaten Topic, I hope to strike out several Things that are new.

8. As there were several of King *Edward's* Ministers employed by Queen *Mary*, so we find that in the Reign of this Princess the same Measures were pursued, and the same Attention shewn for new Discoveries, and for giving all the Assistance that was in the Power of the Crown, to such as engaged in these Undertakings. But after the Marriage between the Queen and King *Philip* of *Spain* took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all Circumstances relating to the *West Indies*, than in former Times, and it became fashionable at Court to read and understand whatever had been published, in any Language, relating to the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Spaniards*; but because the Number was not great of such as could peruse and understand those Works in the original Languages, several Persons took Pains to translate them into *English*, and to epitomise them, that they might be read with the greater Facility; amongst these were Mr. *Richard Eden*, who composed one of the first Collections of Travels that was ever published in our Language, and which was afterwards revised, corrected, and augmented, by Mr. *Edward Willes*. Several other Pieces of the same kind came abroad, and several of the *Spanish* Officers that attended their King hither, took a great deal of Pains to set forth the Exploits of their Nation in the *West Indies*; and our Sea-Officers, with whom they conversed, did not fail to make their Advantage of these Discourses, and to gain such Knowledge of the Situation Things were in throughout all their Dominions in *America*, as afterwards cost the *Spaniards* very dear.

This Intercourse with that Nation, also furnished many

Englishmen with Opportunities of going to their Settlements, and of obtaining such Lights with respect to their Navigation and Commerce, as proved afterwards of the highest Use. But notwithstanding all this, our Trade and Naval Power suffered deeply by this Connection between the two Nations, which not only hindered, during that Reign, those Voyages we had formerly made to *America* from being pursued, but involved us likewise in a tedious, dangerous, and unnecessary, War with *France*; by which we not only lost the important Fortrefs of *Calais*, but also suffered deeply in our Shipping; so that it appears by some Fragments which still remain of Speeches made in the House of Commons, that loud Complaints were made on this Subject in Parliament by the Citizens of *London* especially, whose Losses were greater than those of the rest of the Kingdom by those mistaken Measures.

Yet such Branches of our Commerce as did not immediately interfere with that of *Spain*, were greatly favoured in this Reign, in which the *Russian* Merchants were incorporated, and *Sebastian Cabot* appointed their Governor for Life, and a *Russian* Ambassador, who came over hither, was treated with great Distinction, both by the King and Queen; which procured us suitable Returns, by the granting extraordinary Privileges to such Merchants, and Subjects of *England*, as traded in any Part of that extensive Empire. The Trade to *Guinea*, likewise, met with some Countenance from the Court, by which Means the Shipping engaged therein was increased, and many more Traders drawn to be concerned therein; so that as great a Spirit in this Respect appeared as could well be expected; while the trading Corporations throughout the Kingdom were exposed to great Inconveniencies, by taking their Ships for the public Service; for so, at that Time, assisting King *Philip* was called, tho' it was evidently against the Interest of the Nation, and it was our want of Success in that War which saved the Balance of *Europe*, which must have been totally lost, if he had compassed his Design, and ruined the Power of *France*; so that in fact, our naval Force was employed against itself, of which the Queen's Ministers were sensible; but as for the Queen herself, she was governed by an odd Principle, which was that of making the best Wife in the World, to one of the worst of Husbands; but, very luckily for the Nation, she was so sensible of the Misfortunes that attended this injudicious War, and particularly of the Loss of *Calais*, that it broke her Heart, and thereby made way for that great and glorious Reign which restored the Face of our Affairs, revived our languishing Commerce, re-established our naval Power, and, by the happy Issue of a long and bloody, but necessary and prosperous, War against *Spain*, secured our own Liberties and preserved those of *Europe*.

9. Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded to the Crown by the Death of her Sister, in the Month of *November*, 1558; and, from the very beginning of her Reign, made the naval Power of this Nation her peculiar Care: She began with putting the small Remains of the Navy into the best Condition possible; provided a safe Harbour in the River *Medway* for their Reception, and erected a new Castle for their Protection. She likewise took care to have a small Squadron at Sea as soon as possible, and knowing that by a hasty Breach with *Spain*, she might, and indeed must, expose her Naval Strength to the Danger of being crushed by a superior Force, she very wisely chose to dissemble her Resentments against that Crown, and to provide for the Increase of the Seamen and Shipping of her Kingdom, before she discovered those Resolutions which she carried afterwards into Execution with so much Honour to herself, and so much Advantage to her People. I the rather take notice of this, because it is the only Stroke of the Queen's Policy which has escaped our Historians, who either overlooked or misunderstood it, and therefore, as it very nearly concerns my Subject, I shall set it in a full and clear Light.

At the Beginning of her Reign the Queen had several Enemies to deal with; some who declared openly against her, and others who secretly sought her Ruin: Among the former were the *French*, to whom at that Time *Scotland*, in Virtue of a Marriage between Queen *Mary* and the

the *French* King, in some measure belonged. At the Head of the latter was King *Philip* of *Spain*, one of the greatest Politicians that ever sat upon a Throne, who knew the Value of *England*, had in some measure possessed it, and, which was not at all wonderful, had no Mind to lose it. His first Project for keeping it was, by marrying *Elizabeth*, as he had done her Sister, in which finding himself deceived, his next Project was to conquer it, from which he never departed. The Queen, when she rejected the first, foresaw the last, and resolved to provide against it, which she knew could no other way be done but by obtaining a great naval Force.

To arrive at this, she first of all contrived to amuse *Spain* by carrying on the War with *France*, in which she did the same thing her Sister did; and yet, the one was the worst, the other the wisest Measure that ever was taken. Queen *Mary* really meant to ruin and distress the *French*, and was above all things desirous of recovering *Calais*; and this from a mistaken Zeal for the Interest of the Nation. Queen *Elizabeth* made an artificial War against *France* to increase her own naval Strength, by encouraging her Subjects to take Prizes, and that she might have an Opportunity of securing *Scotland*; but, though excessively provoked, she never thought of hurting *France*, and when offered *Calais*, she refused it; and all this, because she knew the true Interest of the Nation. She knew, that while she continued to act against the *French*, she should have the *Spaniards* for seeming Friends; that this War was not against the Humour of her People, or against Justice; that it would raise a vast Number of Seamen, because every Port in *England* fitted out Privateers; and that it would raise the Reputation of her naval Power, by reducing *Scotland*; for all which Ends, as she wisely provided, so she met in them all the Success she could desire. She knew, however, that *France* was not her natural Enemy; that from the Disputes about Religion, which ran high in that Kingdom, she was in no Danger from its Power; and that whenever she came to declare against *Spain*, she should stand in Need of its Assistance; for which Reason she made a very harmless War, and gave such broad Intimations of her being willing to compose all Differences, as in due Time produced a Peace. She likewise knew that the Possession of *Calais* was a mere popular Advantage; that, in reality, it was attended with an Expence which could not well be afforded; that if she was possessed of it, it would be a continual Bone of Contention with *France*, and that, how much soever it might be afterwards her Interest to part with it, it would be an unpopular, and therefore an improper, and an imprudent, Thing to give it up. This that great Princess knew, and therefore she wisely refused it; but upon making a Peace she reserved her Rights to it, and procured such Concessions from the *French*, as proved a continual Check upon them, and were oftentimes of more Use than the Fortresses itself.

In the mean Time she continued her Care of the Navy, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime Spirit among her People; she sought out and distinguished the Sea-Officers that had served under her Father; she was continually fitting out, on one Pretence or other, little Squadrons, at a small Expence; she gave the Command of them to different Officers, that she might excite a Spirit of Emulation, but what principally conduced to aggrandize her Power was the Pleasure she shewed, whenever any Occasion offered of rewarding her Subjects, who undertook, at their own Expence, such Expeditions as contributed to extend their Commerce, and open new Branches of Trade. We have a strong Instance of this, in the Countenance she shewed to Capt. *John Hawkins*, who between the Years 1562 and 1568 made three Voyages into the *West Indies*, and in all but the last had very great Success, though he carried on his Trade partly by Force. She promoted the Trade to *Russia*, and through that Empire to *Persia* and the *Indies*, to the utmost of her Power, and managed it with such Prudence and Dexterity, that the Reputation of her Government was very high, in that, and in other Countries, in which the rest of the Kingdoms and the States of *Europe* were hardly known. The Trade to *Gui-*

nea was likewise so much her Care, that, finding the *Portuguese* gave her Subjects much Disturbance, she enquired into the Causes of those Disputes, and took Care to remedy them by a Treaty with that Crown.

All this time her Differences with *Spain* subsisted, and though there was no open War between the two Crowns, yet there could scarce be said to be either Friendship or Peace between their Subjects; and the Queen, perhaps, was not very solicitous that there should; for having now attained what she aimed at, a very considerable Naval Force, and being willing to let the *Spaniards* see, that though she declined a War, she had no Reason to be afraid of it, she took Advantage of the King of *Spain's* Marriage with *Anne* of *Austria*, his Niece, to give such an Instance of her Generosity and Power, as did great Honour to her Administration; for she caused that Princess to be conducted to *Spain* by an *English* Navy; this was a plain Demonstration, that her Sparingness, upon other Occasions, was not the Effects of any Nearness of Temper; but that, by a constant Frugality, she might have it always in her Power to be royally magnificent upon proper Occasions.

But this extraordinary Mark of Civility was far enough from meeting a proper Return, and the *Spaniards* went on in disturbing the Trade, and distressing the Navigation, of her Subjects; which induced the Queen to suffer her Subjects to use the best Measures they could for redressing themselves; in which they were not wanting. In the Year 1572 Capt. *Francis Drake* made his famous Expedition into the *West Indies*, with two Ships, one called the *Dragon*, of seventy-five Tons, the other the *Swan*, of twenty-five Tons, and on board them both he had no more than seventy-three Men; and yet, with this Force, he ventured to declare War against the King of *Spain*, for the Injuries he had received in his Voyage with Capt. *Hawkins* to the *West Indies*. In this Voyage he performed wonderful Things; for, besides taking several large Ships, he fairly took the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, by Storm, gained an immense Treasure, and had a Sight of the *South Seas*; after which he returned safely to *Plymouth*, and made a fair Distribution of the Profits of his Voyage among his Owners.

This glorious Event encouraged others to follow his Example; so that, in a very short Time, the *English* Privateers made various Voyages into all Parts of *America*, and every little Port in *England* swarmed with Seamen, who were perfect Masters of their Profession; and Pilots capable of navigating Ships to any Part of the known World became so numerous, that there were daily new Projects set on foot, which in the former Age would have been thought impracticable; but in this were carried into Execution at the Charge of private Persons, without any Expence to, or Assistance from, the Crown, though they had all the Countenance and Encouragement they could desire: But amongst all these, there was none so considerable in itself, so clear a Proof of maritime Skill, and so honourable, in every Respect, to the Nation, as the next Expedition of Capt. *Francis Drake* in 1577, in which he sailed round the Globe, as we have shewn at large in the first Part of this Work, and therefore need not repeat here. But one Part, however, of that Voyage so immediately concerns the Subject of this Section, and relates to so considerable a Discovery, that, as we then promised, we shall, as in its proper Place, speak of and explain it more particularly here.

10. Capt. *Drake* sailed from *Plymouth*, with five small Ships, the biggest but of one hundred Tons, on the 13th of *December* 1577, and it was the 5th of *September* following before he entered the *South Seas*, where having performed several glorious Actions, and gained prodigious Riches, he proceeded to the most Northern of the *Spanish* Settlements; with a View to discover, if possible, that Passage which had been so much talked of from our *Northern* into the *South Seas*, by a Strait like that of *Magellan's* to the North-west. This was certainly a very wise and great Undertaking, and a prodigious Improvement upon the Design of his Voyage; for, as yet, no *Englishman* had had the Opportunity, and perhaps it never entered into any Man's Head, to search for such a Passage on this Side; tho' it is most likely, that by this Method it may be

be found. Our Author's Endeavours, however, were strangely crossed by the unexpected Severity of the Weather, of which the Reverend Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, who was Chaplain in this Voyage, gives us a large Account; and, as it relates to a Subject of great Importance, and contains a Multitude of curious Circumstances, though not delivered in the most polished Stile, we shall give it the Reader, for the Sake of Exactness, in his own Words.

" From *Guatulco* we departed the Day following, viz. April the 16th, setting our Course directly into the Sea, whereupon we sailed five hundred Leagues in Longitude to get a Wind, and between that and June the 3d 1400 Leagues in all, till we came in 42 Degrees of North Latitude, wherein the Night following we found such an Alteration of Heat into extreme and nipping Cold, that our Men, in general, did grievously complain thereof, some of them feeling their Healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the Night alone, but the Day following carried with it not only the Marks, but the Stings and Force, of the Night going before, to the great Admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting Air was nothing altered, the very Ropes of our Ship were stiff, and the Rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen Substance; so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone, than any way so near unto the Sun, or these hotter Climates.

" Neither did this happen for the Time only, or by some sudden Accident, but rather seemed, indeed, to proceed from some ordinary Cause, against the which the Heat of the Sun prevails not; for it came to that Extremity in Sailing but 2° farther to the Northward in our Course, that tho' the Seamen lacked not good Stomachs, yet it seemed a Question to many amongst us, whether their Hands should feed their Mouths, or rather keep themselves within Coverts, from the pinching Cold that did benumb them? Neither could we impute it to the Tendernefs of our Bodies, though we came lately from the Extremity of Heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present Cold, inasmuch that the dead and senseless Creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves. Our Meat, as soon as it was removed from the Fire, would presently, in a Manner, become frozen up; and our Ropes and Tackling, in a few Days, were grown to that Stiffness, that what three Men before were able with them to perform, now six Men, with their best Strength and utmost Endeavours, were hardly able to accomplish; whereby a sudden and great Discouragement seized upon the Minds of our Men, and they were possessed with a great Mistrust, and doubting of any good to be done that Way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as well by comfortable Speeches of the divine Providence, and of God's loving Care over his Children, out of the Scriptures, as also by giving other good and profitable Persuasions, adding thereto his own chearful Example, he so stirred them up to put on a good Courage, and to acquit themselves like Men, to endure some short Extremity; to have the speedier Comfort, and a little Trouble to obtain the greater Glory; that every Man was thoroughly armed with Willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what Good was to be done that Way.

" The Land in that Part of *America* bearing farther out into the West than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more Extremity of Cold did seize upon us. The 5th Day of June we were forced by contrary Winds to run in with the Shore, which we then first descried, and to cast Anchor in a bad Bay, the best Road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some Danger, by reason of the many extreme Gusts and Flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their Intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking Fogs, against which the Sea prevailed nothing, till the Gusts of Wind again removed them, which brought with them such Extre-

mity and Violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them. In this Place was no abiding for us, and to go further North the Extremity of the Cold (which had now utterly discouraged all our Men) would not permit us, and the Winds, being directly against us, having once gotten us under Sail again, commanded us to the Southward, whether we would or no; from the Height of 48°, in which now we were, to 38°, we found the Land by coasting it to be but low, and reasonably plain; every Hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in June, and the Sun in the nearest Approach unto them, being covered with Snow.

" In 38° 30' we fell in with a convenient and fit Harbour, and June the 17th came to an Anchor therein, where we continued to the 23d of July following; during all which Time, notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so near the Sun, yet we were continually visited with like nipping Colds as we had felt before; inasmuch, that if violent Exercises of our Bodies, and busy Employment about our necessary Labours, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us, still, our Winter Clothes; yea, (had our Necessity suffered us) to have kept our Beds; neither could we at any Time, in the whole fourteen Days together, find the Air so clear as to be able to take the Height of Sun or Star.

" And here, having so fit Occasion (notwithstanding it may seem to be besides the Purpose of writing the History of this our Voyage) we will a little more diligently enquire into the Causes of the Continuance of the extreme Cold in these Parts; as also into the Probabilities or Unlikelihoods of a Passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) the Tendernefs of our Bodies coming so lately out of the Heat, whereby the Pores were opened, that made us so sensible of the Colds we here felt. In this respect, as in many others, we found our God a provident Father and careful Physician to us; we lacked no outward Helps nor inward Comforts to restore and fortify Nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting unto us the great Experience of our General, who had often himself proved the Force of the burning Zone, whose Advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate Temper in our Constitutions; so that even after our Departure from the Heat, we always found our Bodies not as Sponges, but strong and hard, more able to bear out Cold, though we came out of Excess of Heat, than a Number of Chamber-Companions could have been, who lie on their Feather-beds till they go to Sea, or rather, whose Teeth in a temperate Air do beat in their Heads at a Cup of cold Sack and Sugar by the Fire.

" And that it was not our Tendernefs, but the very Extremity of the Cold itself, that caused this Sensibleness in us, may the rather appear in that the natural Inhabitants of the Place (with whom we had for a long Season familiar Intercourse, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with such Heat, to whom the Country Air and Climate was proper, and in whom Custom of Cold was as it were a second Nature, yet used to come shivering to us in their warm Furs, crouding close together, Body to Body, to receive Heat one of another, and sheltering themselves under a Lee Bank if it were possible; and as often as they could, labouring to shrowd themselves under our Garments to keep them warm: Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the Face of the Earth itself? shewing Trees without Leaves, and the Ground without Greenness in those Months of June and July. The poor Birds and Fowls not daring (as we had great Experience to observe it) so much as once to rise from their Nests after the first Egg laid, till it, with all the rest, be hatched, and brought to some strength of Nature able to help itself: Only this Recompence has Nature afforded them, that the Heat of their own Bodies being exceeding great,

“ great, it perfecteth the Creature with great Expedi-
 “ tion, and in shorter Time than is to be found in any
 “ other Places. As for the Causes of this Extremity,
 “ they seem not to be so deeply hidden, but that they
 “ may, at least in Part, be guessed at; the chiefest
 “ of which we conceive to be the large spreading of
 “ the *Asian* and *American* Continents, which (somewhat
 “ Northward of these Parts) if they be not fully joined,
 “ yet seem they to come very near one to the other;
 “ from whose high and Snow-covered Mountains the
 “ North and North-west Winds (the constant Visitants
 “ of these Coasts) send abroad their frozen Nymphs to
 “ the infecting of the whole Air with this insufferable
 “ Sharpness; not permitting the Sun, no not in the Pride
 “ of his Heat, to dissolve that congealed Matter and
 “ Snow which they have breathed out so nigh the Sun,
 “ and so many Degrees distant from themselves. And
 “ that the North and North-west Winds are here constant
 “ in *June* and *July*, as the North Wind is alone in *Aug-*
 “ *ust* and *September*, we not only found it by our
 “ own Experience, but were fully confirmed in the Opi-
 “ nion thereof by continual Observations of the *Span-*
 “ *iards*.

“ Hence comes the Squalidness and Barrenness of the
 “ Country; hence comes it, that in the midst of their Sum-
 “ mer the Snow hardly departeth even from their Doors,
 “ but is never taken away from their Hills at all; hence
 “ come those thick Mists and most stinking Fogs, which
 “ increase so much the more by how much higher the
 “ Pole is raised, wherein a blind Pilot is as good as the best
 “ Director of a Course; for the Sun striving to perform
 “ his natural Office in elevating the Vapours out of these
 “ inferior Bodies, draws necessarily abundance of Moisture
 “ out of the Sea; but the nipping Cold (from the former
 “ Causes) meeting and opposing the Sun’s Endeavours,
 “ force him to give over his Work imperfect, and, instead
 “ of higher Elevation, to leave, in the lowest Regions wan-
 “ dering upon the Face of the Earth and Waters, as it were
 “ a second Sea, through which its own Beams cannot
 “ possibly pierce, unless sometimes when the sudden Vio-
 “ lence of the Winds doth help to scatter and break thro’
 “ it, which thing happeneth very seldom, and when it
 “ happeneth is of no Continuance. Some of our Mariners
 “ in this Voyage had formerly been at *Wardhouse*, in 72
 “ Degrees of North Latitude, who yet affirmed that they
 “ felt no such nipping Cold there in the end of Summer,
 “ when they departed thence, as they did now in these
 “ hottest Months of *June* and *July*. And also from these
 “ Reasons we conjecture, that either there is no Passage
 “ at all through those Northern Coasts (which is most
 “ likely) or, if there be, yet it is unnavigable. Add
 “ hereunto, that though we searched the Coast diligently,
 “ even unto the forty-eighth Degree, yet found we not
 “ the Land to trend so much as one Point, in any Place,
 “ towards the East; but rather running on continually
 “ North-west, as if it went directly to meet with *Asia*;
 “ and even in that Height, when we had a frank Wind
 “ to have carried us through, had there been a Passage,
 “ yet we had a smooth and calm Sea, with ordinary
 “ flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had
 “ there been an Opening, of which we rather infallibly con-
 “ cluded than conjectured that there was none.”

This shews us clearly Mr. *Fletcher*’s Opinion, and he gives
 us likewise a very large and full, to say the Truth, a very
 tedious and trifling, Account of their Landing and Stay
 here; of their being taken for Gods by the Natives, and of
 their attempting to offer Sacrifices to them, with which,
 I suppose, the Reader will easily dispense; but after this
 he comes to the Point, and tells us, That these People
 behaved extremely well during their Stay; and that their
 King, in testimony of his Respect for, and Submission to,
 Captain *Drake*, presented him with the Ensigns of his
 Regal Dignity; which he received as a Resignation of his
 Kingdom to the Queen his Mistress, in whose Name, and on
 whose Behalf, he took Possession of it, and set up a wooden
 Cross, with a Brass Plate and a proper Inscription, in
 Testimony thereof. This Country he called *New Albion*,
 and this for two Reasons; the first was, because of its

white Cliffs; the other, that it might have some Affi-
 nity, as Mr. *Fletcher* expresses it, in Name with our own
 Country, which was some time so called.

He afterwards acknowledges, that upon taking a View
 of the Inland Parts, they found them very rich and fer-
 tile, contrary to their Expectations; but as to the People,
 he allows, that, both on the Coast and within Land, their
 Behaviour was perfectly uniform, and they had no Rea-
 son to complain of them, but rather to commend and
 applaud them. It is very true, that Mr. *Fletcher*’s Ac-
 count of Sir *Francis Drake*’s Voyage is by much the
 largest, but I am far from esteeming it the best: I inserted
 so long a Passage from it, that the Reader might be able
 to judge of his Performance as well as my Sentiments.
 He has given us a very extraordinary Description of the
 excessive Cold they met with both at Sea and on Shore,
 and discourses on it more largely, to shew his Capacity
 and Judgment; yet I do not find that Experience has at
 all confirmed this, as the Reader will perceive by turning
 to the other Voyages of *Candish*, and those who followed
 him, and who went to *California* as well as Sir *Francis*
Drake.

I mention this the rather, because *Candish* was there
 so soon after Sir *Francis Drake*; for I find by the original
 Account of his Expedition, that he was there in *November*
 1587, but do not find that he said one Word of its
 being cold; and tho’ it may be objected, that he was in
 the Southern Part of *California* only, yet the Difference
 is so inconsiderable, that it is impossible to reconcile the
 two Accounts, supposing them both to be exact. Again,
 in Sir *Francis Drake*’s Voyage, printed by *Hackluit*, it
 is only said, That in the Latitude of 42 Degrees the
 Men were extremely pinched with Cold; and finding it
 increase as they sailed farther North, it was resolved to
 alter their Course, and stand in for the Land more to the
 South; where they found a good Bay, and a very gentle,
 friendly, and honest People; yet the Truth of the Matter
 is, that the *Spaniards* had, thirty-seven Years before,
 sailed along this Coast to the Height of 44 Degrees, as
 far as *Cape Mendocino*; and they afterwards discovered
Cape Blanco beyond that, which is a plain Proof that the
 Cold is not so intolerable as Mr. *Fletcher* would make
 it. But the real Design of all his Remarks is, to dis-
 courage all Hopes of finding a Passage this Way into the
 North Seas, which however was not Sir *Francis Drake*’s
 Opinion, if we may credit what other Writers have told
 us; and indeed so many Absurdities have been discovered
 in Mr. *Fletcher*’s Description of *New Albion*, that Father
Charlevoix makes no Scruple of calling it a fabulous
 Country, and from hence takes Occasion to make some
 Reflections upon Sir *Francis Drake*, which that Gentle-
 man did not at all deserve.

But to shew the Reader the true Design of dwelling so
 long upon this Subject I must observe, that his Account
 discredits *Drake*’s Discovery extremely, which not only
 turns to the Prejudice of that great Man’s Character, but
 may likewise prove disadvantageous to this Nation, by
 giving them a very mean Opinion of what ought to be
 considered as a very noble Acquisition. The Discovery,
 as I conceive, consisted chiefly in his marching up into
 the Country, which before that Time, it is probable, the
Spaniards had never done; and with respect to our Title
 to this Country, I conceive it to arise from the Good-will
 and voluntary Submission of the People, Facts as well
 proved as in the Nature of Things we can expect,
 and which certainly give us as good (if not a better)
 Claim to *New Albion*, as the *Spaniards* can shew for any
 Part of their Possessions.

The Country too, if we might depend upon what Sir
Francis Drake or his Chaplain says, may appear worth the
 seeking and the keeping, since they assert that the Land
 is so rich in Gold and Silver, that upon the slightest
 turning it up with a Spade or Pick-ax, those rich Metals
 plainly appear mixed with the Mould. It may be ob-
 jected that this looks a little fabulous; but to this, two
 satisfactory Answers may be given; the first is, That
 later Discoveries on the same Coast confirm the Truth
 of it, which, for any thing I can see, ought to put the
 Fact out of question; but if any Doubts should remain,

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my second Answer will overturn these. For I say next, That the Country of *New Mexico* lies directly behind *New Albion*, on the other Side of a narrow Bay, and in that Country are the Mines of *Santo Fe*, which are allowed to be the richest Silver-Mines in *North America*: Here then is a very valuable Country, to which we have a very fair Title.

But perhaps it may be asked, How shall we come at it, since, as Things stand at present, it seems to be the Country in the World most out of our Reach? But if it had been so, I would not have given myself or the Reader so much Trouble about it; and therefore I am next to tell him, that if Mr. *Arthur Dobbs's* Expedition for discovering a North-west Passage succeeds, *New Albion* will be a Country very much within our Reach, and, I dare say, prove to the full as habitable as the Coast of *Hudson's Bay*; and therefore I hope that this Example will fully shew the Use and Value of good Collections of Voyages, because it is impossible to foresee all the Advantages that may arise from any Discovery or Settlement at once, nor is it easy to pronounce, that any Discovery, how unpromising soever in its first Appearance, is absolutely useless, and not worth minding.

This is a Caution of a very serious Nature, since there is nothing easier than for Men of quick Wits and tolerable Learning in other Respects, to ridicule Voyages to cold, barren, desert Countries, and to represent that as Folly and Madness, which is in truth a most noble kind of public Spirit, which, if pushed still farther than it has ever been, would be attended with Consequences of still greater Advantage to Mankind, than those that have flowed from it already; and yet these have been very beneficial to this and other Nations, as any judicious Man will very easily and clearly discern, by comparing the State of those Nations, before they addicted themselves to Commerce, and since they have reaped the Profits of it.

11. We have already shewn the Right this Nation has to *Newfoundland*; which is an Island of a triangular Figure, about the Size of *Ireland*; and, according to the best Computation that can be made, about eight or nine hundred Leagues in Circumference: On the North it is separated from the Continent by the narrow Streights of *Bellisle*; on the West it has the Bay of *St. Laurence*; on the South, *Cape Breton* and the Banks; and on the East it has the Ocean. It lies about six hundred Leagues from the *Land's-end* in *England*, and the great Bank is generally looked upon as half way to *Virginia*. There is no Country in the World better furnished with Harbours, and it is abundantly supplied with fresh Water. The Climate is very hot in Summer, and very cold in Winter, so that the Snow lies upon the Ground for four or five Months at least. This is the best Account that we are able to give with Certainty about it; for if we read the different Relations written of this Country, by Persons who ought to have been best acquainted with it, we shall find them so opposite and contradictory, that it will be very hard to judge from them, whether it be one of the best or worst Countries in the World.

But by considering the Views with which these several Accounts were written, and adverting to the Situation of this Country, between 47 and 52 Degrees of Northern Latitude, we may be easily persuaded that it is no Paradise; and yet it is more to the South than our own Island; but lying off a Continent very little better than frozen, the Winds which blow over must bring along with them Weather very different from ours. It is, however, very certain, that Filberds, Strawberries, some Kinds of Cherries, and other such-like Fruits, grow here; and, though Corn and Hay succeed but indifferently, yet there is great Plenty of Venison, wild Fowl and Fish; so that with dry Food in plenty from *Europe*, People may live here very comfortably even in Winter, since the Country produces Fuel of several Kinds in abundance.

The great Advantage, however, resulting from our Possession of the Place never depended much upon its Produce; so far from it, that one of the best Writers upon the Trade of this Nation gave his Opinion clearly, that it was more for our Interest there should be no Settlements upon it at all; which, in my Judgment, he has by

unanswerable Arguments made good; but the Value of *Newfoundland* to this Crown and Country results from the Fishery upon its Coasts, and upon the Banks near it, which has been, and still is, of inestimable Benefit, for Reasons that shall be presently given. It is very certain, that we did not prosecute our Discoveries in and about this Island, or attend to the Advantages that might be made from the Fishery, in many Years after *Cabot* had taken Possession of it; but I do not however believe, that we ever left or deserted it, as some Writers would have us believe, and that we did not claim it again till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. I am, on the contrary, persuaded, that some of our fishing Vessels resorted yearly to this Coast, though perhaps not many; and this, for two Reasons; first, because the unsettled State of our Affairs kept the best part of our Seamen one way or other in the public Service; and next, because we had a great Fishery, at that time, on the Coast of *Iceland*.

But that we really kept Possession of the *Newfoundland* Fishery all that time may, I think, be undeniably proved by two Arguments likewise: The one taken from the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, in the second Year of the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, which would have been needless, if this Fishery had not subsisted; and the other from the Account given us of the State of this Fishery in 1578, by Mr. *Parkhurst*, which is very curious, and yet little taken Notice of. He tells us, that in this Year there were about fifty Sail of *English* Ships employed upon that Coast; but he tells us likewise, that there were one hundred Sail of *Spaniards*, besides twenty or thirty Sail of *Biscayneers*, fifty of *Portuguese*, and one hundred and fifty *French*. He adds another Circumstance, which is still more to our Purpose; and it is this, that wherever the *English* fished, they were reputed Lords of the Harbour, and exercised an Authority over other Nations, by making use of their Boats when they had Occasion for them; which makes it plain to me, that we constantly kept up our Title, for otherwise it is impossible to give any Reason why we should have exercised this Dominion, where we were so far from being the most powerful. An immemorial Custom was Foundation enough for such a Practice, and nothing but this could be esteemed so.

He tells us also, that our own Ships were the strongest, largest, and best equipped; and that, by this Means, we protected our own Trade and the Trade of other Nations, which is a Confirmation of what I have observed; he says, that next to ours the *Spaniards* were the best equipped, and he computes the Tonnage of these Vessels at about six thousand, and the *French* at about seven thousand, Ton; but the *Portuguese*, he says, were the worst equipped of all. As for the *Biscayneers*, they were chiefly employed in Whale-Fishing, and in making Train-Oil. The great Consequence of this Trade to our Nation arose from hence; that, in the first Place, it raised a vast Number of Seamen, and those the best and ablest that were any where bred, so that, even at this time, there could not be fewer than two thousand employed therein. Next, it gave Bread to a vast Number of Manufacturers and Mechanics, such as Ship and Boat-Builders, &c. Thirdly, it produced a great deal of Money from the Sale of the Fish. Fourthly, almost all the Provisions consumed in *Newfoundland*, such as Bread, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheese, Linnen, and Woollen, Cloths, Nets, Hooks, and Lines, were all furnished from *England*; to which we may add, that these Vessels being fitted out in *March*, and returning in *September*, they not only brought Home a Number of People full of Money, which they spent in *England*, but they also left us a certain Proportion of stout able Seamen, fresh Men going out in their room, and becoming in a Voyage or two as good Mariners as themselves.

Thus it clearly appears, how this bleak, barren, and inhospitable Country came to be of such Consequence; which was very soon discerned by the wise Ministry of Queen *Elizabeth*, towards the Close of whose Reign it grew to such a Height that we employed yearly two hundred Sail and upwards of Fishing-Vessels, and on board

board them upwards of eight thousand Seamen, a clear Proof of the Improvements that were then made in the Space of twenty Years; and which confirms, beyond Question, what I remarked at the Close of the preceding Paragraph, that all Discoveries are of use, and every Branch of Navigation worth looking after, and keeping. If the Reader consults other Accounts of *Newfoundland*, within this Period of Time, he will see that I have not been much assisted by them, but that I have set the Subject in a new Light, from Facts of which they have taken little or no Notice.

But I come now to speak of those that are more generally known, and of the famous Patent of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, which is one of the first of them. This Gentleman was a Native of *Devonshire*, had a good Fortune, was well allied, had a competent Knowledge both of military and maritime Affairs, and a generous Desire to raise his private Fortune by the Pursuit of the public Service. It was with this View that he represented to Queen *Elizabeth* the Expediency of settling all those Countries upon the Continent of *America*, which had been formerly discovered by *John* and *Sebastian Cabot*, because, otherwise, it was not at all unlikely that the *French*, who had often reviewed these Places, would be desirous of supplanting the *English*, and because it was very far from being improbable that those Countries abounded with very rich Minerals. Upon these Suggestions very full Letters Patents were granted by the Queen to Sir *H. Gilbert*, his Heirs and Assigns, with free Leave, not only to discover, but to plant and settle, and even to fortify and build Castles, in any of these northern Countries, not then in the Possession of any Christian Prince, with Authority to govern such Colonies, according to the known Laws of the Land, with several other Clauses, equally well contrived for securing this Grant from becoming any way injurious to the Public.

After obtaining this Favour from the Queen, our worthy Knight applied himself to his Relations and Friends, in order to frame a Society capable of carrying this Design into Execution; and he met with such Success therein, that he thought himself very soon in a Condition to undertake a Voyage for this Purpose; yet, when it came to the Point, Things fell out very crossly; for some of his Associates began to form particular Projects inconsistent with his general Scheme, and others absolutely failed in performing their Engagements; which, however, did not hinder this gallant Gentleman from putting to Sea, with such of his Friends as had stuck close to their Promises; but the Voyage proved very unfortunate, and was attended with the Loss of one of his best Ships, in which was Mr. *Miles Morgan*, whom he much esteemed, and several other Persons of Worth and Figure. This was a severe Blow, which he was the less able to sustain, as having already suffered extremely in his Fortune, by the Money he had been obliged to advance to supply other Mens Deficiencies; and therefore he was constrained to assign part of his Patent to other Persons, who were to make Settlements in the northern Parts of *America* about the River of *Canada*; but these People proving likewise very dilatory, he found himself obliged to think of another Expedition, in Person; because his Patent was to expire, if within the Space of six Years he had not actually gained Possessions under it.

In the Spring of the Year 1583 he had again brought this Design into some Order, and to furnish the necessary Expences thereof he was obliged to sell his Estate, though he had great Assistance from his Friends; and several Gentlemen of Rank and Fortune agreed to go with him in Person; with this View a small Squadron was fitted out, consisting of the following Vessels, viz. the *Delight* (or *George*), of one hundred and twenty Tons, Admiral, in which went Sir *Humphrey* himself, as General, *William Winter*, Captain, and part Owner, and *Richard Clark*, Master; the Bark *Raleigh*, fitted out by Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, of two hundred Tons, Vice-Admiral, Mr. *Butler*, Captain, and *Robert Davis* of *Bristol*, Master; the *Golden Hind* of forty Tons, Rear-Admiral, Capt. *Edward Hayes*, Commander and Owner, and *Wil-*

liam Cox, of *Limehouse*, Master; the *Swallow*, of forty Tons, *Maurice Brown*, Captain; the *Squirrel*, of ten Tons, *William Andrews*, Captain, and one *Cade*, Master. In all these Vessels were shipped about two hundred and sixty Men, among whom were many Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Miners, and Refiners. The Resolution of the Proprietors was, that the Fleet should begin its Course northerly, and follow as directly as they could the Trade-way to *Newfoundland*, from whence, after having refreshed and supplied themselves with all Necessaries, their Intent was to proceed into the South, and not to pass by any River or Bay, which, in all that large Tract of Land, should appear worthy their looking into; they likewise agreed upon the Manner of their Course, and the Orders to be observed in their Voyage, which were delivered to the Captains and Masters of every Ship in writing.

The 11th of June they set sail from *Causet Bay*, near *Plymouth*; but, on the 13th, their large Ship the *Raleigh*, under Pretence that her Captain and a great Number of her Men were suddenly taken ill of a contagious Disease, left the Fleet and returned to *Plymouth*; some say in great Distress, but others, that it was done with a Design to break the Voyage. After her Departure the *Golden Hind* succeeded her in Place as Vice Admiral. The 30th of July they had the first Sight of Land, as they computed it about 51°, but with such foggy Weather, that they could not possibly perceive the Land, nor take the Sun's Height: From thence they followed the Coast to the South, with clear Weather, till they came to the Island called *Baccalaos*; here they met with the *Swallow*, which had been separated from them in the Fog, but were surprized to see her Men in a different Garb from what they had on when they left them; upon Enquiry, they found they had met a *Newlander* fishing Bark returning homewards, which they had rifled of Tackle, Sails, Cables, and Provisions, and the Men of their Apparel. Continuing the same Course Southward, they came the same Day, being the third of August, to the Harbour of *St. John*; where they found the *Squirrel*, which had likewise been separated from them, riding at Anchor at the Mouth of the Harbour; having been refused Entrance by the Vessels which were fishing within, to the Number of thirty-six sail of all Nations. Sir *Humphrey* was preparing to make good his Passage by force of Arms; but having first sent in his Boat to inform the Masters of the fishing Barks, that he had a Commission from the Queen to take Possession of these Lands for the Crown of *England*, they were satisfied, and submitted to the levying a Tax of Provisions from each Ship, for supplying the Wants of Sir *Humphrey's* small Squadron. Going into the Harbour, the Admiral's Ship was by the Carelessness of the Men run upon a Rock, which lay visible above Water: But, by the Assistance of the Fishermens Boats, she was got off again, with little or no Damage.

On the 4th Sir *Humphrey*, whom they called the General, and his Company were conducted on Shore by the Masters of the *English* fishing Vessels, and their Owners or Merchants who were with them. On the 5th the General, having caused a Tent to be set up in view of all the Ships in the Harbour, to the Number of between thirty and forty Sail, and being accompanied by all his Captains, Masters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, summoned all the Merchants and Masters, both *English* and Foreigners, to be present at his taking a formal, and solemn Possession of these Territories. Being assembled he caused his Commission, under the great Seal of *England*, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to those who were Strangers to the *English* Tongue.

By Virtue of this Commission, he declared that he took Possession of the Harbour of *St. John*, and two hundred Leagues every way invested her Majesty with the Title and Dignity thereof; and having had (according to Custom) a Rod, and Turf of Soil delivered to him, entered Possession also for himself, his Heirs, and Assigns, for ever. He signified to those who were present, and through them to all Men, that from thenceforward they should look upon those Territories as appertaining

taining to the Queen of *England*, and himself, authorized under her Majesty to possess and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws for the Government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the Laws of *England*; under which, all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by way of Traffic, should submit and be governed. Some Writers have attributed all this Solemnity, which, however, was attended with many other Ceremonies, to a high degree of Vanity, in our West-country Knight; and have ridiculed severely his Pretences to improve the Trade of this Kingdom and enlarge the Queen's Dominions, by cutting a Turf; in which, however, they injure this poor Gentleman's Memory extremely, and shew how little they are qualified to give their Readers a true Account of things of this Nature.

The plain Reason of Sir *Humphrey*'s Conduct throughout this Affair, was his Concern for his Grant, which was perpetual to him and his Heirs, in case he took Possession of any Countries within six Years, and otherwise it was void: There were now but a few Months to come. He had sold his Estate in *England*, and it concerned him very nearly to secure an Estate somewhere else; and therefore it was not from any Principle of Vanity, but rather of Prudence and good Oeconomy, that he did this; as appears by his granting several Parcels of Land to Persons, who covenanted to pay a certain Rent to him and his Heirs, and to maintain Possession by themselves and their Assigns.

There now remained only to gather in the Tax of Provisions granted by every Ship which fished upon the Coast adjoining; and while some of the Men were doing this, others were set to repair and trim the Ships; and the Remainder the General sent to enquire into the Commodities and Singularities of the Country, which were to be found by Sea or Land. They found no Inhabitants in the South Parts, which probably the Natives had abandoned, upon their being so much frequented by *Europeans*. In the North there were Savages of a very harmless Disposition; among other Inquiries, the General had, in a particular Manner, recommended a Search after Metals. They had in their Company a *Saxon* Miner, who at first brought a sort of Ore to the General, which had more the Resemblance of Iron than of any other Metal. Soon after he found another Sort of Ore, which he delivered with a Shew of great Satisfaction to Sir *Humphrey*, and assured him, upon the Peril of his Life, that if Silver was what he and his Companions sought, there it was, and they need seek no farther. We learn all these Circumstances from Captain *Edward Hayes*, who seems, by his Writing, to have been a very intelligent Person; and therefore he enquired very strictly about this Silver-Mine, which procured him such an Answer from the General, as shewed that he was absolutely satisfied on that Head; and I must own I see no Reason to doubt there being Silver-Mines in this Country, since we know they are generally found in cold Climates, and in a hungry barren Soil; and, as to the northern Situation, we are certain that there are rich Silver Mines in *New Mexico*, a Country not far to the Southward of *Newfoundland*; and Silver Ore has been found in *Scotland* several Degrees farther to the North than it is supposed to have been found here.

But though Sir *Humphrey* was very well satisfied with the Account his *Saxon* gave him, yet he thought himself obliged to proceed in his Discoveries Southward; for which while he was providing some of his Men fell sick, some deserted, some died, and some fell to plundering and Piracy: In short, the Number of his People was so lessened, that he was constrained to leave the *Swallow* behind him. The Captain of his Admiral going home, Captain *Brown* of the *Swallow* took the Command of the Admiral, and the Captain of the *Squirrel* deserting likewise the Expedition, Sir *Humphrey* went on board that little Vessel himself; as thinking her the fittest for observing and discovering the Coast, because she could run into every Creek, which a larger Ship could not do. All things being now ready, and plenty of Provisions of all Sorts being put on board, they sailed on the 20th of *August* from the Harbour of *St. John*,

with three Ships, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, and proper Boats and Pinnaces for Discovery. Before their Departure they made an exact Observation of *St. John's* Harbour, and found it to be in the Latitude of $47^{\circ} 40'$ North. The next Night they reached *Cape Race*, which is twenty-five Leagues distant; and from thence sailed about eighty-seven Leagues towards *Cape Breton*.

All this time they had the Wind indifferently good, but never could get Sight of the Land, being hindered by the Currents; at last they unhappily fell into those Flats and Sholes in which most of them perished. On the 27th the General ordered his Men in the Frigate to sound, and found thirty-five Fathom white Sand, in the Latitude of 44° . The Wind coming South, the next Evening they bore in with the Land, all the Night West North-west, contrary to the Advice of Mr. *Cox*, Master of the *Golden Hind*. On the 29th the Wind blew vehemently at South and by East, with Rain, and so thick a Mist, that they could not see a Cable's-length before them. Early in the Morning they found themselves in the midst of Sholes and Sands, among which they found sometimes deep, sometimes shole Water, every three or four Ship's-length. After they began to sound, a Signal was immediately given to the *Delight* to cast about to the seaward, but it was too late; for she struck immediately, and her Stern and Hind-Quarters presently beat to Pieces. Upon which the *Golden Hind* and the Frigate cast about East South-east, bearing to the South, which carried them to the seaward, and with much Difficulty got clear of the Sholes.

In the *Delight* perished Captain *Maurice Brown*, with near one hundred Persons: The Captain might probably have saved his Life, if he would have left the Ship when she first struck, but he would not be the first to set an ill Example. In the mean Time fourteen Persons leaped into a small Pinnace of a Ton and a half burden, no bigger than a Thames-Barge. They looked out some time for the Captain, but not seeing him took in Mr. *Clark*, the Master of the *Delight*, and one more: Being now sixteen in Number, they cut the Rope and committed themselves to the Mercy of the Waves, without any Provisions, or a Drop of fresh Water, and nothing to work with but one single Oar. The Boat seeming to be over-loaded, one *Edward Headly*, thinking it was better for some to perish than all, proposed to cast Lots, and that four of the Number, upon whom the Lot might fall, should be thrown over-board to lighten the Boat: But he was over-ruled by Mr. *Clark*; who, though it was proposed that he should be excepted from the Number, persuaded his Comrades rather to submit to Providence. The Boat was driven before the Wind six Days and six Nights, during which time these poor Wretches had no other Sustenance than their own Urine, and some Weeds which swam on the Surface of the Water; and in this Extremity of Cold, Wet, Hunger, and Thirst, only *Headly* and one more perished the fifth Day; but the other fourteen lived till they were driven the seventh Day on Shore, on the Coast of *Newfoundland*; whence they got in a *French* Ship to *France*, and so to *England*, before the Year's-end. During their seven Days dangerous Course they had the Wind always at South, which saved their Lives; and it is very remarkable, that in half an Hour after they were on Shore it came about and blew full North.

After the Loss of the Admiral the Men being generally discouraged, and in want of Necessaries, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* proposed returning to *England*, having, in his Judgment, made Discoveries sufficient to procure Assistance enough for a new Voyage in the Spring. His People, when he made this Proposal, were at first a little backward, but, upon hearing his Reasons, they submitted; and, according to his Advice, on the last of *August* they altered their Course and returned back for *England*. On the second of *September* they passed in Sight of *Cape Race*, and had afterwards frequently very bad Weather, with such high Seas, that they in the *Hind* often expected to see the *Squirrel* swallowed up; notwithstanding which, Sir *Humphrey* would by no means be persuaded to leave her. On the 9th, the Storms and Swelling of the Seas increasing,

creasing, he was again pressed to leave the Frigate, but his Answer was, *We are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land.* About Midnight the *Squirrel* being a-head of the *Golden Hind*, her Lights were at once extinguished, which those in the *Hind* seeing, cried out, *Our General is lost!* and it was supposed she sunk that Instant, for she was never more heard of.

The *Golden Hind* arrived in safety at *Falmouth*, on the 22d of *September*, more fortunate than her Companions; not only as she returned, but as she lost but one Man during the whole Course of this unfortunate Undertaking. Such was the End of this Expedition, very disastrous to its Author; who lost first his Fortune, and then his Life, by it; to which, if the Sallies of some dis-tempered Mens untimely Wit could effect it, we might add his Reputation also. Yet to this Expedition I make no scruple of imputing all our succeeding Colonies in *America*; and the Grounds of this Opinion of mine, which I must confess is new, I lay down thus:

12. We have before shewn that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was a Man of great Interest and Alliances: For, besides his eldest Brother Sir *John Gilbert*, and his younger Brother Sir *Adrian Gilbert*, who were of the whole Blood, he was, by the Mother's Side, Brother also to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had a great Concern in this Undertaking; and who is on good Grounds allowed to have been one of those true, brave, and steady Friends, who went to Sea with him in his first Attempt, which there is just Reason to believe was in 1579. This great Man, after Sir *Humphrey Gilbert's* Misfortune and Loss in his last Voyage, procured his Patent to be renewed to himself, which was dated the 25th of *March* 1584, and he resolved immediately to carry it into Execution; to which purpose he made Choice of two very able Sea Officers, Captain *Philip Amadas*, and Captain *Arthur Burlew*; who, in two small Barks fit for Discovery, sailed from the West of *England* upon the 27th of *April* following, shaping their Course for the *Canaries*, which they passed on the 10th of *June*, and proceeding from thence to the Islands of *America*, they crossed the Gulph of *Mexico*, and soon after discovered the Coast of *Florida*. Some Authors who have written of this Expedition, and who are pleased to speak in very high Terms of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Skill in maritime Affairs, venture nevertheless to affirm, that the Persons he employed were so ignorant of Navigation, that, by the Computation of able Seamen, they went above two thousand Leagues out of their Way; but as I am very well satisfied they pursued Sir *Walter's* Instructions, so I cannot help thinking this Imputation of Ignorance ought to be wiped away; and this may be very easily done, by shewing the true Cause why this great and knowing Seaman directed this Course: He had observed that all the Attempts hitherto had failed, by the Adventurers pursuing their Discoveries from the North, which was one Reason why he chose another Rout; besides which, he had a better and stronger Motive; for, considering all the Lands on the Continent of *America* from the last Settlements of the *Spaniards* to 60° North, as lying within his Grant, he very prudently chose to settle those first, which lay nearest those *Spanish* Settlements; and this was the clear and certain Cause of his directing his Servants to take this Course; which was so far from being a Proof of their Ignorance, that it is a full and fair Testimony of their Master's extensive Knowledge.

It was on the 2d of *July* they fell in with the Coast of *Florida*, in shole Water, where they smelled a most delightful Odour, as if they had been in the midst of a Garden, abounding with the most fragrant Flowers, by which they supposed they were near, though they saw no Land. On the 4th they discovered the Continent, and sailed along the Coast 40 Leagues, till they came on the 13th to a River, where they anchored, and, going on Shore, took Possession in right of the Queen, and for the Use of the Proprietors. This Place they afterwards found to be the Island of *Wokoken*, on the Coast of the Country since called *Virginia*, in 34° Latitude; and in it they found Deer, Rabbits, Hares, Fowls, Vines, Cedars, Pines, Sassafras, Cypress, and Mastic Trees. The Author of the History of *Virginia* says,

they anchored at the Inlet of *Roenocke*; at present under the Government of North *Carolina*. They went to the Tops of the Hills which were nearest the Shore, from whence, though they were not high, they discovered the Sea on all Sides, and found it to be an Island of twenty Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. It was the third Day before they saw any of the Natives; but then, a little Boat, with three of them, appeared: One of them going ashore, they rowed up to him, and he not only waited their coming without any Signs of Fear, but went on board, where they gave him a Shirt and Hat, with some Wine and Meat, which he expressed a liking to. After he had, with a seeming Satisfaction, narrowly viewed the Barks with all that were in them, he went in his own Boat to above a quarter of a Mile's Distance, where he fished, and in half an Hour loaded his Boat with Fish, as deep as it could swim, and came again to the Point of Land; where, to shew his Gratitude, he divided it into two Parts; and, making Signs that he designed it for the two Ships equally, he departed.

The Natives from the Continent, after this, repaired to their Ships frequently, and exchanged several Sorts of Skins, white Coral, and some Pearls, for some tin things, and other Baubles of inconsiderable Value. The very next Day after they saw the three *Indians*, several Boats appeared in view; in one of which was the King of the Country's Brother, attended by forty or fifty Men of a tolerable good Appearance. They made him, and four of his Chiefs, Presents of several Toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himself, and gave them to understand that none there had a Right to any thing but himself; two Days afterwards they let him see their Merchandize, of which nothing seemed to please him more than a pewter Dish, for which he gave twenty Deer-Skins; and, making a hole in the Rim of it, hung it over his Neck for a Breast-plate, making Signs that it would defend him against the Enemies Arrows. The next thing he bought was a Copper Kettle, for which he gave fifty Skins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none, but such as like him wore Plates of Gold or Copper on their Heads, were allowed either to buy or sell; but as soon as they had done every Man had his Liberty. They offered very good Exchange for Hatchets, Axes, and Knives, and would have given any thing in Truck for Swords; but the *English* would not part with any. The King's Brother came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them; and once he brought his Wife and Children with him, who afterwards came frequently with their Followers only.

They often trusted the King's Brother with Goods upon his Word, to bring the Value at a certain time, which he never failed of doing. He had a strong Inclination to have a suit of Armour and a Sword, which he saw in one of the Ships; and would have left a large Box of Pearls in pawn for them, but they refused it; that he might not know they set a Value upon them, till they could discover whence he got them. They understood from the Natives, that their Country, which they found to be very fruitful and productive of all things, in so very short a Time as is hardly credible, was called by the Name of *Wingandacoa*, and their King *Wingina*. When they went on Shore they were entertained with extraordinary Civility, and once in particular by the King's Brother's Wife, at a little Village in *Roenocke*. They were told of a great City where the King resided, six Days Journey on the Continent, which, however, they did not see; they made no long Stay, nor proceeded any farther on Discovery, only just to the neighbouring Parts, in their Boats; and, being satisfied with what they had seen, returned to *England* about the Middle of *September*, pleased with the Advantage they had made in this short and prosperous Voyage; and, with the Hopes of the future Advantages they should make, especially as they found all things here entirely new and surprizing.

They gave a very advantageous Account of Matters, by representing the Country so delightful and desirable, so pleasant, and abounding with all the Necessaries of Life; the Climate and Air so temperate, good and

wholefome, the Woods and Soil fo charming and fruitful, and all other Things fo agreeable, that Paradise itfelf feemed to be there in its native Luftre. They gave particular Accounts of the Variety of good Fruits, fome whereof they had never feen before; efpecially, that there were Grapes in fuch abundance as were never any where known; ftately tall large Oaks, and other Timber; red Cedar, Cyprefs, Pines, and other Ever-greens and fweet Woods, for Tallnefs and Largenefs exceeding all they had ever heard of. Wild Fowl, Deer, Fish, and other Game, in fuch Plenty and Variety that no Epicure could defire more than this new World feemed naturally to afford. To make it yet more defireable they reported, that the Native *Indians*, who were then the only Inhabitants, were fo affable, kind and good-natured; fo tractable in learning Trades and Fafhions; fo innocent and ignorant in all manner of Tricks and Cunning, and fo defirous of the *Englifh*, that they rather feemed ready to take any Impreffion, than any ways like to oppofe the fettling of the *Englifh* near them.

Upon this fair Representation of the Effects of their Voyage, and of the noble Discovery that had attended it, Queen *Elizabeth* was pleafed to promife what Affiftance it fhould be neceffary for the Crown to give for promoting and perfecting this Settlement; and fhe was likewife pleafed to beftow the Name of *Virginia* upon this new found Country; but whether, as is commonly believed, in regard to its being difcovered under a Virgin Queen, or in allufion to the uncorrupted State of the Land and its Inhabitants, is a Queftion I will not pretend to decide; but perhaps the former was the Senfe impofed by Sir *Walter*, the compleateft Courtier fhall I fay, or rather the compleateft Man, of his Time; and the latter the Senfe in which the Queen would have had it underftood: But however that matter be, we muft not confound the *Virginia* of Sir *Walter Raleigh* with the Province now fo called; for, without all queftion, it was in thofe Days a very different Thing, and comprehended the whole Country claimed by the Crown of *England*, from the Southern Limits of the new Province of *Georgia*, to the utmoft Extent of our Discoveries Northwards, agreeable to the two Patents granted to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and to his Brother Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

It was not long before the Proprietor refolved to fit out a much more confiderable Fleet than had hitherto been employed in fuch Undertakings, that fomething might be done worthy of the Nation, on whose Behalf this Settlement was to be made, of the powerful Queen who had protected it, and of himfelf, who was the Author and Patron of this Scheme; Sir *Walter* intended to have commanded in this Expedition himfelf, and to have carried with him a fufficient Number of Forces to have completed this Design of making a Settlement there; but being at that time jealous that his Abfence might be prejudicial to his Intereft at Court, which the Earl of *Leicefter* fought all Occafions to leffen, he committed the Conduct of this fecond Enterprize to his Lieutenant, Sir *Richard Greenville*; who, on the 8th of *April*, fet fail from *Plymouth* with feven Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himfelf and feveral Gentlemen were Members; and this Company was the firft of that kind that was eftablifhed in *Europe*: Thefe King *James* incorporated by the Name of the *Governor and Company of the Weft Indies*; which, for their Mal-adminiftration, was diffolved by his Son King *Charles I.*

On the 26th of *June*, 1585, Sir *Richard Greenville* anchored at *Wokoken*, and in *Auguft* following they began to plant on the Ifland of *Roenocke*, five Miles diftant from the Continent, where Sir *Richard* landed one hundred and eight Men, under Governor *Ralph Lane*, and Captain *Philip Amadas*, who was conftituted Admiral of the new Colony, tho' I do not find he had fo much as a Bark left with him.

Sir *Richard* did not remain above three Weeks longer in thofe Seas; but having made fome Discoveries to the Southward, and having traded with the *Indians* for Skins, Furs, Pearls, and other Commodities, he failed on the 25th of *Auguft* on his Return to *England*, in which he took a very rich Prize; fo that this Voyage appeared to

the Eyes of the Nation no lefs prosperous than the former, and the new *Virginia* Company began to entertain very fanguine Hopes of their Undertaking. Let us now return to the firft Planters in *Virginia*, and give an Account of what happened to the firft Colony the *Englifh* eftablifhed there, or in any Part of *America*. Sir *Richard Greenville* was no fooner failed, than the People whom he left behind applied themfelves with Diligence to what had been recommended to them by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which was the difcovering the Continent, and with this View they travelled eighty Miles South, and one hundred and thirty North from that Part of the Main oppofite to their Ifland; but in thefe Expeditions, venturing indiscreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country, the *Indian* Governors grew jealous of their Designs, and began firft to be weary of their Company, and then to cut off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands; and they alfo formed a Conſpiracy to deftroy the reft, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colony's Proceedings were duly entered, and afterwards delivered to the Company in *England*, who were not fo careful as they fhould have been to fend them Supplies of Proviſions, and the *Englifh*, not underſtanding the Nature of the Climate, neglected to gather Food in Seafon as the *Indians* did, by which Means they were reduced to great Streights. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, but watched all Opportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, fo it hindered them from having any Supply from thence; however, they endured all with incredible Refolution, and extended their Discoveries near a hundred Miles along the Sea-coaſts. They kept the *Indians* in Awe by threatening them with the Return of their Companions and the Reinforcement of Men; but no Ships coming from *England* in all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they difpaired of being able to fupport themfelves any longer, the Natives beginning to deſpife them, when they ſaw them as it were abandoned by their Countrymen; and the *Englifh* expected every Day to be ſacrificed to their Cruelty. In this Diſtreſs their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding ſome Means of Escape, or Recruit; and, when they were almoſt ſpent with Want and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in *Auguſt* they difcovered Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, who was returning from an Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* in *North America*, and had been commanded by the Queen to viſit this Plantation in his Way, and ſee what Encouragement or Affiſtance they wanted.

The Sight of Sir *Francis's* Fleet was moſt joyful to theſe poor People: Their firſt Petition to him, was to grant them a Supply of Men and Proviſions, with a ſmall Ship or Bark to attend them, that, in caſe they could not maintain themſelves where they were, they might embark in it for *England*. Sir *Francis* granted their Requeſt; and they ſet all Hands to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furniſh her with all manner of Stores for a long Stay; but a Storm ariſing, which drove the Veſſel from her Anchor to Sea, and the Ship ſuffering ſo much in it that ſhe was not fit for their Uſe, they were ſo diſcouraged, that, notwithstanding Sir *Francis* offered them another Ship, they were afraid to ſtay, and earneſtly intreated him to take them with him, which he did: And this put an End to the firſt Settlement.

It was not at all owing to any Negligence in Sir *Walter Raleigh* that this Miſfortune happened; for he continually preſſed the Company to reflect on the Neceſſity of ſupporting the Colony in time, and ſo ſollicitous he was in this Buſineſs, that, finding the Fleet which was preparing under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenville* went on but ſlowly, he propoſed that the firſt Ship that was completely manned and equipped, ſhould be ſent, without ſtaying for the reſt, which was done; but when ſhe arrived at the Ifland *Roenocke*, ſhe found it deſerted. A few Days after came Sir *Richard Greenville* with his Squadron of three ſmall Veſſels, and found not a Man upon the Place, to his great Diſappointment; however, he reſolved to ſettle again, and therefore left behind him fifty Men, with Directions to build a Houſe, or rather Fort,

Fort, for their own Security, furnishing them besides with all Necessaries for two Years, and giving them the strongest Assurances, that they should be constantly and regularly supplied.

This second Colony had no better Fortune than the first, for the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Smallness of their Number, and the Difficulties they had to struggle with, attacked, and cut them off; so that when Mr. *John White* came thither with three Ships and considerable Supplies, on the 22d of *June*, 1587, he found their Fort demolished, some Huts they had erected near it destroyed, and not far from them the Bones of a dead Man. In all these Revolutions *Manteo*, the *Indian*, remained firm to the *English* Interest, and it was from his Information that Mr. *White* learned what was become of this last Colony.

The Misfortunes that had attended these two Settlements, would certainly have discouraged a Man of less Constancy and Fortitude than Mr. *White*; but he had a Commission to be Governor, and Sir *Walter* had strongly recommended to him the keeping Possession of the Place. He therefore erected a new Habitation, and, chusing eleven of the most capable Persons that came along with him, constituted a regular Society, to which he gave the Title of the *Governor and Court of Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia*, hoping they might be able to retrieve the Credit of this Undertaking, and conduce to the Improvement of the Commerce and Navigation of his Country, and thereby answer the Expectations of his honourable Patron, whose Name he had given to his new Plantation. On the 13th of *August* *Manteo*, the faithful *Indian*, was christened, and created by the Governor *Lord of Dassumonpeak*, an *Indian* Nation so called, as a Reward of his Fidelity and Service to the *English*; and on the 18th of the same Month was born the first Child that was the Issue of Christian Parents in that Place, being the Daughter of Mr. *Ananias Dare*: She was after the Name of the Country christened *Virginia*. Good Government and Industry soon rendered Mr. *White* and his Men formidable to the *Indians*, who courted their Friendship, and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themselves too weak or too strong for the *English*, who, as much as they seemed to thrive, underwent so many Hardships for want of due Supplies from *Europe*, that nothing but the invincible Constancy, which is the distinguishing Character of their Nation, could have supported them in the midst of so much Misery.

Yet so far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or desiring to return, that they disputed for the Liberty of remaining at *Roanoke*, and obliged Mr. *White* their Governor to return for *England*, and solicit the Company to send them Recruits of Men and Provisions. Mr. *White* undertook to negotiate their Affairs; and, leaving 150 Men in the Corporation, set sail for *England*, where he arrived in Safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the necessary Supplies. At last he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Provisions and more Men for the Colony. And on the 15th of *August* he arrived at *Cape Hattaras*; and, landing on the Island *Roanoke*, found by Letters cut on Trees, in large Roman Characters, that the *English* were removed, but he could not tell where. They saw the Letters C. R. O. on several Trees; and, searching farther, on one of the Palisades of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word *Croatan*, one of the Islands forming the South, about twenty Leagues southward of *Roanoke*. On this Advice, they embarked in quest of their Fellows at *Croatan*; but they were scarce all of them aboard, before a dreadful Storm arose, which separated the Ships one from another. They lost their Anchors and Cables, and durst not venture in with the Shore, so they all shifted for themselves, and, with various Fortunes, arrived in *England* and *Ireland*.

This dreadful Blow proved the Ruin of the third Settlement, of which I do not find that the Company took any farther Care, or that any new Attempt was made for preserving the Possession of this Country to the Crown of *England*, which had been so highly magnified, and the Advantages thereof painted in such strong Colours at the Beginning. Some have attributed this to Sir *Wal-*

ter Raleigh's Troubles; but surely they were but indifferently acquainted with his History, since it was during the latter Part of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign that he stood in the highest Credit at Court, and was most capable of procuring Favour from it. But that I may not leave this Subject altogether dark and imperfect, I shall venture to suggest what appears to me to be the true Reason why there was no more Care taken of so promising a Scheme as this was of which we are writing. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as very clearly appears from his manner of conducting it, had the public Service alone in View, which induc'd him to throw the Concerns of this Colony into the Hands of a Company, in which, no doubt, he thought he had provided for them effectually, and therefore turned his own Thoughts and most vigorous Endeavours to other Purposes, in which he was so entangled, that he found it impossible to disengage himself, when he saw their Negligence, and foresaw the Consequences of it, which were fatal to a Settlement that cost him so much Pains, and of which he had once so great Hopes.

13. But neither the Business of Planting, nor the Profits resulting from military Expeditions, could hinder such as were addicted to the Study of Maritime Affairs from wishing to see the new Passage to the *Indies* fairly opened. And notwithstanding many Attempts had been made to very little Purpose, yet no considerable Mariner, no Man of Reputation for Cosmographical Learning, could propose any reasonable Scheme for this Purpose, but there were Merchants enough ready to lend their Assistance, and to lay down whatever Money was requisite for carrying it into Execution. This Freedom and Readiness of venturing their private Fortunes for the Public Service, was certainly very honourable and commendable, but they did still more, for they did not only prosecute such Attempts like Merchants, but adhered to them with a philosophic Firmness; so that when a Man returned without Success, and plainly shewed that he had done his Duty, and that there were still Hopes, they encouraged, they rewarded, they fitted him out again and again: But this was an Age of public Spirit; the People went eagerly into whatever great Ministers proposed; most of those Ministers had only the Service of their Mistress at Heart; and the Queen herself was truly the Mother of her People.

In such a Reign it was natural that Wonders should be done, and it happens very luckily for those who celebrate these Wonders, that they are able to maintain all that they assert, by incontestable Evidence; an Instance of which we shall give in a succinct Account of the Voyages of Capt. *John Davis*, for the Discovery of the North-west Passage; which, however, should not have been brought in here, but have been referred to another Section, if we had not found them necessary to shew the Limits of our Discoveries in the northern Parts of *America*; and having thus opened the true Design of his Attempts, we shall proceed to the Narrative of them, in such a Manner, as to render the Nature and Success of his Enterprizes, as clear as it is possible. In order to this, it is requisite to observe, that before his first Voyage was undertaken, there was a Design of attempting to discover a North-west Passage formed by some Traders of the West of *England*; who, when they understood that the like Project had been set on foot at *London*, proposed joining their Forces, which was accepted, and Mr. *William Sanderson*, Merchant of *London*, who was both a principal Man in the Undertaking, and a large Contributor towards the Expence, recommended Capt. *John Davis*, as a proper Person to have the Direction of this Enterprize; and he was accordingly appointed Commander of the *Sun-shine* of *London*, a Bark of 50 Tons, on board of which were three and twenty Persons, and, in Conjunction with the *Moon-shine*, of *Dartmouth*, a Vessel of thirty-five Tons, with nineteen Persons on board, they sailed from the last mentioned Port on their Voyage for Discovery. *June* 7, 1585.

On the 14th of the same Month they were forced into one of the *Sylley*, or, as it is now written, the *Scilly Islands*, where being detained for a Fortnight, Capt. *Davis* shewed his active and indefatigable Genius, by making

making an accurate Chart of them, which was a thing, at that time, very much wanted. On the 28th they sailed from thence, and continued their Course to the North-west, till on the 19th of *July* they came into a whirling Tide, which set Northwards, and sailing about half a League into a very calm Sea, which bent South-south-west, they heard a mighty Roaring, as if it had been the Breach of some Shore, which could not but be very terrible, since the Weather was so foggy that they could not see from one Ship to another, though at a very small Distance. Upon this the *Moon-shine* was ordered to hoist her Boat out to sound, but they could find no Ground in three hundred Fathoms and better; then the Captain, the Master, and Mr. *Jane*, who wrote this Account, went towards the Breach to see what it was, and it proved to be several Islands of Ice which were broke loose, and floating in the Sea; they got out upon these, and walked upon them, and when they went back into their Boat, they carried several large Pieces of Ice, which melted into very good fresh Water.

On the 20th the Fog breaking up they discovered the Land, which looked like a Sugar-loaf, and made so uncomfortable, or rather so horrid an Appearance, that Capt. *Davis* called it the *Land of Desolation*. On the 21st they were forced to bend their Course South again, to clear themselves of the Ice, which they did, and then ran along the Shore. On the 22d the Captain endeavoured to go ashore, but was hindered by the Ice; the Water on the Coast was very black, and though the Seamen made use of their Lines, they could catch no Fish. On the 24th the Captain caused the Mens Allowance to be increased, to encourage them; but it is very remarkable, that he assures us the Weather was far from being cold, but like ours in *April*, very sharp, when the Wind blew from the Shore; and on the contrary, very hot, when it blew from the Sea.

On the 25th they bore away North-west, and continued their Course for four Days. On the 29th they discovered Land in the Latitude of $64^{\circ} 15'$ North, the Sea quite free from Ice, and the Weather very temperate. Upon viewing the Coast they found many pleasant Bays and commodious Ports, but judged it not a continued Land, but rather an Archipelago, and therefore they resolved to go ashore on one of these small Islands, in order to search for Wood and Water, and to gain a better Knowledge of the Country; they were no sooner on Shore, than they found evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited, by there lying upon the Ground a small Shoe, several Pieces of Leather sewed with Sinews, a Piece of Fir and Wool, like Beaver. They went next upon another Island, where, getting upon a high Rock, they were seen by the People of the Country, who set up thereupon a most hideous Howling; when they perceived this, the *English* likewise made a Noise, to give Notice of what had happened, to their own People; upon which Capt. *Bruton*, of the *Moon-shine*, presently came to their Assistance, with a good Number of his Seamen; and presently after their Arrival there appeared ten Boats full of the Natives coming from a neighbouring Island, and two of these Canoes advanced so near the Shore, that they could easily talk with those that were in them; their Language was much in the Throat, and their Pronunciation harsh and unpleasant; one of them, however, seemed inclined to come on Shore, but first pointed to the Sun, and then struck his Breast so hard, that they could hear the Blow; upon which, Mr. *John Ellis*, Master of the *Moon-shine*, was appointed to treat with him; and he going to the Sea-side, pointing to the Sun, and striking his Breast, as the Savage had done, he at length ventured on Shore, and they threw him Caps, Stockings, Gloves, and what else they thought might please him; but the Night drawing on, they took their Leaves on both Sides.

The next Morning there came thirty-seven Canoes rowing by their Ships, calling them to come ashore. The *English*, however, did not make great Haste; upon which one of the Savages leaped on Shore, and went to the Top of a Rock, where he danced and beat a Drum, to shew his Joy. The *English* then manned their Boats,

and came to them to the Water-side, where they waited in their Canoes; and after the formal Ceremony of swearing by the Sun, the Savages made no Scruple of trusting them; but, on the contrary, shewed all possible Signs of Kindness, and even of Politeness; for when the Author of this Voyage offered to shake Hands with one of them, he first took his Hand and kissed it. They readily parted with any thing they were asked for, and were content with whatever was given them, shewing no Signs of Greediness, much less of Treachery or Infidelity. They bought of them five of their Canoes, and several of their Stockings and Gowns, which were made, some of Seal and other of Bird Skins, all of them well dressed, and neatly made; so that it plainly appeared they had various Trades amongst them. They had plenty of Furs; and when they saw that the *English* admired them, they gave them to understand, by Signs, that they would go up into their Country and come down and bring them more, but the Wind proving fair in the Night, Capt. *Davis*, despising Profit, on the 1st of *August* sailed still farther to the North-west; and on the 6th of the same Month they entered into a very fair Road, free from Ice, in the Latitude of $66^{\circ} 40'$, where they landed under a high Mountain, the Cliffs of which shone like Gold.

Captain *Davis*, having taken a view of every thing, began to think of bestowing Names on the Places he had discovered. He gave to the Hill the Name of *Mount Raleigh*; the Road where the Ship lay he called *Totness Road*; the Sound, at the Foot of the Mountain, *Exeter Sound*; the North-foreland, *Diers Cape*; and the South-foreland, *Walsingham*. Here they discovered four white Bears of a prodigious Bigness, two of which they killed and brought on board; the Fore-paw of one of which measured fourteen Inches. They saw a Raven upon *Mount Raleigh*, and at the bottom of the Hill they found some Shrubs and Flowers like Primroses; the Coast, however, was very mountainous, and altogether barren, affording neither Wood nor Grass, nor so much as Earth; the Mountains being all of Stone, but the bravest Stone, says our Author, that ever we saw. Yet this Account concludes nothing against the Fruitfulness of the inland Part of the Country, which might be very good for all that, and, indeed, probably was so, since the Bears were very fat, and yet it appeared, upon opening their Stomachs, and upon viewing their Dung, that they were not ravenous, but fed upon Grass.

They weighed on the 8th from *Mount Raleigh*, sailing still along the Coast, which lay South-south-west, and East-north-east. On the 11th they came to the most southerly Point of this Land, which they called the *Cape of God's Mercy*, and here they were surprized with a very thick Fog; upon the breaking up of which, they found that they were shut into a very Streight or Passage, in some Places sixty Miles broad, in others ninety; the Weather very fine and temperate, and the Water of the same Colour with that of the Ocean, which filled them with Hopes. They sailed through this Streight for sixty Leagues, and then discovered several fair Islands in the midst of it, with an open Passage on both Sides, through which they sailed. One Bark taking the North, the other the South Side; but the Wind changing, and the Weather growing foggy and foul, they were forced to lye by for five Days, in those which have been ever since called *Davis's Streights*. On the 14th they went ashore, and saw evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited; for they found Part of a Stone-Wall and a human Skull. On the 15th they heard a great Howling on Shore, which they supposed to be Wolves, and therefore went ashore to kill them; when they came to Land they found the Creatures they had taken for Wolves were Dogs, and they came instantly running to the Boat to meet them, wagging their Tails, and shewing other Signs of Joy, as it is usual for those Animals to do at the Sight of Men. There were twenty of them in all, and as they were of the Size of Mastiffs, with short Ears and long bushy Tails, the Seamen being afraid of them, fired and killed two, one of which had a leather Collar on. They found likewise there two Sledges, one made of several kind of Boards that were sawed, and the other of Whalebone. They likewise saw Larks,

Larks, Ravens, and Partridges. On the 17th they went ashore again, and, in an Oven built with Stones, they found a small Canoe made of Wood, an Image, a Bird made of Bone, Beads for Necklaces, and other Trifles. The Coast made no very promising Appearance, as having neither Wood nor Grass; but the Rocks were of a fine bright Stone, like Marble beautified with Veins of different Colours. Upon the Shore they found a Seal or Sea-Calf just dead and thrown under a heap of Stones.

Captain *Davis* and his Master were extremely well pleased with the Appearance of this Streight, though they began to doubt whether the Season would permit them to continue long in it; which nevertheless they took for the very Channel into the South Seas, in search of which they came, and resolved to report so much upon their return to *England*. The Reasons which confirmed the Probability of there being a Passage in this Streight, and upon which they grounded their Hopes of future Success, were, 1st. That this Place was all Islands, with great Sounds between them. 2d. That the Water remained all of the same Colour with the main Ocean, without altering; whereas they never came into any Bay before nor after, but the Colour of the Water was altered very blackish. 3d. Because they saw to the West of those Islands three or four Whales in a Skull, which they imagined came from the Western Sea, because to the Eastward they had seen no Whales. 4th. Because as they were rowing into a very great Sound lying South-west, from whence those Whales came, there came suddenly a violent Counter-check of a Tide from the Southward, against the Flood which they came in with, not knowing from whence it received its Source. 5th. Because in sailing twenty Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, they had sounding in ninety Fathoms on a grey andousy Sand; and the farther they ran into the Westward, the deeper was the Water: So that among the Islands they had near the Shore no Ground in three hundred and thirty Fathom. 6th. Because it ebbd and flowed six or seven Fathom, the Flood coming from divers Parts, so that they could not with any Certainty discern the chief Source of it.

On the 19th it was resolved by the Officers to continue the Prosecution of their Discoveries; but the Wind changing on the 20th, they were obliged to remain at Anchor; and the Weather growing very foul, they, on the 24th, hoisted Sail for *England*. On the 10th of September they fell in with the *Land of Desolation*; on the 27th they had Sight of the *English* Coast, and in a Storm lost the *Moonshine* that Night. On the 30th Captain *Davis* came safely into *Dartmouth*, where he found the *Moonshine*, which arrived about two Hours before. Upon his return to *London*, Captain *Davis* gave a very clear Account to his Owners, of his Expedition, and of what he had done; observing, that at the Time he put to Sea, he had only general Instructions to search for a Passage to North-west, without any Intimation where that Passage was most likely to be found; that he had accordingly entered a Streight which he thought might possibly be that Passage; but the Weather changing, and the Season of the Year being two far advanced, he judged it requisite to return home.

His Owners were so well satisfied, that they procured him an Audience of Secretary *Walsingham*; who approved very much of the Enterprize, and of the Manner in which he had conducted it; but at the same Time recommended it to him to complete this Discovery, to which he was also pressed by those who were concerned in his former Undertaking, and by some Merchants of *Exeter*, who desired to join in the Expences necessary for a second Expedition; to which he willingly consented, and accordingly undertook it; and as he has written himself an Account of this Voyage, which was a very remarkable one, I shall give it the Reader, as near as may be, in his own Words.

“ On the 7th of May, 1586, I set out from *Dartmouth* with four Sail, viz. The *Mermaid* of 120 Tons, the *Sunshine* of 60 Tons, the *Moonshine* of 35 Tons, and a Pinnace of 13 Tons, called the *North Star*. We coasted the South-side of *Ireland*, and on the 13th

“ steered away North-west, till we came to the Latitude of 60°. At which Time I divided my Fleet, and ordered the *Sunshine*, and the *North Star*, to seek a Passage Northward, between *Groenland* and *Iceland*, to the Latitude of 80°, if Land did not hinder them. I departed from them the 7th of June; and on the 15th discovered Land in 60° Latitude, and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* Westward 47°. The Ice lay, in some ten, in some twenty, in some fifty, Leagues off the Shore; so that we were constrained to bear into 57° to double the same, and to get a free Sea, which through God's favourable Mercy we at length obtained.

“ On the 29th, after many Storms, we again discovered Land, in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 58° 30', and in Latitude 64°, being East from us, into which since it pleased God by contrary Winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to set up our Pinnace, which we had provided in the *Mermaid* to be our Scout for this Discovery, and so much the rather, because the Year before I had been in the same Place, and found it very convenient for such a Purpose, being inhabited by a People of tractable Conversation, and the Sea void of Ice. The Ships being within the Sounds, we sent our Boats to search for Shore-water, where we might anchor, which in this Place is very hard to find. The People of the Country, espying them, came in their Canoes towards them with Shouts and Cries; but when they saw in the Boats some of our Company that were there the last Year, they rowed to the Boat, and, taking hold of the Oar, hung about the Boat, expressing a great deal of Joy; and making Signs that they knew all those that had been there the Year before. I went ashore with others of the Company, and took with me twenty Knives. We had no sooner landed but they leaped out of their Canoes and came running to us, and embraced us with many Signs of hearty welcome; there were eighteen of them, and I gave to each of them a Knife, and they offered me Skins for a Reward; but I made Signs that they were not sold, but freely given to them; and so dismissed them for that Time, with Signs that they should return after certain Hours.

“ The next Day, with all possible Speed, the Pinnace was landed upon an Island, there to be finished; and while it was setting up the People came continually to us, sometimes a hundred Canoes at a time, bringing Seal-skins, Stag-skins, White Hares, Seals, Salmon-Peal, small Cod, dry Caplin, with other Fish, and some Birds. I sent one of the Boats to search one Part of the Land, while I went to another Part, with strict Command that there should be no Injury offered to any of the People, nor any Gun shot. They formed Tents made of Seal-skins, wherein was Store of dried Caplin, being a small Fish, no bigger than a Pilchard, some Bags of Train-Oil, many little Images cut in Wood, and Seal-skins in Tan-Tubs, whereof they diminished nothing. When they had passed ten Miles within the snowy Mountains, they came to a plain champaign Country with Earth and Grass, like to our moory and waste Grounds in *England*; they went ten Leagues up into a River, which in the narrowest Place was two Leagues over, finding it still to continue they knew not how far. But I with my Company took another River, which, although at first it afforded a large Inlet, yet it proved but a deep Bay, the End whereof I attained in four Hours; and there leaving the Boat well manned, went with the rest of the Company three or four Miles into the Country, but found nothing, nor saw any thing but Gripes, Ravens, and small Birds, as Larks and Linnets. The third of July I manned my Boat, and went with fifty Canoes attending upon me into another Sound, where the People, by Signs, willed me to go, hoping to find their Habitation. At last they made Signs that I should go into a warm Place to sleep; at which Place I went on Shore, and desired they would leap with our Men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them; from leaping they went to wrestling; we found them

G g g strong

“ strong and nimble, and to have Skill in wrestling,
 “ for they cast some of our Men that were good Wrest-
 “ lers.

“ On the 4th the Master of the *Mermaid* went to
 “ certain Islands to store himself with Wood, where he
 “ found a Grave with divers buried in it, covered with
 “ Seal-Skins only, and a Cross laid over them. The
 “ People are of good Stature, well proportioned, with
 “ small slender Hands and Feet, broad Visages, small
 “ Eyes, wide Mouths, the most Part unbearded, great
 “ Lips and close-toothed; they are much given to
 “ bleed, and therefore stop their Noses with Deers Hair,
 “ or that of an Elan. One of them kindled a Fire after
 “ this Manner: He took a Piece of a Board wherein was
 “ a Hole half through; then he put into the Hole the
 “ End of a round Stick like a Bed-staff, wetting the
 “ End thereof with Train-oil, and (as your Turners do)
 “ with a piece of Leather by the violent Motion he
 “ speedily produced Fire; this done he made a Fire with
 “ Turfs, into which, with many Words and strange Gef-
 “ tures, he put divers things, which we supposed to be a Sa-
 “ crifice; they desired me to go into the Smoak, and I
 “ willed them likewise to stand in the Smoak, which
 “ they would by no means do; I then thrust one of them
 “ into the Smoak, and commanded one of my Men to
 “ tread out the Fire and spurn it into the Sea, to shew
 “ them that we did condemn their Sorcery. They are
 “ very simple in their Conversation, but marvelously
 “ thievish, especially of Iron, which they have in great
 “ esteem. They cut away the *Moon-shine*'s Boat from
 “ her Stem; they cut our Cables and our Cloth where
 “ it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it;
 “ they stole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boat, a Spear, a
 “ Sword, with divers other things, which so grieved the
 “ Company, that they desired me to dissolve this new
 “ Friendship; whereupon I ordered a Caliver to be shot
 “ among them, and immediately upon the same a Fal-
 “ con; which strange Noise did so amaze them, that
 “ they departed with all Speed; but within ten Hours
 “ they returned and intreated a Peace, which being grant-
 “ ed, they brought us Seal-Skins and Salmon-Peel, but
 “ when they saw Iron they could not forbear stealing;
 “ which when I perceived, I commanded that in no
 “ Case they should be any more hardly used, but that
 “ our own People should be more vigilant to keep their
 “ things.

“ They eat all their Meat raw; they live most
 “ upon Fish, drink Salt-water, and eat Grass and Ice
 “ with Delight; they make Fishing-nets with Whale-
 “ Fins; 'tis probable they have Wars with those on the
 “ main Land, many of them being fore wounded, which
 “ Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by
 “ Signs they gave us to understand. The 17th of July
 “ I went ashore in our new Pinnace, and with the most
 “ Part of my Company went to the Top of an high
 “ Mountain, hoping from thence to see into the Coun-
 “ try; but the Mountains were so many and so lofty
 “ that we could not see far; we returned to our Pinnace
 “ and saw a strange Sight, which was a mighty Whirl-
 “ wind, continuing three Hours with little Intermision,
 “ which taking up the Water in great Quantities, furi-
 “ ously mounted it into the Air. The next Morning,
 “ the Storm being over, we sailed into a mighty great
 “ River, directly into the Body of the Land, and
 “ found it to be no firm Land, but huge, vast, and
 “ desert Islands, with mighty Sounds and Inlets passing
 “ between Sea and Sea. On the 9th we returned to
 “ our Ships, where our Mariners complained heavily
 “ against the People, that they had stolen an Anchor
 “ from us, had cut one of our Cables very danger-
 “ ously, and spared not to sling Stones at us of half a
 “ pound Weight: The next Day I went ashore and used
 “ them with much Courtesy, and when I returned they
 “ followed me in their Canoes; I gave some of them
 “ Bracelets, and seven or eight of them came on Board,
 “ whom I used kindly, and let them depart; as soon as
 “ Sun was set they began to practise their devilish Nature,
 “ and with Slings threw Stones very fiercely into the
 “ *Sun-shine*, and knocked down the Boatswain; where-

“ upon we pursued them with our Boats, and shot at
 “ them; but they rowed so swiftly, that we could not
 “ reach them.

“ On the 11th five of them came to make a new
 “ Truce; the Master acquainted me with their coming,
 “ and desired they might be kept Prisoners until we
 “ had our Anchor again; but when he saw the chief
 “ Ring-leader and Master of Mischief was one of the
 “ five, he was then very urgent to have him seized, and
 “ so it was determined to take him; he came crying
 “ *Iliaout*, and, striking his Breast, offered a Pair of
 “ Gloves to sell; the Master offered him a Knife for
 “ them: So two of them came to us, one we dismissed,
 “ but the other was soon made Captive among us; then
 “ we pointed to him and his Fellows for our Anchor,
 “ which being had, we made Signs to him he should be
 “ set at Liberty; about an Hour after the Wind came fair,
 “ and we set sail and brought him away with us. One
 “ of his Companions, following our Ship in his Canoe,
 “ talked with him, and seemed to lament his Condition;
 “ we still using him well, and saying to him *Iliaout*,
 “ i. e. we mean no harm, at last he aboard spake four
 “ or five Words to the other, and clapped both his
 “ Hands on his Face, the other did the like, and so
 “ parted; we judged the covering his Face, and bow-
 “ ing down his Body, signified his Death; after some
 “ Time he became a pleasant Companion among us;
 “ I gave him a new suit of Frize of the *English* Fashion,
 “ of which he was very fond; he trimmed up his Darts
 “ and all his fishing Tools, and would make Okam, and
 “ set his Hand to the Rope's-end; he fed upon Caplin
 “ and dry *Newland* Fish. The 17th, being in Latitude
 “ of 63° 8', we fell in with a mighty Mass of Ice, very
 “ high, like Land, with Bays and Capes; and, supposing
 “ it to be Land, we sent our Pinnace to discover it; but,
 “ on her return, we were assured that it was only Ice,
 “ which caused great Admiration to us all, and the ra-
 “ ther, because in this Place we had very tickle and
 “ strong Currents. We coasted this Mass of Ice till the
 “ 30th, finding it a great Bar to our Purpose. The
 “ Air was now so foggy, and the Sea so pestered with
 “ Ice, that all Hopes of proceeding was banished; for
 “ on the 24th of July our Shrouds, Ropes, and Sails,
 “ were so frozen and compassed with Ice, only by a
 “ gross Fog, as seemed to us very strange, who the
 “ last Year found this Sea free and navigable without
 “ Impediments.

“ Our Men, through this Extremity, began to grow
 “ sick and feeble, and withal hopeless of good Suc-
 “ cess; whereupon, very orderly and discreetly, they in-
 “ treated me to regard our present State, and withal
 “ advised me, that in Conscience I ought to preserve my
 “ own Life and theirs; and that I should not, through my
 “ own Boldness, leave their Widows and fatherless Chil-
 “ dren to give me bitter Curses. This did move me
 “ to commiserate their Condition, yet considering the
 “ Importance of this Discovery if it could be accom-
 “ plished, the great Hopes of a Passage by what we had
 “ seen the last Voyage, and that there was yet a third Way
 “ to be attempted, I thought it would turn to my Dis-
 “ credit if the Action should fail through my Neglect,
 “ therefore resolved to prosecute it; and considering
 “ the *Mermaid*, by Reason of her Burden, was not so
 “ nimble and convenient for this Purpose as a smaller
 “ Bark, and was 100 *l.* a Month Charge to the Adven-
 “ turers; I determined to revictual the *Moon-shine*, and
 “ proceed as God should direct me: Whereupon I al-
 “ tered my Course to recover the next Shore, where this
 “ might be performed; and the 1st of August discovered
 “ Land without Snow or Ice, in Latitude 66° 33', and
 “ in Longitude, from the Meridian of London, 70°.

“ On the 2d we anchored in a very good Road, where,
 “ with all Speed, we graved and re-victualled the *Moon-
 shine*; we found it here very hot, and we were very
 “ much troubled with Muskitos, which did sting griev-
 “ ously. The People of the Country caught a Seal, and,
 “ with Bladders fast tyed to him, sent him to us with
 “ the Flood, so as he came right with our Ship, which
 “ we took as a friendly Present from them. On the
 5th I

“ 5th I went on Top of a Hill, and espying three
“ Canoes under a Rock, went to them, and found in
“ them Skins, Darts, &c. whereof we diminished no-
“ thing; but left upon every Boat a Silk Point, a Bullet
“ of Lead, and a Pin. The next Day the People came
“ to us without Fear, and bartered with us for Skins;
“ our Savage kept close, and made Shew that he would
“ fain have another Companion. Being thus provided, I
“ departed on the 12th, leaving the *Mermaid* at Anchor;
“ her Crew finding many Occasions of Discontent, and
“ being unwilling to proceed, here forsook me.

“ The 14th, failing West fifty Leagues, we discovered
“ Land, in Latitude 66 Degrees 19 Minutes; and
“ the next Day we stood to the South; and on the
“ 18th discovered a very fair Promontory North-west
“ from us, in 65 Degrees, having no Land on the South,
“ which gave us great Hopes of a Passage. The 20th
“ I went to the Top of a high Hill, whence I perceived
“ that this Land was all Islands; we coasted this Island
“ towards the South, from 67 to 57 Degrees. The 28th,
“ having great Distrust of the Weather, we arrived in a
“ fair Harbour, and sailed ten Leagues into the same,
“ being two Leagues broad, with fair Woods on both
“ Sides: Here we continued to the 1st of *September*, in
“ which time we had two very great Storms; I went
“ six Miles into the Country, and found the Woods were
“ Fir, Pine-apple, Elder, Yew, Withey, and Birch. Here
“ we saw a black Bear, and Store of Birds, as Pheasants,
“ Partridges, wild Geese, Bucks, Blackbirds, Jays,
“ Thrushes, and other small Birds. The 1st we set
“ sail, and coasted the Shore with fair Weather. The
“ 4th we anchored in a good Road, among many
“ Islands. Eight Leagues to the North of this Place we
“ had strong Hopes of a Passage, by reason of a mighty
“ Sea passing between the two Lands, West; we greatly
“ desired to go into this Sea, but the Wind was directly
“ against us.

“ The 6th we sent five young Men ashore to an
“ Island, to fetch some Fish which we had left there
“ covered all Night. The Savages who lurked in the
“ Woods suddenly assaulted our Men, which we per-
“ ceiving let slip our Cable, and, under our Fore-sail,
“ bore in to the Shore, and discharged a double Musket
“ upon them twice; at the Noise of which they fled,
“ having killed two of our Men with their Arrows, and
“ grievously wounded two more; the other escaped by
“ swimming, with an Arrow shot through his Arm.

“ This Evening it pleased God farther to increase our
“ Sorrows with a furious Storm at North-north-east,
“ which lasted to the 10th: We unrigged our Ship, and
“ intended to cut down our Masts; the Cable of our
“ Sheet-anchor broke, so that we expected to be driven
“ on Shore, and become a Prey to the Cannibals; yet, in
“ this deep Distress, God gave us Succour, and sent us a
“ fair Sea, so that we recovered our Anchor again, and
“ new moored our Ship; where we saw that God had
“ manifestly delivered us, for two Strands of our Cable
“ were broken. The 11th, the Wind coming fair at
“ West-north-west, we departed with Trust in God’s
“ Mercy, shaping our Course for *England*, and arrived
“ in the West-country the Beginning of *October*, where
“ the *Sunshine* arrived a few Days before us; she had been
“ at *Iceland*, and from thence to *Groenland*, and so to
“ *Estotiland*, and thence to *Desolation*, where she traf-
“ ficked with the People, staying in the Country twenty
“ Days. They lost Sight of the Pinnacle, called the
“ *North-Star*, on the 3d of *September*, in a very great
“ Storm, and lay a-hull to tarry for her all the next
“ Day; but saw her no more: The said Pinnacle never
“ returned home.”

We find annexed to this Account of Capt. *Davis*’s second
Voyage, a Letter of his to Mr. *William Sanderfon*, who
seems to have been his Patron; in which he excuses
his Want of Success in this Voyage, declares his confident
Hope, that such a Passage might yet be found, the Im-
provement of his Knowledge by this last Voyage, and his
Resolution to prosecute this Discovery to the utmost,
though it should cost him the little paternal Fortune he
had in the West; and concludes with an Assurance, that

he would communicate to him a fair and clear Chart of
his Voyage, which would give him a perfect Compre-
hension of the Arguments he had to offer in support of
his Notion, that this Passage, so often attempted in vain,
might still be found. This Letter is dated from *Exeter*,
the 14th of *October*, 1586; and it had all the good Effects
that Capt. *Davis* could expect from it, since his Friend
still continued to have as good an Opinion of him as ever,
and so it appears the rest of his Owners had; but it went
no farther than the Approbation of his Conduct in his last
Voyage, for when he came to propose a third Expedition,
the West-country Merchants, and most of those in *Lon-
don*, grew weary of the Expence, and would be con-
cerned no longer. He proposed, however, to the rest of
the Adventurers, a new Scheme, which took Effect, and it
was this: That they should fit out three Vessels, one of
which only should be employed on the Discovery, and the
other two in Fishing; by which he proposed to defray all,
or at least the best Part, of the Expence. It is very re-
markable that Mr. *Bruton*, who served with Capt. *Davis*
in his first Voyage, accompanied him also in this, and so
did Mr. *John Jane*, who has been his Merchant or Su-
percargo, and many of his old Seamen; which shews the
Confidence they had in his Skill, and how sensible they
were of his Care and good Usage.

The Vessels provided for this last Voyage were the
Elizabeth of *Dartmouth*, the *Sunshine* of *London*, and the
Ellen which was but very small. As for the History of
the Voyage, which is but short, we shall give it as we did
the former, in the Words of the Author. “ We de-
“ parted from *Dartmouth* the 10th of *May*, and discover-
“ ed Land on the 14th of *June*. On the 16th we an-
“ chored among many low Islands which lay before the
“ high Land; the People came to us crying, *Iliaout*;
“ and shewing us Seal-Skins. On the 20th I left the
“ two Ships to follow their Fishing, taking their faithful
“ Promise not to depart till I returned unto them, which
“ should be in the End of *August*; but they, finishing
“ their Voyage in sixteen Days, presently returned for
“ *England*, without regarding their Promise, whilst I,
“ not distrusting any such hard Measure, proceeded on
“ the Discovery. On the 24th, in Latitude 67 Degrees,
“ 40 Minutes, the Weather was very hot, thirty Savages
“ came to us in their Canoes, twenty Leagues from the
“ Land, intreating us to go ashore. I coasted the Shore of
“ *Groenland*, from the 21st to the 30th, having the Sea all
“ open towards the West, and the Land on the Starboard-
“ side, East from me, the Weather extremely hot and
“ very calm. The Sun was five Degrees above the Ho-
“ rizon at Midnight, Latitude 72 Degrees 12 Minutes;
“ the Compass in this Place varied 28 Degrees towards the
“ West. The 3d of *July* we fell in again with Ice; and on
“ the 6th put our Bark through it, seeing the Sea free on the
“ West side; and when we had sailed five Leagues West
“ we fell in with another mighty Bank of Ice which we
“ could not pass; therefore returning again, we got clear
“ on the 8th at Midnight, and recovered the open Sea
“ through God’s Favour, by giving us fair Winds and
“ and calm Weather. On the 15th, in Latitude 67 De-
“ grees 45 Minutes, a great Current set us to the West
“ six Points from our Course.

“ On the 19th we had Sight of *Mount Raleigh*. On
“ the 30th we crossed over a great Inlet or Passage,
“ being twenty Leagues broad, and situate between 62
“ and 63 Degrees, in which Place we had eight or nine
“ great Races, Currents, or Over-falls, like the Water
“ under *London-bridge*, and bending their Course into the
“ Inlet. The 31st, in Latitude 62 Degrees, coming
“ close by a Foreland, we fell into a mighty Race, where
“ an Island of Ice was carried by the Force of the Cur-
“ rent as fast as our Bark could sail with all Sails bearing.
“ This Cape, as it was the Southern Limits of the Gulph
“ we passed over Yesterday, so was it the North Pro-
“ montory, or Beginning of another great Inlet which
“ we passed over this Night, where we saw the Sea falling
“ down towards the Inlet with a mighty Over-fall, and
“ circular Motion, like Whirlpools, in the same manner
“ as forceable Streams force through the Arches of
“ Bridges. On the 10th of *August*, as we were seeking
“ out

“ our Ship, that went to fish, being among many Islands,
 “ we struck on a Rock, and had a great Leak: The
 “ next Day we stopped our Leak, in a Storm; and on
 “ the 15th, being in Latitude 62 Degrees 12 Minutes,
 “ and not finding our Ships, nor (according to their
 “ Promise) any Mark or Beacon which I willed them
 “ to set up, and they promised to do, upon every
 “ Headland or Cape within twenty Leagues every Way
 “ from their Fishing-place, and we having but little
 “ Wood in our Ship, and but half a Hoghead of fresh
 “ Water, I shaped my Course for *England*, and arrived
 “ at *Dartmouth* the 15th of *September*.”

Upon his Return from this, as after his second Voyage, he wrote a Letter to Mr. *Sanderfon*, dated from *Sandridge*, *September* 16, 1587; wherein he tells him, That he had returned safe with all his Company: That he had sailed sixty Leagues farther than he intended at his Departure: That he had reached the Latitude of 73 Degrees North, finding the Sea all open, and the Streight forty Leagues broad; concluding from thence, that the Passage was most certain, and the Execution most easy; but, as we shall see hereafter, he was in this mistaken, which however, does not at all lessen his Merit or the great Discoveries he made, by which he entitled his Country to all this Coast of *North America*; the Value of which may hereafter prove as great as any Discovery made in this Reign. Neither ought we to esteem it any Diminution of his Merit, that he was so confident of finding a Passage this Way to the very last; because as far as he, or any Man, could judge, there was indeed great Probability of the Thing, and nothing but such a Spirit as his will ever be able to effect this Discovery whenever it shall be made.

But he was not only an able Officer and a most skilful Seaman, but had likewise a Head perfectly well turned for making all possible Advantages of the Service in which he was employed; as appears from the Minutes of a Memorial of his which I have seen, addressed to Secretary *Walsingham*; wherein he tells him, That he found many ignorant and malicious People had a very mean Opinion of what he had done, because his Voyages had not answered the Expence; but he persuaded himself that so wise and honourable a Statesman, would think in a manner different from the Vulgar, and esteem his Services capable of producing great Advantages to the Nation, even supposing that no such Passage as he expected should be found; in Support of which he laid down the five following Points.

I. That it would redound very much to the Honour of the Queen and her Subjects, if the People in these Northern Regions were converted to the Christian Faith; in which pious Work many of those busy and fiery Spirits might be profitably employed, that, by their factious Stirrings at Home, served only to create Confusion in Church and State: For if these People, who seemed neither destitute of Wit, Industry, or valuable Commodities, were once brought over to the Christian Faith, they might soon be brought to relish a more civilized kind of Life, and be thereby induced to take off great Quantities of our coarser Woollen Manufactures; which would employ the Poor at Home, increase our Shipping, and augment the Number of our Seamen.

II. That in the Judgment of such as were best acquainted with the Fishing Trade, the Cod he caught were the fattest and finest that were ever seen; and that the Plenty of these Fish was so great as might well encourage the establishing an annual Fishery at the Mouth of the *Streights*, which would afford immediate Profit, and might lead to future Discoveries of greater Importance.

III. That notwithstanding the Shores of the Countries he had seen were bleak and barren, yet the inner Part of the Country might, notwithstanding, be very rich and fertile: That as the People he had conversed with had some of them Utensils of different Metals, it might be presumed there were Mines of Value in these Countries; and that how little Profit soever these People might make of them, they might be wrought to great Advantage by such as understood them better.

IV. That it was very evident from the several Voyages he had made, that there was nothing intolerable in these

northern Climates, and that it would be of great Service to the Nation to keep up a constant Succession of Enterprizes on this Side, since it might be done with very little Expence at first; would contribute to make these Parts of the World better known, and secure the Advantages derived from them to the *English*; whereas, if they were discontinued or abandoned, other Nations would not fail to make Attempts of the like kind, and so come in process of Time to reap the Fruits of other Mens Labour.

V. That the Furs brought from thence were much esteemed, and allowed to be richer and more valuable than any that came from *Muscovy*; and that if the Fashion of wearing them at Court were encouraged, it might prove a means, when all others failed, of promoting this Commerce; for you know right well, most honourable Sir, concludes he, that it is a great Secret in Policy to make the Follies of the Extravagant, and the Vanity of the Ambitious, contribute to the Maintenance of Industry; so that even the Vicious and the Lazy, may of their own Accord furnish the Rewards of Labour and Virtue.

I shall, hereafter, take Occasion to shew, that he has very wisely and sensibly recommended the propagating the Christian Religion, as the most proper Means for extending, as well as establishing, our Colonies, and rendering them highly beneficial. There is no Question that the sending a few Preachers to convert any of these Nations to Christianity, would be a thing of greater Consequence to this Nation, than building many Forts to secure our Commerce with *Savages*; for these People would then live in Towns, wear Cloaths, cultivate their Lands, and, instead of destroying and extirpating each other, as at present, they would live peaceably, and consequently grow daily more numerous; which would occasion such a Consumption of our Manufactures of all kinds, and such a Return of their Commodities, which is the only true and just Standard of Trade, as neither Fraud nor Force can any other way attain. His Reflections, with respect to the Expediency of keeping up this northern Navigation, are highly sensible, and it would have been much for our Interest, if, even at the public Expence, they had been continued; for then Sir *Josiah Child* would not have set down this North Fishery among the Number of our lost Trades, as he does with just Reason. That our Neighbours would be wiser in this Respect than ourselves, was in itself a very shrewd, and in Fact has proved a prophetic Observation; for the *Dutch* and other Nations still frequent *Davis's Streights*, which we have in a manner deserted, and employ thereby a vast Number of People at home, besides raising annually fresh Supplies of skilful and well seasoned Seamen, which a maritime Power ought to regard as a Point of the highest Consequence, and in that View ought to favour most such Branches of Commerce as are known to contribute thereto, especially if they are not at a great Distance. With these Remarks we shall dismiss this Subject for the present, and, as the Nature of our Plan directs, proceed from these Discoveries in the most northern Parts of *America*, to the Attempt made for fixing a Settlement more to the South than any we have yet obtained.

14. The speaking of this Southern Settlement brings us back to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Gentleman whose Name must often occur in all Books that any way relate to *English* History, and whose Memory will be ever celebrated by such as can distinguish any kind of Worth; for he had all and excelled in all. Amongst the rest, the completest Courtier of his Time, which perhaps drew upon him more Envy than all his other great Qualities; and I am induced to think so from the Nature of those Calumnies by which he was most hurt; for though deeply malicious, they were so indifferently forged, that they could not bear the least Inspection; so that notwithstanding they cost him his Favour often, and his Life at last, from the Credulity of Princes, yet they never had any Effect upon his Reputation with wise Men in his Life-time, nor have injured his Reputation in the least with Posterity.

He was always useful to his Country, but most so when

when he had least Credit at Court. At such Times he did not relinquish Business to go and hide himself in Country Retreats, and thence write pitiful Letters and Poems to screw himself again into the Affections of the Queen his Mistress, as some other of her great Men did, and which he could have done better than any of them; nor did he form Intrigues against her Ministers, and force himself into Power and his Sovereign's Presence; but he took another Road peculiar to, and worthy of, Sir *Walter Raleigh*: He applied himself to contrive, and not to contrive only, but to execute, such great and glorious Enterprizes, as raised his Fame so high, that the Whispers of Envy could be no longer heard; and, when the Queen recalled him to her Favour, it never appeared as an Act of Grace, but as a Stroke of Justice; so that after these Recesses, he shone at Court with double Lustre, and his Mistress, haughty as she was, could not help appearing upon these Occasions proud of the Possession of such a Man, and ashamed of his Absence.

It was in one of these voluntary Exiles that Sir *Walter Raleigh* executed a Design he had long meditated, I mean his Expedition to *Guiana*, an Expedition great in itself, though unfortunate in its Consequences; formed upon the most noble Principles, and performed with equal Valour and Prudence, and in a Word every way equal to the Genius of its Author, and, Experience has since fatally shewn, superior to every Genius but his. He saw, with Regret, the Plantation of *Virginia* abandoned, and he saw that the Want of immediate Profit was the Cause; he resolved therefore to strike out the Means of settling a new Colony in another Part of *America*, which should be free from this Inconvenience, and which should transfer the richest Products of that Country to the *English*, if they had but Courage and Conduct enough to fetch them. In order to this he enquired, with the greatest Diligence, into the State of the Country before mentioned; he sought from Books and Papers all the Assistance that could be had of that kind; he drew from personal Informations, which were more in his Power than perhaps they ever were in any other Man's, all the Notices that they could give; but he drew the greatest Lights from his own profound Knowledge and extensive Experience.

He was undoubtedly as well versed in all Parts of Philosophy and natural History, as any Man of his time, and perhaps much better; for, besides all the Knowledge which results from Reading, he had likewise a great practical Skill, whence, without doubt, arose his confident Belief, that this Country of *Guiana* was the richest in *America*, and by consequence, according to the Opinion of those times, and indeed of these, the richest in the World. He did not go thither therefore to satisfy his own Mind upon that head, but that he might furnish himself with the means of satisfying others; for he very well knew that it would have been an idle and ridiculous thing in him to think of moving People to attempt a Plantation merely by a rational and philosophical Argument, which he knew few would be able to understand, and of those that did, many would oppose his Sentiments from Pride, and more from Prejudice. He chose therefore to treat the Riches and Value of this noble Country in the plainest way, and as a Point of fact; and foreseeing that it would be objected, that if it were so, and the Facts so notorious as he represented it, the *Spaniards* would certainly have settled there, and not have left it to fall into the Hands of any other Nation; this induced him to draw up a very clear and succinct Account of the several Methods used by the *Spaniards* to discover and gain this Country, which at once answered the Objection, and proved to such as had an high Opinion of the Judgment formed by the *Spaniards* of the Wealth and Importance of these Countries, that *Guiana* was one that deserved the highest Commendations.

These Accounts of his are dispersed through various Pieces written by him upon this Subject; but, for the Ease of the Reader, we shall collect and range them in their natural Order, by which means they will become a kind of Supplement to what has been already delivered of the *Spanish* Discoveries and Conquests; this be-

ing the sole Reason of our omitting them there, because we foresaw the Necessity of repeating, or at least of recapitulating, them here, for the Sake of explaining Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Expeditions. We have shewn in that Chapter how the Marquis *Pizarro* overthrew the Empire of the Inca's, and made himself Master of all their Territories, and of a great Part of their Treasures; and we have likewise shewn that this was so far from satisfying his Avarice and Ambition, that he proposed to extend his Conquests beyond the Limits of *Peru*, in order to penetrate into the Heart of *South America*, from the Hopes he had conceived of finding richer Countries there than any he had yet met with.

It was with this View that he ordered his Brother *Gonzalo*, after he had taken Possession of *Quito*, which was the last Conquest of the Inca's, to continue his Expeditions on that Side, though he was sensible that he could receive little or no Assistance from the Informations of the Natives; his Brother accordingly entered the Province of *Los Quixos*; and, after making himself Master of that Country, the People of which were downright Barbarians in Comparison of those of *Peru*, he determined to pass the high Mountains which bound that Province on the North, and assembled a great many *Indians*, and a good quantity of Cattle for that Purpose; but, when he had ascended half way up these Mountains, he found that he had taken his Measures wrong, and that the Cold was so intense, that it would be impossible for him to prosecute his March in that Manner. He therefore quitted his Cattle and the best Part of his Baggage, resolving to make all the haste he could into the plain Countries on the other Side, and trust to the Provisions he might meet with there.

Accordingly he descended into the Valley of *Zumaque*, which he found very plentiful, and in which therefore he refreshed his Forces for two Months, endeavouring then to continue his March Northward; but, finding the Road extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly East, in Hopes of meeting with an easier Passage; this opened a Way into a new Province well peopled and very rich; the Inhabitants of which were dreadfully amazed at the coming of the *Spaniards* amongst them, and indeed they very well might, for they behaved towards them in a Manner barbarous beyond Expression; for *Gonzalo Pizarro* exercised the greatest Cruelty imaginable on the Inhabitants of these Regions, inasmuch that he gave Men to be eaten alive by his Dogs. This engaged all the Natives to put themselves in Arms against him, so that he was obliged to encamp himself as in an Enemy's Country; and his Cruelties, together with the Despair he was in of ever being able to find what he was seeking after, had like to have put an End to his Enterprize at once. He was encamped on the Bank of a River, which swelled so much in one Night, that if the Sentinels, who perceived the Water was apace getting Ground, had not warned them of their Danger, they had been all drowned; but at the Alarm they soon secured themselves, by making towards the Cottages of the wild People; and *Pizarro* resolved to return to *Zumaque*, not knowing what other Course to take. From thence he proceeded again with all his Men, and after a March of four Leagues he met with a great Village called *Ampua*, governed by a Cazique, and found a great Number of the Inhabitants in a Posture of Defence, expecting their Enemy; but there was another and greater Obstacle in his Way than this Cazique and all his Troops, and that was a River so wide and deep that he could have no Thought of venturing to swim over it. He could therefore find no better Expedient than to enter into a Treaty with the People of the Country, and to desire the Help of their Canoes to cross this River.

The Cazique received this Proposal with great Civility, offered them what they asked, and gave them as many of these little Boats as they desired; and on this, *Pizarro* made him a Return of a great many little *Spanish* Toys, by way of requital. This Cazique having received Advice of the ill Treatment many of his Neighbours had received from the *Spaniards*, thought of nothing more than how to get rid of them, and to de-

liver himself from the Danger of such bad Guests, endeavoured to make them believe there were great Riches to be found among the People that dwelt upon the River, some Days Journey lower. *Pizarro*, by his Actions and by his Guides, who were his Interpreters, returned him Thanks for his Courtesy; but, finding no Appearance of those pretended Riches, he returned to *Zumaque* very much dissatisfied with his Expedition; however, he had too much Courage to retire back to *Quito* just as he came. He had a Mind therefore to attempt some great Exploit, and, by the Discovery of some other Part, to render himself as considerable as the Marquis *Pizarro*, his elder Brother: He opened his Mind to *Francis Orellana*, a Gentleman of *Truxillo* in *Spain*, who was come to join him in the Valley of *Zumaque*; and, having taken one hundred effective Soldiers, and some *Indians* for Guides and to carry Provisions, he marched directly to the East.

Either the Ignorance of his Guides, or the Hatred they bore him, engaged him in a Country all full of Mountains, Forests, and Torrents, so that he was constrained to make Ways where he found none, and to open himself a Passage through the Woods with Hatchets, where none had ever gone before. At length, after many Days March, he pierced through as far as the Province of *Coca*; the Cazique of which Province came to meet him, and offered him all the Accommodations the Country afforded for his Refreshment; *Gonzalo* promised himself much from this kind Entertainment, and by the Assistance of his Guides entered into Conversation with the Cazique: He informed him, that the Country through which he had passed, which was so full of Mountains, Forests, and Brooks, was the only Passage he could have taken to come thither, that, it was extremely difficult to get thro it; but that if he was willing to embark on the River he saw before him, or to follow it by Land, he might assure himself, that, along the Banks of another River much greater than this, he should find a Country abounding with all Things, whose Inhabitants were covered with Plates of Gold. There was no need of saying any thing more to *Pizarro*, to incite him to any kind of Enterprize, who presently sent two of his Guides to *Zumaque*, with Orders to his Officers to come and join him, who marched immediately; and, surmounting all the Difficulties of the Way, arrived, much fatigued, at the Town of *Coca*.

Pizarro having rested some few Days, afterwards put them in Battalia before the Cazique, who was so much terrified with them, that he amassed almost all the Provisions of his whole Province to make a Present of them to *Pizarro*, that by this Magnificence he might civilly acquit himself of his new Acquaintance, who was more impatient of his Stay than the other; and the next Morning, having filed his Troops along the River, he took his Leave of the Cazique, presenting him with a fine Sword, and put himself at the Head of his Cavalry, and followed the pleasant Course of the River. This good Way did not last long, but they had Rivulets to swim over, and were forced to march in uneven Ways, and for forty-three Days, without finding any Provisions, or any Fords, or Canoes by which to pass the River. This long March having mightily fatigued our Travellers, they were stopped by a very surprising Sight; the River was pressed by two Rocks, and on each Side its Passage, at no more than twenty Feet Distance from one another; and the Water going through this Streight precipitated itself into a Valley, and made a Leap of two hundred Fathoms: Here it was that *Pizarro* caused that famous Bridge to be made for his Troops to pass over, which is so much boasted of by the *Spanish* Historians.

But finding the Way not at all better on the other Side, and the Provision growing more and more scarce every Day, *Pizarro* resolved to make a Brigantine, to carry by Water all his sick Men, Provisions, Baggage, and the Gold which they had got amongst them. This was no small Difficulty; but Industry and Necessity surmounted it, and the Vessel being finished, *Pizarro* embarked all in it that hindered his March, and gave the Command of it to *Francis Orellana*, with fifty Soldiers; giving him express

Order not to part far from him, but to come every Night to the Camp. He observed this Order exactly, till his General, seeing all his Men much pinched with Hunger, commanded him to go and seek some Provisions and Cottages, where his Men might be refreshed. *Orellana* had no sooner received his Orders, but he launched out into the Middle of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream carried him as fast as he could wish, for he made above one hundred Leagues in three Days, without the Use of either Sails or Oars.

The Current of *Coca* carried him into another River which was much larger, but not near so swift: He made his Observations of it one whole Day, and seeing that the farther he went down, the more the River widened; he made no doubt but this was that great River which had been so often, and in vain sought after. The Joy he conceived at his good Fortune so transported him, that it made him quite forget himself, so that, dreaming only of the Enjoyment of this good Success, and trampling upon his Duty, Oath, Fidelity, and Gratitude, he had now nothing in View but to bring about the Enterprize he was contriving. To this End he persuaded his Companions, that the Country was not the same with that which their General had described; that it had not that Plenty the Cazique had told him he should find at the joining of the two Rivers; that they must certainly float along farther, to find that pleasant and fertile Country, where they might store themselves with Provisions; and besides, that they all saw there was no likelihood of getting up this River again which they came down in three Days, but, as he believed, could not make the same Way back again in the Space of a whole Year; that it was much more reasonable to wait for their Company on this new River; and that, in the mean time, it was necessary for them to go and seek Provisions.

Thus concealing his Design, he hoisted Sail; and, abandoning himself to the Wind, to his Fortune, and to his Resolution, he thought of nothing but pursuing the Course of the River, till he should discover it quite to the Sea. His Companions were amazed at the Manner of his putting in Execution the Design he had been proposing to them, and thought themselves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the Orders of his General; and that in the extreme Want he was in, they ought to carry him the little Provisions they could find; and that he had given sufficient Evidence he had some ill Design, because he had neglected to leave two Canoes at the Bank of the two Rivers, as the General had appointed him, for his Army to pass over in. These Remonstrances were made chiefly by a *Dominican* Friar named *Gaspar de Carvajal*, and by a young Gentleman of *Badajos* in *Spain*, called *Fernand Sanches de Vargas*. The Consideration they had for these two Persons, occasioned a Division in the Company, in this little Vessel, into two Parties; and from Words they were like to have fallen to Blows, but that *Orellana*, stifling their Gratitude by his Dissimulation, by fair Protections, and great Promises, appeased this Disorder.

By Means of his Friend he had in the Vessel, he gained most of the Soldiers that were against him to his Side; and seeing the two Heads of the other Party left almost alone, he caused *Fernand Sanches de Vargas* to be set ashore, leaving him quite alone, without Victuals and without Arms, in a dismal Wilderness; bounded, on one Side, with high Mountains, and with a River on the other. He had more Prudence than to treat the Friar after the same manner, yet he gave him to understand, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the Intentions of his Commander, unless he had a Mind to be severely chastised. After this he continued his Voyage; and the next Day, being willing to know if he might depend upon all that were with him for the Success of his Resolutions, he let them know that he aspired to a much higher Pitch of Dignity than what he might have obtained in the Service of *Pizarro*: That he owed every thing to himself and to his King; and that his Fortune having, as it were, led him by the Hand to the greatest and most desirable Discovery that was ever made in the *Indies*, namely, the great River upon which they were sailing; which coming out of *Peru*, and running from

from West to East, was the finest Channel in the new World, through which they might pass from the Southern to the Northern Sea; that he could not, without betraying them all, and without ravishing from them the Fruits of their Voyage and Industry, make others share in a Favour which Heaven had reserved for them alone. By this Means he easily quieted these Murmurs, and brought his Men to have a Share of that Ambition which flamed in his own Breast. His Necessities forced him ashore for Provisions, and, as he did not take these with that Gentleness and Prudence that became him in a strange Country; the Natives, unanimously took up Arms, and with great Boldness fell upon the *Spaniards*, who defended themselves with much Courage, and killed many of their Antagonists with their Cross-bows; and upon inspecting their Bodies, found that several of them were Women; as indeed it was no uncommon thing for the *Indian* Women, in that Country, to fight by the Sides of their Husbands; but our *Spaniard*, having a romantic Head, improved this slight Incident into a formal History of a great Nation of *Amazons*, settled upon this River: By which Fable he overturned his great Design of bestowing his own Name upon it, and thereby perpetuating the Memory of his Passage; for from this Story of his it received the Name which it still bears, and will always bear, of the River of *Amazons*.

He took care, in the remaining Part of his Passage, to behave with more Prudence and Mildness to the People he met with, among whom were many gentle, and even polite Nations, as well as others fierce and warlike. In fine, he passed quite down the River to the Sea; and having coasted about a Cape, now called the *North Cape*, which by the way is the Name the *French* have bestowed on the Country of *Guiana*, two hundred Leagues from the Island of *Trinidad*, he sailed directly thither, and there bought a Ship to carry him to *Spain*; where he made such a Report of the Countries he had seen, to the Emperor *Charles V.* that he obtained as ample a Commission as he could desire; and, in the Year 1549, sailed with three Ships for the River of *Amazons*; but this second Expedition was the very reverse of the first, as being unfortunate from the very Beginning; for a contagious Distemper spreading among his Men, obliged him to quit two of his three Ships, and afterwards his Company was so reduced as to sail in a small Bark, with which he proposed to prosecute his Discovery; but being shipwrecked on the Coast of the *Caraccas*, he there lost the rest of his Men, and soon after died himself on the Island of *St. Margaret*, of downright Despair.

The ill Success of *Orellana's* Voyage cooled the ardent Desire the *Spaniards* had for the Discovery of the River of *Amazons*, and it seemed quite extinguished by the civil Wars of *Peru*, till the Marquis de *Caguete*, being Viceroy of that Kingdom, a Gentleman of *Navarre*, named *Peter de Orsua*, who had always entertained Thoughts worthy of his great Courage, turned his Designs on this great River, and believed he should be more fortunate than *Orellana*. He presented himself to the Viceroy, and proposed his Designs to him, who being well acquainted with his Merit, commended his Resolution; and was persuaded that if so difficult a Matter should succeed, it must be by the Conduct of so wise and brave a Commander. Most of the Gentry came to offer their Service to *Orsua*, who was so much in every one's Esteem, that there was no Soldier so old but would leave his Retirement with pleasure, to serve under so excellent a General; he made Choice of such amongst them as were fit for his Purpose; and to carry on the famous Conquest he designed he made all necessary Provisions, to which all the Lords and Inhabitants of the Towns contributed with a great deal of Liberality, being well persuaded that *Orsua* had Qualities that well deserved to be obliged.

He departed from *Cusco* in 1560, with the Acclamations and good Wishes of all the Inhabitants of that Place: He was attended with above seven hundred good Soldiers, and with a considerable Number of good Horses. Being well versed in the Map of *Peru*, and having been for some time laying the Scheme of his Journey, he marched directly to the Province of *Mosilones* first, to meet the

River *Moyabamba*, by which he was sure of entering into the River of *Amazons*. One would have hoped, an Attempt so wisely laid, and so universally approved, should have had a happy Issue, yet never was any Project more unsuccessful; for *Orsua* had taken with him one *Don Fernand de Gusman*, a young Man lately come from *Spain*, and another more advanced in Years, named *Lopez d' Aguirre* of *Biscay*, a little ill favoured Man, whom he had made his Ensign. These two Wretches fell in love with their General's Lady, whose Name was *Agnes*, and who had accompanied her Husband in all his Travels; and thinking they had a favourable Occasion to satisfy their Lust and Ambition together, they engaged *Orsua's* Troop to revolt, and assassinated him.

After the tragical Fact, the Traitors who committed it, who to the Number of seven or eight were in a strict Confederacy, elected *Don Fernand de Gusman* for their King, whose Mind was vain enough to receive that Title which became him so little; but he did not enjoy it long; for those very Persons that had given him the Quality of King, gave him his Death's Wound too; and *d' Aguirre* succeeded him, who made himself King, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of others. He gave all those he had gained to his Party to understand, that he intended to make himself Master of *Guiana*, of *Peru*, and of the new Kingdom of *Grenada*; and promised them all the Riches of those great Kingdoms. His Reign was so bloody and barbarous, that the like Tyranny was scarce ever heard of in the World. Therefore the *Spaniards*, to this Day, called him the *Tyrant*. However he commanded *Orsua's* Vessels, and went down the River *Coca* into *Amazon*, hoping to obtain one of those Kingdoms, and to make a considerable Progress into it: But having entered the *Amazon*, he was not able to master the Current of it, and so was constrained to suffer himself to be carried down to the Mouth of the River above a thousand Leagues from the Place where he embarked, and was driven into the great Channel which goes to the *North Cape*, being the same Way *Orellana* had taken before him. Going out of the *Amazon* he came to the Island of *St. Margaret*, which is to this Day called the *Tyrant's Port*. There he killed *Don Irean de Villa Andrada*, Governor of the Island, and *Don John Sermiento* his Father.

After their Death, with the Assistance of one *John Burg*, he made himself Master of the Island, plundered it entirely, and there committed unheard of Barbarities, he killed all that opposed him, and passed from thence to *Cumana*, where he exercised the same Cruelties. He after that desolated all those Coasts that bear the Name of *Caraccas*, and all the Provinces along the Rivers *Venezuela* and *Bacho*. He then came to *St. Martha*, where he put all to the Sword, and entered the new Kingdom of *Grenada*, designing to march from thence through *Quito* into *Peru*. In this Kingdom he was forced to a Battle, in which he was utterly defeated and put to Flight, and all Ways being stopped, when he found he must perish, he thereupon begun his Tragedy with a Sort of Barbarity without Example. He had a Daughter by his Wife *Mendoza*, that had followed him in all his Expeditions, and whom he loved entirely: Daughter (said he to her) I must kill thee; I designed to have placed thee on a Throne, but since Fortune opposes it I am not willing thou shouldst live to suffer the Shame of becoming a Slave to my Enemies, and of being called the Daughter of a Tyrant and a Traitor: *Die my Child, die by the Hand of thy Father, if thou hast not Courage enough to die by thy own.* She, surprized at this Discourse, desired him, at least, to give her some time to prepare for Death, and to beg of God the Pardon of her Sins. This he granted, but, thinking her too tedious in her Devotion, as she was praying upon her Knees he shot her through the Body with a Carbine; but having not killed her outright, he stuck his Dagger into her Heart, and she falling down at the Stroke, cry'd, *Ab Father, 'tis enough.* Soon after her Death he was taken Prisoner and carried to the Island *la Trinidad*, where he had a considerable Estate. His Process was made, and he condemned to be quartered. He was publicly executed; his Houses razed to the Ground,

Ground, and the Places where they stood sowed with Salt.

I chose to mention the Attempts of the *Spaniards* to penetrate into this Country on the South-side; first, that I might end with those Attempts made by the same Nation upon the North, by the great River *Oronoco*, or, as most of our *English* Writers write it, after the *French* Manner, *Oronoque*, by which also Sir *Walter Raleigh* made his Attempt. The first Person we read of who engaged in this Design of finding and making himself Master of the Inca's new City of *Manoa*, was *Diego de Ordaca*, who sailed from *Spain* with a great Force for this Purpose, in the Year 1531; which, by the way, shews how early this Notion was taken up, and that it was not, as is commonly believed, invented by the *Indians*, to rid themselves of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. This *Diego de Ordaca*, with six hundred Foot and thirty Horse, reached the *Oronoco*, where, by a Series of unlucky Accidents, too long for us to relate, his Expedition was totally ruined: Yet one of these Accidents proved the means (as the *Spaniards* pretend and believe) of making a full Discovery of this famous City; and the Story is thus told: When *Ordaca* came first upon this Coast, and anchored in the Harbour of *Morequito*, his Magazine of Powder, by some Mischance, blew up; and this being imputed to the Carelessness of *Juan Martinez*, his Master Gunner, he was condemned to be shot for it; but the Seamen prevailed to have this Punishment changed into his being put alone into a little Canoe, with his Arms only, and without any Provisions, and so committed to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves.

In this wretched Condition he was found by some of the *Indians* or Savages, who, having never seen a white Man before, passed him about from one Place to another, till he came to the royal City of *Manoa*, where the King no sooner saw him than he knew him to be a Christian and a *Spaniard*, for this happened but a very little after the Marquis *Pizarro* had destroyed the Empire of the Inca's in *Peru*. This Prince, however, received him civilly enough, though he was far from forgetting the Cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* on his Countrymen. He kept him seven Months at *Manoa*; but in all that time he was never suffered to go without the City, or even to pass through the Streets of it, without a Guard, and a Cloth bound over his Eyes. At the End of this Space, when it was perceived that *Martinez* had acquired, in some Measure, the Language of the Country, the King sent for him, and proposed two Things to his Choice, *viz.* either to remain with him as long as he lived, or to return into his own Country, and he chose the latter; upon which the King sent him under a Guard the shortest way to the River *Oronoco*; but, at the Time he dismissed him, he was pleased to bestow on him, as a Mark of his Favour, a considerable Quantity of Gold, which, however, was taken from him by the Savages on the Frontiers, and by the *Oronocoponi*, a Nation so called from their living upon the Banks of that great River. They left him, however, two large Bottles, in which they thought he kept his Drink, but which were really filled with Gold Dust, and these he brought along with him to the Island of *Trinidad*, from whence he went afterwards to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, where he lived for some Time, and from whence he intended to have procured a Passage to *Spain*; but being seized there with a mortal Disease; after he had received the extreme Unction, and saw no Hopes of Life, he caused his two Bottles of Gold to be brought, and the Account he had written of his Voyage: The Gold he gave to the Church for Masses to be said for his Soul, and the Relation of his Voyage was entered, at large, in the Registers of the Chancery of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*.

To this *Martinez* the *Spanish* Writers unanimously ascribe the Discovery of this famous City, which he stiled *Manoa el Dorada* or the *Golden Manoa*, on account of the prodigious Quantities of that Metal which he had seen there, in their Palaces, Temples, and other public Edifices, but more especially in their drunken Feasts, of which he gave the following very singular Account: That those who drank with the King were quite naked, and having their

Bodies rubbed over with a kind of thin gummy Balsam, they were then powdered with Gold Dust, so as to be gilt from Head to Foot; this Relation, whether true or false, proved of very fatal Consequence to the *Spaniards*, for it gave Occasion to, some say twenty, others sixty, several Expeditions in search of this golden City, all of them with very indifferent Success. *Juan Cortez* attempted it with thirty Men, but neither he nor they were ever heard of more. *Gaspar de Sylva*, and his two Brothers, sailed with two hundred Men from the *Canaries* to reinforce *Diego de Ordaca*; and, after taking a great deal of Pains, to no Purpose, returned to the Island of *Trinidad*, where they died.

Another Adventurer, in the same way, was Don *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, who landed at *Cumana*, and afterwards marched by Land on the Banks of the *Oronoco* till he came to an *Indian* Nation called *Wikiri*, who opposed his further Passage, and attacked his Men with such Fury that only eighteen of his *Spaniards* escaped from the Battle; yet this Enterprize was of particular Service to Sir *Walter*; for it fell out that when Captain *Amias Preston* took the City of *St. Jago de Leon* by Storm, he made one of these Adventurers Prisoner, who gave him a large Account of the vast Riches the *Spaniards* hoped to find in this Country, which coming to the Ears of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, induced him to make diligent and strict Search into the Original of this Story, whence he came to collect a Multitude of Histories, relating to this Matter of which we have given the Reader only a few, that he might see upon what Grounds this Expedition was undertaken, or rather what Reason Sir *Walter Raleigh* thought fit to assign for his Voyage, in order to draw such an Approbation of it as was necessary, from those whom nothing but a Shew of vast and immediate Profit could tempt; for, I must confess, it seems very doubtful to me, whether Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave entire Credit to these Accounts, or not; but whatever his own Opinion was, he had certainly a Right to use them as popular Arguments for promoting his Design, since no Politician ever doubted that it is lawful to cheat Men as well as Children for their own Good. But he took care to provide Reasons of another Nature, for Men of other Minds: He shewed them that of all the Countries in *America* the most profitable, the best situated, the easiest planted, the most defensible, was *Guiana*. These Notes of Excellency I have collected from his Writings upon this Subject, which are very artfully immethodical, and, under an apparent Carelessness of Style and Order, are so wrote, as to affect the Mind of the Reader with an Opinion, that he has made Discoveries in Sir *Walter's* Treatise, by penetrating into those Secrets, which he meant to conceal; while, alas! the true Secret is, that he meant thus to catch us, and make every Man's Understanding revolt in his Favour.

It was necessary, in his Time, and more especially to him; and therefore his Design is as commendable as his Execution is inimitable. But that he might proceed cautiously in an Affair of such Importance, he sent before him one Capt. *Whiddon*, to take a View of the Coast, that he might be perfectly informed of the State things were then in, and thereby become more able to take the proper Measures for overcoming those Difficulties, which a Man of less Sagacity would have esteemed insuperable. This Gentleman did his Business effectually, though he met with some Obstruction from the Force, and suffered much greater Inconveniencies from the Frauds, of the *Spaniards*, who were at that time bent upon the same Design, and labouring with the utmost Diligence to discover and secure this valuable Country.

Among other Adventurers there was one *Gonzales Ximenes de Casada*, a Man of greater Courage than good Fortune; who, after having had a large Share in the Conquest of *New Grenada*, attempted to penetrate into *Guiana*; but after a great Expence, and incredible Fatigue, to no Purpose, was obliged to return, disappointed indeed, but not in Despair. This Gentleman had an only Daughter, whom he married to Don *Antonio de Berreo*; to whom, with a large Fortune, he bequeathed this Expedition, taking from him an Oath, that he would prosecute the Discovery and Conquest of *Guiana*,

to the last Hour of his Life. He, to fulfil this Obligation, undertook this Enterprize, with seven hundred Horfe, attended by a vast Number of *Indian* Slaves; but after marching five hundred Leagues in Pursuit of this Project, he was obliged to return, but brought with him from the Frontiers of *Guiana* forty Plates of Gold, and many other valuable Curiosities, sufficient to fortify him in his Resolution not to abandon the Design. It was this *Berreio* that Captain *Whiddon* had to deal with, and of whom he made a very bad Report on his return.

When Sir *Walter's* Project was ripe for Execution, he was assisted by the Lord Admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecil*, so that in the beginning of the Year 1595 he was ready to proceed; and it appears, from his Relation, that he had in the whole five Ships. He does not tell us the Name of his own, which he commanded in Person; though, as to the rest, he distinguishes them plain enough; so that we perceive the *Lion's Whelp*, which was the Lord Admiral's, was commanded by Captain *George Gifford*; Captain *Keymis* had the Command of a Galego, besides a Bark, which was committed to Captain *Cross*, and another to Captain *Calfield*. The whole Number of Men in this Fleet is not mentioned; but the select Company of Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he used in his Discoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared he departed from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *February* following, and sailed to the *Grand Canaries*, and so to *Teneriff*, where he waited a while for the *Lion's Whelp*, and for Captain *Amias Preston*. But this Captain disappointed him, and went upon another Adventure, which proved some Disadvantage in the Prosecution of his Discoveries. After waiting seven or eight Days, to no Purpose, he sailed with his own Ship and a Bark, commanded by Captain *Cross*, to the Island of *Trinidad*, where he arrived the 22d of *March*, and spent a considerable Space of Time in viewing that Island, examining all its Ports and Havens, and even every little Creek, with infinite Care and Exactness. The Reasons which moved him to this Stay, were two; the first, that he might revenge himself upon *Berreio* for the Injuries he had done Captain *Whiddon's* People, eight of whom he betrayed into his Hands, and then used them barbarously; the other was, that he might obtain some Account of the Continent, and of the most proper Method for entering into *Guiana*, in both of which he succeeded, in spite of all the Care the *Spanish* Governor could take to hinder it. At last, perceiving that the *Spaniards* were contriving Measures for his Destruction, and knowing there could be nothing more fatal than to leave an Enemy at his Back, he resolved to make himself Master of this Place, which he knew would gain him the Friendship, as well as secure him the Obedience, of the *Indians*; who by the *Spaniards* were most cruelly oppressed. Accordingly he sent Captain *Calfield* to attack the Main-guard with sixty Men, and, following himself with forty more, reduced the Town of *St. Joseph* without much Trouble.

The Inhabitants he set at Liberty, keeping only the Governor and his *Spaniards* Prisoners; and afterwards, at the Request of the *Indians*, burnt the Place; but though he gratified them in this Respect, yet, in all others, he acted towards his Prisoners, and more especially towards the Governor, with so much Civility and Kindness, that he drew from him a faithful Account of all his Adventures in Pursuit of the Design before-mentioned. The same Day that *Raleigh* made his Conquest arrived Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Keymis*, and in their Ships divers Gentlemen, and others, which to his little Army was a great Succour and Solace. Then, proceeding upon his Discovery, *Raleigh* first called all the Chiefs of the Island together, who were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for some of them *Berreio* had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and waste the Natives; then by the *Indian* Interpreter, whom he carried out of *England*, he made them understand, "He was the Servant of a Queen, who was the greatest Cazique in the North, and a Virgin, who had more Caziques under her Command than there were

"Trees in that Island; that she was an Enemy to the
"Castelans, in regard of their Tyranny and Oppres-
"sion; and, having freed all the Coasts of the northern
"World from their Servitude, had sent him to free
"them also; and withal, to defend the Country of
"Guiana from their Invasion and Conquest." Then he shewed them her Majesty's Picture, which they so admired and honoured, that it had been easy to have made them idolatrous thereof.

The like and larger Speeches he made in a solemn Manner to the rest of the Nations, both in his Passage to *Guiana* and to those of the Borders, so as in that part of the World the Queen of *England's* Fame was diffused, with great Admiration. This done, *Raleigh* returned to *Curiapan*; and though he had learnt of *Berreio* that *Guiana* was some hundred Miles further than the Accounts he had received of Captain *Whiddon* had represented it, he kept the Knowledge thereof from his Company, who he much feared would have been discouraged thereby from prosecuting the Discovery. When *Raleigh* had further gathered from *Berreio* the Proceedings of the past Adventurers and his own, he told him he was come upon the same Design, and was resolved to see *Guiana*. *Berreio* used many Arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small Boats, to pass so many dangerous Shallows, and could not carry Victuals enough above half the way; that none of the Country would speak with him, and if he followed them would burn their Towns; besides, the Way was long, the Winter at hand, and the Rivers beginning to swell; but above all, that the Kings and Lords who bordered upon *Guiana*, had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for Gold, because the same would be their own Overthrow. *Raleigh*, resolving however to make trial, directed his Vice-Admiral Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Calfield* to turn Eastward against the Mouth of the River *Capuri*, and gave them Instructions to enter at the Edge of the Shore, and upon the best of the Flood to thrust over, but they laboured in vain, nor did the Flood continue so long, but the Water fell before they could pass the Sands, tho' they used all the Skill and Diligence they could.

Then *Raleigh* sent one *King*, Master of the *Lion's Whelp*, to try another Branch, called *Amana*, if either of the small Ships would enter; but when he came to the Mouth, he found it like the rest; after him went *John Dowglas*, who discovered four fair Entrances, but all shole and shallow in the Bays leading to them. In the mean time *Raleigh*, fearing the worst, caused his Carpenter to cut down an old Galego Boat, to fit her with Banks for Oars, and so as she might draw but five Feet. In this went *Raleigh* with Gentlemen and Officers, to the Number of threescore; in the *Lion's Whelp*-Boat and Wherry they carried twenty; Captain *Calfield*, in his Wherry, carried ten; and a Barge of *Raleigh's* ten more; this was all the Means they had, having left their Ships at *Curiapan*, to carry a hundred Men with Weapons and Provisions for a Month, exposed to all the Extremes of the Weather, all the Hazards of the Water, to lie open to the Air, and upon hard Boards by Night in Storms of Rain, or under the burning Sun by Day, to smell the wet Clothes of so many crowded together, the dressing of their Food, and that mostly stale Fish, in the same Place, to be in such a Labyrinth of Rivers, in such a remote unknown Region; what Prison could be more loathsome and unhealthy, what Prospect more fearful and desolate? At first setting out they had twenty Miles of a high Sea to cross in these crazy Boats, so that they were driven before the Wind into the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, inhabited by inhuman Cannibals, who shot poisoned Arrows, and from thence to enter one of the Rivers of which *Dowglas* had brought Tidings. After four Days they got above the Force of the Tide, and might have wandered a Year about, and never been able to extricate themselves; in such a general Confluence or Rendezvous of Streams were they now bewildered, and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguished, but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same Place where they had been before, passing between many Islands and Streights, whose

Borders were so thickly arched and overshadowed with Trees, as bounded their Sight to the Breadth of the River and the Length of the Avenue, while the Gloominess of the Prospect added Horror to the Loathsomeness of the Places in which they were confined.

At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a River, which, because it had no Name, they called the *Red Cross River*, these being the first Christians who ever entered the same: When they drew into a Creek, which led to a Town upon this River, their *Indian Pilot*, named *Ferdinando*, landing, was set upon by his Countrymen, who hunted him with Dogs; whereupon *Raleigh* seized an old Man passing that way, and threatened to cut off his Head, if he did not procure his Pilot's Liberty; but he, by his Agility, soon escaped them, and swam to *Raleigh's* Barge; however, they kept the old Man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful Information from a Native, so long conversant in those Parts. And indeed, but for this Accident, they had never found their Way forward to the Country they sought, nor back to that where their Ships lay; the old Man himself being often in the utmost Perplexity which River to take, so numerous and intricate they were. The People who inhabit the Countries at the Mouth of this great River, are comprehended under the general Name of *Tivitivas*, a bold and hardy Race of People, who know the Value of Liberty, and have Courage enough to defend it: They live in Houses during the Summer, or dry Season, but in the Wet or Winter Months they live in little Huts, which are built upon Trees, a Thing common enough on this Coast and even in the *East Indies* where the Countries are excessively wet.

After this *Raleigh's* Barge ran a-ground, and that with such force, that it did not seem very probable they should be able to get her off; so that the Discovery seemed at a stand; but on the fourth Day after this Accident happened they set her on float, and, striking into the *Amana*, one of the noblest Branches of the *Oronoco*, they continued their Voyage, but with incredible Fatigue. As they were now within five Degrees of the Line, Sir *Walter* was forced to keep up their Spirits by directing his Pilots to give them Hopes from time to time that their Labours would soon have an End. At length the old *Indian Pilot* they had on board, perceiving that their Provisions were quite exhausted, and that they were in Danger of perishing without an immediate Supply, told them, that if they would venture up a River on their right Hand, he would bring them to a Town where they might be sure of Refreshments, and be able to return before Night. Sir *Walter* took him at his Word, and went immediately into his Boat with eight Musketeers, followed by the Captains *Gifford* and *Calfield* in their Wherries, with eight Men a-piece. But it appeared that the *Indian Pilot* had learned Sir *Walter's* Art, for they not only rowed all Day, but all Night, without seeing any Town, and a less prudent Captain than he would have been tempted to have punished the Pilot for giving them false Hopes. Yet about one the next Morning they reached this long expected Town, and obtained those Supplies of which they stood so much in need. In the mean time the Company in the Galley manned out a Boat in search of them, but next Day they returned and continued their Course. After they had made this hungry and hazardous Voyage for fourscore Miles in that River, which, besides other strange Fishes of marvellous Bigness, abounded with Crocodiles, whence the People named it the River of *Lagartis*, *Raleigh* had a very proper young Negro attending upon him in his Galley, who, leaping out to swim in the Mouth of this River, was in the Sight of them all instantly devoured by one of these amphibious Animals.

Not long after, being again in want of Victuals, they took two Canoes laden with excellent Bread, being run ashore by the *Indians* in them, called *Arwaycas*, who fled to hide themselves in the Woods, fearing, through the Prepossessions of the *Spaniards*, that *Raleigh* and his Company were Cannibals. *Raleigh*, pursuing them in Hopes of some Intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the Bushes, a Refiner's Basket; in which were Quicksilver, Salt-petre, and divers other Materials for

the Trial of Metals, and also the Dust of some Ore that had been refined. But in two other Canoes that escaped them, they heard of a good Quantity of Ore and Gold. *Raleigh* then landed more Men, and offered 500*l.* to any of his Soldiers who should take one of the *Spaniards*. He found the *Arwaycas* hidden in the Woods, who had been Pilots to the *Spaniards*, of which *Raleigh* kept the Chief for his Pilot, and carried him to *Guiana*; by whom he understood in what Parts the *Spaniards* laboured for Gold, which he divulged to two of his Company, knowing both the Season of the Year and other Conveniences would be wanting to work any Mine himself. After recruiting his People with wholesome Refreshments, he continued his Voyage: The Men seemed now quite as well pleased as their Commander had been from the Beginning, and of their own accord offered to go as far as he would; so that on the 15th Day from their leaving their Ships he entered the great River *Oronoco*, and had an Opportunity of satisfying himself as to the Number and Names of the *Indian Nations* that inhabited both Sides of it.

After having passed the Mountain *Aio*, and a great Island which he mentions he reached on the fifth Day of his entering the great River aforesaid, as high as the Province of *Aramaia*, and anchoring at the Port of *Morequito*, which is full three hundred Miles within the Land, upon the said great River *Oronoco*, he sent a Messenger to the old King of *Aramaia*, named *Topiowary*, who came the next Day before Noon on Foot from his House, and returned the same Evening, being twenty-eight Miles backwards and forwards, though himself was one hundred and ten Years of Age. He had many Attendants of both Sexes, who came also to wonder at the *English*, and brought them great Plenty of Flesh and Fish, with divers Sort of Fruits. When the old King had refreshed himself a while in the Tent, which *Raleigh* had caused to be pitched for him, they entered by the Interpreter into Discourse about the Murder of *Morequito* his Predecessor, and the other Barbarities of the *Spaniards*. Then *Raleigh* acquainted him with the Cause of his coming thither, whose Servant he was, and that it was his Queen's Pleasure he should undertake this Voyage for their Defence, and to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, dilating at large (as he had done before at *Trinidad*) on her Majesty's Power, her Justice, and her Clemency towards all oppressed Nations; all which being with great Reverence and Attention received, he began to sound the old Man touching *Guiana*, as what Sort of Commonwealth it was; how governed; of what Strength and Policy; of what Extent; with whom in Alliance or Enmity; lastly, the Distance and way to enter the Heart of the Country. The King gave such an ample and perfect Account of these Particulars, that *Raleigh* wondered to find a Man of such Gravity, Judgment, and good Discourse, without the Help of Learning or Breeding.

After his Departure *Raleigh* sailed Westward to view the famous River *Caroli*, both because it was so wonderful in itself, and led to the strongest Nations of all the Frontiers, who were Enemies to the *Epuremei*, Subjects to the Inca or Emperor of *Guiana*, and *Manoa*: Even when he was short of it, or lower down than the Port of *Morequito*, he heard the roaring Falls of this River; but when he entered it with his Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty Miles to the *Casagotos*, he was not able, with a Barge of eight Oars, to row one Stone's-throw in an Hour, and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at *Woolwich*. Therefore encamping on the Banks, he sent off an *Indian* to acquaint the Nation upon the River of his Arrival and his Purpose, and that he desired to see the Lords of *Canuri*, who dwelt in that Province. Then one of the Princes came down, named *Wanuretona*, with many of his People, and brought great Store of Provisions, as the rest had done. By him *Raleigh* found the *Carolians* were not only Enemies to the *Spaniards*, but most of all to the *Epuremei*, who abounded in Gold; and that there were three mighty Nations at the Head of that River which would join them against them; he was further informed, by one Captain *George* whom he had taken with *Berreó*, that near the Banks of this River there was a great Silver Mine, but the Rivers were now all

all so risen, that it was not possible for the Strength of Men, with any Boat, to row against the Stream. Therefore he dispatched a Party of between thirty and forty to coast the River by Land, while himself with a few Officers and half a dozen Shot, marched over Land to view the strange and wonderful Overfalls of the said River *Caroli*, which roared at such a Distance, and the Plains adjoining with the rest of the Province of *Canuri*.

When they had got to the Top of the first Hills, overlooking the River, they beheld that prodigious Breach of Water which poured down *Caroli*, and how it ran in three Streams for twenty Miles together; no less than ten or a Dozen of the steep Cataracts appeared in Sight, each as high above the other as a Church Tower, which rushed down with such Violence, that the very Rebound of the Waters made the Place seem as if it had been all over covered with a great Shower of Rain; and in some Places they took it at first for a thick Smoak which had risen out of some great Town, till they drew nearer down in the Valley to this Thunder of Waters, where they better discerned and distinguished the Effects of it. And here *Raleigh* says he never saw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Prospects; the Hills so raised up and down about the Valleys; the Waters winding into such various Branches; the Plains so clear of Brush and Shrub, and covered all with fair green Grass; the Ground of hard Sand, and easy for the March either for Horse or Foot; the Deer crossing in every Path; the Birds towards the Evening singing on every Tree a thousand several Tunes, with Cranes and Herons, of White, Crimson and Carnation, perched along the River-Banks; the Air refreshed with gentle easterly Breezes, and every Stone they stooped to take up, promising either Gold or Silver by its Complexion. His Company, at their Return, brought several of those Stones home, which they rather found coloured outwardly like Gold, than any of that Metal fixed in them; for those who had least Judgment or Experience, kept only such as glittered, and would not be persuaded but they were rich, because they shone; and thereby bred an Opinion that all the rest were no better. Yet some of those Stones *Raleigh* shewed afterwards to a *Spaniard* of the *Caraccas*, who told him it was *El Madre del Oro*, that is, the Mother of Gold, and that the Mine was farther in the Ground: He received also many other Informations from these People, some of which, however, seemed to border upon those fabulous Accounts delivered by Antiquity, but always suspected by Men of Sense; which *Raleigh* reports, but with due Caution.

While he lay at Anchor near the Banks of the *Caroli*, he spared no Pains that were requisite to gain a thorough Knowledge of the Names and Manners of the several *Indian* Nations that lay farther within the Country, which was all, in that respect, left in his Power; there being many Reasons which rendered his farther Stay improper, and his Return to his Fleet a Point of absolute Necessity; for he had been now absent above a Month, had wandered in that Space above four hundred Miles from the Sea Coasts; and besides the Winter was coming on very fast, and the great River began to rise. Besides all this, they had no Instruments with them to open Mines; and if they advanced farther, were to act against a numerous, civilized, and warlike People; so that, having done more with a handful of People, and that too in fewer Days than the *Spaniards* had been Years in searching for this Country, he very wisely resolved to submit to Necessity, and seek the shortest Way back to his Ships. Yet as he returned to the East, he spent some Time in discovering the River towards the Sea, which he had not surveyed, and which he thought also necessary to do; in a Day's time he arrived again at the Port of *Morequito*; for, gliding down the Stream, he went without Labour, though against the Wind, little less than one hundred Miles a Day; when he came to anchor, he was very desirous of farther Conference with old *Topiowary*, who soon came with a Multitude of his People flocking down to *Raleigh's* Tent upon the Shore, loaded with Presents.

When the old King was refreshed, and the Croud retired, *Raleigh*, by his Interpreter, entered into a long

Conference with him, telling him, that as both the *Epuremei* and the *Spaniards* were his Enemies, the one having conquered *Guiana* already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he desired to be instructed, both in the best Way to the golden Parts of *Guiana*, and the civilized Towns of the Inca. The King answered, He could not perceive *Raleigh* meant to proceed to the great City of *Manoa*, because neither the Season of the Year, nor the Strength of his Company, would enable him; for he remembered that in the Plains of *Maqureguarai*, the first Town of *Guiana*, where all the Gold Plates were made which were scattered over the neighbouring Nations, and above four Days Journey from his own, three hundred *Spaniards* were destroyed who had no Friends among the Borderers; he therefore advised *Raleigh* never to invade the strong Parts of *Guiana* without the Help of all those Nations which were their Enemies. *Raleigh* asked, If he thought the Company he had with him were sufficient to take that Town? The King thought they were, and offered to assist him with all his Borderers, if he would leave him a Guard of fifty Men upon his Departure.

But *Raleigh*, knowing if they should escape the *Guianians*, the *Spaniards*, expecting Supplies, would repay upon him his Treatment at *Trinidad*, very plausibly excused himself. Hereupon the King desired he would forbear him and his Country at this Time; for if the *Epuremei* should know he had given *Raleigh* any Aid or Intelligence, he should soon be over-run by them, nor could he avoid the *Spaniards* if they should return, who had before led him, seventeen Days, in a Chain like a Dog, till he paid a hundred Plates of Gold and several Chains of Spleen-stones, for his Ransom; but if *Raleigh* would return in due Season next Year, he would engage all the Borderers in the Enterprize; for that he could not more desire to make himself Master of *Guiana*, than they to assist him, having been plundered in their Wars by the *Epuremei*, of their Women, whom to recover, they would willingly renew the War, without Hopes of farther Profit; for the old King complained of it as a Matter of grievous Restraint, that now they were confined to three or four Wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a Dozen, while the Lords of their Enemies had no less than fifty or a hundred; but they seem to have had a political Reason for this Recovery, to strengthen their Alliance, and increase their Forces; those Frontiers having been much depopulated, between the Subjects of the Inca and the *Spaniards*.

Raleigh, after farther Consultation, finding it absolutely improper, either to leave any of his Company, or to attempt War upon the *Epuremei* till the next Year, applied himself now, only to learn how those People wrought those Plates of Gold, which were dispersed about, and how they divided it from the Stone. The King told him, that most of their Plates and Images were not severed from the Stone; but that, on the Lake of *Manoa*, and many other Rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect Grains of Gold, and, mingling a Proportion of Copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen Pot, under which they increased the Fire by the Breath of Men through long Canes fastened to the Holes under the said Pot, till the Metal dissolved, which then they cast into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and so made these Plates and Images; whereof *Raleigh* brought two Sorts into *England*, more to shew the Manner of them, than the Value; for he gave more Pieces of Gold of the twenty Shilling Coin, with the Queen's Effigy upon them, among these People, to wear in Honour of her Majesty, and to engage them in her Service, than he received, so little did he make his Design of Gold known to them. He brought away with him, however, various Samples both of the Spar and of the Ore, which were sufficient to justify his Reports of the Riches of this Country; and he likewise brought with him the highest Testimony that could well be given him of the sincere Love and entire Confidence of the Natives, since old *Topiowari*, one of the wisest, and none of the least powerful, Princes in that Country, sent over his own Son *Cayworaco* into *England*, where he was baptized with much Ceremony by the Name of *Gualtero*. On the other hand, Sir *Walter* left behind him, at their own Request,

two of his Company, viz. *Francis Sperry* who was an excellent Draughtsman, and undertook to describe, as he did, all the Country very exactly; and *Hugh Goodwin*, a Boy who waited upon Sir *Walter*, and who was to learn the Languages of the *Indian* Nations, which he did to great Perfection, but was unfortunately devoured by a wild Beast.

After this, a Cazique whose Name was *Putoma*, and another whose Name was *Warapana*, offered to conduct him to a Gold Mine, which they accordingly performed; but the Weather being extremely bad, Sir *Walter* was desirous to make as much haste back as it was possible to his Ships, which he accordingly did; but when he found himself on the Sea Coast, and in a manner at the End of his Labours, he met with a most dreadful and dangerous Storm, which drove them almost to their Wits-end; and at length, in a dark Night, and in the midst of the Tempest, he quitted his Galley, which he found amongst Sholes and Sands, and in his Boat thrust out to Sea with so much good Fortune, however, that the next Morning, by Nine o'clock, they had Sight of the Island of *Trinidad*, and rowing cautiously under the Shore, arrived safely at *Curiapan*, where their Vessels lay at Anchor. In all this tedious and surprizing Expedition, wherein they went through such a Variety of Dangers, being always alike exposed to the Severities of the Weather, and to the Attempts of their Enemies, absolutely wanting most of the Conveniencies, and frequently even the Necessaries, of Life, except the Negro devoured by the Crocodile, he lost not so much as a single Man, which amazed the *Spanish* Governor *Berreo*, to the highest Degree, who openly professed his Admiration of Sir *Walter's* Conduct and Courage, which so visibly surpassed those of all the *Spanish* Captains employed in this Service, from *Orellana* down to himself.

After a short Stay, to put his little Squadron in order, he sailed from *Trinidad* on his Return to *England*, and in his Passage home, landed and burnt several of the *Spanish* Towns upon the Coast; and on the 13th of *July* he met with Captain *Preston*, under Cape *St. Antonio*, in the Island of *Cuba*; and on the 20th of the same Month pursued his Voyage to *England*, where he safely arrived, his Expedition being exceedingly applauded in Prose and Verse by all the reputed Wits of those Times.

But it was not long before those who envied *Raleigh* began to circulate new Calumnies, framed on Purpose to depreciate his Discovery. It is of some Consequence, even at this Day, to examine and expose these lying Stories, because they have most unaccountably found so great Credit with the Generality of Mankind, that though they commend Sir *Walter's* Design, as supposing it against the *Spaniards*, yet they question his Veracity, with regard to the Produce, Value, and Expediency of settling *Guiana*, which is the Reason (at least it ought so to be) why it was not afterwards attempted, when the Importance of Plantations were better understood. The first Suggestion was, that this was a favourite Scheme, perhaps a pleasing Vision of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*; and there was no Reason to yield implicit Credit to any Man's Dreams, how wise and learned soever. It is really strange, how far such foolish Insinuations as these prevail, and how basely Mankind repay the greatest Services that can be done them. When *Columbus* opened his Scheme in *Portugal*, it was reputed a mere Fancy and a Contrivance to gain Employment; when *Faustus* invented Printing, he was treated by some as a Conjuror, and by others the Art was condemned as prejudicial to the Book-Scriveners; and at the Time *Harvey* taught the Circulation of the Blood, he was almost generally run down; and that, according to the Physicians of those Times was treated as a ridiculous Fiction, which is now regarded as the very Foundation of the Art of Physic. The Truth seems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a first-rate Genius, is a mere Cloud, Vision, or airy Appearance, in the Judgment of common Men, who, either really forgetting, or affecting not to distinguish, this Difference in Capacities, would have their Judgments take Place, and the Ignorance of the Many rather reputed Wisdom than the Sentiments of a single Man; and thus, between Folly and Arrogance,

the Advantages which might be drawn from such high and rare Spirits, if due Distinction were made, are absolutely lost, and the Discoveries in the World of Science (always achieved by such Men) postponed for Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was aware of this, which induced him to take so much Pains in tracing the Knowledge of the *Spaniards*, and in making what they knew, and had endeavoured on this Subject, public, by which he thought he plainly proved this was no Invention of his, but only an Improvement on the Notions of other Men. He observed likewise, that the *French*, at the very Time he attempted it, had a View to this Discovery; and, it is very certain, that since his Time, Count *Pagan* recommended such a Settlement to Cardinal *Richelieu*, so that the calling this a Whim of Sir *Walter's*, as many did then, who are believed; now is to talk childishly and ignorantly on a very important Subject.

The next Insinuation was, that there was no such thing as Gold Dust, Gold Plates, or Gold Mines there, but that all was mere Invention, calculated to recommend the Project. To this Sir *Walter* opposed three Reasons, each of which was a fair and full Answer, and indeed wholly destroyed the Objection. For first, he shewed from the Situation, it was impossible this Country should not be rich, as having *New Grenada* on one Side, *Peru* at its Back, and in that Climate which affords the richest Mines of Gold and Silver in *America*; to which, we may add, the Discovery of the *Brazil* Treasures unknown in his Age. He next pleaded the Authority of the *Spaniards*; and that with respect, not to Opinions only, but as to Facts; for he annexes to his Voyage Certificates of considerable Quantities of Gold, which they had drawn from that Country, and which made them so eager to discover it fully. This too has been confirmed by Father *D'Acughna*, and other Writers, since his Days, who very positively maintain the very same thing. He lastly urges his own actual Experience, producing very ample Specimens of Gold Ore from thence. Upon some Doubt whether the Stones by him produced were Gold Ore or not, he caused them to be examined by Refiners. From some Mr. *Westwood*, who lived in *Wood-street*, drew at the Rate of twelve or thirteen-thousand Pounds a Ton; some, tried by Messrs. *Bulmar* and *Dimock*, held after the Rate of twenty-three thousand Pounds a Ton, and some, examined by Mr. *Palmer*, Comptroller of the *Mint*, and Mr. *Dimock*, held almost twenty-seven thousand Pounds in a Ton. Yet after all this another Question was started, whether *Raleigh* did not carry this Gold from *Africa* as well as bring it from *Guiana*; to which he answered, that from the very Mines in that Country, he helped to dig it himself, though with no fitter Instrument than his Dagger.

Another Head of Calumny was, that he chiefly aimed at attacking and plundering the *Spanish* Towns upon the Coasts; and that these were in reality *Raleigh's* Gold Mines in *Guiana*. But this was so far from the Truth, that one principal Reason, which Sir *Walter* assigns for fixing here, was, that the Catholic King had neither any Right to, or Possession of, this Country. It is also most evident from Sir *Walter's* own Accounts, that, except at *San-Joseph* in *Trinidad*, he took nothing in the Places which he plundered in that Country, and from this very Instance he recommends planting rather than privateering. On the whole, therefore, this Affair has been mistaken from first to last: Sir *Walter's* Proposal was wise and well founded; his Description of this Country true and very exact, his Expectations, though sanguine, perfectly well grounded; and his own Voyage a very pregnant Proof that such an Establishment is highly practicable. If any should enquire what Views I have in labouring this Topic so much, I shall fairly answer, many: I thought the Nature of my Subject led me to it; I conceived that Sir *Walter's* Memory demanded this Piece of Justice; and I remembered that we are at War with *Spain*, *Guiana* still unsettled; and that we may, as the Phrase once was, TAKE and HOLD.

15. We are now to speak briefly of such other Transactions under the Reign of this great Princess, as may contribute to explain some Passages in this Section, and set

set what follows in a clear Light. She encouraged Privateers immediately after her coming to the Crown, as the most effectual Means of raising a Fleet in a short time; but when she found this End answered, she brought that Practice under due Regulations. She was extremely careful in giving all possible Encouragement for Discoveries, and it was with this View that she promoted, as we shall see hereafter, several Enterprizes for finding out a Passage to the *East-Indies*, by the North-east and by the North-west. The *Russia* Trade she encouraged; and her Conduct in respect to that Nation was such as raised her Credit in those Parts of the World, to the highest Degree that can be imagined. The King of *Sweden* was so charmed with what Fame reported of the Queen, that he put himself into the Number of those who were Suitors to her for Marriage. The King of *Denmark* asked her Leave to transport Corn through the narrow Seas, which, to shew her Dominion over them, she once refused; and the *Hanse-Towns* having presumed to send a Fleet through them without her Leave, she seized and confiscated their Ships; as for the *Dutch*, they more than once offered to submit themselves to her Government, and in the most public manner acknowledged that they owed the Recovery of their Liberty to her Succour and Protection; but she was wise enough to foresee, that as they grew in Power they might alter their Notions, and she took care to provide against this, by procuring the Keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be put into her Hands, by which Means she was able to lock up their Commerce, and naval Force, at her Pleasure.

She kept *France* in great Awe, even when it was governed by *Henry IV.*, the wisest, bravest, and best Monarch of the House of *Bourbon*. She ruined the naval Power of *Spain*, then the most formidable in *Europe*, and under the Direction of a Prince whose Abilities were equal to every thing but his Ambition: She encouraged Expeditions to the *West Indies*, as long as they proved beneficial to her Subjects; and when they appeared to be no longer so, she very prudently restrained them. It was under her Reign, that the *English* first attempted the Passage into the *South Seas* by the Straights of *Magellan*; which proved of great Consequence, not only in that Part of the World, but also in opening a Way to the *East Indies*, as we have already shewn in the former Parts of this Work, to which those Passages properly belonged.

She brought, by affording the Means of employing them, the building of Ships into Use, and by Degrees to great Perfection, which was of infinite Benefit to the Nation, and at the same time delivered us from the heavy Inconvenience of hiring Vessels from Foreigners whenever the public Occasions demanded a large Fleet; but most of these Things (though incident to my Purpose) have been already insisted on by others, and therefore I am content barely to mention them, that I may have room to mention some other Things of no less Importance, though not so much attended to. We have shewn how wretched a Situation Things were in at the Beginning of her Reign, and how suddenly and how effectually she changed the Face of our Affairs; and we have in some measure pointed out the manner in which this was done; but there remain some other Points worthy the Reader's Consideration, which I shall next handle with all imaginable Brevity.

Queen *Elizabeth* taught all her Subjects Industry and Application by her personal Conduct; she was constantly attentive to every Branch of her Government; knew exactly what was done, what might be done, and what was omitted; she understood most Things herself, and what she did not understand, she committed to the Inspection of such as were reputed to be best acquainted with them; she was slow in resolving, and quick in Execution; she heard all that could be said for, or against, *Sir Francis Drake*, before she went on board his Ship, or gave him any public Marks of her Favour; but afterwards she would never permit his Conduct to be censured.

She was sparing in her Honours, because she was resolved to use them as Rewards; and she knew that in order to this it was requisite they should not become

cheap; she never employed any but capable Ministers; for she had Men for Shew, and Men for Service; and in nothing demonstrated her great Capacity more than in her Choice of Servants. Secretary *Walsingham*, and after him Secretary *Cecil*, had the Department of the Marine, and both understood it well, so that whoever applied to them, was to make out the Reason and Probability, as well as the Profitableness, of his Project. This produced the many excellent Pieces which are preserved in *Hacklitt*, particularly *Sir Humphrey Gilbert's* Discourse of the North-west Passage, *Sir George Peacham's* Benefits of western Planting, with *Mr. Harriot's* Account of *Virginia*, and many such Things. By this Means a Spirit of useful Knowledge was promoted and kept up; all Things were thoroughly sifted before Encouragement was given, and due Regard had to what succeeded, to what did not, and to the Reason and Causes of both.

She took some Share of most Expeditions of Consequence, as well to keep up the Spirits of those concerned, as, in Case any good Prizes were made, that the Public might have its Part, in which we find her always strict, and sometimes a little severe: But, with all her Frugality and good Management in this Respect, she found War an expensive and ruinous Thing, which demanded constant and great Supplies, bringing in but slowly and inconsiderably. She was the better able to discern this, because she took care to have the Treasury-Books as regularly kept as those of a Merchant, whence she was very well able to tell how far her Revenues answered her Expences, in what Articles her Excesses were incurred, and even the Loss and Gain on particular Expeditions: As for Instance, that of *Cadiz*, or *Cales*, reputed the most fortunate in her long Reign, which nevertheless cost sixty-four thousand Pounds more than it brought in. The Balance, in this Respect, was always against her, notwithstanding the vast Sound her Prizes made in the World; for, according to a Minute of an Account made up by the famous Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, from the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth Year of her Government, it appears, that the bare Expence of the Navy amounted to two hundred seventy-five thousand, seven hundred and sixty-one Pounds, and all received by Prizes within those Years, which were the most prosperous in that Respect of the whole *Spanish* War, came to no more than sixty-four thousand and forty-four Pounds.

Yet, considering what Mischief was done the Enemy, how much his Commerce was embarrassed, his Merchants ruined, his Credit lessened, and his Power decreased, there was no great Cause to repine; and, in truth, we no where find the Queen did so, but she always endeavoured to put her Nobility upon such Enterprizes, as well to keep them employed, as to throw a Part of the Expence upon such as she judged were much more able to afford it than the common People.

But there was another great and useful Effect which flowed from this assiduous Care in the Queen, and this generous Conduct in her Nobility, and that was, the establishing a just Regard for Public Spirit. It was the Mode in her Days, to do every thing with a View to the Welfare of the State, and it was impossible for any Man to make a Figure at Court, or to appear with Distinction in his County whose Actions as well as Words did not discover somewhat of the Patriot. Some of the Nobility served in *Holland*, to learn the Trade of War, at the same time that they contributed to break the Power of *Spain*, and to raise the *English* Reputation for Courage, Steadiness, and other Military Virtues. The Earl of *Essex*, and other Men of Quality, served the Queen at Sea in various Expeditions of great Importance. Others again, such as the Earl of *Cumberland*, embarked in particular Enterprizes at their own Expence; and by this Means, after the formidable Invasion in 1588, the King of *Spain* found himself sufficiently employed at home, and perceived, when it was too late, that he had wasted the Blood and Treasure of all his Kingdoms to raise up two new Powers in *Europe*, viz. *England* and *Holland*, which neither he nor his Successors would be able to cope with.

But the Queen and her Ministers, when the Dangers of War were thus removed or kept at a Distance, knew how to divert the same Spirit to other good and salutary Purposes.

Purposes. In former Reigns there had been little Care taken to explore the Riches of this Kingdom; but now every Part of it was examined, and every kind of Improvement set on foot. The Lord-Treasurer sent for several *Germans* over, who were employed in erecting Iron-works, in discovering and working Lead Mines, and in making Saltpetre. We formerly exported most of our Commodities raw and unwrought, but now the Persecution in the *Low-Countries* furnished us with Multitudes of able Workmen in every Branch of the Woollen Manufactory, who had all imaginable Encouragement given them, and with very considerable Privileges were settled in different Parts of the Kingdom, more especially at *London, Norwich, Colchester, and Canterbury*. The like Care was taken with respect to other Trades, and this was attended with such Success, that, whereas in the Beginning of the Queen's Reign we bought our Artillery abroad, towards the End of it we furnished all *Europe* with Ordnance; so that at length it grew a Question, Whether it might not be requisite for the public Safety, to put a Stop to the Exportation of Iron Cannon.

There was now scarce a Session of Parliament held in which there were not Acts passed for promoting new Branches of Trade, or for preserving or regulating the Old; and though it may be, and I believe is, true, that some of the Laws, then made, have become in Process of Time rather dangerous and destructive, than profitable or advantageous, to Commerce, yet certainly they were made with a good Intent; and we have Reason to believe were well enough suited to those Times, so that we have no Reason to censure those who made them, on Account of the Inconveniencies they produce, but ought rather to blame ourselves for not repealing them. By these Steps the Face of Things in this Country was quite changed: Instead of being served by the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, with all the Commodities of the East, we brought them Home ourselves, and even furnished them to others; instead of suffering all our Domestic Trade to be managed as formerly by *Germans* and other Foreigners, we began to settle Factories abroad, and there was hardly a Nation in the known World, with which before the Death of this Queen we had not some Correspondence.

Yet instead of setting down quietly with these Acquisitions, and falling into a nominal Trade amongst ourselves, like the Modern Stock-Jobbing; we were then continually contriving and executing new Schemes, either for improving our Country, or exporting its Produce; our People, even then, began to think the Trading World too narrow for them, and admired nothing so much as finding out new Markets, where Goods always sell best, where Novelty and Variety often procure high Prices, even for indifferent Commodities. We need not at all wonder, therefore, that in these Times there were Men of such extensive Abilities produced, as seemed to grasp the whole Circle of commercial Knowledge; such as *Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Gresham*, and many others; some of whom have left us Treatises in this way, that are both read and admired in more enlightened Times. We may therefore safely pronounce, that the Seeds of all our Traffic, which have since so happily come up, and from which the Nation has reaped such mighty Profits, were sown in this Reign, and cultivated, when they needed Cultivation most, by the Royal Hand of the matchless *Elizabeth*; the Mother of her Subjects, the Terror of her Enemies, and the Benefactor of Posterity.

16. We are now to take a View of the State of *English* Affairs in regard to *America*, at the Close of this Queen's Reign, when it will appear, that there was scarce any Part of it, whether of the Northern or Southern Continent, or Islands, with which we had not some Acquaintance; though we had made no Settlements any where. *Drake* and *Candish* examined the whole Backside of *America* from South to North, and it appears very clearly from *Sir Richard Hawkins's History of his own Voyage*, that we were almost as well acquainted with those Countries as the *Spaniards* themselves; this will appear less strange, when it is observed, that some of our Seamen being surpris'd, others

being sent ashore by their Commanders, and several straggling when landed in Parties, on particular Designs, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and being sent from Place to Place, travelled through more Countries than most of the *Spaniards* that were sent thither by their Government, or were driven thither by their Necessities, some of whom, coming home, related, and several of them, particularly *Miles Phillips* and *David Ingram*, wrote Accounts of, their Adventures, as we shall have Occasion to shew in another Place.

By this Means we gained very clear and distinct Descriptions of the Countries bordering on the *Streights of Magellan*, of *Chili, Peru*, the *Bay of Panama*, the several Provinces of the Kingdom of *Old Mexico*, some Knowledge of the *New*, and even of *California*: Nor were we less acquainted with the other Side of the Continent, as the Reader may learn from the *English Voyages* of the first Chapter of this Work, in which are contained very distinct Accounts of the most Southern Parts, from the River of *Plata* to the Mouth of *Magellan's Streights*. We have likewise a sufficient Knowledge of the great Country of *Brazil*, from *Mr. Knivet*, and other Travellers; though it must be allowed that they gave great Scope to their Imagination, in what they have written, or at least what is published by *Purchas*, if it was by them written, upon this Subject. As to *Guiana*, or the Country of the *Amazons*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and *Capt. Laurence Keymish*, whom he sent thither soon after his Return, have written as good Descriptions of them, if not better, than any that are extant in other Languages.

As for the Coast, from the Island of *Trinity* up to *Carthagena*, it was the chief Scene of most of our Privateer Expeditions in this Reign, so that we had repeated Relations of all that was necessary to make this Part of the new World perfectly known. The remaining Part of the Coast, as far as the *Gulph of Honduras*, was likewise explained and described by several *Englishmen*, who had visited those Coasts, particularly *Capt. Barker*; and as for the *Bay of Mexico*, it was often resorted to; but more particularly by *Captain*, (afterwards) *Sir John, Hawkins*, in the Year 1568, at which time he set on shore *David Ingram*, before-mentioned, at about one hundred and forty Leagues West-by-north from the Cape of *Florida*. From thence he travelled with several other Persons of his Company by Land, to within sixty Leagues of *Cape Breton*; where they found a Passage home by a *French Ship*, in 1369, and soon after their Arrival, *David Ingram, Richard Brown*, and *Richard Twede* went to visit *Capt. Hawkins*, who had set them on shore, and related to him their Adventures. I have been more particular on this Head, because this *Ingram* has given the clearest Account of any Man concerning the North-west Passage, as the Reader will see hereafter in its proper Place, where I shall give his Account at large. The remaining Part of the Coast of *North America*, from the Cape of *Florida* to the utmost Extent of the Continent northward, was examined by several of our Seamen, as appears by what has been already said in this Section, and will farther appear from the Account we are yet to give of some Voyages that were made in the last Years of the Queen, and which I thought proper to reserve for this Place.

The first of these, in Order of Time, is the glorious Expedition of *Capt. William Parker* of *Plymouth*, who undertook, at the Expence of a few private Persons, an Enterprize against the *Spaniards*, in which he was accompanied by *Capt. Giles* and *Capt. Ward*, Land Officers; and by the Captains *Fugars, Loriman, Ashly*, and several other Gentlemen as Volunteers, which, all Circumstances considered, will appear one of the hardest Undertakings, as well as one of the most successful, in that Reign, or indeed ever attempted by our own Nation or any other of which there remains an Account in History. This Squadron of his consisted but of three small Barks, scarce equal in Strength to a Fifth-rate Man of War; of these the *Prudence*, stiled the Admiral, was of the Burden of one hundred Tons, and a hundred and thirty Men, commanded by *Mr. Parker* himself; the *Pearl*, Vice-Admiral, of sixty Tons, and sixty Men, *Capt. Robert Rawlins* Commander; the Pinnace of twenty Tons and eighteen Men. They failed

failed in November 1601, and off the South Cape had the Misfortune in a violent Gust of Wind to lose their Pinnace with all her Men but three; steering their Course from thence to the Islands of *Cape Verd*, they landed one hundred Men, and took one of them called *St. Vincent*, with a Town of the same Name; and, after having given the Spoil of it to the Soldiers, set fire to the Place. Hence they haled over to the Coast of the Continent, and coming to *la Rancheria*, or the Pearl Fishery, in the small Island *Cubagua*, they there found the Governor of *Cumana*, with a small Company of Soldiers. This did not discourage them from landing, and though at first they were received with great Warmth, they got at last the better of them, and took the Place with several Prisoners, Barks, and Boats, all which they ransomed for the Value of five hundred Pounds, which was paid them in Pearls.

They sailed from thence directly for *Cape de la Vela*, where they took a great *Portuguese* Ship of 250 Tons, coming from *Angola* and *Congo*, and bound for *Carthage*; which, having little of Value in her, except three hundred and seventy Negroes, they ransomed for 500 *l*. After this they went to the Island of *Cabecas*, where they embarked one hundred and fifty of their Men in two small Pinnaces and two Shallops, and sailed to the *Bastimentos*, where they landed, and picking up some Negroes for their Guides, with their Boats and Pinnaces, they entered the River of *Puerto Bello* the 7th of February 1602; it being Moon-light the Watch discovered them at their very first Entrance into the Haven, and haled them by the strong Castle of *St. Philip*; in which were thirty-five Brass Guns, and Soldiers enough to manage them. Having some on Board who spoke the *Spanish* Tongue, they pretended they were *Spaniards* coming from *Carthage*.

The Officer of the Castle bid them come to Anchor, which they did, but about an Hour after Captain *Parker* gave them the slip with his two Boats and above thirty Men, leaving the Pinnaces at Anchor before the Castle. With this Force he went directly to the Suburb of *Triana*, and, though the Alarm was given, landed his thirty Men, and setting it on fire left it burning, and marched into the great and rich Town of *Puerto Bello*. As soon as he entered, he marched directly to the King's Treasury, where he found a Guard of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Brass Field-pieces on their Carriages; the Fight was long and obstinate, and *Parker* had lost the best Part of his Men, when Captain *Fugars* and Captain *Loriman*, who commanded the Pinnaces, hearing the Noise, came timely to his Relief, with one hundred and twenty Men. This Assistance soon turned the Scale, and the *Spaniards* began to think of securing themselves by Flight; a good Number of them got into the King's House, which they defended very resolutely for four or five Hours; but at length the *English* became Masters of that, as well as of the whole Town. They found but ten thousand Ducats in the Treasury, though there were often six Millions in it; and if they had been seven Days sooner they would have found one hundred and twenty thousand, which had been embarked in two Frigates for *Carthage*.

The Spoil of the Town, which in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, was considerable, was by Captain *Parker*, given to the Soldiers. But two Frigates, which he took farther up the River, he carried away with him; after having kept Possession of the Town two Days, Captain *Parker* generously spared it with its Churches, Buildings, and Forts, from burning; and released the Prisoners, among whom were Don *Pedro Melandez*, the Governor, the King's Secretary, and several Persons of Quality, without Ransom; satisfied with the Honour of having taken with a handful of Men, in so little Time, and with so inconsiderable a Loss, one of the finest Towns the King of *Spain* had in the *West Indies*. His Reason for this was to give the *Spaniards* an Example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies; and the Governor he released, because he had fought so bravely, having received eleven Wounds in the Action.

The Town had at this Time two Churches, six or seven fine Streets, three small Forts on one Side, besides the

great Castle of *St. Philip*; all which they might have demolished, and have left the whole a Heap of Ruins! During their Stay in Town they had not the least Disturbance from any Forces of the *Spaniards*, nor any Alarm given; only as they were sailing away the Enemy began to appear, but it was only to exchange a few Bullets, and to take leave of each other from the Mouths of their great Guns. Thus Captain *Parker* returned safely home with much Honour, and not without reasonable Profit; and not only our own, but *Spanish* Writers, speak of his Expedition in very honourable Terms.

The next Year some of the *Virginia* Company resolved to fit out a Vessel for that Country, and accordingly made Choice of Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold* for their Commander, who had been formerly there. He sailed from *Falmouth* on the 26th of March 1602, in a small Vessel, and no more than thirty-two Persons on Board, of whom it was proposed that twelve should stay behind and form a Settlement, in case he should meet with any Place which he should judge convenient for that Purpose. This Captain *Gosnold* was an excellent Mariner, and therefore he did not go the former Course, but a much shorter one; and on the 11th of May he arrived in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and some few Minutes, among the Islands, forming the North Side of *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*; where, not finding the Conveniencies he desired, he set sail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of *Cod*, now Part of *New England*. He went ashore on a small uninhabited Island, which he called *Elizabeth Island*, and on another Island, which he named *Martha's Vineyard*, where the Natives had left some Marks of their Habitations. Here some of his Company sowed *English* Corn, and saw it come up very kindly; he built a little Fort for his, and his Mens, Security, and Trade from thence with the *Savages*, to whom *Europeans* were no Strangers; for the Commander of the first Body of them that came to trade was dressed with Waistcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockings, Hat, and all Accoutrements befitting an *Englishman*; but his Attendants had only Deer-Skins about their Shoulders, and Seal-Skins about their Waists; their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind; they were painted all over, but their natural swarthy Colour was easy enough to be discerned.

On the North-west Side of *Elizabeth's Island* the Captain found a Lake of fresh Water, about a League in Circumference, and very near the Sea; in the Midst of which was another little Island of about an Acre of Ground; and this they pitched upon as the most commodious Place for building their Fort above-mentioned, and they begun it accordingly. About this Lake they found an infinite Number of Tortoises, with several Sorts of Fish and Fowl; so that those who proposed to settle there had a fair Prospect of having Provisions enough. They visited the main Land adjoining to this Island, which they found, in all Respects, as charming as Meadows, Groves, Brooks, and Rivers could make it. They had some Communication with the *Indians* of the main Land, who came and bartered with them for some of their *European* Rarities, and there was nothing hardly but what was so to these People. The Commodities they gave in exchange for Knives and other Toys, were Beavers, Lucains, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals, Deer, and Skins. The Affairs of this Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and easy in their Settlement here; but they were intent upon their private Interests, and contrived to make only a profitable Voyage. The Captain laboured against it, but to no purpose; so having gotten a large Cargo of Sassafras, Cedar-wood, Furs, and other good Commodities, they set sail for *England*. They left their little Fort on the 18th of June, and they arrived at *Plymouth* the 23d Day of July following, A. D. 1602.

What the Consequences were of this Voyage and Discovery will appear in the next Section; and therefore we shall pass on to the last Voyage, which we are concerned to take Notice of here; and that was made in the same Year 1602, by one Captain *Mace* of *Weymouth*, fitted out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and as the short Account we have

the History of this Country within this Period, wherein is demonstrated our clear and indubitable Right to the Island of Cape Breton. 14. The several Voyages to Guiana, down to the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh, after his last Expedition thither, and an Account of our Settlement at Surinam. 15. A short Account of the first planting the rich and fruitful Island of Barbadoes. 16. The History of this advantageous Settlement, down to the Restoration. 17. The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, and incredible Advantages that have accrued to Great Britain from this Colony, which is proved to be the best in the World. 18. The Discovery, Conquest, and Settlement of St. Christopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Montserrat, &c. 19. The Grant of the Province of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore, and the Settlement of that Country, with other Particulars relating to it within the Compass of this Period. 20. The Expedition by the Direction of the Protector Cromwell, for the taking Hispaniola from the Spaniards, with the true Causes of its Miscarriage. 21. The History of the Conquest and Settlement of the most noble and most important Island of Jamaica. 22. A short Description of the Island, a View of the vast Profits derived to Great Britain from the Possession of it, and other Particulars. 23. The Conclusion of the Section, with some Remarks and Observations on the principal Events mentioned therein.

1. **A**T the Time of King James's Accession to the English Throne, there were the fairest Opportunities offered for extending and securing the Commerce of this Island that could be wished; and therefore we need not be surprized at finding such vast Improvements made, and such mighty Advantages gained to this Nation, under a Government that has not hitherto been represented in the fairest Lights to the People. We must, however, observe, that the peaceable Temper of King James was of great Use to the trading Part of his Subjects; for the Power of Queen Elizabeth had raised such a Veneration in some, and struck such a Terror into others, that there was scarce any Nation which did not willingly embrace the Friendship of King James, and offer him whatever Terms could be thought most suitable to the commercial Views of his Subjects; which was extremely agreeable to the English, at that Time, who began to entertain very true Notions of Trade; to see its Importance, above all Things, and to wish for the Means of promoting and extending it on all Sides, to which they began to think a Peace with Spain would not a little contribute. At the Time of the Queen's Decease there was a Fleet preparing under the Command of Sir William Monson, intended for the Spanish Coast; for it was a wise and just Policy in that Princess, to keep the War at a Distance from her own Dominions, to find her Enemies work enough at Home, and thereby prevent their disturbing any of her Territories. But upon the Accession of King James this Fleet was countermanded; and, it seems, not without Reason; for the Archduke, who was then Governor of the Low Countries, thought fit to recall his Letters of Reprizal, and thereby opened a free Trade between England and Flanders, a thing highly satisfactory to the Merchants, who immediately reaped the Benefit of it.

There was likewise another Design on foot at the Time of the Queen's Demise, which was the prosecuting the Discoveries and Trade to North America, in which several Gentlemen and Merchants of Bristol were concerned, and amongst them the Reverend Mr. Hackluit, whom we have so often mentioned; and who, having a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, and having a great Genius for promoting such Enterprizes, was fixed upon to apply in behalf of himself, and the rest of the Persons concerned, to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was still looked upon as the Proprietor of Virginia, in order to procure his Licence for this Trade. Upon his Application to that worthy Person, they received all the Encouragement they could desire; for he not only granted them a Licence under his Hand and Seal, but also made over to them all the Profits which should arise from the Voyage.

After they were thus impowered, they raised a joint Stock of a thousand Pounds, and fitted out two small Vessels, the one called the *Speedwell*, commanded by Capt. Matthew Pringe, of the Burthen of fifty Tons, with thirty Men and Boys; the other a Bark of twenty-six Tons, called the *Discoverer*, commanded by Mr. William Brown, who had under him a Mate, and eleven Men, and Boys besides. These Vessels were victualed for eight Months, and had a large Cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of Goods that were thought proper for that Country. They sailed from King's-Road, near Bristol, on the 20th of March, 1683. Being hindered

by contrary Winds, they put into Milford Haven, where they continued till the 10th of April following, and then continued their Voyage. The Rout they took was by the Azores, and they arrived without any remarkable Accident on the Coast of North America, in the Lat. of 43 Degrees; and, after having examined the Coast, on which they found nothing for their Purpose, they sailed on South-west in search of that Part of the Country where Capt. Gosnold had been.

At length, they found in the Latitude of 41 Degrees, and some few Minutes, a very convenient Bay, to which they gave the Name of *Whitson's Bay*, in honour of Mr. John Whitson, who was then Mayor of Bristol. Here they landed, and cut a good Quantity of Sassafras, and carried it on board; but, lest they should be surprized in the Woods by the Natives while they were at Work, they erected a little Fort or Redoubt, wherein they left their Effects, and four or five Men to guard them, while the rest were at work. The Natives came and trafficked with the English, forty or fifty in a Company, and sometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank, and were very merry with our Adventurers; especially when they observed a Lad in their Company playing upon a Guitar, they would get round about him, and, taking Hands, dance twenty or thirty in a Ring, after the American Manner.

Our Seamen observed, that the Natives were more afraid of two Mastiff-Dogs they carried with them than of twenty Men; and when they designed to get rid of their Company, they let loose one of these Mastiffs; whereupon the Natives would shriek out, and run away to the Woods. But 'tis probable this Usage, and the erecting a Fortification in their Country, made the Indians at length look upon the English as their Enemies: For our Adventurers inform us, that a Party of Indians came and surrounded their Fort a few Days after, when most of them were absent, and would probably have surprized it, if the Captain of the Ship had not fired two Guns, and alarmed the Workmen in the Woods, who thereupon returned to the Relief of the Fort.

The Indians pretended indeed they had no hostile Intentions, but our People never cared to trust them afterwards: And the Day before the English embarked, the Natives came down again in great Numbers, and set fire to the Woods where they had cut the Sassafras; which, 'tis probable, was designed to let the English know they would preserve nothing in their Country which should invite such Guests to visit them again; for no doubt the great Guns and Fire-arms had rendered the English very terrible to them, as well as their Dogs. The Account these People gave of the Country and the Inhabitants was, as might very well be expected, much the same with what had been given before by Capt. Gosnold, and those who had sailed with him into those Parts, and therefore we need not dwell upon the Subject. Amongst other Curiosities they brought back with them, the most remarkable was, one of the Boats used by the Inhabitants, made of the Bark of a Birch Tree, sowed together with Twigs, the Seams covered with Rosin or Turpentine, and tho' it was seventeen Foot long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine Persons, it did not weigh sixty Pounds. These Boats the Inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden Instruments like to our Bakers Peels, by the Help

Help of which they went at a great rate. About the middle of June they had compleated the Freight of their Bark; which they sent home before them into *England*. After her Departure, they made all the Dispatch they could in loading their own Vessel; for which they procured a very valuable Cargo of Skins and Furs, in exchange for the Commodities they carried. On the 9th of August they quitted the Coast of *Virginia*, and sailed for *England*, arriving in the Mouth of the Channel in five Weeks; but meeting there with contrary Winds, they could not reach *King's-Road* before the 2d of October; but they had the Satisfaction of finding that their Bark was safely arrived a Fortnight before them.

There was another Attempt made the same Year, upon the same Account, which, however, did not end so fortunately. This Voyage was performed by the *Elizabeth* of *London*, a Bark of fifty Tons, commanded by Capt. *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had been the Year before at *Virginia* with Capt. *Gosnold*. They departed from *Plymouth* the 10th of May, and in their Passage traded at *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, and *Mevis*, at the latter of which they cut about twenty Tons of *Lignum-vitæ*. The third of July they set sail from thence for the Coast of *Virginia*, and particularly for *Chesapeake Bay*, which Capt. *Gilbert* was very desirous of failing to, that he might make some Enquiry after the People near those Parts. On the 25th they came near the Mouth of that Bay.

But the Wind blowing hard, with a high Sea, though they beat about for two or three Days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the eastward. The 29th, being not far from Shore, the Captain with four of his best Men landed in their Boat, and, being provided with Arms, marched some way up the Country; but in this March, being set upon and overpowered by the Inhabitants, they were all killed; and it was not without Difficulty that the Boat, with two young Men who were left in her, reached the Ship again to bring the News. They, being now in all but eleven Men and Boys in the Ship, were afraid to venture the Loss of any more of their small Company; and their Provisions growing short, the Master, *Henry Sute*, who had taken the Command, resolved, though they were in extreme Want of Wood and Water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the River of *Thames* about the End of September.

The Peace being concluded with *Spain*, in 1604, removed several Obstacles that stood in the way of the *British* Trade; and at the same time opened to our Ships a free Access to many Islands, Countries and Ports, to which they had not before resorted; which occasioned a great Increase in our Exportations, and gave much Encouragement to such as were employed in the different Branches of the Woollen Manufacture. As for the Business of settling and planting on the northern Continent of *America*, that too was laid open, by the Attainder of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which happened at the beginning of this Reign, on account of a Plot, which appeared very improbable then, and with respect to him especially, very ridiculous ever since. The Reports made by those who were concerned in the three last Voyages being very favourable to the Country, and the Profits made by them being very considerable, induced several Persons of Distinction to think seriously of promoting these Discoveries, insomuch that some of the Nobility resolved to engage in an Undertaking of this kind.

2. Accordingly *Henry Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Thomas* Lord *Arundel*, of *Wardour*, resolved to fit out a Ship for this Expedition. This Vessel was called the *Archangel*, and was commanded by Capt. *George Weymouth*, an experienced and skilful Seaman, who sailed on the last Day of March, 1605, from *Dartmouth*, and met with nothing of consequence, till such time as they judged themselves to be very near the Coast of *Virginia*; but the Winds carrying them to the northward, in the Latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$, and their Wood and Water beginning to grow extremely short, they grew very desirous of seeing Land. By their Charts they had reason to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their Instructions, yet they found none in a Run of almost 50 Leagues. After much Expectation, on the 16th of May they obtained Sight of an Island, of no

great consequence, and very woody along the Shore; but by the Fruits they found it appeared no barren nor despicable Spot, more especially as there were Streams of fresh Water running down the Cliffs in great plenty, vast numbers of Fowls, and Fish enough all along the Shore. This Island is now called *Long-Island*, and it was upon the eastern Parts of it they fell, to their great Satisfaction. From hence they could discern a great many other Islands, and the main Land stretching from the West-south-west, to the East-north-east. Several of the Islands adjoining to the Continent they visited, and found very full both of Timber and Fruit-trees, of several Sorts.

Among those Islands they met with a Harbour, in which Ships of any Burthen might lye, defended from all Winds, in six to ten Fathom Water, upon a tough Clay Ooze. This they called *Pentecost-Harbour*, because it was about *Whitsuntide* they discovered it. The Fir-trees, which were in great numbers on these Islands, yielded an exceeding sweet Turpentine; and the Muscles, which they found about the Rocks, afforded small Pearl in abundance, and some that were large and orient; and the Shell of these Pearls on the Inside resembled Mother-of-pearl; but they wanted proper Tackle to dredge for them, and therefore could not take any considerable Quantity. The Natives from the Continent came oft in their Canoes to trade with them while they lay in this excellent Harbour, their Commerce being much the same as in former Voyages, all sorts of Skins and Furs in exchange for Knives, Beads, and such like Trifles: And so good Chapmen were they at that time, that they would give the Value of ten or twelve Pounds in their Goods, for five Shillings-worth of *English* Iron Ware. We shall not enlarge on the Manners, Habits and Customs, &c. of the Natives, which were the same we have already seen. Their Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, had nothing in them but what was common among other Savages. Their Tobacco-Pipes were sometimes made of Clay, and sometimes the Claw of a Lobster only, but always of a Capacity to hold as much as ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with those People, but found, as others had done, that, amidst all their specious Shews of Friendship, they were very treacherous, and sought every Opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident Proof; when those Savages, having invited them on Shore to traffic, had very near drawn them into an Ambush of near three hundred Men, armed after their Manner, with Bows and Arrows; but they discovered their Treachery in time, and escaped the Snare. But the most extraordinary Discovery made in this Voyage was that of a River, esteemed by those who found it the most beautiful in *America*. They went up it with their Ships several Leagues, and gave this Account of it; that as it runs up the Main, it keeps a good Breadth for forty Miles together, in most Places a Mile, in some three Quarters, but never less than half a Mile: It flows sixteen or eighteen Feet; at low Water it is from six to ten Fathom deep; it has abundance of Harbours for Ships of all Burthens, and will secure them better from Wind and Weather than any known in *Europe*. On both Sides there are, at a small Distance one from another, many fine Coves, some of them capable of containing more than an hundred Sail, where the Ground is soft Ooze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hold. Nature also has made several convenient Places, like Docks, to grave and careen Ships of all Burthens, and secure them from all Winds; the neighbouring Land trends along on both Sides in a smooth Line, and, instead of Rocks and Cliffs, is bordered with green Grass, and tall Trees of different Sorts. After they had remained here about six Weeks, and during all that Time carried on a very profitable Trade with the Natives, they thought of returning to *England*; with which View they hoisted Sail June the 16th, and arrived that Day Month in Sight of the Land's-End of *England*.

This prosperous Voyage induced many Persons of high Rank, and many more of great Fortune, to desire to see this new Trade thoroughly established, who applied to the Crown for such legal Authorities as were necessary; which Desire of theirs was very soon complied with, and two Companies formed for settling this large Tract

of Land, which for the present was divided into *North* and *South Virginia*, and were so stiled many Years after. It was to this Intent King *James*, by his Letters Patents dated the 10th of *April* 1606, reciting, that Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, Knights, and *Richard Hackluit*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Westminster*, *Edward Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esquires, *William Parker* and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and divers others his loving Subjects, had petitioned him for Leave to send Colonies to *Virginia*, and such other Parts of *America* as either appertained to his Crown, or which were not actually possessed by any other Christian Prince or People, and lying between thirty-four and forty-five Degrees of northern Latitude, and within an hundred Miles of the Sea-Coast: And for the speedy Accomplishment of the said Plantation, intended to divide themselves into two several Companies, the one consisting of the Adventurers of the City of *London*, who were desirous to fix themselves between thirty-four and forty-one Degrees of North Latitude; and the other consisting of the Adventurers of the Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and the Town of *Plymouth*, who were desirous to settle between thirty-eight and forty-five Degrees on the Coast of *Virginia* in *America*. His Majesty, in order to promote so noble a Work, which might tend to the Glory of God, by propagating the Christian Religion among the Infidels and Savages, and bring them to Humanity and Civility, did graciously accept their Petition, and for himself, his Heirs and Successors, did grant and agree, that the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of the City of *London*, and all others that should associate with them, should be called the first Colony, and might begin their first Plantation at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia*, or *America*, where they should think fit, between 34 and 41 Degrees of Latitude; and should have all the Lands, Woods, Rivers, Ports, Fishing, and Hereditaments whatsoever to the same belonging and appertaining, from the first Seat of their Plantation, for fifty Miles either Way along the Coast, North and South, and an hundred Miles to the Westward, within Land, with all the Islands over against the said Coast for the Space of an hundred Miles at Sea; with all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Harbours, Fishings, and Mines thereunto belonging or appertaining; and Liberty to plant, build and fortify therein; and that no other Subjects of this Crown should be permitted to settle themselves in the Lands to the westward of this Colony without their Leave. And his Majesty did grant to the aforesaid *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, of the Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and the Town of *Plymouth*, in the County of *Devon*, and all others that should associate with them, that they should be called the second Colony, and might begin their first Plantation upon the said Coast of *Virginia*, or *America*, where they should think fit between 38 and 45 Degrees of Latitude; and enjoy all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Fishings, and Hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like Extent of Land and Sea, from the Seat of their Plantation, as was granted to the first Colony. And it was provided, that the said respective Colonies should not plant within the Space of one hundred Miles of each other; that each Company should have a Council, consisting of thirteen Persons, in whom the Government should be lodged, but limited by certain Articles under the Privy Seal; they were impowered also to dig Mines in and beyond their respective Limits to the Westward, paying the Crown a Fifth of all Gold, and a Fifth of all Copper Ore they should get; they were also impowered to seize all Ships that should trade within their respective Limits; to coin Money, raise Forces for their Defence, &c.

3. The Patentees first named were commonly stiled the *London* Company, and those last named the *Western* Company, who no sooner received this Authority from the Crown, than they began in earnest to provide for making effectual Settlements within the Bounds prescribed by their respective Grants. With this View the *London* Company fitted out three Vessels, one of an hundred Tons, another of forty, and a Pinnace of twenty.

On board of which they embarked an hundred and ten Land-Men, with every thing requisite for settling a Colony. The Command of this small Squadron was given to Capt. *Christopher Newport*, an experienced Seaman, well acquainted with the *West-India* Navigation; but to prevent any Disputes in the Passage, the Orders which regarded the Government of the Colony, and the Names of the Council who were to be intrusted with the Administration of it when settled, were delivered to them in a Box sealed up, with Directions not to be opened till they were on Shore.

They sailed from *London* on the 20th of *December*, 1606; but, by several unlucky Accidents, were, for several Weeks, detained on the Coast of *England*. At last they continued their Voyage, and, having taken in fresh Water and other Necessaries at the *Canaries*, proceeded to the *Caribbee Islands*, where they arrived on the 23d of *February*, and staid amongst them, but chiefly on the Island of *Nevis*, about five Weeks. On the 3d of *April* they sailed for *Virginia*, and arrived on the 26th of the same Month at the Mouth of *Chesapeake-Bay*. The first Place on which they landed was the Southern Cape of that Bay, where they built a Fort, which they called *Cape* and *Fort-Henry*, as they did the Northern *Cape Charles*, in honour of the two Princes; and the first great River they searched, the Indian Name of which was *Powhatan*, they called *James-River*, after the King's own Name.

Of this River they made a full Search, before they would come to any Resolution about a Settlement, and then, by unanimous Consent, they pitched upon a Peninsula about fifty Miles up the River, which, besides the Goodness of the Soil, was esteemed most capable to be made a Place both of Trade and Security, two thirds of it invironed by the main River, which affords good Anchorage all along, and the other third by a small River, capable of receiving small Vessels of one hundred Tons Burden quite up till it comes within thirty Yards of the great River again, and where generally, in Spring-tides, it overflows into the main River; for which Reason the Land they chose to pitch their Town upon had obtained the Name of an Island. In this back River Ships and small Vessels may ride lashed to one another, and moored ashore, secure from all Wind and Weather. They gave the same Name to the Town as to the River, viz. *James-Town*. The whole Island thus inclosed contained about two thousand Acres of high Land, and many thousand of very good Marsh, and is extraordinary good Pasture as any in that Country. By means of the narrow Passage, this Place was of great Security to them from the Indian Enemy; and, to strengthen it the more, they built Castles and a Fort there. This was the first Plantation of the *English* that succeeded, and which has continued to this Day.

As to the Colony, the first Business they entered upon, after they landed, was, to open their Orders, where they found the following Gentlemen appointed of the Council, viz. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, of whom *Wingfield* was chosen President; but they thought fit to leave Capt. *Smith* out of the Council: For it seems the rest of the Gentlemen were so set against him, that they had confined him Prisoner ever since they left *England*, which *Purchas* insinuates was occasioned by their Envy at his superior Talents, and because the Company in *England* seemed to rely more upon his Skill and Experience than upon any of the rest; and it appears, that the Planters themselves were so convinced of his Abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their Council, but in a manner resign their Administration into his Hands, after they had, by their perpetual Jars and weak Management, almost ruined the Company's Affairs. After about five or six Weeks Stay before this their intended new Town, the Ships being dispatched, Capt. *Newport* departed with them for *England* about the Middle of *June*, leaving upwards of one hundred Men settled in the Form of Government already mentioned; but, when the Ships were gone, the same Feuds and Disorders broke out again with fresh Violence.

In the Midst of these Feuds, however, they fell to planting, sowing, building, and fortifying; but, above all, they carried on a very advantageous Trade with the Natives. They might nevertheless have made much greater Gains of it, and managed it more to the Satisfaction of the *Indians*, as well as to the great Ease and Security of themselves, if they had been under any Rule, or subject to any Method in Trade, and not at liberty to out-bid one another. By this they not only lessened their own Profit, but created Jealousies, and Disturbances among the *Indians*, by letting one have a better Bargain than another; for they being unaccustomed to barter, such of them as had been hardest dealt by in their Commodities thought themselves cheated and abused. Thence they conceived a Grudge against the *English* in general, and made it a national Quarrel, which seems to have been the original Cause of most of their subsequent Misfortunes from the *Indians*. These *Indians* proved much the same as they had been found to be in other Places, fair and friendly at first, but treacherous and deceitful in the sequel. However, it was chiefly by the help of their Provisions that the *English* subsisted till the Return of their Ships.

The next Year two Vessels were sent thither full freighted with Men and Provisions for the Supply of the Plantation: One of them arrived directly; but the other, being beat off to the *Caribbee Islands*, did not arrive till the former was sailed back for *England*. But what gave the greatest Interruption to their Trade was, an Object which drew their Eyes and Thoughts entirely not only from that, but even from taking the necessary Care for their Preservation, and for the Support of their Lives, which was this: They found, in a Neck of Land on the Back of *James-Town* Island, a fresh Stream of Water, springing from a small Bank, which washed down with a yellow sort of Dust of *Ising-glass*, which, being cleansed by the fresh streaming of the Water, lay shining at the Bottom, and stirred up in them an unreasonable Desire after Riches; for they, taking all to be Gold that glittered, ran into the utmost Distraction, neglecting both the necessary Defence of their Lives from the *Indians*, and the Support of their Bodies by securing Provisions, absolutely relying upon the Power of Gold, and thinking that, where this was plenty, nothing could be wanting. Nay, they began to be so infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, that they despised the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in comparison of their own inestimable Stream.

They soon, however, grew sensible of their Error, and found that, if this gilded Dirt had been really Gold, it could then have been of no Advantage; for, by their Negligence, they were reduced to an exceeding Scarcity of Provisions, and that little they had was lost by the burning of their Town, while all Hands were employed about this imaginary golden Treasure; so that they were obliged to live, for some time, upon the wild Fruits of the Earth, and upon Crabs and Muscles, and such like, not having a Day's Provision beforehand. By this Neglect, likewise, they, many of them, became a Prey to the Cruelty of the *Indians*, and the rest durst not venture abroad, and so were forced to be content with what they could get. In this miserable Condition they were, when the first of the two Ships arrived from *England* to their Assistance. They neither thought or spoke of any thing but Gold; and therefore they put into this Ship all the yellow Dirt they had gathered, and what Skins and Furs they had bartered for, and, filling her up with Cedar, sent her away. When the other Ship arrived, they stowed her likewise with this imaginary Gold Dust, and filled her up with Cedar and Clapboard.

But being at length persuaded that they might apply themselves to other Labours as profitable, as well as more necessary than collecting yellow Sand, which, supposing it valuable, would be always in their Power, if they took care to fortify themselves effectually, they began to bestir themselves for that Purpose, and, by the good Management and Direction of Capt. *Smith*, they made several Discoveries in *James-River*, and up *Chesapeake-Bay*; and, in the Year 1608, they first gathered *Indian* Corn of their own planting. While Capt. *Smith*

was out on his Expedition among the Savages, he was treacherously fallen upon by three hundred of the *Indians*, under the Command of one of their Kings, called *Pamunkee*, who put all his Men to Death, and taking him Prisoner, carried him to *Powhatan*, their chief King, who would have put him to Death, had he not been saved at the Intercession of *Powhatan's* Daughter, *Pacabunta*.

Being released he returned to *James-Town*, where Mr. *Ratcliff* resigning his Presidentship, he was unanimously desired to accept of that Office. While these Discoveries were making by Captain *Smith*, Matters run again into Confusion in *James-Town*; and several uneasy People, taking Advantage in his Absence, attempted to desert the Settlement and to run away with the small Vessel which was left to attend it; for Captain *Smith* was the only Man among them who could manage Discoveries with Success, or who could keep the Settlement in any Order. Nevertheless, amidst all these Inconveniencies which they brought upon themselves, the Plantation being increased to near five hundred Men, they made two other Settlements, one at *Nansamond* in *James-River*, above thirty Miles below *James-Town*; and the other at *Powhatan*, six Miles below the Falls of *James-River*; which last was bought of *Powhatan* for a certain Quantity of Copper, each Settlement consisting of one hundred and twenty Men; and soon after they made a fourth Settlement at *Kiguotan*, near the Mouth of *James-River*. Captain *Smith* observed that two thirds of the Adventurers came over with a View of having every thing provided to their Hands, without any Care or Labour of their own, and were subsisted by the Labours of the other Industrious third, until he compelled them all to take Share in the Work; and then he soon planted Ground enough to subsist the Colony in Plenty, and, by moderate Exercise and good Food, saw them not only restored to their Healths, but in a very flourishing Condition; and, as there was now no longer Necessity of procuring Food from the *Indians* by Violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together, and *Powhatan* suffered him to make several other Settlements in the Country.

When their Affairs were in this prosperous Situation there arrived six or seven Ships from *England*, with between three and four hundred Planters, and such ample Supplies of Ammunition and Provision, as would have enabled the Colony to have made an entire Conquest of *Virginia*, or, at least, to have procured what Terms they saw fit of the *Indians*, if they had been under any Command; but as things were managed, this Supply only brought the Colony into Confusion. Upon Report of which the Company in *England*, imagining the Divisions among the Council in *Virginia*, in whom the Government there was lodged, were the Occasion of most of the Mismanagements that had happened, procured a new Patent from King *James*, whereby they were empowered to appoint a Governor with a more ample Authority than they had by the preceeding Patent; and prevailed on the Lord *de la War* to accept of the Government of their new Colony; who thereupon made Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Captain *Newport*, his Deputies, until his Arrival; and these Gentlemen set sail for *England* with nine Ships and five hundred Men, in the Month of May 1609.

All the three Deputy-Governors, being embarked in one Ship, were unfortunately cast away on the Islands of *Bermudas*, being then uninhabited, but they and all the People escaped to the Shore; where, finding Plenty of Provisions, they took Possession of these Islands for the Crown of *England*, and from Sir *George Summers* they have been ever since called the *Summer Islands*. In the mean Time the rest of their Fleet arrived safe in the Bay of *Chesapeake*, with the Reinforcement above mentioned; where they found Captain *Smith* President; but both old and new Planters gave out they were not obliged to obey him, for there was another Commission granted which had superseded his, and they expected the Arrival of the Deputy-Governors every Day.

But notwithstanding these Jars, Captain *Smith* made a

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shift to keep them in some Order while he remained among them, for otherwise the Colony had been deserted over and over; but as this Gentleman was extremely active, and almost continually employed in some Service or other, he had the Misfortune to be blown up by Accident; which, though it did not cost him his Life, yet he was so wounded and maimed thereby, that it was found absolutely necessary for him to return to *England* with the Vessels that failed not long after; a thing, happy for himself, but extremely disadvantageous for the Settlement; since he was no sooner on Ship-board than every Man took upon him to do what seemed right in his own Eyes, which had desperate Consequences, so that those who had given him most Trouble while he was amongst them, deeply regretted the Loss of him; and yet this Sense of their own bad Behaviour did not at all incline them to Amendment, or to the setting up any other Person with such Powers as might enable him to do what Captain *Smith* had done.

On the contrary, they emptied their Magazines and lived in the greatest Profusion, till that brought on Want; and then they rambled without Order, and under no Command, through the Country; taking Provisions by Force from the Natives, who failed not to employ all their Cunning, of which they had enough, to destroy and cut them off; so that when the Deputy-Governors arrived, in two Sloops which they had built in *Bermudas*, they found them in a most deplorable Condition; War, Sickness, and Famine, having reduced them from upwards of four hundred, to fewer than fourscore, and these too uneasy and discontented. Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, took all the Pains they could to quiet these Uneasinesses, and to bring things once more into Order; but it was all in vain; and the People shewing their empty Warehouses, their ruined Settlements, and the Number of Sick amongst them, induced those Gentlemen to consent to their embarking for *England*, as the only Means of saving those who were left; which they accordingly did, to the great Joy, no doubt, of the *Indians*.

4. But just as they were sailing out of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, they met with their new Governor, who obliged them to return to *James-Town* to repair their Habitations and Forts there, and to dispose every thing for maintaining the Settlement. This worthy Governor was the Right Honourable *Thomas West*, Lord *de la War*, of an ancient, as well as noble, Family; in which Prudence seems to have been hereditary, as well as Title. He was endued with the Virtues most requisite for his Station, as Governor of an infant Colony; for, with great Mildness and Humanity, he had the warmest Courage and the greatest Firmness of Mind, and was equally capable of persuading by Words, animating by Example, and awing by the just Use of his Authority. He accepted of this Commission from the Company, with a View of putting an End to these Distractions, which had hitherto disappointed all their Expectations, and defeated all their Endeavours, and which they justly attributed to the Want of having there some Person in supreme Authority; who might be able to direct the Industrious, encourage the Deserving, and punish the Factious and Disobedient.

As soon therefore as these old, or rather new, Planters, were once on shore again, his Lordship, in a free and plain Discourse, set before them the Folly and Madness of their Proceedings, reproving them for their Divisions, Idleness, and ill Conduct, which had occasioned their Misfortunes; advising them to reform, or he should be compelled to draw the Sword of Justice, and cut off the Delinquents; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his own Sword in their Defence; and telling them for their Encouragement, that he had brought them such Plenty of Provisions, that they would be in no Danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themselves, in providing such things as the Country produced; then he proceeded to constitute a Council, consisting of Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant General; Sir *George Summers*, his Admiral; the honourable *George Percy*, one of his Captains; Sir *Ferdinand*

Wenman his Master of the Ordnance, and *Christopher Newport* his Admiral: These, and the rest of his Officers, having taken the Oaths to the Government, and entered on their several Employments; his next Care was, to furnish his People with Flesh, for notwithstanding there were not less than five or six hundred Hogs in the Plantation, when Capt. *Smith* went to *England*, there was not one left alive at this time; they had either been eat by the Colony, or destroyed by the *Indians*, who, to distress them, had driven all the Deer, and other Game, out of the Country; and the *English* were so ill provided with Nets, that though there was Plenty of Fish in the Rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The Company had sent over a Supply of Cloathing, Bisket, Flower, Beer, and other Liquors; but, taking it for granted, that they had Hogs, Venison, Fowl, and Fish enough in the Country, had made no Provision of Flesh; whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the Admiral, was dispatched to *Bermudas*, to bring over live Hogs from thence, for of those Sir *George* found Plenty in that Island when he was cast away there, though there were no People upon it. The Governor also set some to fishing within the Bay, and others without, where there were Shoals of Cod-fish; but their Nets and Tackle were so defective, that they could not catch any. Hereupon he endeavoured to settle a Correspondence with *Powhatan* and other *Indian* Princes, that he might purchase Flesh of them for *English* Goods; and in some of these Negotiations he succeeded, particularly with the King of *Patowmack*, one of the most potent of the *Indian* Princes; but notwithstanding he represented to *Powhatan* that he had already promised to acknowledge the King of *England* for his Sovereign, accepted of a Crown and Sceptre, and other Ensigns of Royalty from him; with Presents of great Value; this Prince would give him no other Answer, but, That he expected the *English* should depart his Country, or confine themselves within the Limits of *James-Town* Island, and not range through every Part of the Country, as they continued to do, only with a View of subduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to issue his Orders to cut them off and destroy them, if ever they were found without the Limits he prescribed them; and commanded the Messengers his Lordship sent to him, not to see his Face again unless they brought him a Coach and six Horses; for in these, he had been informed by some *Indians* who had been in *England*, their great Weroances were drawn.

The Lord *de la War* finding he was to expect no Friendship from *Powhatan*, determined he should fear him: Having taken an *Indian* Prisoner, therefore, he cut off his Right-hand, and sent him to his Master *Powhatan*, letting him know, that he would send all his Subjects in that manner, and burn all the Corn in his Country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all Acts of Hostility for the future; which had so good an Effect, that the Colony lived in Peace and Plenty for some time, every Day making fresh Discoveries, and forming new Alliances with some *Indian* Princes.

And thus the Company's Affairs being happily established again by the Conduct of Lord *de la War*, Sir *Thomas Gates* was sent to *England*, to give an Account of the State of the Colony; the Ships being freighted home with Cedar, black Walnut, and Iron Ore; which Returns appeared so inconsiderable, that the Company were in Suspence, whether they should not send for the Lord *de la War* and the Colony home. However, they first desired Sir *Thomas Gates*'s Opinion upon it; who told them that these were not the only Returns they were to expect; that if they would send over Men who understood how to make Pitch and Tar, and plant Hemp and Flax, they might furnish *England* with all manner of naval Stores; and that it would be very easy also to set up a Manufacture of Silk, the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees as well as Silk Grass; that the Soil was exceeding fruitful, producing Corn, Grass, Grapes, and other Fruits in abundance; that *European* Cattle and Corn multiplied prodigiously; and that there was great Plenty of Venison, Fish and Fowl, which they would never want when they could be provided with Boats, Nets, and Engines to take them. The Company

Company need then to be at very little Charge to support the Colony ; on the contrary, they would in a short time meet with Returns answerable to their Expectations. Whereupon the Patentees resolved to proceed with Alacrity to improve their *Virginia* Plantation, in which Resolution they were confirmed by the Lord *de la War*, who returned to *England* about this time (1610) for the Recovery of his Health.

He left behind him the honourable Mr. *Piercy*, as his Deputy ; and, while he resided in *England*, took as much Care of this Plantation as if it had been his paternal Estate ; and was no less solicitous about the Welfare of its Inhabitants than if they had been his nearest Relations : To say the Truth ; it was to the Wisdom and Foresight of this worthy Lord that this Nation owes the preserving so great and so beneficial an Acquisition ; as it was to his Courage and Steadiness they were indebted for the Plantation itself. In short, he spent the whole remainder of his Life, which was about eight Years, in the Service of the Company and the Colony, and actually died in his Voyage back to *Virginia* in 1618, with a great Supply of People, Cloathing, and Goods, for that Settlement, which, however, arrived safe. As I have now given an Account of the settling this Country, I have executed all that falls within the Compass of my Design ; but, as I apprehend that it may be both entertaining to the Reader, and better answer the Design of this *Collection*, I shall just run over a few of the principal Facts relating to the History of this Province, and then give a short Description of it as it stands at present ; in order to shew what Advantages have accrued to the Nation from an Establishment which it cost so much Labour and Pains to effect : And the same Method I shall take in regard to other Plantations, as most earnestly desiring to render this Work as agreeable, as useful, and as perfect, as it is in my Power to make it.

While Lord *de la War* was in *England* the Colony was governed by his Deputies, who, applying themselves to bring about a peaceable Correspondence with the Natives, advanced it at last so far, that several Intermarriages took Place, and amongst these the *Indian* Princess *Pacabunta* espoused Mr. *John Rolfe*, an *English* Gentleman, whose Posterity enjoy, at this Day, the Lands descended to them from this Lady. In the Year 1616 one Captain *Yardly* was at the Head of Affairs ; and the Reason I take notice particularly of his Administration is, because under it they first began to cultivate Tobacco, which is since become the Staple Commodity of the Colony. He was succeeded by Capt. *Argoll*, afterwards Sir *Samuel Argoll* ; who was a Man of a military Turn, whom we shall have Occasion to mention frequently hereafter : He repaired the Forts that had run to ruin, and put the Colony into such a State of Defence, that there was no great Danger of any Attempts that could be made against them by the *Indians*.

After the Death of Lord *de la War*, Capt. *Yardly*, who was likewise in *England*, and who, being knighted by King *James*, had the Title of Sir *George Yardly*, was sent over with the Title of Governor ; and a very good Governor he proved, for to him the People owed their being made as free as their Countrymen in this Island, since he augmented the Number of the Council, and allowed the Planters to send their Representatives to the Assembly, the first of which sat at *James-Town*, in May 1620. In his Time Negroes were first brought into *Virginia*, the Lands divided, Salt-works erected at Cape *Charles*, and an Iron Mine wrought with good Effect. He was succeeded, in 1621, by Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Gentleman of a very good Disposition, who endeavoured all he could to promote the Welfare of the Colony, yet in his Time it was that this Settlement ran a very great Hazard of being totally destroyed ; for the *Indians*, who had lived amongst them now for seven or eight Years with great Freedom and Familiarity, formed a Design of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their War-Captains being killed, though he had committed Murder and Robbery, and died in defending himself from falling into the Hands of Justice. The Method they took to revenge this was, by a general Massacre, which they fixed for Friday, the 22d of March, 1622, and, in all probability, it had effectually

answered their End if it had not been discovered by a converted *Indian*, the very Day on which it was to have taken place ; so that the advanced Plantations could not receive Intelligence time enough, which gave the Natives an Opportunity of cutting off three hundred and thirty-four Persons. The *English* revenged this in a manner very unbecoming them, since, pretending to be reconciled to the *Indians*, and thereby gaining their Confidence, they massacred likewise in their Turn, and pursued their first Blow so effectually as to drive most of these poor People to seek for new Habitations.

But it was not long before the *English* gave them an Opportunity of satisfying that Vice which is deepest rooted in their Nation, I mean Revenge ; for dividing amongst themselves, and falling into Factions and Parties ; and, at the same Time, running out new Settlements ; the *Indians* fell upon them again, and cut them off in great Numbers. As this Misfortune was chiefly owing to the imprudent Grants made in *England* ; it occasioned loud Complaints ; and the fatal Consequences of the Company's Mal-Administration cried so loud, that King *Charles* I. coming to the Crown of *England*, expressed a tender Concern for the poor People that had been betrayed thither, and lost ; upon which Consideration he dissolved the Company in the Year 1626, reducing the Country and Government under his own immediate Direction, appointing the Governor and Council himself, and ordering all Patents and Process to issue in his own Name, reserving to himself a Quit-Rent of Two Shillings for every hundred Acres of Land, and so *pro rata*. The Country being thus taken into the King's Hands, his Majesty was pleased to re-establish the Constitution by a Governor, Council, and Assembly, and to confirm the former Methods and Jurisdictions of several Courts, as they had been appointed in the Year 1620, and placed the last Resort in the Assembly ; he likewise confirmed the Rules and Orders made by the first Assembly, for apportioning of Land, and granting Patents to particular Adventurers.

This was a Constitution according to their Hearts Desire, and things seemed now to go on in a happy Course, for Encouragement of the Colony ; People flocked thither apace, every one took up Land, by Patent, to his liking ; and, not minding any thing but to be Masters of great Tracts of Land, they settled themselves separately on their several Plantations. Nor did they fear the *Indians*, but kept them at a greater Distance than formerly ; and they, for their Parts, seeing the *English* so sensibly increase in Number, were glad to keep their Distance, and be peaceable. This Liberty of taking up Land, and the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vast, though unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping, at every Man's Door, has made the Country fall into such an unhappy Settlement and Course of Trade ; that, to this Day, they have not any one Place of Cohabitation amongst them that may reasonably bear the Name of a Town. The next Governor after the settling of this new Constitution, was Sir *John Harvey*, who proved of a Spirit very improper for such an Employment, since he began early to differ with his Council ; and soon after oppressed the People to such a Degree, that they were resolved to be rid of him, at all Events ; and accordingly in 1639 they seized him, and sent him Home Prisoner, with a long Charge against him, accompanied by two of the Council, appointed to manage the Prosecution against him. But as soon as he came to *London*, the King, who highly resented this Outrage on his Prerogative, sent Sir *John* back again, with the same Authority as before ; but the very next Year removed that oppressive Governor, and appointed Sir *William Berkley* to succeed him.

This Gentleman held the Government longer than all his Predecessors put together, and deserved it ; he was, in all Respects, an excellent Governor ; so careful of the Colony, and so kind to the People, that he preserved Loyalty in *Virginia* long after it was lost at Home ; nor did he submit to the Rump, till he was forced to it ; and then withdrew to his own Plantation, where he lived as a private

private Person, and would have no Concern in public Affairs at all; but he was still respected by the Inhabitants for the great Things he had performed. He had pursued the War with the *Indians* till he had reduced them so low as to be no longer troublesome, after having made their Emperor Prisoner; he encouraged the making of Pot-Ashes, Soap, Salt; Planting of Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and the Manufacture of Silk, which he brought to great Perfection. After he retired from the Government there were three Persons sent from *England*, who ruled one after another seven Years; the first of them was Colonel *Diggs*, who acted under the Parliament's Authority; then Mr. *Bennet* was sent over by *Oliver*; and afterwards one Mr. *Matthews*, who died Governor; and, upon this Accident, the People of *Virginia* desired Sir *William Berkley* to resume the Administration of Affairs. He had a Commission from King *Charles II.* then in exile; but he absolutely refused to act, unless the People would acknowledge his Master, to which they very readily consented, which will appear the less surprising, when it is considered, that Abundance of Gentlemen, who had been ruined in the Support of the Royal Cause, had retired into this Colony from *England*.

In Consequence therefore, of this Resolution, King *Charles II.* was proclaimed in *Virginia*, before he was acknowledged in any of his three Kingdoms; but it happened very luckily for Sir *William* that his Master was soon after restored; and as a Mark of his Affection for the Province, he wore at his Coronation a Robe of Silk, sent from *Virginia*. Soon after Sir *William* went over to compliment the King upon his return, and left Colonel *Francis Morrison*, his Deputy; who behaved, in his Absence, to the general Satisfaction of the Plantation. He ordered the Laws to be revised and collected into a Body, to be laid before the Assembly, at their next Session. He took the same Care of the Church as he did of the State; he regulated the Parishes, settled the Minister's Allowance, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Laws for the Encouragement of the Linnen and Woollen Manufactures, the breeding of Silk-Worms, Tanning, and Salt-Works.

Whilst the Deputy-Governor was so busy for the Service of the Colony, Sir *William Berkley* was in *England*, taking his Instructions from the King for his future Conduct. His Majesty ordered him to promote Husbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships trading to *Virginia* should go to *James-Town*, and be entered at the Custom-House there before they broke Bulk; which Orders were given, with an Intent, that by them the People might be tempted to come thither, and dwell there for the Conveniency of Trade; and had they been obeyed it might have increased the Number of Buildings in that City, which is now much less than it was fourscore Years ago; every body coveting to live at his Plantation, and settle where he thinks he shall have the best Crops and Conveniency of Shipping. This is the Reason that there are so few Towns in *Virginia*, and those that are there so very small. Sir *William*, being fully instructed by the King how to proceed on his return to his Government, set sail from *England* to *Virginia*, where he arrived in the Year 1662, and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He summoned an Assembly, and got an Act passed for building *James-Town*; each County was to build so many Houses, and some actually built their Quota; which, notwithstanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-Houses, and the Town was very little the bigger for them. Sir *William Berkley*, at his return, gave a Sanction to the new Body of Laws, and took all the Care he could to carry them into Execution, which was all that he could do, or that indeed could be expected from him. And, as we are now come down in the History of this Colony as low as this Period will permit, we are next to give a succinct Account of the Nature and Condition of this Plantation, that it may appear how well it deserves the Pains that have been taken about it, and how amply it rewards this Nation for all the Care and Expence bestowed in planting of it, which will

also acquit us of all the Promises made to the Reader upon this Subject.

5. The Situation of *Virginia* is remarkably happy and convenient, having the River *Potowmac* upon the North-east, the *Atlantic Ocean* on the East, the Province of *Carolina* on the South, and the *Apalachian Mountains* on the West, which separate it from *Florida*. It lies from 36 to 39° North Latitude, and between 74 and 80° of Western Longitude, it extends about 240 Miles in length from North to South, and may be in breadth 120 Miles from East to West. As to the Air of this Country it depends very much on the Winds. The North and North-west are either very sharp and piercing, or boisterous and stormy, the South-east and South being hazy and sultry. The Winter is dry and clear, which makes it very pleasant, Snow falls in great Quantities, but it seldom lies above a Day or two, and their Frosts though quick and sharp, yet seldom last long. Their Spring is somewhat earlier than ours; in *April* they have frequent Rains; *May* and *June* are very pleasant Months, the Heat being greatly tempered by cooling Breezes; *July* and *August* are sultry hot, the Air growing in a Manner stagnant, which produces dreadful Thunderings and Lightning; in *September* the Weather breaks, and there fall prodigious Showers of Rain, at which Season it is that the Inhabitants are most sickly. It ought, however, to be observed, that in this, and indeed in all our Colonies, the Climate grows daily better, and these Thunder Seasons less violent, which the Inhabitants very justly ascribe to the clearing the Country, and cutting down the Woods, which gives the Air a free Passage, and is attended with many other Conveniencies.

As to the Soil it is generally low towards the Sea Coasts, and for one hundred Miles up into the Country there is hardly a Hill or Stone to be met with, except that here and there some Rocks of Iron Ore appear above the Ground, and some Banks of a kind of petrified Oyster-shells, that are of a prodigious Thickness; the whole Country before it was planted was either Forest or Morass, which in the *West Indies* they call Swamps. The Bay of *Chesapeake* runs directly up the Country, almost due North, for three hundred Miles; at the Entrance it is esteemed about twenty-one Miles broad, or something more; and it continues navigable as long as it washes the Coast of *Virginia*, and much farther; into the West-side of this Bay fall four great Rivers, which rise in the *Apalachian Mountains*, all of them running from the North-west to the South-east: The most Southerly of these is *James-River*, the *Indian* Name whereof was *Powhatan*, being generally about two Miles over, and navigable, at least, fourscore Miles. *York-River*, whose *Indian* Name was *Pamaunkee*, is a little to the Northward of *James-River*, and in some Places they approach one another so near, that they are not five Miles asunder. To the Northward of *York-River* is the River *Rapahanack*, which in some Places is not ten Miles distant from *York-River*, and either of them as broad or broader than *James-River*. North of *Rapahanack* is the great River of *Patowmack*, which in some Places is not above seven Miles distant from *Rapahanack-River*, and in other Places upwards of fifty. This River of *Patowmack* is navigable above two hundred Miles, being nine Miles broad in some Places, but generally about seven. The Mouth of the River *Patowmack*, and that of *James-River*, are about one hundred Miles asunder; but the Heads of all the four Rivers rise in the same Hills, pretty near each other. There are great Plenty of Springs in all Parts of the Country, but the Water is somewhat harsher than in *England*.

As to Animals, there were neither Horses, Cows, Sheep, or Swine; before the coming of the *English*, but they have now plenty of them all; and their Horses are very serviceable, and travel at a great Rate. They have likewise Elks, but not common, Red-Deer in great Plenty; Hares, Squirrels of several Kinds, Musk-Rats, Rackoons, wild Cats, Beavers, Wolves, Foxes, and several Sorts of Dogs. As for Reptiles, they have Lizards, several kinds of Snakes, particularly the Rattle-Snake, of which an Account will

be given hereafter. As to Birds, they have Eagles of three Sorts: The first is the grey Eagle about the Size of a Kite; the second the bald Eagle, so called because the upper Part of the Neck and Head is covered with a Sort of white Down; the third a black Eagle, resembling those in *England*, very ravenous, and which do a great deal of Mischief; most Sorts of Hawks, two kind of Owls, both very large; and the white Owl very beautiful, all the Feathers of her Back and Breast being bright as Silver, except a black Spot immediately below the Throat. They have a large Bird of Prey, which they call a Bustard, but it is rather a kind of Kite; they have wild Turkeys very large, some of them weighing forty Pounds; their Partridges are smaller than ours, but to the full as well tasted; they have a Bird called the Mocking-Bird, of two Sorts, grey and red, esteemed the finest singing Bird in the World; it receives its Name from imitating the Notes of all other kind of Birds it hears: The humming Bird with a long Bill and very fine Feathers. As to Water-Fowl they have of all Sorts, such as Hens, Bitterns, Curlews, Wild Swans, Geese, Ducks, Teal, Wigeons, Cormorants, and Gulls.

As for Fish, no Country in the World has greater Plenty: In *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May*, there are Shoals of Herrings come up into their very Brooks, some of the Size of ours, but for the most Part much bigger. There are also plenty of Cod-fish and Sting-grass; which last is said to be peculiar in this Country, being so called from having a Sting in its Tail; it is esteemed good Food. In their Rivers there are the old Wife, the Sheep's-head, an excellent Fish; Trouts, Green-fish, Sturgeons in great Plenty; Plaice, Flounders, Whittings, Carp, Pikes, Mulletts, and Perch. And for Shell-fish, they have Oysters, Crabs, Cockles, and Shrimps. Of those that are not eaten, they have in their Seas Whale, Dog-fish, Sharks, Porpusses, Gar-fish, and Sword-fish: There is also a Fish they call the Toad-fish, from his swelling monstrously when taken out of the Water; and the Rock-fish, some Species whereof are poisonous, and have been fatal to those that have eaten them; though others, which are not easy to be distinguished from the former, are very wholesome Food; the Skip-jack, so called from his skipping out of the Water, is tolerable good Food; and so is the Tobacco-pipe-fish, so called from its being long and slender, like a Tobacco-pipe. They have many Insects, such as Musketoos, Buggs, Seed-ticks, Red-worms, which lie only on old Trees and rotten Logs; on which, if a Man sits down in the Midst of Summer, he is sure to catch them, but they are easily got off with warm Water. We may add to these the Worm that eats Plank, which has a kind of Horn or Screw in its Head, with which it forces a Passage through any Wood to which it sticks; and as we have heard much of these Worms, and perhaps not a little concerning them that is wide of the Truth; it may not be amiss to give an Account of them, from a Gentleman who resided long in *Virginia*, and made very exact Observations. In the Month of *June*, annually, there rise up in the Salts vast Beds of Seedling Worms, which enter the Ships, Sloops, or Boats, wherever they find the Coat of Pitch, Tar, or Lime worn off the Timber, and by degrees eat the Plank into Cells, like those of an Honeycomb. These Worms continue thus upon the Surface of the Water, from their Rise in *June*, until the first great Rains after the Middle of *July*; but after that do no fresh Damage till the next Summer Season, and never penetrate farther than the Plank or Timber they first fix upon.

The Damage occasioned by these Worms may be four several Ways avoided; 1st, By keeping the Coat (of Pitch, Lime, and Tallow, or what ever else it is) whole upon the Bottom of the Ship, or Vessel; for these Worms never fasten or enter but where the Timber is naked. 2dly, By anchoring the large Vessels in the Strength of the Tide, during the worm Season, and haling the smaller ashore; for in the Current of a strong Tide the Worms cannot fasten. 3dly, By burning and cleaning immediately after the Worm Season is over, for then they are but just stuck into the Plank, and have not buried themselves in it; so that the least Fire in the World destroys them entirely,

and prevents all Damage that would otherwise ensue from them. 4thly, By running up into the Freshes with a Ship or Vessel, during the five or six Weeks that the Worm is thus above Water; for they never enter, or do any Damage in fresh Water, or where it is not very salt.

We come now to speak of what is produced by their Soil. And first with respect to Trees; of which, we may affirm, few Countries are better stocked, or afford greater Variety. As to Timber, they have Oaks, Cedars, Firs, Cypress, Elm, Ash, and Wallnut; some of their Oaks measure two Feet square and sixty Feet in height. They have also Beach, Poplar, Hazel, &c. besides Sassafras, Sarsaparilla, and many other sweet Woods, and such as are used in Dying. Their Fruits are, Grapes of several Kinds, Cherries of various Sorts, Plumbs from the Bigness of a Damson to that of a Pear; Peaches in such Plenty that in some Places they feed their Hogs with them; Quinces in abundance, and Apples and Pears in as great Plenty as can be wished. Their Corn is of two Sorts, *English* Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, which all thrive very well, and yield from fifteen to thirty fold Increase; and Maize, or *Indian* Corn, which is not unlike our Pease in Taste, but grows in a great Ear or Head as big as the Handle of a large Horse-whip, having from three hundred to seven hundred Grains in one Ear, and sometimes one Grain produces two or three such Ears or Heads; it is of various Colours, Red, White, Yellow, Blue, Green and Black, and some speckled and striped, but the White, and Yellow, are most common; the Stalk is as thick as an ordinary walking Cane, and grows six or eight Feet high, in Joints, having a sweet Juice in it of which a Syrrup is sometimes made, and from every Joint there grow long Leaves in the Shape of Sedge Leaves: The manner of Planting is in Holes or Trenches, about five or six Feet Distance from each other; the Earth is opened with a Hoe (and of late Years, with a Plough), four Inches deep, and four or five Grains thrown into each Hole, or Trench, about a Span distant from each other, and then covered with Earth: They keep it weeding from time to time, and as the Stalk grows high they keep the Mould about it like the Hillocks in a Hop-Garden: They begin to plant in *April*, but the chief Plantation is in *May*, and they continue to plant till the Middle of *June*: What is planted in *April* is reaped in *August*; what is planted in *May* is reaped in *September*; and the last in *October*.

But as the great Produce of this Country is Tobacco, and as that of *Virginia* is looked upon as the best in the World, it is but just that we should give a more particular Account of it. It is certain that the Country produced vast Quantities of it before any *Europeans* went thither, and that the Use of it was taught them by the Natives; but in what manner they cultivated it, or how they cured it, is now no longer known, since at present they buy what they consume from the *English*, and therefore it is of their manner of Managing this Plant, that we shall speak. The Tobacco Seeds are first sown in Beds, where having remained a Month, the Plants are transplanted into the little Hillocks, like those in our Hop-gardens, the first rainy Weather; and being grown a Foot high there, within the Space of another Month they top them, and prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed; and these Leaves, in six Weeks time, will be in their full Growth; the Planters prune off the Suckers, and clean them of the Horn-worm twice a Week, which is called *Worming* and *Suckering*; and this Work lasts three Weeks or a Month, by which time the Leaf from Green begins to turn brownish, and to spot and thicken; which is a Sign of its ripening: As fast as the Plants ripen, they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and sweat a Night, and the next Day they carry them to the Tobacco-house, where every Plant is hung up at a convenient Distance one from another, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which Time they strike, or take them down, in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else it will crumble to Dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and covered up close in the Tobacco-house for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat,

sweat; and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants strip and sort them, the top-leaves being the best and the bottom the worst Tobacco; the last Work is to pack it in Hogheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet Season; for in curing of Tobacco, wet Seasons are as necessary as dry to make the Leaf pliant.

Yet Tobacco is very far from being the only Thing of Value which this Country produces; on the contrary, they have Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and Silk they might have if they were not so extremely addicted to their staple Commodity, as never to think of any thing else, if Tobacco can be brought to a tolerable Market. They have likewise Silk-grass, of which they make very little Advantage, though, no doubt, under proper Management, most profitable Manufactures might be raised from it, since its Threads are finer than those of Flax, and stronger than Hemp. We may add to this, that all kind of naval Stores might be produced in *Virginia* with great Ease, and in vast Plenty: Such as Plank-Timber, Masts, Yards, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, and Turpentine, besides Sails, Cordage, and Iron. It is commonly said, and there are some who have lived in *Virginia* ready enough to affirm it, that there is hardly a Stone to be found in the Country; but, however, this is far enough from being true; for at the Water-falls there are Stones enough of different kinds fit for paving, and other Uses; and towards the Hills there are Quarries of Slate, and of a kind of Freestone; there are likewise a Sort of shining Pebbles, not at all inferior to Kerry-stones and though generally speaking they are soft, yet I have heard that when long exposed to the Air, they become very hard, and if polished are extremely beautiful. As to Mines, they have several of good Iron in almost all Parts of the Country, more especially in the Northern Neck, which belongs to Lord *Fairfax*. There was once a Lead Mine discovered, but lost in the first Massacre; there has been likewise a Talk of Silver and Gold Mines; but it is certain, that they have a great many Coals, Antimony, and other Things of Value, in the Bowels of that Country, which they would not fail to search out if Tobacco alone did not supply them plentifully.

Thus far we have described the Country itself: Let us next enquire into its Condition as a Colony; and in this Light we find it divided into twenty-five Counties, some say, twenty-nine; of these the first is *James County*, lying on both Sides *James River*, which contains five Parishes and the only Two Towns that are in *Virginia*. The first is *James Town*, on the North side of the River, and about forty Miles from the Mouth of it; it is very far from being considerable, as it does not contain above sixty or eighty Houses at most, and of these, as we observed before, the greater Part are Taverns or public Houses, for the Entertainment of seafaring People, the Gentlemen of *Virginia* making it their Choice to live on their Plantations, in order to see how their Estates are managed; and in these Seats of theirs they live so handsomely, and so hospitably, that how much soever Strangers may disapprove their Method before they come into the Country, they are quickly reconciled to it afterwards. The second is *Williamsburgh*, to which the Seat of Government is now transferred, and yet it does not consist of above forty Houses. The rest of the Counties are denominated as follows: *Henrico County*, *Prince George*, *Charles County*, *Surry*, *Isle of White*, *Nansamond*, *Norfolk*, *Princess Anne*, *York County*, *Warwick*, *Elizabeth*, *New Kent*, *King William*, *King and Queen*, *Gloucester*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, *Richmond*, *Stafford*, *Westmoreland*, and *Lancaster*, *Northumberland*, *Acomack*, and *Northampton*.

The Number of People in these Counties, taken all together, Men, Women, Children, and Negroes, may amount to about half a Million; of these, one hundred and twenty thousand are Freemen, or their Wives and Children, and above twenty thousand are capable of bearing Arms. As for the *Indians*, there are still many Nations of them; but some of them so small, that they do not exceed four or five Families; and it is thought, that amongst them all, they could scarce raise seven hundred, some think, not five hundred fighting Men. As to the Government, it resembles that of *England*; for the legislative Autho-

rity is lodged in the Governor, or Council and Assembly: The Governor represents the King; gives his Assent to Laws, and has a negative Voice. As Governor, he is at the Head of the Civil Administration, and being by his Commission a Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, the Military and Naval Power are likewise in his Hands. In other Respects, the Government is very well regulated, and the Church also is well taken care of; neither has any Plantation belonging to us been under better Management, or the People more happy than those of *Virginia*; and this appears very plainly from the Face of the Country, though there are no great Towns in it, and but very few Villages; for the Gentlemens Seats are very thick, all of them good convenient Houses, many of them large and magnificent. The Roads are no where better, the Country being, for the most part, level, and scarce any rugged or deep Ways; so that it is a common thing to travel forty or fifty Miles in an Afternoon, and sometimes an hundred in a Summer's Day. They have likewise as great Conveniencies with respect to Water-carriage as any Country in the World; and it is this that has chiefly hindered them from living in great Towns, which, though prejudicial to the Manufactures, has certainly proved very advantageous to their Plantations, which are larger, more frequent, and better secured, than in almost any other Colony; and as it has flourished extremely hitherto, so at this time it is as thriving a Colony, and as likely to continue so, as any that belong to this Nation.

The last Thing we propose is, to give the Reader some Idea of the Advantages that arise to the Nation from this particular Plantation, which I must confess is a very difficult thing to do; but, however, I shall labour to give as much Satisfaction as I can, and if I should be so fortunate as to meet with any farther Informations, Care shall be taken that the Public shall not lose the Benefit of them, since they will come in properly enough in the latter Part of the Work. In the first Place it must be observed, that as the Value of Labour differs in several Parts of this Kingdom, so the Labour of a Man in most of the Plantations is not only as advantageous to his native Country as if he worked at home, but much more so: I believe, upon a moderate Computation, we may reckon, that such a Person contributes to the public Stock, by which I mean, the Income and Wealth of the *British* Nation, four times as much: So that we may with Reason reckon, that the White People in *Virginia*, one with another, produce twelve Pounds to this Nation; the Reason of which will appear, when we consider the Nature of their Commerce more particularly. But besides this, the Negroes are of great Advantage to this Kingdom, though of infinitely less than White People would be, if they were employed in the same Work; for every one of these poor Creatures consume yearly two Hilling-hoes, two Weeding-hoes, two Grubbing-hoes, besides Axes, Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and other Iron Tools and Materials. On the Whole, there can be no sort of Question, because it appears a plain Matter of Fact, that these People necessarily take off the Sum of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, in the Commodities of this Country. How far it might have been more expedient for the Infant-Colony to have intermarried with the *Indians*, and thereby so increased their Numbers as to have been in a Condition to manage their Affairs without Slaves at all, I will not take upon me to determine; but this seems so clear as to admit of no Dispute, that such a Settlement would have been by far more beneficial to the Mother-Country, and out of Comparison more commodious and secure for the Planters themselves. But I mention this only incidently, and that it may pass the Consideration of Persons better versed in these Things than I pretend to be; and, from just hinting how Things might be, return to the Detail of how they really are.

I have before stated (agreeable to what able Authors have asserted upon this Subject) some general Principles of Computation, such as that every Head in this Plantation may be reckoned worth twelve Pounds a Year to this Nation, which must seem prodigious, and indeed so does every thing grounded on Calculation, to such as have not applied themselves thereto; and so they always will

will unless clearly explained, which is what I shall next attempt, as desiring to inculcate useful Truths, capable of influencing Men's Practice, and not to write paradoxical Discourses for my own, and other Peoples Amusement. In order to untie these Knots, we must consider that the People in *Virginia* live exactly as we do, or rather more freely, in that generous, open, hospitable, and consequently expensive Method, that prevailed here in the last Age. But as they are supplied both with Necessaries and Conveniences, with the Instruments of Labour, as well as the Means of Luxury, from *England*; it follows of Course that they must employ an infinite Number of Hands to provide these. For it is generally known that these Demands must be supplied from those Handicrafts and Mechanics that have most Hands in their Service; such as Weavers, Shoemakers, Hatters, Ironmongers, Turners, Joiners, Taylors, Cutlers, Smiths, Bakers, Brewers, Ropemakers, Hosiers, and indeed all the Mechanics in *England*; their Manufactures being good Merchandize in *Virginia*. The Commodities sent thither, besides Linnen, Silks, *India* Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manufactures, are Cloth, coarse and fine Serges, Stuffs, Bays, Hats, and all Sorts of Haberdashers Ware; Hoes, Bills, Axes, Nails, Adzes, and other Iron Ware; Cloaths ready made; Knives, Bisket, Flower, Stockings, Shoes, Caps for Servants, and, in short, every thing that is made in *England*.

But if they employ these People they must feed them likewise, and pay them their Wages; and not only them, but those who take the Pains to go between the Planters and these Workmen; by which I mean the Agents, Merchants, or Factors; who, though fewer in Number, yet have their Servants and Dependents; who, from the Nature of their Employments, expect to be paid at a better rate. Neither is this all, for when things are made and brought to the Factor, they are never the nearer to the Planter in *Virginia*, but must be put into the Hands of a new set of People, who are to be paid for the Carriage of them; so that now I think the most common Capacity may understand how the Labour of every Head in any Plantation must be worth four times as much to the Community of his Mother Country, as if he wrought at home; for if he spends so much, and pays for what he has, both of which are undeniable, his Labour must produce so much. This shews the Benefit of Plantations to their Mother Country; and I hope there is no need to say that this shews how much Regard and Respect is due from those who manage the Affairs of the Mother Country, to those who live and labour for her in the Plantations. But because it is not impossible we may err a little in the Measure of these Computations, and as I am far from desiring to magnify these Advantages beyond the Truth, I shall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white Person in *Virginia*, one with another, is worth to this Nation ten Pounds, which will make the Value of the whole Plantation equal to an Annuity of 1,200,000 *l.* to *Great Britain*.

This I think is already, in a great Measure, demonstrated; but as I am very sensible that many People will still think full Satisfaction is not given upon this Head, if they are not shewn how this, or at least the greatest Part of it, is received; that we may not do things by halves, my next Care shall be to remove this Difficulty likewise. In order to this, we must consider that the Trade of this Colony, as well as that of *Maryland*, consists almost entirely of Tobacco; for though the Country would produce several excellent Commodities fit for Trade, yet the Planters are so wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all Thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to such Perfection, that the *Virginia* Tobacco, especially the sweet-scented which grows on *York River*, is reckoned the best in the World, and is what is generally vended in *England* for a home Consumption; the other Sorts, called *Oronoac*, and that of *Maryland*, are hotter in the Mouth, but they turn to as good Account, being in demand in *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Germany*; it is therefore from this Commodity that we

are to look for the best Part of that vast Sum which we have mentioned; and if we proceed diligently, and with Attention, I dare say we shall not search in vain.

In Time of Peace, I am persuaded from several different Calculations, and from the Comparison of the Informations I have sought and received from such as are, or ought to be, best acquainted with these Matters, that there is very little less than one hundred thousand Hogsheads of Tobacco exported every Year from this Colony; that between three and four hundred Ships are employed in this Trade; and upwards of four thousand Seamen. If we take things upon this Foot, then the hundred thousand Hogsheads of Tobacco will produce about the Sum at which I have fixed the Produce of this Colony to the Nation; but it may be said, that if we take Tobacco for the Commodities and Manufactures that we send to *Virginia*, it differs very widely from an Annuity; and that instead of receiving 1,200,000 *l.* from the Persons inhabiting this Plantation, we return them the most valuable things we have, to 60,000,000 of Pounds of Tobacco, which in itself is no Necessary of Life, and which we might very well do without: Thus we are all at Sea again, and it is my Business to set us once more ashore; and if I am able to clear up this last Mist, I hope there will, for ever after, be fair Weather for the Plantations.

In answer therefore to this Objection, which seems to destroy all, and to demolish entirely that Structure which I have been erecting, I say, that strictly considered, it makes more in favour of the Colony of *Virginia*, than all that I have been saying for it; and this I shall be able to make as plain as any thing can be made, in a very few Words. It is, I think, generally agreed, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* first brought Tobacco into *England*, or rather, as I apprehend, had it brought over to him from this Colony; and we find the Use of it much recommended by the learned and worthy Mr. *Hariott*, whom he sent over thither. But we must not infer from thence that *Virginia* Tobacco was always used here, since the contrary is very certain; for, as the Reader has been told, it was Sir *George Yardly* who introduced the planting and cultivating Tobacco in that Country by the *Europeans*, in the Reign of King *James I.*

Yet before this Time the Practice of taking Tobacco was become so common in *England*, that King *James* wrote a Book against it. I do not concern myself in the Controversy, whether he was right or wrong in his Opposition to this Practice; but I mention it to shew that it was become common, and that the Fashion of using it was growing strong. We had most of our Tobacco then from *Brazil*, and some from the *Spanish* Plantations; the Price of it was from four to seventeen Shillings a Pound, and if we had come to use as much of it as we do of the *Virginia* Tobacco, and had paid for it at the rate only of five Shillings, this single Article of Luxury would have stood us in upwards of seven Millions every Year. I very readily allow that this would be a very absurd and improbable Supposition, since it cannot be imagined that in such a Case, the common Sort of People either could or would have smoked Tobacco; but then let us consider what a Number of People there are to whom the Dearness of this Commodity would have proved no Restraint; and let us suppose that we should, in this Respect, have been no wiser than our Neighbours, which I look upon to be a very modest and rational Supposition, we might then, instead of forty thousand Hogsheads, have consumed ten or twelve thousand, which would have amounted to a Million or upwards, and consequently so much ready Money is hindered from going out of the Nation by the bringing in of *Virginia* Tobacco, which, viewed in this Light, is equivalent to the importing of so much Silver.

But to proceed, besides the Money saved to the Nation by the Use of this Tobacco, we export one way or other sixty thousand Hogsheads, which, at five Pound per Hogshead, amounts to 300000 *l.* exclusive of the Duty of this Tobacco, which is not drawn back. I might have taken another Method of Reasoning upon this Subject, by shewing that whatever Exchange of Commodities contributes to the Maintenance and Employment of a certain

a certain Number of People, is not only equal to, but is really much better than an Annuity, that would maintain the same Number of People in the same Way, had I not been inclined to render this Matter as evident as it is possible. After this I shall make but two short Observations, and so quit this Part of my Subject.

The first is, that in Case what we receive from *Virginia* in Tobacco should fall short of the Sum I have computed we derive from thence, this Deficiency is certainly made up some other Way; or, in other Words, the *Virginians* send us other Commodities, or pay us with the Balance of their Trade with other Places. The second Observation is, that there is not the least Danger of seeing this Country over-peopled, and thereby sinking the Value of Tobacco, because there are a multitude of things to which the People may turn their Hands; several of which have been enumerated already, and therefore I shall only observe that in the Articles of Silk and Iron, the Inhabitants of this Colony might save us 300000 *l.* a Year, and bring us in very near the same Sum from other Nations. But it is now Time to quit this agreeable Topic, which however is a very hard Task, for one who has any Tincture of public Spirit, in order to proceed with the proper Business of this Section.

6. In what we have delivered concerning *Virginia*, we have pursued the History only of the first Company established by King *James's* Patent, called also the *London* or *South Virginia* Company; but we are next to account for the Conduct of the other Adventurers, or the *Western* or *Plymouth* Company, as they are styled by the Writers of those Times, who contented themselves for some Years with trading with the Natives of *North Virginia* for Furs, and fishing upon that Coast. Two Ships being employed in this Fishery in the Year 1614, commanded by the famous Captain *John Smith*, and Captain *Thomas Hunt*: Captain *Smith* went on Shore, and took a particular View of the Country of the *Massachusetts*, and had some Skirmishes with the Natives; after which he returned to *England*, ordering *Hunt* to sail with the other Ship to *Spain*, and dispose of the Fish he had taken there; but *Hunt*, proposing to make a Market of the Natives themselves as well as of their Fish, after Captain *Smith* was gone, enticed twenty-seven Men of the *Indians* on board his Ship, and then setting sail with them to *Malaga*, sold them there to the *Spaniards* for Slaves, at the rate of twenty Pounds a Man, among whom was an *Indian* called *Squanto*, afterwards very serviceable to the *English*.

This Outrage was so resented by the *Indians* for the present, that all Commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the first Time the Natives had been thus violently carried away by the *English*; for Captain *Harlow*, in the Year 1611, surprized one *Epenow*, and two more of his Countrymen, and brought them to *England*; where *Epenow* learned *English* enough to impose upon his Masters; and understanding that the Hopes of acquiring Mountains of Gold was the principal Inducement the *English* had to visit his Country; the cunning *Indian* in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich Gold Mine not far from the Country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a Ship on such an Expedition. This Overture had the Success *Epenow* expected, and Captain *Hobson* was dispatched the next Year with Provisions, Tools, and Materials, proper to make a Settlement, and open the Mines *Epenow* had given them Intelligence of. This Ship arriving on the Coast of *Massachusetts*, several *Indians* came on board, promising to return again the next Day with Furs and other Merchandize; and they did, indeed, return, but in an hostile Manner, with twenty Canoes full of armed Men; and *Epenow*, beckoning to them to approach nearer the Ship, jumped into the Sea, and made his escape to them; whereupon the *English* fired upon the Canoes, and were answered with a flight of Arrows, and several were wounded on both Sides, among whom was Captain *Hobson* himself; after which, the Captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to *England*.

In the Year 1619 Capt. *Dormer* was sent to *New England*,

and with him *Squanto*, the *Indian*, as an Interpreter, to endeavour to make Peace with the Natives, and settle a Colony in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, but to no Purpose; the *Indians* would not be reconciled, and, in a Skirmish with them, *Dormer* received farther Wounds, whereupon he proceeded to *Virginia*, leaving *Squanto* on Shore in *New England*. The Patentees, having met with such Discouragement, were, at last, so much disheartened, that they gave up all Thoughts of making a Settlement; however, other Adventurers carried on a Trade to *New England*; eight Ships were employed in it by the Merchants of *London* and *Plymouth* this, and the next, Year, and the Success was such, that the Seamen, who were Sharers also, had each 17 *l.* in six Months Time, as much as 30 *l.* now, and as good as 5 *l.* a Month, or Master's Pay. It is very probable, that the Commerce might have gone on in this Manner for several Years, without any Thoughts of planting, though that was the Motive upon which their Patent was granted, so early began the Fashion, with Companies, to make that their least Care for which they were constituted. But it so fell out, that a Congregation of Independents or Brownists, that for the Sake of their Religion had retired to *Holland*, and formed themselves into a Church under one Mr. *John Robinson*, who was their Minister, found themselves more uneasy there than they had been in *England*; and therefore formed a Project of seeking an Establishment in the *New World*, where they imagined they might enjoy Peace and Quiet; yet before they could carry this Design into Execution, it was necessary to have King *James's* Licence, not only in regard to the Rights of the Crown; but to secure them, when settled, from being turned out either by their own Countrymen or Strangers. In order thereto they got Sir *Robert Nanton* to procure the King's Consent for their transporting themselves to *America*. Sir *Robert* asked his Majesty that such a People might enjoy Liberty of Conscience under his gracious Protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Dominions, and promote the Gospel: The King replied, *It is a good and honest Proposal*, and yielded to it.

This Congregation, by their Agents in *England*, treated first with the Council at *Plymouth* for a large Tract of Land towards *Norembegua* and *New Scotland*; but upon better Consideration they abandoned their Purposes, and resolved to seat themselves more to the Southward on the Bank of *Hudson's River*, which falls into the Sea at *New York*. To this End, they contracted with some Merchants, who were willing to be Adventurers with them, in their intended Settlement, and were Proprietors of the Country; but the Contract bore too hard upon them, and made them the more easy in the Disappointment they met with in settling on *Hudson's River*; several of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation sold their Estates, and made a common Bank for a Fund to carry on this Undertaking. The Agents hired the *May-Flower*, a Ship of 180 Tons, which was freighted with proper Goods and Merchandize, and ordered to *Southampton*, where she took aboard the Company that came from *Holland* with Mr. *Brewster*. The whole Company, about 120 Persons, sailed from *Plymouth* the 6th of *September*, and fell in with *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November*, an ill Time of the Year to begin building, planting, or indeed any hard and difficult Labour; and nothing could be more difficult and hard than theirs was like to be: Here they refreshed themselves about half a Day, and then tacked about to the Southward for *Hudson's River*; but *Jones*, the Master of the *Speedwell*, having been bribed by the *Hollanders*, who intended themselves to take Possession of those Parts, as they did some Time after, instead of putting out to Sea, entangled them among the dangerous Sholes and Breakers, where, meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the *Cape*, upon which they put into the Harbour, and resolved, considering the Season of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and to proceed forward to the Bay. But *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of the Land they had a Grant for under the Patent, they associated themselves into a Body Politic, by a formal Instrument, in which, having declared themselves Subjects

of the Crown of *England*, they solemnly engaged Submission to the Laws that should from time to time be made for the good of the Colony.

The Place they made choice of to build a Town on, was very commodious, and the Country about it not less agreeable; so they resolved not to trouble themselves or their Friends about obtaining any farther Licence, but to risque their Fortunes where Providence had cast them; in Consequence of which Resolution they went hard to work in raising their new Town of *Plymouth*, for that was the Name they gave it, and which lies in the Latitude of 42 Degrees North. The Planters designed to stay in the Country, including Women and Children, were about an hundred, of whom only one Boy died in the Passage. Their Historians mention no more than nineteen Families that settled at *Plymouth*, and give us the Names but of forty one effective Men, among whom the Chief were *John Carver*, whom they chose Governor, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winslow*, *John Brewster*, Assistant to Mr. *Robinson*, and ruling Elder of his Church, *Isaac Alerton*, *Miles Standish*, *John Howland*, *Richard Warren*, *Stephen Hopkins*, *Edward Tilly*, *Christopher Martin*, *William White*, *Richard Clack*, and *Thomas English*. But such were the Fatigues this infant Colony underwent the first Winter, that out of an hundred Planters fifty died within the Space of two Months; and had the *Indians* attacked them, they had probably all perished, but they met with no Disturbance.

After they had fixed themselves at *Plymouth Bay*, they saw very few of the Natives till the Middle of *March*, when *Samoset*, one of their Sagamores, or Captains, came to them in a friendly Manner, and gave them to understand they were welcome into the Country, and that his People would be glad to trade with them; and coming again the next Day with other *Indians*, they informed the *English* that their great Sachem, whom they called *Massasoiet*, had his Residence but three Days March to the Northward, and intended them a Visit. And accordingly *Massasoiet* arrived the 22d Day of *March*, with a Retinue of sixty People; and, being received by Captain *Standish* at the Head of a File of Musketeers, was conducted to a kind of Throne they had prepared in one of their Houses. This Monarch was of a large Stature, middle aged, of a grave Countenance, and sparing in his Speech; his Face was painted red, and both Head and Face smeared over with Oil; he had a Mantle of Deer-Skin, and his Breeches and Stockings, which were of a Piece, were all of the same Materials; his Knife or Tomahawk hung upon his Breast on a String, his Tobacco Pouch behind him, and his Arms covered with wild Cat-Skins, and in the same Garb were his principal Attendants. They did not observe any Marks of Distinction between this Prince and his Subjects, unless it were a Chain of Fish Bones, which *Massasoiet* wore about his Neck. Soon after the Prince was seated, Mr. *Carver*, the Governor, came in with a Guard of Musketeers, whereupon *Massasoiet* rose up and kissed him, after which they both set down, and an Entertainment was provided by the *Indians*, of which no Part appeared more acceptable than the Brandy, the Sachem himself drinking very plentifully of it. In *Massasoiet's* Retinue was *Squanto*, who had been carried to *Europe* by *Hunt*, and brought to *New England* again. This *Indian*, it seems, had a very great Affection for the *English*, among whom he had lived several Years; and it was to his favourable Representation of the Colony, that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly Visit; and, at this first Meeting, to enter into an Alliance, Offensive and Defensive, with the *English*, and even to acknowledge King *James* for his Sovereign, and to hold his Dominions of him; and, as an Evidence of his Sincerity, *Massasoiet* granted Part of his Country to the Planters and their Heirs for ever.

This Alliance, being founded upon the mutual Interests of the contracting Parties, was maintained inviolably many Years. The Sachem, who had been informed by *Squanto*, how powerful a People the *English* were both by Sea and Land, promised himself their Assistance against the *Naraganset Indians*, his Enemies; and the *English* stood

in no less need of his Friendship to establish themselves in that Country. The Treaty being concluded, *Massasoiet* returned to his Capital, leaving *Squanto* with the Colony, who was extremely serviceable to them, not only as an Interpreter, but by instructing them how to plant and manage their *Indian* Corn, in piloting them along the Coast, and supplying them with Fish, Fowl, and Venison. The *English* still remained sickly, and many of them dyed; among whom was Mr. *Carver*, their Governor, in the Month of *April*, 1621. The Seamen also had their Share of Illness, insomuch that they were not in a Condition to sail till *May*, when the Ships returned to *England* to give their Friends an Account of the Circumstances of the Colony.

While these Ships were gone to, or remained in, the *British* Dominions, the Colony made choice of Mr. *Bradford* for their Governor, who enjoyed that Post for many Years, and saw the Plantation thoroughly established; notwithstanding that, in his Time, there arose such Differences about Religion as actually occasioned great Feuds and Jealousies, and seemed to threaten worse Consequences. It may be expected, that I should give some competent Reason for the quick Progress of this Colony beyond that of *Virginia*, which met with no such Success; and this seems to be the rather necessary, because at first Sight one might be inclined to think that it ought to be attributed to the superior Diligence and Application of the Western Company, in Comparison of that of *London*; which is, however, so far from being true, as in reality this Company had no Share at all in the sending over, or establishing this flourishing Plantation. On the contrary, it was raised by the Spirit, Vigilance, and Ardour of the Malcontents in the Reign of King *Charles I.* who, before the breaking out of the civil War, and when they had little Hopes of getting the Government into their own Hands, projected the securing to themselves a safe Retreat in *New England*, which induced them to send thither such regular Supplies, and those too under the Direction of Men very capable of answering the Ends for which they were sent thither. We have seen with what wonderful Success their first Attempts were attended, and how soon their new Colony was in a Condition to defend and support itself, not only without any Assistance, but almost without any Notice, from the Crown, which in the beginning they did not desire; but afterwards, foreseeing many Inconveniencies that were like to attend this Manner of Proceeding, they very prudently resolved to alter it, and to procure to themselves such farther Security as appeared to them requisite towards attaining those Ends of which they were in Pursuit.

This therefore being the Case, and the Colony of *Plymouth* still remaining without a Patent, or any Title to the Lands they possessed from the *North Virginia* (or *New England*) Company, sent over Mr. *Winslow*, one of their Number, to solicit for both in the Year 1624; and this Gentleman succeeded beyond their Expectation; for the Charter he procured, enabled the Planters to elect a Governor, a Council, and Magistrates, and to make Laws, provided they were not opposite to ours, or encroached on the Prerogatives of the Crown. After conducting the History thus low, and shewing how, where, and when, the first regular *English* Settlement was founded and fixed in this Country, now the largest, best improved, and most populous of our Plantations upon the Continent, I must excuse myself from going farther in this way, because it would extend this Section to an unproportionable Length; and because the History of *New England* has been already written by several able Men, much better informed thereof than I can possibly be; and therefore I shall be very well content with endeavouring, in as small a Compass as I can, to do as much towards explaining the State of this Colony, as I have already done for that of *Virginia*.

7. In order to this, it will be necessary to explain what is meant by *New England*, since it differs thus far from all our Colonies, that, in reality, it is a general Name for several of them, though there is no particular Plantation, or even Province, properly so called. We are therefore to observe, that under this Denomination was originally

comprehended that part of the Continent of *North America*, which had been formerly stiled *North Virginia* and *Norembegua*, and the way it acquired this Name, was thus: When Captain *Smith* made his Voyage thither, which has been before mentioned, he went ashore, with no more than eight Persons; and at that time drew a Plan of as much of the Country as he had seen. This, as I apprehend, was in the Year 1614; and upon his return he shewed the Prince of *Wales* his Account of the Country, and the Map he had drawn of it. His then Royal Highness, afterwards King *Charles I.* read the one, and examined the other, giving several *English* Names to Places, distinguished by *Indian* Appellations in the Book; and from Captain *Smith's* Information of the Soil and Climate of the Country, called it *New England*, which Name it has ever since borne. This Work, thus seen, perused, and approved by the Prince, Captain *Smith* published to the World, under the Title of *A Description of New England*, in which he gave a very fair and true Account of it, as well as of the Advantages that might be hoped from a Settlement there; in attempting of which, however, he had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner by the *French*; but notwithstanding this, his Treatise produced the intended Effect, and actually brought about that Establishment, of which we have already given the History. He likewise wrote and published another Book, which he called *New England's Trials*, which was very well received, insomuch that we may safely aver, that all the Advantages derived since to *Great Britain*, from the several Settlements made in this large and fruitful Country, are originally due to the Virtue and Industry of this indefatigable Man.

The Name and Bounds of this Country being thus settled, it is necessary next to take notice of the several Plantations made in *New England* in the proper Order of Time, and then we shall shew, in what Situation they now stand. We have already given an Account of *New Plymouth*, which was the first of them; and we are next to speak of that which, tho' later in Point of Time, is now become the most considerable in every Respect, and which had its Beginning and Progress much in the same manner with it. For in the Year 1625 (as the *New England* Historian relates) Mr. *White*, Minister of *Dorchester*, observing the Success of the *Plymouth* Colony, projected a new Settlement in the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*, and prevailing with Mr. *Conant*, and some others, to go over, and make choice of a proper Settlement, he and his Friends purchased, or procured, a Grant from the *North Virginia*, or *New England*, Company, in the Year 1622, to Sir *Henry Roswell*, Sir *John Young*, Knights; *Thomas Southcot*, *John Humphreys* and *Simon Newcomb*, Esquires; their Heirs, Assigns and Associates, of all that Part of *New England* which lies between the great River *Merimack* and *Charles River*, at the Bottom of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and all Lands, &c. three Miles North of *Merimack River*, and three Miles South of *Charles River*, and in Length, or in Longitude, between those Rivers, from the *Atlantic* to the *South Sea*; and obtained a Patent from King *Charles I.* to hold the same as of his Manor of *East Greenwich* in common Soccage, yielding and paying to his Majesty a fifth Part of such Gold and Silver Ore as should be from time to time found within these Limits. These Gentlemen, having taken in Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr. *Isaac Johnston*, *Samuel Addeley*, *John Van*, *Matthew Cradock*, *Thomas Goff*, *George Harwood*, *Samuel Moor*, and several more, the following Year, 1628, procured a new Patent with the Names of the last-mentioned Gentlemen inserted, as the Proprietors; by which Patent they, and all others who should join with them, were incorporated by the Name of, *The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*; and were empowered to elect a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Magistrates, and make Laws for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; and Liberty of Conscience was granted to all that should settle there. The Adventurers, by Virtue of this Patent, elected Mr. *Cradock* their Governor, and Mr. *Endicot* their Deputy-Governor, and sent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. *Conant*, who was settled at *Neumkeak*, now *Salem*, situated on the

Coast of *New England*, between the Promontories of *Marblehead* and *Cape Anne*.

This new Colony was supported with the same Spirit and Vigour as the former, and such mighty Embarkations made for its Service, as shewed plainly enough of how great Consequence it appeared to those who were its Protectors in *England*; and so much they were set upon having some Man of Distinction on the Spot, that in the Year 1630 they chose *John Winthrop*, Esquire, Governor, in the Room of Mr. *Cradock*, who declined going over, and he appointed Mr. *Thomas Dudley* his Deputy-Governor; both of them embarked the same Year, with Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esquire, and the Lady *Arabella*, his Wife, Mr. *Eaton*, and several other Patentees, on board a Fleet of ten Sail of large Ships, with about two hundred Planters every way completely furnished: So that soon after their Arrival they erected two new Settlements; the one stiled *Charles-Town*, on the North-side of *Charles River*; and the other *Dorchester*, at the Bottom of *Massachusetts Bay*; and in a short time part of the Inhabitants of *Charles-Town*, passing over to the opposite Shore, erected *Boston*, which is now the Capital of *New England*. As new Planters arrived every Year, the Colony quickly became over-stocked; and Divisions breaking out amongst them, one Mr. *Roger Williams*, who was Pastor of a Church of *Brownists*, went and settled without this Government; and called his new Plantation *Providence*, which afterwards was united to the Government of *Rhode Island*; of which we shall speak in its proper Place.

In 1635, arrived a larger Fleet from *England* than at any time before, and amongst other Persons of Distinction, who came over in it, was *Henry Vane*, Esquire, Son to Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State to King *Charles I.* with whom the People were so taken, that they elected him Governor, in the Room of Mr. *Winthrop*; but as he had the Misfortune to have a very roving and extravagant Genius, he quickly lost his Credit with them, and saw his Predecessor restored: Upon which he formed a Project of erecting a new Plantation to the North-west of the *Massachusetts*; which, however, he did not carry into Execution; but returning into *England*, was knighted, and made an extraordinary Figure under the Name of Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, as every body knows that is acquainted at all with our History. But the Project for a Plantation on *Connecticut River* was not dropped, though Sir *Henry Vane* did not proceed in it. This Settlement was become the more necessary, because the *Pequet Indians* began to grow very troublesome; and as the building a Town and Fort on that River, would make a good Frontier on that Side, Agents were sent to view the Country, who made such an advantageous Report of the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and Largeness of the River, as made many of the Planters of *Newton*, *Dorchester*, *Weatherton*, and *Roxbury*, entertain Thoughts of transplanting themselves thither, being already streightened for Room where they were.

Mr. *Hooker*, Minister of *Newton*, put himself at the Head of these new Adventurers, about a hundred in Number, who set out in the Month of *July*, and travelling on Foot with their Children and Baggage, about nine or ten Miles a Day, came in ten or eleven Days to the Banks of the River, where they began a Town, which they called *Hartford*; after these came another Draught from *Dorchester*, who built a little Town, which they called *Windsor*; a third Detachment from *Waterton*, built *Weathersfield*; and a fourth from *Roxbury*, built *Springfield*. The Towns the Planters built on this River were fifty and sixty Miles from its Mouth, so that the Ship freighted with Provisions for these Planters at the *Massachusetts*, came so late in the Year that it was frozen up at the Mouth of it, sixty Miles from the Plantation; upon which, many of the new Adventurers travelled back in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it were frozen to Death. The Calamities which attended them, are such as all new Settlements are liable to; but, however, those that had Courage to stay till the Spring, carried on their Settlements with such Success, that they were not only in a Capacity of subsisting, but making head against their Enemies. They

They had a sort of Commission from the Government of the *Massachusetts Bay*; but finding they had extended their Plantations beyond the Limits of that Colony, they entered into a voluntary Association to obey the Laws that should be made by proper Persons, for the common Good, and chose *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; their Governor; and in this Situation they remained as to Constitution, till *John Winthrop Junior*, Esq; obtained an ample Charter for them from King *Charles II.* authorizing them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magistrates; and enact such Laws as they thought most advantageous to the Colony, not opposite to the Laws of *England*; the Benefit whereof they enjoy to this Day.

8. By that Time this Settlement was brought into tolerable Order, *George Fenwick*, Esq; was sent to *New-England*, in order to make choice of the most commodious Spot he could find, for the Heads of that Party, which had hitherto supported all these Colonies; and it was conceived he would execute his Commission the more readily, since the Lord Viscount *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Brook*, two Heads of the Party, held Lands on *Connecticut*, by Virtue of a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, another Puritan, who held a Patent for all that Part of the Country, extending from the River *Naraganset* forty Leagues, in a strait Line near the Sea-shore, towards *Virginia*, as all the Continent South of *New-England* was then called, as far as *Florida*. The Earl of *Warwick* assigned his Grant to these two Lords, *Brook* and *Say*, *Charles Fiennes*, Esq; Brother to the Lord *Say*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich* of the *Warwick* Family, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Richard Knightly*, Esq; *John Pym*, Esq; *John Hampden*, Esq; and *Herbet Pelham*, Esq; Mr. *Fenwick* seated himself at the Mouth of the River, and built a Town which he called *Saybrook*, in which he was assisted by Mr. *Winthrop Junior*, Son of the Governor of the *Massachusetts*; but the Gentlemen, for whom Mr. *Fenwick* acted, finding Matters grow more to a Head at home, and foreseeing they should be more useful there for their Country and their Cause, gave over the Thoughts of removing to *New-England*, and authorized Mr. *Fenwick* to dispose of their Lands to the Colony of *Connecticut*, who were the more willing to buy them because they had no Title to their Plantation without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Patent, than what Possession gave them. The very next Year there came over such Numbers of People to settle in *New England*, that the old Colonies were over-stocked, and there was an absolute Necessity of looking out for new Plantations.

Amongst those who put themselves at the Head of such as were inclined to remove in the Summer of the Year 1637, were *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; a noted Merchant of *London*, and the Reverend Mr. *Davenport*. These Gentlemen finding there was not room at the *Massachusetts*, and being informed of a large Bay to the South-west of *Connecticut River*, commodious for Trade, purchased of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and *New York*, or *Hudson's River*; thither they removed, seated themselves in the Bay over against *Long Island*, and built *New Haven*; from whence that Colony, Province, and Government, were so denominated, as also *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Brainford*; they also went over to *Long Island*, and made there several Settlements, erecting Churches in all Places where they settled; but being without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, they had no Charter, and no other Title to the Lands than what they had from the Natives; the Men who settled in this Colony were generally *Londoners* and Merchants, who applied themselves first to Trade, after the Example of Governor *Eaton*, who had been an East Country Merchant, and, travelling into *Denmark*, was employed by the King as his Agent at that Court. But the new Comers met with so many Losses, either as Novices in the *American* Trade, or some unfortunate Accidents, that they were discouraged in their Trade, and were going to transport themselves to *Maryland* or *Ireland*, until at last turning to Husbandry, they thrived wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.

While the South-west Parts of *New England* were thus filling with Inhabitants, the North-east were not neglect-

ed: The *English* very much frequented the Coast for the Benefit of fishing and the Fur Trade, for which that Part of the Country lay convenient. This put some of them on attempting a Settlement between the Rivers *Merimack* and *Sagadahock*, and it succeeded so well in a few Years, that there were two Counties laid out, *New Hampshire* and *Main*, and several Towns built, as *Dover*, *Hamp-ton*, *Wells*, *Kittery*, &c. These Planters and Traders being settled without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Colony, entered into a voluntary Combination, and formed themselves into a Body Politic, after the Example of *Connecticut* Colony; thus they continued, till being wearied out with Feuds and Divisions, they petitioned the General Court of the *Massachusetts* to be brought within their Jurisdiction, which was done: Yet, in 1684, they made an absolute Resignation of their Charter, and the Government has remained in the Hands of the Crown ever since. Thus the Reader has seen, in few Words, the Rise and Progress of the several Plantations raised in *New England*, which had a quicker Growth than any that were ever attempted from hence, or perhaps from any other Country; for, in the Space of about twenty Years, they had above twice as many good Towns, well settled, and the People in a very happy and thriving Condition; and, indeed, it must be allowed, the Inhabitants were the most laborious and industrious, that were any where settled in *America*; for though they had scarce any staple Commodity, yet they made every thing turn to Account, and that chiefly, as I have been informed, by pursuing steadily these two Maxims; first, to fix themselves well, and to raise one or more good Towns in convenient Places, and next to build and freight Ships with such Commodities as they had, and to send them any where to find a proper Market.

9. The Country of *New England* comprehends, at present, four considerable Colonies, or Governments, viz. the *Massachusetts*, which with *New Plymouth* and the *Main* are now included in one Charter; *New Hampshire*, which remains a separate Government; *Connecticut*, which likewise comprehends *New Haven*; and *Rhode Island*, with *Providence Plantation*. The whole Country extends from 41 to 45 Degrees North Latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 Degrees of Western Longitude; bounded on the North-west by *Canada*; on the North-east by *Nova Scotia*; on the East and South by the *Atlantic Ocean*, and on the West by *New York*; stretching in Length somewhat more than three hundred Miles, and in some Places it is near two hundred in Breadth. The Air of this Country is sharper than ours, though it lies so much farther to the South, and the Winters are longer and severer than they are here; but then their Summers are warmer, though shorter than ours; and, at the same Time, the Inhabitants have the Advantage of a clear Sky, which renders the Country very wholesome; so that none of our Plantations agree better with an *English* Constitution. Their longest Day at *Boston* is about fifteen Hours, and their shortest about nine; the Land, next the Sea, is generally low, and in some Places marshy; but farther up, the Land rises into Hills; along the North-east the Country is rocky and mountainous.

As it is washed by the Ocean on the East and South, it has many good Harbours, some of them so capacious as to be able to receive large Fleets. There are few Countries better watered; for, besides several small Lakes and Rivulets, there are no less than seven navigable Rivers. The most Western of these is *Connecticut*; which, rising in the North of *New England*, runs almost directly South, till it falls into the Sea, and runs, at least, two hundred Miles, and navigable to a great Height, having at its Mouth two large Towns, called *Saybrook* and *Lime*: To the East of this lies the *River of Thames*, though less considerable than the former; it likewise runs South, and falls into the Sea a little below *New London*: The River *Patuxet* rises in the North-west of the Country of *Massachusetts*, and, running South-east, falls into a noble Bay near *Swansey*: The River *Merimack* rises in the North of *New England*, and runs directly South for near one hundred Miles, and then, turning East, falls into the Sea between *Salisbury* and *Newbury*: The River *Piscataway*

way runs from West to East, and falls into the Sea at *Portsmouth*, where the Opening is so large, that it affords a Port capable of receiving the largest Ships: The River *Saco* rises in the North of *New England*, and, running South, falls into the Sea between the Capes *Porpus* and *Elizabeth*: The River *Casco* runs parallel thereto, till it falls into a Bay of its own Name.

It is owing to the Conveniency of so many fine Rivers that this Country is so full of large and populous Towns; and in the Country between the Rivers there is such plenty of small Brooks and Springs, that there is scarce any Place where Water may not be had, by sinking a Well to the Depth of ten Foot; and, which is another singular Advantage, the Water is almost every where good and fit for all kinds of Uses.

As to Quadrupeds, or four-footed Animals, they are here in great Plenty, both tame and wild; among the former are Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, and Horses, all originally brought from *England*, but now very numerous here; the latter are, generally speaking, of a much smaller Breed than ours, but they are somewhat larger than the *Welsh*: They are, notwithstanding the Inferiority of their Size, extremely serviceable; and, though they have but one Pace, and that too not very agreeable, being a kind of a Shuffle, yet they go at a very great Rate; some say, not less than twenty Miles an Hour, which would be a little incredible, if some *New England* Horses had not been brought over to *Britain*, which are said to have put the Matter beyond Dispute; but though there are plenty of these Horses, yet they sell at a good Rate, twenty Pound being looked upon to be a very low Price for a sound Horse, at the Prime of his Age. As for Beasts of the Forests, they have almost all Sorts, such as Deer, Elks, Raccoons, Bears, Wolves, which seem to be only a kind of wild Dogs; which, when they are taken very young, may be made tame; Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opossums, which are small Beasts about the Size of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; remarkable for having a false Belly, in which they hide their Young, and from whence they may be taken without any Prejudice either to them or to the Beast itself. They have also a great many Cur-Dogs, but these I suppose were originally from *Europe*. When the *English* first settled here, they made a great Profit of Furs, but they are since much fallen in their Value. I have been the shorter in the Accounts of these Creatures, which are common enough in other Countries of *America*, that I might have the more Leisure to describe a Creature which is peculiar, almost, to *New England*; and which seems therefore to deserve a more particular Description.

The Moose is found no where but in North *America*, and is one of the noblest Creatures in the Forest: There are two Sorts, the common grey Moose, by the *Indians* called Wampoose, (these are more like the ordinary Deer, and like them herd sometimes thirty in a Company) and the large and black Moose, of which we have the following Account: He is the Head of the Deer Kind, has many things in common with other Deer, in many differs, but in all very superior. The Moose is made much like a Deer, parts the Hoof, chews the Cud, has no Gall, and his Ears large and erect; the Hair of the black Moose is a dark grey, upon the Ridge of his Back ten or twelve Inches long, of which the *Indians* make Belts; he has a very short Tail. The *New England* Hunters have found a Stag Moose of fourteen Spans in Height, from the Withers, reckoning nine Inches to the Span, that is ten Feet and an half; a Quarter of this Venison weighed more than two hundred Pounds. A few Years ago a Gentleman surprized one of the black Moose in his Grounds, within two Miles of *Boston*: It proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth Year; after she was dead, they measured her upon the Ground, from the Nose to the Tail between ten and eleven Feet; she wanted an Inch of seven Feet in Height. The Horns of the Moose, when full grown, are about four or five Feet from the Head to the Tip, and have Shoots and Branches to each Horn, and generally spread about six Feet; when the Horns come out of the Head they are round, like the

Horns of an Ox, about a Foot from the Head they begin to grow a Palm broad, and further up still wider, of which the *Indians* make good Ladles, that will hold a Pint. When a Moose goes through a Thicket, or under the Boughs of Trees, he lays his Horns back on his Neck, not only that he may make his way the easier, but to cover the Body from the Browse or Scratch of the Woods. These prodigious Horns are shed every Year.

A Moose does not spring or rise in going as Deer, but shoves along sideways, throwing out the Feet like a Horse, in a raking Pace. One of these large black Moose, in his common Walk, has been seen to step over a large Gate, five Feet high: After you unharbour a Moose, he will run a Course of twenty or thirty Miles before he turns about, or comes to a Bay; when they are chased they generally take to the Water. The common Deer, for a short Space, are swifter than a Moose; but then a Moose soon out-winds a Deer, and runs much farther. The Meat of a Moose is excellent Food; and though it is not so delicate as the common Venison, yet it is more substantial, and will bear salting; the Nose is looked upon as a great Dainty. The black Moose are rarely found above four or five together; the young Ones keep with the Dam a full Year. A Moose calves every Year, and generally brings two; they bring forth their young Ones standing, and the Young fall from their Dam upon their Feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the Month of *April*.

The Moose being very tall, and having very short Necks, do not graze, as the common Deer, other Cattle, &c. do, and if at any time they eat Grass, it is the Top of that which grows very high, or on steep rising Ground; in the Summer they feed upon Plants, Herbs, and young Shrubs, that grow upon the Land, but mostly, and with the greatest Delight, on Water Plants, especially a Sort of wild Colt's-foot and Lilly, that abound in their Ponds, and near the Banks of Rivers, and for which the Moose will wade far and deep; and by the Noise they make in the Water, the Hunters often discover them. In the Winter they live upon Browse, or the Tops of Bushes, and young Trees, and being very tall and strong, they will bend down a Tree as big as a Man's Leg; and where the Browse fail them they will eat off the Bark of some Sort of Trees as high as they can reach; they generally feed in the Night, and lie still in the Day. The Skin of the Moose, when well dressed, makes excellent Buff; the *Indians* make their Snow-Shoes of them. Their way of dressing it, which is very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the Hide, they make a Lather of the Mooses Brains in warm Water, and after they have soaked the Hide for some Time, they stretch and supple it.

There is hardly greater Variety and Plenty of Fowl any where, such as Turkeys, Geese, Partridges, Ducks, Herons, Storks, Heath-Cocks, Swans, Wigeons, Dapers, Black-Birds; all Sorts of Barn-door Fowl, Crows, Ravens, Cormorants, &c. Vast Flights of Pigeons come and go at certain Seasons of the Year.

The Fish in the Sea and Rivers here are excellent, and in vast Abundance, as Cod, Thornback, Sturgeon, Salmon, Haddocks, Herrings, Mackrel, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Porpusses, Grampusses, Whales, and other Fish, great and small. The best Months for fishing are *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*. Six or seven Star-Fish were formerly taken off the Shore near *Nantucket*, of which Governor *Winthrop* gave the Royal Society an Account, having observed that this Fish divides itself into no less than 81920 small Parts by Branchings, and is one of the most wonderful Works of the Creation. Some Years since there stranded on the Coast of *New England* a dead Whale, of the Sort which in Fisher's Language is called Trumpo, having Teeth like those of a Mill, its Mouth at a good Distance from and under the Nose, and several Partitions in the Nose, out of which run a thin oily Substance, they candied; the remainder, which proved a thick fat Substance, being scraped out, was said to be the *Sperma Ceti*. We have some very curious Accounts, not only of this, but of other kinds of Whales, by the ingenious Mr. *Dudley*, which for want of Room I omit; and also, because, I shall

I shall be obliged to mention this Subject again more largely in another Place.

We will now proceed from the Animal to the Vegetable Kingdom, which is in full as flourishing a Condition, and yields very little to any Country in *America*. There is Plenty of good Timber in the Woods and Swamps of *New England*; but that Plenty is so much lessened within ten or twelve Miles from the Sea, that, we are told, there is a Necessity of a Law, to prevent the Waste of Woods, which three or fourscore Years ago the Planters would have been glad to have seen wasted. Oak, Elm, Firr, Ash, Cypress, fine Chesnut, Walnut, Cedar, Beech, Aspin, Sassafras, and Shumack, are common here; their Firr is of an extraordinary Growth for Mafts, Yards and Planks. The Shumack is of use for Dyers and Tanners; and, as there is no want of Hides or Skins, nor Bark, there must be much Leather in *New England*, if those Advantages are improved; the Oak has supplied the Shipwrights for Building; the Firr produces Pitch, Tar, Rosin, and Turpentine. All Sorts of Garden and Orchard Trees grow in Perfection, so that it is no hard Thing for one Planter to make a hundred Hogsheads of Cyder in a Season, and the Export of Apples to the Sugar Islands is one of the constant Articles in the Trade of the Province.

It is affirmed, their Apples are larger and sweeter than ours in *England*; and the same Observation extends to their Plumbs, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, &c. All Sorts of Roots for the Table are in great Plenty here, as Turnips, Parsnips, Carrots, Radishes, much larger and richer than in *England*, though originally their Seeds came from hence. There are also Pompions and Onions, good store of Water-Melons; and Squashes grow here, perhaps, from Seeds that were first brought from *Portugal*; whither the Traders here have long sent, and still send, their Fish in great Quantities. Flax and Hemp grow as naturally here as in any Country on the *Baltic*, and in as great Perfection; Oats, Barley, Peas, Beans, and indeed every thing of this Kind, succeed as well as can be wished; but amongst them all, there is nothing so much planted as *Indian Corn*, of which Mr. *Winthorp* having given a large Account to the Royal Society, we shall take as much as is necessary for ours, or the Reader's Purpose, from thence, and insert it here.

The Natives called it Weachin, and in some southern Parts of *America*, it is known by the Name of Maïs or Maize; the Ear is a Span long, composed of eight Rows of Grain, or more, according to the Goodness of the Ground, about thirty Grains in a Row; 'tis of various Colours, as red, white, yellow, blue, olive, greenish, black, speckled, striped, and sometimes in the same Field, and in the same Ear; but the white and yellow is the most common; the Ear is defended from the Cold and Storms by strong thick Husks, the Stalks grow six or eight Feet high; that of *New England* is not quite so tall as that of *Virginia*, and at *Canada* it is shorter than at *New England*; 'tis jointed like a Cane, and full of sweet Juice, like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrup as sweet as Sugar may be made of it, as has been often tried; at every Joint there are long Flags, and at the Top a Branch of Flowers like Rye Blossoms.

It is generally planted from the Middle of *April* to the Middle of *May*. In the northern Parts the *Mohawk* Corn is not planted till the Middle of *June*, and yet is ripe in Season. The Stalks of this Sort are short, and the Ears near the Bottom, and are of several Colours. The manner of planting Maize is in Rows, at equal Distance every way, about five or six Feet; the Earth is opened with a Hoe four Inches deep, and four or five Grains are thrown into it, at a little Distance from one another in the Breadth of a Hoe, then they are covered with Earth; if they grow the Crop will answer. The Corn is weeded at a Hand's length, and the Earth is loosened about it with a Hoe. This Labour must be repeated as the Weeds come up; when the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth should be drawn about it, and on putting forth the Ear so much as to make a little Hill, like a Hop-Hill. 'Tis ripe about the Middle of *September*; it must be stripped as soon as gathered, unless 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy, or

sprouting. The common way is to move the Ear together, in long Traces, by some Part of the Husks left thereon, which is called tracing. These Traces they hang upon Bearers, without Doors, and will keep so all Winter good and sweet. The *Indians* thrash it as they gather it. They dry it well on Matts in the Sun, and bury it in Holes in the Ground, lined with Moss or Matts, which are their Barns. The *English* of late plant it with the Help of the Plow; they turn up single Furrows, six Feet distance; then plow a-cross, at the same Distance, throw in the Corn, where these meet, and cover it with a Hoe, or run another Furrow over it with the Plow.

The *Indians* boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fish or Venison, instead of Bread; sometimes they bruise it in Mortars, and so boil it. The most usual way is to parch it in Ashes, stirring it so artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they sift and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mixed with Water. The *English* mix it into a stiff Paste, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day or all Night. The best Sort of Food which is made of it is called Samp; to make it, the Corn is watered half an Hour, beaten in a Mortar to the Bigness of Rice, sifted, boiled, and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, like Rice; and this seems to be so good and wholesome a Diet, that 'tis a strange Sort of Folly in some that despise it, because 'tis *Indian Corn*; and the *Indians* have no other Corn to eat. The *English* have also made good Beer of it, by malting it, or making it of Bread; when they malt it, it must chit both ways, Root and Blade; to do which, they heap it up at a convenient Time, then take away the Top of the Earth of a Garden-Field, two or three Inches deep; after which they cover the Ground with the Corn and the Corn with the Earth; when the Plat is green all over with the Corn-Sprouts, which it will be in about ten Days, it must be taken up, the Earth shaken from it and dried, and then washed and dried again on a Kiln; this makes the Malt and that the Beer, which will be pleasant, wholesome, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleasant; to make this, they cut the Bread into great Lumps, as big as a Man's Fist, mash and manage it as they do Malt; adding or omitting Hops, of which they have enough, and as good a Sort of their own as is desired. No *Indian Corn* grows wild now; but both that and Kidney Beans were found among the Natives. The *Indians* have a Tradition, that the first Grain of Corn was brought thither by a Black-Bird, and the first Bean by a Crow.

We are now to proceed from the Description of the Country, and an Account of its Produce, in which we ought, by all Means, to include Iron Ore, of which there is in this Country great Plenty; I say, our Method leads us to go on to the Political State and Condition of this Colony, that the Situation of the *English* therein may be rendered more obvious, and be the better apprehended. In order to do this as succinctly as possible, we shall observe there are very few Countries, in which so many different Forms of Government have prevailed within so narrow a Space of Time as in *New England*. At the first going over of the People thither they framed a Government of their own, and afterwards procured, as themselves boast, or some of their Writers have boasted for them, the Establishment of a Republic, by Virtue of a Patent from King *James I.* which, however, they managed so indifferently, and were guilty of such flagrant Oppressions, on account of Differences in Religion, that their Charter was in the Reign of King *Charles II.* declared forfeited; and though it was renewed under the Reign of King *William*, yet it was under various Restrictions, and with several material Alterations; so that we may safely affirm, that there are at present three kinds of Governments established by Law in those four Colonies; which, as we before observed, are established within the Limits of *New England*. The first kind of Government I shall mention is, that old Form of Charter Government, which allows the People to chuse annually their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, Council and Assembly, with all their Officers, Civil and Military, and to make such Laws as to them

shall seem expedient, provided they are not repugnant to the Laws of *Great Britain*. This kind of Government, which, I believe, is more independent than that of any Colony belonging to any other Nation in the World, is enjoyed in its full Extent by the People who inhabit the Plantations of *Conneticut* and *Rhode Island*; but they make a very different Use of it; for those of the first-mentioned Colony are very strict in Point of Religion, whereas those in *Rhode Island* are the freest in that Respect of any in the World; for there are among them People of all Religions, or rather, of all those Sects into which Protestants are divided, but without the least Prejudice to their temporal Concerns, every Man being alike capable of Magistracy; and with respect to an Established Church there is none, but each Body of Christians live according to their own System, and chuse and pay their Ministers as they think fit. The great Colony of *Massachusetts*, is likewise a Charter-Government, but the Appointment of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the Admiralty, is vested in the Crown. The People have not only the Choice of the Assembly, but of the Council; upon which, however, the Governor in his Turn has a Negative; and, by virtue of his Commission as Captain-General, has the Power of the Militia; so that here the supreme Authority rests neither in the Governor nor the People, but in them both, whenever they can agree to exert it. The Government of *New Hampshire* is entirely in the Hands of the Crown, in the same Manner as that of *Virginia*, and other Colonies.

The Capital of this Country is *Boston*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and within the Province of *Massachusetts proper*: It is situated in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 20 Minutes North, and in 71 Degrees of Longitude West from *London*; it stands on a Peninsula about four Miles in Circumference, at the Bottom of a fine Bay of the Sea, at the Entrance whereof are several Rocks which appear above Water, and above a Dozen small Islands, some of which are inhabited. There is but one safe Channel to approach the Harbour, and that so narrow that two Ships can scarce sail through a-breast; but within the Harbour there is room enough for five hundred Sail to lie at Anchor. The Entrance is defended by the Castle of *Fort-William*, on which are one hundred Guns mounted, twenty of which lie in a Platform, level with the Water, so that it is scarce possible for an Enemy to pass the Castle; and, to prevent Surprise, they have a Guard placed on one of the Rocks about two Leagues distant, on which also there stands a little House, from whence they make Signals to the Castle when any Ships come near it: There is also a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town, which commands the Harbour, to the Fire whereof any Enemy would be exposed if he should be so fortunate as to pass the Castle.

At the Bottom of the Bay there is a Pier near two thousand Feet in Length, with Warehouses for the Merchants on the North side of it; and Ships of the greatest Burden may come up close to the Pier and unload, without the Help of Boats. The greatest Part of the Town of *Boston* lies in the Form of a Crescent about the Harbour, the Country beyond rising gradually, and affording a most delightful Prospect from the Sea: There are in it several Streets, not much inferior to the best in *London*, the chief of which runs from the Pier up to their Town-house, or *Guild-hall*, a handsome Building, where are Walks for the Merchants, as on the *Exchange*; and there also are the Council-Chamber, the House of Representatives, and their Courts of Justice, the *Exchange*, being surrounded with Booksellers-shops, who have Trade enough to employ five Printing-presses. There are ten Churches of all Denominations, of which six are Independents, the most prevailing Party in *New England*. And the Number of Souls in the Town of that Persuasion may be about fourteen or fifteen thousand. The Episcopal Church is handsomely built and adorned, and the Congregation said to be about a thousand in Number. Their Church Furniture, and some Pieces of Plate, were given them by *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, and their Organ by *Thomas Brattley, Esq*; There is also in this Church a magnificent Seat for the Governor,

who comes thither when he happens to be of the Church of *England*. *Boston* is the most flourishing Town for Trade in *English America*, and there are several hundred Sail of Ships, Brigantines, and other Vessels, annually loaded here with Timber, Beef, Pork, Fish, and other Commodities, for *Europe*, or the *American Islands*: Their Merchants and Tradefmen are a polite sort of People, many of them having travelled into *Europe*, or conversed with Foreigners of several Nations at home: Their Houses are elegantly furnished, and their Tables as well served as those of the Merchants and Tradefmen of *London*; all manner of Provisions being as plentiful as in any Town in *Old England*.

A late Writer tells us in relation to the Fortrefs before-mentioned, that it is a beautiful Castle, by far the finest Piece of Military Architecture in *British America*; being a Quarry surrounded by a Covered-way, and joined with two Lines of Communication to the Main Battery, as also a Line of Communication from the Main Gate to a Redoubt, to prevent any Enemies landing; and the Battery is situated so near to the Channel, as to hinder Ships coming up to the Town, which must all come within Pistol-shot of it. In time of Peace there is but one Company on Duty in the Castle; but in time of War, there are five hundred able bodied Men, exempted from all other Military Duty, to attend the Service of the Castle at an Hour's Warning, when the Signal is given from the Night-house of the Approach of an Enemy. The Castle thereupon makes a Signal to the Town, and if five Ships or more appear in time of War, the neighbouring Country is alarmed, by firing a Beacon. In this City commonly the Governor resides; here the General Court and Assembly meet, and almost all the public Business of the Province is here transacted. The Number of Houses is computed at four thousand four hundred; the Number of People, at about twenty-four thousand; and the Shipping of this Port is computed at between six and seven hundred. There are, besides this, several great Towns and good Ports and a Multitude of small ones, in *New England*; but I have not Room to enter into more particular Accounts.

As to the Number of People Writers differ extremely, and it is not easy to know which is in the right; but the following, about twenty Years ago, was said to be the best Authority, *viz.* that in the *Massachusetts* Colony there were eighty thousand Souls; in that of *Conneticut*, thirty thousand; and in *Rhode Island*, ten thousand; in the whole, one hundred and twenty thousand: But I am persuaded that, at present, they amount to one hundred and sixty thousand at least.

The Commerce of these Colonies is very considerable, and extends itself over all *America*, and into some Parts of *Europe*; they furnish our Sugar Colonies with Fish, Cattle, Boards, Hoops, Pipe-staves, Bark, Skins, Butter, Cheese, Oil, Tallow, Corn, Apples, Turpentine, &c. and this in such vast Abundance, that it is computed the Island of *Barbadoes* alone, takes off to the Value of two hundred thousand Pounds every Year; they deal besides with the other Sugar Colonies, sometimes with the *French*, largely with the *Spaniards*, and they ship off prodigious Quantities of Fish, to *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They take from us all kinds of Mercery Goods; Linnen, Stockings, Shoes, Sail-cloth, Cordage, Haberdashery Ware, and a vast many other Things; in Return they build a prodigious Number of Ships, and export a vast Quantity of Masts, Plank, and Yards, for the Royal Navy; Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Skins, Furs, Oil, Whale-Fins, Logwood and other Commodities.

The Observations made by the famous Sir *Josiah Child*, in reference to this Colony, are very well worthy our Notice, as they will lead us to form the truest Judgment possible as to that important Point, what the Profit is which results to this Kingdom, from our Plantations in *New England*; upon which he reasons in the following Manner: "1st, All our *American* Plantations, except "the *New England*, produce Commodities of different "Natures, as Sugar, Tobacco, Cocoa, Wool, Ginger, "fundry Sorts of dying Woods, &c. Whereas *New "England* produces generally the same we have here, *viz.*

"Corn

“ Corn and Cattle ; some quantity of Fish they do like-
“ wise kill, but that is taken and cured altogether by
“ their own Inhabitants, which prejudices our *New-*
“ *foundland* Trade ; where, as has been said, very few
“ are, or ought, according to Prudence, to be employ-
“ ed in these Fisheries, but the Inhabitants of *Old Eng-*
“ *land*. The other Commodities we have from them are
“ some few great Mafts, Furs, and Train Oil, of which
“ the yearly Value amounts to very little ; the much
“ greater Value of Returns from thence being made in
“ Sugar, Cotton, Wool, Tobacco, and such like Com-
“ modities, which they first receive from some other
“ of his Majesty’s Plantations, in barter for dry Cod-fish,
“ Salt, Mackrel, Beef, Pork, Bread, Beans, Flower,
“ Pease, &c. which they supply *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c.
“ with, to the Diminution of the Vent of those Com-
“ modities from this Kingdom ; the great Experience of
“ which, in our own *West India* Plantations, would soon
“ be found in the Advantage of the Value of our Lands
“ in *England*, were it not for the vast and almost in-
“ credible Supplies those Colonies have from *New Eng-*
“ *land*.

“ 2dly, The People of *New England*, by virtue of
“ their primitive Charters, being not so strictly tied to the
“ Observation of the Laws of this Kingdom, do some-
“ times assume the Liberty of trading, contrary to the
“ Act of Navigation, by reason of which many of our
“ *American* Commodities, especially Tobacco and Sugar,
“ are transported in *New English* Shipping, directly into
“ *Spain*, and other foreign Countries, without being landed
“ in *England*, or paying any Duty to his Majesty ; which
“ is not only a Loss to the King, and Prejudice to the
“ Navigation of *Old England*, but also a total Exclusion
“ of the *Old English* Merchant, from the Vent of those
“ Commodities in those Ports where the *New English*
“ Vessels trade ; because there being no Custom on those
“ Commodities in *New England*, and a great Custom
“ paid on them in *Old England* ; it must necessarily fol-
“ low that the *New English* Merchant will be able to
“ afford his Commodity much cheaper than the *Old En-*
“ *glish* Merchant ; and those that can sell cheapest, will
“ infallibly engross the whole Trade sooner or later.

“ 3dly, Of all the *American* Plantations, His Majesty
“ has none so apt for the Building of Shipping as *New*
“ *England*, nor none comparably so qualified for the
“ breeding of Seamen, not only by reason of the natu-
“ ral Industry of that People, but principally by reason
“ of their Cod and Mackrel Fisheries ; and, in my poor
“ Opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and, in
“ Prospect, more dangerous to any Mother Kingdom,
“ than the Increase of Shipping in her Colonies, Plan-
“ tations, and Provinces.

“ 4thly, The People that evacuate from us to *Bar-*
“ *badoes*, and the other *West India* Plantations, as was
“ before hinted, do commonly work one *English* to ten
“ or eight Blacks ; and if we kept the Trade of our said
“ Plantations entirely to *England*, *England* would have
“ no less Inhabitants, but rather an Increase of People,
“ by such Evacuation, because that one *Englishman*, with
“ ten Blacks that work with him, accounting what they
“ eat, use, and wear, would make Employment for four
“ Men in *England*, as was said before ; whereas, perad-
“ venture, of ten Men that issue from us to *New Eng-*
“ *land* or *Ireland*, what we send to, or receive from,
“ them, does not employ one Man in *England*.”

But with great Submission to so knowing a Man and
so able a Judge as he was in these Matters, what he has
delivered upon this Subject, though hitherto received with
general Approbation, is liable to many Objections, which,
being duly considered, will give the State and Utility of
this Colony another Aspect. For, with respect to his first
Head of Objections, it is not the Fault of *New Eng-*
land that they have not a staple Commodity, as well
as the Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, but it is our
own ; since we might be furnished from thence with as
great Plenty, and in as great Perfection, as from any
Part of the *Baltic*, with all the naval Stores, which are so
necessary, and for which we actually pay, yearly, a vast
Sum of ready Money. It is therefore very unjust to call

New England a useless Province, because we will not make
use of her Commodities, which we might command for
our own Manufactures, at our own Time, and on our
own Terms, but rather pay our Money for them to
Foreigners ; who, whenever an Opportunity offers, ne-
ver fail to force their own Terms upon us. As to the
Provisions furnished to our Sugar Colonies by the Peo-
ple of *New England*, it is so far from being a Disadvan-
tage to the Nation, that it is a very great Convenience ;
for without it they could not possibly subsist. This, at
first Sight, may seem a very bold Assertion, but I am
very confident that it is true ; for in Time of Peace, if
the Sugar Colonies were to draw all their Provisions from
hence, it would make their Commodity much dearer,
and consequently enable Foreigners to beat us out of that
Trade entirely, and in Time of War the People in those
Colonies would be in Danger of starving, as the Inhabit-
ants of the *French* Sugar Islands generally are ; to avoid
which Inconveniency they are now labouring to render *Lou-*
visiana as useful to their Sugar Colonies, as *New England*
is to ours ; and after all, what the *New England* People
get by this Trade comes hither. To this we may add,
that if we had not settled *New England*, the *French* cer-
tainly would, the Consequences of which may be more
easily conceived than described.

The second Objection admits of the same Answer. We
have the Benefit of all the Trade the People in this Co-
lony carry on in *Europe*, as well as *America* ; and while
we have this certain Advantage, there seems to be no just
Cause for our disturbing ourselves with the Thoughts of
the Advantages that might be gained if this Trade ran
in another Channel ; since these are Incertainties, as to
which, however, our Government has already taken all
the Precautions that are possible, or at least that are prac-
ticable, without running into greater Inconveniencies, than
those they are calculated to guard against. The breed-
ing of Seamen, and the building of Ships, are not found
by Experience, to be attended with the Inconveniencies
that were feared from them ; but on the contrary, have
had many advantageous Consequences, both in time of
War and of Peace. The fourth Objection, which seems
to have the greatest Weight of any, we know now by Ex-
perience has in reality no Weight at all ; for, without
having Colonies composed entirely of white People, it
would be impossible for us to defend our other Colonies
against our Enemies in *America* ; and, as we shall shew
hereafter in speaking of *Georgia*, instead of repining at the
Want of Negroes in *New England*, we ought rather to
wish that there were fewer Negroes elsewhere. The Read-
er will easily perceive that I do not affect to contradict
this great Author, I only express the Reasons why his
Arguments do not convince me, and, from the Lights
of Experience, shew that it is not impossible even for the
greatest Men to be mistaken.

Sir *Josiah Child* saw this himself, as appears by
the Manner in which he finishes his Remarks, which I
look upon to be one of the finest Passages in his whole
Work. “ To conclude, says he, and to do right to
“ that most industrious *English* Colony, I must confess,
“ that though we lose by their unlimited Trade with
“ our foreign Plantations, yet we are very great Gainers
“ by their direct Trade, to and from *Old England*. Our
“ yearly Exportations of *English* Manufactures, Malt,
“ and other Goods from hence, thither, amounting, in
“ my Opinion, to ten times the Value of what is im-
“ ported from thence ; which Calculation I do not make
“ at Random, but upon mature Consideration ; and,
“ peradventure, upon as much Experience of this very
“ Trade, as any other Person will pretend to do ; and
“ therefore, whenever a Reformation of our Correspon-
“ dency in Trade with that People shall be thought on,
“ it will, in my poor Judgment, require great Tender-
“ ness, and very serious Circumspection.”

I shall not dwell much longer upon this Subject, or
pretend to give the Reader any Calculation of the Value
of those Advantages which from this Colony are deriv-
ed to *Great Britain*, because I am sensible that though
the Thing may be practicable in itself, yet sufficient In-
formations are not hitherto fallen into my Power ; I desire
there-

therefore to leave only these three Remarks with the ingenious and impartial Reader: The first is, that we have it in our Power to bring from this Colony all the naval Stores that we now bring from the *Baltic*; which, whenever it is thoroughly considered by our Parliament, will produce some Law, which cannot fail of rendering this Colony twice as beneficial to the Nation as it has hitherto been, or could be, till enabled by such a Law. In the second Place I must observe, that as we derive a great Part of our Sugars from the Assistance given to the Colonies which produce them by *New England*, so this Part of their Produce ought to be placed to the *New England* Account. I am to remark lastly, that the Complaints which have been made of the Inhabitants of this Colony dealing in Goods, and employing themselves in Manufactures, which interfere with those of *Great Britain*, is a Complaint, which, though well founded, is ill applied; for though it be true that this may be an Injury to us, yet the Fault lies in ourselves, and not in the People of *New England*, who only raise and manufacture for themselves what they cannot purchase from us; so that not content with having their All (for, as we have shewn, the whole Ballance of their Trade comes hither) we seem to be angry that they endeavour to supply themselves with what we could sell, and they want where-withall to purchase; which Want, however, might be removed, by taking their naval Stores. But it is now fit that we should give a short View of the Plantation of our next Colony, which though we cannot call it one of the most profitable, yet it must be allowed one of the most pleasant of our Plantations.

10. The Islands of *Bermudas* were discovered by one *John Bermudas* a *Spaniard*, after which they were frequently touched at by his Countrymen in their Passage to the *West Indies*, but were quite unknown to us till the Year 1593, when one *Henry May* was shipwrecked upon them in a *French* Vessel, whose Report made them very famous; but they became more so by the like Misfortune of *Sir George Summers*, and *Sir Thomas Gates*, in their Passage to *Virginia* in 1609, of which we have before given a particular Account, as well as of his being sent thither a second Time to fetch Hogs, when it was with great Difficulty he found these Islands, and not long after he breathed his last in them, being upwards of threescore, and much fatigued for many Months before. It was from him their Name was changed to *Summers's Islands*, which our Mariners call the *Summer Islands*; a Name they very well deserve for their Pleasantness and Fertility. *Sir George* directed his Men to return to *Virginia* with black Hogs, for the Relief of that Colony, but they resolved otherwise after his Death; and storing their Cedar Ship with such Provisions as they had, they set sail for *England*, where they arrived at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*, having *Sir George Summers's* Corps on board, only the Heart and Bowels they left at *Bermudas*, where Captain *Butler*, twelve Years afterwards, built a handsome Monument over them.

These Men, at their Return, gave such an Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to establish a Correspondence between *England* and *Bermudas*; accordingly they sold these Islands to one hundred and twenty Persons of the same Society, who obtained a Charter from King *James*, and became the Proprietors of them. When *Sir George Summers* was first here, two of his Men staid behind, having committed some Crime, for which they would have been put to Death. They were still there when *Sir George* returned, and had, ever since his Departure, supported themselves on the Productions of the Place, and built them a Hut, and took Possession of *St. George's Island*. These two Men, whose Names were *Christopher Carter*, and *Edward Waters*, staid also behind *Sir George's* second Company, of whom they persuaded one *Edward Chard* to remain with them; and now *Carter*, *Waters*, and *Chard*, were sole Lords of the Country, but soon fell out among themselves; *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitched Battle; but *Carter*, though he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare against the Man who struck first. At last Necessity

made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Discoveries, in one of which Expeditions they found the largest Piece of *Ambergrease*, among the Rocks, that ever was seen, weighing eighty Pounds, besides other smaller Pieces. This Treasure made them almost mad; they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it, and, that they might have an Opportunity to make use of it, resolved, on the most desperate Attempt that Men could run upon, which was to build a Boat after the best Manner they could, to sail to *Virginia* or *Newfoundland*, according as Wind and Weather should present.

But before they could put their Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from *England*; for Captain *Mathew Summers*, *Sir George's* Brother, had promised to come to them, or send a Vessel to their Relief. The Ship they discovered standing in with the Shore was the *Plough*, which had sixty Persons aboard, sent by the new *Bermudas* Company to make a Settlement, of which Mr. *Richard Moor* was Governor, who was an honest industrious Person. He pitched upon a Plain in *St. George's Island* to settle on, and there first built himself a House, or rather Cabin, for the Building was only of *Palmeto* Leaves; yet he made it large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the rest of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a sort of a Town, which in Time grew to a considerable Bigness, and is now *St. George's* Town, one of the strongest and best built in our *American* Colonies; for all the Houses are of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone. This Man proved an excellent Governor in every Respect; and, in the Year 1614, disappointed the *Spaniards* in a Design they had formed of landing upon, and conquering, these Islands.

He was succeeded by Captain *Daniel Tucker*, who was a Person of better Education, and more Experience in the World, who took upon him to establish a regular Form of Government; to distinguish and trace out Plantations; to oblige every Man to build uniformly in the Town, and to plant regularly in the Country; by which Method the Islands were very much improved, and the Exportations for *England* increased; he likewise established a tolerable Militia, and put the Islands in such a posture of Defence, as, together with their Situation, put it out of the Power of any of their Enemies to disembark such a Force as might hurt them. But the Severity of his Government was so grievous to some licentious Persons, that five of them executed as desperate a Design to escape him, as *Waters* and his Companions had projected to get away from the Island. They knew the Governor would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this Contrivance to effect it: Hearing Captain *Tucker* had a great Desire to go a fishing out at Sea, but was afraid to do it, because several Fisher-boats had been driven off by the Weather and the Men perished, they proposed to him to build a Boat of two or three Tons, with a Deck, and so fitted that she should live in all Weathers. The Governor consenting to it, they fell to building in a private Place, pretending it was convenient for getting Timber and launching the Boat. They finished it sooner than was expected; and the Governor sent Hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a Ship which he was then dispatching for *England*. When his Men came to the Place, neither the Boat nor the Builders were to be found; all that they could hear of them was, that the Boat being finished the Night before, those that built it went off to Sea in it, to try how it would sail. At last they found by some Letters they left behind them, that they were gone for *England*; and the Story of their Adventure is told us in this Manner:

They borrowed a Compass-dial of a Neighbour, on some Pretence or other, and went on board the Ship bound for *England*, where they trucked with the Seamen such Things as they had, for Provisions. One of them, at parting, told the Mariners, that though they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in *England* before them. At which the Master of the Ship laughed, and away these fearless Adventurers sailed, with a fair Wind and Weather for one and twenty Days; they then met with a Storm, which reduced them to Extremity for eight and forty Hours, and obliging them to bear

bear up afore it drove them a little out of their Course to the Westward ; but the Wind coming fair again, and continuing so ten Days, they went on chearfully. In that Time they met with a *French* Privateer, where they went aboard to beg some Relief ; but instead of helping they plundered them of the little they had, took away even their Instrument of Navigation, and turned them a-drift. In this miserable Condition they sailed on, growing every Day weaker and weaker ; their Provisions were almost spent, their Fire-wood quite gone, not a Drop of fresh Water left, nor Food for above a Day, when at last, in the very Hour they expected to perish, they made Land to their unspeakable Joy. This Land was *Ireland*, where they went ashore in the County of *Cork*, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of *Thomond*, to whom they related their Voyage, which had then lasted forty-two Days.

There were but five Persons concerned, of whom there was one Mr. *James Barker*, a Gentleman, *Richard Saunders*, who contrived the Design, *William Goodwin*, a Ship-Carpenter, who built the Boat, and *Henry Puet*, a common Sailor, who undertook to navigate this Vessel. Both these Stories may seem a little beside our present Purpose, but I have inserted them as belonging more immediately to a *Collection of Voyages*, and because I look upon both these Incidents to be very well worth preserving. Capt. *Tucker* resigned, in the Year 1619, to Capt. *Butler*, who arrived at that time with four good Ships, in which he brought five hundred Passengers, and there being as many *English* on the Island, the Colony began to make a considerable Figure. This Governor raised a noble Monument over the Remains of Sir *George Summers* that were left in the Island, depositing them in the Church in *St. George's Town*. He divided the Islands into Districts ; and now the Government, by Governor, Council, and Assembly, was established, which before had been only the Governor and Council. The Laws of the Country were also settled, as near as the Circumstances and Conveniencies of the Place would admit, to the Laws of *England* ; as is done in all the Colonies in *America*. After bringing down the History of these Islands to their becoming a regular and settled Colony, I am next to give an Account of the Islands themselves, in order to shew the Value of them.

II. There are some who would persuade us, that these Islands have received their Name from the vast Quantity of Black Hogs found upon them : *Bermudas*, in the old *Spanish* Tongue, signifying a *Black Hog* ; but though this Derivation be plausible, yet the Fact upon which it is founded, is most certainly false ; for when the *Spaniards* first discovered them there was not a single Hog upon these, or perhaps upon any other Island whatever ; neither is it well known upon what Part the *Spaniards* landed. These Islands lie very contiguous to each other ; but Authors differ so much as to the Number of them, that it is very difficult to speak of them with Certainty ; for some say there are but three hundred, others affirm there are more than five hundred. They lie in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 30 Minutes North, and in 35 Degrees of Western Longitude, at a vast Distance from the Continent, since the nearest Land, which is *Cape Hatteras* in *Carolina*, lies at least two hundred and fifty Leagues to the West of them, and they are above sixteen hundred Leagues from *England*. The Air here has been always thought extremely wholesome, and the Country wonderfully pleasant, inso-much that People were wont to remove hither from the other Colonies, in order to recover their broken Constitution. The Heat in Summer is very supportable, and with respect to Winter, they have really none ; nay, some go so far as to affirm, that there is but one Season in the Island of *Bermudas*, and this a perpetual Spring ; which, however, may be in some measure ascribed to the Soil, which though it be thin is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably stoney. The Earth is of several Colours, brown, white, and red ; the first is the best and the last the worst. Two or three Feet under the Mould they find a white hard Body, which the Inhabitants call the Rock, but which seems more to resemble Chalk, or a Pumice-stone, through which the Roots of their Trees force a Passage ; and a kind of Clay is generally found under it.

Maize, or *Indian* Corn, which is the main Support

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of the People here, is twice reaped ; for what they sow in *March*, they cut in *July* ; in a Fortnight after they sow again, and reap in *December*. They have all the Plants peculiar to the *West Indies*, and all Kinds of Herbs, Roots, Flowers, and Trees, brought from *Europe*, thrive to Perfection. They have some Tobacco, but it is of an indifferent sort, and therefore does not yield them any great Profit ; but certainly, with a little Care, they might be able to produce any kind of Tobacco, or other Vegetable that turns to Account almost in any Climate. They have *Palmeto's*, a kind of Wild Palm, that is extremely useful, the Leaves being eight or ten Feet long, and near as broad, with which they cover or thatch their Houses ; it produces a very luscious Fruit, which in Shape, Size, and Colour resembles a Damson. Laurel, Olive, Mulberry, and Date Trees, are very common ; and their Forests abound with Variety of odoriferous Woods, some black, some of a yellow, and some of a red Colour : The Berries of these Trees have the Stiptic Quality of a Sloe, and are much used by the *English* to cure the Flux, which they frequently get by eating the luscious Palm-berries too greedily. But amongst a Multitude of Shrubs and Trees peculiar to these Islands, and equally valuable for their Timber and Fruit, there are two which, though found in other Parts of the World, have a peculiar Excellence here ; the first is their Orange, which in point of Size, Scent, and Flavour, far exceeds any either in the *West* or *East Indies* : The second is their Cedar, which from the Nature of the Soil wherein it grows is firmer and more durable than any of its Kind that we are acquainted with ; answers in every respect to Oak-Timber, and is found of extraordinary Use in Ship-building, so that the best Sloops, Brigantines, and other small Vessels, both for Service and Sailing, which are in Use throughout the *West Indies*, are built at *Bermudas*.

They have likewise two very singular Plants, one useful and the other noxious, but both so remarkable as to deserve particular Notice ; the first is called, the *Summer-Island Redwood*, the Berry of which is as red as the Prickle-Pear, giving also such a Tincture ; out of which Berry come first Worms, which afterwards turn into Flies, sometimes bigger than the *Cochineel* Fly, and a medicinal Virtue much exceeding it. The Poison-Weed is the other strange Plant, which grows much in the same manner as our Ivy, and if we may depend upon a Gentleman, who lived long in these Islands, and sent an Account of what was remarkable in them, to the Royal Society, there is not a more surprising Production than this in Nature : He says he had seen a Man so infected by it, as to have all the Skin of his Face peel off though he passed by without touching it, and yet he affirms that he had chewed it in his Mouth without feeling any Inconvenience, whence he infers, that it is not hurtful alike to all Constitutions. In this all who have been upon these Islands agree, that this Weed is very prejudicial, but then they agree likewise, that there is nothing venomous besides, in any of these Islands.

As for Animals, there were none in *Bermudas* but Hogs, Insects, and Birds, when Sir *George Summers* was shipwrecked there : He found out that there were some Hogs in the Island, by sending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild Boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent Meat : The Hogs they killed afterwards were found to be all black, and from thence it is concluded that the *Spaniards* had left them there to breed, because they were of the same Kind with them they carried to the Continent of *America* : They now fat them at *Bermudas*, with Palm and Cedar Berries ; but their Number is very much decreased. These Islands abound in more and greater Variety of Fowl than any in *America*. There are Hawks of all sorts, Hens, Bitterns, Offspreys, Cormorants, Baldcoots, Moorhens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck, and Wigeons ; Bats and Owls are also very common here, with Multitudes of small Birds ; as Wood-peckers, Sparrows, &c. The *English*, at their first coming, found a sort of Fowl here they called *Cowkoes*, which bred in the Holes of the Rocks, and in Burrows, like Rabbits, and were so numerous and gentle, that they were taken by Hand. They are now almost destroyed, being very easy to be caught. This Bird is of the Bigness of

Q q q

a Sea-

a Sea-mew. There are also the Tropic-Bird, and the Pemlico, seldom seen by Day, and when it is, held to be the unwelcome Fore-teller of a Storm.

Fish there is as plenty as Fowl, of which there are so many sorts that Authors have not yet found out Names for them: They have of the scaly and the shelly Kind; the Whale and Sword-fish, and the Thresher; but particularly the Tortoise abounds to a Wonder, and is as good and great, of the Sort, as any in the World. Whale-fishing has been attempted, but without Success. The Whales about *Bermudas* are found only in the Months of *February*, *March*, and *April*; the Female Whales have abundance of Milk, which the young ones suck out of the Teats that grow by her Navel; they have no Teeth, but feed on Grass growing on the Rocks at the Bottom during these three Months, and at no other Season of the Year; when this is consumed and gone, the Whales go. There have been Sperma-ceti Whales driven upon the Shore, which Sperma (as they call it) lies all over the Bodies of these Whales: These have divers Teeth, which may be about as big as a Man's Wrist. Ambergrease and Sperma-ceti, have been found here in great Quantities, and Pearl. All which are almost as rare here now, as elsewhere; which is a little wonderful.

The Insects in these Islands are, generally speaking, the same before mentioned in other Plantations, except it be the Spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other Country in the World, and so adorned with beautiful Colours, that it takes off very much, if it does not entirely remove, that Distaste, which otherwise the Sight of Creatures of this Kind and of so enormous a Size would naturally occasion. One of these Spiders, with its Legs extended, would take up a Space equal to the Breadth of a Man's Hand. Their Bodies are composed of two Parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in Shape or Size, to a Pigeons Egg. On their Backs they have an Orifice, which serves as well as in some kinds of Hogs for a Navel; their Mouths are covered with a kind of grey Hairs, intermixed sometimes with bright red, and on each Side of their Mouths they have a kind of crooked Tooth, of a fine polished Substance, extremely hard, and of a bright shining black, and therefore they are often set in Silver or Gold for Tooth-picks. When these Creatures grow old, they are covered all over with a kind of dark brown or black Down, smooth, soft, and shining like Velvet; on the flat Part they have their ten Legs, five on each Side, each of which has four Joints, and two small Claws at the Ends. They cast their Skins every Year, together with those hard Teeth-like Substances before mentioned; they live upon Flies and Gnats, in catching of which they shew great Cunning and no less Agility. Their Webs, which are very large, they spirt into the Air, by which means they are lodged upon Trees at some Distance, and then run along the Threads, and weave them so strong, that Birds of the Size of a Thrush are sometimes caught in them.

There is scarce an eighth Part of these Islands inhabited, and all but *St. George's*, *St. Davids*, and *Coopers Isles*, have only a few Houses scattered up and down; they all together make the Figure of a Sheep-hook, and are within the Circuit of six or seven Leagues at most. There are none of them of any considerable Bigness, yet some much bigger than others; as Time and the Sea continually washing upon them, have worn them away in different Proportions. The main or great Island of all is called *St. George's*, and is about sixteen Miles in Length, from East-north-east to West-south-west; 'tis not a League over in the broadest Place, but is fortified by Nature all round, the Rocks every way extending themselves a great Way into the Sea. To natural Strength, especially towards the Eastward, where it is most exposed, the Inhabitants have added that of Forts, Batteries, Parapets, and Lines; the Cannon of the Forts and Batteries being so well disposed as to command the several Channels and Inlets into the Sea. There are no more than two Places where Shipping may safely come in, and it is not easy for a Man to find those Places out; the Rocks lie so thick in such a Manner, and some so undiscovered,

that without a good Pilot from the Shore, a Vessel of ten Tons could not find the Way into those Harbours, which being once known the biggest Ships in the World may enter. These two Havens are so fortified, that if an Enemy should attempt either, he might easily be kept out. The Rocks, at most Places, appear at low-water; it ebbs and flows there not above five Feet; the very Shore itself is, for the most Part, a Rock, and it is impossible to find out any Islands better guarded by Rocks than these; indeed they are all of them so invironed with them, that they seem to threaten all Ships who venture on that Coast with present Destruction, and so many have been shipwrecked upon them, that the Spaniards gave them the Name of *Los Diabolos*, the Devil's Islands; this Place having been fatal to them and all Nations.

The Town of *St. George* stands at the Bottom of the Haven of the same Name, covered by no less than six or seven Forts and Batteries, as *Kings Castle*, *Charles Fort*, *Pembrook Fort*, *Cavendish Fort*, *Davie's Fort*, *Warwick Fort*, and *Sandy's Fort*, mounted with above seventy Pieces of Cannon; and they are so disposed, that they can be all brought to bear upon any Ship before she can make her Entrance. In this Town there is a fair Church with a fine Library, for which the Inhabitants are indebted to *Dr. Thomas Bray*. There are near a thousand Houses in it handsomely built, and a State-House for the meeting of the Governor, Council, and Assembly. Besides the Town and Division of *St. George*, there are eight Tribes, *Hamilton's Tribe*, *Smith's Tribe*, *Devonshire's Tribe*, *Pembrook's Tribe*, *Paget's Tribe*, *Warwick's Tribe*, *Southampton's Tribe*, and *Sandy's Tribe*, of which, *Devonshire* in the North, and *Southampton* in the South, are Parishes, have each a Church, and a particular Library. In the whole Island there are Plantations of Oranges, Mulberries, and other Productions of the Country, which render it a very delightful Prospect. There is a Haven in *Southampton* Tribe or District, which is also called *Southampton*, and other Harbours, as the *Great Sound*, *Harrington's Inlet* in *Hamilton's Tribe*, *Paget's Port* in *Paget's Tribe*, and others. There are no Parish Churches in any of the lesser Islands, and all the Inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight Tribes. The Number of People in the whole, who inhabit these Islands, has been computed to be nine thousand, and it is thought they do not much increase, many of the younger Sort removing, for the Sake of making their Fortunes, into other Colonies.

The Government is like that of *Virginia*; the Crown appointing both a Governor and Council, but the People, by their Representatives, compose the Assembly; they have fewer By-Laws than any of our other Settlements, which we impute to the Smallness of their Trade; for this Colony produces no considerable Commodity by which the Inhabitants may be enriched; and their Commerce consists chiefly in Timber and Provisions, which they send to the other Parts of *America* that stand in need of them, and some Tobacco imported to *England*; several Families retired thither formerly, on account of their Religion, or Health, from *England*, and carried considerable Effects with them. The building of Ships and Sloops is the most advantageous Branch of their Trade; and the People of *Bermudas* seem to content themselves with the Pleasure and Plenty of their Country, with a safe and quiet Retreat from the Troubles and Cares of the other Part of the World, without any Ambition to enrich themselves; and, if they had any such Desire, it is to be questioned whether they have any Opportunity of gratifying it: Be that as it will, the Inhabitants have constantly maintained a most excellent Reputation; inso-much that I knew a very ingenious Gentleman as well acquainted with this, and our other Plantations, as thirty Years trading to them all could render him, who was wont to say that *Bermudas* was the finest Country, and inhabited by the best People he ever knew.

It was this Report of the Place and People that induced the Reverend Dean *Berkley*, who is since become, very worthily, a Bishop of our Church, to think of erecting an Academy there, for promoting useful Learning and true Religion in the *West Indies*; and the Society for Propagation of the Gospel had so good an Opinion of the

Proposal made them by the Bishop of erecting a College or Seminary at *Bermudas*, that they assisted him in procuring a Patent for it from King *George I.* and contributed to the Expence of the Undertaking. And the Doctor, with three Fellows of *Trinity College* in *Dublin*, viz. The Reverend Mr. *William Thompson*, *Jonathan Rogers*, and *James King*, Masters of Art, with several of the Doctor's Relations, who were People of Fortune, embarked for *Bermudas*, in order to lay the Foundation of the intended College; but they were unfortunately driven, by a Storm, to *Long Island*, in the Province of *New York*; from whence the Doctor, with his Companions, visited *Boston*, and several other great Towns in *New England*, where they preached, and performed other Parts of their Function. But the Design of erecting a College was laid aside, the Expence appearing larger than it had been first calculated, and many of those who had promised Subscriptions failing in their Performance; so that Dr. *Berkley* found himself obliged to return home, and was not long after promoted to the See of *Cloyne*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which he still enjoys.

There remains nothing farther to be said of this Plantation, which, though it has flourished exceedingly, and is still in a very good Condition, yet has no great Trade with *Great Britain*, at least that we can obtain any Account of, though undoubtedly we receive very considerable Advantages from thence annually, as the People make use of a considerable Quantity of our Goods, are clothed with our Manufactures, and employ Tools sent from thence in all kinds of Work. There might, perhaps, if due Encouragement was given, be a Possibility of raising several rich Commodities in this Country, but more particularly two, for which it seems fitter than any of our Plantations, viz. *Cochineel* and *Silk*; and with this View, as I have been informed, a very worthy Merchant of this City has collected, digested, and printed, the best Accounts that are to be met with on these Heads, and also with respect to *Indigo*, and has sent them to be distributed at his own Expence in *Carolina* and the *Bermudas* Islands, which is an Instance of public Spirit that deserves to be mentioned with Honour, and it is hoped may be likewise thought worthy of Imitation. A very few Attempts of this kind, supported with Subscriptions inferior to those made for some Diversions, might produce immense public Advantages to this Nation, and prove the Means of making multitudes of People happy.

12. All the Misadventures that had happened in attempting Discoveries to the North-east and North-west for a new Passage to the *Indies*, could not so far discourage the Merchants of *England*, as to oblige them to lay aside their Designs of that Sort; and therefore when any Opportunity offered they never failed to lay hold of it, in Hopes that some Time or other they might accomplish one or both of these great Projects. It was with this View that they fitted out Captain *Henry Hudson* in 1607, who undertook to sail directly North, which he did to the Height of 81 Degrees 30 Minutes, on the Coast of *Groenland*, where he was on the 16th of *July*, the Weather being pretty warm. His Scheme, it seems, was to have passed round that great Tract of Country, which the *Danes* call *Groenland*, and falling into *Davis's Straights*, have returned that way home. After being disappointed in this, he undertook two Voyages for the Discovery of a North-east Passage, in which his Conduct was very good, though his Success no better than that of those who went before him; upon which he resolved to make an Attempt towards the North-west. He sailed on this Voyage *April* the 17th, 1610; and thus Mr. *Pricket* describes the principal Events in that Undertaking:

" We continued steering North-west; on the 8th of *July* we raised Land to the South-west, covered with Snow, which our Master named *Desire Provokes*; lying in the Latitude of 60 Degrees. Here we heard the Noise of a great Overfall of a Tide that came out of the Land, and were now sensible that we had been embayed before; and we were now so well acquainted with the Ice, that in foggy or foul Weather we sought out the broadest Island of Ice, and there anchoring,

" we went out and sported upon the Ice, and filled Water that stood in Ponds upon the Ice very sweet and good, being now in the Tides-way, the Ice opened, by being first carried one way and then another, whereas in Bays it is immoveable; and in that Bay where we had been so troubled with Ice, we saw many of those Mountains of Ice a-ground in sixty or seventy Fathom Water. We still plied to Westward as the Ice would give us leave, and fearing a Storm, we found an Harbour at the West-End of an Island, whereunto we went at a full Sea, over a Rock, which had then two Fathom and a half of Water upon it, and the next Morning was two Fathoms above Water. Our Master named it *The Island of God's Mercies*. The Water flows here better than four Fathoms, and the Floods come from the North, flowing eight the Change Day, Latitude 62° 9'. Then plying to South-west we were on the 16th in the Latitude of 58° 50', but found ourselves embayed and much pestered with Ice; whereupon we stood to the South-west until we saw the Land, which our Master named *Hold with Hope*; and being gotten again into a clear Sea, our Master stood to the West along the South Shore, and raised three Capes or Head-Lands, lying one beyond another, which he named *Cape Henry*, *Cape James*, and *Queen Anne's Foreland*; we also raised a high Hill, which he named *Mount Charles*. We passed on in Sight of the South Shore until we raised a fair Head-Land, (which our Master took to be part of the main North Land, but is an Island) and named it *Deep's Cape*, and the Land on the South Side now falling away to the South makes another Cape or Head-Land, which our Master called *Worsham's Cape*.

" The Master sent me, the Carpenter, and some others, ashore near *Deep's Cape*; we there saw some Deer, twelve or sixteen in a Herd, but could not come within Shot of them; we found Plenty of Sorrel and Scurvy-Grass, and saw some round Hills of Stones like to Grass-Cocks; and when we came to them I turned off the uppermost Stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowls hanged by their Necks; we turned back, and told the Master what we had seen, and what Refreshment might be had; intreating him to stay a Day or two in this Place, but he was not pleased with the Motion, nor could be persuaded to stay. Then standing Southward we lost Sight of the main Land that we had all this while followed, and came into shallow Water, broken Ground, and Rocks, and passed down so far Southward till we had Land on both Sides, and the Water shoaling a-pace, we came to an Anchor. From hence we stood back again towards the North; and one Day a Debate arising concerning our coming into this Bay, and how we should get out again, the Master took Occasion to revive old Matters, and to displace *Robert Ivet*, his Mate, and Boatswain, for Words spoken on the first great Bay of Ice, and made *Robert Bilet* his Mate, and *William Wilson* our Boatswain.

" We plied to and fro from the North to the South, and thence to the North again, till we came to the Shole-Water, where we anchored in seven Fathom, and there lay eight Days; in all which Time we could not get one Hour to weigh our Anchor; but the eighth Day the Wind beginning to cease, our Master would have the Anchors up again against the Minds of all that knew what belonged thereunto; so to it we went, and when we had brought it a Peak, a Sea took her, and cast us all off from the Capstern, and hurt many of us; here we lost our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not been nimble we had lost our Cable too; but he fearing such a Matter, was ready with his Ax, and so cut it from thence. We stood to the South, and divers Courses, until we came to a Bay on the North Shore, where we anchored. While we lay here we saw a Ledge of Rocks to the Southward, about a League long, which were covered at full Sea; for a strong Tide set in here. At Midnight we weighed, and stood to go out as we came in, and had not gone long before the Carpenter told the Master

“ Master that if he kept that Course we should be upon
 “ the Rocks ; the Master conceived that he was past
 “ them, when presently we ran on them, and there
 “ stuck fast twelve Hours, but by the Mercy of God
 “ we got off unhurt. We stood to the East, and an-
 “ chored in a Bay ; here the Master sent me and the
 “ Carpenter, in a Boat, to seek a Place to winter in,
 “ and it was time, the Days being long and cold, and
 “ the Earth being covered with Snow, having spent
 “ three Months, to no Purpose, and it being now the
 “ last Day of *October*.

“ On the first of *November* we found a Place where-
 “ unto we brought our Ship, and haled her a-ground ;
 “ on the 10th we were frozen in, and now it concerned
 “ us to take care of what we had, and so to spend,
 “ that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until
 “ we should come at the Capes where the Fowl breed ;
 “ for there were all the Hopes we had of finding Subsist-
 “ ence to bring us home. Our Master therefore ap-
 “ pointed a Reward to them that killed Boat-fish, or
 “ Fowl. We were victualled for six Months, in good
 “ Proportion, and of that which was good ; and if our
 “ Master would have had more he might have been
 “ supplied at Home and in other Places ; and it is
 “ strange he did not prevent the Hunger we endured,
 “ which occasioned the Overthrow of himself and many
 “ other honest Men.”

It appears very clearly from this Relation, which is indeed the only one we have of this famous Voyage ; concerning which it is not easy to determine if it was most for the Advantage of this Nation or ruinous to the brave Man who undertook it ; that he was resolved to strike out something new, and not to waste his time, in retracing other Peoples Footsteps ; and therefore when he came to the Mouth of *Davis's Streights*, he continued steering directly West, and then as the Coast directed him through those Streights, that since bear his Name, till he doubled *Cape Worsenham*, and then he sailed down the West Coast of *New Britain* to the very Bottom of the Bay, where he made Choice of a Place to winter in, that was very near as far South as any Part of the Island of *Great Britain*, and at the very Back of the *French Settlements* in *Canada*. Captain *Hudson* was a very good Judge of the Importance and Consequences of his Discovery, which induced him to winter there, in Hopes of performing something very considerable the next Season, which very probably he would have done if his Men had not mutinied, and consigned him over to the Savages to be murdered.

The Relation we have of his Voyage from *Pricket*, is chiefly calculated to give an Account of this Mutiny ; but as it is more to our Purpose to come at as good an Account as we can of the Voyage itself we shall endeavour to pick out of it what relates to that Matter, and then give a short Relation of that Accident which destroyed Captain *Hudson*, and all his Hopes. “ It would be tedious, says he, to relate the Hardships we endured whilst we wintered in this Place ; the Cold was so extreme that it lamed most of our Company, but I must not forget God's great Mercy to us in sending such Store of white Partridges, during the first three Months, that we killed above one hundred Dozen, besides other Fowl of fundry sorts.

“ The Spring approaching the Partridges left us, and were succeeded by other Fowl ; as Swans, Geese, Ducks, and Teal, but hard to come by ; they came from the South and flew to the North ; but if they be taken short by a northerly Wind, then they fall, and stay till the Wind serves them, and then fly to the Northward. As the Summer came on the Fowls were gone, and few or none to be seen. Then we searched the Woods, Hills, and Vallies, for any thing that might serve for Food, though never so vile ; the Frogs (in the time of their engendering, as loathsome as Toads) were not spared, nor the Moss that grew on the Ground ; but amongst divers sorts of Vegetables, *Thomas Woodhouse* brought home a Bud of a Tree full of a Turpentine Substance ; of this our Surgeon made a Decoction to drink, and applied the Buds hot to such

“ as were troubled with Aches in any Part of their Bodies ; and I must confess I received thereby present Ease of my Pain. As soon as the Ice began to break out of the Bays, a Savage came to our Ship, being the first we had seen in all this time ; our Master entertained him well, promising to himself great Matters by his Means, and therefore would have to his own Use all the Knives and Hatchets that every Man had, but received none except from *John King* the Carpenter, and myself. To this Savage our Master gave a Knife, a Looking-glass, and Buttons ; who received them thankfully, and made Signs that after he had slept he would come again ; as he did. When he came again, he drew after him a Sledge, and upon it two Deer-Skins and two Beaver-Skins ; he laid the Knife upon one of the Beaver-Skins, and his Glass and Buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the Master, who received them ; and the Savage took those Things the Master had given him, and put them into his Scrip ; then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which he would have given the Master one of his Deer Skins ; but the Master would have them both, and so he had ; but not willingly.

“ After many Signs of People to the South and to the North, and that, after so many Sleeps, he would come again, he went his way ; but never came more. The Sound being now clear of Ice, so that our Boat could go from one Place to another, *Wilson, Green*, and five more, were ordered to go a fishing with our Net. They caught the first Day, five hundred Fishes as big as large Herrings, which put us all in good Hopes to have our Wants supplied ; but those were the most that ever they caught in one Day, and many Days they got not a Quarter so many. In this Time of their fishing, *Green, Wilson*, and some others, plotted to take the Net, and the Shallop which the Carpenter had newly set up, and so to shift for themselves ; but the Shallop being ready, our Master would go in it himself to the South and South-west, to see if he could meet with People ; for that Way we could see the Woods burning : So taking with him as much Provision as would serve for eight or nine Days, he went towards the South, and set no Time for his Return ; because he was persuaded, if he could meet with People, he should have Flesh of them, and that good Store ; but he returned worse than he went forth ; for although he was so near them as to see them set the Woods on fire, yet could he not by any Means come to the Speech of them.

“ Being come on board, he fitted all Things for his Return ; and first delivered all the Bread out of the Bread-room, which came to a Pound apiece for every Man's Share ; and delivered also a Bill of Return, willing them to have that to shew, if it should please God they should come home, and wept when he gave it to them : But to help us to some Relief in this poor Estate, our Boat went to work on *Friday* Morning, and staid till *Sunday* Noon, and brought fourscore small Fishes ; a poor Relief for so many hungry Bellies. Then we weighed, and stood out of our Wintering-place, and anchored without at the Mouth of the Bay ; where, our Bread being gone, what Store of Cheese we had was to stop a Gap, whereof there were five, at which time the Company grudged, because by their Reckoning there should have been nine, but those that were left were equally divided by the Master, although he was advised to the contrary, because there were some who could not govern themselves.”

It was this Resolution of the Master's, to make all fare alike for the sake of prosecuting the Voyage with effect, than which no Man was more like to do it than himself, that drew upon him his Destruction ; for his old Mate, one *Green*, and some other People in the Ship, resolving to lessen the Number of Hands, and so get all the Provisions that were left to themselves, most barbarously contrived to turn Captain *Hudson*, the Carpenter, and all the sick Men, out of the Ship ; after which they determined to make the best of their Way for *England*. This they performed

formed the 19th of June, 1611, by forcing Capt. *Hudson* and eight more into the Shallop without Provisions, tho' most of them were taken sick out of Bed, who after that time were never heard of, but were either drowned, starved, or murdered by the Savages: Neither did the Leaders of this Mutiny escape much better; for being obliged to land frequently on the desert Coast, in order to obtain some Subsistence, they fell there into a Fray with the Savages, in which *Green* and some others were killed; so that very few, and those too in a miserable Condition, returned to *England*, where *Pricket* wrote that Account of the Voyage for his own Justification, from which we have made these Extracts.

At first there fell great Imputations upon this Man, because he administered the Oath to the Conspirators; but upon an Enquiry it appeared very clearly, that this Oath contained nothing in it contrary to the Duty of the Seamen; and that the true Reason why they preserved him was, because that being Servant to Sir *Dudley Diggs*, who was a Man of great Power and Reputation, they were in hopes he would interpose, and save their Lives, which they ought to have forfeited as Pirates. Upon this imperfect Account of *Hudson's Bay*, several Persons who had been engaged already in Expeditions for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, began to hope that now they had a fairer Prospect than ever of bringing this Project to bear, in case they could find any able Mariner who would undertake to prosecute the Discoveries made by *Hudson*.

His Royal Highness *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, was the great Patron of Learning and Virtue at that time; and being applied to by the Persons concerned in this Project, he resolved to send one Capt. *Button*, his own Servant, a Man of great Abilities, Courage, and Experience, and having the Countenance of so great a Person, was most likely to maintain Discipline amongst his Seamen. Accordingly, in the Year 1611, he sailed on this Expedition, in which he passed *Hudson's Straights*, and leaving *Hudson's Bay* to the South sailed above two hundred Leagues to the North-west, through a Sea above eighty Fathom deep, and discovered a great Continent called by him *New Wales*; where, after much Misery and Sickness, wintering at *Port Nelson*, he carefully searched all the Bay, from him called *Button's Bay*, back again, almost to *Diggs's Island*. He discovered the great Island called *Cary's Swans-nest*. He lost many of his Men during his Stay in the River called *Port Nelson*, in fifty-seven Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude, though he kept three Fires in his Ship all Winter, and had great Store of white Partridges, and other Fowl, besides Deer, Bears, and Foxes. Upon his Return from this Voyage he received the Honour of Knighthood, and great Expectations were raised from his Discoveries, which had certainly been prosecuted with Effect, if Prince *Henry* had not died soon after.

It was a great Pity that Sir *Thomas Button*, who was certainly a very understanding Man, formed private Views of his own from the Knowledge he obtained in his Voyage; which were of such a Nature, that he affirmed he had convinced his Master, King *James*, that there was a Passage this Way into the *South Seas*. The Reasons upon which this Opinion was founded, as well as Notes of his Voyage, he promised to give to Mr. *Briggs*, the famous Mathematician, who had turned his Thoughts much upon this Subject, but never did; which was the Reason that all the Expeditions undertaken on that Side afterwards failed; but, however, we have sufficient Grounds to affirm, from the Knowledge derived to us from another Quarter, that the Discoveries of Sir *Thomas Button*, if prosecuted, might have proved highly advantageous to this Nation, notwithstanding the seeming Rigour of the Climate, and Barrenness of the Country.

The *French* were in possession of *Fort Bourbon*, which we call *New York Fort*, upon *St. Theresa*, the Eastern Branch of *Nelson River*, from the Year 1697 to 1714. Monsieur *Jeremie*, who was Lieutenant there from 1697 to 1708, and afterwards Governor till he gave it up, in 1714, to us, gives a very particular Account of that River and the adjoining Countries, great Part of which

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he affirms to be of his own Knowledge, having travelled a great way South-west into the Country, among the Rivers and Lakes. The *Danish*, or *Churchill's River*, upon which the *Hudson's Bay Company* have lately built a strong Stone Fort, he says is situated in 59 Degrees North Latitude, and is about five hundred Paces wide at the Entrance for about a quarter of a League, and very deep; but within, it is much broader, and navigable into the Country a hundred and fifty Leagues; there is but little Wood upon the River near the Bay, except in the Islands. At a hundred and fifty Leagues Distance is a Chain of high Mountains, with great Cataracts, and Falls of Water; but beyond these it is again navigable, and has a Communication with a River, called the *River of Stags*. Fifteen Leagues Northward of this River is the River of *Loup Marine*, or River of Seals. Betwixt these Rivers is found a kind of Ox, called the *Musk Ox*, which smells, at some time of the Year, so strong of Musk that it cannot be eat; they have very fine Wool, which is longer than that of the *Barbary Sheep*: They are smaller than *French Oxen*, with very crooked Horns which turn round like Rams-Horns, and are so long that they weigh sometimes sixty Pounds; they have short Legs, and their Wool trails upon the Ground: They are not numerous.

This River comes from a Nation he calls *Platfcoetz de Chiens*, who makes War against the *Savanna Indians*, who traded with the *French*. In that Country they have a large Copper Mine so fine, that without Smelting it they make Copper of it, by beating it betwixt two Stones: He saw a great deal of it, which their *Indians* got when they went to War against that Nation. This Nation has a sweet humane Aspect, but their Country is not good. They have no Beaver, but live by fishing, and a kind of Deer they call *Cariboux* (Rain Deer); the Hares grow white in Winter, and recover their Colour in Spring; they have very large Ears, and are always black; their Skins in Winter are very pretty of fine long Hair, which does not fall, so that they make very fine Muffs. He says he can say nothing positively in going farther Northward, but only, that their Savages reported that, in the Bottom of the Northern Bay there is a Streight, where they can easily discover Land on the other Side: They had never gone to the End of that Streight; they say there is Ice there all the Year, which is drove by the Wind, sometimes one Way sometimes another. According to all Appearance, this Arm of the Sea has a Communication with the Western Ocean; and what makes it more probable is, that when the Winds come from the Northern Quarter, the Sea is discharged by that Streight, in such Abundance, into *Hudson's Bay*, as to raise the Water ten Feet above the ordinary Tides; insomuch that when they find the Waters rise, Ships take Shelter against these Northerly Winds. The Savages say, that after travelling some Months to West-south-west, they came to the Sea, upon which they saw great Vessels with Men, who had Beards and Caps, who gather Gold on the Shore that is at the Mouths of Rivers. In passing to the Southward from the *Danish River*, at sixty Leagues Distance, is the River *Bourbon* or *Nelson*, in Latitude 57 Degrees.

There is nothing remarkable in the Country betwixt those two Rivers, but a great Number of the Deer, called *Cariboux*, which being drove from the Woods by a great Number of Muschetoos or Midges, come to the Shore to refresh themselves; they are in Herds of 10,000 together, and spread through a Country forty or fifty Leagues in extent. They might have as many of their Skins as they pleased, and some have been dressed, which have been very fine. They have there all Sorts of wild Fowl, as Swans, Bustards, Geese, Cranes, Ducks, and those of the smaller Kind in such great Numbers that when they rise they darken the Sky, and make so loud a Noise, that they can scarce hear each other speak. He says, that this may appear fabulous, but affirms, he says nothing but what he saw himself, for he would not trust to the Report of others, but went himself to almost every Place he mentions. The River *St. Theresa*, upon which they built *Fort Bourbon*, is a Branch of *Nelson River*, by which the Natives come down to trade. This

R r r

River

River is of so great Extent that it passes through many great Lakes: The first is 150 Leagues from the Entrance of the River, and is 100 Leagues in Circuit; the Natives call it the *Lake of Forts* (or rather *Forests*). On the North Side a River discharges itself, called the *Rapid River*; this takes its rise from a Lake 300 Leagues from the first, which they call *Michinipi*, or the *Great Waters*; because, in effect, it is the greatest and deepest Lake, being 600 Leagues in Circumference, and receives into it many Rivers, some of which have a Communication with the *Danish River*, and others with the *Plascotez de Chiens*, about this Lake and along these Rivers are many *Indians*, who call themselves the *Nation of the great Waters*, or of *Astinibowls*; it is to be remarked, that these are as humane and affable, as the *Esquimaux* are fierce and barbarous, as are also all other Nations along *Hudson's Bay*. At the Extremity of the *Lake of Forests* the *River Bourbon* continues its Course, and comes from another Lake, called the *junction of the two Seas*, because the Land almost meets in the Middle of the Lake; the East-side of this Lake is a Country full of thick Forests, in which are great Numbers of Beaver and Elks. Here begins the Country of the *Christinaux*.

This is in a much more temperate Climate. The West-side is full of fine Meadows, filled with wild Oxen. The *Astinibowls* live here; the Lake is 400 Leagues in Circumference, and 200 from the other Lake. 100 Leagues farther West-south-west along this River is another Lake, which they call *Ounipigouchib*, or the *Little Sea*; it is almost the same Country and Climate with the other, inhabited by the same *Indians*, the *Astinibowls*, the *Christinaux*, and *Souteurs*; it is 300 Leagues in Circumference; at the further End is a River, which comes from *Tacamiouen*, which is not so great as the other; it is into this Lake that the *River of Stags* is discharged, which is of such a Length that the Natives have not yet discovered its Source; from this River they can go to another, which runs Westward, but all the rest run either into the Bay or River of *Canada*. He endeavoured to send the Natives to discover if it went to the Westward Sea, but their Enemies lying in the way prevented them; however, they brought some of them Prisoners, who said they also were at War with another Nation farther West; these said they had Neighbours with Beards, who lived in Stone Houses and Forts, that they were not clothed like them; that they had white Kettles; and shewing them a Silver Cup, they said it was of that Metal; they said they tilled their Land with Tools of that Metal. According to their Description it was Maize they cultivated.

The Intendant of *Canada* was very desirous to discover these Countries from thence; but it is much easier from *Fort Bourbon*, as it is shorter; and though a fine Country full of Beasts and wild Fowl, besides Fruit, which grow wild, as Plumbs, Apples, and Grapes, and great Variety of smaller Fruit. On the South-west Side of this Lake *Tacamiouen* is a River which comes from another, called the *Lake of Dogs*, which is not far from the superior Lake. The River *St. Theresa* is but half a League wide where the Fort is built; two Leagues higher is *Fort Philipeaux*, built for a Retreat; there the River begins to be interspersed with Islands; twenty Leagues above the Fort the River divides into two Branches, one which comes from the North-west Side communicates with *Nelson* or *Bourbon River*, by which the Natives come down to trade, by the Means of a Land Carriage from the *Lake of Forests* to this River. Twenty Leagues above the first Fork there is another that comes from the South-east, which the Natives call *Guicomatouang*, or the *Great Fork*. This has a Communication with the River *St. Huiles*; the Western Branch, though still called *St. Theresa*, is but of a small Extent, coming from its Source by several small Brooks, in each of which are great Numbers of Lynx, Beavers, Martins, and others of smaller Furs. Betwixt the two Forts is a small River, called *Egaree*, from whence they get their Wood for firing, it being scarce at the Fort. Near the Mouth of the River is another small one they call *Gargouffe*; there comes in at high Water a great Num-

ber of Porpoisses. The River being narrow here, there might be a good Fishing, where they might make above six hundred Barrels of Oil annually.

From this River of *St. Huiles*, or *New Severn*, is 100 Leagues South-east. It is situated in Latitude 56 Degrees; the Entrance is but shallow, only capable of Vessels of 60 Tuns: Here might be made good Houses, for Wood is very plenty here; and there are great Numbers of Beavers higher up the River. As to the Climate of *Fort Bourbon*, it being in Latitude 57 Degrees, is very cold in Winter, which begins about Michaelmas, and ends in May. The Sun sets about three, and rises about nine in the Winter. When the Days grow a little longer, and the Cold is more temperate, the Sportsmen kill as many Partridges and Hares as they please. One Year, when they had eighty Men in Garrison, they had the Curiosity to reckon the Number, which amounted to ninety thousand Partridges, and twenty-five thousand Hares. At the End of April the Geese, Bustards, and Ducks, return in such Numbers, that they kill as many as they please; they also take great Numbers of Cariboux, or Rain-Deer; in March and April, they come from the North to the South, and extend then along the River 60 Leagues: They go again Northward in July and August; the Roads they make in the Snow are as well padded, and cross each other as often as the Streets at *Paris*. The Natives make Hedges with the Branches of Trees, and leave Openings, in which they fix Snares, and thus take Numbers of them: When they swim the Rivers, in returning Northwards, the Natives kill them in Canoes with Lances, as many as they please. In Summer they have the Pleasure of fishing, and with Nets take Pike, Trout, and Carp, and a white Fish something like a Herring, by much the best Fish in the World: They preserve those for their Winter Provision, by putting them in Snow, or freezing them, as also the Flesh they would preserve. They keep thus also Geese, Ducks, and Bustards, which they roast with the Hares and Partridges they kill in Winter. So that though it be a cold Climate, there is good living there, by getting Bread and Wine from Europe.

Though the Summer be short they had a Garden, and good Coleworts, with Sallads and small Herbs, which they put in their Soups in Winter. He had 120,000 Livres Profit out of 8000 sent him in Goods in one Season; they have also Bears, Elks, and all Sorts of Beasts, whose Skins and Furs are valued in *France*; and, according to him, it is one of the most profitable Posts in *North America*, considering the Expence. Thus far this French Writer, from whom we have borrowed a very clear and copious Account of the Advantages that might have accrued to us, if our original Discovery of *Hudson's Bay* had been properly considered.

But there were, and will be always, a Race of People decrying those Projects they want Courage to attempt; and who, by ridiculing the Pains taken to visit frozen Climates and barren Countries, hinder those Improvements which might otherwise follow from such kind of Expeditions. But they ought to consider before they run down such Attempts, that we have Numbers of poor People here who want Employment, and for whom Employments ought to be found; that if this be not done, they will either starve to our Shame, or strike out Ways of living at our Expence; whereas, if they were thus employed, they would both maintain themselves and benefit the Public: Besides, there is this Advantage that attends Northern Expeditions and Discoveries, that they breed a Race of hardy and useful Seamen, who are nearer at hand, and consequently more capable of serving their Country upon any Emergency than such as are employed in other Branches of Navigation. As to the supposed Difficulties that are to be in this way encountered, it is a Shame to hear them mentioned amongst People who pretend to maritime Power.

If Men are afraid of Ice, Cold, and Rocks, they must relinquish all Thoughts of being great at Sea, and leave it to those who can, not only endure, but even despise, such Hardships; the Dutch, the Danes, and the *Hamburghers*, sail every Year on the Whale Fishery, near

20 Degrees farther North than the Bottom of *Hudson's Bay*; and the *French* from *Canada*, travel through, and live in these very Countries of which we are speaking, with as much Ease as the Savages themselves; and, indeed, why should they not, or why should we imagine that one Man, or one Race of Men, can do more than another? Our Ancestors were of this Opinion, or at least they thought that if such a Race of Men there were, they might be found in this Island: And here, if properly encouraged and due Regard shewn to their Virtue, they will be always found, for it is not the People but their Governors that alter, and therefore we have a Right to blame those who took so little Notice of what *Sir Thomas Button* performed, and so little attended to what might be made of these Countries, as we certainly ought to commend such as contrived or promoted the Law lately passed for encouraging private Persons to attempt once more the Discovery of a North-west Passage, by securing to them a Reward from the Public, which, without doubt, they will justly deserve.

13. The next thing that occurs in order of Time, is the asserting our Right to that Part of the Continent of *America* which lies North from *New England*, and which is now called *Nova Scotia*, but was then looked upon as Part of *North Virginia*, and as such within the Charter of the Western Company, who gave strict Orders to those in their Service to prevent foreign Nations settling in their Limits; by which means this Country of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, which is of so great Consequence in itself, and for the Security of our other Plantations on the Main, was preserved. The Bounds of this Province are the Ocean to the North, *Cape Breton Island*, and the Bay of *St. Laurence* to the East, *Canada* to the West, and *New-England* to the South; it lies from 43 to 51 Degrees North Latitude, and from the River *St. Croix* the nearest to *New Hampshire*, to the great River of *St. Laurence*, has almost six hundred Miles of Coast, but most of it uninhabited and desert, the *Indians* themselves making little or no Use of it.

Sir Samuel Argall, then Governor of *Virginia*, made a Sort of cruizing Voyage round the Coast Northwards, as far as *Cape Cod* in *New England*, in the Year 1618, five or six Years before the *English*, who intended to settle, arrived in that Country. The *Indians* informed him that some white Men, like himself, were come to inhabit to the Northward of them. *Sir Samuel Argall*, who took all that Country, as far as it had been discovered by *Cabot*, to belong to the *Virginia* Company his Employers, sailed thither, found a Settlement and a Ship riding before it, which belonged to some *Frenchmen*; *Argall* drew so close to it, that, with his small Arms, he beat all the Men from the Deck, so that they could not use their Guns, their Ship having but one Deck; among others there were two *Jesuits* aboard, one of which endeavoured to fire off one of their Cannon, and was shot. *Argall* having taken the Ship, landed his Men, marched to, and summoned, the Fort to surrender: The *French* asked Time to consider of it, which was denied, upon which they got privately away and fled into the Woods. The *English* entered it, and lodged there that Night, and the next Day the *French* came and yielded to *Sir Samuel*, cancelling the Patents that had been granted them for their Settlement by the *French* King. *Sir Samuel* permitted such of the *French* as were so disposed to take Passage for *Europe* in the fishing Ships, and took the rest with him to *Virginia*, according to their Choice.

The *French* had another Settlement at a Place they called *Port Royal*, on a Bay on the South-west Coast of *Acadia*, which the two *Jesuits* had left out of Pique to their Governor *M. Biencourt*; and with these *Frenchmen* separated from the others. Father *Biard*, the surviving *Jesuit*, out of Malice to *Biencourt*, informed *Sir Samuel* of the Settlement at *Port Royal*, and the Ease with which he might reduce it, which he found to be true; and, on the Surrender of the *French*, he did no Damage to their Houses, their Barns, and Mills, but obliged them to quit the Country; they had sowed and reaped, and those of them that did not care to return home, re-

moved to the River of *St. Laurence*, where now is the Capital of *Canada* or *New France*.

When *Sir Ferdinand Gorges* was President of the *New England* Company, he proposed to *Sir William Alexander* to procure a particular Grant for the Land to the Northward of their Patent, which was easily obtained of King *James I.* and a Year after, 1622, *Sir William*, and some others whom he had got to be concerned with him, sent a Ship with Passengers to plant and settle there. *Newfoundland* was then very well known on account of the Fishery, and the Ship being late in her Voyage the Master put in and wintered there. The next Year they set sail, and made the Promontory at the North Shore of *Cape Breton Island*: They coasted it along till they came to *Cape Sable* in *Acadia*, where they found three good Harbours, and went ashore at one of them, which they called *Luke's Bay*; in which was a large River that had eight Fathom Water at ebb. This Ship failed up one of these, and, according to the Accounts that were published by those that were to be Sharers in the Patent, this Country is described as a kind of Paradise: With a View, no doubt, to have engaged People to go over thither to settle, to which End *Sir William Alexander* the original Proprietor, afterwards created Earl of *Sterling*, wrote and published a Book, and his Sovereign King *James* erected a new Order, called the Knights of *Nova Scotia*, to facilitate this Plantation.

But, notwithstanding all the Care that was taken of it, this Project proved abortive, and, which is very extraordinary, modern Authors have taught us to condemn and censure such as foresaw the Consequence and Importance of this Country to the *British* Nation, when unsettled and unimproved, and to treat as weak and pusillanimous the Conduct of those Times, when in full Peace the *French* were, by Force of Arms, compelled to quit a Country, which, though settled by them, was discovered by us; and from these Fugitives it was that the more Northern Settlement of the *French* took Birth. The Expedition of *Sir Samuel Argall* was certainly both a vigorous and a right Measure; and the Grant to *Sir William Alexander* was a very sensible thing, though the Design of it is now not well understood, or rather forgot; and therefore, though it may take up some Room, I shall endeavour to revive and to explain it. It was suggested to King *James* that the Tract of Country on the Continent of *North America*, belonging to his Crown, being very large and not likely to be planted in any reasonable Space of Time by the *English*, it would be a very wise and prudent Measure to grant under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, a Part of it to his Subjects of that Kingdom, upon a Supposition that it would be more beneficial for them, and more for the Interest of the united Kingdoms if they went over and settled there, than if, as to that Time they had frequently done, they transported themselves to *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Russia*, in which Countries there were at that Time many thousand *Scotch* Families.

Such was the original Scheme of settling and planting *Nova Scotia*; and if the Courtiers of those Times made a Jobb of this, and thereby defeated the Scheme; however this may reflect on their Memories, it ought to draw no sort of Odium on the Project itself, which was very well and wisely laid, if it had been as honestly and wisely executed. There was afterwards another Grant made of the Northern Part of this Country, to *Sir David Kirk*, from whom the *French* King bought it, or at least contracted to give him 5000*l.* for it; a very plain Proof that even the *French* acknowledged the Right by which he held it; and a *French* Nobleman likewise bought, many Years after that, *Sir William Alexander's* Property. It may be enquired why the Crown of *England* did not interpose and prevent these Sales, as might, no doubt, have been done; and the plain Answer to this is, that the *French* Protestants being principally concerned in these Settlements, the Crown had a Tenderness for them.

But *Oliver Cromwell* sent Major *Sedgwick* to dislodge the *French* from *Port Royal*, which he did, and though the Protector afterwards consented that a *French* Proprietor should enjoy the Country, yet it was upon Condition

dition that he should make out this Right by Purchase from the Earl of *Sterling*; which he afterwards did, and then sold it to Sir *Thomas Temple*, who was both Proprietor and Governor at the Restoration: After which the *French* settled there again, and remained there in quiet Possession till the Year 1690, when they were dispossessed by Sir *William Phips*, then Governor of *New England*; but it was afterwards given up again to the *French*, by King *William's* Treaty of *Ryswick*. It is not, however, to be understood that either King *Charles II.* or King *William III.* by their respective Treaties with *France*, gave up the Claim of this Nation to that Country, nor did the *French* so understand it, but only permitted that Possession, because, as the Circumstances of things then stood, they were unwilling to contest it. In all these Changes, however, the Island of *Cape Breton* followed the Fate of *Nova Scotia*, and both continued in the Hands of the *French* till the Year 1710, when Governor *Nicholson* made himself Master of *Port Royal*, which was become a Place of very great Importance in many Respects, more especially in this, that it gave the *French* an Opportunity of disturbing and distressing our Trade to such a Degree, that it was very properly stiled the *Dunkirk of America*.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking this Place was looked upon as a very remarkable Service, or that the Queen should bestow her Name upon it to shew that she never meant to part with it. Upon the same Principle, Colonel *Nicholson*, upon his Return to *England*, had a Commission granted him to be Governor of *Nova Scotia*, and of *Annapolis Royal*, and Commander of all her Majesty's Forces there and in *Newfoundland*. While things were in this Situation, a Negotiation for Peace was set on foot, which afterwards produced one that has since made a great deal of Noise, more especially with regard to the Stipulations therein, in reference to this Province; and therefore it is requisite for us to see what relates to *Nova Scotia* in the *Utrecht* Treaty, the Words of which, in the twelfth Article, are, "All *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, with all ancient Boundaries, as also "the City of *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis*, and all "other things in these Parts which depend on Lands "and Islands, together with the Dominion, Property, "Possession of the said Islands, Lands, and all Rights "whatsoever, by Treaties or by any other way obtained, " &c." To which the *French* King added the Exclusion of the Subjects of *France* from fishing on the Coast of *Nova Scotia*, and within thirty Leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*, and stretching along to the South-west; there is no doubt but this Article, as it is worded, contains the Restitution of *Cape Breton*, which ought to have gone along with *Nova Scotia*, as it had hitherto done; neither is this a bare Conjecture, or my particular Notion, but the general Sentiment of such as were best acquainted with this Affair, and with the Negotiation that concerned it; which induced the Queen, in her Instructions to the late Duke of *Shrewsbury*, when he went Ambassador to *France*, to declare that she looked upon *Cape Breton* to belong to her, and reckoned that Island a Part of the ancient Territory of *Nova Scotia*. But notwithstanding this Article in the Queen's Instructions, the *French* were suffered to keep *Cape Breton*, but, most undoubtedly, this gave them no Right to it.

I am very far from thinking that in this Case, I mean in the Case of Plantations, Possession is the only, or even the best Right, because such a Doctrine might confer Right upon Pirates. The best Claim of Civilized Nations, with respect to new Countries, was always allowed to be the first Discovery. This Right is that on which is founded our Title, and very justly; for we have certainly discovered all the Countries that border on *Davis's Streights*, *Hudson's Bay*, and so forwards to the Limits of *Georgia*; and this Right being in the Crown of *England*, and inherited with the Crown of *England*, could never be granted away, yielded to a foreign Power, or otherwise transferred, without the Consent of Parliament; though the temporary Possession might. For, in those Treaties by which *Acadia* was left to *France*, the Crown only stipulated not to deprive the *French* of their Possession, during the

Continuance of the Peace, but the Right still remained in us, and must always remain in us.

We have before shewn that the *French* acknowledged this, as appears by the King of *France's* purchasing under our Title; nor was it ever disputed till the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that the Island of *Cape Breton* belonged to *Nova Scotia*, nor could it be disputed, because the very Charter which established *Nova Scotia* as a distinct Province, included the Island of *Cape Breton* in express Words. We may add to this, that our Title to *Labrador* or *New Britain* is unquestionable, of which Country *Nova Scotia* was a Part, till separated by the Charter; and our Claim to *Newfoundland* has been always maintained, as we shewed in the former Section: So that on the whole it may be justly affirmed, that our Right to the Island of *Cape Breton* is as clear and as unquestionable as that of any *European* Nation to any of its Settlements in *America*, or elsewhere. But if it should be demanded of what Use this Reasoning is, I answer, that having now recovered the Possession of that Island to which we had always a Right, and out of which we were cheated at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the *French* have no Colour to demand the Restitution of it; nor is the Case the same now, that it was when King *Charles II.* concluded his Treaty in 1666, when King *William* concluded the Treaty of *Ryswick*, in 1697, or when the Treaty of *Utrecht* was made by Queen *Anne*, in 1712.

14. We gave a large Account, in the former Section, of the Attempt made by that great Man, and good Patriot, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to establish an *English* Plantation in *Guiana*; and of his sending, after his Return to *England*, a Ship to prosecute that Discovery: Of which second Voyage we have likewise a long Account, published by Captain *Keymish*: But this Design met with continual Interruptions; or otherwise, Sir *Walter* himself tells us in his *Apology*, there had been, before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, a sufficient Number of *English* settled in that Part of the World, to have secured the Possession of it for ever to this Crown and Nation. The very next Year after Sir *Walter's* Return, he was employed in the Expedition to *Cadiz*: The two following Years, his Time was taken up in that which was called the *Island Voyage*. Then the great Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which rendered Queen *Elizabeth* unwilling to encourage any private Expeditions that required a considerable Force; and this Rebellion lasted till the Queen's Death. Immediately after this, Sir *Walter* himself was imprisoned, and so continued for many Years. Which very fairly accounts for this noble Design remaining so long unpursued.

But Things delayed are not always lost; the Desire of settling *Guiana* revived in a few Years after Peace was restored; and, as I do not know it has ever yet been done, I shall give a succinct Account of the several Attempts made to carry this Design into Execution, to the Time they were wholly given over, and the small Interest we had in that Part of the World surrendered up to the *Dutch*. In the Year 1604, Capt. *Charles Leigh* undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*, at his own, and his Brother Sir *Olive Leigh's*, Charge: He had a Bark of about fifty Tons, called the *Olive-Plant*; and his Company, about forty-six Men and Boys. They sailed from *Woolwich* the 21st of *March*, with a Design to make a more complete Discovery of the Country of *Guiana* than had been yet done, and to fix an *English* Colony there. On the 22d of *May* they came into the River of *Wyapoco*, in the Latitude of 8 Degrees 30 Minutes to the North of the Line, and the Town of *Wyapoco*, which lies on the Coast of *Guiana*, was the Place in which they intended to take up their Abode. Here the Captain came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they should allow him a good Space of Ground and some Houses, for the present; in Consideration of which he was to assist them against their inveterate Enemies the *Caribbees*, who greatly distressed them.

This Agreement was made by Means of two of the Natives of *Guiana* who had been in *England*, and could speak some *English*; and for the better Security of Performance on the Part of the Savages, they consented to give

five of their Body, among whom were two Persons of Note, as Pledges to be sent to *England*. Their first Settlement was on part of the Mountain that lies on the West-side of the Entrance of the River, to which they gave the Name of *Mount Howard*. The Captain might have lived here a very quiet Life, and been very useful to his Country too, had he not had a mutinous and discontented Company. The next Year after, he sent his Ship to *England*, in the Month of *June*, for fresh Supplies of such Things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his Men and Boys with him, to settle his small Village, and thereby set this Colony upon a better Footing than it had till then been. They had some Trade with the Natives, as well round about their Settlement, as farther up the River; and the chief Merchandizes they obtained were Wax, fine white Feathers, Tobacco, Parrots, Monkeys green and black, Cotton, Yarn and Wool, sweet Gums, red Pepper, Spleen and Masate Stones; with several sorts of Wood, Roots, and Berries, partly for Medicine, and partly for Dying; but the Flux, and other Distempers, carried off a good Number of the Company; and the Captain, being seized with it himself just as he was going on board for *England*, to fetch a complete Loading of such Things as were needful for his Colony, died of it. It was by this unhappy Stroke, the whole Undertaking was quashed, and every one shifted for himself; some returned to *England* in their own Vessel, others in a *French* Ship, and others in two *Dutch* Ships, very much to the Regret of the *Indians*, and to the no small Loss of Sir *Olive Leigh*, and Detriment of the *English* Nation.

Sir *Olive Leigh* resolving to support his Brother in the Establishment of his Colony at *Guiana*, before he had any Account of his Success, fitted out another Ship called the *Olive Blossom*, under Capt. *Catalin* and Capt. *St. John*, to carry him a fresh Supply of Men and Necessaries. The Ship set out from *Woolwich* for *Wyapoco*, the 14th of *April*, 1605; but, between contrary Winds and Currents, by the Unskilfulness of the Master, Mr. *Richard Chambers*, they were put so far to the Leeward, that they despaired of ever recovering their intended Port in any due time; and therefore they put in first at *Barbadoes*, and afterwards at the Island of *St. Lucia*, designing from thence to return to *England*: However, examining their Stores of Provisions, and finding not near enough to serve so large a Company as they were, for so long a Voyage, Capt. *St. John* himself, with several of the Passengers to the Number of sixty-seven, resolved rather to stay, and take their Lot upon that Island, than to run the Hazard of their being starved at Sea.

They soon made an Acquaintance with the *Indians*, who furnished them, in Exchange for Trifles, with Roots, Fruits, and some Fowls; and they every Night had an Opportunity, with very little Trouble, of taking delicate Tortoises upon the Sands; so that they were in no Want of Food. They lived five or six Weeks in little Huts, or Houses which they had built, without making any Excursions into the Country; but the Captain seeing one Day certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of some of the *Indians*, and being informed by one *Brown* a Refiner in their Company, that they were at least three Parts Gold; and enquiring of the *Indians* from whence they had it, they pointed to a very high Mountain, in the North-west Part of the Island. Upon this, the Captain himself, with several of the chief of his Men, went in quest of this golden Mountain, the rest being appointed to keep Guard at home, and assured they would return in a Week's time. When this Part of the Company was gone, the other expected the *Indians* would have brought them Provision, as they used to do; but they heard nothing of them for three Days together. They had it seemed observed when the Captain went, followed him, and most barbarously cut him off with his whole Company.

They were now intent upon making the same Dispatch of their Companions, and to this End had got one *Augramart*, a desperate Savage, and Captain of the Island of *St. Vincent*, to head them in this Enterprize. To cover their Design, however, they carried it fair to them, and visited them frequently; till one Day *Augramart*, having

dined with them, would have the *English* go with him to his Quarters; where he promised to furnish them with whatever Provisions they wanted. Mr. *St. John*, with seventeen others, accepted of the Invitation; but instead of carrying them to their Quarters, they led them into an Ambush of five hundred Savages; where, being surrounded, and attacked on ever Side with Vollies of Arrows, after doing all that Men could do in their own Defence, they were over-powered, and all slain but one *John Nichols*, who made his Escape from this bloody Slaughter, and was forced to hide himself in a Wood, then swimming a Lake, and so with great Difficulty returned home, just time enough to give his Companions the Alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their Houses; yet letting fly their small Pieces of Ordnance they quickly marched off again. In two or three Days time they returned, to the Number of thirteen or fourteen hundred Men; who, after having attacked their little Fort and Houses for seven Days together, with little Success, thought of throwing in Fire with their Arrows, which in a short time reduced the Habitations of the *English*, and all they had, to a Heap of Ashes. They continued, however, to defend themselves in so brave a manner, that the *Indians*, seeing they could not accomplish their Design against this Handful of Men, resolved at last to abandon the Enterprize.

After their Departure, some of the neighbouring Savages were prevailed upon, for a Reward of Hatchets, Knives, and Beads, to furnish them with an old pitiful Boat; this they fitted up as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miserable Remains of sixty-eight, of which twelve were wounded, ventured out to Sea in her, without Chart or Compass, and having only four or five Gallons of Water, with a few Plantains and Potatoes, about twenty Biskets, and a little Rice; and, what was worse than all the rest, not one Mariner among them. In this little Boat they were so over-laden that her Gunnel lay almost even with the Water: They lived at Sea ten Days, four of them being obliged by Turns to keep scooping of the Water. The tenth Day, when all Hopes began to fail them, they discovered Land; but when they came upon it the Land proved to be an uninhabited Island, which afforded no manner of Sustenance. In this miserable State they had no Remedy, but to repair their Boat again as well as they could, and to send five of their Men to the Continent to seek Relief. After many Difficulties these Men came to an *Indian* Town on the Continent, called *Tocoyo*; from whence, after fifteen Days Absence, they carried Succour to their miserable Companions. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a *Spanish* Town, called *Coro*, where they were treated with great Humanity; two more of them died; three of them went from thence to *Carthagena*, and were followed thither by two more; where they procured a Passage to *Spain*; but what became of the rest does not any where appear.

One would have imagined, that such a Series of Misfortunes as had attended the Attempts made for establishing this Settlement, would have worn out all Desire of running further Hazards; but such was the Credit of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, such the settled Opinion of the vast Riches to be found in this Part of *America*, and such the Remains of that Spirit which prevailed through the whole Nation in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, that in the Year 1609, a new Attempt was made, at a much greater Expence than the former, with the Participation, at least, if not under the Influence of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This Voyage was performed under the Direction and Command of *Robert Harcourt* of *Stanton-Harcourt*, in the County of *Oxford*, Esq; and the Vessels employed in it were, the *Rose*, a Ship of eighty Tons; the *Patience*, a Ship of six-and-thirty Tons; and the *Lilly-Shallop*, of nine Tuns. They set sail from *Dartmouth* the 29th of *March*, and arrived the 17th of *May* in the Bay of *Wyapoco*. It was not long before several Canoes of *Indians* came to see what they were; and finding they were *English*, came on board them without any Fear or Ceremony: Such an advantageous Idea had Sir *Walter Raleigh* by his courteous Behaviour imprinted in them of the *English* Nation.

These People, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the *English*, were of the Town called *Caripo*, on the East Side of the Hill, at the Mouth of *Wyapoco*-River. Their King, or Chief, who had been many Years in *England*, was then with Mr. *Harcourt*, and another of his Countrymen came Passenger with him, though he had not discovered his Quality, till the Joy of his Subjects at the Sight of him made him known. Among the *Indians* who came first on board was one who spoke the *English* Tongue perfectly well, and was known to some of the Ships Companies, having served Sir *John Gilbert* in *England* many Years; and the *Indian* who accompanied the King or Chief, having been fourteen Years in *England*; these two were of singular Service to the Adventurers.

The first Ceremonies being past, Mr. *Harcourt* acquainted them that the Occasion of his coming among them was to settle a Colony there, and to take Possession of the Country for the King of *England*, by virtue of their Grant of it to Captain *Leigh*, and by some of their Countrymen before to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; assuring them at the same time, that his Majesty intended no unjust Usurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like Slaves and Vassals; but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the Insolencies and Oppressions of the *Caribbees*. After some Debate the *Indians* gave their Consent that they might live among them, and promised to furnish them with Houses, and all other Necessaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear expressing some Diffidence in their performing their Promises, since Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been so dilatory in his accomplishing those he made them.

This being done they all went ashore, where they met with the best Reception the *Indians* could give them; and were dispersed up and down the Town, on the Side of a Hill, while their Ships rode at Anchor at the Foot of it. The great Rains, which confined them near a Month, being over, the Captain set himself to discover the Golden Mountains, which had been the Spurs to this Undertaking; but their Guide, who had promised such great Things, failed in the Performance of them, and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himself; for when he came to the Spot he had built his Hopes upon, nothing was to be found: And yet they were convinced the Country afforded Gold, as well by the Assurances given them by the Natives, who shewed them certain Images, which upon an Essay appeared to contain at least one third Gold, as by ocular Demonstration of great Quantities of the white Spar in which the Gold is contained, and which they found to hold both Gold and Silver; but they had Reason to believe these Mines were too far up in the higher Parts of *Guiana*, and perhaps too strongly guarded for them to hope they should be able to reach them. And, besides, they had then neither Time nor Power to search in the Manner requisite for finding these Mines.

This Disappointment had like to have excited a Mutiny, among those who came out with no other View than to tumble at once into Riches; but the Captain, with great Prudence and with no less Conduct, prevented its running such a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himself up the River of *Wyapoco* upon Discovery, but sent his Brother with some others on the same Errand to the River *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the River of *Amazons*. He went also and took Possession of the Mountain *Gomoribo*, which is the utmost Point of Land to the Northward in the *Wyapoco*. This he did, according to Custom, by the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the Presence both of his own People and the *Indians*. After Possession taken, the Mountain was delivered over to an *Indian*, to hold and possess the same for himself and his Heirs, of his Majesty *James* King of *England*, paying the yearly Duty of a tenth Part of the Tobacco, Cotton, Wood, Annotto, and all other Commodities growing within the Limits of the same. The Attempt of the Captain's Brother, and Captain *Harvey*, in Discovery of the River *Arrawary*, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards; for the length they run by Sea to this

River was near one hundred Leagues, through terrible Breaks of Flats and Sholes. They went likewise fifty Leagues up the River, and all this only with flat-bottom'd Canoes, something longer than the common *Thames* Wherries, but not so broad.

The *Indians* they met with in this River plainly discovered they had never seen any *Europeans* before. It was long before they could be brought to any sort of Trade or Conversation with them, though they had other *Indians* in their Company: But at last the Sight of their Toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for Provisions; a Want of which however at last obliged them to return to *Wyapoco*. They took Possession nevertheless of the Country in Form, as Mr. *Harcourt* had done of *Gomoribo*. Not long after this, Mr. *Harcourt* was obliged to return for *England*, purely for fear of wanting Casks to contain sufficient Beer and Water for the Voyage, the Master having neglected to have his Casks Iron-bound before their Departure, which occasioned many of them to burst their Hoops in that hot Country.

Mr. *Harcourt* left his Brother to command in chief in his Absence, to whom Captain *Harvey* was joined as Assistant, and Mr. *Gifford* as his Lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or sixty of his Men. He departed the 18th of *August*; and Mr. *Harcourt*, in his Way homewards, made several Discoveries upon the Coast, and in some of the Rivers; returned to *Ireland* the 29th of *November*; and came from thence to *England*. Being come to *London*, by the Favour of Prince *Henry*, he obtained a large Patent for all that Coast, called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs: But he was involved in so many Troubles, that he was not able to supply his Colony, and only sent over some few People, with eighteen *Dutchmen*, but to little Purpose. Captain *Harcourt*, however, kept Possession of that Part of the Country in which he was settled for full three Years, in all which Time he lost but six of his People.

The Reader will observe, that we have now brought down the History of our Expeditions to *Guiana* from 1595 to 1612, which is within five Years of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* last Embarkation. It is however certain, that some other Voyages had been made to this Country: For Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Apology, says, that the *Spaniards* at *St. Thomas's* had, some Years before his last Attempt, murdered many *English*, under pretence of trading with them, and some of those who were thus murdered he mentions by Name. He had suffered a very long Imprisonment in the Tower of *London*, when, by the Help of many Friends, and perhaps by the laying out of a great deal of Money, he procured his Liberty, and therewith a Commission to execute his last Expedition to *Guiana*. In order to this, he turned into Money the best part of his own Fortune, which he employed in fitting out Ships for this Service. He engaged many of his best Friends to do the same; and embarked several of them, and his own eldest Son, on board the Fleet; and all this from a Persuasion that the Country he was going to was very rich in Gold, and if they could gain Possession of it, would make all their Fortunes.

The famous Count *Gondomar*, who was then the *Spanish* Ambassador here, and, as all the World knows, had a great Influence over King *James*, did all that lay in his Power to hinder this Expedition; and as he did not succeed therein, it very plainly proves that King *James* did not credit what he suggested to the Prejudice of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. And indeed what he gave out upon this Subject, of Sir *Walter's* having no Intention to make either Discovery or Settlement, but merely to engage in a piratical Attempt upon the *Spanish* Colonies in *America*, was absurd and ridiculous, since no Man had ever a meaner Opinion of such Exploits, or had so fully exposed the Folly of hoping for great Riches from the Plunder of *Spanish* Towns, than Sir *Walter* had done. But in all Probability the *Spanish* Minister had not so much in view the making these Suggestions of his pass for Truth, as obtaining, by this Means, under Colour

four of refuting this Charge, a distinct Account of Sir *Walter's* true Design, and of the Force with which he was to undertake it; in which he had but too great Success; for Sir *Walter* giving the King a short but true Scheme of what he intended, that very Paper was delivered to the *Spanish* Embassador, and found its Way to *Guiana* long before Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

The Commission granted to this excellent Man was very full, and free from Limitations, which has been generally understood to be designed to his Prejudice. But I must confess I see no Reason for that Opinion. On the contrary, I am persuaded that Sir *Walter* himself was well satisfied with his Commission; and that in respect to the Law of the Land, and the Law of Nations, it fully justified the Design he went upon, and all that followed in the Execution of it. Certain it is that the Contents of his Commission were no Secrets, since, by publishing them, he brought Numbers at home and abroad to subscribe large Sums towards the Support of his Undertaking; which he could never have done, if the Form or Words of that Commission had been liable to Exception. It was seven Months after his Commission was granted before his Fleet was in Condition to put to Sea.

As to the Strength of this Fleet, it is clear from a Survey taken by the Order of the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Lord High-Admiral, that it consisted of seven Sail, of several Sizes. It appears that the first of them, or Admiral, a fine Ship built by *Raleigh* himself, was named the *Destiny*, of four hundred and forty Tons, and thirty-six Pieces or more of Ordnance, Sir *Walter Raleigh* General, and his Son *Walter* Captain, besides two hundred Men, whereof fourscore were Gentlemen Volunteers and Adventurers, most of them Sir *Walter's* Relations; which Number was afterwards encreased. Second, the *Jason* of *London*, two hundred and forty Tons, and twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance, Captain *John Pennington* Vice-Admiral, eighty Men, one Gentleman, and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, one hundred and sixty Tons, seventeen Pieces of Ordnance, *Edward Hastings* Captain (no Men more except the Master mentioned); but he dying in the *Indies*, was succeeded in the Command by Captain *Whitney*. Fourth, the *Thunder*, one hundred and fifty Tons, twenty Pieces of Ordnance, Sir *Warham Sentlegor* Captain, six Gentlemen, sixty Soldiers, ten Landmen. Fifth, the *Flying-Joan*, one hundred and twenty Tons, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, *John Chidley* Captain, twenty-five Men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, eighty Tons, and six Pieces of Ordnance, *John Bayley* Captain, twenty-five Mariners, two Gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a Pinnace, twenty-five Tons, three Rabnets of Brals, *James Barker* Captain, and eight Sailors. But before *Raleigh* left the Coast of *England*, he was joined by as many Ships more; so that this whole Fleet consisted of thirteen Sail, besides his own Ship.

But for this remaining Part of his Fleet he waited long, and it had been better if he had left them behind, for they proved a Burden to him, and some of them deserted the Expedition. It was the beginning of *July* before he left the Coast of *England*, and meeting with a Storm, was obliged to put into *Cork*, from whence he sailed on the 19th of *August* following. He proceeded from thence to the *Canaries*, where, though insulted by the *Spaniards*, he committed no Hostilities; but, on the contrary, behaved so well that he obtained a Certificate thereof from the Governour. After this his Ships grew very sickly; and before he arrived at *Trinidad*, he had lost many of his Men, and was himself dangerously ill. In this weak and low Condition they arrived at the North Cape of *Wyapoco* on the 11th of *November*.

The first thing he did after his Arrival was, to endeavour to find out *Leonard* the *Indian*, who had been in *England* three or four Years with him, but was removed so far up into the Country there was no procuring him; therefore he stood away for *Caliana* on the Coast of *Guiana*, at the first Discovery called *Port-Howard*, where the *Cazique* was also his Servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of *London* two Years. There he arrived in

a Day or two, having passed the Island noted for its Multitude of Birds and Silk-bearing Trees; and from thence sent for his Servant, *Harry* the *Indian*, who with other *Caziques* came and brought him great store of *Cassavi-Bread*, and roasted Mulletts, with Plantains, Pines, and Pistachio's. But *Raleigh* ventured not to eat of the Pines, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a Day or two's airing on the Shore, in a Tent which was there pitched for him. Then he also eat some Armadillo and a little Pork, and begun to gather Strength. Here he also landed his sick Men, and recovered many; and here he buried Captain *Edward Hastings*, (the Lord *Huntington's* Brother) who died ten Days, or more, before; and with him his Serjeant-Major *Hart*, and Captain *Henry Snedale*, the Charge of whose Ship *Raleigh* gave to his Servant Captain *Robert Smith* of *Cornwall*. Here he also set up his Barges and Shallops, which they brought from *England* in Quarters, cleansed his Ship, trimmed up his Casks and supplied them with Water, fixed up a Forge, and made such Iron Works as they wanted. Thus on that Shore and this River they employed and refreshed themselves for about three Weeks, during which time *Raleigh* was very much caressed by the *Indians*, of his old Acquaintance aforesaid, and other Natives of this Place, who furnished him daily with the best Provisions that the Country yielded, and offered him all kind of Obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign Prince and Ruler, if he would abide and settle among them; so fresh continued his Memory, and such Impressions of Homage and Respect had his former Behaviour still left upon them; which offer, he mentions, with the greatest Modesty and Indifference, in the Dispatch he sent soon after this to *England*.

On the 4th of *December* they left this River, and on the 5th came to the Triangle Islands, where *Raleigh's* Ship ran on Shore; and was, with Difficulty, got off. Here they held a Council to consider what they should do next, and as Sir *Walter* was extremely ill, and it was found impossible to carry the larger Ships any higher, it was resolved that the five smaller Vessels, with as many Companies of Foot, of fifty Men each, should enter the River. According to this Determination the Fleet was divided; that is to say, Captain *Whitney*, in the *Encounter*; *Woolaston*, in the *Confidence*; *King*, in the *Supply*; *Smith*, in a *Prick*, and *Hall* in a *Caravel*. The Companies had for their Leaders Captain *Charles Parker* and Captain *North* (Brothers to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*) young *Raleigh*, Captain *Thornhurst* of *Kent*, Captain *Pennington's* Lieutenant, who seems to be another *Hall*, and Captain *Chidley's* Lieutenant *Prideaux*. Sir *Warham St. Legar*, *Raleigh's* Lieutenant, who had the Charge of these Companies, fell sick at *Caliana*, so it was conferred on *George Raleigh*, Sir *Walter's* Nephew, who had served with great Commendation in the *Low Countries*; and Captain *Keymish* had the chief Charge for their landing within the River: But *Keymish* having laid down the Plan of his intended Attempt upon the Mine, and undertaking to discover it with six or eight Persons in Sir *John Ferne's* Shallop; *Raleigh*, upon Consideration, disliked that Method of Proceedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his Instructions to go to the Mine, bring him a Sample, and avoid fighting the *Spaniards* if possible.

With these Instructions those five Ships set forward, parting from *Raleigh* and the rest of the Fleet at the Islands aforesaid, with a Month's Provision, on the 10th of *December*. But when they found a new *Spanish* Town, called *St. Thomas*, consisting of about one hundred and forty Houses, though slightly built, with a Chapel, a Convent of *Franciscans*, and a Garrison, erected on the main Channel of *Oronoco*, about twenty Miles distant from the Place; where *Antonio Berreo*, the Governor, taken by *Raleigh* in his first Discovery and Conquest here, endeavoured to plant; *Keymish* and the rest, thought themselves obliged, through fear of leaving the Enemy between them and the Boats, to deviate from their Instructions, which enjoined them first to take a small Party to make trial of the Mine, under a Shelter of their own Camp; and then to deal with the Town as it should give cause; so they concluded to land in one Body, and encamp

encamp between the Mine and the Town, whereby they themselves were nothing stronger, their Boats were as much exposed, and the Mine left untried, contrary to *Raleigh's* Order.

For about three Weeks after their Departure, landing by Night nearer the Town, it seems, than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves by the River-side till the Morning, they were, in the Night time, set upon by the *Spanish* Troops, apprized of their coming. This Charge was so unexpected, and struck the common Soldiers with such Amazement, that had not the Captains and some other valiant Gentlemen made a head, and animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces: But the rest, by their Example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous Defence against the *Spaniards*, that they drove them to a Retreat; till, in the Warmth of their Pursuit, the *English* found themselves at the *Spanish* Town before they knew where they were. Here the Battle was renewed, being assaulted by the Governor himself, *Don Diego Palameca*, and four or five Captains at the Head of their Companies; against whom Captain *Walter Raleigh*, a brave and sprightly young Man, now twenty-three Years of Age, not waiting for the Musketeers, rushed foremost at the Head of a Company of Pikes, and, having killed one of the *Spanish* Captains, was mortally wounded by another; but pressing still on with his Sword upon *Erinetta*, probably the Captain who had shot him, this *Spaniard*, with the butt End of his Musket, felled him down to the Ground; and after these Words, *Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your Enterprize*, young *Raleigh* spoke no more: Hereupon *John Plessington*, his Serjeant, thrust the *Spanish* Captain through with his Halbert. Two Commanders more of the *Spaniards* were slain, one by *John of Morocco*, another of young *Raleigh's* Company, and lastly the Governor himself also lost his Life in the Engagement; which happened, as *Cambden* informs us, upon the 2d of *January*.

The Leaders being all thus dispatched, and many of their Soldiers, the rest dispersed; some took Shelter about the Market Place, from whence they killed and wounded the *English* at Pleasure, so as they saw no Way left to be safe but by burning the Town down about their Ears, and driving them into the Woods and Mountains, whence they still kept the *English* waking in perpetual Alarms; others were more careful to defend their Passages to their Mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the Town. Captain *Keymish* found the Passages, leading to the Mine he had in his Eye, very difficult, and the Rivers so low, that he could not approach the Banks, in most Places near the Mine, by a Mile; and where he found an Ascent, a Volley of Muskets came from the Woods, and at one time slew two of the Rowers, hurt six others, and wounded Captain *Thornburst* in the Head. *Keymish* seeing so much hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Passage to it being full of thick and unpassable Woods; and thinking the *English*, who were left at *St. Thomas's*, would not be able to defend it, especially if the Enemy should be recruited, the Country being all in alarm, he gave over the Enterprize and returned. Besides the Difficulty of finding the Mine, he pretended, that if he had found it, he had not a Man to work it; and, being a great Way up in the Land, Men would have been got thither with great Danger and Difficulty: But this should have been thought of before; and it was ill advised to take so much Pains, and run so much Hazard, to get and possess that, which when they had it they could not make Use of; so that which *Keymish* pleaded, when he returned, for an Excuse, reflected upon him as a great Mischance.

Sir Walter very much blamed him for it, and, among other things, told him if he had but brought one hundred Weight of the Ore, though with the Loss of one hundred Men, it would have given the King Satisfaction, and preserved his Reputation; and besides, would have given the Nation Encouragement to have returned the next Year with a greater Force, and have held the Country for his Majesty, to whom it belonged. As soon as they returned to *St. Thomas's*, the *English* pillaged the

Town, carried away the best and most portable things; and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they set it on fire, leaving behind them an infinite Mass of Treasure, which, either for want of Knowledge or Power, they could not attain. *Sir Walter*, upon the News of his Son's Death, and *Keymish's* Return, finding himself disappointed thereby of his Hopes, was perplexed to the very Soul, and threatened *Keymish* with the King's Indignation, telling him he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with his Majesty past Recovery. This had such an Effect upon him, that it threw him into Despair, and a few Days after he made away with himself. Some say he retired immediately into his Cabin and shot himself, with a Pistol, into the Body; but that being too slow for his Fury, desperately thrust a large Knife into the same Wound up to the Hilt.

These Accounts may be said both to be true, for, after *Sir Walter's* first Reproof, he went away discontented, and continued so several Days. He came then a second Time with his Excuses, and shewed him a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundel*, in his own Justification, praying *Sir Walter* to allow of his Reasons, which he refusing, and telling him he would not favour or colour his Folly; upon that he retired into his Cabin, and immediately committed the Fact. The Design being thus defeated, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and, above all, having missed those golden Showers they gaped after, some of the Men began to mutiny against their General, while others were for him; some would have him go home, others stay; the major Part forced him not to go home, but with their Consent, and yet his Ships slipped away one after another, till from ten they were reduced to four, and those on board would do just what they list: Some would go to *Italy*, some for *France*, and some few for *England*. When they arrived at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*, *Sir Walter*, it is pretended, would have persuaded them to go with him to *France*; but instead of listening to this Proposal, they carried him, against his Will, to *Plymouth*, where he was arrested by *Sir Lewis Stukeley* his Kinsman, by the King's Order, and conveyed to the Tower of *London*.

All the World knows what followed afterwards, when, under Colour of his former Judgment, *Sir Walter* was put to Death on the 29th of *October*, 1618; an Action so black and base, so mean, so unworthy of a Government, and so utterly inexcusable, that one really wants Words to express the Foulness of the Action; but with regard to the Cause of his Death, or rather with respect to the Manner of it, I differ somewhat in my Judgment from most of those who have written about it; and therefore I shall take the Liberty of explaining myself upon it, in as few Words as I can. It is very certain that King *James* was very well satisfied that the first Judgment against *Sir Walter Raleigh*, at *Winchester*, was very ill founded; and of this *Raleigh* himself was so sensible, that he neglected obtaining a Pardon before he left *England*, which he might have obtained for 700 *l.* When he came back it was resolved to sacrifice him to the *Spanish* Match, to the Fears of King *James*, and the Jealousies of his Ministers; and in order to this, without doubt, it was intended a new Prosecution should commence; and in that Case there is the greatest Reason in the World to believe no Jury would have found him guilty; but *Sir Walter Raleigh*, from an Eagerness to defend himself, wrote an Apology, in which he most clearly proved that *Guiana* belonged to the Crown of *England*; that his going thither was no Breach of Treaty; that the *Spaniards* in *America* always behaved towards the *English* as Enemies, and consequently ought not to be considered as Allies; that his whole Design was betrayed to them from the Beginning, which occasioned their sending Forces into those Parts, and all the Blood-shed that afterwards happened; that even in respect to this the *Spaniards* were Aggressors; and that, throughout the whole Expedition, he had done nothing but what he was warranted to do by his Commission. This it was that drove the Ministry from their first Purpose, and forced them upon that Measure, which they afterwards took, of calling him down to his former Judgment, contrary to Law,

Law, Reason, Justice, and the King's own Sense of the Thing, as he afterwards testified under his Hand.

But, however, though by this barbarous Measure our great Discoverer lost his Head, yet the Title of the Crown of *England*, to his Discovery, remained absolutely unimpeached, as appears clearly by King *James's* granting a new Commission to Captain *Roger North*, for settling in *Guiana* a Year after *Raleigh's* Death; which, however, he afterwards recalled by a Proclamation, and sent the Lord *North*, who was at the Expence of that Expedition, to the *Fleet*, for making too much Dispatch in it. Such a Fluctuation of Councils there must always be, where a foreign Interest is regarded, as the Case was then, when the Politics of *Britain* were dictated by *Spain*. Yet even this did not put an End to all Thoughts of maintaining the Rights of the Crown of *England* to this valuable Country, where the People still remembered, and enquired after, Sir *Walter*, when he had been many Years in his Grave.

The Accounts we have, however, of these Expeditions are so imperfect, that we can say very little with Certainty till after the Restoration; when the Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governor of *Barbadoes*, obtained a Grant from King *Charles II.* of this Country, and actually made a considerable Settlement on the River of *Surinam*, where they might have continued much longer than they did, if it had not been for their own Indiscretion. For when the first *Dutch* War broke out, in which the *French* took Part with the Republic against us, both these Nations would have consented to a Neutrality in those Parts; but our People were bent upon a War, which turned to their Ruin. For the Coast of *Guiana*, from *Cape Orange* to near the River *Oronoco*, was, about the Year 1666, possessed by three *European* Nations: The *Dutch* were about the River *Aproague*; the *French* had the Island of *Cayenne*, and the Rivers of *Ovia*, *Corrou*, and *Sinamary*; this last is about twenty-five Leagues North-west from *Cayenne*, and fifty-three East from *Surinam*; and the *English* had a small Colony and Redoubt on the River *Maromny*; their chief Settlement being then at *Surinam* River, which is so good and deep, that Ships of three hundred Tons run twenty Leagues up it. The *Zealanders* were possessed of the River *Berbiche*, and had repulsed the *English*, who attacked them there, with considerable Loss.

The same Year, 1666, the States of *Zealand* being provoked at the *English* having invaded and taken from them all the Lands they had been possessed of in *America*, except the River *Berbiche*, sent thither Commodore *Creiffen*, with four Men of War, and three hundred Men to attack *Surinam*. He sailed from *Zealand* at the latter End of *January*; arrived at *Cayenne* in *March*; went thence for *Surinam*; sailed up the River under *English* Colours, and came to the Fort of *Paramorbo*, three Leagues up the River, without being taken for an Enemy; but being discovered there for want of Signals, the Fort began to fire on his Ships, which he answered with Broadfides from all the Vessels, and immediately landed his Forces. The *English*, who had lived long in profound Security, found themselves too weak, and the Fort in no posture of Defence on the Land-side, and their Habitations being dispersed along the River for thirty Leagues up, the Fort could not be succoured but by Water, where the *Zealanders* were Masters: Upon which Consideration they surrendered it, capitulating for the Inhabitants of the River of *Surinam*, and those of *Kamomioque*; stipulating that all those who should take the Oath of Fidelity, to the States of *Zealand*, should enjoy their Estates peaceably; the Habitations of such as absented themselves, and those belonging to the Lord *Willoughby*, should be forfeited to the said States; all Foreigners who had no Estates there, should remain Prisoners of War; and all the *English* to be obliged to deliver up their Arms. When the Capitulation was executed, *Creiffen* put aboard a Fly-boat he had taken in the River, the most valuable Part of the Booty he found in the Places that were confiscated, and the Prisoners aboard a Man of War; and after causing the Fort to be repaired, and put into a posture of Defence, and leaving it in the

Hands of *Sieur de Rome* with one hundred and fifty Men, he sailed for the Islands.

Afterwards, when the Peace was made at *Breda*, it was agreed, That the *Dutch* should keep *Surinam*, and that in return we should keep *New York*, which was then called the *New Netherlands*. Thus we have traced this Point fairly, from beginning to ending; from the first Settlement, nay from the very first Thoughts of a Settlement, to the giving up of all the Settlements we then had, and which might be styled the Legacy of *Raleigh* to this Nation, into the Hands of the *Dutch*. It may not be amiss, however, before I quit the Subject, to observe that the *Dutch* have succeeded very happily in a Plantation that was not very beneficial to us; and that if ever we should be inclined to try our Fortunes again upon this Coast; for without question our Cession of *Surinam* does not preclude us from visiting the rest of *Guiana*; if this, I say, should ever be attempted, it must be either by the *South Sea* Company, or under their Licence, since all this great Country, as well as many other valuable Places, lye within their Charter, which covers them from all the rest of this Nation, and leaves them open only to all the World besides.

15. We are now to pass to the Mother-Colony of that which we mentioned last, the famous Island of *Barbadoes*, which may be justly esteemed the fairest, best peopled, and best cultivated Spot of Ground, not in *America* only, but in the whole known World: When, or by whom, it was first discovered is a Point not easily settled, and, in my Judgment, cannot be determined at all, farther than by Conjecture. The *Portuguese* were certainly the first Discoverers of *Brazil*, and it is not very probable that they should make many Voyages thither, or at least should establish a regular Commerce with that Country, without falling in with this Island, which lies so much in the Way. It is the more probable that they were the first Discoverers, from the Name by which this Country has been always known; *Barbadoes* having apparently a *Portuguese* Termination, but what it signifies is very doubtful. Some say the Island was so called from its barbarous Inhabitants; to prove which they should have shewn us that it was inhabited at all, which in those Times undoubtedly it was not; but however, it is not impossible that the Thing might be so, since the *Caribbees* certainly visited that Island from *St. Vincent*, which is within sight, and the *Portuguese* might possibly land when they were upon it, and fright them off this Island, whence they might from these People give it the Name of *Barbadoes*, which it has still retained, and is so called, without any Variation at least that I know of, in all the Languages of *Europe*.

The first *Englishmen* that landed here, it is said, were some of Sir *William Curteen's* Seamen, that were cruising in these Seas in the latter End of the Reign of King *James I.* who reporting, at their Return to *England*, that the Soil was fruitful, some Adventurers went thither with Intent to plant it; but finding the Island covered with Wood, and scarce any other Animals upon it than Hogs, it did not answer their Expectations a great while. The Property of this Island was afterwards granted by King *Charles I.* to *James Earl of Carlisle*, in the first Year of his Reign; of whom several Adventurers purchasing Shares, transported themselves thither, and first fell to planting Tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try Cotton and Indico, which yielded them a considerable Profit; but they made little Sugar till 1647; when Colonel *Modisford*, Col. *Drax*, Col. *Walrond*, and several other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with any Satisfaction in *England* under the Usurper, converted their Estates into Money, and transported themselves to *Barbadoes*, with such Machines and Implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-Works there. Colonel *Drax*, it is said, in a few Years acquired an Estate of seven or eight thousand Pounds per Annum, and married the Earl of *Carlisle's* Daughter, then Proprietor of the Island; and the Adventurers fixing their principal Settlement on the great Bay in the South-west Part of the Island, gave it the Name of *Carlisle Bay*, in honour of their Proprietor, which it still retains.

The Island was afterwards divided into four Circuits, and eleven Parishes, each Parish being allowed to send two Representatives to the General Assembly, and every Parish had its Church and an Incumbent, with a handsome Maintenance assigned him. In the Year 1650 the White Inhabitants of the Island are said to have increased to between thirty and forty thousand, besides Negroes, who were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the Destruction of their Masters; but their Plots were constantly discovered, and the most terrible Punishments inflicted on the Ring-leaders; which did but increase the Disaffection of the rest, and laid the Foundation of fresh Conspiracies. But notwithstanding the repeated Plots of their Slaves, never any Plantation of so small an Extent, arrived to that Riches and Grandeur as *Barbadoes* did, in the Space of twenty or thirty Years. The *Rump* apprehended this Island of such Consequence, during their Usurpation, that they sent a strong Squadron of Men of War thither, Anno 1651, under the Command of Sir George *Ascue*, who compelled the Lord *Willoughby*, (appointed Governor by King *Charles II.*) to surrender the Island upon Condition the Royalists should remain in the Possession of their Estates and Liberties, and Mr. *Searl* was appointed Governor by them.

The *Dutch* War succeeding soon after, the Colony was prohibited trading with the *Hollanders*, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the *Dutch* it seems constantly furnished the Island with Negroes till this time, and taught the *Barbadians* to plant, and manage their Sugars to the best Advantage, taking most of it off of their Hands, with which they supplied themselves, and the rest of *Europe*; but after the Usurper's Quarrel with the *Dutch*, the *Barbadians* were compelled, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to bring all their Sugars directly to *England*, which was imitated by the Ministry after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and was the Foundation of the Act of Navigation, which requires all the *British* Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to *England*, and forbids their trading with Foreigners in these, and some other, styled *enumerated* Articles.

16. In the Year 1661 King *Charles II.* purchased the Property of this Island of the Lord *Kinowel*, Heir to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and appointed the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* Governor; ever since which, *Barbadoes* has been a regular Government; and the Colony granted a Duty of four and a half *per Cent.* for the Support of the Civil Government of that Island, and maintaining the Forces and Fortifications thereof; which Duty (according to my Information) amounts to ten thousand Pounds a Year: But instead of being applied to the Purposes for which it was given, it is disposed of in Pensions to Courtiers, to the irreparable Damage of that Colony; no other Island having laid so high a Duty on their Sugars. In the Year 1664 *de Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral, with a great Fleet of Men of War, treacherously attempted to surprize the Island of *Barbadoes*, tho' *England* was then in full Peace with *Holland*; but he was bravely beat off by the *Barbadians*, and obliged to abandon that Enterprize.

In the Year 1674 Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, being made Governor, had Orders to seize all the Ships trading in *Africa* for Negroes, that Trade being granted to the Royal *African* Company about that Time, exclusive of all others. And several Ships belonging to the Merchants of *Barbadoes*, bringing over Negroes afterward, were condemned and forfeited, being denominated Interlopers; which that Colony complained of as a great Grievance, the *African* Company setting what Price they pleased upon their Negroes; but this was not redressed till after the Revolution, when that Trade was laid open to all the Subjects of *England*, paying ten *per Cent.* towards the Charge of their Forts. The *Barbadians* also suffered great Losses by a terrible Hurricane which happened there on the 10th of *August* 1674, when three hundred Houses were blown down, two hundred Persons killed, most of their Sugar-works and Plantations spoiled; and all their Wind-mills for grinding of Canes were blown down, except those that were built of Stone; eight Ships also suffered shipwreck in the Harbour; insomuch that the

Barbadians were disabled from making much Sugar the two succeeding Years. Another Calamity with which the *Barbadians* were afflicted, was an epidemical Distemper, that several Years raged in the Island, differing very little from the Plague. This began about the Year 1691, and occasioned a great Decrease amongst the white Inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that Day to this. It seems the Ministry of *England*, sending a Squadron of Men of War to *Barbadoes*, with a Body of Land Forces on board, to protect the Trade of the *Caribbee* Islands, which had suffered very much by the Depredations of the *French* Privateers; the *Barbadians*, on their Arrival, concerted an Enterprize with the Commanders against the *French* Islands of *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, *St. Christophers*, &c. and joining the King's Forces with some of their own, formed a Body of four or five thousand Men; with which they made a Descent on *Guadalupe* and *St. Christophers*, and ruined many *French* Settlements, but did not make a Conquest of them, as was expected; and what was still more unfortunate, the Distemper above-mentioned broke out in the Army, which the Soldiers brought back to *Barbadoes*, and almost depopulated that Island of white Men. The King's Ships also lost so many of their Men, that there were not Hands enough to carry them home.

If we should pursue this History lower, it would not contribute very much to the Information, Entertainment, or Satisfaction of the Reader, because it would involve us in long and perplexed Relations of the Disputes between the Inhabitants of this Colony and their Governors, Appeals from both Parties to the Government at home, and other such-like tedious and disagreeable Subjects. We will therefore content ourselves with observing, that till some very different Method is taken from that which has been hitherto in use for appointing Governors in this and other Colonies, so that Men are not sent over with a View to repair their own Fortunes, instead of enquiring into, and redressing, those Grievances that affect the Properties of the Persons they are sent to govern, we can never hope to see the Plantations flourish, or this Country reap those Advantages from them which otherwise she might. What is the Nature of those Advantages, and what their Degree in respect to this noble Island, justly esteemed the most valuable Plantation, for its Size, that ever this Nation possessed, shall be our next Business to explain, by entering into a particular Description of this Island and its Product.

17. The Island of *Barbadoes* is situated in the *Atlantic Ocean*, in 13 Degrees North Latitude, and 59 Degrees of western Longitude, being of a triangular Form; about twenty-five Miles in length from South to North, and fifteen in Breadth from East to West, where broadest: It is a plain level Country for the most Part, with some small Hills of an easy Ascent, and scarce any Wood upon it at present; it was covered with Woods, indeed, when the *English* first sent Colonies there, but they are all cut down to make room for Plantations of Sugar Canes, which take up almost the whole Island at present, nothing else being cultivated in any great Quantities. Their very Corn, Flesh, and Fish, being imported, for the most Part, from the northern Colonies: There is scarce an Harbour in the Island, the best is that of *Bridge-Town* in *Carlisle-Bay*, on the South-west Part of the Island, and this lies open to the Westward; however it is secure from the North-east, which is the constant Trade Wind here, and blows from Morning to Evening, except their Tornadoes and Hurricanes, which happen usually about Midsummer, and in *July* and *August*, and blow from every Quarter. The Ships in the Bay, at such times, are in the utmost Danger of being wrecked on Shore, if they cannot get out to Sea, and therefore seldom attempt to ride out those Storms.

The Coast is defended on the East by Rocks and Sholes, from the Invasion of an Enemy; and on the West, where it is most exposed to a Descent, Breast-works and Redoubts are erected for its Security, but the Repair of them is too much neglected. There is scarce a Stream in the Island that deserves the Name of a River; however,

we find two on the East-side, to which they have given the Names of *Scotland River*, and *Joseph's River*: They have good Water in their Wells almost all over the Island, and do not dig very deep for it: They have also large Ponds and Reservoirs, where they preserve Rain-water. They have generally fine serene Weather; their Rains fall as in other Parts of the *Torrid Zone*, chiefly when the Sun is vertical; and after the Rains are the proper Seasons for planting; their Heats are not so excessive as in the same Latitude on the Continent, being constantly refreshed by the Sea Breezes in the Day-time, which increases as the Sun advances, and abates as the Sun declines. And they have this further Satisfaction, that their Days seldom exceed twelve Hours; but there being no Mountains on the Island, there are no Landwinds in the Night as in *Jamaica*.

The only Town of any Consequence in the Island, is that of *Bridge-Town* or *St. Michael's*, situate in *Carlisle-Bay*: It was formerly encompassed with a Morass which rendered it unhealthy, but this has been drained in a great Measure; however, the low Situation makes the Town still subject to Inundations: It is said to contain a thousand or twelve hundred Houses tolerably well built of brick or Stone. They have commodious Wharfs and Keys for loading and unloading of Goods, and three Forts or Castles of Defence, which, if kept in repair, would render them no easy Conquest. The chief Produce and Manufacture of the Island, as has been intimated already, is Sugar; of the Molasses, or Dross, whereof they make great Quantities of Rum. They have also some Cotton, Indico, Ginger, and Pimento, and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good Quantities, but very little at present. Forest Trees they have scarce any left. Their Fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-apples, Guavas, Plantains, Cocoa-Nutts, Indian-Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almost all manner of Roots and Garden-stuff, but very few Flowers.

Their Horses they import from *New England*, &c. and have a slight Breed of their own. They have also some Asses, Cows, and Sheep, but the last do not thrive here. They have a good Number of Hogs, the Flesh whereof is the best Meat that is eaten in those hot Climates. Here are also good Sea Fish and Poultry, but no Fresh-water Fish; and, in general, all manner of Provision is very dear. There is no dining at an Ordinary under a Crown a-head; fresh Meat is a Rarity, and chiefly the Food of People of Condition; the rest are glad of Salt-Beef, Pork, and Fish, imported from the northern Colonies; from whence also comes their Wheat, Flower, Indian-Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. They make Bread also of the Cassavi Root, and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes, and other Roots and Fruits. The Liquor drank by the Gentry here, is chiefly *Madeira* Wine, or Wine and Water, and great Quantities of Punch are drank by the Vulgar. They have also strong Beer imported from *Old* and *New-England*, and Liquors made of their Maize and Fruits as in *Jamaica*. The Government here also resembles that of *Jamaica*, and the rest of our *American* Islands, having the Governor and Council appointed by the Crown, which, with the House of Representatives, are vested with a legislative Power, and make Laws for the Government of the Island.

The Numbers of white People are said to have been once forty thousand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thousand at present. The *Negroes*, *Mulattoes*, and *Mestive* Slaves, about an hundred thousand. Their Militia consists of fifteen hundred Horse, and three thousand Foot, or thereabouts.

After this general Representation of the present State of the Island, it is requisite that we should proceed to a more close Enquiry into the staple Commodity of this Island. We are to observe, that before the Year 1626, the *Portuguese* supplied all *Europe* with Sugar from their Colonies in *Brazil*, to their immense Profit: But the first Settlers finding the Soil to be fertile, and the producing of Sugar advantageous, they encouraged more People to come over and plant the same Commodity. This induced the Merchants, at home, to send over Ships with

Provisions and other Necessaries for those new Planters, which their Agents and Factors exchanged with them for the Produce of the Country, and from thence a reciprocal Trade and Correspondence was established between *Great Britain* and this *Island*.

The growing Success of this new Sugar Colony promoted the Settlement of the others; and as the Sugar Plantations encreased, more Hands were required to carry on the Works, than could, at that Time, be spared from home. This gave birth to the *Guinea* Trade, for supplying those Colonies with *Negro* Slaves; and as the Planters flourished and encreased, so did their Demands for all Sorts of *British* Manufactures, and such Necessaries of Life as they could not produce in those Climates; which opened another Scene of Trade to the *British* Merchants, to furnish these new Colonies with Wine from *Madeira*. These Branches of Trade were of the utmost Advantage to *Great Britain*, forasmuch as they took no Money out of the Kingdom, but yearly brought in large Sums for *British* Manufactures carried out. The Trade to this Island was commonly open and free; for we find, that before the civil War in *England*, the *Dutch* Ships came hither to purchase Sugars, as well as the *English*. This Freedom in Trade made the Country flourish, and made Money plenty among the Inhabitants. But since the Restoration, several Acts of Parliament have been made to confine the Trade of the Sugar Colonies to *Great Britain*, and *British* Ships only; which Restraints soon made *London* the chiefest Mart in *Europe* for Sugar; and as there was yearly more imported than was necessary for Home Consumption, the Merchants exported the Surplus to foreign Markets, and by underselling the *Portuguese*, they in Time beat them almost out of all their Sugar Trade to the Northward of *Cape Finisterre*.

This Trade of re-exporting Sugars was carried on for many Years with great Success. Mr. *Joshua Gee* says that by this Trade only such an Increase of Treasure and Wealth was brought into this Kingdom, as yearly added three or four hundred thousand Pounds to the Stock of the Nation, which in thirty Years Time amounted to upwards of ten Millions Sterling. And a late Author computes the clear Profits, accruing to *Great Britain* from the Sugar Trade, and those other Branches which chiefly depend upon those Islands, to amount to more than one Million a Year. He tells us farther, that it appears by the Custom-house in *London*, that the Value of the Exports from *Great Britain* to the Sugar Colonies, were a few Years ago upwards of five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling every Year; and their Importations from those Islands more than twelve hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*. In these Computations the Author has taken no Notice of the vast Quantities of *British* Manufactures yearly exported to *Guinea* and *Madeira*: But if they were to be added to the Exportations of the Sugar Colonies, where the greatest Part of their Produce is taken off with an Advantage to the *British* Merchant, it would greatly augment the Sum, and consequently enlarge the Profits which our Mother Country receives from the Sugar Colonies, and the several Branches of Trade depending on them. I shall not take upon me to determine whether this Gentleman's Calculations are exact or not; but it is evident beyond Dispute, that while the Sugar Trade flourished, both Planters and Merchants grew immensely rich, and the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain* was carried on to a much greater Height than it ever was before. And this great Source of Wealth and Treasure to their Mother Country, arose from so small a Beginning as a few Families seeking Shelter in a desolate Island.

This shews what may be done by Industry and Trade rightly applied. Now if the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain* have received such an Addition from the Sugar Colonies, as added greatly to the Riches and Strength of the Kingdom; and if *Barbadoes* has the Honour to stand foremost in the Sugar Trade (as the first Founder of it) how well has she deserved of her Mother Country! When the Sugar Trade was at the Height which we described above, the flourishing State of *Great Britain* alarmed her Neighbours, and put them upon
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Ways to circumvent her in Trade, as the only Means to put a Stop to the growing Strength of the Kingdom, which they feared might become too formidable, from the great Increase of Seamen and Shipping employed in the *West India* and *Guinea* Trades, both flourishing at the same time. Upon a Parliamentary Enquiry into the State of Trade to *Africa*, in the Year 1728, it appeared to the House, that in three Years Time only, the Number of Negroes imported at *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to forty-two thousand, besides what were carried to *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*.

But we are now to inquire into the Causes of the general Declension of this Trade. And here I beg Leave further to observe, that the *French* spared no Cost or Labour to rival *Great-Britain*, they well knowing, if that sunk, her *Guinea* and *Madeira* Trades must fall with it; for which Purpose they embraced every Opportunity to enlarge and improve their Sugar Plantations; and, if I am not misinformed, where the Planter was not able to complete his Works himself, proper Utenfils were sent over from *France* at the Public Charge, and the Crown trusted them for several Years without Interest: What such an Assistance will enable Men to do, we may gather from the flourishing State of the Linnen Manufactory in *Ireland*, since the Public allowed them a Fund to support it. Having by these Means established their Sugar Colonies, the next Thing they had in View was to beat the *British* Merchants out of the foreign Markets, for Sugar; and therefore destroy their Trade for Exportation; and this they have effected, by giving Liberty for their Ships to carry their Sugars directly to the foreign Markets, while ours were obliged to import all into *Great-Britain*, which enables them to sell so much cheaper than our Merchants can carry it from *London*, as has almost put an entire Stop to that valuable Branch of Trade to their Mother Country; and the utter Ruin of the *British* Sugar Colonies must necessarily follow, unless they are relieved some way or other.

The very first Declension of their Exportation Trade was attended with ill Consequences to the Sugar Colonies. It lowered the Price of Sugar so much at home, as discouraged the Merchants from sending to purchase Sugars here. This obliged the Sugar Planters to turn Merchant-Adventurers in a declining Trade, and to ship their Sugars upon their own Account and Risque: This put a Stop to the Currency of Cash, which was before brought over yearly to purchase Sugars, and laid the whole Burden of Freight, Duty, and Commission, upon the Plantation, that were formerly paid by the *British* Merchants. And suppose but fifteen thousand Hogheads of Sugars to be shipped in a Year from this Island, on Gentlemens own Accounts, these three Articles will amount to upwards of sixty thousand Pounds Sterling. Another great Evil that has likewise followed from the same Cause is, Combinations among the Buyers, by which the Price of Sugars is sunk so low as greatly to prejudice the Planters, and yet turning to the Benefit only of a few private Persons, who are the first Buyers, and not at all to that of the Consumers in general, by which that Island is hurt, and this receives no Benefit, or very little.

These are the Particulars which we have collected from Books; but we will now add some few Remarks, from the Informations we have received, which will serve to give Light to the present State and Importance of this Island; and these will come chiefly under the three following Heads. In the first Place, we shall shew that this Colony throve the fastest, became the best peopled, and by far the most wealthy in *America*. We shall next shew the Advantages formerly derived from thence to the *British* Nation, clearly, and in a very few Words. And lastly, we shall take Notice of the present Condition of this Island, and of the infinite Consequence thereof to this Government of *Great Britain*. In the first Place then, it is to be considered that the Island of *Barbadoes* is generally esteemed to be a very little bigger than the Isle of *Wight*, and to contain, according to a round Computation, one hundred thousand Acres. It has been shewn, that about the Year 1626 this Country was not only unsettled, but actually uninhabitable, as affording nothing for

the Support of Life, and over-run with a brushy kind of Shrub Wood, which gave a great deal of Trouble to the first Planters; yet in the Space of fifty Years, this Plantation came to its greatest Height, and by a Calculation that was made with much Exactness, there were in it fifty thousand white People of all Sorts, of whom twenty thousand were able to bear Arms, and eighty thousand Negroes: Nay we are told that in twenty Years after the Colony was settled they mustered eleven thousand Horse and Foot; which would be altogether incredible if we had not such Proofs of these Facts as put them beyond all Doubt or Question.

This sufficiently proves that never any Colony of ours, or any other Nation, was so populous as this Island. But to make this still clearer to an *English* Reader, we shall observe that *Barbadoes* is rather less than the County of *Rutland*, the smallest County in *England*; and that, according to the highest Computation, the Number of People in that County, in 1676, did not exceed twenty thousand: But this may be made still clearer, by comparing that whole Island with this, in Point of Extent; for if *England* and *Wales*, taken together, consist of near forty Millions of Acres, then if they were as populous as *Barbadoes* they ought to contain fifty Millions of People; whereas Sir *William Petty*, who was a very able Man in Computations, and is thought not to have undervalued this Country, but rather the contrary, never reckoned the People higher than eight Millions; which shews what a vast Disproportion there is between the peopling of the two Countries.

But to proceed farther still: The same great Man asserts, that in *Holland* and *Zealand*, which are looked upon to be the best peopled Countries in *Europe*, there are a Million of Souls inhabiting about as many Acres; and consequently it appears from hence, that even this Country was not so well peopled as *Barbadoes*. In Point of Wealth, the Comparison holds full as strong; for in the Year 1661 King *Charles II.* created on the same Day thirteen Baronets in *Barbadoes*, none of them having less than one thousand, and some of them ten thousand, Pounds a Year. At this time their Trade actually maintained four hundred Sail of Ships; and it was computed, that the Running Cash of the Island might be about two hundred thousand Pounds; and their annual Exportation to *Great-Britain*, in Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and other Commodities, at least three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. These are Facts that may be depended upon, that deserve in every respect the greatest Consideration, and that plainly demonstrate at once the great Value of this Island, and the prodigious Consequence of our Plantations in general.

By the gradual Increase of the Colony upon this Island, it has, since we first possessed it, contributed beyond Conception and Belief to the Riches of its Mother Country; and, as I know not any Subject that either can or ought to give an *English* Reader more Pleasure than the Consideration of what has been obtained by the Blessing of God, upon the Virtue and Industry of his Countrymen; so, I think, an Endeavour to shew what has accrued in the whole to *Britain*, by establishing a Colony here, will be allowed to be equally instructive and pleasant, useful and entertaining.

What has been said before, gives us a sufficient general Notion of the Importance and Value of the Island; what we now aim at is, to come at a more particular Account of what it has yielded in the Whole. When this Colony was in its most flourishing Condition, which we fix to the Year 1676, there were four hundred Ships of one hundred and fifty Tons, one with another, employed annually in this Trade; and I believe it will be thought a very moderate Computation, if we reckon that the Seamen, Ship-Builders, and other Trades that live by these Vessels, amounted in the Whole to ten thousand Souls. The Sugars that came from *Barbadoes*, were either spent at home or sent abroad; and I reckon, that in the manufacturing the Sugars, and vending them at home and abroad, there might be twenty thousand People more employed. To these we must add, such as got their Bread by the Goods and Manufactures yearly exported from hence to *Barbadoes*; for almost all that the People eat, drink, and wear

there, are the Product of *England*; so that the Computation cannot be thought to rise too high, if we allow, that in this Way twenty thousand more got their Bread; which will make about fifty thousand in the Whole: All supported here by the Labour and Industry of the Whites and Negroes in that Country. We are next to compute the Money brought into this Nation by the Export of the Commodities imported from thence, which was that Year allowed to be above two hundred thousand Pounds, and it was also agreed, that as much or more had been gained every Year, between that Time and the Restoration.

I shall say nothing of the Money arising to the Exchequer from the Duties, though this might be computed at thirty five thousand Pounds *per Annum*; but upon these Principles shall proceed in my Computation thus: I will suppose, that from the Year 1636 to 1656, which is twenty Years, this Colony produced but half so much, and though it may be true, that before the Year 1640 it did not produce a Quarter so much, yet, in the remaining part of that Period, it certainly brought in a great deal more; and therefore we cannot be far from the Truth, in computing that this Nation acquired two Millions in Money, by *Barbadoes*, in that twenty Years. In the next twenty, that is, from 1656 to 1676, when it is allowed this Island was in its most flourishing Condition, there must have been gained four Millions of Money; and allowing for the gradual Falling off of this Trade, by a Multitude of unlucky Accidents, but more particularly by the settling the *French* Sugar Islands, we shall compute the last seventy Years, from 1676 to 1736, at the same Rate we did the first twenty Years, and the Gain will then amount to six Millions; so that in the Space of one hundred Years, the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* have received twelve Millions in Silver, by the Means of this Plantation; and had fifty thousand of her Inhabitants maintained by the People in that Colony all the time. It is highly possible, that in some of these Articles we may be wrong one way, and it is more than probable, that in other Articles we may err the other way; which is so far from making against the Credit of our Computation in general, that it really makes for it, since we may very well suppose these Errors balance each other, and that the Sum total is very near right.

We are now come to the last Head, which is, assigning the comparative Excellence of this Colony with regard to our own and other Plantations in *America*; and this, at first Sight, may appear a thing very difficult, if not impossible to be done; however we may come sufficiently near it for our Purpose. It is thought that *Barbadoes* contains one hundred and forty square Miles, and if so it is in proportion, as 1 to 34,771 in respect to the *Spanish* Plantations; as 1 to 12,000 in regard to our own; as 1 to 11,000 in reference to the *French*; as 1 to 7,000 as to the *Portuguese*; and as 1 to 4 as to the *Dutch*. This I say, as to the Extent of Territory, is as just a Comparison as can be made; but with regard to the Value of these Colonies, it is very easy to perceive that there is hardly any Computation to be made at all, for we may truly affirm that the Produce of *Barbadoes* is very near equal to a twentieth Part of what *Spain* receives from her *Indies* annually, in time of Peace, and from thence we may easily judge of the rest.

I have insisted the longer upon this Topic, because it may enable us to form some Notion of what might be made of our Plantations, if we attended to them as much as they deserve; for though it may be, and perhaps is, impossible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in *Barbadoes*, yet we may well enough discern, from hence, that they might be made incontestably more profitable to us than they now are, or indeed, than the whole Trade that we now possess; and if, at the same time we reflect on this, we likewise consider that there is nothing so absolutely in our Power, as the Improvement of our Colonies; it will most certainly appear to be the Point, which, of all others, imports us most; and if I have done any thing towards proving this, I shall account all my Labour well bestowed.

18. We are next to speak of the Island of *St. Christopher*.

which was called *Liamuega* by the *Savages*, and was discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, in the first Voyage he made to *America*. He gave it the Name of *St. Christopher* from the Figure of its Mountains, there being in the upper Part of the Island a very high Mountain, which bears on its Summit another less Mountain, as *St. Christopher* is painted like a Giant, with our Saviour on his Back. It is situated in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 25 Minutes on this Side the Line, and is about 75 Miles in Circuit; the *Caribbeans* inhabited it when Sir *Thomas Warner*, an *English* Adventurer, went thither. Monsieur *Desnambue*, a *French* Gentleman of the ancient House of *Vauderop*, who commanded for the *French* in *America*, arrived at *St. Christopher's* the same Day with Sir *Thomas Warner*, and both took Possession of the Island in the Names of their respective Masters, that they might have a Place of safe Retreat, and a good Haven for the Receipt of such Ships, of both Nations, as should be bound for *America*, it being well provided with Harbours. The *Spaniards* used to put in there in their *West India* Voyage, to take in fresh Water; and they were on so good terms with the *Caribbeans*, that sometimes they left their Sick there, of whom the *Savages* took a great deal of Care.

The two Gentlemen before mentioned, left some of their Men upon the Place, and returned, Sir *Thomas Warner* to *England*, and Monsieur *Desnambue* to *France*, for Recruits. Their Masters approved of their Conduct, and sent them back with Supplies of Men and Provisions, and Commissions to be Governors of the new Settlements. This Company continued in *France* till the Year 1661, when they sold *St. Christopher's*, and the other Islands, to the Knights of *Malta*; but in the Year 1664, the *West India* Company, by the King's Orders, bought out the last Proprietors. Sir *Thomas Warner*, and Monsieur *Desnambue*, sailed in the Year 1626, and the latter arrived there about January 1627, having had a long sickly Voyage. The *French* were about three hundred in Number, the *English* Colony as many; Sir *Thomas* had proceeded a good way in his Settlement before Monsieur *Desnambue* arrived; and the two Governors, to prevent Differences among the People about the Limits of their Territories, signed Articles of Division on the 13th of May 1627: They then set Boundaries to their several Divisions, with this particular Proviso, that fishing and hunting should be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; that the Salt-ponds, and most valuable Timber, should be in common, together with the Mines and Havens; also a League offensive and defensive was concluded between them, against all their Enemies; after which they set to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement, and went on very harmoniously.

The *English* received Supplies of Men and Provisions from *London*, by which means they throve better than the *French*, and not only became strong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to spare Men for new Plantations at *Nevis*; of which Sir *Thomas Warner* took Possession, and left People upon it for a Settlement, in the Year 1628. And in that which followed, Don *Frederick de Toledo* was sent with a Fleet of twenty-four Ships and fifteen Frigates, to dispossess the *English* and *French* of the Island of *St. Christopher's*. The *Spaniards* were alarmed at the Progress of the *English* in the *Caribbee* Islands, and thought it concerned the Safety of their own Plantations, to prevent those Nations from settling in the Neighbourhood. Don *Frederick* meeting some *English* Ships lying near the Isle of *Nevis*, seized them, and then came and anchored in the Road of *Marigot*, under the Cannon of the *Basse Terre*, where Monsieur *Rossey* commanded. Neither the *French* nor the *English* Forts were in a Condition to oppose such an Enemy; their Stores of Ammunition fell short, and their Numbers were not a Match for the *Spanish* Army, had they been ever so well provided with Powder and Shot. *Rossey*, after a small Opposition, abandoned the *Basse Terre*, and retreated to *Cabes Terre*, another Fort, where Monsieur *Desnambue* was in Person, who could not prevail with his Men, either to defend themselves there, or to retire to the Forests and Mountains, where a few Men might have resisted a thousand. He remonstrated to them

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that Don *Frederick* could not afford much Time, being bound to the *Havannah* to bring home the *Flota*. Yet this was to no purpose, nothing would content them but embarking and leaving the Place, which he was forced to comply with, and so all the *French* deserted their Settlement, as did their Allies the *English*; who were in a great Consternation, and the Disorder encreased, upon the News of *Desnambue's* being gone with his Colony; some endeavoured to escape by Sea, others fled to the Mountains; and all who were left sent Deputies to treat with the *Spaniards*. The Don knowing he had them in his Power, commanded them to leave the Island immediately, or he would put them to the Sword; he sent them their own Ships, which he had taken at *Nevis*, to embark in, and was persuaded to give leave to those to stay that had not room in the Ships for themselves and their Families, till they could be transported; upon which Don *Frederick* weighed anchor, carried with him six hundred *English* who were fittest for his Service, and he was no sooner gone but the *English* rallied, and resolved to go on with their Settlement. The *French*, who were got no farther than *Antigua* and *Montserrat*, sent a Ship for Intelligence to *St. Christopher's*, and understanding the *Spaniards* were gone, and the *English* busy in rebuilding and planting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn of Fortune, sailed back to *St. Christopher's*, and retook Possession of their former Habitations.

The *English* continued carrying on their Colony till they were in a Condition to spare more Men for Settlements, at *Barbuda*, *Montserrat*, and *Antigua*, which Sir *Thomas Warner* peopled and planted. And the same Year the *Dutch* made themselves Masters of *St. Eustace*, and the *French* took Possession of some other Islands. The *English* built themselves good Houses at *St. Christopher's*, and had Wives and Families; whereas the *French* contented themselves with Huts, after the *Caribbean* Manner; few of them were married, and consequently took little Pains to furnish themselves with all Things necessary and convenient for Life. Monsieur *Desnambue* died about the Year 1637, and Sir *Thomas Warner* did not long survive him. Before the *English* Governor's Death, the Colony was so increased, that there were between twelve and thirteen thousand Souls of his own Nation in the Island. He was succeeded in his Government by Col. *Rich*, who, by following his Predecessor's Steps in governing the Colony, invited more People to come and settle there. The chief Employment of the first Planters was cultivating Tobacco; by which they got a competent Livelihood; but afterwards, the Quantity that was made bringing down the Price, they set themselves in several Places to plant Sugar, Ginger, Indico, and Cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flourishing People, both *French* and *English* living cordially together till the last War broke out, when the *English* drove the *French* entirely from their Settlements; and the Country being yielded to the Crown of *Great-Britain* by the Peace of *Utrecht*, all the *French* Territory was sold for the Benefit of the Public, which must have produced a very large Sum, since out of it there were eighty thousand Pounds paid, for the Marriage Portion of her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange*.

There were indeed some who pretended, that notwithstanding the *French* Part of the Island of *St. Christopher's* was by far the richest, we were no Gainers by obtaining it; but that, on the contrary, the *French* received Benefit thereby, because it enabled them to people the rest of their Islands more effectually; but whoever considers that the Sugars of this Island are the very best in all *America*; that the Plantations were in perfect Order; and that the *French* ventured a War, to prevent our settling *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, will scarce be brought to believe, that they parted with a Country ready settled, and more valuable than both those Islands, with their Goodwill. The Treaty of *Utrecht* was so indifferent a Treaty that, I think, there is no sort of Necessity for making it appear worse than it really was. The same Persons who first settled *St. Christopher's* likewise settled *Nevis*, or *Mevis*, about the Year 1628; and notwithstanding the Mis-

fortune of being dispossessed by the *Spaniards* in the manner before-mentioned, in twenty Years time there were at least four thousand People upon the Island, and they continued increasing in the same manner, by a Succession of prudent Governors, for a considerable Space. After the Restoration, when Trade and Peace flourished, this Isle enjoyed its Share of the Benefit, and increased in Inhabitants and Riches; the only Enemy they had to struggle with was the Hurricane, which generally visited them, once a Year.

On the 19th of *August*, 1667, there was a terrible one in this Island; at which time Sir *John Berry*, Captain of the *Centurion* Man of War, was in the Harbour with that and several other Ships, of which one was commanded by Capt. *Langford*, who having learned some of the Prognostics of a Tornado, from a *Caribbean*, perceiving them, he told Sir *John* and the rest of the Commanders of it, who depending on his Intelligence, made their Ships ready, and in the Morning, about four o'Clock, the Wind coming very hard northerly, they put to Sea, and came all back within four or five Days time safe to the Road again: Captain *Langford* was ashore, and being confident of the Hurricane, took such care in securing his Sugars and Goods in the Store-house, that when the Hurricane had carried away the Roof of the House, all except one Hoghead of Sugar remained safe.

When Sir *William Stapleton* was Governor of these Islands he usually made this the Place of his Residence. Here Courts were kept, and the Governor living upon it, most of the Affairs of this Government were transacted here; for every one of these Islands hath a particular Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly; and the general Government centers only in the Authority of Captain-General. Sir *William Stapleton*, who was Governor in King *James's* Time, made Sir *James Russel* Lieutenant-Governor of this Island, and he enjoyed the Place till his Commission was superseded by that of Captain-General, granted to Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who also resided at *Nevis*; and at this Time none of the *Leeward Islands* flourished so much as this; it supplied the others with almost all their Wines and Negroes, and was computed to have contained at that Time near two thousand fighting Men, which will make the Number of Souls, by common Computation, to be above ten thousand besides Negroes, of which Number there were not less than twenty thousand. A prodigious Improvement of an Island scarce six Miles long, to maintain between thirty and forty thousand Men, Women, and Children!

We are to proceed next to the Island of *Montserrat*, which Name the *Spaniards* gave to this Island, from the Resemblance it has to a Mountain in *Catalonia*, not far from *Barcelona*; famous for a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed *Virgin*, in the greatest Reputation with the *Roman Catholics* of any, except that of *Lorretto*. The *English* have not thought fit to give it another Name since they were Masters of it. It lies in 17 Degrees North Latitude, is about three Leagues in Length, and almost as much in Breadth; so that it seems to be of a round Figure. It was discovered by the *Europeans* at the same time with *St. Christopher's*; but no Settlement was made upon it till the Year 1632, at which Time Sir *Thomas Warner*, first Governor of *St. Christopher's*, procured a small Colony to settle there, of the Subjects of *England*, for we cannot assure ourselves they were *English* Men, this Island being generally looked upon as an *Irish* Colony. This Island flourished at first more than *Antigua*; but since the Lord *Willoughby's* Time, the latter has got, and kept, the Start of it. There were seven hundred Men in *Montserrat*, sixteen Years after it was first inhabited; the Rolls of the Militia at this Time amounts to three hundred and sixty. We find but one Battery for the Defence of the Coast, and other old dismounted Cannon at several Landing-places. As to the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade, and Productions of this Isle, they are much the same with those of the other *Caribbee Islands*, only this is fuller of Mountains, which are covered with Cedars and other Trees, that make it a lovely Prospect from the Sea: The Vallies are fruitful, and better stored with fresh Water than those of *Antigua*.

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According to the best Accounts that have been received from this Island of late Years, it is rather increasing, both in the Number of People, and in the Value of their Settlements, than not; as to the former, it is computed, there may be about four thousand five hundred white Persons, and about twelve thousand Negroes, in this Country: And as for the latter, I mean the Value of its Produce, we shall have Occasion to speak of it hereafter.

The Island of *Barbuda* lies in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North, is about fifteen Miles long, and lies North-east from the Island of which we were last speaking. The Land is low and fruitful, and the *English* began to plant it as early as *Nevis*, *Montserrat*, or any other of the Leeward Islands, *St. Christopher's* excepted; for Sir *Thomas Warner*, who first settled there, placed a small Colony in this Island, but the *Caribbeans* disturbed them so much, that they were often forced to desert it and their Plantations. There hardly passed a Year but they made one or two Incursions, and that generally in the Night, for they durst not attack them by Day; the Damage the *English* sustained by them, made them weary of dwelling in a Place where they were so much exposed to the Fury of those Barbarians, who diminishing daily in number, and the *Europeans* encreasing, the *English* again possessed themselves of *Barbuda*, and in a few Years there were five hundred Inhabitants. There are now a thousand or twelve hundred Souls upon it, and their Number is daily encreasing. The Proprietor is the Honourable *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; and he puts in a Governor here, having the same Prerogative as the other Lords Proprietors in their several Jurisdictions in *America*. This Island has bred great store of Cattle, and the Inhabitants employ themselves mostly in that sort of Husbandry; Corn and Provisions coming almost always to a good Market in the Sugar Islands. There is plenty of all Sorts of tame Cattle, as in *Europe*; and the *English* live here much after the same Manner as they do in the Countries in *England*; only their Labour in the Field is not so hard as here, the Country being so much hotter.

The next Plantation to this, if it may be properly so called, is *Anguilla*, or *Snake Island*, so called from its Figure, being a long Tract of Earth, but narrow, winding almost about; near *St. Martins*, from whence it may easily be seen: It lies in 18 Degrees 12 Minutes. The Country is level and woody; the Soil fruitful, and the Tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There is not a Mountain in it; where it is broadest there is a Pond, about which the *English* settled in the Year 1650. Their Business, like the Inhabitants of *Barbuda*, was to plant Corn, and breed tame Cattle, for which purpose they brought Stock with them. They were poor, and continue so to this Day, being perhaps the laziest Creatures in the World. Some People have gone from *Barbadoes*, and other *English Caribbean Islands*, thither, and there they live like the first Race of Men, without Government or Religion, having no Minister or Magistrate. They are said to make up, altogether, about one hundred and fifty Families, or nine hundred Souls; and their Condition in that Place is singular enough to deserve particular Notice, if we had any room to spare; but as we have not, it shall suffice to say that they have no great Quantities of Sugar upon the Island, but addict themselves rather to farming, in which they have had very good Success; and this it is that enables them to live in the old Patriarchal Way, every Man being a kind of Sovereign in his own Family, and no other Government there is in *Anguilla*.

We have now gone through all the Leeward Islands, *Antigua*, or *Antego*, only excepted, of which we are to speak in the next Section, as not having been settled within the Period to which we have confined this. As to the general Produce or Value of these Islands, which may serve to shew of how great Consequence they are to *Great Britain*, the best Account I have been able to obtain, is to the following Effect: *St. Christopher's* is the largest of all the Islands, but the middle Part of it being extremely mountainous, it is thought that there are not above twenty-four thousand Acres of Land, fit for Sugar,

in the whole Island, which produces about ten thousand Hogsheads of that valuable Commodity. *Antego* contains about seventy thousand Acres, and produces sixteen thousand Hogsheads of Sugar yearly. *Nevis* is said to be about twenty Miles in Circumference, and produces six thousand Hogsheads, *Montserrat*, which is less than any of them, produces two thousand five hundred, and sometimes three thousand, Hogsheads of Sugar. In *Barbuda* they breed Cattle, and in *Anguilla* they raise Corn.

19. We are now, according to the Method that we have hitherto pursued of speaking of our Plantations, in the Order of Time in which they were settled, obliged to return to the Continent of *North America*, in order to give an Account of the noble Colony of *Maryland*, which remained a Part of *Virginia* till the Year 1632, which was the eighth of King *Charles I.* when that Monarch was pleased to grant all the Country to the North of *Potowmack River*, not then planted, unto *Cecilius Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Heirs; and this Part of the Country was afterwards called *Maryland*, in Honour of the then Queen Consort, *Henrietta Maria*, youngest Daughter of the *French King*, *Henry the IVth.* The Lord *Baltimore* having obtained his Grant, sent over his Brother, the honourable *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; with some *Roman Catholic* Gentlemen, and other Adventurers, to the Number of two hundred, to take Possession of the Country; who, setting sail for *England* on the 22d of *November* 1633, arrived at *Point Comfort* in the Bay of *Chesapeake*, on the 24th of *February* following; where, being kindly received and supplied with Provisions by the *English* of *Virginia*, they continued their Voyage Northward, to the River *Potowmack*, appointed to be the Boundary between *Virginia* and *Maryland*, on the East-side of the Bay.

The Adventurers sailed up this River, and landing on several Places of the northern Shore, acquainted the Natives they were come to settle amongst them, and trade with them; but the Natives seemed rather to desire their Absence than their Company: However, there were no Acts of Hostility committed on either Side; and the *English* returning down the River *Potowmack* again, made choice of a Place near the Mouth of a River (which falls into it, and by them called *St. George's River*) to settle their first Colony. They advanced afterwards to an *Indian* Town called *Yeamac*, then the Capital of the Country, and at a Conference with the *Weorance* or Sovereign of the Place, to whom they made considerable Presents, the *Weorance* consented that the *English* should dwell in one Part of the Town, reserving the other for his own People, till the Harvest was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the *English*, and retire farther into the Country, which they did accordingly. And the *March* following Mr. *Calvert* and the Planters were left in the quiet Possession of the whole Town, to which they gave the Name of *St. Mary's*; and it was agreed on both Sides, that if any Wrong was done by either Party, the Nation offending should make full Satisfaction for the Injury. The Reasons the *Yeamac* Indians were so ready to enter into a Treaty with the *English*, and yield them Part of their Country, was in Hopes of obtaining their Protection and Assistance against the *Sasquahanah* Indians, their northern Neighbours, with whom they were then at War; and, indeed, the *Yeamac* Indians were upon the Point of abandoning their Country, to avoid the Fury of the *Sasquahanah* Nation, before the *English* arrived; from whence it appears that the Adventurers, sent over by the Lord *Baltimore*, cannot be charged with any Injustice in settling themselves in this Part of *America*, being invited to it by the original Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants who were thus settled at *St. Mary's*, applied themselves, with great Diligence, to cultivating the Ground, and raised large Quantities of *Indian* Corn, while the Natives went every Day into the Woods to hunt for Game, bringing home Venison and Turkeys, to the *English* Colony, in abundance, for which they received Knives, Tools, and Toys, in return. And thus both Nations lived in the greatest Friendship, doing good Offices to each other; till some of the *English* in *Virginia*, envious of the Happiness of this thriving Colony, suggested

gested to the *Indians*, that these Strangers were not really *English* as they pretended, but *Spaniards*; and would enslave them as they had done many of their Countrymen: And the *Indians* were so credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. *Calvert*, making Preparations as if they intended to fall upon the Strangers, which the *English* perceiving, stood upon their Guard, and erected a Fort for their Security, on which they planted several Pieces of Ordnance; at the firing whereof the *Yoamacos* were so terrified, that they abandoned their Country without any other Compulsion, and left the *English* in full Possession of it; who receiving Supplies and Reinforcements continually from *England*, and having no other Enemy to contend with than Agues and Fevers (which swept off some of them before they found out a proper Regimen for the Climate) they soon became a flourishing People, many *Roman Catholic* Families of Quality and Fortune transporting themselves thither to avoid the Penal Laws made against them in *England*; and *Maryland* has been a Place of Refuge for those of that Persuasion from that Day to this.

While the civil War lasted in *England*, the Lord *Baltimore's* Family were deprived of the Government of this Province, but were restored to their Right by King *Charles II.* soon after his own Restoration. Whereupon the Lord *Baltimore* sent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, to be Governor of *Maryland*, who continued in that Post upwards of twenty Years, and long after his Father's Death. By whose Prudence the Colony became almost as considerable as *Virginia*, for its Tobacco and other Products of the Soil; and all the *Indian* Nations on that Side put themselves under their Protection. The *Indian* Chiefs were appointed, or at least approved and confirmed in their Commands, by the Lord *Baltimore* the Proprietor, whose Success is to be ascribed, in a great Measure, to the Endeavours he used to cultivate a good Correspondence with the *Indian* Nations, and to give them as little Offence as possible.

In the reign of King *James II.* we are told that Father *Peters*, a Jesuit, whom that Prince admitted into his Councils, which contributed not a little to his losing first the Hearts of his Subjects, and after that his Dominions, took such a Prejudice to the then Lord *Baltimore*, though of his own Religion, but a Nobleman of great Wisdom, Justice, and Moderation, that he resolved to deprive him of the Power of nominating a Governor, by extending the royal Prerogative at the Expence of the Grant made by the Crown, to the Ancestors of his Lordship. But before this could be effected, the Revolution intervened, but the Change of Government did not prove serviceable to his Lordship; for the Crown prosecuting the former Project, deprived him of his Power of Nomination, which was so much the harder, because it is universally allowed that no People were ever better governed than the Inhabitants of this Colony, while they depended solely upon this noble Family.

The present Lord *Baltimore* is a Protestant, and inherits the Virtues, as well as the Title, of his Ancestors; being in all respects a Blessing to that Country, as he is the Proprietor of it. His Lordship once took the Pains to visit his Colony, was received with all due Marks of Respect on account of his Quality and Interest in that Country; but when he left it, the People gave him much stronger Testimonies of their Affection, and their Regret at parting with him, on account of his Mildness, public Spirit, and sincere good Will towards them, of which he gave them so many Instances, and testified upon all Occasions, such a Readiness not only to comply with, but to go beyond, their Requests; that there was not a Planter in *Maryland*, who did not consider him rather as a Father and a Friend, than as their Lord Proprietor; and to say the Truth, they had so much Experience of him in the former Characters, and felt so little of him in the latter, that it was extremely natural for them to behave as they did.

Whatever the great Design might be when this Settlement was first made, most certain it is that no Country in *America* can boast of having had fewer Disturbances on the Score of Religion. There are, indeed, of all Per-

suasions in the Colony; but notwithstanding this, they live together in the greatest Tranquility, as if they made it their Business to forget the Points about which they differ, and to remember that they agree in those of being *Englishmen* and *Christians*, as sufficiently appears by their kind Behaviour towards the *Indians*, who have scarce ever had any Difference with them, and of whom the Colony have no sort of Apprehensions, though they are much more numerous in that Country than in *Virginia*. But after shewing how this Country was first planted, what remarkable Accidents have since happened therein, and in what State the Colony now is with respect to the Government; the next thing is to give a succinct View of the Place itself, in order to bring it the better to the Acquaintance of every *English* Reader, who is curious on this Subject.

This Province is situated between 38 and 40 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between 44 and 48 Degrees of Western Longitude, as is generally computed; but it must be confessed the Western Boundaries are very uncertain, some extending them beyond the *Apalachean Mountains*. The North End of the Bay of *Chesapeake* divides *Maryland* into two Parts, called the *Eastern* and *Western Shores*. It is bounded, at present, by Part of *Pennsylvania* and the *Atlantic Ocean* on the East, by *Virginia Proper* on the South, and by the *Apalachean Mountains* on the West. It is separated from *Virginia* on the South, by the River *Potowmack* on the Western Shore, and the River *Pocomoas* on the Eastern Shore, the Length from North to South being about an hundred and forty Miles, and the Breadth from East to West, if we extend it no farther than the Country already planted, will not be so much, though its future Limits possibly may extend much farther. As to the Face of the Country, this, as well as *Virginia*, may be divided into, 1st. the *Lowlands* next the Sea; 2dly, the hilly Country towards the Heads of the Rivers; and 3dly, the *Apalachean Mountains*, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the *Atlantic Ocean*, viz. from the North-east to the South-west. The *Lowlands* heretofore consisted of Swamps or Woods, being one continued Forest almost, till the *English* cleared Part of it, either to make room for their Plantations, or for building of Ships and Houses, and the making Tobacco Casks and Pipe-staves for Exportation, which has made such Havock among their Woods, that some of them begin to apprehend the Want of Timber, especially near their Forts and Rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the Water it is of little use to them, the Price of the Carriage exceeding the Value of the Wood. Towards the Heads of the Rivers there is a Mixture of Hills and Valleys, as in *Virginia*, well planted, with Variety of Timber and Fruit Trees; and where these are wanting there are large Meadows or Savanahs, where the Grass grows to a most surprizing Height.

This Country, like *Virginia*, is watered by innumerable Springs and a great many fine Rivers, of which the chief are, 1st, *Potowmack*, which, rising in the Mountains North-west, runs to the South-east, and separates *Maryland* from *Virginia* on the South-west, falling into the Middle of the Bay of *Chesapeake*. 2dly, The River *Pocomoac*, which rising near the Ocean, runs also directly South, and then turning to the West, falls also into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, near *Watkins's* Point. A Line drawn from the Mouth of the River directly East, to the *Atlantic Ocean*, is the true Boundary between *Maryland* and *Virginia* on the Eastern Shore. 3dly, The River *Patuxent*, which rising in *Anne Arundel* County, runs to the South-east, and falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, about twenty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of *Potowmack River*. 4thly, *Severn River*, which rises on the North-west Part of *Maryland*, running South-east, falls into the upper Part of the said Bay. 5thly, *Cheptonk*, which rises on the Eastern Shore, runs to the South-west, and falls into the same Bay. 6thly, *Sassafras River*, which rises in the North-east of *Maryland*, and running almost due West, falls into the North End of the said Bay. 7thly, *Wicomo River*, which rises on the Eastern Shore, runs to the South-west, and falls into the Bay almost against the Mouth of *Potowmack River*. The 8th and last

last River I shall mention is *St. George*, on the West-side of the Bay ; which, running from North to South, falls into the Mouth of the River *Potowmack*. Here the *English* first settled, and built the Town of *St. Mary's*. There are a great many more Rivers capable of receiving large Ships, which, with the numerous Bays and Creeks, that indent the Land on every Side, give the Seamen an Opportunity of bringing their Vessels up to the very Planters Doors, to receive their Freight, as in *Virginia*.

The Air of this Country is excessive hot some part of the Summer, and very cold in Winter when the North-west Wind blows ; but the Natives tell us, that they are happily situated ; that their Heats are very seldom troublesome, and then only by Accident, in a perfect Calm ; but that this does not happen above two or three Days in a Year, and then lasts but a few Hours at a time, and even this Inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool Shades, their open and airy Rooms, Arbours and Grottos ; and in Spring and Fall the Weather is as pleasant as can be wished ; that their Winters are not of more than three or four Months Duration, and in these they seldom have one Month's bad Weather, all the rest they are happy in a clear Air and a bright Sun, and are scarce ever troubled with Fogs ; it is acknowledged they have hard Frosts sometimes, but they last no longer than while the Wind blows from the North, and North-west, Points, which is seldom more than three or four Days.

At other times they have no Frost at all ; and their Frosts are attended with bright and serene Weather ; and in the Spring, Summer, and Winter, their Winds are only cool pleasant Breezes. Their Rains, except in the Depth of Winter, are very pleasant and refreshing ; in Summer they last but a few Hours, and then bright Weather succeeds : However, it is acknowledged, that the Showers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the Time they last ; and the Part of the Country which lies on the Bays of the Sea, and the Mouths of the Rivers, which is much the best peopled, is certainly hot and moist ; indeed, higher up the Country, whither the Plantations are now extended, the Air is much more healthful especially since their Lands are cleared of Wood. They have here, however, dreadful Thunder in the Heat of Summer ; but as it cools and refreshes the Air, they rather wish for it than fear it, though it sometimes does much Mischief, but less than formerly.

Since the *Indians* transferred, or yielded, this Province to the *English*, it has been divided into ten Counties, six on the West-side of the Bay, and four on the East-side of it ; those on the West-side, taking them from South to North, are, 1. *St. Mary's* County. 2. *Charles* County. 3. *Prince George* County. 4. *Calvert* County. 5. *Anne Arundel* County. And 6. *Baltimore* County. The Counties on the East-side of this Bay, lying also from the South, are, 1. *Somerset* County. 2. *Dorchester* County. 3. *Talbot* County. 4. *Cecil* County. As for the County of *Kent*, that, or the greatest Part of it, is now said to be in *Pensylvania*. *St. Mary*, the Capital of the County of the same Name, and, for some time, of the whole Province, is situated on the East-side of the River *St. George*, in 38 Degrees and some Minutes North Latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the first Town in *Maryland* built by the *English*, who raised a Fort for its Defence ; but in its most flourishing State never had more than thirty or forty Houses in it, and since the Seat of the Government has been removed to *Annapolis*, seems to be upon the Decline ; for the same Humour prevails here as in *Virginia*, of Gentlemen living on their respective Plantations, and not in Towns.

In this County also are the Parishes of *Hervington*, *St. Clement's*, and *St. John's* ; and here is a noble Seat of the Lord *Baltimore* the Proprietor, called *Mettapany*, situate on the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*. In *Prince Charles* County, which lies North of *St. Mary's*, are the Parishes of *Bristol*, and *Piscataway* ; and in that of *Prince George*, the Parish of *Masterkout*. In *Calvert* County, which is divided from *Charles* County by the River *Patuxent*, are the Parishes of *Abington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*. In the County of *Anne Arundel*, which lies North of *Charles* County, the chief Town is *Annapolis*, now the Capital of the Province, and formerly called *Severn*, being situate on the River of that Name,

in 39 Degrees and some Minutes North Latitude. Here the Courts of Justice, and the General Assemblies were ordered to be held, in the Year 1699 ; and this has ever since been the Residence of the Governor ; notwithstanding which, there are not yet an hundred Houses built in the Town.

In *Baltimore* County, which lies between *Anne Arundel* County and the Province of *Pensylvania*, is the Parish of *Baltimore*, situate on the North-west Part of the Bay of *Chesapeake*. In *Somerset* County, which is the most southerly County on the East-side of the Bay, are the Town and Parish of *Somerset*. In *Dorchester* County, which lies North of *Somerset*, are the Town and Parish of *Dorchester*, besides a great many *Indian* Towns. In *Talbot* County, which lies North of *Dorchester*, are the Parishes of *Oxford*, *St. Michael's*, *Bolingbrooke*, and *Cecil*, the most northerly County on the East-side of the Bay, is bounded both on the North and East by the Province of *Pensylvania*.

Throughout the whole Colony of *Maryland*, as in that of *Virginia*, the *English* live at large at their several Plantations, which hinders the Increase of Towns ; indeed every Plantation is a little Town itself and can very well subsist with Provisions and Necessaries ; every considerable Planter's Warehouse being like a Shop, where he supplies not only himself, with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants, and Labourers ; and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, and other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occasion for any, as long as Tobacco answers all the Uses of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants, or Shopkeepers, who may be properly so called, and live wholly by their Trade : The Tobacco of this Province, called *Oronoko*, is stronger than that of *Virginia* ; and no *Englishman*, who has not a very coarse Relish, will bear it ; yet it is as profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in Demand in the Eastern and Northern Parts of *Europe*, where it is preferred before the sweet-scented Tobacco of *James* and *York* Rivers, in *Virginia*. The Planters in *Maryland*, finding so good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it so much, that the Province is thought to produce as much Tobacco as *Virginia*. The Soil is here as fruitful as in any Country, being a large Plain ; and the Hills in it so easy of Ascent, and of such a moderate Height, that they seem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature.

The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil, and there is no Grain, Plant, or Tree, which grows in *Virginia*, but thrives as well here ; the Product, the Animals, and every Thing, are the same here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, called the *Baltimore Bird*, goes by another Name in *Virginia* ; it had that given it, because the Colours of the Field of the Lord *Baltimore's* Coat of Arms are *Or* and *Sable*. It is thought that the Number of Souls in *Maryland*, may be about thirty thousand, or rather more. There are several hundred Sail of Ships employed yearly in the Commerce between *Great-Britain* and this Country, and the Benefit which results to this Nation from thence, is very large, as may be easily computed from the Principles laid down in the foregoing Account of the Colony of *Virginia* ; which may likewise serve with respect to all the other Colonies that do not interfere with their Mother-Country in their Manufactures.

20. When *Oliver Cromwell*, after subverting entirely the Constitution of his Country, took upon him the Title of Protector, he resolved to obliterate the Memory of what was past, by undertaking somewhat that might be of great and lasting Advantage to his Country. It was with this View, and to rid himself of many Officers whom he suspected, that he framed a Project of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, and of taking from them the noble Island of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo* ; in the adjusting of which Design, he depended chiefly on the Information he received from one *Father Gage* a Priest, who had been many Years in the *Spanish America*, and who died in this Voyage ; for which tho' great Preparations were made ; yet they went on very slowly, and it was certainly though the best conceived, yet the worst executed of all his Enterprizes.

The Squadron commanded by General *Penn*, being ordered to rendezvous at *Portsmouth*, where the Land Forces were to embark, Complaints were made to *Venables* of Disorders and Discontents among the People, and more particularly about the Badness of the Provisions; which, by his Means, being made known to General *Desborough*, he, by very harsh Expressions, signified his Discontent thereat; and particularly charged *Venables* with a Design of frustrating the intended Expedition, by being the Author of Reports which were false; while he, on the other hand, endeavoured to justify himself, and to shew that he intended no otherwise than for the public Good; and there was a shrewd Suspicion that *Desborough's* Dissatisfaction herein arose, from his being concerned with those who had the Management of victualing the Navy. After *Venables* had attended near four Months without any positive Assurance whether the Government was determined to go on with the Design or not, although it was publickly discoursed of, and the *Spaniards* had thereby not only the Knowledge thereof, but Opportunities of providing for their Defence; he was some time after sent to, and directed to hold himself in a Readiness to proceed; and though he then requested that the Draughts which were to be made out of the Regiments, might be Men, in all respects, fitting for the intended Service, yet the Colonels were permitted to pick and cull them as they pleased, insomuch that most of them were raw and altogether undisciplined, and amongst them many *Irish* Papists; nor had not half of them Arms in any Degree serviceable: And so far were the Council from permitting him to stay till better could be furnished in their Room, that they sent him positive Orders to leave the Town next Day, upon pain of Imprisonment.

Before he came to *Portsmouth* many of the Troops were embarked, and the rest shipping off with the utmost Haste, so that he had no Opportunity of viewing, much less of exercising, them on Shore; and thereby informing himself of their Condition, with respect to their Abilities or otherwise; and although he was promised that the Store-ship, with Arms and other Necessaries, should join him at *Spithead*, he was at last told that no Delay must be made in staying for her, but that he might expect her coming to him at *Barbadoes*. He was likewise assured that he should carry out with him, at least, ten Months Provisions for ten thousand Men, but the most Part thereof was sent back to *London*, to be shipped off there, under pretence that there was not sufficient Room for the same in the Ships at *Portsmouth*, although the Officers in the Fleet found Passage in them for no inconsiderable Quantities of Goods, with which they designed to traffic when they arrived at the aforesaid Island.

The Forces being embarked, and the Wind presenting fair, the Squadron sailed, and arrived at *Barbadoes* on the 29th Day of *January*, 1654; soon after which, General *Venables* wrote to the Protector, the Lord President of the Council *Laurence*, the Lord *Lambeth*, and several others, letting them know in what a miserable Condition the Army was, and how destitute they were, not only of Provisions, but Arms and other Necessaries, proper for carrying on the intended Design; insomuch that they were constrained to make the hardest Shifts to supply them with the small Quantities, either of one or the other, that could be had in these Parts. The first thing that was done after the Fleet's Arrival at *Barbadoes*, was the seizing such *Dutch* Ships and Vessels as were found there, and General *Penn* appointed a Nephew of his to take an Account of their Cargoes, and all things belonging to them, without admitting any Cheque on him as General *Venables* desired and insisted on, that so no Embazzlements might be made.

The 18th of *March* *Venables* thought it necessary to hold a Council of War of the Land Officers, to consider of the State of the Army; and it was resolved to make these Propositions to *Penn*, among several others, viz. 1st. That as the Officers of the Army had resolved not to desert the Fleet, he with his Officers would reciprocally resolve not to leave the Army, at least not till such time as their expected Supplies arrived from *England*. 2dly, That it should be proposed to the Commissioners,

that a fit Quantity of Shipping might be taken up for transporting the Forces. 3dly, That they might not proceed on Service with less than twenty Tons of Ball, and that they might likewise be furnished from the Fleet with two hundred Fire-arms, six hundred Pikes, besides Pistols, Carbines, and two hundred Half-Pikes. To this *Venables* received no satisfactory Answer from *Penn*, and the Stores not arriving from *England*, he again desired to know from him what Arms, Shot, Match, and other Necessaries he could furnish from the Fleet; General *Desborough* having assured him, when in *England*, that the Commissioners had Power to dispose of what might be on board the Ships, to the necessary Use of the Army; but to this *Penn* returned him an Answer, that fifteen shot a Man, and a few Tons of Match, was all he could spare; besides which, he at length prevailed with him to add thereunto a few Half and Quarter Pikes, which gave Occasion to one of the Commissioners to let fall some Words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.

Besides all these Disappointments, and the Badness of the Provisions sent from *England*, yet even of them the Soldiers were put to short Allowance, while the Seamen were at whole, which occasioned no little Discontent, and rendered them very sickly and weak; and as the Commissioners were empowered and required to dispose of all Prizes and Booty taken towards defraying the Charge of the Expedition, and only a Fortnight's Pay was offered to the Officers and Soldiers in lieu of whatever Booty should be taken at *St. Domingo* (whither they were first designed from *Barbadoes*) it very much increased the Dissatisfaction of the Army; for most of the Officers, when they set forwards on the Expedition, were in hopes of bettering themselves very considerably. At length General *Venables* prevailed with the Officers and Men to accept of six Weeks Pay instead of their Plunder; and thereupon himself and *Penn* issued out Orders, restraining all Persons from pillaging without Orders, or from concealing the same on pain of Death, and Forfeiture of their Pay. But although the Officers were willing to submit to this, yet the Commissioners refused to sign it, insomuch that the Soldiers publickly declared they would return to *England*, and never more strike Stroke where there were Commissioners who should have Power to controul the Army.

The Fleet being now in a Readiness to sail, General *Venables*, with some of the Commissioners, and the Officers of the Army, proposed that they might proceed to the Harbour of *St. Domingo* (but for what Reason it doth not appear, unless it was for want of experienced Pilots). That was refused, and a Resolution taken to land the Troops at the River *Hind*; that so they might endeavour to force the Fort and Trench. It was also resolved among the Land Officers, 1st. That the Regiments should cast Lots which of them should go on Shore first. 2dly, That two or three Regiments should be landed at once. 3dly, That the Seconds to each Regiment should be appointed. 4thly, That the Ships wherein the Regiments were, should keep near each other, for their more regular landing. And it was farther determined, that if the Surges of the Sea ran high, and that the Enemy were prepared to defend the Fort and Trench, the Army should be landed behind the second Point to Leeward, and that, when on Shore, one Regiment should be ordered to march Eastward of the City, provided General *Penn* would engage to furnish the Army with all Necessaries.

Lots having been cast as aforesaid, it fell to Colonel *Buller's* Regiment to land first, and there was one *Cox* who had lived in those Parts many Years, was to have been their Guide, but he had been sent of some Errand by *Penn*, so that he was at this time absent; and Vice-Admiral *Goodson* declaring that he neither had Orders to go into *Hind River*, nor Pilots to conduct the Ship thereinto; the Army were constrained to land at the West Point (which *Venables* protested against) and by that means were exposed to a tedious March of forty Miles, through a thick woody Country, without any Guide, insomuch that both Horse and Men, by the Fatigue and Extremity of Heat, fell down with Thirst, and were miserably

rably afflicted with the Flux, by their eating Oranges and other green Fruit, having no Water to moisten their Mouths with. After four Days March the Army came to the Place where they might first have been put on Shore, but by that time the Enemy had summoned in the whole Country to their Assistance; and even now many of the Soldiers had no more than one Day's Provisions of the three that had been promised them from the Ships.

Colonel *Buller* being sent with his Regiment to a particular Station near *Hind River*, and ordered not to stir from thence until the rest of the Army joined him, he was so far from complying with those Commands from the General, that he marched away under the Guidance of *Cox*, who was now arrived from the Fleet; insomuch that for want of the said Guide, the General mistaking the Way, marched ten or twelve Miles about; and *Buller* having suffered his Men to straggle, they fell into, and suffered much by, the Ambuscades laid by the Enemy. The Hardships the Forces had undergone for want of Provisions, and their being denied what Plunder they might happen to take at *St. Domingo*, so exasperated them, that the Seamen who had been first sent ashore, and soon after those on the Land, were in a general Mutiny: However, in this Condition they forded the River *Hind*, with a Resolution to march to the Harbour, that so they might be furnished with Provision and Ammunition from the Ships, but they were Strangers to the Way, neither had they any Water to drink. At length Colonel *Buller*, and *Cox* the Guide, joining them, promised to conduct them to a Place where they might be supplied with Water. But some of the said Colonel's Men having rambled about for Pillage, encouraged the Enemy to lay Ambuscades for them in their March, who, falling upon the Forlorn, routed them, and killed several Officers; but they were soon after beaten back with Loss, and pursued within Cannon-shot of the Town; yet when the Action was over, many Men, as well as Horses, perished with Thirst.

A Council of War being called to consider of the Condition of the Army, it was found that many of the Men had eat nothing for four Days together, unless it were some Fruits they gathered in the Woods; and that they were without Water, the *Spaniards* having stopped up all their Wells within several Miles of the Town. Neither knew they the Country, or how to get to their Ships, for *Cox* the Guide was slain in the last Skirmish; however, after mature Consideration, it was resolved to march to the Harbour in the best Manner they could, and at length arriving there, they staid three or four Days to furnish themselves with Provisions and other Necessaries, and then advanced with a Mortar Piece, in order to reduce the Fort; but the Enemy having laid an Ambuscade, they charged the Van, which was to have been led by Adjutant General *Jackson*, very vigorously, and were answered in like Manner; whereas *Jackson's* Party running away, and the Passage through the Woods being very narrow, they fell upon the General's own Regiment, who, to no purpose, endeavoured to stop them with their Pikes; for they first disordered that Regiment, and soon after Major General *Haynes's*: Mean while the Enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no Quarter, the said Major General, and the best of his Officers, who preferred Death before Flight, fell in the Action.

At length the General's own Regiment making head against them, as also that of the Seamen, commanded by Vice Admiral *Goodson*, they, with their Swords, forced the Runaways into the Woods, rather chusing to kill them than they should disorder the rest; which the Enemy perceiving, they retreated, and our Men kept their Ground, though the Shot from the Fort killed many of them. The Troops, nevertheless, were so very weak and disheartened, that not many of them could be brought to play the Mortar against the Fort; and though the General was reduced to a very low Condition, by the Flux, he caused himself to be led from Place to Place to encourage them; but fainting at last, was forced to leave the Care to Major General *Fortescue*, who soon found that he could prevail no more than the General himself.

It was resolved soon after, at a Council of War, that since the Enemy had guarded every pass, and that the Army were under very great Necessities for Water, they should march to a Place where they had been informed a Supply thereof, and of other Necessaries, had been put on Shore for them from the Ships. But in that March the Soldiers accompanied their Officers no farther than till they found them in Danger, and then left them, insomuch that the Commissioners owned, in a Letter they wrote to the Governor at *Barbadoes*, that had not the Enemy been as fearful as our own Men, they might, in a few Days, have destroyed the whole Army; and withal they let him know, that those who had occasioned the greatest Disorder, were those of *Barbadoes* and *St. Christophers*, insomuch that they, the said Commissioners, who were *Penn*, *Winslow*, and *Buller*, had resolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done against the Island of *Jamaica*.

21. The Army was accordingly in little Time embarked; but the Sick and Wounded were kept on the bare Decks for forty eight Hours, without Meat, Drink, or dressing, insomuch that Worms bred in their Sores; and even while they were on Shore the Provisions sent to them were not watered but candied with Salt, notwithstanding they had not Water sufficient to quench their Thirst. Nay, after this Misfortune on Shore, *Venables* averred that *Penn* gave Rear Admiral *Blagge* Orders not to furnish them with any more Provisions of what kind soever, so that they eat up all the Horses, Dogs, and Asses, in the Camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died; and before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant General *Jackson* was tried by a Court Martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hospital Ships; a Punishment suitable to his notorious Cowardice. The Fleet and Troops arriving at *Jamaica*, Orders were issued by General *Venables*, that where it should be found any Man attempted to run away, the next Man to him should put him to Death, or that if he failed so to do, he should be liable to be tryed for his Life; and now all the Troops being ready for Service they advanced towards the Fort, which they made themselves Masters of with little Loss; and next Morning when the Sun rose, they began to march towards the Savanah, which was near the Town, when some *Spaniards* came towards them, and desired to treat; but the General refused so to do, unless they would send them a constant Supply of Provisions, then much wanted; which they punctually did, according to the Promise they had made. The Articles agreed on at last were these, viz. 1st. That all Forts, Arms, Ammunitions, and Necessaries for War, and all kinds of Shipping in any Harbour in the Island, with their Furniture, &c. as also all good Wares, Merchandize, &c. should be delivered up to General *Venables*, or whom he should appoint, for the Use of the Protector, and the Commonwealth of *England*. 2dly, That all and every of the Inhabitants of the Island (except some that were particularly named) should have their Lives granted, and as those who inclined to stay had leave so to do, so was it agreed to transport the others to *New Spain*, or some other of the Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain* in *America*, together with their Apparel, Books, and Papers, they providing themselves with Victuals and Necessaries. 3dly, That all Commission Officers, and none others, should be permitted to wear their Rapiers and Poniards. 4thly, All Artificers, and meaner Sort of People, should be permitted to remain on the Island, and to enjoy their Goods, provided they conformed themselves to the Laws which should be established.

By these Means the noble Island of *Jamaica* was subdued, and though the *Spaniards* continued to lurk in some Parts of the Island for several Years afterwards, and once made a bold Attempt to recover the Place; yet Colonel *Doyly* forced them to withdraw, and reduced the whole Island so effectually, that at the Restoration the *Spaniards* yielded it to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, to which it has belonged ever since; and is, beyond Question,

on, the noblest Possession we have in these Parts. The History of this Country, since it came into our Possession is so well known, and would also take up so much room, that we cannot enter into it here, nor indeed is it necessary, because our chief Business is to shew the Value and Importance of our Colonies, with respect to their Mother-Country, which is always best done by describing the Plantation, explaining the Nature of its Product, and giving as good an Account as may be of the Nature of its Trade and the Number of its Inhabitants; and as this appears to be the most material Part, to an *English* Reader, where we cannot insert all that relates to a Colony, we prefer this Part to any other.

22. We have a very large and accurate Account of this noble Country written by a learned, candid and indefatigable Person, who resided long there, I mean Sir *Hans Sloane*, from whom others have taken their Materials, and so must I; as not knowing where to find any so good, or that may be so well depended upon; which Acknowledgment, as it is due to his Merit, I think it but Justice to make, as I hope it will add some Degree of Credit both to his Work and mine.

It is from him, therefore, that we learn most of the Particulars, which follow, and are every way sufficient for our Purpose. *Jamaica* is situated on the *Atlantic Ocean*, between 17 and 18 Degrees North Latitude, and between 76 and 79 Degrees Western Longitude, about twenty Leagues East of *Hispaniola* and as many South of *Cuba*, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Leagues to the Northward of *Porto Bello* and *Carthagena* on the Coast of *Terra Firma*. This Island stretches from East to West one hundred and forty Miles in Length and about sixty in Breadth in the Middle; growing less towards each End; the Form is pretty near oval.

The whole Island has one continued Ridge of Hills running from East to West through the Middle of it, which are generally called the *Blue Mountains*; the Tops of some are higher than others; one of the highest is called *Mont Diabolo*: Other Hills there are on each Side of this Ridge of Mountains, which, however, are much lower. The outward Face of the Earth seems to be different here from what it is in *Europe*, the Valleys being very level, with little or no rising Ground or small Hills, without Rocks or Stones; the mountainous Part is very steep, and furrowed by very deep Channels on the North and South Side of the highest Hills; these Channels are made here by frequent and very violent Rains, which every Day almost fall on the Mountains, and first wearing a small Trough or Course for their Passage, wash away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their Channels extraordinary steep. The greatest Part of the high Land of this Island is either Stone or Clay, which resists the Rains, and so is not carried down violently with them into the Plains, as the Mould proper for Tillage and friable Earths are: Hence it is, that in these mountainous Places one shall have very little or none of such Earths, but either a very strong tough Clay or a Honey-Comb, or other Rock, upon which no Earth appears. All the high Land is covered with Woods, some of the Trees very good Timber, tall and strait; and one would wonder how such Trees should grow in such a barren Soil, so thick together among the Rocks; but the Trees send down their fibrous Roots into the Crannies of the Rocks, where here and there they meet with little Receptacles of Rain-Water, which nourish their Roots.

It is a very strange thing to see in how short a Time a Plantation formerly cleared of Trees and Shrubs will commonly grow foul, which arises from two Causes; one, the not stubbing the Roots, whence arises young Sprouts, and the other the Fertility of the Soil. The Settlements and Plantations not only of the *Indians* but the *Spaniards* being quite overgrown with tall Trees, so that there would be no Footsteps left were it not for old Pallisadoes, Building, Orange Walks, &c. which evidently shew Plantations have been there. There are the same Layers of Earth, one over another, in the fruitful Part of the Island, as are to be met with in *Europe*; and the same Difference of Soil appears as in *England*, in digging of Wells, and other Occasions of opening the Ground. Most of the Savanahs, or Plains fit for Pasture, and cleared of Wood, are like our Meadow

Land, lye near the South Side of the Island, where one may ride a great many Miles without meeting the least Ascent; some of these Plains are within Land, incircled with Hills. These Savanahs after Rain are very green and pleasant, but after long Droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

The chief Ports in the Island are, 1. *Port Royal*, a fine capacious Harbour. 2. *Old Harbour*, which lies seven or eight Miles South-west of *St. Jago*. 3. *Port Morant*, at the East End of the Island; and, 4. *Point Negril*, at the West End of this Island; besides which, are several more on the South and North Sides of the Island; but it is dangerous approaching the Coast, without a Pilot, on account of the Coral Rocks, which almost surround it. There are near an hundred Rivers in *Jamaica*, but none of them navigable; for rising in the Mountains in the Middle of the Island, they precipitate themselves down the Rocks to the North or South, falling into the Sea before they have run many Miles, and carrying down with them frequently great Pieces of Rock and Timber. Yet fresh Water is very scarce in dry Years in the Savanahs distant from Rivers, so that many of their Cattle die with driving to Water. Near the Sea the Well-water, as at *Port Royal*, is brackish; this brackish Water, which is very common in Wells on Sea Shores is not wholesome, but the Cause of Fluxes and other Diseases in Sailors by their drinking it.

Their River Water carries with it much Clay or Earth, and has an odd Taste, which in *St. Jago* gives Occasion to the *Spaniards* to call it *Rio Cobre*, and the *English* to say it is not wholesome, and tastes of Copper; whereas, on the Trial of the Sand, there is no Metal found therein; this River-Water, however, if suffered to settle some Days in Earthen Jars is good; Spring-Water, at a Distance from the Sea, is preferred to River or Pond-Water. There are some Springs as well as Rivers, which putrify their Channels, and stop their Course by a Cement, uniting the Gravel and Sand in their Bottoms. There is a Hot-Bath or Spring near *Port Morant*, in the East Part of the Island, situate in a Wood, which hath been bathed in, and drunk of late Years for the Belly-ach, the common Disease of the Country, with great Success. A great many Salt Springs arise in a level Ground under the Soils in *Cabbage-Tree Bottom*, about a Mile or two distant from the Sea, which united, make what is called the Salt River. Salt is made here in Ponds, into which the Sea or Salt Water comes, and by the Heat of the Sun the Moisture being exhaled, leaves the Salt, which is in great Plenty; at the Salt Ponds about *Old Harbour* the Salt is not perfectly white, or in small Grains, but in large Lumps, and has an Eye of Red in it, as some *Salt Gemmae*, from *Spain*, or what comes from the Island of *Salt Tortuga* near the Main of *America*, which is here reckoned the stronger and better. *Salt Lagunas*, or great Ponds, there are many here, one whereof, *Riottoa Pond*, receives a great deal of Water by a River, which yet has no visible Rivulet or Discharge runs from it; some Rivers in the Mountains rise above and go under ground again in a great many Places. *Rio d'Oro* particularly falls and rises two or three times, and so it is in many others. At *Abraham's* Plantation on the North Side is a River, which has stopt its own Course by letting a Settlement fall, and putrifying its own Bottom. It is very common to have Cataracts or Cascades in Rivers among the Mountains fifty or sixty Feet high.

This Island being seven Degrees within the Tropic, has the Trade-Wind continually there, which is on the South-side of the Island, called the Sea-breeze. It comes about eight o'Clock in the Morning, and increases till twelve in the Day; and then, as the Sun grows lower, it decreases till there is none at four in the Evening. About eight in the Evening begins the Land-breeze, blowing four Leagues into the Sea, and continues increasing till twelve at Night, and decreases again till four. The Sea-breeze is now and then more violent than at other times, as at new or full Moon, and encroaches very much on the Land-Winds; and the *Norths* when they reign, viz. in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, blow over the Ridge of Mountains with Violence, and hinder the Sea-breeze, which blows stronger and longer near the Sea, as at *Port-Royal*, or *Passage-*

Passage-Port, than within Land, as at *St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish-Town*; as on the contrary the Land-Wind blows harder at the Town than at *Passage-Port* or *Port-Royal*. The Land-Wind blowing at Night, and the Sea-Breeze in the Day-time, no Shipping can come into Port except in the Day, nor go out, but at break of Day, or very soon after.

The Norths, as they call them, come in when the Sun is near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and so farthest off Southerly, and are very cold and unhealthy Winds, more violent in the Night, because it is then they have the additional Force of the Land-Wind. They check the Growth of Canes, and all Vegetables on the North-side, but are hindered by the Ridge of Mountains from shewing much of their Fury on the South, where it seldom rains with this Wind. The South Winds bring the most lasting Rains. The Rains from the South are lasting on the South-side of this Island. As at Sea with the Trade-Winds one meets with Tornadoes, so at Land here sometimes will be a violent West, directly contrary to the Trade, Wind; but this happens seldom, and is soon over. The Sea-Breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the Rain from coming to the Plains, it for the most part then raining on the Hills. On this account it is that there are in the Mountains many Springs and Rivers, and few or none in the Plains. And this is likewise the Cause why there is never any Want of Water in the Rivers coming from them through the Plains, and likewise that, sometimes, Rivers suffer very great Increase and Inundations in the Plains, when no Rains have fallen in the Places where such Inundations appear.

Earthquakes, as they are very frequent in *Hispaniola*, where they have formerly thrown down the Town of *St. Domingo*; so they are too common also here: The Inhabitants expect one every Year, and some of them think they follow their great Rains: One happened on Sunday the 19th of February, 1688: As if People had raised the Foundation of the Houses, it was felt all over the Island about the same time, some Houses being wrecked, and very near ruined, and very few escaped some Injury; the People were in a very great Consternation, and the Ships in *Port Royal* Harbour felt it: It was observed, that the Ground rose like the Sea, in Waves, as the Earthquake passed along. But this was nothing to the Earthquake which happened at *Port Royal* in the Year 1692, by which that Town was almost swallowed up. Thunder is heard almost every Day in the Mountains, with the Rains there; so that any Persons in the Plains may hear it, as well as see the Rain; it does not so ordinarily accompany those Rains that come from the Sea, although when it does it is very violent. Lightning for the most part precedes Thunder, in this Island, as elsewhere; and, if it be fair Weather, especially in the hottest Seasons, it lightens almost all the Night, first in one Part of the Sky, or Horizon, out of some Clouds, and then out of others opposite to them, as it were answering one another. Frost or Snow are never seen in this hot Climate; but sometimes Hail, and that very large; it comes with very great Norths, which reach with great Violence to the South-side, and throw down every thing before them.

The Dews here are so great within Land, that the Water drops from the Leaves of the Trees in a Morning, as if it had rained; a Man riding in the Night, will find his Cloaths, Hair, &c. very wet in a small time; but there are seldom any Fogs in the Plains or sandy Places near the Sea. The Rains there are violent, and the Drops very large; according to the different Positions of Places, so the Rains are more or less violent, and come at different times, but generally speaking the great rainy Seasons are in May and October; in which Months, at new or full Moon they begin, and continue Day and Night for a whole Fortnight, so that the Earth in all level Places is laid under Water for some Inches, and it becomes loose for some Inches deep, and consequently the Roads are almost impassable. "In the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*, "in those rainy Seasons, I was forced to ride on Horse-back (says Dr. Sloane) although but from Door to "Door, to visit the Sick." And these Seasons, as they are called, from being fit to plant in, are generally so

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over the whole Island, though they are much altered in their Time and Violence of late Years, which arises from the clearing much of the Country of Wood. In the Month of January is likewise expected a Season, or Rain; but this is not so constant and violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent Norths, at that time passing over the Mountains, with part of their Rains with them.

As to the Produce of the Island of *Jamaica*, it is not easy to give a very clear Account thereof in a narrow Compass; however, I shall do the best I can. In the first place, I shall mention Cocoa, of which there still comes more from this than from any of our Plantations; and as it is known to be a very rich and valuable Commodity, the Reader will probably be pleased with a particular Account of it. Cocoa grows on a Tree in Cods, green, red, and yellow, every Cod having in it three, four, or five Kernels, about the Bigness and Shape of small Chestnuts, which are separate from each other by a Substance like the Pulp of a roasted Apple, moderately sharp and sweet, from which its Nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured. The Body of a Cocoa Tree is commonly about four Inches Diameter, five Foot in Height, and above twelve to the Top of the Tree. These Trees are very different; for some shoot up in two or three Bodies; others in one; their Leaves are, many of them, dead and most discoloured, unless on very young Trees; a bearing Tree generally yields from two to eight Pounds of Nuts a Year, and each Cod contains from twenty to thirty Nuts. The Manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to sweat three or four Days in the Cods, which is done by laying them in Heaps; after this the Cods are cut, the Nuts taken out and put into a Trough covered with Plantain Leaves, where they sweat again about sixteen or twenty Days; the Nuts that are on each Cod are knit together by certain Fibres, and have a white kind of Pulp about them, very agreeable to the Palate, as has been hinted before; by their turning and sweating, their little Strings are broken, and their Pulp is imbibed and mingled with the Substance of the Nut: After which they are put to dry three or four Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a reddish-dark Colour. The Cods grow out of the Body, or great Limbs and Boughs; at the same Place there are Blossoms, and young and ripe Fruit. It is planted first in the Night, and always under Shade; some set them under Cassave, others under Plantain Trees, and some in the Woods. The Spaniards used a certain large shady Plant, called by them *Madre di Cocoa*, the Mother of Cocoa; the English use the others only.

It must always be sheltered from the North-east Winds. The People at *Jamaica* seldom transplant it, only when it falls, as it does often, in open, poor and dry Lands; for this Tree requires to have a flat, moist, low Soil, which makes them be planted commonly by Rivers, and between Mountains. 'Tis an Observation, that it is ill living where there are good Cocoa Walks. In a Year's time, the Plant becomes four Feet high, and has a Leaf six times as big as an old Tree, which, as the Plant grows bigger, falls off, and a lesser comes in its place. The Trees are almost always planted at two Feet Distance; and sometimes at three Years old, where the Ground is good, and the Plant prosperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or some of the Shade. The Fruit increases till the tenth or twelfth Year, when the Tree is supposed to be in its Prime. The Root generally shoots out Suckers, they supply the Place of the old Stock when dead, or cut down; unless any ill Quality of the Ground, or Air, kill both.

The Manner of planting them is, in Order, like our Cherry-Gardens: They place a Plantain by every Tree, and when it is grown up it resembles a Cherry Tree; it delights in Shade, and for that Reason has the Plantain set by it. The Cocoa-walks are kept clear from Grass by hoeing and weeding. The Trees begin to bear at three, four, or five Years, and, did they not almost always die before, would come to Perfection at fifteen Years Growth, and last till thirty; which renders them the most profitable Tree in the World, one Acre of them having cleared above two hundred Pounds in a Year;

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but the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards* being gone by Age, and few now thriving, as the *Spanish* Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Those Slaves ascribe its not coming to Perfection to a superstitious Cause, many religious Rites being performed at its Planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to see. But 'tis probable that wary Nation, as they removed the Art of making Cochineal, and curing Veneloes, into their inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of the Islands in the *Indians* Time, and forbade the opening any Mines in them, for fear some maritime Nation might be tempted to conquer them; so in transplanting the Cocoa from the *Caraccas* and *Guatamala* on the Continent, they might conceal, wilfully, some Secret in its planting from their Slaves.

There is also more Indico produced in *Jamaica*, than in any other Colony, by reason of the great Quantity of Savanah Land, for it thrives best in sandy Ground. The Seed from whence it is raised is yellow and round, something less than a Tare. The Ground is made light by hoeing; then Trenches are dug like those our Gardeners prepare for Pease, into which the Seed is put about *March*: It grows ripe in eight Weeks Time, and in fresh broken Ground will spring up about three Foot high, but in others to no more than eighteen Inches. The Stalk is full of Leaves of a deep green Colour, and will, from its first sowing, yield many Crops in one Year. When it is ripe it is cut and steeped in Fats twenty-four Hours, then it must be cleared from the first Water and put into proper Cisterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it settles about eighteen Hours. In these Cisterns are several Taps, which let the clear Water run out, and the thick is put into Bags of about three Foot long, made commonly of Ozenbrigs, which being hung up all the liquid Part drops away; when it will drop no longer, it is put into Wooden Boxes, three Foot long, fourteen Inches wide, and one and an half deep; these Boxes must be placed in the Sun till it is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme Heat is over; this must be done continually till it is sufficiently dried. In Land that proves proper for Indico, the Labour of one Hand, in a Year's time, will produce between eighty and one hundred Weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen Pounds to the Planter, if no Accident happen; for Indico, as well as other Commodities in those Parts, is subject to many; the most common are Blasting and Worms, by which it is frequently destroyed.

Pimento is another Natural Production of *Jamaica*, from whence it is called *Jamaica* Pepper, alluding to its Figure and the chief Place of its Growth; the Trees that bear it are generally very tall, and spreading, having a Trunk as thick as one's Thigh. It rises strait, above thirty Foot high, is covered with an extraordinary smooth Skin of a grey Colour; it is branched out on every hand, having the End of its Twigs set with Leaves of several Sizes, the largest being four or five Inches long, and two or three broad, in the Middle, where it is broadest, and whence it decreases to both extremes, ending in a Point smooth, thin, shining, without any Incisures of a deep green Colour, and standing on Foot-Stalks an Inch long; when bruised very odoriferous, and in all things like the Leaves of a Bay Tree. The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, and each Stalk sustaining a Flower bending back, within which Bend are many Stamina of a pale green Colour; to these follows a Bunch of crowned Berries, the Crown being made up of four small Leaves, which are bigger, when ripe, than Juniper Berries: At first, when small, greenish, but when they are ripe, black, smooth, and shining; containing in them a moist, green, aromatic Pulp, two large Seeds separated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemisphere, and both joined make a spherical Seed.

It grows on all the hilly Part of the Island of *Jamaica*, but chiefly on the North Side; and wherever these Trees grow, they are generally left standing when other Trees are felled; and they are sometimes planted where they never grew, because of the great Profit from the cured

Fruit exported yearly in great Quantities into *Europe*. The *Jamaica* Pepper Tree flowers in *June*, *July*, and *August*, but sooner or later, according to their Situation and different Season for Rains; and after it flowers the Fruit soon ripens: But 'tis to be observed, that in clear open Grounds it is sooner ripe than in thick Woods. There is no great Difficulty in curing or preserving this Fruit for Use; 'tis for the most Part done by the Negroes. They climb the Trees and pull off the Twigs with the unripe green Fruit, and afterwards carefully separate the Fruit from the Twigs and Leaves, which done, they expose them to the Sun, from the Rising to the Setting, for many Days; spreading them thin on Cloths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the Dews, which are there very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green, change to a brown Colour, when they are fit for the Market; being of different Sizes, but commonly of the Bigness of black Pepper; something like in Smell and Taste to Cloves, Juniper Berries, Cinnamon and Pepper, or rather having a peculiar mixt Smell, somewhat a kin to all of them, from whence it is called All-spice. The more fragrant and smaller they are, they are accounted the better.

It is deservedly reckoned the best and most temperate, mild and innocent, of all Spices, and fit to come into greater Use, and to gain more Ground than it has of the *East India* Commodities of this kind, almost all of which it far surpasses, by promoting the Digestion of Meat, attenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and strengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and doing those friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.

The wild Cinnamon Tree, commonly called, though falsely, Cortex Winteranus, grows in this Island; its Trunk is about the Bigness of the Pimento Tree, and rises twenty or thirty Foot high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards, making a very lovely Top; the Bark consists of two Parts, one outward and another inward; the outward Bark is as thin as a milled Shilling, of whitish Ash or grey Colour, with some white Spots here and there upon it, and several shallow Furrows of a darker Colour running variously through it, of an aromatic Taste; the inward Bark is much thicker than Cinnamon, being as thick as a milled Crown Piece, smooth, and of a whiter Colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatic Taste, something like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinnamon, but dry and crumbling between the Teeth; the Leaves come out near the Ends of the Twigs, without any Order, standing on Foot-Stalks, each of them two Inches in Length, and one in Breadth; near the End where broadest and roughest, being narrow at the Beginning, from whence it augments in Breadth to near its End, of a yellowish green Colour, shining and smooth, without any Incisures about its Edges, and somewhat resembling the Leaves of Bay.

The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, standing somewhat like Umbels, each of which has a Foot-Stalk, on the Top of which is a Calix made up of some little Leaves, in which stand five scarlet or purple Patala, within which is a large Stylix; to these follow so many calyculated Berries of the Bigness of a large Pea, roughish, green, and containing, within a mucilaginous pale green thin Pulp, four black shining Seeds of an irregular Figure: All the Parts of this Tree, when fresh, are very hot, aromatic, and biting to the Taste, something like Cloves, which is so troublesome, as sometimes to need the Remedy of fair Water. It grows in the Savanah Woods, very frequently on each Side the Road, between *Passage Fort* and the Town of *St Jago de la Vega*. The Bark of the Tree is what is chiefly in Use, both in the *English* Plantations, between the Tropics in the *West Indies*, and in *Europe*, and is without any Difficulty cured, by only cutting off the Bark, and letting it dry in the Shade. The ordinary Sort of People in the *West Indies* use it instead of all other Spices, being thought very good to consume the immoderate Humidity of the Stomach, to help Digestion, and expel Wind, &c. Rum looses its disagreeable Smell if mixed with this Bark.

The

The true Cortex Winteranus, for which the Drug-gifts sell this wild Cinnamon, was brought by Captain *Winter*, who accompanied Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage round the World, from the Streights of *Magellan*.

There is plenty of Cotton in *Jamaica*, and it is finer than that in the *Caribbee Islands*. The Tobacco that was planted there was better than at *Barbadoes*; but there's so little it deserves not the Name of a Commodity. Very good tanned Leather is made there: The Tanners have three Barks to tann with, Mangrove, Olive Barks, and another. They tann better than in *England*; and in six Weeks the Leather is ready to work into Shoes. There's abundance of Dyers Woods, as Fustick, Red-wood, Logwood, and others; with several Sorts of Sweet-woods. The Island abounds in Drugs and medicinal Herbs, as Guaiacum, China, Safaparilla, Cassia, Tamarinds, Venilloes, many sorts of Mistletoe; as also in salutary Gums and Roots; the Plant of which Cochineal is made, grows in *Jamaica*; and yet the Inhabitants, for want of Knowledge how to cure it, make no Advantage of it; besides the East Wind blasts it so, that it seldom or never comes to Maturity.

It is not doubted but that there are Copper Mines in the Island; and the *Spaniards* say the Bells of the great Church at *St. Jago* were made of *Jamaica* Metal; 'tis supposed there are Silver Mines in it, as well as at *Cuba*, and on the Continent; and there is a Place in the Mountains of *Port Royal*, or *Caguag*, where it is reported the *Spaniards* dug Silver, but the *English* have not been so happy as to find it. The *Spaniards* also found Ambergrease on the Coast, but the *English* have not often had that good Fortune: Yet some Years ago an ignorant Fellow found 180 Pound Weight of Ambergrease cast upon the Shore, at a Place called *Ambergrease Point*, where the *Spaniards* came usually once a Year to look for it. This vast Quantity was divided into two Parts, supposed by rolling and tumbling in the Sea; some say it is produced from a Creature, as Honey and Silk; and Mr. *Tredway*, who viewed this Piece, writes, he saw, in sundry Places in this Body, the Beak, Wings, and Part of the Body of the Creature, which he preserved for some Time; he was also told by a Man, that he had seen the Creature alive, and believed they swarmed as Bees on the Sea Shore, or in the Sea; others say it is the Excrement of the Whale, and others, that it issues out of the Root of a Tree.

But, after all, it is the Sugar Cane that is the Glory of *Jamaica*, by which the Inhabitants have acquired such immense Riches. It is generally said, that the Sugar from *St. Christopher's*, is the best in the *Leeward Islands*; but, I think, it is agreed on all Hands, that the Sugar made in *Jamaica* exceeds that of all our Plantations, though it is made there with much greater Ease, since it cures faster in ten Days at *Jamaica* than in six Months at *Barbadoes*. There were in the Year 1670 upwards of three-score Mills in *Jamaica*, which were computed to make about two Millions of Pounds Weight of Sugar; but some Writers tell us, they make ten Times as much at present; whether that Computation be right or not, is impossible for me to decide; but this is certain, that there is Ground enough unoccupied in that Country to make much more, since it is an hundred and forty Miles long and sixty broad; and it contains, according to a moderate Computation, four Millions of Acres, of which, though there may be about one-fourth, in which *English* Subjects have Property; yet, it is certain, that not above a fourth of that fourth is actually planted, and a great deal of this is employed to other Purposes, than that of raising Sugar. It is impossible to say precisely what Quantity may be made here, because Seasons differ, and other Accidents intervene; some have thought they did not rise beyond the Truth, in affirming, that it produces one hundred thousand Hogsheads, which, though it appears a most prodigious Quantity, yet there are many Circumstances that concur to render it credible. As for the Number of People in this Island various Computations have been made; but according to the best Accounts I have been able to gain, there may be, at this Time, seventy thousand white People therein, and one hundred and twenty thousand Negroes.

We may from hence judge of the almost inexpressible Advantages which this Island affords to *Great Britain*; for, as all our Histories of *Jamaica*, and almost every Voyage thither, that has been printed, speaks largely of the Luxury and Expence of all Degrees of People there, which is a plain Proof of their Wealth and vast Acquisitions; so we may rest satisfied, that whatever Shew they may make, whatever Appearance there may be of Magnificence there; yet the real Produce of all their Labour, and of all their Commerce, comes over here to *Britain*, and maintains and enriches the industrious Part of our People; so that there can be nothing more absurd, or unreasonable, than to grudge or envy the People settled there, the great Fortunes they acquire and possess, or to repine at the Pomp and Splendor in which they live; because, whatever it may be in Appearance, it is perhaps an indifferent Reward for their dwelling at such a Distance from Home, and for the Hazards and Labours they run through to acquire such Fortunes, but this will appear much more clearly if we advert a little to the Situation of *Jamaica*, and consider the vast Benefits that accrue from thence, in all Times, and under all Circumstances, of War as well as Peace.

As we are at present in the former Situation, we will treat first of that. There is constantly in time of War a considerable Naval Force kept here, and though this be attended with a great Expence to the *British* Nation, yet it certainly is, or at least ought to be, a great Comfort to us, that our Money is spent with our Countrymen, that it increases the Value of their Plantations, and which is still more to our Purpose, that, sooner or later, all that is spent and circulated there, by some Channel or other returns hither, so that at the long run the Nation loses nothing by the vast Charge she is at in maintaining Fleets upon this Coast. We ought likewise to reflect, that in a Time of War there are many Prizes taken and carried into *Jamaica*, which makes an unusual and almost incredible Plenty of Silver, and is the true Cause of the Dearness and high Price of Necessaries in that Country, all which also in Time comes over hither; so that when we hear of vast Estates raised there in a short Space of Time, it ought to afford us the highest Satisfaction; because, those who make those large Fortunes, or their immediate Descendants, come over hither, and either vest their Money in our Funds or purchase Lands here. Thus a State of War, which implies a Suspension of Trade, produces few of the Inconveniencies that usually attend such a Suspension; because, in *Jamaica*, the very Consequences of War become a kind of Trade, and the Wealth arising from them takes the same Course, and runs in the very individual Channels that any other Trade would do, that is, they finally enrich and tend to the Benefit of the Mother-Country.

But, in time of Peace, besides what we draw from *Jamaica*, considered barely in the light of a Sugar Plantation, we are to consider likewise whatever accrues to the Inhabitants from their Intercourse and Dealings with other People, since whatever they gain is for us; and therefore, it may not, in this Place, be improper to say something of the Trade carried on by the *English* at *Jamaica* with the *Spaniards* on the Continent, which is thus managed: The Merchant or Master of the *English* Ship bound for this Voyage being furnished with a proper Cargo of dry Goods and Negroes, commonly makes first for the Coast near the Harbour of *Porto Bello*; and in War at the *Grout*, within *Monkey-Key*, a very good Harbour, within four Miles of the Town; from thence it is usual for the Merchant or Master of the Ship to send one who can speak *Spanish*, as many of these Traders do to the Town, to give Notice of her Arrival to the Dealers, who appoint the Time and Place for the *Spaniards* Canoe to attend them; they come accordingly, and having purchased as many Negroes and as much Dry Goods as they think fit, they return to the Town, fetch the Money, bring it aboard, and take the Goods. Here such a Ship lies sometimes five or six Weeks trading with the *Spaniards*; for after the first Market is pretty well over, the Dealers, who have soon Information of her being on the Coast, come from *Panama* over the *Isthmus* to trade, travelling like Peasants, with Mules bearing their

their Silver in Jars ; and if any of the King's Officers meet them nothing appears but Meal, which they pretend to be carrying to *Porto Bello* ; but for the most part they travel through Woods and Bye-Ways for fear of being discovered by those Officers. When they have bought what Negroes and Goods their Money will purchase, which they sell again up in the Country, and get very well by it ; the Goods are made up in little Packs fit for one Man to carry, and the *English* supply them with as much Provisions as will serve them Home, cross the *Isthmus* to the *South-Sea*, for they come very far off.

A single familiar Instance will make all this very plain. An *English* Ship lying between *Chagre* and *Porto Novo*, a Signal was given from the *Castle of Chagre*, and she anchored two Miles from it. The *Spaniards* came to her, and one Merchant bought seventy Negroes and a good Quantity of Dry Goods, amounting to three or four thousand Pounds, which was brought on Mules to the Water-side, part Gold and part Silver. From the *Grout* the *English* Ship sailed to the *Brew* near *Carthagena*, where she lay to trade with the Merchants of that City, from which it is about eight Miles distant. The People of the Island *Brew* gave their Merchants Notice of her Arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the *Grout* ; this trading Ship in about two Months disposed of one hundred and fifty Negroes and a good Cargo of Dry Goods, by which, probably, the Proprietors cleared two thousand Pounds more than would have been got in any other Market ; a plain Proof of the very great Advantage of this Trade between *Jamaica* and *New Spain*, of which we see the *Spaniards* are so fond, that they run as great Hazards in buying the Merchandizes as the *English* do in selling it to them.

There is likewise in time of Peace a great deal of Money brought into *Jamaica* by the *Assiento* Trade, or Sale of Negroes, granted to us by the *Spaniards* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which, whatever it may be in other Respects, has certainly proved a very beneficial Trade to that Island. I have indeed heard some very able and intelligent Persons intimate, that if instead of erecting a new Company for the Management of this Trade, it had been put into the Hands of one already erected, I mean the *Royal African Company*, it had preserved that once famous Corporation from falling into its present melancholy Condition, as well as secured much larger Profits to the Nation, which are Things that deserve to be considered before we set in earnest about any Negotiation with *Spain*, that we may indemnify ourselves from the heavy Losses and vast Expences of this War by the Fruits of a solid and well regulated Peace ; which, without doubt, may be as easily obtained as one of a looser and more precarious Nature ; it being the Interest of the *Spaniards* as well as of ourselves, to have all Matters so adjusted, as to prevent not only Wars, but Disputes for the future.

Before I quit this Subject I find it absolutely necessary to take Notice of another Branch of Trade carried on from *Jamaica*, which has been made the Subject of much Debate ; I mean the cutting of Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*. This Matter came to be considered with the utmost Care and Circumspection by the Board of Trade and Plantations in the Year 1717, who solemnly reported that we had an undoubted Right to that Trade, in which the Subjects of the Crown of *England* had been maintained and supported by former Kings, his Majesty's Royal Predecessors. They observe, that Logwood is the Product of *Jucatan*, a Peninsula that extends itself an hundred Leagues into the North Sea, on each Side whereof are the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*, where the Wood is chiefly cut by the *English*.

The *Spaniards* are possessed only of the Town of *Campeachy*, and two more small Places in this part of *America*, and that the rest of *Jucatan* was an uninhabited Desert, till our Logwood Cutters settled at *Cape Catoch*, the North East Promontory of *Jucatan*, or at *Trist*, or the *Laguna de Terminos* in the Bay of *Campeachy*, before, or in, the Year 1667, when a Treaty of Peace was concluded between *Great Britain* and *Spain* ; and thereupon the Privateers of *Jamaica*, who used to disturb the *Spanish* Trade, being obliged to quit that way of Life, became

Logwood Cutters, and settled with others of their Countrymen at *Trist*, and the Lake de *Terminos* aforesaid, and great Quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to *Old* and *New England*.

They observed that Sir *Thomas Lynch*, Governor of *Jamaica*, under whose Direction that Trade was carried on, in the Year 1671, gave his Majesty King *Charles II.* the following Reasons for his encouraging this Trade. 1st. That the *English* had then used it for divers Years. 2dly, That the Logwood was cut in desolate and uninhabited Places. 3dly, That it was a Right confirmed by Treaty with the *Spaniards*. 4thly, That thereby we excluded the *French* and *Dutch* from that Trade. 5thly, That the *Spaniards* had not then made any Complaint of it. 6thly, That this Employment made the reducing our Privateers, who used to commit Hostilities against the *Spaniards*, more easy. Lastly, that this Trade employed an hundred sail of Ships annually, and encreased his Majesty's Customs, and the Trade of the Nation, more than any of his *American* Colonies.

Sir *Thomas Modyford*, the succeeding Governor of *Jamaica*, informed the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Year 1672, that the *English* Logwood Cutters had used that Trade for three Years, and that they had planted Corn, and built Houses, for their Convenience ; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the Country, they had never seen a single *Spaniard*, or any other Man in that Part of the Country, in all the Time they had been there ; and concludes, that their felling of Wood, building of Houses, and clearing and planting the Ground, was such a Possession, as in the *West-Indies* gave them an undoubted Right to the Countries they thus occupied. And Sir *Thomas*, to justify his Conduct in encouraging this Trade, in the Year 1672 (when the *Spaniards* first complained of it) sent home the Copies of several Depositions he had taken from the Masters of Ships, and others concerned in the Logwood Trade, with a Proclamation he had issued for the Regulation and Security thereof, as a Confirmation of what he had asserted ; and the Lords of the Council thereupon let the Governor know that they approved what he had done.

The Lords Commissioners of Trade further observed, that there is a Clause in the aforesaid *American* Treaty, which provides that the King of *Great Britain* shall keep and possess, in full Right of Sovereignty and Propriety, all Places situate in the *West Indies*, or any Part of *America*, which he and his Subjects were then in Possession of ; and that they actually were then, and had been for several Years, in Possession of *Trist* and the Lake de *Terminos*, and several other Places in the Province of *Jucatan*, which the *Spaniards* began to set up a Title to about this Time, notwithstanding they enjoyed the full Benefit of what *Great Britain* stipulated on her Part, viz. 1st. The securing the Trade of the *Spanish West Indies* to them ; a Point which had never before been yielded. 2dly, The obliging the Privateers to cease their Depredations, whereby the *Spanish* Trade had been miserably harrassed ; and this had been effected chiefly by the Care of his Majesty's Governors, and the employing those People in the Logwood Trade.

That in 1680 the *Spaniards* proceeded in a hostile Manner to dispossess the *English* Logwood Cutters of their Settlements of *Trist*, &c. and even of the Island of *Providence*, a *British* Plantation to which they had no Pretence ; but these were soon repossessed by his Majesty's Subjects, and the Logwood Trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the *English*, till the Treaty of *Utrecht* 1713 ; when the Adjustment and Settlement thereof came again under Consideration ; and it was stipulated that only such Places should be restored to the *Spaniards*, as had been taken during the preceding War (in the Reign of Queen *Anne*) among which, *Trist* could not be reckoned one, because the *English* were in Possession of it many Years before that War commenced, and, indeed, had been in the actual Possession of it from 1699 to 1713, except for two or three Months in the Year 1689, when the *Spaniards* surprized and expelled them by Force, as related above.

They farther represented it by a Clause in the Treaty of

of Commerce, concluded in November 1713. The *American Treaty* of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared that this should be understood to be without Prejudice to any Liberty or Power, which the Subjects of *Great Britain* enjoyed before, either through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence; and the *English* having long enjoyed the Liberty of cutting Logwood, whither through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence, they are by this Treaty entitled to the same, in as plain and express Words as can be imagined. Then the Lords Commissioners proceeded to shew the Importance of the Logwood Trade to *Great Britain*, by the following Account of what Logwood had been imported since the late War.

	Tons.	C.	Q.	lb.
In 1713	2189	15	3	22
In 1714	4848	14	3	24
In 1715	5863	12	1	14
In 1716	2032	17	2	0
	14935	0	3	4

This is, *communibus annis*, 3741 Tons, which cannot be computed at less than 60,000 *l. per Annum*, though the Price is already reduced from 40 *l.* to 16 *l.* per Ton. And before your Majesty's Subjects were settled there, it was worth 100 *l.* a Ton. Nor is this Trade less necessary than beneficial to your Majesty's Dominions, by Reason of the great Encouragement it gives to our Seamen and Shipping, which at all times require a particular Attention, but now especially; when it is daily observed that very many *British* Mariners, either through defect of the Laws, or for want of Employment at home, or in hopes of greater Advantage abroad, enter themselves into foreign Service.

Upon the whole, they gave it as their Opinion, that some Time before, and long after, the Year 1670, the Subjects of *England* were possessed of, and quietly enjoyed, Part of the Country of *Jucatan*, uninhabited by the *Spaniards*, and consequently the Right of *British* Subjects, to cut Logwood, and even to settle in that Country, was not only certain and apparent, but was also settled and confirmed by Treaty.

This Representation is certainly more than sufficient to convince us, here at home, of our being well intitled to this Trade; and therefore it is a Point that deserves to be maturely reflected upon, before any new Negotiation for Peace, with the Crown of *Spain*, is commenced; for, without doubt, Care ought to be taken that our Right, in this Respect, be acknowledged and admitted, in such express Terms, that hereafter no Disputes may arise about it, or afford Pretences for fitting out Guarda Costas to impede and disturb our Navigation. We know, and have heard, what high and loud Complaints were made against the Ministry in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, for not obliging the *French* to restore *Cape Breton*, and for not compelling the *Spaniards* to make such Concessions in favour of our Trade, as were necessary for the carrying it on with Safety and Advantage. But at present *Cape Breton* is ours, and the Superiority of our naval Force in the *West-Indies* is so great, that it would be, certainly, an unpardonable Omission, should there be any thing left to object on any of these Heads for the future. The capital Trade of this Nation, at present, that which employs most Ships, most Seamen, and most Manufactures, is our Commerce to our Plantations; and therefore the securing, encouraging, and improving this Commerce, ought to be the principal Object of our Statesmen; who, as they often lay heavy Burdens upon the Subjects, to carry their Projects into Execution, so they are in Interest, and in Conscience, bound to pay the utmost Attention to those Points, which regard the filling again the Purfes of those to whom they have constant Recourse for the public Service.

23. We have now gone through this Section, and have shewn when, how, and with what Views our Settlements, within this Period of Time, were made. It is easy to perceive from thence, what prodigious Advantages have been derived from them to the People of this

Kingdom. If we consider that at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, we had not a single Cottage erected in *America*; and that at the Time of the Restoration of King *Charles II.* we had settled from *Nova Scotia* to the utmost Bounds of *Virginia*, besides peopling many of the Islands, it must appear an amazing thing. The vast Change in our Circumstances, in the Space of sixty Years; the mighty Augmentation of our Shipping; the vast Increase of our Coin, and all the other certain and indubitable Signs of an extended and profitable Commerce, sufficiently prove the Value and Importance of our Plantations; for I make no scruple of affirming that we owed them all to these. To say the Truth, the civil War, which was so ruinous and fatal to these Kingdoms, was, by the kind Disposition of Providence, highly serviceable to the Plantations. In the first Ferment of the Nation, we have seen that *New England* was planted and peopled as it were at once; and in succeeding times, when the Constitution was overturned, and the loyal Nobility and Gentry, who were deprived of their Estates, by those the Fortune of War had made their Masters, and had not even the Liberty of starving here in Peace, *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* were their Refuge: There the Wicked ceased from troubling, and there the Weary were at rest. The Spirit and Vigour with which they set about improving the Places of their Exile, soon changed them into Habitations of Delight, and where they looked only for a quiet and a bare Subsistence, the Blessing of God upon their Industry produced them vast Estates.

We may safely venture to affirm, that a little after the Restoration the Sugar Colonies rose to their greatest Height, *Jamaica* only excepted. Since then the Tobacco Colonies have encreased greatly, and so have the Bread Colonies likewise; for the Reader is to observe, that *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and most of the Leeward Islands, are furnished with Provisions from the northern Colonies, and with Garden Stuff from the Islands of *Bermudas*. But it has so fallen out, that though these Colonies have such a natural Dependence upon each other, yet Complaints have arisen, and we have seen both Sides appealing to the *British* Parliament, the one for Relief, and the other for Protection. The Occasion of these Disputes was this:

A Bill was brought into the House of Commons on the Petition of the Merchants and Planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies in the Year 1731, for securing and encouraging the Trade of the said Colonies. The Intent whereof was to enable them to supply foreign Markets, with Sugar, as cheap as the *French*, which they suggested might be done by prohibiting the Exportation of Horses, Provisions, and Lumber, from our Northern Colonies on the Continent of *America*, to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations, and by prohibiting the Importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, to our Northern Colonies; for the permitting of this, they suggested, was giving the *French* and *Dutch*, at least, twenty-five *per Cent*, upon the whole Produce of their Sugar Colonies; and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar, at foreign Markets, cheaper than our Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them Plantation Necessaries, as well as Money to pay for them; that is, the foreign Colonies paid our northern Colonies for their Horses, Provisions, and Lumber, with Molasses and Rum, which otherwise the *French* must throw away as they did formerly. To induce the Parliament to pass this Bill, the Sugar Colonies endeavoured to shew the vast Importance those Colonies are of to *Great Britain*, observing that they produced, at an Average, eighty-five thousand Hogsheads of Sugar annually at least, which, at ten Pound a Hogshead, amounted to eight hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. This Sum, or much the greatest Part of it, as they affirm, is spent here by the several Proprietors of Estates in the *West-Indies*, who live in *England*, or is sent out annually in the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the Coast of *Guinea*, to purchase Negroes for the Use of those Colonies.

Besides this neat Produce of Sugar, another vast Advantage arising from the Sugar Colony Trade, is the large Number of Ships and Seamen employed and maintained in the Course of our Commerce with them; and they

calculate that there are three hundred fail of Ships sent from *Great Britain* (not to mention those from other Places) every Year, to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about five thousand five hundred Seamen; and that the Freight from the Sugars, brought hither, amounts to an hundred and seventy thousand Pounds a Year; and the Duties, Commissions, &c. to little less than two hundred thousand Pounds more, which upon the whole is a good one Million two hundred thousand Pounds a Year Profit and Advantage to *Great Britain*. But besides this considerable Article of Sugar, they observe that these Islands produce great Quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indico, Aloes, &c. which are all brought to *Great Britain*, where the whole Profit of all our Plantation Product, does and must centre. They have been equal, they insist, to the Mines of the *Spanish West-Indies*, and have contributed, in a particular Manner, to the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of this Kingdom.

But at present they were in a very bad and languishing Condition: Their Duties high, their Planters poor, their Soil worn out, and their Fortifications destroyed. They observe farther, that the *French* Sugar Islands are much larger, more beautiful, better inhabited, pay less Duties, and have greater Encouragement from *France* than ours have from *Great Britain*. And that if our Sugar Islands, for want of being put in a posture of Defence, should either be taken, as some have been, or moulder, and come to ruin, it would be one of the greatest Blows this Kingdom ever received. It would then lose the Benefit of all their Product imported hither; it would lose the Exports of our Woollen and other Manufactures thither, to the amount of several hundred thousand Pounds a Year; it would lose, in a great Measure, the Trade to *Guinea*; it would lose the employing and maintaining of many hundred *British* Ships, and many thousand *British* Seamen every Year; and lastly, it would lose one of the most considerable and main Branches of our Funds, the Deficiency of which must be made good, and the Weight and Burthen fall on our Lands here at home.

To this Bill, however, many Objections were made by such as were employed here in behalf of the Northern Colonies, and amongst them the most material were these: 1st, That such a Prohibition as was desired by the Bill, would put the *French* upon supplying themselves with Lumber from their own Settlements, and the *British* Colonies on the Continent would thereby lose the Trade in which many Ships and Seamen were employed. 2dly, That the *British* Colonies could not take off their Lumber, or supply them with Rum for their Fisheries, their Trade with the *Indians*, and what they wanted in the Harvest-time. 3dly, That the restraining the Northern Colonies from disposing of their Horses, Provisions, and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders*, might draw them into Employments prejudicial to *Great Britain*. 4thly, The *French* would distil their Molosses themselves, and supply the Fisheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not. 5thly, If the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to Market themselves. 6thly, If the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Molosses into *New England* was prohibited, and they could go to no other Market for Rum, or sell their Lumber and Provisions any where else, the *English* Sugar Colonies, like other Monopolies, would exact an unreasonable Price for their Rum, and beat down the Price of Lumber, and other Goods, as low as they saw fit. 7thly, That the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furnish the Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great Britain* and lay out in our Manufactures. 8thly, That the Luxury and Extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the Occasion of this Decline. And 9thly, That the Trade of the Sugar Colonies, was still vastly increasing; instancing in *Barbadoes*, which, in the Year 1730, imported twenty two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine Hogheads of Sugar into *England*, valued at 340,396 Pounds; and that this was the Neat Profit, they insisted, because it was admitted that the Rum and Molosses of Sugar Plantations bear the Charges of them: The Sugar Planters therefore have no Reason to complain, when

so small an Island as *Barbadoes* produced so vast a Neat Profit.

As there is nothing can contribute more to make this Subject thoroughly understood, and to point out effectually what the Inhabitants of the Colonies take to be their respective Interests, I think it will be necessary to add the Replies or Solutions, given by the Friends of the Sugar Colonies to these Objections. As to the first, That the *French*, if not supplied from the Northern Colonies, would furnish their own Settlements with Lumber, they said, That the *French* could not be supplied with Lumber from their own Settlements; or, if they could, it must be at great Charge and Expence, since the only Places they can pretend to be supplied from, are *Cape Breton* and *Quebec*. Some indeed have gone so far, and been so extravagant, as to imagine that the *French* Islands may be supplied with Lumber from the Bay of *Apalachi*, or the Settlement of *Mississippi*: But we must consider that great Snows are necessary for drawing down Trees to the Sides of Rivers; and likewise (upon the Snow's melting) for floating them down to the Mills; and, if they had Snows, these Countries do not produce any Quantity of such kind of Wood as is proper to work into Lumber; nor have they any such Mills, which are expensive to build, and the Labour and Time required to manufacture such Trees into Lumber, would make it extremely dear to the *French*; besides the Navigation to and from such Places, to *Martinico*, and the *French* Islands so much to Windward, would be so difficult and long for such Vessels as are proper to carry Lumber, by reason of the Calms, contrary Winds, and strong Currents against them, that such a Project would probably end in the Ruin of the People concerned in it; which would put an End to such Endeavours of the *French*.

As to *Cape Breton*, though it has the Advantage of Snows, yet it has no other Conveniency; it produces little Wood; they have few Rivers, and those longer frozen, and sooner dried, than in *New England*: It is thinly inhabited, and is a small, and, in that Light, but an incon siderable Island, commodious only for fishing. And as for *Quebec*, allowing all the Advantages the other Places want, and all that our Northern Colonies have, with Respect to Wood, and Mills; yet the Navigation of the River *St. Laurence* (which is practicable only a few Months in the Year) is so very long and dangerous, that all the Lumber from thence must be exceeding dear; and though some may think that these Difficulties in time may be removed, and the Navigation of the River become both safe and easy, it may be wished the *French* had no Supply of Lumber till these Difficulties were removed; for those Difficulties must always continue from the Nature of the Coast, the Rocks, Sholes, and Sands, in that River, and from the Inclemency of the Air, and other natural Causes; which will make that Navigation for ever unsafe. If then the *French* cannot be supplied with Lumber, or at least not upon any reasonable Terms, How much will this give our Sugar Colonies an Advantage over the *French*? But let us suppose the utmost and worst that can be: That they can be supplied with Lumber from their own Settlements, yet, What must the Lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Molosses, but with Money: So that if this Prohibition of foreign Rum and Molosses takes place, so much will be lost to the *French* Plantations, because they can have no Vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy, the Product of *France*.

But what stronger Argument can we have, that the Trade carried on by some of the Northern Colonies is a prejudicial Trade, than the Permission of it by the *French* themselves? They understand the whole Compass of Trade perfectly well, and steadily pursue their Interests: They know that their Colonies either cannot be supplied at all with Horses, Lumber, and other Necessaries, or else they must purchase them at a great Expence: They find they have them for Rum and Molosses, which is all clear Gain to them; that they save at least twenty-five per Cent. in having Lumber and Horses so conveniently from the Northern Colonies; and get twenty-five per Cent. by their Rum and Molosses, which else would be all

Loss to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this Trade must shortly and effectually ruin and destroy our Sugar Plantations, by enhancing the Price of our Plantation Necessaries, and stopping the Product of our Manufacture; however specious therefore the Argument may be in favour of this Trade, nothing less than a prohibition of Horses and Lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, will be of any real Service or Benefit to the Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry Lumber, what must they have in Exchange for it but Sugar? And how will it be possible, on so long a Coast as seven or eight hundred Miles, as that of those northern Colonies, where there are so many Bays, Creeks, and Rivers, and so few Officers, to prevent the Running of these Goods, let your Penalties be never so strict. But it may be said, perhaps, that *France* will allow them to carry their Rum to their own Settlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable and as unlikely, as that we should suffer *Ireland* to supply our Plantations with woollen Manufactures. Those Colonies there are abundantly supplied with Brandy from *France*, very cheap, and which is a Spirit much better liked, and what they have been used to.

As to the second Objection, that the *English* Sugar Colonies cannot take off the Lumber they have, or supply them with the Rum they want, they answered, if the Trade and Navigation from the *British* Colonies on the Continent, to the foreign Colonies, be prejudicial to the Sugar Colonies, and to *Great Britain*, and if the restraining it will effectually distress the *French* in the Sugar Trade, it ought to be prohibited, though some few Traders shall suffer Hardships and Inconvenience by it. As to disposing of their Lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more Reason to apprehend that they shall find a Want of it, than that the *New England* People will have much upon their Hands; at least, if what they say be true, and founded in Fact. For we have for many Years been alarmed with Scarcity of Lumber in *New England*, and we have felt the Effects of it in the advanced Price we have paid for it, for some Time, upon this Pretence. Those who were principally concerned there, in the Lumber Trade, complained last Year, 1730, of the great Want of Oak and Firr near the Rivers on which their Saw-Mills stand; and as they are restrained by several Acts of Parliament from cutting the King's Trees, they will hardly be able to supply us long with Lumber, of private Property, at any reasonable Rate, which deserves Consideration. The other Part of this Objection, That our Sugar Colonies are not able to supply them with a sufficient Quantity of Rum, is as groundless as the former. A Gentleman of Distinction, of *St. Christopher's*, informed the Committee, that himself made two thousand Gallons of Rum a Year, but that if he had Encouragement he could make twenty thousand Gallons; and the other Gentlemen of *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great Quantity, if there was a Demand for it. Therefore the Question that was asked by a *New England* Gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our Hands at the End of the Year, is not at all to the Purpose, though at first Sight it seems so.

The Distillers in *New England* find this Trade in Spirits, made of foreign Molasses, very profitable, and for that Reason raise Objections which have nothing in them, in order to make *Boston* the great Staple of Rum. For should the Prohibition take Place on foreign Rum and Molasses, then our Sugar Colonies might send again their Rum to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, and *Newfoundland*, as they did before, and save the Lives of many hundred of poor Wretches, who, if this Trade be not stopped, will probably be destroyed by this pernicious Spirit, made of foreign Molasses, which is very unwholesome. If we should admit, for Argument's sake, that the *French* Sugar Colonies, and *Surinam* (belonging to the *Dutch*) do take off one half of the *New England* Lumber (which by the Way is more than can be proved) the Deficiency then of the Demand of Lumber, will be one Moiety. Now if it can be proved that the *British* Sugar Colonies, upon a proper Encouragement,

might be improved sufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the *British* Sugar Colonies may take off all the *New England* Lumber.

Barbadoes is allowed to be at its Perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved, so as to increase its annual Product of Sugar and Rum. *Antigua* is capable of farther Improvements, and may enlarge its Product of Sugar, according to the best Computations, at least, one fifth Part *per annum*; as to the Product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper Encouragement, for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its Product of Sugar: That is to say, if *Antigua* makes twenty thousand Hogsheads of Sugar *per annum*, its Product of Rum is not quite ten thousand. But it is evident from the Experience of *Barbadoes*, that out of twenty thousand Hogsheads of Sugar, there ought to be made near fourteen thousand Hogsheads of Rum. And this Increase, both of Sugar and Rum, would certainly be made if there was proper Encouragement. *Montserrat*, *Nevis*, and *St. Christopher's*, for want of Encouragement, do not make one Hogshead of Rum for three Hogsheads of Sugar. Whereas it is evident, by the Experience of *Barbadoes*, that three Hogsheads of Sugar ought to produce two Hogsheads of Rum; consequently the Product of Rum in these three Islands might be, upon proper Encouragement, increased to as much more as it now is. Add to this the Improvement to be made in those Islands, by which the Quantity of Sugar would be increased. It will follow still farther, that the Quantity of Rum which those Islands are capable of making, would be as much more as they now make, and consequently the Demand for Lumber would be proportionable. *Jamaica*, the largest of all the *British* Sugar Colonies, is yet but in its Infancy; having now as much Land uncultivated, as would produce above three times its present Product if cultivated, as it certainly would be upon proper Encouragement.

But farther it appeared by the Custom-house Books, that all the *British* Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thousand Hogsheads of Sugar *per annum*; and they ought, in proportion, to make about seventy thousand Hogsheads of Rum; a Quantity more than sufficient to supply the *New England* Fishery, and *Indian* Trade, even according to their own Computation. But the present Product of the Sugar Colonies, under all the incumbent Disadvantages, is more than they of *New-England* can prove to be necessary to both those Trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a Proof sooner than desired, that their Fishery and *Indian* Trade do not take off one half of the Rum, now actually made in the Sugar Colonies. *South Carolina* trades with eight thousand *Indians*, and yet nine hundred Hogsheads is the most they ever imported in one Year, both to supply their home Consumption, all their Trade with these eight thousand *Indians*, and to trade to other Ports with; and yet this is a Colony that is the hottest, has the largest Harvest of Rice, &c. and is not so well supplied with Beer, &c. as the other Northern Colonies; so let us allow this Colony of *South Carolina* these nine hundred Hogsheads; *North Carolina* one thousand Hogsheads; *Virginia* and *Maryland* three thousand Hogsheads; *New York* and *Philadelphia* four thousand Hogsheads; *Rhode Island* and *New England* ten thousand; which Calculations both by their respective Custom-house Accounts, and by the greatest Estimates that ever have been made, are too large, and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thousand and nine hundred Hogsheads; whereas the Sugar Colonies produce forty thousand, and might fifty-five thousand, Hogsheads. It was observed also, that the *New England* People thus taking from the *French* their Molasses, Rum, and Sugar, and supplying all the other Northern Colonies, as well as *Newfoundland*, *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and *Africa*, with large Quantities thereof, was a very great Hurt to the Revenue; for if these Places were not thus supplied, they must be supplied by our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thousand Pounds Value of Rum, or Molasses, of our own Growth, must pay his Majesty a Duty of forty-

forty-five Pounds, and every thousand Pounds value of Sugar a Duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added that it was likewise a great Hurt to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, as well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot supply those Places with Rum, Sugar, and Molosses of our own Growth, and in Ships and Vessels of this Kingdom, without the Disadvantage of paying for our Rum and Molosses a Duty of four and a half *per Cent.* when *New England* can supply all the Markets with Rum, Sugar, and Molosses, of foreign Growth, without paying any of these Duties. Was it not for this Advantage they have over us, a great many of our Vessels that miss a Freight of Sugar in the *West-Indies* for *London*, would take some Rum, Molosses, and Sugar, and go to *Newfoundland* and barter it for Fish or Oil, and then proceed to some other Market with it, and might probably employ themselves to Advantage, or might, with a little Rum, Sugar, and Molosses, go to *North Carolina*, &c. and barter them for a Cargo of Pitch, Tar, and Skins, and bring them to *Great Britain*.

As to what is alledged, That the restraining the Northern Colonies from the disposing of their Horses, Provisions, and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders*, might put them upon some Employment prejudicial to *Great Britain*, it is answered, That it hath been shewn already, that there is more Reason to fear the Islands will not be supplied with Lumber as they ought to be, than that the Northern Colonies will want a Vent for their Lumber; but if the *British* Colonies could not take off their Lumber, they might send it to *Spain*, or *Portugal*, or to *Great Britain*, where it might be imported Duty-free. They might employ themselves in raising naval Stores; the Government hath given them a large Bounty upon that Trade, which would be of vast Advantage to our Navigation, and save the Nation three or four hundred thousand Pounds a Year, which is sent out annually to purchase naval Stores with from the North. But this favourite Trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies, hath diverted them from that excellent Design, to the enriching of the *French*, and to the great Prejudice and almost Ruin of our own. As to the fourth Objection: That the *French* would distil their Molosses themselves, and supply the Fisheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not; it was answered, That the *French* distil but very little Rum at present, and know little of the Matter; Worms, Stills, and other distilling Utensils, cost a great deal of Money; and this must be a Work of Time and very great Expence; however, a Possibility of an Inconvenience that might happen ought not to have that Regard paid to it, as to prevent our Colonies from being relieved in a Point so very prejudicial to them, as well as to the Malt Spirits of *Great Britain*, with which their Fisheries were formerly supplied.

To the 5th, That if the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to other Markets themselves; it was answered, The *French* do already carry many Sugars to foreign Markets; if so, they may sell to Advantage, and the Surplus which foreign Markets won't take off, goes to our Northern Colonies, to purchase what is absolutely necessary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other Place; but even here the Profit of the Freight is gained not by *Great Britain*, but by the Northern Colonies only; which is a very small Advantage, in Comparison of the Damage done by this Means to our Sugar Colonies, especially as the *French* can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high Duties paid for Sugars in our Plantations, make it impossible for us to vend any to the Northern Colonies.

To the next Objection: That if the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Molosses was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the *English* Sugar Islands, or sell their Lumber and Provisions any where else, then the *English* Islands would set what Price they pleased upon their Rum, and beat down the Price of their Lumber and other Goods as they thought fit; it was answered: If the Case was as the

Objection states it, the *British* Sugar Colonies would be only upon a Level with *New England*; for, as that Place is the only Market from whence Lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, *New England*, by a Parity of Reason, is a Monopoly of the Lumber-Trade, and therefore does exact in the Price of its Lumber. But this is not, nor ever can be, the Truth of the Case, either with Regard to *New England*, or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a Place of such Extent as *New England*, where the Lumber Trade is carried on by a Multitude of People, with a View to each Trader's separate Interest, a Monopoly of Lumber cannot properly be made; so in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vast Distance from, and are Rivals to, each other, by the Production of the same Commodities, a Monopoly is impracticable. The *New England* Traders have no less than six *British* Islands to go to for Rum and Molosses; each of these Islands is as independent on the other in its Polity, as distant in Situation. There is little or no Intercourse, and less Commerce, between those of them which are situated the nearest, and no Intercourse at all between the remotest of these Islands; because the Produce of them all being the same, there can be no Exchange of Commodities, and consequently no Commerce or Intercourse. It follows therefore, where there is no Intercourse there can be no Combination, no Monopoly. On the contrary, each Island is a Rival to its Neighbour, producing the same Commodities, and will in common Prudence use all proper Means to have its full Share of Trade; to which End nothing can be more conducive, than to sell its Produce at the cheapest Rate possible.

As to the seventh Objection, that the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furnish our Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great Britain*, and lay out in our Manufactures, they answered, That there is no Money among the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar Colonies. How therefore they can bring Money from Places, where there is not enough for the common Uses of Life among the Inhabitants, is a Paradox which they must explain before the World will take it upon their Word. If then that Assertion be not founded on Truth, it follows that they do not lay out Money, brought from these Places, in the Manufactures of *Great Britain*; their Traffic for Fish in the Straights (a Trade in which they have supplanted *Great Britain*) may furnish them with Money, but we deny that such Money is laid out by them in the Manufactures of *Great Britain*. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that their Money is laid out with the *French* and *Dutch* in *Europe*, for *East-India* Goods, *French* Silks, and other foreign Commodities; for, as it appears by their own Evidence, at the Bar of the House of Commons, they import such Wares into *New England*; and we must suppose they pay for them in Money or Fish, till they can prove that Lumber is a valuable Commodity in *France* and *Holland*. But supposing the *New England* People do lay out their Product of Fish in *British* Manufactures, is that a sufficient Compensation to *Great Britain*, for robbing her of the Fish Trade to the Straights? Do not the *New England* People, by their Confession, acknowledge by Implication, that they reap the Profit of it, both in Navigation and Trade up the Straights, which used to be enjoyed by great *Britain* itself? What Advantage is it to *Britain* to have this Money laid out in her Manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the Carrier of these Manufactures to the Straights, and to bring home this Money in her own Ships, navigated by her own Sailors?

The Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, it is said, are very rich, and very luxurious. That the Product of these Colonies are of the richest Sort, and a Mine to *Great Britain*, is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the Proprietors of the Soil and Manufactures are far from being rich, is evident from the Proofs already made to the Parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred pound Weight of Sugar they make. This the *New England* Traders would think but a moderate Profit upon one of their short Voyages; but it is too much for an Inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinitely more risque in the Heat of the
Torrid

Torrid Zone, does the Duty, and is liable to run the Hazard of a Camp in the Time of War, and in Time of Peace live the hardest Life of all the Inhabitants under the Sun. That this is truly the Case of the Planters in the Sugar Colonies, all Mankind that are acquainted with them will attest; but it may be evinced from the Nature of the *West-Indian* Estate itself, which is subject to Ruin by the *French*, to Fire from the combustible Nature of the Sugar-Canes, which are its Product; from the vast Expence of Materials and Edifices for making Sugar and Rum, and from the like Expence in Negroes, Cattle, and Mules; from the Risque of Mortality in this Part of their Property, which is always half the Value of a well settled Plantation: And lastly, the Expence of feeding, the Care, Anxiety, and prudent Conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes, with strict Justice and Humanity, and with Advantage to himself, is the Station of a Planter: And is not this a Station that requires as much Fortitude, Industry, and Oeconomy, as catching Fish, or buying Skins from the *Indians* of *New England*? In short, without a good Share of all the Qualifications necessary to conduct an Affair the most complicated in its Nature, surrounded with Difficulties and Hazards, and in which the nicest Oeconomy and Order must be observed, it is impossible a Planter should reap any Profit from his Estate; therefore if Planters are rich, they must be the best Oeconomists, and the most industrious Men in the World, and therefore deserve what they acquire.

To the ninth Objection, That the Trade of the *English* Sugar Colonies is at present vastly profitable; for the little Island of *Barbadoes* in the Year 1730 imported twenty thousand seven hundred and sixty nine Hogheads of Sugar, of which they made 340,396 *l.* clear Profit. It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Molosses bear a reasonable Price; then a Plantation may, with the nicest Oeconomy, pay its own Charges out of those Articles. But if the *New England* Traders take Rum from Foreigners, and Molosses to be distilled into Rum by themselves, then the Rum and Molosses will be so far from bearing such a Charge; that, on the contrary, they will bear no Price at all; but the Molosses must be given to the Hogs, as the *French* used to do, 'till *New England* taught them how to make a better Profit of it. Have not then the *Barbadians* reason to complain? By the Assistance of the *New England* Traders the *French* now have that great Advantage, and the *French* Plantations are now increased above one third of the annual Value, purely by that pernicious Trade. This Increase to Foreigners is a proportionable Diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and consequently a Disadvantage to *Great Britain*. But is the Product of that little Island *Barbadoes* no less than 340,396 *l.* brought into the Ports of *Great Britain*, in one Year, what a Fountain of Treasure must this be to the Kingdom, even by the Confession of the Enemies to our *British* Sugar Colonies? Do therefore the *New England* Traders imagine that the Parliament of *Great Britain* will sacrifice this immense Treasure to the Advantage of a few *New England* Distillers; or if it was a Disadvantage to all *New England* (from whence *Great Britain* derives no Advantage in comparison of that) would it not be just Policy to support the Sugar Colonies? but when the present Opposition is considered, as founded on a Trade with the *French*, the natural and implacable Enemies of this Kingdom, what honest *Englishman* will look upon it but with Disdain? especially after it has appeared evident from Reason, from undoubted Testimony, and even by the implicit Confession of the *New England* People concerned in this Opposition, that the *French* have increased one third *per Annum* in their Wealth by this very Trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in Proportion, as has been proved already; and to compleat the Misfortune, the *New England* Traders have drained even the *British* Sugar Colonies of all their current Cash, for no other Purpose but to purchase Molosses and Rum of the *French*. This is a Fact known by all the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the most solemn Manner.

The two Houses having heard the several Facts stated, with the Proofs; and considered the Arguments and In-

ferences drawn from them, passed an Act of the following Tenor: That after the 25th of *December* 1738 there should be paid a Duty of Nine-pence a Gallon for all Rum and Spirits made in the Plantations, not subject to *Great Britain*, on the Importation of them into any of the *British* Plantations; that Six-pence a Gallon should be paid for all foreign Molosses and Syrups imported, and Five Shillings for every Hundred Weight, *English* Money, for Sugar and Paneles imported; and that no Sugar, Paneles, Syrups, or Molosses, should be imported into *Ireland*, unless shipped in *Great Britain*. And an Allowance of Two Shillings *per* Hundred Weight more than heretofore granted, on the Exportation of refined Sugars. But the Importation of *Spanish* or *Portuguese* Sugars into *Great Britain* is still permitted by the said Act.

Since the Act, the Merchants and Planters concerned in the *British* Sugar Colonies preferred a Petition to the *House of Commons*, setting forth, that by two Acts of Parliament passed in the 12th and 22d of *Charles II.* the Inhabitants of the said Colonies were restrained from sending Sugar to Foreign Markets before they are first landed in *Great Britain*. That how prudent soever this Restraint may have been at the Time the Sugar Trade in the *West-Indies* was entirely in our Hands, yet now our Sugar Islands are in a declining Condition from the Increase of the *French* Settlements, it would be highly beneficial not only to them but to *Great Britain* to put the *British* Subject in a Capacity of disputing foreign Markets with the *French*, and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to those Markets than he can do, under the Restraint aforesaid. That the Sugar Colonies import yearly into this Kingdom Sugar enough for our Home Consumption, and also a large Surplus for Re-exportation to foreign Parts; but the Demand from Abroad has greatly decreased within these few Years, and the Markets for that Commodity have been forestalled by the *French*, not only to the Prejudice of the Sugar Trade but also of the general Trade of *Great Britain*, which must affect the Balance thereof. That if *British* Ships were permitted to go to foreign Markets under proper Restrictions without unloading here, the whole Charge, and in a great Measure, the Risque, of a double Voyage would be saved; and the obliging such Ships to return to *Great Britain*, unload, and take their Clearance here, before their proceeding on another *American* Voyage, would be attended with this farther good Effect, that they must afford to carry Freight at the cheapest Rates, or return Home empty; so that this Regulation would extend our Navigation, and contribute to make us the Carriers of *Europe*, without prejudicing the Revenue, all the Duties on Sugar being drawn back on the Re-exportation of it to foreign Parts. For these Reasons the Petitioners prayed that Liberty might be granted of carrying *British* Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in *America* directly to any foreign Markets to the Southward of *Cape Finisterre*, upon the same Conditions that the People of *Carolina* are permitted to carry their Rice to the said Markets, and also of carrying such Sugars to any foreign Markets to the Northward of *Cape Finisterre*, after first touching at *Great Britain*, before they proceed on another *West-India* Voyage. But the great Tendernefs the Parliament has always had for the famous Act of Navigation, has prevented these Indulgences from being granted, that might otherwise perhaps have been yielded to in behalf of the Sugar Colonies.

But the present War with *France* will afford the best Means of coming at the Truth, in respect to the Facts asserted in the Papers before-mentioned; and therefore, whenever a general Peace shall be made, and the Parliament is at leisure to look into Affairs of this Nature, we have all the Reason in the World to expect that this Commerce will be put upon such a Foot as that the Inhabitants both of *Great Britain* and the Plantations, may reap from it the greatest Advantages possible. In order to this, the intelligent Reader will easily discern that the following Steps are necessary. In the first Place, due Care must be taken to give the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies all the Relief that is possible from any Hardships

of which they have, or with good Reason might have, complained; such as heavy and exorbitant Salaries to their Governors, large Sums levied upon them, without being applied for their Service, and the Difficulties they are under, in obtaining speedy and effectual Justice, when Persons in public Stations are inclined to extend their Power too far, with a View to promote their private Interest. They should likewise have all possible Encouragement given them for recovering their foreign Trade, and beating out the *French* and other Nations who have interfered in it; since, in regard to both Heads, it ought to be considered that the public Benefit, that is to say, the enriching the Subjects of *Great Britain* by the Balance of Trade in general, is the great Point to be held in View; from the attaining of which, all other incidental Advantages, such as advancing the Revenue of the Crown, enriching particular Families, and raising private Fortunes, would certainly and necessarily follow, without their entering at all into the Motives, upon which Laws for the Good of the Plantations are enacted. For if it could be once brought about, that either the old Markets for Sugar were retrieved or new Ones opened, there is no doubt that *Jamaica* and other Islands, where there are Lands, fit for that Purpose, uncultivated, would be more fully planted, the Inhabitants become more numerous, and their Demands from *Great Britain* consequently larger than they are at present. On the other Hand, the same Care, the same Diligence and Alacrity are requisite, with regard to the Colonies on the Continent; but, at the same Time, it ought to be remembered, that whatever is done to promote the Welfare and Trade of the Sugar Colonies, must necessarily tend to the Benefit and Advantage of the Plantations on the Continent, which supply the Sugar Colonies with Lumber, and other Things requisite for the carrying on their Trade; and if, besides this, Ways and Means could be found to open new Channels for the Benefit of these Colonies also, it ought most certainly to be done.

We have spent a great deal of Time indeed in surveying thus far the *English* Possessions in the *West-Indies*; but in a Work of this Nature Time could not well be spent better; they are, if I may be allowed the Expression, the pacific Conquests of this Nation. Territories acquired, and for the most part, at least, acquired without shedding Blood, which shews that Industry is as capable of rendering a Nation powerful, as a Thirst of War; and that a

martial is not a more noble than a trading Spirit. What is gained by one War is frequently lost by another; and even while it is kept, the Expences created by a disputed Title are greater than the Value of the Possession; but what becomes ours, by this Method of planting, remains always ours, and passes without Debate to our Posterity, the very Power by which we acquire it secures its Continuance, and the longer we hold such Acquisitions the more valuable they are rendered, and the more effectually annexed to our Empire. They are Out-works well garrisoned, which yet put us to little or no Expence; they are distant Dominions, and yet closely connected to us by the Commerce which they create, they are continually drawing People without Prejudice to their Mother-Country, because the more populous they grow the greater their Demands from hence, consequently the quicker our Trade here, which will always bring over hither People from other Countries.

We may therefore safely affirm, that nothing can be of such Consequence to *Britain* as the Improvement of her Colonies; and which, at the same Time, is a Consideration that must powerfully recommend this to our Attention, that it lies wholly in our Power. We may be disappointed in our Views, with respect to other Branches of Trade, by the Intrigues of our Enemies, or from the want of a right Disposition in our Friends, but with regard to this great Branch of our Commerce, nothing can injure, nothing can disappoint, us, nothing can abridge or defeat our Successes therein, if we are not wanting to ourselves. We can from our Plantations bring most of those Commodities that are requisite for the Support of our foreign Commerce; and this is, as well, or rather better, than if we had them here at Home; we can, from our Colonies, supply ourselves with those Necessaries, for want of which only Foreigners could distress us, such as Iron, Plank, Hemp, Pitch, and Tar, and if we so pleased there are few Things we might not fetch from our Plantations; since, it is certain, that Indigo, Cochineal, and Silk, might be had from our Southern Colonies, and many Things from our Northern Settlements, that have never been so much as talked of, but might be easily discovered; if Men well versed in Minerals and Metals were sent thither. In a Word, the Plantations were an Honour of the last Age, and it should be our Study to make them the Glory of this.

SECTION XIX.

An Historical Account of the BRITISH Settlements in America from the Restoration of King Charles II. to the Revolution.

1. *A succinct Account of commercial Affairs at the King's Return, and of the Circumstances that favoured the settling new Colonies.*
2. *The State of the Country now called Carolina, from the Time of its first Discovery to the granting of it to the Lords Proprietors by King Charles II. and thence to the Surrender of that Patent.*
3. *A short Description of the Country of Carolina and the principal Places in that Colony.*
4. *An Account of the Produce, People, Commerce, Shipping, and Importance of this Colony to the British Nation.*
5. *The Grant of the Island of Antego to Lord Willoughby, the planting that Island, its Produce, Commerce and Shipping.*
6. *The Conquest of Nova Belgia from the Dutch, the Grant of that Country to the Duke of York, whence is derived its present Name of New York, and a Defence of our Title to that Plantation.*
7. *An Account of that Country, its Situation, Climate and Product.*
8. *Of its Trade, Interests, and Importance to Great Britain.*
9. *The Grant of the East and West Jerseys to several Proprietors, and the Extent, Product and Trade of these Plantations.*
10. *The Settlement of the Island of New Providence and the Bahama Islands, their present Situation, and the Advantages that may be expected from them.*
11. *An account of the Charter granted to the Hudson's-Bay Company for facilitating the Discovery of a North-west Passage, and of the Settlements that have been made under it.*
12. *The Motives upon which were founded the Grant of the noble Country of Pensylvania to William Penn, Esq, by King Charles II.*
13. *An Account of the Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and State of that flourishing Colony.*
14. *The Commerce, Interests, and Importance of Pensylvania to Britain.*
15. *Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Events.*

AT the Time King *Charles II.* returned to the Possession of his Dominions, the Nature of Trade and the Importance of the Plantations were generally un-

derstood, and by very few better than the King himself, who had a Head mighty well turned for the comprehending whatever related to Maritime Affairs; had improved his

his Notions on that Subject in *Holland*, and had conversed much with Persons of Quality and Character, who had found it necessary to seek Shelter from their Enemies in those Parts of the World. We need not wonder therefore, that soon after the Restoration various Schemes were set on foot for enlarging, and effectually peopling, the Colonies already planted in *America*, as well as for settling new Colonies, in such Places as were not already occupied by our own, or any other *European*, Nation. The King was advised by some, and solicited by others, to grant Charters to new Colonies, from various Motives. Prince *Robert*, or as we usually call him, Prince *Rupert*, Duke of *Cumberland*, who had spent some Years in *America*, had great Notions of raising a naval Strength there, capable of distressing the *Spaniards*, and of obtaining a Share of the Gold and Silver they bring from thence. He was likewise persuaded, that there were very rich Mines in *Florida*, and was therefore for promoting, at any Rate, Discoveries and Settlements in that Country; the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord *Abley*, and several others of his first Ministry, considered Things in a very different Light: They thought that Plantations might be made useful Drains for carrying off warm, and turbulent Spirits; and that by granting Liberty of Conscience there to all the different Sects who were restrained at Home, they might secure Peace in *Britain*, and at the same time procure vast Profit from *America*; for it was a settled Maxim with them, *That Industry was the best Cure for Enthusiasm*; which Experience shewed was extremely well founded.

There were some other Reasons that contributed not a little to render Projects of this Nature acceptable to the King; for at that time there were Numbers of People that wanted some Establishment of this kind for their Support, and whom it was much easier to dispose of in this manner, than to find Means of rendering them easy and content at home. As, for Instance, Multitudes of Royalists who were undone by the War, and who seeing the Success that had attended the Planters in *Virginia* and *Barbadoes*, were better pleased to seek new Fortunes in the *West Indies*, than to continue in a State of Indigence and Necessity in *England*. Many likewise of the Army that had been lately disbanded, were also inclined to take the same Method for obtaining a comfortable Subsistence; and were not afraid of Danger and Fatigues abroad, to which they had been long inured at home. There were a third sort of People who, either from a Disaffection to the Government then newly re-established, or for fear of being called to an Account for what they had done in former Times, were very willing to transport themselves into these distant Parts of the King's Dominions, that they might have a Chance of raising Estates there, and at the same time be secure from any After reckonings for what, during our long Scene of public Confusions they had been doing here: We need not wonder therefore, that as soon as the Government was a little settled, many Proposals should be made for gratifying the Friends to the Government, who had very high Pretensions to the royal Favour, with Grants in *America*, which cost the Crown nothing, and which afforded probable Means of enriching particular Persons at the same Time that it opened a sure and certain Means of extending the Power, increasing the Trade, and augmenting the Wealth of the Nation. We may add, that besides all these Reasons, Expedients, and Advantages, there were likewise some of Necessity; for it was evident, even to such as were no great Politicians, that if some Measures were not taken to prevent it, the *Dutch* and other Foreigners, would infallibly fix themselves in those Countries which belonged of Right to this Crown, and which had been hitherto neglected; and therefore it was very wisely judged, that the Plantations first settled, should be in those Parts of the Continent that were in most Danger of falling into the Hands of other Nations.

Upon these Considerations therefore, the Administration listened very willingly to a Proposal that was made within two Years after the King was restored, for planting the Country now known by the Name of *Carolina*; which seemed the more worthy of being secured, as lying indubitably in the finest Climate in the World; and thereby

promising the highest Advantages to that *European* Nation which should settle and cultivate it. Neither was it at all improbable; that when the Property of this Country was once fixed by a Charter from the Crown, and large Privileges offered to such as would go thither and settle, it might be very soon peopled; since amongst the many Things for which that Country was undoubtedly fit, they were likely to fall upon somewhat that might support and maintain them; it is true, that many Things were given out of the Country at that time, which have not hitherto been verified by Experience; but then, as we shall shew hereafter at large, it seems to be rather imputable to the Want of Industry and Application in the Inhabitants, than to any Defect in the Soil or Climate: But to have just Notions of this, and from thence to form a right Idea of the Value of this noble Country, than which the Globe affords not a better, it is necessary that we should enter into a few Particulars, that we may thoroughly apprehend by what Right we possess it; how it came to be abandoned by another Nation that seized it while unoccupied by us; after what Manner our first Plantations were made; what great Changes have happened in the Constitution of the Colony; the State it is in at present; the Benefits which *Great Britain* reaps from it, and what reasonable Hopes there are, that it may yet turn more to our Advantage. Of all which Heads we shall treat as clearly and as concisely as it is possible.

2. The Country of *Carolina* is Part of that vast Region of *North America* which was formerly comprehended under the Name of *Florida*, a Name bestowed by *John Ponce de Leon*, in the Year 1512; of whose Adventures and Discoveries we have already spoken largely: He advanced, however, no farther Northwards than the River of *St. Matheo*, and therefore it is plain, that the *Spaniards* never had any just Title to *Carolina*: But it is, however, very true that they flattered themselves, that his having touched upon this Continent, gave them a Right to it; which Notion, if well founded, would give us a better Right, since *Sebastian Cabot* had been several Years before on the Northern Coast of this very Country, though it is doubtful whether he advanced so far South as *St. Matheo*. The *Spaniards*, who desired to secure it to themselves eight Years afterwards, sent *Vasquez de Ayllon* to make a farther Discovery of it: He came upon the North Coast, and called the North-north-west River by the Name of *Jordon*. He did nothing except inviting many of the Natives on board his Ships, where, when he had got them, he hoisted Sail, and carried them into miserable Bondage. In the Year 1526, *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, sent *Pamphilio Narvaez* to *Florida*, who staid so long in the South-west Part of this Country, which is the most barren, that his People eat one another, his Crew having spent their Provisions. Ten Years afterwards, *Ferdinando Soto* came hither in Search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of nine hundred Foot and five hundred Horse. Himself and three Parts of his Soldiers died through Want, by Sicknefs, and the *Indians*, and the rest, were led back by *Lewis Moscos* to *New Spain*, though not without great Difficulty, the Natives setting upon them several times in their March, and killing all that fell into their Hands. This unfortunate and expensive Expedition so discouraged the *Spaniards*, that for several Years they made no more Attempts in those Parts, and indeed they searched no farther than that Part of the Continent which lies opposite to the Gulph of *New Spain*, and not within, and beyond the Streights of *Bahama*, which is the most fertile and rich, abounding in many valuable Commodities.

The *French* perceiving the *Spaniards* neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral *Coligny*, in the Reign of *Charles IX.* procured two of the King's Ships to be sent thither; the Command of which he gave to *Jean Ribaut*, who, after a Voyage of two Months, arrived at the River *Dolphin*, between that of *St. Matheo* and that of *May*; lying about the 30th Degree. The next River to that of *May* he called the *Seine*, the next to that, the *Somme*, then *Loire*, then the *Charente* and *Garonne*, at the Mouth of *Albemarle* River, then called the *Great River*. The Port being safe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he called *Charles Fort*,

Fort, and gave it the Name of *Port Royal*, in 32 Degrees, bordering on *Virginia*, now *North Carolina*, where the first Settlement was made by any *European Nation*. The Civil War raging in *France*, *Ribaut's* Soldiers mutinied for want of Supplies; the Natives, it is true, were very kind to them out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*; but they could not furnish them with many Necessaries that they wanted; and the Admiral was so engaged in Politics at home, that he had not leisure to provide for the Wants of his Colony, so *Ribaut*, having made some Discoveries, in the North-east Part of *Florida*, returned to *France*; and in his Return his Company were reduced to such Extremity, that they killed and eat one of their own Men, and probably would have done so by others, had they not accidentally met with an *English Ship*; the Master of which furnished them with some Provisions. A Peace being concluded two Years after in *France*, between the Papists and the Protestants, *Coligny*, who was then in favour at Court, procured other Ships to be sent to this Country, which was now called *Carolina*, from *Fort Charles*, as that was from the *French King*.

The Command of those Ships and Men on board, was given to *Lewis Laudoner*, who was ordered to carry on the Settlement. He arrived here the 20th of *June*, 1564, with three Ships, and was kindly received by the Inhabitants; but could find no Gold or Silver, though he spent much Labour and Time about them. His Provisions being almost all gone, and the Natives either unwilling or unable to furnish him with more, *Laudoner* resolved to return also to *France*; and as he was preparing to depart, *Jean Ribaut* arrived with three Ships, which had so good an Effect on the *Indians*, that they seemed to be as welcome to them as to the *French*: The Kings of *Homoloe*, *Servaratri*, *Almacam*, *Malica*, and *Castri*, waited upon *Ribaut* to congratulate his Arrival, and promised to conduct him to the *Apalachian Mountains*, which part *Carolina* from *Virginia*. The *French* conceived great Hopes from this Settlement, but all vanished on the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces drove the *French* out of their Forts, killed *Ribaut* and six hundred Men, after having given them Quarter, and obliged *Laudoner*, with a few of his Countrymen who remained alive, to return to *France*.

The *French King* was less moved with this Outrage committed on his Subjects, because they were Protestants; and indeed, 'tis thought, *Coligny* intended by this Settlement to secure a Retreat for himself and his Brethren of the reformed Religion in case they were conquered in *France*. *Peter Melanda* commanded the *Spaniards*, who dislodged the *French*, and so provoked the *Indians*, by his Cruelty and Injustice, that they were very ready to revenge themselves when Opportunity offered, as it did not long after. For Captain *de Gorgues*, a *French Gentleman*, at his own Cost, fitted out three stout Ships, and with two hundred and eighty Men sailed to *Carolina*, where he took the Fort, and put the *Spaniards* therein all to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he easily reduced, and served the Garrisons as he did that of *Fort Charles*; he demolished them, and was assisted by the Kings of *Homoloe* and *Servaratri*. The *French* travelled into the Dominions of the Great King of *Apalacha*, near the Mountains, where they converted many *Indians* to Christianity. These *Indians* were more civil than those to the Northward, their King's Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great Measure, resembled those of the *Mexicans*, from whom they were thought to be descended. We do not find that Monsieur *de Gorgues* made any Settlement here, or that the *Spaniards* endeavoured to recover the Country, which from the Year 1567 lay deserted by all *European Nations* 'till the Reign of King *Charles II.* of *England*.

In the Year 1622 several *English Families* flying from the Massacres of the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New England*, were driven upon these Coasts and settled in the Province of *Malica* near the Head of the River of *May*, where they became a kind of Missionaries among the *Malicans* and *Apalachites*. The King of the Country is said to have been baptized; and in the Year 1653,

Mr. *Brigstock*, an *Englishman*, went to *Apalacha*, where he was honourably entertained by his Countrymen, who were there before him, and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

Such was the Situation of Things, and it had been abandoned by the *French* for near one hundred Years, when King *Charles* the II^d made a Grant thereof, bearing Date *March* 24, 1663, to *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Lord Craven*, *John Lord Berkley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, *Sir George Carteret*, *Sir William Berkley*, and *Sir John Colliton*, from the North-end of the Island called *Luck Island*, which lies in the Southern *Virginia Sea*, and within 36 Degrees of North Latitude, and to the West, as far as the *South-Seas*, and so southerly as far as the River *San Mattheo*, which borders on the Coast of *Florida*, and is within 31 Degrees of North Latitude, and so West, in a direct Line, as far as the *South-Seas* aforesaid, with all Royal Fisheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing necessary in an absolute Propriety, paying a Quit-Rent of twenty Marks yearly. These Proprietors afterwards obtained another Grant, which somewhat varied the Bounds of the Province, by fixing its Northern Frontier at *Carotoch River* in 36 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending it to the Latitude of 29 Degrees to the South, within which Bounds both the *Carolinas* and the new Province of *Georgia* are included.

The Plan of Government for this new Colony was struck out by that great Statesman, *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*, and digested into Form by the famous Mr. *John Lock*; so that great Expectations were raised by it. But without entering into a long Detail upon this Subject, it is sufficient to say, that how fair soever it might appear in Theory, it was found by Experience impossible to carry it into Practice; so that after struggling with the Inconveniencies produced by it for about sixty Years, to the Prejudice of the Planters and Proprietors; the only Remedy that could at last be found, was to get rid of this fine spun Constitution, in which it was pretended all the Errors in our own were cured, and to put the Province under the Protection and into the Hands of his Majesty, which was accordingly done; and this Remedy has answered all the Ends that could be expected from it in so few Years.

This Surrender was made by the Proprietors to *Edward Bertie*, *Samuel Horsy*, *Henry Smith* and *Alexis Clayton*, Esqrs. in Trust for the Crown. The Proprietors, in their own Right, or in Trust, were then *Henry Duke of Beaufort*, *William Lord Craven*, *James Bertie*, Esq; *Doddington Greville*, Esq; *Henry Bertie*, Esq; *Mary Danson*, *Elizabeth More*, *Sir John Colliton*, *John Cotton* and *Joseph Blake*, Esqrs. who were possessed of Seven-Eighths of the Propriety of the Province, and sold it to the Crown for 17500 *l.* Each Proprietor, who had a whole Share, having 2500 *l.* The outstanding Quit-Rents, and other Incomes, due to the Proprietors from the People of the Province amounting to somewhat above 9000, also were sold to the Crown for 5000 *l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned Proprietors after the Sale and Surrender had been confirmed by a particular Act of Parliament, in the Year 1728, entitled, *An Act for establishing an Agreement with seven of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, for surrender of their Title and Interest in that Province to his Majesty*. It will appear by the following Clause in the Act of Parliament, that the remaining One-Eighth of the Propriety, and Arrears of Quit-Rents aforesaid, were reserved to the Right Honourable *John Lord Carteret*, now Earl of *Granville*, "Saving and reserving always to the said *John Lord Carteret*, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, all such Estate, Right, Title, &c. to One-Eighth Part of the said Province or Territories, and to One-Eighth Part of all Arrears, &c."

In consequence of the Powers granted to his Majesty by this Act, he has ever since appointed Governors of *North* and *South Carolina*, and there is a great Prospect of its becoming a Purchase highly beneficial to the Crown, which will, however, in a great measure depend

on the Capacity and Conduct of the Governors they send thither, who ought to have true Notions of the Interests of King and People, and a Firmness of Mind equally capable of resisting Flattery and despising Clamour, to both which he will be as much exposed in these, as in any other Countries in the World, if from what has already passed, we may form any Judgment of what will happen in succeeding Times.

3. After having given the Reader an Account of the Time and Manner in which we became possessed of this Colony, and the Means by which its Government has been changed since it was settled, we are next to enter into an exact Description of the Country itself, that the Reader may be the better able to judge of the Value of this Plantation, and of the Certainty of those Rules, for determining the best Climates, and the Commodities that may be expected, either from the Bounty of Nature, or the Industry of the Inhabitants; with respect to which, more rational Hopes could scarce be formed of any Place in our Possession, or, indeed, of any *European* Nation in *America*, than of this; which, in Point of Situation, as I have hinted more than once, is as happy as could be wished, and in that respect certainly merits the Reader's particular Attention. *Carolina* is situated between the Extremes of Heat and Cold, but the Heat is more troublesome in Summer than the Cold in Winter, their Winters being very short, and their frosty Mornings frequently succeeded by warm Days. The Air is, for the most Part, serene and clear, both in Summer and Winter; yet they have their Winter Rains, and sometimes very heavy Showers about Midsummer; and especially if the Wind changes suddenly from the South-east to the North-west, for then it blows exceeding cold, and brings Distempers on those who do not take care to guard against it; but the Country is generally healthful, where People live regularly, and use any Precaution: Those, indeed, who after a hot Day expose themselves to the cool Breezes of the Evening, usually feel the Effects of it, as others do that indulge their Appetites in eating Fruit, and drinking pernicious Liquors to Excess.

They are subject to Hurricanes as well as the *Caribbee Islands*, but these do not happen every Year; and sometimes are so favourable as not to do much Mischief in seven Years. There was a very terrible one which happened in the Year 1729. This Province is now divided into North and South *Carolina*; and, as we have before shewn, the Country now known by the Name of *Georgia* is also within the original Limits of this Colony. At present we shall concern ourselves only with the two first mentioned Provinces, intending to speak more of the last in its proper Place. *North Carolina* is bounded by *Virginia* on the North, the Ocean on the East, by a Line drawn in 34 Degrees from the Ocean to the Mountains on the South, and by that Part of *Florida*, possessed by the *Indians*, on the West, and is subdivided into fourteen Townships or Parishes. But there is not one Town or Church, as I can learn, in the Country; and it is but very lately that the Society for the propagating the Gospel has sent itinerant Preachers amongst them. *South Carolina* is divided from *North Carolina*, by the abovesaid imaginary Line on the North, by the Ocean on the East, by the River *Savannah*, which separates it from *Georgia*, on the South, and by the Country of the *Indians* on the West, being subdivided into fourteen Parishes or Townships, each of them having a good Church of Brick or Timber.

But the chief and almost the only Town in both *Carolina's*, is *Charles Town*, situate in 32 Degrees 45 Minutes North Latitude, and on the Point of a *Peninsula*, formed by *Ashly* and *Cooper Rivers*; the former of which is navigable for Ships twenty Miles above the Town; and for Boats and Pettyaugers (large Canoes) near 40 Miles. The other River is not navigable for Ships so far, but for Boats and Pettyaugers much farther; the Bar before the Harbour has sixteen Foot Water at a low Tide, and there is good riding when a Ship is got close to the Town, the Harbour being secured by a Fort called *Johnson's Fort*, which has about twenty Guns in it, level with the Surface of the Water. The Town was

regularly fortified some Years ago, and several of the Bastions, near the Water, are still in being, and in good repair. But the Bastions, Pallisadoes, and Fosse, next the Land, being much damaged by a Hurricane, and deemed of too great an Extent to be defended by the Inhabitants, General *Nicholson* caused them to be demolished. The Town now contains upwards of six hundred Houses, generally well built, some of them of Brick, but more of Timber, and most of them sashed, forming regular and spacious Streets; and their Church is much the most magnificent in *English America*, having three Isles, an Organ, and Gallery all round the Church.

The Town of *Beaufort* is situated on the Island of *Port Royal*, in 31 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, an hundred Miles South of *Charles Town*; the Continent and Island forming a fine capacious Harbour, which might hold the Royal Navy of *England*. The Island on which the Town stands, consists of near one thousand Acres, and is navigable all round for Boats and Pettyaugers, and one half of it for Shipping, having four Fathom Water close to the high Bluff, so that Ships may load and unload from the Shore, without the Assistance of Boats. The Harbour is secured by a Fort built some Years since, on which twelve Culverins are mounted, but the Town and Island have no Fortification; nor is the Harbour so well fortified as a Place of this Importance deserves, especially as it lies so nigh *Spanish Florida*, and is said to be demanded by the *Spaniards* as Part of their Territories. There is not, indeed, above fifty or three-score Houses in the Town of *Beaufort* at present, but from its advantageous Situation, and the Goodness of the Harbour, it is expected that this Town will one Day be the Capital of *Carolina*: It is already the Station for the *British* Squadron in those Seas. There is another Port-Town lately erected at *Wingaw*, about fifty Miles to the Northward of *Charles Town*, to which they have given the Name of *George Town*, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have a Missionary here.

It would be needless to enter into a large Description of this Country, or of the Towns that are erected in it; only it may not be amiss to say that *North Carolina* is within this few Years become quite a different Country from what it was, and the Number of People therein is continually increasing; so that there is good Reason to believe that whenever the Inhabitants are blessed with a wise, active, prudent, and public-spirited Governor, this Country may be so improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than from any of the Accounts hitherto received of it could be expected. Indeed it may justly be affirmed, that the Welfare and Prosperity of all our Colonies depend so much upon the Choice of Governors, that we can scarce conceive any thing of so great Importance as the Crown's being extremely careful to vest none with such Authority, but Men of known Capacity, established Reputation, and competent Fortunes.

4. As to the Produce, Strength, and Commerce of *Carolina*, the best Account we have, is from Colonel *Purry*, a Man of great Judgment, Industry, and Integrity, who went thither with a View to settle, as he did; and therefore his Accounts may be very safely depended upon. He observes that all Sorts of Trees and Plants will grow there as well as can be wished; particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indico, Olives, Orange Trees, and Citron Trees, as also white Mulberry Trees for feeding of Silkworms; and that the Lands are not difficult to clear, because there are neither Stones nor Brambles, but only great Trees, which do not grow very thick, so that more Land may be cleared there in one Week, than could be done in *Europe* in a Month. The Custom of the Country is, that after having cut down these great Trees, they leave the Stumps for four or five Years to rot, and afterwards easily root them up, in order to manure the Land. It is therefore very certain that *Carolina* is in general an excellent Country.

It is true the Ground is sandy, but then it is a Sand impregnated with Salt or Nitre, so that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like Soil does in diverse Parts of *Europe*. But what seems peculiar to *Carolina*, there

are a great Number of Plantations that have been continually cultivated for near seventy Years, which yet produce great Plenty, without ever being manured by the least Dung, for they never lay any on their Grounds; the Planter only turns up the Superficies of the Earth, and all that he plants and sows therein quickly grows and thrives: Those who understand ever so little of Agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the Lands in *Europe* were not constantly manured, their Strength would be so exhausted that at length the Crops would not pay for their Seed; but a Man who has a little Land in *Carolina*, and is not willing to work above two or three Hours in a Day, may very easily live there, even on so little Labour. Another Consideration deserving our Notice is, the Progress of the first Colonies; their sudden Advancement; the Riches of the present Inhabitants; the great Number of public Expences for which they provide; the great Trade they carry on at present; and lastly, their Misfortunes and Losses, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend these Matters, we shall only make the following Observations: That there were no People in *Carolina* till near fourscore Years ago; for the *English* did not send any thither till the Year 1670: That they had at first a very fatal Beginning; afflicted with Sickness, and even the Plague, which daily diminished the Number of the People: That cruel destructive Divisions broke out amongst them: That they had a very bad Government under the Lords Proprietors, being also without Justice, Order, or Discipline: That at a certain Time the Pirates interrupted their Trade and Navigation: That they have often had great Droughts: That a terrible Fire consumed almost all *Charles Town*: That they have been at great Expence in Fortifications, public Edifices, Churches, &c. That they have often sustained long Wars with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and particularly with the *Indians*, who once united together to destroy the whole Province. That notwithstanding all these Misfortunes, the People of *Carolina*, except those who give themselves up to Debauchery, are all rich, either in Slaves, Furniture, Clothes, Plate, Jewels, or other Merchandizes, but especially Cattle; which shews the Goodness of the Country they inhabit.

Silk-worms, in *Carolina*, are hatched from the Egg, about the Middle of *March*; at the same time that the Mulberry-leaves, which are their Food, begin to open; being attended and fed six Weeks, they eat no more; but have small Bushes set up for them to spin themselves into Balls; which thrown into warm Water, are wound off into raw Silk. Rosin, Tar, and Pitch, are all produced from the Pine Trees; Rosin, by cutting Channels in the standing green Trees that meet at a Point at the Foot of the Tree, where is placed a Receiver; the Channels are cut as high as one can reach with an Ax; and the Bark is peeled off from all those Parts of the Tree that are exposed to the Sun, that the Heat of it may the more easily force out the Turpentine, which being taken from the Receiver, and melted in Kettles becomes Rosin. Tar is made thus: They prepare a circular Floor of Clay declining a little towards the Center; from which is laid a Pipe of Wood, the Upper-part of which is even with the Floor, and reaches ten Feet without the Circumference; under the End the Earth is dug away, and Barrels placed to receive the Tar as it runs; upon the Floor is built up a large Pile of dry Pine Wood split in Pieces, and surrounded with a Wall of Earth, which covers it all over only a little at the Top, where the Fire is first kindled: After the Fire begins to burn, they cover it likewise with Earth, to the End there may be no Flame, but only Heat sufficient to force the Tar downward into the Floor; they temper the Heat as they please, by thrusting a Stick through the Earth, and letting the Air in at as many Places as they see convenient. Pitch is made by boiling Tar in large Iron Kettles set in Furnaces, or by burning it in round Clay Holes made in the Earth.

Black Cattle have mightily increased since the first settling of the Colony. About forty Years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four Cows, now some People have a thousand Head; and for one Man to have two hundred is very common. The Cows

graze in the Forest, and the Calves being separated and kept in Pastures fenced in, they return home at Night to suckle them: They are first milked, then shut up in a Fold all Night, milked again in the Morning, and then turned out into the Woods. Here are Hogs in abundance; they go daily to feed in the Woods, where they rove several Miles, feeding on Nuts and Roots; but having a Shelter made at home, to keep them warm, and something given them to eat, they generally return in the Evening. The Beef and Pork that are raised here find a good Market in the Sugar Islands.

The Trade of *Carolina* is now so considerable, that of late Years there have sailed from thence, annually, above two hundred Ships laden with Merchandize of the Growth of the Country, besides three Ships of War, which they commonly have for the Security of their Commerce; and last Winter they had constantly five, the least of which had above an hundred Men on board. It appears from the Custom-house Entries, from *March* 1730 to *March* 1731, that there sailed, within that Time, from *Charles Town*, two hundred and seven Ships, most of them for *England*; which carried among other Goods, forty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven Barrels of Rice, about five hundred Pounds weight *per* Barrel; ten thousand seven hundred and fifty Barrels of Pitch; two thousand sixty-three of Tar; and seven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-skins, three hundred Casks containing eight or nine hundred each; besides a vast Quantity of *Indian* Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. Beef, Pork, and other salted Flesh; Beams, Plank, and Timber for Building, most part of Cedar, Cypress, Sassafras, Oak, Walnut, and Pine.

They carry on a great Trade with the *Indians*, from whence they get their great Quantities of Deer-skins, and of other wild Beasts, in exchange for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarse Cloth, Vermillion, Iron, strong Waters, and some other Goods, by which they have a very considerable Profit. The great Number of Slaves makes another Part of the Riches of this Province, there being above forty thousand Negroes, which are worth, one with another, twenty-five Pounds each. Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoe-makers, Smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there; a skilful Carpenter is not ashamed to demand thirty Shillings a Day besides his Diet, and the common Wages of a Workman is twenty Shillings *per* Day, provided he speaks *English*, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a Workman has but ten Shillings *per* Day, he thinks he labours for almost nothing, though he has his Maintenance besides; but this is *Carolina* Money. Most of their Shoes are brought from *England*, and generally sell for forty Shillings *per* Pair; not but that they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being sold for twenty Shillings; neither are they destitute of the Means to tan them, for they make very good Lime with Oyster-shells, and the Bark of Oak Trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the Trouble of gathering; they therefore want only a sufficient Number of good Tanners and Shoe-makers. I might say the same of Leather-dressers, since they send every Year to *England* above two hundred thousand Deer-skins undressed; yet *Carolina* produces Oker naturally, and good Fish-Oil may be had from *New York*, or *New England*, very cheap; so that they might be dressed and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which those Skins are very proper, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no earthen Ware but what comes from *England*, nor Glass of any kind; so that a Pot-house and a good Glass-house would succeed perfectly well, not only for *Carolina* but for all the Colonies in *America*. There is a kind of Sand and Earth which would be very proper for those Purposes, as also Wood and Fern in abundance, if they had but Workmen to make Use of them.

It may seem strange to affirm this, in an Age when it is well known, that Men are inclined to go almost any where, and may be tempted to almost any thing, from the Hopes of Money. These Facts, however, are very true,

true, neither is it very difficult to account for them; for if without much Labour and Pains not only a bare Subsistence may be gained, but in time also good Estates may be raised by Methods already in use; we are not to expect that our People in the Colonies will either run Hazards or give themselves much Trouble to strike out new Ways to Wealth, even though they should be convinced that such Ways, at the same time they increased their own Fortunes, would prove beneficial to their Mother-Country likewise. There are indeed some People who take a Pleasure in running down the Countries we have planted in *America*, and in making their Countrymen believe that they are amused with fine Stories, without Truth, or which, at least, have but a small Mixture of Truth in them. They say, for Instance, that tho' *English* Wheat will grow in *Carolina*, yet it is apt to mildew, and almost always runs up into Straw, and produces but a small Grain, and that it is very difficult to keep it from the Weevil. These, however, are Inconveniencies felt in other Countries, where very good Wheat grows, for which many Remedies have been found and applied with Success, as doubtless they might be there, if the Planters went about it. The Truth of the Matter is, that Rice is raised without so much Trouble, and as they can exchange this in *Pensylvania* and *New York*, almost Weight for Weight for Flour, they are content, and indeed think it a Happiness they can have Bread without being at much Pains in procuring it.

The same thing may be said of Wine, which it is now generally agreed cannot be made there, because their Grapes ripening in *June*, when their great Heats and heavy Rains come on, are very seldom fit for pressing. But it is very certain, that this is no better than an Excuse, since the wild Grape ripens in *October*, and Persons skilful in Vineyards would soon teach them the Means of making use of these. The very same Objections were raised in reference to the Country about the *Cape of Good Hope*; and it was as positively said that no Wine could be made there, but the *Dutch* have shewn what Strength there was in the Objection, by their improving into a Paradise a Place we despised, and thought not worth the keeping; and while *Madeira* is to be had so cheap, I am convinced no Grapes will ripen kindly in *Carolina*. As to Silk, the same Objection does not lie; for, it is well known, there are Woods of Mulberry-Trees there, upon which the Worms feed and spin as well as in any Place in the World. I may add, that Silk has been brought over from *Carolina*, as good, in the Opinion of the best Judges, as any that comes from *Piedmont*, for which we pay large Sums of Money every Year; but it falls out unluckily, that from the End of *March* to the Beginning of *May*, when the Worms want most Attendance, all the Hands in *Carolina* are employed in planting and hoeing their Rice, so that they have no time to spare for procuring a Commodity, of which hitherto they do not seem to know the true Value.

But all the Faults do not lye on that Side of the Water; since it is true, that though there comes a great deal of Pitch from thence, we have but little Tar from *Carolina*; whereas, there have been formerly many thousand Barrels brought in a Year, not at all inferior to the best Tar from *Norway*; which was, by this Means, reduced from three Pounds to fifteen Shillings a Barrel, with which Reduction, it seems, we are content to have recourse again to the North Country Tar, and no longer make use of what might come from this Plantation. We may from these few Hints see clearly, that as great as our Trade to these Colonies is, it might still become much greater, and that how beneficial soever they may be to *Great Britain*, we are far from deriving from them all the Benefits we might do; and though considered, in one light, this seems a little distasteful; yet, if we view it in another, it affords us a very comfortable Prospect; since, when we are disposed to apply ourselves heartily to the Improvement of this Commerce, we have a moral Certainty, that our Endeavours will succeed, and that *Great Britain* can never feel any sensible Decay of Trade, while she preserves and cherishes her Plantations.

5. Among other Persons of Quality and Distinction who were justly entitled to the Favour of King *Charles*,

there were few who had a better Title than *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governor of *Barbadoes*, and who in 1663 obtained a Grant of the Island of *Antego*, in which he settled a Colony about three Years after. The Country had been known before, and, if I am not mistaken, Sir *Thomas Warner* had attempted to settle it. How it came to pass that after the Death of Lord *Willoughby*, who removed hither, this Island came again into the Hands of the Crown I cannot say, but without all doubt, the Fact is true, and this Island now makes a Part of the Government with the rest of the *Leeward Islands*, and is said to owe its present happy Situation to the Care, Industry, and Skill of Sir *Christopher Codrington*, who made it the Seat of his Government when he was General and Commander in chief of those Islands. It was here, that in the latter End of the late Queen's Time Governor *Park* was killed by the People; an Affair that will be ever remembered, both in that Part of the World and this, though it does not seem to be well understood in either; the Fact most certainly was barbarous and bloody enough; but, at the same Time, it is as certain the Provocations the People had received were great, which was the Reason that most of those concerned in this Murder escaped with Impunity.

But our Business lies not so much with Men as with things, and therefore we shall proceed to the Description of the Island *Antego*, or as it is sometimes written *Antigua*, which lies in 16 Degrees 11 Minutes North Latitude, and in 63 Degrees of Longitude West from *London*. It is of a circular Form, about twenty Miles in Diameter, and near sixty in Circumference. The Climate is not to be boasted of, since it is allowed to be hotter than *Barbadoes*, and very subject to Hurricanes. The Soil too is sandy, and a great Part of the Island is overgrown with Wood; but the worst of it is, that there are but few Springs, and not so much as a single Brook in the whole Island, so that the People depend chiefly upon Rain-water, for which they are sometimes distressed: Yet, notwithstanding these Inconveniencies, it is a very considerable and a very thriving Plantation.

This Island is divided into five Parishes, four of which are Towns; as *St. John's Town* to the Northward, and *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge Town* to the Southward; the other Parish is *St. Peters*. *St. John's Harbour* is the most commodious, besides which there are several other good Harbours, as *Five Island Harbour*, so called from five little Islands to the Westward of the Isle of *Carsile Bay*; *English Harbour*, at the bottom of which is *Falmouth Town*, defended by *Charles Fort*; next to it is *Willoughby Bay*; on the East Shore is *Bridge Town*, the *Green Bay*, off which is *Green Island*; then *Nonfuch Harbour*, a spacious Bay. On this Coast, on the North-east Shore, are several little Islands called *Polecat Islands* and *Goat Island*, and more to the Northward *Goana Island*, *Bird Island*, *Long Island*, *Maiden Island*, and *Prickle-Pear Island*. The Forts are now in pretty good Repair; *Monkshill Fort* is mounted with thirty Pieces of Ordnance; it has a Magazine with about four hundred and ten Muskets and eight hundred Bayonets, in good order; the other Fort erected at *St. John's Harbour*, is mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; there are seven other Batteries raised for the Defence of so many landing Places, in all mounted with twenty-six Guns.

The Capital of the Island is *St. John's Town*, which consists of about two hundred Houses; and the Number of Souls in all this Colony are one thousand five hundred at present. It has greater plenty of Cattle and other Beasts, especially Venison, than any other of our *Caribbee Islands*; the Animals of which are much the same, as also their Productions. Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and Tobacco, were the chief Growths and Commodities of *Antego*, when it was first planted, but now Indico and Ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The Sugar and Tobacco were both bad of the Sort; the former so black and coarse, that one would scarce have thought any Art could have refined it; and, as if our Sugar Bakers scorned to put such Dirt into their Coppers, it was generally shipped off for *Holland* and *Hamburg*, being sold for sixteen Shillings a hundred Weight, when other *Muscovada*

covado Sugars fetched eighteen or nineteen Shillings a hundred. The Planters of *Antego* have since improved their Art, and as good *Muscovado* Sugar is now made there, as in any of our Sugar Islands. They have also clayed some Sugar which was not known to have been done in *Antego* forty Years ago.

Though there is not much Tobacco planted in this Island, what there is now is not so bad as was formerly, when it was sold for no other Use but to make Snuff. The wild Cinnamon Tree is said to grow in the *Lowlands*, or *Savanah Woods* in *Antego*. After *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*, this has been considered by some as the most considerable of our Islands in *America*; and as there is still a great Quantity of Land capable of Improvement, and it is allowed the People there might make a third more Sugar than they do, we may venture to allow, that it either is, or may be so; and if we consider what must have been gained by our Commerce with this Island for upwards of fourscore Years, we cannot but judge that it has been highly advantageous to this Nation, and very well deserves all the Care and Concern that can possibly be expressed for its Protection and Preservation.

6. The next Colony in *America*, which our Method leads us to consider, is that of *New York*, which is ours by a double Right, *viz.* of Discovery and Conquest. It was undoubtedly Part of the Country, the Coasts of which were first viewed by *Sebastian Cabot*, and as such made a Part of the original Province of *Virginia*, I mean the Country known under that Name in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was afterwards within the Limits of the Country, granted by King *James* to the Western Company. But before it could be settled, that is about the Year 1608, the famous Navigator *Hudson* discovered that River, which has since borne his Name, and the Country adjacent, which he afterwards sold to the *Dutch* who planted there; but this was looked upon as illegal, because they had not King *James's* Licence, which it seems they afterwards obtained. There are some *English* Writers so very partial in favour of this Republic, as to be angry that this Settlement should be looked upon by us as a kind of Invasion, but surely this is without Reason; for if the Subjects of any Country were at Liberty to sell and dispose of Places they had but just seen, which was the Case of Captain *Hudson*, the Inconveniencies would be so great as to produce endless Wars, and therefore this Practice must be understood to be contrary to the Law of Nations.

But however that Matter might be, King *James* was so great a Lover of Peace, that very probably he was glad to rid himself of the present Difficulty, by granting them a Licence: Yet if we duly consider this, the granting such a Licence was a thing very destructive to the Interest of *Great Britain*, and might have proved extremely prejudicial to our Northern Colonies, and have been such a Bone of Contention, as must have for ever prevented any Harmony between the maritime Powers. These Reflections which rose naturally out of the Subject, have led me a little from my Purpose, which was to explain the first settling here, which the *Dutch* made a little before we planted *New England*; and from their first coming, being seated in Islands and at the Mouth of a good River, their Plantations were in a thriving Condition, and they begun, in *Holland*, to promise themselves vast things from their new Colony. The *English* Puritans in *Holland*, who first removed to *America*, intended to settle here, having had an inviting Description of the River, Climate, and Soil, from the *Hollanders*, who did not care, however, that the *English* should be so near their Plantations, as to be tempted to encroach on them, considering the Flaw that was in their Title. The *English* that went from *Holland*, intended to settle on the Coast, near *Fair Field County* in *New England*, lying between *Connecticut* and *Hudson's River*, but the *Dutch* apprehended they would there be too near Neighbours. These *English*, as has been already related, falling in with *Cape Cod*, after having refreshed a little, tacked about to the Southward for *Hudson's River*: But *Jones*, who was the Master of the Ship they came in, having been bribed by the *Hollanders* to carry them and land farther to the North-

ward, instead of putting to Sea entangled them among dangerous Shoals, which made them willing to get ashore where they were, and give over the Design upon *Hudson's River*. The *Dutch* had, two or three Years before, been insulted here by Sir *Samuel Argall*, in his Way from *Virginia* to *New Scotland*.

He destroyed their Plantations, and it was to prevent the like for the future, they applied to King *James* for his Licence to stay there, to build Cottages, and to plant for Traffic as well as Subsistence, pretending it was only for the Convenience of their Ships touching there for fresh Water and fresh Provisions, in their Voyage to *Brazil*; but they, by little and little, extended their Limits every Way, built Towns, fortified them, and became a flourishing Colony. In an Island, called *Manhattan*, at the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, they built a City which they named *New Amsterdam*, and the River was called by them the *Great River*. The Bay to the East of it had the Name of *Nassau* given it; about one hundred and fifty Miles up the River they built a Fort, which they called *Orange Fort*, and from thence drove a profitable Trade with the *Indians*, who came over land, as far as from *Quebec*, to deal with them. *Henry Christian*, the Master of a Ship, the same who gave the Name to *Marttha's Vineyard*, which he discovered, as the *Dutch* say, was the first Governor there, and his Successor was *Jacob Elkin*, put in by the *West India Company* in *Holland*, to whom the States General granted this Country. The first Bounds of *Nova Belgia* were *Maryland* on the South, the main Land, as far as could be discovered Westward, which would stretch to the Nations bordering on the *Mississippi*, the great River of *Canada* Northward, and *New England* Eastward; but, as will appear hereafter, the Limits of *New York* are not so large at present.

The *Dutch* Colonies were in a very thriving Condition when they were attacked by the *English*, which was at the Opening the first *Dutch War* in King *Charles's* Reign. We find some Writers very willing to represent this as a very unjust War, because Sir *Robert Carr* was sent to attack this Plantation before they, in that Part of the World, could have any Notice of the War; but then it ought to be remembered that it was after the *Dutch* Admiral, *de Ruyter*, attacked our Settlements in *Africa*, and therefore I cannot think that this is so very bad as it has been represented, or that it can at all prejudice our Title to this Country. The Commission of Sir *Robert Carr*, empowering him to act against the *Dutch*, was dated on *St. George's Day* 1664, but he did not arrive till the latter End of the Year. He brought with him between two and three thousand Men, and offering Protection to such of the Inhabitants as submitted, he became Master of the whole Country without a Blow; and it does not appear that the People were at all displeased at changing their Masters. His Majesty, after it was reduced, gave leave to such of the Inhabitants to stay as were inclined thereto, and suffered the rest to depart freely with their Effects. The Number of the latter was but very inconsiderable in Comparison of the former; and Colonel *Richard Nichols*, who was left Governor of the Province, and continued so twenty Years, brought the People, not only to relish, but to be in love with, the *English* Government; so that there never was the least Disturbance among the Inhabitants on the score of their being Subjects to *England*.

The Duke of *York* granted away a Part of this Province, as will be shewn hereafter; but the Remainder, which is what we now stile *New York*, continued a Royal Government, as it still is, but very much changed for the better; since from being one of the poorest, it is become one of the most considerable that we have in *America*, in Consequence of the Colony's becoming one of the most flourishing, and this, though it has had the Misfortune of being sometimes governed by Men of most arbitrary Principles, and capable of doing such violent things, as nothing but their Distance from *Great Britain* could, I think, induce them to venture upon. The last Governor of the *Ferseys*, who is lately dead, felt the Effects of such a Spirit, when in another Station, and rose to that Government by suffering with Decency and Dignity the

Outrages of one cloathed with that Authority ; but when he came himself to execute that Office, he shewed, what we very seldom see, that there are some Natures which even Power cannot corrupt ; for he behaved so well as to abolish the Memory of past Grievances, and to leave a perfect Model for his Successors in that Government.

7. The Country of *New York*, properly so called since it became *English*, is thus bounded, viz. by *Canada* on the North, *New England* on the East, the Ocean on the South, and the five Nations and *New Jersey* on the West, and is about two hundred Miles in Length from North to South, that is, from the Mouth of *Hudson's River* to the Lake of *Champlain* or *Corlaer*, and it might be extended two hundred Miles farther North if we possessed all the Country we claim, as far as the River *St. Laurence* : But the *French* having built Forts on the Lake *Champlain*, have, in a Manner, expelled us from the North Part of this Country ; the *English* only possess the Country South of that Lake at present, and this is exceeding narrow in most Places ; particularly between *Connecticut* Colony on the East, and *New Jersey* on the West, it is scarce twenty Miles broad. But to this we must add the Island *Mankatan*, which the City of *New York* stands upon, *Staten Island* and *Long Island*, all which lie before the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, and are comprehended in *New York Proper*.

This Province is divided into ten Counties, which going from North to South down *Hudson's River*, are *Albany*, *Ulster*, *Duchess*, *Orange*, *King's County*, *Chester*, *New York County*, *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, and *Richmond County*, which are pretty well replenished with Provisions and Farms, but have not many great Towns in them. The chief Towns are *New York City*, *Schenectida*, *Albany*, *Westchester*, &c. in all, or most of which Towns, are Missionaries, either Ministers, School-masters, or Catechists, sent over and maintained chiefly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who have taken most laudable Care in this respect. *New York City* is situated in 40 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, and 47 Degrees 4 Minutes Western Longitude, at the South End of *York County*, being an Island at the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, about fourteen Miles long and two or three broad. As this Town stands upon an Eminence, and contains upwards of a thousand Houses well built with Brick and Stone, with a Wall and Forts, which serve as well for Ornament as Defence, there is scarce any Town in *North America* that makes a better, and but a very few so good an Appearance. It has also an excellent Harbour, furnished with commodious Quays and Warehouses, and employs some hundreds of Ships and Vessels in its foreign Trade and Fisheries. The public Buildings are the several Churches belonging to those of the Church of *England*, to the *Swedes* of the *Lutheran* Persuasion, to the *Dutch Calvinists*, the *French* Refugees, and the *English* Sectaries ; but the Church of *England* may well be looked upon as the established Religion, because the Constitution of the Government is the same as in *England* ; the rest, however, are tolerated, and capable of Posts in the Government, and of sitting in the House of Representatives, as I apprehend. The other public Buildings are the Town House, and that were their general Assemblies and Courts of Justice are held. As to their Fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them against an *European* Enemy, any more than those in the rest of the Plantations, for this unanswerable Reason ; because they were some Years ago confessed to be so bad, that it was not fit to enquire into the State of them, lest Foreigners should be acquainted with our Weakness on that Side. There are, indeed, four hundred regular Troops sent from *England* to garrison this, and some other Towns of this Province ; of which two Companies always are, or ought to be, upon Duty in this City ; but admitting they were always compleat, and ever so well disciplined, this seems to be but a very inconsiderable Force to defend a Province of this Importance against an Invasion, unless their Country Militia be more to be depended upon than that of other Places.

As *New York* may be looked upon to be the frontier Garrison in the South against an Invasion from any mari-

time Power ; so *Schenectida Town* and Fort, in the County of *Albany*, twenty Miles North of the Town of *Albany*, may well be deemed their Frontier on the North against the *French* of *Canada*, and their *Indian* Allies, who, in the Year 1688, surprized and almost demolished the Town with the Works about it ; but they have since been repaired and enlarged, and Fort *Nicholson* and some other Forts erected ; in which, and in *Albany*, the rest of the regular Troops are quartered, for the Defence of that Frontier. *Albany* is a considerable Town, situated on *Hudson's River*, an hundred and fifty Miles North of *New York*, having a Fort erected for its Defence ; and here it is that the Sachems, or Kings of the five Nations, meet the Governors of our Northern Colonies, to renew their Alliances, and concert Measures for their Defence against their common Enemy, as has been intimated already. South-west of the Island and County of *New York*, lies *Staten Island*, being about ten Miles in Length and six in Breadth, and in it are a great many good Farms and Plantations, but not one Town that I can meet with in the Accounts of this Province.

Long Island lies East of *Staten Island*, and South-east of that of *New York*, opposite to the Colony of *Connecticut*, being an hundred and fifty Miles in Length, and generally about twelve in Breadth, and contains three of the Counties above mentioned, viz. *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, and *Richmond County* ; the chief Towns in *Queen's County*, are *Jamaica* and *Hempstead* ; in *Suffolk County*, the chief Town is *Oyster Bay*. The Town of *Richmond* gives Name to *Richmond County*, in which also is the Town of *Southampton*, in the South-east Part of the Island ; and there also are situated the Towns of *North Castle* and *New Windsor*. There is a celebrated Plain in the Midst of *Long Island*, sixteen Miles long, and four broad, to which they have given the Name of *Salisbury Plain* ; having, as it is said, as fine a Turf as that on *Salisbury Plain* in *Old England* ; and there being an excellent Breed of Horses in the Island, they have Races here every Season, to which the Gentlemen of *New England* and *New York* resort, as they do to *Newmarket* with us. There are other good Towns which lie in the County of *Westchester*, on the Continent, East of the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, the chief whereof are *Westchester* and *Rye*.

8. At the Time we became Masters of this Country, it was very thinly peopled, in comparison to what it is at present, and in no small Danger from the *French*, who settled at the back of it, and the *Indians* who were settled on its Frontiers, but, at present, it is safe enough from both ; the Number of People being vastly encreased, some say to fifty thousand, taking in all Sorts, so that the *French* apprehend Danger from us in their turn ; and the *Indians* think themselves very happy under our Protection ; and such Care has been taken to treat them with proper Kindness, as to preserve them in our Interest, as effectually as if by Force they had been reduced to be our Subjects. They supply the *English*, in the Summer, with Venison, Fish, and Fowl, very cheap. The Trade from *New York* to the Sugar Islands, particularly *Barbadoes*, which is very considerable, is in Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Pease, Bacon Gamons, Smoked Beef, Apples, Onions, Board and Pipe-staves, for which they receive, in return, Sugar, Molosses, Rum, Ginger, &c.

The *New York* Merchants drive also a very advantageous Trade with *Madeira* and the *Azores*, in Pipe-staves and Fish, for which they load their Ships back with Wine and Brandy ; and, generally speaking, there is scarce a more profitable Trade in the *British* Commerce. I am very well warranted in saying this, by what the Agents for the Colony alledged upon the Dispute with the Sugar Plantations, of which we have given so large an Account. They affirm that their Winters being severe they take off more of the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, than all the Islands put together, *Jamaica* excepted ; and return more Gold and Silver to pay for them, which I never heard was denied. What they alledge in Justification of their Dealing with the *French* Settlements is singular enough, and deserves particular Notice. They say that they trade with what they have,

with those who will purchase it, and that while they do this they shall live well, clothe themselves in *English* Stuffs, and pay for them honestly; but if they are deprived of this Trade, the Profits of which enable them to pay for *English* Cloathing, they must endeavour to make use of their own Wool, and supply themselves as well as they can. If this should be prohibited, they affirm, they must absolutely go naked.

This perhaps is straining the Matter a little beyond the Truth; but beyond all Doubt this Colony is very useful to *Great Britain*, and in Conjunction with the other *Bread Colonies*, as they are called, the sole Source of our foreign Sugar Trade, as in a few Words may be shewn. The Sugar Islands must depend for their Subsistence, either upon the *British* Islands or upon these Colonies; since it is very certain, that if they were to draw all their Maintenance from hence, granting that to be possible, it would make Labour in those Islands so dear that no Sugar at all could be exported. On the other hand, if the People of *New York* should be forced to set up Manufactures of their own, this would employ so many Hands as must necessarily raise the Price of Provisions, and this consequently would have, in a great measure, the same bad Effect in making Labour dear in the Islands. It is therefore the Business of *Great Britain* to take care of both, and not to fide hastily with either.

But it is more especially our Business to prevent setting up Manufactures in the Plantations on the Continent; because this would injure the Trade between us and them, lessen the Shipping employed therein, decrease the Number of our Seamen, and detach those Colonies, in a great measure, from their Mother Country; which, as they are Evils not to be borne, so too much Diligence cannot be used to avoid them. As things stand at present, there is not a Colony in *America* which makes a better Figure than *New York*, or where the People seem to have a greater Spirit of Industry, or more hearty Affection to the *British* Nation; and it is universally agreed, that the City of *New York* is, in point of good Government and Politeness, at least equal, if not superior, to any thing we possess in that Part of the World: And as for the Inhabitants of the Inland Part of the Colony, they are our best Defence against the *French*, and are every Day gaining upon them in point of Trade with the *Indians*; which are certainly Circumstances that deserve the utmost Consideration, and ought above all others, to recommend this Plantation to the Protection and Favour of the *British* Government; which no doubt they will always meet with while they continue, as they have hitherto done, to study by every Method to deserve it.

9. The Countries now called the *Jerseys*, or, with greater Propriety, the *East* and *West Jerseys*, come next in our Way. These fell under the Dominion of the Crown of *Great Britain* by Conquest, at the same time with, and as making a Part of, *Nova Belgia*; and if to this Right acquired by War, or rather vindicated by it, for I conceive that the Dominion of this Country, which was all that we gained by the War, we had a very just Title to before; if, I say, there was any thing wanting to fill up the Measure of our Claim, it was certainly made up by the Peace, since an Equivalent was then given to the *Dutch*; so that both Nations had very good Reason to be content. In order, however, to obtain a just and clear Notion of the History and Condition of this Tract of Country, it is necessary to observe, that even the *Dutch* were not the original Inhabitants of it: The several Voyages that had been made for the planting of *Virginia*, made these Coasts very well known to Multitudes of *English* Seamen, and these being dispersed into different Parts of the World, carried the News of these rich and pleasant Lands in *America* along with them wheresoever they went, which inspired Strangers with strong Desires of occupying what we seemed to have abandoned, or the settling of which was beyond our Strength, at least at that Time.

The first *Europeans* that settled here were the *Swedes*, who had three Towns in this Province, *Christina*, called by the *Indians*, *Andastaka*, *Elsinbourg*, and *Gottenbourg*. Their Settlements were chiefly on the South-side of the River towards *Pensylvania*; opposite to which there is a

Place, to this Day called *Fort Elsinbourg*; but the *Swedes* made very little of their Plantation, and the *Dutch*, always industrious for their own Advantage, worked them so far out of it, that *Bergen*, the Northern Part of the *New Jersey*, was almost entirely new planted by *Hollanders*. King *Charles II.* gave this Tract, in his Grant of *Nova Belgia*, to the Duke of *York*; but the *English* never made any Settlement in it till several Years after they were in the Possession of that Province, and had mightily extended their Plantations.

The Duke of *York* having invested this Province, by the Name of *Nova Caneria*, in *John Lord Berkeley* and *Sir George Carteret*, they, or their Assignees, agreed to divide it into two Parts, denominated *East* and *West New Jerseys*, which remained two distinct Proprieties and Governments for many Years afterwards, as will be shewn: *East New Jersey*, or that Part of it which borders on *New York*, fell to *Sir George Carteret*; whose Family being of the Isle of *Jersey*, this Province on that Account took its Name from thence. *West New Jersey*, that Part of it which borders on *Pensylvania*, fell to the Lord *Berkeley*. This whole Province, containing the two *Jerseys*, is thus bounded; it has the main Ocean on the South-east, the River *de la War* on the West, *Hudson's River* on the East, and the main Land on the North; it lies between 39 and 40 Degrees North Latitude; extends itself in Length on the Sea Coasts, and along *Hudson's River*, one hundred and twenty Miles, and is almost as broad as long where it is broadest. We must now take some Notice of the Province as it was under the Division of *East* and *West*, and was divided into two Proprieties; of these, the largest and most inhabited, was *East Jersey*, which extended Eastward and Northward all along the Sea Coast and *Hudson's River*, from *Little Egg Harbour* to that Part of *Hudson's River* which is 41 Degrees North Latitude; and Southward and Westward was divided from *West Jersey* by a Line of Partition from *Egg Harbour*, or *Creswick River*, *Stony River*, and the South Branch of *Raritan River*: It extends in Length along *Hudson's River*, and on the Coasts, 100 Miles: In Breadth it is very unequal. It is divided into Counties, for which there was little Occasion, as *Bergen County*, *Essex County*, *Middlesex* on the North-side of *Raritan River*, and *Monmouth County* on the South. According to some Writers, *West Jersey* is divided from the other by a Line from North to South; contains the like Number of Counties, viz. *Burlington*, *Gloucester*, *Salem*, and *Cape May*.

These two Provinces are in the Hands of different Proprietors, who made many Assignments of their Rights, which would take up too much Room to enter into the Detail of here, and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing, that the Proprietors both of the *East* and *West Jerseys*, on the 22d of April 1702, put them into the Hands of Queen *Anne*, and they have been ever since governed by the royal Authority, having a Governor, Council, and Assembly; which Governor has Power of appointing a Deputy. We must also remark, that sometimes this Government has been granted by a separate Commission to the same Person intrusted with that of *New York*; but at present they are in different Hands. The chief Towns in the *Jerseys* are *Perth Amboy*, the Capital of the County of *Middlesex*, and of all *East Jersey*, pleasantly situated at the Mouth of *Raritan River*, and, had it been built according to the intended Model, would have been one of the finest Towns in *North America*; but Planters have not resorted to it, as was expected; notwithstanding it is so commodiously situated for Trade, that Ships of three hundred Tons may come up in one Tide, and lie before the Merchants Doors: But the Town of *Elizabeth*, situate to the North of it, flourishes much more, and may still be deemed the most considerable Town; in the County of *Bergen*, the Capital of the County of the same Name; *Elizabeth Town*, Capital of the County of *Essex*, and formerly of *Middlesex*; *Middleton*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Frehold*, in the County of *Monmouth*; *Burlington* or *Bridlington*, the Capital of the County of *Burlington*, and of all *West Jersey*: This Town is situate 40 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, on an Island in the Middle of the River *de la War*, to the Northward of *Philadelphia* in *Pensylvania*.

nia, and on the opposite Side of the River : The Houses are handsomely built of Brick, and laid out into spacious Streets, with commodious Quays and Wharfs, to which Ships of two or three hundred Tons may come up : It has also a handsome Market-place, a Town-house or Guild-hall, where the Courts of Justice were heretofore held, and two good Bridges over the River ; the one called *London-bridge*, and the other *York-bridge*, and having an easy Communication with *Philadelphia*, and the Ocean by the River *Salem*, which falls into *de la War Bay*, it is said to be one of the best Towns in *West Jersey*, whether we consider its Situation, Building, or Trade.

The Trade of the two *Jerseys*, as also the Soil and Conveniences of Rivers and Creeks, are much the same, except that *West Jersey*, by its Situation on *de la War River*, abounds more in the latter. The Country yields Plenty of all sorts of Grain, and the Inhabitants are said to have been so scrupulous, that they would not enter upon a new Plantation before they had purchased it of the *Indians*, which they did at no very dear Rate. It is computed that they are about sixteen thousand Souls, and about three thousand Men fit to bear Arms : There are not two hundred *Indians* in this Province, indeed neither here or elsewhere in the *British* Empire are the *Indians* of any Force unless in Conjunction with the *French* at *Canada*, or the *Spaniards* in *Florida*. The *Indians* are now rather an Help than an Hurt to the *English*, and here especially they wish there were more of them than there are, so useful have they found them. Besides Provisions for the Sugar Islands, the Inhabitants drive a Trade in Furs and Skins, and a little in Tobacco ; but it would be well if the Colonies cultivated that less, and Provision more, or any other Commodities that are fit for foreign Markets, which are much clogged by the Product of our Tobacco Plantations : They ship off Train-Oil, Fish, Corn, and some other Provisions for *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Canaries* : Ships may be built at *Perth*, but *New England* engrosses that Trade, and has the best and the most Materials for it ; and it must be owned that *New York* is the best Market *New Jersey* has, for the buying and selling any considerable Quantity of Goods of any kind.

This may possibly keep the *Jerseys* a little under, but notwithstanding the Difficulties they have had to struggle with, it is very certain, that within these twenty or thirty Years past they have increased prodigiously, and nothing can give a Check to it, except some sudden Suspicion of their dealing in Commodities and setting up Manufactures which may interfere with those of their Mother-Country. I do not deny that if there were any just Grounds for such a Suspicion, Care ought to be taken and some Remedy applied, but then this requires great Caution. In former Times, when we were less used to Trade, we encouraged all ; and provided our People were but employed, and Traders busy, we took it for granted that Profit must ensue, and so very probably it did. But the present Age is so unacquainted with the Cause of the Increase of our Riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and instead of enlarging lay hold of some small trifling Things, which they think may touch their private Interest rather than promote the general Good ; and if they think any Commodity from the Plantations interferes with something we have at Home, some hasty Step is taken to prevent it ; so that for the Sake of saving one Penny we often debar ourselves of Things of a thousand Times the Value. This Misfortune will happen to any trading Nation, if the Persons who have the Regulation of the Commerce do not understand it well enough to distinguish nicely between those Channels by which the Riches flow in upon them and those that carry them away ; and therefore, when Things are carried into a wrong Channel by some of the Planters, Merchants are afraid to mention those Disorders for fear the Remedy should prove worse than the Disease. The Gentlemen that would judge of these Things ought to inform themselves what this Nation was one hundred and fifty Years ago, how we have increased in Riches since that Time, what Price Corn, Cattle and Land bore then, and what now ; and what concurring Circumstances have put us in so flourishing

a Condition, who were then so inconsiderable in Trade, that even *London*, the Metropolis of this Kingdom, made but a small Figure, to what *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, and other Hanse Towns did, as well as the great Cities in the *Mediterranean*.

If we examine into the Circumstances of the Inhabitants of our Plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one fourth Part of their Product redounds to their own Profit ; for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back Cloathing and other Accommodations for their Families, all which is of the Manufacture and Merchandize of this Kingdom. If there is any thing to spare it is laid up here, and their Children are sent home to be educated ; if there is enough to support the Family, they come here, and only an Overseer is left upon the Plantation to direct, and the whole Produce is remitted home, and if enough to purchase an Estate, then it is laid out in *Old England*. All these Advantages we receive by the Plantations, besides the Mortgages on the Planters Estates, and the high Interest they pay us, which is very considerable ; and therefore very great Care ought to be taken in regulating all Affairs of the Colonies, that the Planters be not put under too many Difficulties, but encouraged to go on cheerfully. They are born with us, or the Descendants of such, and we know nothing but the Want of the Means to live at home keeps them abroad. There are very few trading or manufacturing Towns in the Kingdom, but have some Dependence on the Plantation Trade. It is true, these, and in general all the Northern Colonies, have not Commodities and Products enough to send us, in return for purchasing their necessary Cloathings, &c. but are under very great Difficulties, and therefore any ordinary Sort sells with them ; and when they are grown out of Fashion with us, they are new-fashioned enough there ; and besides those Places are the great Markets we have to dispose of such Goods, which are generally sent at the Risk of the Shop-keepers and Traders of *England*, who are the great Exporters, and not the Inhabitants of the Colonies, as some have imagined. As the Colonies are Markets for those Sorts of Goods, so they are Receptacles for young Merchants who have not Stocks of their own, and therefore all our Plantations are filled with such who receive the Consignments of their Friends from hence ; and when they have got a sufficient Stock to trade with, they return home, and other young Men take their Places, so that the continual Motion and Intercourse our People have into the Colonies, may be compared to Bees in a Hive, which go out empty, but come home loaded ; by which Means the Foundations of many Families are laid. The Numbers of Sailors, and other Tradesmen, who have all their Dependence upon this Traffic, are prodigiously great.

Our Factors, who frequent the Northern Colonies, being under Difficulties to make Returns for such Goods as they dispose of, what Gold, Silver, Logwood, and other Commodities they trade for upon the *Spanish* Coast, is sent home to *England*, as also Oil, Whale-Fins, and many other Goods ; likewise another great Part of Returns is made by Ships built there, and disposed of in the Streights, and other Parts of *Europe*, and the Money remitted to us. Now all those Ships are called *New England* Ships, and our Factors, after they undertake any Business, are no longer called *Englishmen*, but *New Englanders*, and the Ships they build, we are informed, are registered as *New England* Ships. I shall therefore humbly recommend it to such Gentlemen as are Guardians of the Trade of the Nation, that our own Interest is not mistaken for those of the Planters ; for every Restraint and Difficulty put upon our Trade with them, makes them have recourse to their own Products, which they manufacture, a thing of great Consequence to us, and ought to be guarded against ; for if they are supplied with their own Manufactures, a great Part of the Advantages we should otherwise receive is cut off ; and therefore, as it is elsewhere observed, if Care is taken to find them Employment, and turn their Industry another Way, now they are in their Infancy this may with a very little Trouble be avoided.

There is another Advantage we receive by our Plantations,

tions, which is hardly so much as thought of, I mean the prodigious Increase of our Shipping by the Timber Trade, between *Portugal*, &c. and our Plantations, which ought to have all possible Encouragement, for by it we have crept into all the Corners in *Europe*, and become the common Carriers in the *Mediterranean*, as well as between the *Mediterranean*, *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and the *Baltic*, and this is the Cause of so great an Addition to our Shipping, and the Reason why the *Dutch*, &c. are so exceedingly sunk. But if ever a Stop should be put to the building of Ships in *New England*, &c. and carrying our Timber from thence, we should soon sink in our Navigation, and that of the *Dutch* flourish in its former Height and Grandeur. The Numbers of *English* Ships we so often read of, that are at *Lisbon*, or the *Streights*, is a sufficient Demonstration of the Truth of this; doubtless a great many of these Ships are laden upon Account of the *Dutch*, for nothing is more common than their hiring our Ships (which discharge their Loading in the *Streights*) to transport their Goods from *Spain*, &c. to *Amsterdam*, and other Places.

We have a great many young Men who are bred to the Sea, and have Friends to support them; if they cannot get Employment at home they go to *New England*, and the Northern Colonies, with a Cargo of Goods, which they there sell at a very great Profit, and with the Produce build a Ship, and purchase a Loading of Lumber, and sail for *Portugal* or the *Streights*, &c. And after disposing of their Cargoes, they frequently ply from Port to Port in the *Mediterranean*, till they have cleared so much Money, as will, in a good Part, pay for the first Cost of the Cargo carried out by them; and then, perhaps, sell their Ships; come home; take up another Cargo from their Employers; and so go back and build another Ship: By this Means multitudes of Seamen are brought up, and upon a War the Nation is better provided with a great Number of Sailors, than hath been heretofore known. Here the Master becomes Merchant also, and many of them gain, by this Lumber Trade, great Estates; and a vast Treasure is thereby yearly brought into the Kingdom, in a Way new and unknown to our Fore-fathers, and, indeed, it is gaining the Timber Trade (heretofore carried on by the *Danes* and *Swedes*) our Plantations being nearer the Markets of *Portugal* and *Spain* than they are. Those Advantages have made some People think that though we esteem *New England*, and the Northern Colonies, of small Advantage to us, yet if things were truly stated, they are as profitable as most other of our Plantations, or, which amounts to the same thing, the Cause of the Profits we reap from those other Colonies, which, however, coming to us immediately from thence, seem to enrich us more than they really do, at the same Time that they hide from us the true Sources of their own Wealth. But,

We will now quit this Subject, in order to follow the Thread of our History, which leads us next to speak of the settling the *Bahama Islands*, Places that have not hitherto answered in any Proportion to the great Expectations that were raised upon the first Grant of them; tho' this is certainly so little to be ascribed to them, that about twenty-five Years ago there was a general Disposition in the most knowing People of this Kingdom, to attempt a new Settlement there, which degenerating into a Bubble, all Hopes of that kind seem to be lost. Our Business, however, is not with the modern, but with the antient, State of these Islands; of which, and of the Motives for settling them, we shall give the clearest Account we can.

10. The *Lucayos*, or *Bahama Islands*, are situated in the *Atlantic Ocean*, and to the North of the Island of *Cuba*, stretching from the North-east to the South-west, between 21 and 27 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between 73 and 81 Degrees of Western Longitude. The Island of *Bahama*, which communicates its Name to the rest, is seated in the Latitude of 26 Degrees 30 Minutes, at the Distance of about twenty and thirty Leagues from the Continent of *Florida*. It is about fifty Miles in Length, but very narrow, scarce any where sixteen, and in many Places not half so broad, but very pleasant

and fruitful; the Air temperate and serene; the Soil remarkably rich, and the Country every where abounding with Brooks and Springs of fresh Water.

Though these Islands were the first Fruits of the new World, *Columbus* arriving first at *Guanahani*, which is one of them, and to which he gave the Name of *St. Salvador*, yet the *Spaniards* never thought of settling there, but contented themselves with extirpating the native Inhabitants; a most barbarous Proceeding surely, since at this Time they were the best People of any Part of all *America*; so that they wantonly murdered many thousands to no purpose in the world. As these Islands lie pretty much out of the Course of Ships bound to the Continent of *America*, it was long before we had any Notice of them; but in 1667 Captain *William Sayle*, being bound to *Carolina*, was forced by a Storm amongst these Islands, which gave him an Opportunity of examining them carefully, particularly a large Island, to which at that Time he gave his own Name, and is that which has been since known by the Name of *New Providence*.

Upon his Return to *England*, he acquainted the Proprietors of *Carolina*, with the Situation and Circumstances of these Islands; observing, that in Case they were settled, they might prove a great Benefit to this Nation, and at the same Time a constant Bar and Check to the *French* and *Spaniards*, in case of a Breach with either or both of those Nations. These Reasons being suggested to King *Charles the II.* his Majesty was graciously pleased to make a Grant of the *Bahama Islands*, between the Latitudes of 22 and 27 Degrees, to the following Proprietors, viz. *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Lord Craven*, *Sir George Carteret*, *John Lord Berkeley*, *Anthony Lord Ashly*, and *Sir Peter Colliton*, whose Heirs or Assigns are, as I take it, possessed of these Islands at this Day; by which I mean the Soil and Property, for as to the Government, it has been for some time in the Hands of the Crown; upon a Supposition that this Change would render these Islands more beneficial to the Nation, as in Process of Time it very probably may; but hitherto they have not been of any great Service to the Proprietors, the Crown, or the Nation; as we shall shew, by entering a little into their History, from their first Settlement to the present Times, for Reasons that in this History will appear.

Providence Island lies in the Center of some hundreds of Islands, some of them many Miles in Length, others no bigger than Knolls or little Rocks, rising above Water; so that one may imagine it must be very dangerous for Ships to be forced amongst them in Tempests. The most considerable Profit made by the Inhabitants of *Providence*, was by the Misfortune of such as were shipwrecked, or such as, in a Winter Voyage for the Continent of *America*, were driven to the *Bahama Islands*, and put into *Providence* for Provisions; for want of which, after they had lain a long while beating off the Islands, they used to be in great Distress. 'Tis true, this Island had little or none but what came from *Carolina*; however, the Traders here kept Store-houses to supply those that wanted, and they were a great Relief to the unfortunate Mariners, of whom we are speaking. The Isle of *Providence* lies in 25 Degrees North Latitude, is twenty eight Miles long, and eleven Miles broad, where it is broadest.

It had the Name of *Providence* given it by Captain *Sayle*, after he had a second time been driven upon it, when he was bound for the Continent. The first Governor that was sent thither by the Proprietaries, was Mr. *Chillingworth*: The Time of his going there was about the Year 1672; several People went from *England*, and the other Colonies, to settle there, and living a licentious Life, they were impatient under Government; Mr. *Chillingworth* endeavouring to bring them to Reason, they assembled tumultuously, seized him, and shipped him off for *Jamaica*, and lived every Man as he thought best for his own Pleasure and Interest. The Proprietaries found they had got an unruly Colony to deal with, and it was a very small Encouragement for any Man to put himself into their Hands, after the Treatment Mr. *Chillingworth* met with from them.

However, six or seven Years after, the Lords Proprietaries

aries made Mr. *Clark* Governor, whose Fate was worse still than his Predecessor's; for the *Spaniards*, at that Time, being jealous of every new Colony of the *English* towards the South, came upon them in *Providence*, destroyed all their Stock which they could not, or would not, carry off; and burnt several Houses that were upon the Place. The Inhabitants deserted it after this, and removed to other Colonies. Mr. *Trott*, one of Governor *Clark*'s Successors, always asserted, that the *Spaniards* roasted Mr. *Clark* on a Spit, after they had killed him; but perhaps that is said to increase the Terror of the Story; but it is certain they killed him, and that after this Invasion the Island was uninhabited till about the Time of the Revolution, when several Persons removed thither from *Europe* and the Continent; among whom was Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, who has printed a large Account of his Sufferings there, during the arbitrary Government of one *Cadwallader Jones*, whom the Lords Proprietaries made Governor upon this second Settlement of *Providence* in the Year 1690, where he arrived on the 19th of *June*; but his Administration proved very unfortunate both for himself and the Colony, in which there arose such Troubles and Diffensions, that he was once deposed and made Prisoner, and again restored.

Nicholas Trott, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Jones* in his Government, and he built a Fort in the Town of *Nassau*; notwithstanding which, the famous Pirate *Avery*, forced the Inhabitants to let him have what Victuals he wanted; but some Time after, Governor *Trott* put the Island of *Providence* into so good a Condition, that though the *French* made several Attempts, yet they were always obliged to retire with Loss. In 1697 *Nicholas Webb*, Esq; was sent to succeed Mr. *Trott*, and he held the Government about three Years; in which Time these Islands were in a better Condition than they have ever been since; and there was, in his Time, in *Providence* and the adjacent Islands, near one thousand Inhabitants: Some Tobacco was planted; a Sugar Mill set up, and other Improvements made: But, as we shall see hereafter, these were soon destroyed.

To Mr. *Webb* succeeded *Elias Hascott*, Esq; who was so little liked by the Inhabitants, that they took upon them to seize him, and put him in Irons; and, having sent him away, assumed the Liberty of chusing a Governor for themselves, one *Elias Lightgood*, Esq; in whose Time the Settlements were destroyed; for, in *July* 1708, the *Spaniards* and *French*, from *Petit Guaves*, landed, surprized the Fort, took the Governor Prisoner, plundered and stripped the *English*, burnt the Town of *Nassau*, all but Mr. *Lightgood*'s House, together with the Church, spoiled the Fort, and nailed up the Guns; they carried off the Governor, and about half the Blacks, the rest saved themselves in the Woods; but in *October* they came again, and picked up most of the Negroes. Mr. *Lightgood* having procured his Liberty, by Exchange or Ransom, came to *Carolina*, and going off thence in a Vessel, on some Adventure, was never since heard of. The *English* Inhabitants of the *Babamas*, after this second Invasion, thought it in vain to stay longer; so they removed, some to *Carolina*, some to *Virginia*, and some to *New England*, and other Places.

The Proprietors having appointed one Mr. *Birch* to go over Governor to *Providence*, who, not having heard of the Desertion of the Inhabitants, went thither; but finding it a Desert, he did not give himself the Trouble to open his Commission: He remained there two or three Months, and was all that while forced to sleep in the Woods; after which he returned back, and left the Place uninhabited. This and the other *Babama* Islands, were looked upon to be so necessary for the Security of our Trade in the *West Indies*, that the Parliament of *England* have not thought them unworthy of their Care, as well to have them cleared of Pirates, as to defend them against both *Spaniards* and *French*, who find their Situation very convenient to annoy, or befriend, their Commerce. In Queen *Anne*'s War both *Spaniards* and *French*, over-ran and plundered the *Babama* Islands twice. Upon which, in *March* 1714, the House of Lords addressed her Majesty, that the Island of *Providence* might be put in a Posture of

Defence. Their Lordships observing it would be of fatal Consequence, if the *Babama* Islands should fall into the Hands of an Enemy, they therefore prayed her Majesty to take the said Islands into her Hands, and give such Order for their Security, as in her royal Wisdom she should think fit; but nothing was done. And for the future Guidance of such as have it in their Power to do good Offices for our *American* Colonies, it is not improper to remember that their Lordships, four Years after, took notice of that Neglect in an Address to his late Majesty King *George*; in which they say there were not any the least Means used in Compliance with that Advice, for securing the *Babama* Islands, and that then the Pirates had a Lodgment with a Battery on *Harbour Island*; and that the usual Retreat, and general Receptacle for the Pirates, was at *Providence*. Hereupon his Majesty was pleased to give Directions for dislodging these Pirates, and making Settlements, and a Fortification for its Security and Defence.

Pursuant to this Address, Captain *Woods Rogers* was appointed Governor, the same Person which went with the Duke and Dukes of *Bristol* to the *South-Sea*, and made a prosperous Voyage, eight Years before. He sailed for *Providence* in *April* 1718, taking with him a naval Force for subduing the Pirates; in the mean Time Colonel *Bennet*, Governor of *Bermudas*, sent a Sloop to that Island, requiring them to surrender themselves, pursuant to the late Proclamation. The Pirates who were then on the Island, very gladly accepted of the Mercy offered them thereby, and promised to surrender themselves as soon as they could get Passage to the *English* Colonies; adding that they did not doubt but their Fellows, who were at Sea, would gladly do the same after their Example. Accordingly Captain *Henry Jennings*, and fifteen others, immediately followed the Sloop to *Bermudas*, and surrendered themselves; and Captain *Lassie*, and Captain *Nichols*, with a good Number of their Pirates, sent Word that they would also surrender. The abovementioned Proclamation was brought hither by Captain *Peers*, in the *Phoenix* Frigate, then lately stationed at *New York*: Besides the above, Captain *Hernigold*, Captain *Burges* surrendered, and in the whole, as many of their Men as amounted to one hundred and fourteen, which were followed by many more: However, Piracy was not suppressed, nor did Capt. *Rogers* answer the Expectations of those that employed him; though at his Arrival here he seemed very zealous in the Service he was sent for.

He arrived at *Nassau*, in *Providence*, in *July* 1718. *Vane*, one of the Captains of the Pirates, knowing what Errand he came upon, to reduce those Robbers by the Proclamation, or by Force, caused a *French* Ship of twenty-two Guns, which he had taken, to be set on fire, intending to make use of her as a Fire-ship, to burn the *Rose* Frigate, which came with Governor *Woods Rogers*: And, indeed, the *Rose* would have been in much Danger, had she not got off in Time, by cutting her Cables. But *Vane*'s bold and rash Attempt could not have secured him; for besides the *Rose*, there was at hand the *Milford* Man of War, and another, aboard which was the Governor. These were soon after seen standing in for the Harbour of *Nassau*, upon which *Vane*, and about fifty of his Men, made off in a Sloop. The Governor sent a Sloop of sufficient Force after them, but the Pirates got off; and the *Milford*, and the other Man of War run aground. The 27th of *July* Mr. *Woods Rogers* came on Shore, took Possession of the Fort, and caused his Majesty's Commission to be read in the Presence of the Officers, Soldiers, and about three hundred People, whom he found there at his Arrival; which had been almost daily exercised in Arms for their Defence, in Case of Attack by the *Spaniards* or *French*. As for the Pirates, they were not in so great Fear of them, most of them having been themselves of the Fraternity, who had surrendered and made their Peace with the Government. *Woods Rogers* brought with him above one hundred Soldiers, and this joint Force which was, and might have been still farther, recruited, being sufficient to secure the *Babama* Islands, against any Enterprize of the *French* and *Spaniards*; Mr. *Rogers* set himself to regulate the Government, and restore Order in it, which had been neglected several Years past.

Of the Adventurers who came with him, six were nominated to be of the Council, as also six of the Inhabitants, who had never been Pirates themselves; and thus the Appearance of Government was renewed. As soon as the Governor and Council had settled the Board, about two hundred of those that had been Pirates surrendered themselves to them, had Certificates of their Surrender, and took the Oaths of Allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of *Providence*; wherein, a few Years after, were computed to be one thousand five hundred Souls, out of these were formed three Companies of Militia, under Officers of their own Island; these Companies took their turn every Night in the Town Guard at *Nassau*, and the independent Company was always upon Duty in the Fort here, and another of eight Guns erected at the easternmost Entrance into the Harbour.

It was by these Methods that the Face of Affairs, in this Part of the World, was entirely changed; the Town of *Nassau* rebuilt; a regular Force established in *Providence*, and Plantations so laid out, that the Country looked like an *English* Settlement. Within a short Time after, the neighbouring Island of *Eluthera* was settled likewise, upon which, about sixty Families fixed themselves, erected a small Fort for their Defence, and raised a Company of Militia under their Deputy-Governor, Mr. *Holmes*, by whose prudent Management Matters were chiefly brought to bear; the like was done in *Harbour Island*, where the Plantation soon grew more considerable, and a larger Fort was built for the Protection of the Inhabitants. Captain *Woods Rogers* returning to *England*, was succeeded in his Government by Captain *Fitz-williams*, in whose Time an independent Company, that had been sent thither, mutinied, which had like to have produced some very fatal Consequences, but was happily suppressed; and by the Moderation of the Governor, only a few of the most Guilty were made Examples.

This happened in the Year 1736, from which Time these Islands have been improving, though slowly. It may well be wondered at by considerate Persons, that considering the Number of poor People and Men out of Employment, which before the War pestered the Streets of this City, and of all the great Towns in the Kingdom; some Methods were not taken for sending them over to these Islands, which would have been a Relief to the People here, afforded them a comfortable Subsistence, and have contributed to augment the Strength and increase the Riches of this Nation. I shall content myself with just hinting this as it falls in my Way, and proceed to the next Corporation formed for enlarging our Commerce within the Period of Time assigned to this Section.

II. This was the *Hudson's Bay Company*, erected by King *Charles* the II^d. upon the following Occasion: Monsieur *Radison*, and Monsieur *Gooselier*, two *Frenchmen*, meeting with some *Savages* in the Lake of *Assimponals* in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the *Savages* accordingly did it. The two *Frenchmen* returned to the upper Lake the same Way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*; where they offered the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudson's Bay*, but their Project was rejected; thence they went to *France*, in Hopes of a more favourable hearing at Court; but after presenting several Memorials, and spending a great deal of Time and Money, they were answered as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project looked upon as chimerical. The King of *England's* Ambassador at *Paris*, hearing what Proposals they had made, imagined he should do his Country good Service by engaging them to serve the *English*, who had already Pretences to the Bay, persuaded them to go for *London*, where they met with a favourable Reception from some Men of Quality, Merchants, and others, who employed Mr. *Gillam*, a Person long used to the *New England* Trade, to perfect this Discovery.

He sailed in the *Nonesuch* Catch, in the Year 1667, into *Baffins Bay*, to the Height of 75 Degrees, and from

thence Southward to 51 Degrees, where he entered a River, to which he gave the Name of *Prince Rupert's River*; and, finding the *Savages* disposed to a friendly Commerce, he erected a small Fortress there, which he stiled *Charles Fort*. The Success of this Expedition was so remarkable, that the Persons concerned in fitting out this Vessel, upon the Return of Mr. *Gillam*, applied themselves to King *Charles* the II^d. for a Patent, who accordingly granted them one, dated the 2d of May, in the 22d Year of his Reign, A. D. 1670. The first Directors of what was called the *Hudson's Bay Company*, were *Prince Rupert*, Sir *James Hayes*, Mr. *William Young*, Mr. *Gerrard Weymans*, Mr. *Richard Craddock*, Mr. *John Letton*, *Christopher Wren*, Esq. and Mr. *Nicholas Haywood*.

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude, to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees or six hundred Miles in Length. The Mouth of the Straights lies in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, and is six Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Island called *Resolution*; *Charles Island*, *Salisbury Island*, and *Nottingham* are in the Straights, and *Mansfield Island* is in the Mouth of the Bay. *Hudson's Straights*, which leads to the Bay, are about one hundred and twenty Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by *Savages*, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coast is known by the Name of the *Terra de Labrador*, the North by as many Names as Men of several Nations have been there, and pretend to the Discovery. On the West Side of the Bay the *English* made a Settlement, built a Fort at *Port Nelson*, and all that Country goes by the Name of *New South Wales*. The Bay here is called *Button's* and *Hudson's Bay*, which is broadest in this Place, and may be near one hundred and thirty Leagues. On the other Shore, or the Coast of *Labrador*, lie several Islands, called the *Sleepers Isles*, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we understand all that Part of it from *Cape Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below *Prince Rupert's River*, is about 80 Leagues long, and all the Way between 40 and 50 Leagues over. Here are several Islands to which the first Adventurers gave the Names of some great Men in *England*, or some that employed them; as *Lord Weston's Island*, *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*, *Charleton Island*, and others.

The two opposite Shores are called the *East Main* and *West Main*, the former is *Labrador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the bottom of the Bay is, by the *French*, pretended to be Part of *New France*; and, indeed, to cross the Country from *St. Margaret's River*, which runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's River*, at the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*, is not above one hundred and fifty Miles. At *Rupert's River* the *English* built their first Fort, which they called *Charles Fort*. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, but live within their Forts in little Houses or Huts, wherein the Builders consider nothing but how to defend them from the Cold and Rains, though they are not so much disturbed by the latter as by the former. There's an Island about five or six Leagues from the *West Main* called the little *Rocky Isle*, it being a mere heap of Rocks and Stones, with some small Brush-wood growing upon it; it is supposed to overflow with great North-west Winds, which make a high Tide all over the Bay; in this Isle is plenty of Gulls and Sea Swallows; about three Miles from the South-south-east Part of the Island lies a dangerous Reef of Sand, which is dry at low Water. *Charleton Island* is a dry white Sand, covered over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, though not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as are near it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of three or four Months, in the most uncomfortable Seas in the World, occasioned by the vast Mountains of Ice which drive in the Bay and Straights; against which, if Ships happen to strike, they are dashed in Pieces, as certainly as if they ran against Rocks; for, indeed, they are Rocks petrified by the Violence of the continual Frosts. To see one Day the Shore on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains covered with Snow, and Nature looking as if frozen to Death; and the next to behold *Charleton Island*

Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making, as it were, a green Tuft of the whole; is a Change capable of giving the greatest Pleasure, after the Fatigues of an intolerable Winter-Voyage.

The Air, even at the Bottom of the Bay, though by the Latitude it is nearer the Sun than *London*, being in 51 Degrees, is excessive cold for nine Months; the other three Months very hot; but on a North-west Wind the Soil on the *East Main*, as well as the West, bears no manner of Grain: Some Fruits, Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Dewberries, grow about Prince *Rupert's River*. The Commodities for Trade here are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, &c. which the *English* exchange with the *Indians* for Furs, Beavers, Martins, Foxes, Moose, and other Skins, and Furs. The great Profits acquired by this Trade, and the Prospect of ingrossing it, wholly engaged the new Company to prosecute their Measures vigorously, and to do all that lay in their Power to settle a good Correspondence with the Natives, whom they found very tractable in that Point, and willing to do any thing they could expect from them upon reasonable Terms; for the *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more simple than the *Canadians*, who have had longer Commerce with the *Europeans*: They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel, either amongst themselves or others, except the *Nodways*, a wild, barbarous People on the Borders of *Hudson's Straights*, who sometimes, in slight Parties, make Incursions on the other *Indians*, and having murdered eight or ten, return in triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Districts, which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an Okimah, as they call him, or Captain, over them, who is an old Man, considered only for his Prudence and Experience: He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions; he is the Speech-maker to the *English*, as also in their own Councils, when they meet every Spring and Fall to settle the Disposition of their Quarters, for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing: Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, except they have no Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some Family who have succeeded. Their Notions of Religion are but very slender; they say, there are two Monetoos, or Spirits, the one sends all the good Things, and the other all the bad. Their Worship consists in Songs and Dances at their Feasts, in Honour of their Monetoos that have favoured them; but if they are sick or famished, they hang some little Bauble which they set a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole near the Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

But to return to our History: In the Year 1670 the Company sent over *Charles Bailey*, Esq; as their Governor, who with Mr. *Radison* settled at *Rupert's River*, and another Factory was established at *Fort Nelson*. Some Years after, *William Lydall*, Esq; was sent to succeed Mr. *Baily*, and one Mr. *Bridger* was sent to *Fort Nelson*. In 1683, *Henry Serjeant*, Esq; was made Governor at *Rupert's River*, with Orders to be very careful of the *French*, who began now to shew themselves very jealous of the Trade carried on by the *English* Company with the Natives; and at the same time they were not a little perplexed by some bad Practices among their own Servants; who considering the Hardships they endured in that miserable cold Country, thought they might make bold with some Part of the Profits which were entirely owing to their Labour and Negotiations with the Natives; for the Company, by their Governors and Agents, made such Contracts with the Captains, or Kings, of Rivers, or Territories where they had Settlements for the Freedom of Trade there, exclusive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroached upon them. These Contracts were as firm as the *Indians* could make them by such Ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

In the Year 1686 we find the Company in possession of five Settlements, viz. *Albany River*, *Hayes Island*, *Rupert's River*, *Fort Nelson*, and *New Severn*: Their Trade at each of them was very considerable. From *Albany River* they had generally three thousand five hundred Beavers

a Year, and by Mr. *Serjeant's* great Care and Fidelity, their Commerce increased so much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the upland *Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any thing with King *James II.* who then reigned in *England*; and therefore they resolved to drive the *English* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. First they took *Hayes Island*, and then the Fort on *Rupert's River*. The *French* Company at *Canada* procured a Detachment of Soldiers to be sent, under the Chevalier *de Troyes*, who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a Time of profound Peace committed these Acts of Hostilities. It is worth observing that the *French* have so good an Opinion of their *American* Colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful, Means, to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the *English*, who, next the *Spaniards*, have the richest Plantations in this Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July*, the Chevalier *de Troyes* came before the Fort at *Albany River*, where the Governor, Mr. *Serjeant*, then resided. Two *Indians* having informed him of their having surprised the Forts at *Hayes Island* and *Rupert's River*, and had brought with them the great Guns from these Places, the Governor did all that was in his Power to defend the Place, but was not able to keep it above a Week, as appears by the Articles of his Surrender, dated *July* the 16th, 1686, which Articles were but indifferently kept. In 1693, the *Hudson's Bay* Company, being assisted by the Government, retook all the Forts and Factories of which the *French* had deprived them in Time of Peace; but they were soon after driven out of them again by the *French*.

In the Year 1696, the Company applied themselves to King *William*, representing their own Incapacity to maintain themselves against the *French*, and praying the Assistance of the Crown for their Support: Upon which two Men of War were ordered to their Assistance, under the Command of Captain *Allen*, who coming into the River *Hayes* sent to summon all the Forts to surrender; and the *French* Governor, finding he could not defend them against the *English*, capitulated; and on the 2d of *August*, in the same Year, surrendered *Albany Fort* upon certain Articles, the chief of which were, That all those in the Fort, as well *French* as *Indians*, and one *Englishman*, the Governor's Servant, should have their Lives and Liberties; and, That no Harm or Violence should be done to their Persons, or any thing that belonged to them: That they should march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns brought from *France*: That they should all embark with their Cloaths, and Goods, without being visited or pillaged in any Thing; and, if they met with any *French* Vessels, there should be a Truce between the *English* and them; and the said *French* Vessels should be permitted to take aboard the Persons that came out of the same Fort, with all that belonged to them. These Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, tho' they were complied with. Captain *Allen* took the Governor, and some of his Men, aboard his own Ship, the *Bonadventure*; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a Merchant-man, called the *Doring*.

In his Return he fought the *Mary Rose* Frigate, then a *French* Privateer of fifty Guns, and was killed in the Engagement; which gave the *Frenchman* an Opportunity to bear away. As to the other two Forts, they followed the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. *Knight* was restored to the Government of *Fort Nelson*. Mr. *Knight* had served Mr. *Serjeant* while he was Governor of *Fort Albany*, and was acquainted with the Trade. In the Year 1697, the *Hampshire* Frigate, and *Owners Love* Fireship, two of the King's Ships, were lost in this Bay, and all the Men drowned. Indeed the Ice rendered it so dangerous that the Commerce seemed not to be worth the Risque that was run for it. Whether those two Ships run against those frozen Mountains that float in the Sea, or foundered, is not known; but 'tis certain they were lost, and that all the Men perished; which was the Cause of some Inconvenience.

venience. After this Time it appears very clearly, that the Trade of the *Hudson's Bay* Company declined extremely, but whether from any Advantage gained in Trade by the *French*, or from any ill Management of their Affairs at home or abroad, I cannot pretend to say. This, however, is certain, that in the next general War the *French* had renewed their Attacks upon the Settlements of the *Hudson's Bay* Company, and this with such Effect, that they soon left them nothing but *Fort Albany*, which very well accounts for the low State of their Trade to the End of the War, and some Time after. At the making the Treaty at *Utrecht*, great Care was taken of this Company, who by the 10th and 11th Articles have every thing restored to them that had been taken from them, and an equitable Satisfaction stipulated for their Losses. Since which Time the Trade of the Company has wonderfully encreased, insomuch that it became, at least, treble to what it was at the Time that Peace was made, and is still in a very flourishing Condition.

It is very natural for such as reap the Benefit of any Branch of Trade, to be as silent and secret about it as possible, which is the Reason that till within these few Years both the Country and the Commerce of *Hudson's Bay* were very little, and indeed scarce at all, known here, though carried on entirely by this Nation. As for the *French*, they had so little Notion of it, that they treated all Mr. *Iberville's* Projects, upon this Subject, as mere Chimeras; and when a Memorial was presented to the Regent Duke of *Orleans*, setting forth the great Dangers the *French* Settlements in *North America* must run, if the *English* should ever lay open this Trade, or think of transporting their Felons into this Part of the World, it was looked upon as a mere Vision. But since that Time they are become much better acquainted with this Part of *America*, as appears from the Account I have already given from one of their Authors.

But as to the Product and present Condition of this Country, the best Account I ever saw of it, is that published by Mr. *Dobbs*, from the Mouth of one experimentally acquainted with it, and from whom I shall borrow as much as I think may suffice to give the Reader a general Notion of its Nature and Importance. "The *Indians* being obliged to go ashore every Day to hunt for Provisions, delays them very much in their Voyages; for their Canoes are so very small, holding only two Men and a Pack of one hundred Beaver Skins, that they cannot carry Provisions with them for any Time. If they had larger Canoes, they would make their Voyages shorter, and carry many more Beavers to Market, at least four times as many, besides other Skins of Value, which are too heavy for their present Canoes; this, and the high Price of the *European* Goods, by the Company in exchange, discourages the Natives so much, that if they were not absolutely under a Necessity of having Guns, Powder, and Shot, Hatchets, and other Iron Tools for their Hunting, and Tobacco, Brandy, and some Paint for Luxury, they would not go down to the Factory, with what they now carry. At present they leave great Numbers of Furs and Skins behind them. A good Hunter, among the *Indians*, can kill six hundred Beavers in a Season, and can carry down but one hundred; the rest he uses at home, or hangs them upon Branches of Trees, upon the Death of their Children, as an Offering to them, or use them for Bedding and Coverings. They sometimes burn off the Fur, and roast the Beavers like Pigs, upon any Entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no farther Use for them. The Beavers, he says, are of three Colours, the brown reddish Colour, the black, and white; the first is the cheapest, the black is most valued by the Company in *England*, the white the most valued in *Canada*, giving eighteen Shillings, when others give five or six Shillings; it is blown upon by the Companies Factors at the Bay, they not allowing so much for these as for the others, and therefore the *Indians* use them at home, or burn off the Hair, when they roast the Beavers like Pigs, at an Entertainment when they feast together. He says these Skins are extremely white, and have a fine Lustre, no Snow being

"whiter, and have a fine long Fur or Hair. He has seen fifteen taken of that Colour out of one Lodge or Pond.

"The Beavers have three Enemies, Man, Otters, and the Carcajon, or Quecquehatch, which prey upon them, when they take them at Advantage; the last is as large as a very great Dog, it has a short Tail like a Deer or Hart, and has a good Fur, valued at a Beaver and a half in exchange. The Beavers chiefest Food is the Poplar, or Tremble, but they also eat Sallows, Alders, and most other Trees, not having a refinous Juice. The Middle Bark is their Food; in May, when the Wood is not plenty, they live upon a large Root which grows in the Marshes a Fathom long, and as thick as a Man's Leg, the *French* called it Volet: But the Beavers are not so good Food as when they feed upon Trees. They will cut down Trees about two Fathoms in Girth with their Teeth, and one of them observes when it is ready to fall, and gives a great Cry, and runs the contrary Way, to give room for the rest to get out of the Way. They then cut off all the Twigs and smaller Branches, two or three Fathoms in Length, and draw them to their Houses, which they have built in their Ponds; after having raised or repaired their Pond Head, and made it staunch, and thrust one End into the Clay or Mud, that they may lie under Water all the Winter, to preserve the Bark green and tender, for their Winter Provision. After cutting off the small Branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the Bole of the Tree. The Beavers are excellent Food, but the Tongue and Tail the most delicious Parts of the whole. They are very fat from November until the End of March: They have their Young in the Beginning of Summer, at which Time the Females are lean by suckling their Young, and the Males are lean the whole Summer, when they are making or repairing their Ponds and Houses, and cutting down and providing Timber and Branches for their Winter Store. They breed once in a Year, and have from ten to fifteen at a Litter, which grow up in one Season, so that they multiply very fast; and if they can empty a Pond and take the whole Lodge, they generally leave a Pair to breed, so that they are fully stocked again in two or three Years. The Loup Corvier, or Lynx, is of the Cat kind, but as large as a great Dog; it preys upon all Beasts it can conquer, as does the Tyger, which is the only Beast in that Country that won't fly from a Man. The *American* Oxen or Beeves, have a large Bunch upon their Backs, which is by far the most delicious Part of them for Food, it being all as sweet as Marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs several Pounds.

"The *Indians* West of the Bay, living an erratic Life, can have no Benefit by tame Fowl or Cattle; they seldom stay above a Fortnight at a Place, unless they find plenty of Game. When they remove, after having built their Hutt they disperse to get Game for their Food, and meet again at Night, after having killed enough to maintain them that Day; they don't go above a League or two from their Hut. When they find scarcity of Game, they remove a League or two farther, and thus they traverse through these woody Countries and Bogs, scarce missing one Day Winter or Summer, fair or foul, in the greatest Storms of Snow, but what they are employed in some kind of Chace. The smaller Game, got by Traps or Snares, are generally the Employment of Women and Children, such as the Martins, Squirrels, Ermins, &c. The Elks, Stags, Rein Deer, Bears, Tygers, wild Beef, Wolves, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Corcajon, &c. are the Employment of the Men. The *Indians*, when they kill any Game for Food, leave it where they kill it, and send their Wives next Day to carry it home. They go home in a direct Line, never missing their Way by Observation they make of the Course they take upon their going out, and so judge upon what Point their Huts are, and can thus direct themselves upon any Point of the Compass. The

"Trees

“ Trees all bend towards the South, and the Branches
“ on that Side are larger and stronger than on the North
“ Side, as also the Moss upon the Trees. To let their
“ Wives know how to come at the killed Game, they
“ from Place to Place break off Branches, and lay them
“ in the Road, pointing them the Way they should go,
“ and sometimes Moss, so that they never miss find-
“ ing it.

“ In Winter when they go abroad, which they must
“ do in all Weathers to hunt and shoot for their daily
“ Food, before they dress they rub themselves all over
“ with Bear's Grease, or Oil of Beavers, which does
“ not freeze, and also rub all the Fur off their Beaver
“ Coats, and then put them on; they have also a kind
“ of Boots or Stockings of Beaver's Skin, well oiled
“ with the Fur inwards, and above them they have an
“ oiled Skin laced about their Feet, which keeps out the
“ Cold, and also Water, where there is no Ice or Snow,
“ and by this Means they never freeze or suffer any thing
“ by Cold. In Summer also, when they go naked,
“ they rub themselves with these Oils or Grease, and ex-
“ pose themselves to the Sun without being scorched,
“ their Skins being always kept soft and supple by
“ it, nor do any Flies, Bugs, or Musketoos; or any
“ noxious Insect ever molest them. When they want to
“ get rid of it they go into the Water, and rub them-
“ selves all over with Mud or Clay, and let it dry upon
“ them, and then rub it off. But whenever they are free
“ from the Oil, the Flies and Musketoos immediately
“ attack them, and oblige them again to anoint them-
“ selves.

“ The *Indians* make no use of Honey; he saw no
“ Bees there but the wild Humble-Bee; but they are so
“ much afraid of being stung with them, as they go naked
“ in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they
“ can. Nor he did not see any of the Mapple they use
“ in *Canada* to make Sugar of, but only the Birch,
“ whose Juice they use for the same Purpose: Boiling
“ it until it is black and dry, and then using it with
“ their Meat. They use no Milk from the Time they
“ are weaned, and they all hate to taste Cheese, having
“ taken up an Opinion that it is made of dead Men's
“ Fat; they love Prunes and Raisins, and will give a
“ Beaver Skin for twelve of them, to carry to their
“ Children, and also for a Thrum or Jews Harp.

“ He says the Women have all fine Voices, but have
“ never heard any musical Instrument. They are very
“ fond of all Sorts of Pictures or Prints, giving a Beaver
“ for the least Print, and all Toys are like Jewels to
“ them. When he got to the Natives, Southward of
“ *Pachegoia*, he had about thirty Cowries left, and a
“ few small Bells, less than Hawks-Bells. When he
“ shewed one of them, they gave him a Beaver's Skin
“ for it, and they were so fond that some gave him
“ two Skins, or three Martin Skins, for one, to give
“ their Wives to make them fine. The Martins they
“ take in Traps, for if they shoot them their Skins
“ would be spoiled; they have generally five or six at a
“ Litter. He says the Natives are so discouraged in
“ their Trade with the Company, that no Skins are
“ worth the Carriage; and the finest Furs were sold for
“ very little, when they came to the Factory in *June*
“ 1742. The Prices they took for the *European* Goods
“ were much higher than the settled Prices fixed by the
“ Company, which the Governors fix so to shew the
“ Company how zealous they are to improve their Trade,
“ and sell their Goods to Advantage. He says they
“ gave but a Pound of Gunpowder for four Beavers; a
“ Fathom of Tobacco for seven Beavers; a Pound of
“ Shot for one; an Ell of coarse Cloth for fifteen; a
“ Blanket for twelve; two Fish-hooks or three Flints
“ for one; a Gun for twenty-five; a Pistol for ten; a com-
“ mon Hat, with white Lace, for seven; an Ax for four;
“ a Bill-hook for one; a Gallon of Brandy for four; a che-
“ quered Shirt for seven; all which are sold at a monstrous
“ Profit, even to two thousand *per Cent*. Notwithstanding
“ this Discouragement, the two Fleets which went down
“ with him, and parted at the *Great Fork*, carried down
“ two hundred Packs of one hundred each, twenty thou-

“ sand Beavers; and the other *Indians* who arrived that
“ Year, he computed, carried down three hundred Packs
“ of two hundred each, making thirty thousand; in all fifty
“ thousand Beavers, and above nine thousand Martins.

“ The Furs there are much more valuable than the
“ Furs upon the *Canada* Lakes, sold at *New York*; for
“ these will give five or six Shillings *per Pound*, when
“ the others sell at three Shillings and Six-pence. He
“ says that if a Fort was built at the *Great Fork*, sixty
“ Leagues above *York Fort*, and a Factory with *Euro-*
“ *pean* Goods was fixed there, and a reasonable Price
“ was put upon the *European* Goods, that the Trade
“ would be wonderfully increased; for the Natives, from
“ the Southward of *Pachegoia*, could make, at least,
“ two Returns in a Summer, and those at greater Dis-
“ tances could make one, who cannot now come at all;
“ and above double the Number would be employed
“ in hunting; and many more Skins would be brought
“ to Market that they can't now afford to bring, for
“ the Expence and low Price given for them. The
“ Stream is so gentle from the *Fork* to *York Fort*, on
“ either Branch, that large Vessels and Shallops may be
“ built there, and carry down the bulky Goods, and
“ also return again against the Stream; and the Climate
“ is good and fit to produce Grain, Pulse, &c. and
“ very good Grass and Hay for Horses and Cattle; and
“ if afterwards any Settlement were made upon *Pache-*
“ *goia*, and Vessels built to navigate that Lake, which
“ is not more Northerly than the Latitude of 52 Degrees,
“ the Trade would be still vastly enlarged and im-
“ proved, and spread the Trade not only up the River
“ and Lakes, as far as the Lake *du Bois* and *du Pluis*,
“ but also among the *Astinibouels*, and Nations beyond
“ them; and the Nation *de vieux Hommes*, who are two
“ hundred Leagues Westward of *Pachegoia*. He says the
“ Nations who go up that River, with Presents, to con-
“ firm the Peace, are three Months in going, and say they
“ live behind a range of Mountains beyond *Astinibu-*
“ *els*; he saw several of them, who all wanted a Joint of
“ their little Finger, which they said was cut off soon
“ after they were born, but gave no Reason for it.

“ Whilst he was at *York Fort* he got acquainted with
“ an old *Indian* who lived at some Distance from *Nelson's*
“ Bay to the Westward, being one of those they call
“ the *home Indians*, who had, about fifteen Years ago,
“ gone at the Head of thirty Warriors, to make War
“ against the *Attimospiquais*, *Tete Plat*, or *Plazcotex de*
“ *Chiens*, a Nation lying Northward, on the Western
“ Ocean of *America*; he was the only one that return-
“ ed, all the rest being killed, or perished through Fa-
“ tigue, or want of Food; upon their Return, when
“ they went they carried their own Families with them,
“ and hunted and fished from Place to Place for two
“ Winters and one Summer, having left their Country
“ in Autumn, and in *April* following came to the Sea
“ Side on the Western Coast, where they immediately
“ made their Canoes; at some small Distance they saw
“ an Island, which was about a League and a half long;
“ when the Tide was out, or Water fell, they had no Water
“ betwixt them and the Island, but when it rose, it co-
“ vered all the Passage and the Island, as high as the
“ Woods upon the Shore. There they left their Wives
“ and Children and old Men, to conduct them home,
“ and provide them with Provisions by hunting and
“ shooting for them upon the Road; and he, with
“ thirty Warriors, went in quest of the Enemies of the
“ *Tete Plat*.

“ After they parted with their Families they came to
“ a Streight which they passed in their Canoes; the Sea
“ Coast lay almost East and West, for he said the Sun
“ rose on his Right-hand, and at Noon it was almost
“ behind him, as he passed the Streight, and always set in
“ the Sea. After passing the Streight, they coasted along
“ the Sea for three Months, going into the Country
“ and Woods as they went along to hunt for Provisions.
“ He said they saw a great many large black Fish, spout-
“ ing up Water in the Sea. After they had thus coasted
“ for near three Months, they saw the Footsteps of some
“ Men on the Sand, by which they judged they were

“ not far from their Enemies ; upon which they quitted
 “ their Canoes, and went five Days through the Woods
 “ and Bushes, which were but very low and shrubby, and
 “ so close they could with Difficulty make Way through
 “ it ; and then came to the Banks of a River ; where they
 “ found a large Town of their Enemies : And, after
 “ making their usual Cry, they discharged their Arrows
 “ and Guns against those who appeared ; upon which
 “ they fled ; but upon finding how few they were, they
 “ returned and killed fifteen of them, and wounded three
 “ or four more ; upon which they fled to the Woods, and
 “ from thence made their Escape to their Canoes before their
 “ Enemies overtook them ; and, after a great deal of
 “ Fatigue got to the Streights, and after getting over they
 “ all died one after another, of Fatigue and Famine, except
 “ this old Man ; leaving him alone to travel to his own
 “ Country, which took him up about a Year’s Time, hav-
 “ ing left his Gun when his Ammunition was spent, and
 “ lost all his Arrows, and upon his Return had not even
 “ a Knife with him ; so that he was reduced to live
 “ upon Herbs and Moss growing upon the Rocks, and
 “ was almost famished when he reached the River
 “ *Sakie*, where he met his Friends, who relieved him
 “ when he despaired of ever again seeing his own
 “ Country.”

This, says Mr. *Dobbs*, is the Account so far as *Joseph la France* could inform me of those Countries Southward of *York Fort*, which may be brought to trade there in time. It must be allowed, that this Relation is equally instructive and entertaining ; it makes us at once acquainted with the Country, and with the Reasons which should induce us think it worth our while to enquire about it ; it shews us, that these Countries are far from being inhospitable, or uninhabitable ; that, on the contrary, there are many Nations already known, and many more of whom the *Europeans* have had Notice ; all of whom are sufficiently in Want, and have it at the same time abundantly in their Power to pay us for Supplies. This, I say, is evidently made appear, since it is affirmed, and the Fact is so true as not to be disputed, that the *French* carry on a great Trade with these *Indians*, and that they are very well able to bear the Rigour of the Seasons in those Parts ; and if they can bear it, surely so may we.

It may indeed be objected, that the *French* are very apt to boast of much more than they perform, and therefore we ought not to give an implicit Credit to their Relations, especially in their own Favour.

But this is easily answered, since Mr. *Dobbs* has also furnished us with *English* Memoirs that prove the very same Thing ; and therefore I shall quote from him what is sufficient for that Purpose, and which is no less entertaining than the Account given us by *Joseph la France*, and of no less Authority than his, since it is given us by an *Englishman* of Credit, who reports nothing but from his own Experience and Observation :

“ Mr. *Frost*, who has been many Years employed
 “ by the Company in the Bay, both at *Churchill* and
 “ *Moose River* Factory, and who was their Interpreter
 “ with the Natives, and travelled a considerable way
 “ into the Country, both North-west of *Churchill* and
 “ Southward of *Moose River* Factory, and has resided at
 “ *Moose River*, since the Factory was made there in
 “ 1730, gives a very good Account of that Climate and
 “ Country there, and up the River Southward of it : He
 “ says the Factory is built near the Mouth of the River,
 “ in Latitude 51 Degrees 28 Minutes, upon a navigable
 “ River, which, at twelve Miles distant from the Fort,
 “ is divided into two Branches ; one comes from the
 “ Southward, the other from the South-west. Upon the
 “ Southern Branch, all sort of Grain thrives, as Barley,
 “ Beans, and Pease do at the Factory, though exposed
 “ to all the chilling Winds which come from the Ice in
 “ the Bay. Upon the Southern Part, above the Falls,
 “ there grows naturally along the River, the same Kind
 “ of wild Oats and Rye mentioned already upon the
 “ Lake of *Sieno*, the Husk being black, but the Grain
 “ within perfectly white and clear, like Rice ; the *Indians*
 “ beating it off when ripe into their Canoes, as they pass
 “ along the River, it growing in the Water, like Rice.

“ In their Woods, at the Bottom of the Bay, at *Moose*
 “ and *Albany*, as well as at *Rupert’s River*, are very
 “ large Timber-Trees of all Kinds ; Oak, Ash, &c. as
 “ well as Pine, Cedar, and Spruce : They have exceeding
 “ good Grass to make Hay, which improves every Day,
 “ as they cut and feed it, and may have every where
 “ within Land all sorts of Pulse and Grain, and all sorts
 “ of Fruit Trees, as in the same Climate in *Europe* ; for
 “ all the Sorts they have tried thrive very well.

“ The Ice breaks up at *Moose* Factory in the Beginning
 “ of *April*, but higher up in the Country in *March*. It
 “ is navigable for Canoes a great way up among the Falls ;
 “ at a considerable Distance there is one Fall of fifty Feet,
 “ but above that it is deep, and navigable for a great
 “ way ; the Climate above the Fall is very good, and
 “ the River abounds with that wild Rice. The *French*
 “ have got a House, or Settlement for Trade, near the
 “ Southern Branch, about one hundred Miles above the
 “ Factory, where they sell their Goods cheaper than the
 “ Company do, although it be so difficult to carry them
 “ so far from *Canada*, and very expensive ; and give
 “ as much for a Martin’s Skin as they do for a Beaver,
 “ when we insist upon three for one ; so that the *French*
 “ get all the choice Skins, and leave only the Refuse for
 “ the Company. The *French* have also got another
 “ House pretty high up upon *Rupert’s River*, by which
 “ they have gained all the Trade upon the *East Main*,
 “ except a little the Company get at *Slude River*.”

He says, “ That upon the South-side of the great Inland
 “ Sea, upon the *East Main*, which has lately been dis-
 “ covered, there is an exceeding rich Lead Mine,
 “ from which the Natives have brought very good Ore,
 “ which might turn to very great Advantage, as well as
 “ the Furs upon that Coast, which might be vastly in-
 “ creased if the Trade was laid open, and Settlements
 “ made in proper Places. He says, when he was at
 “ *Churchill*, he travelled a considerable way in the
 “ Country North-westward of the River of *Seals*, that near
 “ the River and Sea-coast there were small shrubby Woods ;
 “ but for many Miles, at least sixty farther into the
 “ Country, they had nothing but a barren, white Moss,
 “ upon which the Rein-Deer feed, and also the Moose,
 “ Buffaloes, and other Deer : And the Natives told him,
 “ farther Westward, beyond that barren Country, there
 “ were large Woods. He was acquainted when there,
 “ about fifteen Years ago, with an *Indian* Chief, who
 “ traded at *Churchill*, who had been often at a fine
 “ Copper Mine, which they struck off from the Rocks
 “ with sharp Stones. He said it was upon Islands at the
 “ Mouth of a River, and lay to the Northward of that
 “ Country where they had no Night in Summer.

“ As to the Trade at *Churchill*, it is increasing ; it
 “ being at too great Distance from the *French* for them
 “ to interfere in the Trade : In the Year 1742, it amounted
 “ to twenty thousand Beavers. There were about one
 “ hundred Up-land *Indians* came in their Canoes to trade,
 “ and about two hundred Northern *Indians*, who brought
 “ their Furs and Skins upon Sledges ; some of them
 “ came down the River of *Seals*, fifteen Leagues North-
 “ ward of *Churchill*, in Canoes, and brought their Furs
 “ from thence by Land. They have no Beavers to the
 “ Northward of *Churchill*, they not having there such
 “ Ponds or Woods as they chuse to feed upon ; but they
 “ have great Numbers of Martins, Foxes, Bears, Rein-
 “ Deer, Buffaloes, Wolves, and other Beasts of rich Furs,
 “ the Country being mostly rocky, and covered with
 “ white Moss, upon which the Rein-Deer, or Cariboux,
 “ feed.

“ There is a great deal of small Wood, of the Spruce
 “ or Firr Kind, near the old Factory ; but the Wood
 “ improves, as it is farther up the River from the Bay ;
 “ where they have Juniper, Birch, and Poplar. And
 “ more Southerly the Timber is larger, and there are
 “ great Variety of Trees ; they are under great Incon-
 “ veniences at the new Fort, which is upon an elevated
 “ Situation, upon a Rock without Shelter, close by the
 “ Shore, surrounded with Snow and Ice for eight Months
 “ in the Year, exposed to all the Winds and Storms that
 “ happen ; where they can have no Conveniency of
 “ Grass

“Grafts or Hay, or Gardening, and yet they had four or five Horses there, and a Bull, and two Cows, near the Factory; but they were obliged to bring their Hay from a marshy Bottom, some Miles up the River, to feed them in Winter; but if a Settlement was made higher up the River Southward, some Leagues from the Bay, in Shelter, without the Reach of the chilling Winds, they would have Grafts and Hay sufficient, and might have also Gardens and proper Greens, and Roots, propagated there. They say there is a Communication betwixt that River and *Nelson's River*, at a great Distance within Land, or a very short Land-carriage betwixt them; for the *Indians* who trade here tell them, each Season, what Chiefs, with their Followers, go down that Year to *Nelson* or *Albany River*.”

We may justly wonder that we never had before any clear Account of these Matters, considering how long we have had Factories in these Parts; and that on the contrary all the Accounts hitherto given represent the Coasts of *Hudson's Bay*, as the most forlorn and dreadful Part of the Universe, hitherto discovered; as Regions freezing and frightful, almost beyond all Description, and which it would appear dreadful and cruel to send even Malefactors to inhabit. But for this the same Gentleman has fully accounted; and it is requisite that the Public should be very well acquainted with the Account that he has given; for since the great Council of the Nation has thought fit to encourage an Attempt to discover a Passage this Way into the *South Seas*, it is very reasonable to suppose that Endeavours will not be wanting to push that Attempt to the utmost; to facilitate which there is nothing of so great Importance as the proving that the Discouragements which have been hitherto represented as insuperable, have been over-rated, and that notwithstanding all that has been said of them, it is not only possible but probable, that they may be overcome; towards which nothing surely can contribute more than the pointing out the Motives, upon which they have hitherto been constantly represented, in so strong a Light, which is very effectually done in the following Passage from the same Author; who, as he has studied this Point, so it must be allowed he has made it as clear as with Reason could well be expected.

“The Company avoid all they can making Discoveries to the Northward of *Churchill*, or extending their Trade that Way, for fear they should discover a Passage to the Western Ocean of *America*, and tempt, by that Means, the rest of the *English* Merchants to lay open their Trade, which they know they have no legal Right to; which if the Passage was found, would not only animate the rest of the Merchants to pursue the Trade through that Passage, but also to find out the great Advantages that might be made of the Trade of the Rivers and Countries adjoining to the Bay, by which Means they would lose their beloved Monopoly. But the Prospect they have of Gain to be made by trading with the *Eskimaux Indians*, for Whale-fin, Whale and Sea Oil, and Sea-horse Teeth, induces them to venture a Sloop annually, as far as 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, to *Whale Cove*, where these *Indians* meet them, and truck their Fins and Oil with them. But though they are fully informed of a fine Copper Mine on a navigable Arm of the Sea, Northwestward of *Whale Cove*, and the *Indians* have offered to carry their Sloops to it; yet their Fear of discovering the Passage, puts Bounds to their Avarice, and prevents their going to the Mine, which by all Accounts is very rich. Yet those who have been at *Whale Cove*, own that from thence Northwards is all broken Land; and that after passing some Islands, they from the Hills see the Sea open, leading to the Westward. And the *Indians* who have been often at the Mine say it is upon a navigable Arm of the Sea, of great Depth, leading to the South-west, where are great Numbers of large black Fish spouting Water, which confirms the Opinion that all the Whales seen between *Whale Cove* and *Wager River*, all come there from the Western Ocean, since none are seen any

“where else in *Hudson's Bay* or *Streight*. All along this Coast from the Latitude 62 Degrees to 65 Degrees, a very beneficial Fishery of Whales may be carried on with these *Eskimaux Indians*; who, even without the Use of Iron, can harpoon and kill Whales, and if they were supplied with Iron Harpoons, and proper Cordage, they might be brought to kill great Numbers of them. At present all their Nets, Lines, and Snare, are made of Whale-bone, and most of their Boats and other Necessaries of the Seal-skins, Fish-bones, and Sea-horse Teeth, and in making all things necessary for them, they are very neat and ingenious.”

The same judicious Person, from whom we have borrowed so much already, has taken the Pains to give, from very authentic Relations, a very clear, as well as a very copious Account of most of the *Indian Nations* that lie at the back of our Northern Colonies, and between the *French Settlements* in *Canada*, and on the *Mississippi River*; with the Countries they inhabited, and the Product of those Countries, which I esteem a thing of very great Consequence, and as material a Service to this Nation, as has been rendered for many Years; the Account is too long for me to insert, but the Inferences he draws from it are so just, and of so high Consequence, that I think it would be an Injury done the Reader not to report them, as it would certainly be doing both him and the Subject great Wrong, to report them in any other than his own Words, which without farther Preface I shall use; only it is necessary to premise at the Time this Gentleman published his Book, the War with *France* was not actually broke out.

“How glorious, says he, would it be for us at the same Time to civilize so many Nations, and improve so large and spacious a Country, by communicating our Constitution and Liberties, both Civil and Religious, to so many Numbers, whose Happiness and Pleasure would increase at the same Time, that an Increase of Wealth and Power would be added to *Britain*.”

“There is, at present, a Beginning of this Scheme, by the Zeal of Mr. *Barclay*, who is instructing and civilizing the *Mowhawks*, among the *Iroquese*, who from a warlike Nation have embarked in Trade, and entered into Alliances with all Nations round the Lakes *Huron* and *Errie*, and to the Westward as far as the *Mississippi*, which is firmly established by the Gain they make by the Trade. The *English*, from *New York*, have fixed at *Oswega*, in their Country, upon equitable Terms with all the *Indians*, who come now from a great Distance to trade at that Town; *Indians* coming now to Trade there, whose Names were never before known to the *English*. This therefore seems to be the critical Time to begin this Settlement, on the Banks of *Conde River*. If there be a War with *France*, as we are at a great Expence to save the Liberties of *Europe*, and support the House of *Austria*, since we can have nothing in *Europe* beneficial for us; in case we are successful at the Conclusion of the War, we ought to stipulate for something advantageous in *America*; and the least we ought to claim is our Right to the *American Lakes*, and securing the Navigation of them. The *French* have, at present, two little Forts, and about thirty Men in each; at *Niagara*, and the Streights of *St. Joseph*; and a few Men at *Misissickinac*, and at the bottom of the *Illinese Lake*. These we ought to have from them, either by Force or Treaty, which would secure the inland Trade to us, and prevent their future Incroachments, either there or in *Hudson's Bay*; and to do this effectually, would be to make a Settlement near the Lake *Errie*, which may be done with little or no Expence, considering our present Barrier and Alliance, and Trade with the *Natives*; and whenever our Troops are disbanded, some of them may be sent over upon Half-pay, to fix in proper Places, and make good our Possessions, which would be a fine Retreat to our Soldiers, who can't so easily, after being disbanded, bring themselves again to hard Labour, after being so long disused to it.

“By

“ By these Settlements, and those adjoining to *Hudson's Bay*, and by opening the Trade to the Bay, many thousands more would be employed in Trade, and a much greater Vent would be opened to our Manufactures: Whereas, all the Trade we have at present, whilst it is thus confined to the Company, is the Employment of one hundred and twenty Men in all their Factories; and two or three Ships in that Trade, manned perhaps with one hundred and twenty Men in time of War, to enrich nine or ten Merchants at their Country's Expence, at the same Time betraying the Nation, by allowing the *French* to encroach upon us at the bottom of the Bay, having given up by that Means the greatest Part of their Trade there to the *French*. It is therefore humbly submitted to the Government, whether it is not just, as well as prudent, to open the Trade to all the *British* Merchants, and resume, at the same Time, the Charter, so far as to take from them all the Lands they have not reclaimed or occupied, after seventy Years Possession, leaving them only their Factories, and such Lands as they have reclaimed, adjoining to them; and to give Grants, as usual, in other Colonies, to all who shall go over to trade, and make Settlements in the Country; for no Grant was ever intended to be made to them, to enable them to prevent other Subjects of *Britain* from planting those Colonies, which they themselves would not plant or occupy; for such a Power, instead of being beneficial, would be the greatest Prejudice to *Britain*. It is therefore become a general Law in all the Colonies, that those who take Grants of Land, and don't plant them in a reasonable limited Time, forfeit their Right to those Lands, and a new Grant is made out to such others as shall plant and improve them; and if this Grant be not immediately resumed so far, and the Trade laid open, and some Force be not sent to secure our Southern Plantations in the Bay by the Government, in case there should be a *French* War, we shall see the *French* immediately dispossess the Company of all their Factories but *Churchill*, and all these Countries, and that Trade, will be in Possession of the *French*.

“ To the making such Settlements some Objections have been made by the Friends of the Company, as the great Difficulty of getting People to go to settle and plant in so cold a Country, and the Difficulty and Danger attending the making Settlements higher up upon the Rivers, and navigating them, as they are so full of Falls and Rapids, that can only be navigated by the Natives in small Canoes, made of Birch Bark, which can't contain above two Men with any Cargo; and in these they are often overset, and are in such Danger of being drowned, and of spoiling their Goods, that they are often obliged to carry their Canoes and Cargo from Place to Place, which obstructs greatly and delays the Navigation; and that scarce five Men out of one hundred and twenty, which the Company now have in the Bay, will venture themselves in, or can conduct such Canoes, without imminent Danger of being drowned, and consequently these Hardships and Difficulties will counter-balance the Profit to be made of settling higher up in the Country, upon the Rivers, in pleasanter and warmer Climates.

“ To this I answer, That by the Accounts already given here of these Climates and Countries, by impartial Persons, who don't want to disguise the Truth, it appears that the Cold is tolerable, even at these disadvantageous Settlements at present in the Bay; and that upon passing only five or six Leagues up the Rivers into the Country, the Climate is so altered, as to be equal to those of the same Latitudes in *Europe*. And that these prodigious Accounts of the Effects of Cold, are calculated only to serve the Company, in order to prevent People from going there to settle, and encroach upon the Company's Monopoly of Trade. And to the Difficulty they make about navigating these Rivers in those small Canoes, and the small Number employed by the Company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, I answer, That their Servants being at

present no Gainers by Trade; won't endeavour to learn to navigate these Canoes, where there is any Risque, and Care necessary to prevent the Danger. Besides, the Company allows them no Time to learn, by confining them to their Factories, whilst the *Indian* Trade continues, and the Navigation is open: And at other Times keeps them employed in cutting Wood for firing, bringing it home, shooting, fishing, and digging in their Gardens, to supply themselves with Provisions, to lessen the Company's Expence, so that they are allowed no Time to learn to navigate these Boats, or to go up the Rivers to observe the Soil and Climate, or what Improvements might be made in the Country. But if they were Masters of their own Time, and could advance their Wealth by Trade, and found a considerable Profit to arise to them by their Dexterity in managing these Canoes, and the great Pleasure and Satisfaction they would have by living in a fine Climate among these Lakes and Rivers; they would be as enterprising and dextrous as the *Cureur de Bois*, and be as able to navigate among these Water-falls, as the *French*. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even those Canoes from oversetting, by Outlagers or blown Bladders fixed to their Sides, or other kind of Boats may be used, such as are made at *Torneo* in *Sweden*, upon the Rivers, falling into the *Bothnic Gulph*, and *Laplanders* might be prevailed upon to go there to teach them how to make and manage these Boats, and train up Rein-Deer to draw in Sledges in Winter, and also to use *Lapland* Shoes, which are better than those used in *America*.

“ If the Trade was once made free, the Profit made upon it would induce many to go and settle upon those Rivers, when not only Horses and other Conveniences would be had near the Water-falls, to assist the Land Carriage in Summer, but also Horses and Rein-Deer to draw their Sledges in Winter, as in *Russia*, which is almost as cheap a Carriage as by Water, when the proper Roads are made through the Woods, so that Objection must be of no Force to prevent our opening the Trade, and settling these Countries. But supposing the worst, that we could not manage these Canoes, that could not prevent our settling to Advantage upon these Rivers and Lakes above the Falls, for the Natives might still be our Carriers, in navigating those dangerous Places, and taking our Goods from one Settlement to another, whilst we should be employed in Navigation and Trade among the Lakes and Rivers where there are no Falls, in larger Vessels, and push our Commerce Southward into better Climates and richer Soils, and put the Natives upon Improvements in Trade, by civilizing and instructing them in building convenient Houses, and associating in Towns, making Gardens, and tilling their Lands; providing them with Horses and tame Cattle, and Fowl, for their Use, and proper Tools which our Trade would furnish them with.

“ Another Objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous Navigation into the Bay, and the Trade is not worth the Risque. To this I answer, That the Navigation is not so dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more so by the Insinuations and Report of the Company and their Friends, who gave it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their Trade, and for that Reason they oblige their Captains, under a Penalty, not to publish any Charts of the Bay and Streight. Captain *Middleton*, who was in their Service, made above twenty Voyages to different Parts of the Bay, and never lost a Ship, nor had any Accident in these Voyages; nor have I heard that the Company, in about twenty three Years, have lost any Ships in that Trade, but two, and the Men and Cargo were saved by Captain *Middleton*. Where Captains are careful in the Ice, there is not much Danger; it is of great Advantage to them that there is no Night at that Season they enter the Bay, where the Quantity of Ice is greatest; and when they return in *September*, or even in *October*, all the Ice is in a Manner dissolved or passed out of the

“ Streight

“ Streight into the Ocean, and none seen that can hinder their Passage.

“ It is probable that during the whole Winter, from October to March, there is no Ice in the Streight to obstruct their Passage into or out of the Bay; for a Ship which chanced to be closed up with Ice in an Inlet, by breaking of the Ice got out, and came through the Ice at Christmas, without finding any Ice in the Streight to prevent her Passage: For the Ice which is formed in Bays and Rivers, in Winter, does not break up and get into the Channel or Streight until it begins to thaw upon the Shore in March or April; at which Time it is carried by the Winds and Tide into the Streight, and obstructs the Passage in May or June, until it is dissolved; yet, even then, good Pilots know how to avoid it and get into the Eddy-Tide, out of the Current; where the Ice is more open, and not drove together by the Winds and Current, as it is in the Channel. But these Difficulties would lessen every Day, if the Trade were opened and the Voyages more frequent, by the great Number of Ships, which would make many more experienced Pilots. And as there is now a more accurate Chart published of the Streight and Bay, by Capt. Middleton, with the Islands, Soundings, Tides, and Variation; the Navigation will become less dangerous daily, and Coves, and Places of Shelter for Ships, will be found out, by the Number of Ships which would then pass, and be trading in those Seas which are now unknown. I therefore apprehend that the Danger of the Ice is more in Imagination than Reality, when Care and Judgment are employed; for Ships are mostly inclosed in Ice in calm Weather and Fogs, when the Ice prevents the Motion of the Sea; stormy Weather disperses and breaks the Ice, unless they get under the Lee of a large Island of Ice; and then they fasten to it, and drive along with it whilst the smaller Ice to Leeward is drove from them by the Wind, and the large Islands, being many Fathoms deep in the Water, come on Ground before the Ships are in Danger of being forced on Shore in shallow Water.

“ The greatest Danger and Delay from the Ice is in the Entrance into the Streight; for the first forty Leagues from thence the Quantity is less, and they pass on with less Difficulty; and after getting into the Bay, the North-west Side is the freest from Ice; the Bottom of the Bay is full of low flat Ice, which is all dissolved in the latter end of Summer. Upon the Whole, except two Ships, which were lost in King William's Reign, and a French Ship, after an Engagement with our Ships when they attacked Fort Nelson, I have heard of none, except the Ships already mentioned, which have been lost in the Voyage. The Two Ships which went out with Barlow, in 1719, to find the North-west Passage, contrary to the Inclinations of the Company, if they did not make the Passage, were probably, in the Winter, surprised by the Natives, and were not lost in the Ice; for they say that the Natives, in about Latitude 63 Degrees, where they suppose they were lost, are shyer since that Time in trading with the Company's Sloops; which they apprehend to be from a Consciousness of Guilt, fearing that if it were known they should still be punished for it. Since therefore the greatest Danger from the Ice, is in passing the Streight, and so few Accidents have happened in so many Years, the Navigation, I think, cannot be called dangerous, though it has been so apprehended; and not equal to the Whale-fishers, who go annually to Spitzberg and Davis's Streights to Latitudes 78 and 80 Degrees, without any Objection to that Navigation, either by the Dutch, Hamburgers, Danes, Biscayners, or English.”

He concludes from thence, that the opening the Trade and settling in the Bay, would prove a great Benefit to, and great Improvement of, our Trade, which might be vastly increased, as well in respect to Furs as to Mines, and the Whale-Fishery; all which might be carried on with the Assistance of the Indians, and would turn to a very high Profit, even supposing that no

Passage to the North-west should ever be found; but should future Experience demonstrate that this Gentleman's Notions are, in this Respect, well founded, and this long sought-for Passage should actually be discovered, it would then certainly follow that this Country, so little known and so much despised till very lately, would become of more consequence to us than almost any Colony in America. Here let me take the Liberty of observing what hitherto, as far as I know, has never yet been considered: That if such a Passage to the North-west should be discovered before these Countries are tolerably planted, the French would have a fair Opportunity of supplanting us in the Advantages expected from that important Attempt; and perhaps we should then be forced to fight for the Possession of Countries that are now thought not worth the having.

It may likewise deserve some Thought, whether it be not better to attempt such Settlements without Loss of Time, as must at all Events be highly useful and serviceable to this Nation, by dividing the French Settlements in Canada, and on the Mississippi, from each other, than to wait till the Importance of such Settlements shall appear in so glaring a Light, as they must immediately do if such a Passage should be discovered; for we ought to remember, from the famous Instance of our being disappointed in our Design of settling the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, that it is a very difficult Matter, in a Time of full Peace, for us to acquire any Advantage in Point of Commerce, at the Expence of the French, who, in such a Case, would not fail to take the same vigorous Measures that they did in the Case before-mentioned. I have taken the more Pains to place this Matter in a fair and true Light, because I am persuaded this is the Time in which only it can be considered to Advantage; for if the Case now in View (I mean the Discovery of a North-west Passage) should ever come, as I am convinced, sooner or later it will come to be the Case in Fact, the Face of Affairs will be quite changed, and this new Rout to the South-Seas and East-Indies, will produce such an Alteration in the whole Commercial System of Europe, that Things will be seen to be then of the utmost Consequence, which at present most People look upon as Dreams and Visions, notwithstanding the late Sanction given them by the Wisdom of the Parliament.

But it becomes a prudent and sensible People, and above all it imports a maritime Power, to consider Things in time, and while what is proposed for their Benefit is easy, or at least practicable; and not to defer and delay Things till from being troublesome and difficult they come to be absolutely impossible. We know what sharp and cutting Remarks have been made on the Meanness of King James's Spirit, in suffering the Dutch to despoil us of the Spice Trade: We cannot but remember the severe Reflections on Queen Anne's Ministry, for not securing to us Cape Breton, and therefore we should be cautious of falling a third time into the same Mistake, and of running the Hazard of making a great Discovery, such as all the World allows that of the North-west Passage would be, rather for other Peoples Benefit than our own, since it must pass for a Blunder, greater than ever was made by our Ancestors, and would render us effectually ridiculous in the Eyes of latest Posterity.

12. The Method we have taken in describing the Acquisitions of our Nation in America, leads us next to speak of the noble Country of Pennsylvania; the best projected, and one of the most flourishing of our Colonies on the Continent of North America. We have before mentioned Admiral Penn, who in Conjunction with Col. Venables, conquered the Island of Jamaica for this Nation; he became afterwards Sir William Penn, and stood in as high a Degree of Credit with King Charles II. and his Brother the Duke of York, as any Seaman of that Time, as indeed he very well deserved; for, with Abilities superior to most, he had as great Modesty as any Man, and was ready, upon all Occasions, to serve his Country in any Station that was found practicable. It was this excellent Disposition of Mind that secured him from Danger under one Government, and recommended him to Preferment under another; for when the

Duke of York proposed to take the Command of the *English* Fleet upon himself in the *Dutch* War, as Lord High Admiral; he made Choice of Sir *William Penn* as the most experienced, and the most capable Officer to serve under him, which he did with equal Satisfaction to his Royal Highness, and Credit to himself; establishing thereby such a Reputation at Court, as lasted during his Life, and proved no less useful to his Son.

But Sir *William Penn* did not long enjoy his high Station, and dying in the *West* Country where he was born, was buried in *Redcliff* Church in *Bristol*, having, in reward of his Services, had a Promise of the Grant of this Country from King *Charles* the II^d. Sir *William* had a Kinsman who was one of the first Planters in *New England*, and it is doubtless from him that he had exact and particular Information of the Advantages that might be made of Lands and Settlements in this Continent of *America*. But young Mr. *Penn* did not for some Years apply himself strenuously to solicit the promised Grant, till at last finding his Friends, the Quakers, were harrassed all over *England* by spiritual Courts, he resolved to put himself at the Head of as many as would go with him and remove to this Country, of which he obtained the Grant in the Year 1679.

He gave it the Name of *Pensylvania* some Time before he was actually invested with it, and so it is called in the original Patent, bearing date *March* the 4th 1680. "It contained all that Tract of Land in *America*, with all the Islands belonging to it, from the Beginning of the 40th Degree of North Latitude to the 43^d Degree, whose Eastern Bound, from twelve *English* Miles above *Newcastle*, alias *de la War* Town, runs all along upon the Side of *de la War* River." So that 'tis bounded on the East by that Bay and River, and the Eastern Sea; on the North by *West New Jersey*, or rather *New York*, for it runs a great Way above the *Jerseys*; on the West by the *Indian* Nations, about the Heads of *Susquabanaugh* and *de la War* Rivers, by which we see it stretches far within Land, that River running through it about two or three hundred Miles; on the South 'tis bounded by *Maryland*, and reaching from *Pensbury* near the Falls of the River to *Hanlope*, near the Mouth of the Bay, above one hundred and fifty Miles directly; but 'tis narrow all along, being very much crowded in the Breadth by *Maryland*.

The Bounds and Extent we have mentioned are in the original Grant; but Mr. *Penn* having afterwards obtained Part of *Nova Belgia* of the Duke of York, it was added to the Country in the first Grant, and both together called *Pensylvania*, which is divided into three upper and three lower Counties; the three upper Counties, *Buckingham*, *Philadelphia* and *Chester*, are the *Pensylvania*, so called in King *Charles*'s Grant. The three lower Counties, *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, are taken out of *Nova Belgia*, or the Province of *New York*. The upper Counties end at *Marcus Hook*, four Miles below *Chester* Town; the lower run along the Coast one hundred and twenty Miles, and are forty Miles deep towards *Maryland*. Thus the whole Province of *Pensylvania* from the *Falls* Township, to twenty Miles below *Hanlope* or *Cape William*, is in Length three hundred and thirty Miles, and in Breadth two hundred. The River *de la War*, above and below the Falls, for a good Length, is called the *Freshes*, and near the Mouth are the Marshes, very fertile and profitable.

As soon as Mr. *Penn* had got his Patent, he invited several Persons to purchase Lands under it. Though he did not satisfy himself with the Title granted him by *Charles* the II^d. and his Brother. He also bought the Land of the *Indians*. The *Swedes*, who had encroached upon the *Dutch*, the first Planters here, as well as at *New York*, settled upon, or near, the *Freshes* of *de la War*. The *Fins*, or Inhabitants of *Finland*, part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, applied themselves chiefly to Husbandry. The King of *Sweden* appointed a Governor here, who had often Disputes with the Governor that presided over the *Dutch*. The latter applied themselves mostly to traffic, living upon, or near, the Bay, and by the Neighbourhood of *New York*. The *Dutch* also were too powerful for the

Swedes, who, finding they could not maintain their Ground, submitted to their stronger Neighbours. Accordingly *John Riseing*, the *Swedish* Governor, made a formal Surrender of the Country to *Peter Styerfont*, Governor for the States General, after which this Province continued subject to their Republic till the *English* drove the *Dutch* out of *New Amsterdam* or *New York*, which made the Possession of those Territories the more easy to Mr. *Penn*.

There were a few *English* here before Mr. *Penn* sent over the first Adventurers under his Patent, over whom he placed, as Governor, Colonel *William Markham*, his Nephew, to whom both *Dutch* and *Swedes* submitted. Those that went over, were generally Dissenters, from *London*, *Liverpool*, and especially *Bristol*, for the West of *England* abounded with Dissenters more than other Counties; they shipped themselves at *Bristol* in great Numbers for *Pensylvania*. Mr. *Thomas Gouldney*, and Mr. *Duddleston*, two Tobacco Merchants of that City, about this Time fitted out the *Unicorn*, a Ship of three hundred Tons, for this Voyage; which putting into Start, took in a great many from *Bridgewater*. Mr. *Penn* had sold twenty thousand Acres of his Property to Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, Mr. *Philip Ford*, and others, who formed a Company, and had a Street, and a Side of a Street, set out for them in *Philadelphia*, with four hundred Acres of Land in the City Liberties. They set up a Tannery, a Saw Mill, a Glass House, and a Whalery, of the two latter I suppose they never made any great Profit. The Proprietors Conditions of Sale were these: Buyers purchased after the Rate of twenty Pounds for one thousand Acres, so that he put four hundred Pounds in his Pocket immediately, but that was a Trifle to what went out of it for the Grant and Experiments to people and settle the Country; the Quit-Rent was twelve Pounds for every hundred Acres. This was cheap enough, but I think the Renters were not so well used, for they were to pay so much an Acre yearly. Thus these twenty thousand Acres which he sold the Company, would, if rented, have brought him one thousand Pounds a Year. Since that Time the Value of Land is so much risen, that I have been credibly informed it has sold for twenty Years Purchase, at several Miles distant from *Philadelphia*; and that near it has gone at a Pound an Acre, and in some Places at more than a Pound an Acre yearly.

We have mentioned near four thousand Acres to be at this Time parcelled out for Sale, some at sixty Miles distant from *Philadelphia*; but none of these Parcels will fetch a tenth Part of such Rates as these. Servants, Men and Women, were to have fifty Acres when their Times were out, and Owners of Land fifty Acres a Head for such Servants, Men or Women. In the Year 1681 Mr. *Penn* went himself to *Pensylvania*, and carried with him, and there went after him, two thousand Souls; a prodigious Augmentation in less than a Year! And he might with Reason say as he did, it was made at once a Country. As soon as he arrived he took the Government into his own Hands, and entred upon Treaties with the *Indian* Kings, for purchasing his Patent-Lands, and others, as is before hinted. One may assure one's self he gave but little for them, and if the *French* and *Spaniards* scorned to pay such a Compliment to natural Right, and chose rather to seize the Lands of the *Indian* Natives by Violence, it was what might have been expected from the Religion and Tyranny of the Countries from whence they came. Twenty Miles of Territory were thus bought of the *Indians* for less than an Acre of the best Ground about *Philadelphia* would be valued at now. But the *Indians*, in a little Time, observing what Profit the *English* made of the Land they sold them, and that by the coming over of such Numbers every Year, it would be more and more wanted, they raised the Price ten times as much as as it was at first, and yet it was unconscionably cheap, and for a long Time purchased by the Mile, and not by the Acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it, they had not Hands enough to cultivate a hundredth Part; and if they could have raised such a Product there was no body to buy it. The Purchase was all clear Gains to them; and

and by the coming of the *English*, the peltry Trade became so profitable, that they were soon in a Condition to better their Manner of housing, cloathing, and living, as they did very much, and are now in these Articles as well accommodated as the *European* Peasantry, in many Places.

When the Province began to be planted, almost to the Mouth of *de la War*, it was laid out into the before-mentioned Counties, in order to chuse Representatives, and establish Courts for the Distribution of Justice. The original Draught of the Constitution for this Province was made by that great Lawyer Sir *William Jones*, and by it the Governor and People have a legislative Power. Sir *William Jones* had too much Understanding, Virtue, and Honour, to throw the People out of the Question, when their Religion, their Liberty, their Well-being in this World and the next, were so nearly concerned in it. No Law can be here made, nor Money raised, but by Consent of the Inhabitants. The Rights and Freedom of *England* were to be in force. They were to make no Law against Allegiance, and then they might enact what Laws they pleased for the Prosperity and Security of the Province. Mr. *Penn* held two General Assemblies while he was in the Country, and with such Unanimity and Dispatch, that tho' they made Laws by Scores, no less than Seventy, yet they had done their Business in three Weeks time. They presented the Proprietary with an Impost on certain Goods, but he remitted it; which was artful enough, to have a Thing given on purpose to give it away again to those that gave it. He established Courts of Justice in every County, with proper Officers, to prevent Law-suits and Contentions. Among these passive People there are also three Peace-makers, chosen by every County Court, in the Nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end Differences between Man and Man. Every Spring and Fall there is an Orphans Court in each County, to inspect and regulate the Affairs of Widows and Orphans.

Mr. *Penn* was visited by the Kings, and Queens, and great Men among the *Indians*, of whom the greatest did not think himself too good to go on the Proprietaries Errands, if he had thought fit to send him. Both the *Dutch* and the *Swedes*, within this Jurisdiction, were very well pleased with his coming, and his Conduct; and there were, at that Time, almost as many *Swedes* and *Dutch* in *Pensylvania* as *English*. Mr. *Penn* staid here above two Years, till he had settled Things to his own and the People's Liking; he then returned to *England*, to forward the Affairs of the Propriety there, as he had done here: He was generous and free of his Thoughts and Expressions, which were not always sufficiently guarded; and after the Revolution he became suspected, from his Credit with King *James*. That we may form some Idea of the Manner in which this truly great Man acted in this Part of the World, and established his Government upon the solid Basis of a perfect Agreement with the Natives, let us hear what he himself says upon this Subject: Mr. *Penn*, in a Letter to his Friends in *England*, on the Situation of his Affairs at that Time, relates, That he had attended the *Indian* Kings and their Councils in several Treaties, for the Purchase of their Lands, and for adjusting the Terms of Trade between them. And that their Order was thus: "Their King (says Mr. *Penn*) was seated in the Middle of an half Moon, or Semi-circle; his Council, the Old and Wise, sitting on each Hand; behind them, at a little Distance, sat the young Men, in the same Figure: Having resolved their Business, the King commanded one of them to speak to me. He stood up, and came to me, and in the King's Name saluted me; taking me by the Hand, and telling me; he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say was the King's Mind. He first prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me in a former Meeting: He feared there might be some Fault in the Interpreter, being neither *Indian* or *English*; besides, it was the *Indian* Custom to deliberate before they

"resolved; and that if the younger People, and Owners of the Land, had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much Delay." Having thus introduced his Matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to dispose of, and the Price. During the Time this Person spoke, not a Man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old were grave, the Young reverend in their Deportment; when they spoke, which was but seldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never seen more natural Sagacity, considering them without the Help of Tradition; and he will deserve the Name of Wise that is too hard for them in any Treaty about a Thing they understand. When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises passed between us, of Kindness and good Neighbourhood; and that the *Indians* and *English* must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light. After which another made a Speech to the *Indians*, in the Name of all the Sachems, or Kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay there before, and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any Wrong. At every Sentence of which they shouted, and said *Amen*, in their way.

This Conduct of his had so good an Effect upon the *Indians*, that they had him always in the highest Veneration, as they still have to his Memory, of which the Reader will find an exemplary Proof in the following Speech, made to Sir *William Keith*, Governor of this Country in 1722; only it may not be amiss to observe, that *Onas* signifies, in the *Indian* Language, a *Pen*; and therefore this is the Name the *Indians* have given to our Proprietor and all his Successors, or Representatives.

"Brother *Onas*, You told us how *William Penn*, that good Man, did, on the first Settlement of the Province of *Pensylvania*, make Leagues of Friendship with the *Indians*, and treated them like Brethren; and that, like the same good Man, he left it in Charge to all his Governors who should succeed him, and to all the People in *Pensylvania*, that they should always keep the Covenant and Treaties he had made with the five Nations, and treat them with Love and Kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors and People have always kept the same honestly and truly to this Day. So we, on our Part, always have kept, and for ever shall keep Peace and Friendship with a good Heart, to all the People of *Pensylvania*. We thankfully receive and approve of all the Articles in your Proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and full of Love: We receive and approve of the same with our whole Hearts; because we are not only made one People by the Covenant Chain, but are also People united in one Head, one Body, and one Heart, by the strongest Ties of Love and Friendship.

"Brother *Onas*, you desire there may be a perpetual Friendship between you and the five Nations, and between your Children and our Children; and that the same may be kept as long as the Mountains and Rivers endure. All which we like well, and on our Parts desire, that the Covenant and Union made with a true and clean Heart between you and us, may last as long as the Sun and Moon shall continue to give light. And we will deliver this in charge to our Children, that it may be kept in Remembrance with their Children and Childrens Children to the last Ages: And we desire that the Peace and Tranquility that is now established between us may be as clear as the Sun shining in its Lustre without any Cloud or Darkness, and that the same may continue for ever.

"Brother *Onas*, We have well considered all you have spoken, and like it well; because it is only the renewing former Leagues and Treaties, made between the Government of *Pensylvania*, and us of the five Nations, which we always believed we were obliged to keep. And as to the Accident of one of our
 "Friends

“ Friends being killed by some of your People, which
 “ has happened by Misfortune, and against our Will;
 “ we say, that as we are all in Peace, we think it
 “ hard that the Persons who killed our Friend and Bro-
 “ ther should suffer; and we do in the Name of all the
 “ five Nations forgive the Offence, and desire you will
 “ likewise forgive it; and that the Men who did it may
 “ be released from Prison, and set at Liberty to go whi-
 “ ther they please; and we shall esteem that as a Mark
 “ of Regard and Friendship for the five Nations, and as
 “ a farther Confirmation of this Treaty.” Upon these
 Principles, which are more likely to be observed in this
 than in most of our Colonies, the Friendship of the *Indians*
 may be preserved as long as they remain a People; which
 shews how possible it might have been to have maintained
 a like Correspondence with them in other Places, which
 would not only have saved a great deal of Blood-shed,
 and have contributed to the quick Growth of the Colonies
 settled in the Countries, inhabited by such *Indians*, but
 would have been very useful in many other Respects:
 Since it is allowed where the *Indians* are treated as in
Pennsylvania, with strict Justice and Humanity, they are
 as firm Allies as any in the World; and in that Quality
 more capable of doing Service, than if reduced to be either
 Slaves or Subjects; because living as they do, they preserve
 their Strength and Activity, and enjoy all the Liberty
 they can desire; and are very willing to fight for those
 under whose Protection they enjoy it.

13. We will now proceed to a more particular Description
 of this famous Settlement, having before given an Account
 of the Situation of the Country in general, and of its Division
 into Counties. The chief Rivers in *Pennsylvania* are, the
River de la War, which rising far North in the Country of
 the *Iroquois*, takes its Course to the Southward, and dividing
 this Province from that of *New Jerseys*, falls into the
Atlantic Ocean, between the *Promontories* of *Cape May*, and
Cape Hanlope, being navigable for two hundred Miles and
 upwards with large Vessels; but has a Cataract or steep
 Fall in it above *Bristol*, which renders the Navigation
 impracticable to the Northward of the County of *Bucks*.
 The second River in this Province, is that of *Susquabanaugh*,
 which, rising likewise in the Country of the *Iroquois*, runs
 South through the Middle of *Pennsylvania*, and falls into
 the Bay of *Chesapeake*, being navigable for large Ships.
 The third River is *Schoolkill*, which having its Source in
 the Country of the *Iroquois*, runs South almost parallel to
 the *Rivers de la War* and *Susquabanaugh*, and at Length
 turning to the Eastward, falls into *de la War*, at the City
 of *Philadelphia*. This River is also navigable for large
 Ships as far as the City of *Philadelphia*, and for Boats
 above an hundred Miles higher. These Rivers, and the
 numerous Bays and Creeks in the Bay of *de la War*, capable
 of containing the largest Fleets, render this Country
 admirably situated to carry on a foreign Trade.

In the County of *Buckingham*, the most northerly of
 any in this Province, the chief Town is *Bristol*, situated
 on the *River de la War*, opposite to *Burlington* in *New
 Jersey*, and twenty Miles North of the City of *Philadelphia*.
 In this County also lies the Mannor House of *Pennsbury*,
 elegantly built by Mr. Penn, the first Proprietor, and
 situate on an Eminence which commands the Country,
 being almost surrounded by the *River de la War*. The
 Country of *Philadelphia* lies South of that of *Bucks*, and
 in it is the celebrated City of *Philadelphia*, the Capital
 of the Province, situated in 40 Degrees 30 Minutes
 North Latitude, being one of the finest Plans of a Town
 that was ever formed. It is an Oblong of two Miles,
 extending from the *River de la War* to the *River Schoolkill*,
 the East end fronting the *River de la War*, and the West
 the *River Schoolkill*, each Front being a Mile in Length.
 Every Owner of one thousand Acres has his House in
 one of the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, or in the high
 Street, running from the Middle of one Front to the
 Middle of the other; and every Owner of five thousand
 Acres, has an Acre of Ground in the Front of his House,
 and the rest half an Acre for Gardens and Court Yards.
 In the Centre of the Town is a Square of ten Acres,
 surrounded by the Town House, and

other public Buildings, and each Quarter of the City is
 a Square of eight Acres. The high Street, which runs
 the whole Length of the Town, is an hundred Feet wide,
 parallel to which run eight Streets, which are crossed by
 twenty more at right Angles, all of them thirty Feet
 wide, and several Canals are let into the Town from each
 River, which add to the Beauty and Conveniency of the
 Place. There is also a fine Quay two hundred Feet Square,
 to which Ships of four or five hundred Ton may come
 up, with wet and dry Docks for building and repairing
 of Ships; Magazines, Warehouses, and all manner of
 Conveniences for importing and exporting of Merchandise;
 there are already fourteen or fifteen hundred Houses in
 the City, most of them well built with Brick, but are
 still a great many more wanting to compleat the Plan:
 However, more could not have been expected than has
 been done in so short a Time, the Ground not having
 been laid out much above fifty Years.

The Town of *Oxford* is situated likewise in the County
 of *Philadelphia*, where a Missionary is maintained by the
 Society, for propagation of the Gospel. *Germain Town*,
 situated to the Northward of the City of *Philadelphia*,
 also is said to be a thriving populous Place, inhabited
 chiefly by the *Dutch*, or those of *Dutch* Extraction. In
 this County is the City of *Radnor*, situated on the South-
 west-side of *Schoolkill River*, being the Capital of a large
 Country, planted by the *Welch*, and extremely well im-
 proved by them. To the South of the County of *Philadelphia*
 lies that of *Chester*, the Capital whereof is the Town
 of *Chester*, situate on the *River de la War*, which is about
 three hundred Miles broad at this Place; and to the South-
 ward of *Chester* lies the Town of *Chichester*; either of
 those Ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the
 largest Fleets, secure from Storms; the County of *Newcastle*
 lies South to that of *Chester*, the capital Town being
 of the same Name. This is said to be a Town of the
 brisk Trade in the Province, next to that of *Philadelphia*,
 and has an Iron Mine in the Neighbourhood of it. The
 Town of *Apoquinemink* lies upon the *River de la War*,
 South of *Newcastle*, and is a Place of good Trade. The
 County of *Kent* lies South of that of *Newcastle*, the
 chief Town whereof is *Dover*, being a commodious Port.
 The most Southern County is that of *Suffex*, the capital
 Town whereof is *Lewes*, being a secure Harbour and a
 Town of Trade.

The Air here is sweet and clear; the Fall begins about
 the 20th of *October*, and lasts to the Beginning of *December*;
 frosty Weather, and cold Seasons are frequent; but as
 in most Countries where are such Seasons the Air is dry
 and hungry; the *River de la War* is sometimes frozen
 over, notwithstanding its Breadth. The Spring lasts from
March to *June*, but the Weather then is more inconstant
 than in the other Seasons, which it generally is in other
 Countries. The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer
 Months, *July*, *August*, and *September*, but alleviated by
 cold Breezes, which make them very tolerable. The Wind
 is South-west during the Summer, but generally North-
 westerly, Spring, Fall, and Winter; which blowing from
 the frosty and snowy Mountains, and Lakes of the *Terra
 Canadensis*, is, doubtless, a main Reason of the excessive
 Cold here in Winter. The Soil in this Tract of Land is
 in some Places a yellow and black Sand, and in others
 a loomy Gravel, in others a fat Earth, like the Vales in
England; especially by inland Brooks and Rivers, where
 the Lands in this Country are mostly three to one richer
 than those that lie by navigable Rivers. There is also
 found a black hazle Mould, on a stony Bottom. The
 Earth is fruitful, fat, and easy to be cleared, because
 the Roots of the Trees lie almost on the Surface of the
 Ground. Some Allowance must be made for Mr. Penn's
 Property in the tempting Description he gives us of the
 Country. We have said enough of the Rivers and Creeks
 in it, and shewn how commodious they are for Navigation
 and Communication; but among other Waters, Mr. Penn
 mentions mineral Waters: These Springs are about two
 Miles from *Philadelphia*, at a happy Distance from
 Water-drinkers, but the Number of them is, since that,
 lessened extremely, and we need not insist on their Virtue.

Here are Trees of almost all Sorts, Oak, red, white,
 and

and black Ash, Beech, *Spanish* Chestnuts, Cedar, Wall-nut, Cypress, and Swamp; the most durable of all are Poplar, Gumwood, Hickory, Sassafras; and as for Shrubs, Snakeroot, Sarsaparilla, Salop, Spruce, and Cranberries; Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Beans, Water Melons, Muskmelons, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Apricots, Carrots, Turnips, Parsnips, Onions, Cucumbers, Quinces, &c. are in great Plenty here; as also *Indian* Corn, Hemp, Flax, &c. It is common for one Bushel of Corn sown here to yield forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty Bushels. One Mr. *Edward Jones* had for one Grain of *English* Barley seventy Stalks and Ears of that Corn, in his Plantation on the *Schoolkill*. Of living Creatures there are for Food and Trade, Deer, the Elk as big as a small Ox, Rabbits, Raccoons, Beaver; plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep; of the latter, it is common for Farmers to have four or five hundred in a Flock. Horses, some very good, and handsome enough. Of Fowl here are very fine Bustards forty or fifty Pounds Weight, Pheasants, Heath Birds, Pigeons, Partridges, Clouds of Blackbirds, Swans, Geese, Brantides, Ducks, Teal, and Snipe. The Fish here are Sturgeons, Herring, Eels, Smelts, and Perch; the latter caught in abundance in *de la War Bay*; and in the River above the Freshes, Oysters, Crabs, Cockles, and Muscles. There are also Rock, Shat, Cathead, Sheephead, and other Fish, not worth our particular Regard.

We need not wonder, that in a Country so fruitful and so pleasant, and where there was so clear a Prospect of living happily, with moderate Industry, People should resort in such Numbers. At first, without doubt, Religion was a strong Motive, and the Quakers willingly followed Mr. *Penn*, from a Country where they were persecuted, to a Land of Plenty and Peace. But, in Time, and indeed in a little Time, this Argument ceased, and People resorted thither as they did to the other Colonies, upon the ordinary Motives of Gain and Trade; we may, however, venture to assert that Mr. *Penn's* original Contract, for so the first Constitution drawn by him was stiled, had a very great Influence in procuring Inhabitants, since it must be allowed there never was a more beneficent Scheme of Government devised by the Wit of Man.

By degrees, however, this also has been somewhat altered, not by the Proprietor or those acting under his Authority, but at the Desire and on the Request of the People, with respect to whom it may possibly be true, that such Alterations, in process of Time, might become necessary. The Spirit, however, of Mr. *Penn's* Institution is still preserved, and the People here are as free, and as well, and as cheaply governed, as in any part of the known World. A very strong Proof of this may be drawn from the greatest Error in Government that was ever committed there, which was laying a Tax of Five Shillings a Head upon all new Comers; which shews, that they were once in some Apprehension of being over-stocked; but this Law was very soon repealed, as it ought to be. At present it would be a very difficult Thing to pretend to compute the Number of People in this flourishing Colony, but we may form some Notion of it from the following Instance, which is very certain, *viz.* that the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia* in 1740 were full fifteen thousand.

14. As to the Commerce of *Pennsylvania* with respect to *Europe* and *America*, the Case, according to the best Accounts we have, stands thus: Their Merchandize consists of Horses, Pipe-Staves, Pork, Beef, and Fish, salted and barrelled up, Skins and Furs; all Sorts of Grain, *viz.* Wheat, Rye, Peas, Oats, Barley, Buck-Wheat, *Indian* Corn, *Indian* Peas and Beans, Pot-ashes, Wax, &c. and in return for these, they import from the *Caribbee Islands* and other Places, Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine; and from *Great Britain* Household-Goods and Cloathing of all Kinds, Hard-Ware, Tools, and Toys. They have also some Rice, but no great Quantities, and a little Tobacco of the worst Sort. Their Trade with the *Indians* consists but in a few Articles; they receive of the Natives chiefly Skins and Furs of their wild Beasts, for which they give them Clothing, Arms, Ammunition, Rum,

and other Spirits in return. This, as well as other Northern Colonies, has also a clandestine Trade with the *Spaniards* upon the Coast of *Terra Firma*, &c. furnishing them with *European* Goods and Merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they also trade to the Bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy* for Logwood, by Connivance, as the *Spaniards* say; but the Subjects of *Great Britain* insist that they have a Right to that Trade, and as we have already shewn, they do not insist upon this, without just Grounds, in the Opinion of those who are the best and properest Judges of that Matter. But after all, it must be admitted, that *Pennsylvania* has no staple Commodity, which, however, is not justly chargeable upon the Inhabitants of this Colony; who, notwithstanding this, have never set up any Manufactures of their own.

But the Point to be enquired into is, Whether they might not have such a staple Commodity if they went about it themselves industriously, and received from hence proper Encouragement? It is a Point out of dispute, that no Country in the World is more proper than *Pennsylvania* for producing Hemp and Flax; and with respect to these, we ought seriously to consider, that there is nothing plainer than that Hemp and Flax are so useful in Navigation and Trade that we cannot do without them; the first for Cordage of all Sorts, the latter for making Sail-Cloth, as well as for the Linen Manufactures carried on in this Kingdom. The Necessity we are under for these Commodities ought to put us upon all imaginable Care how to provide them, that we may not fall under the same Necessity for them that we did in the Year 1703 for Pitch and Tar, when the Government of *Sweden* absolutely refused to let us have them for our Ready-Money, otherwise than in their Shipping, from their Tar Company here, at their own Price, and only in such Quantities as they thought fit. Upon that Disappointment, the Government, by allowing a considerable Encouragement for carrying on the Manufactures of Pitch and Tar, had sufficient Quantities from our own Plantations; and it is greatly to be wished the like Encouragement was given for raising Hemp and Flax; and as all Sorts of Naval Stores may be raised with so many Advantages to this Kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependent, and at an Uncertainty for them. It is very well known, that our Land is too dear for Hemp and Flax, and what does grow here (though it is tough, and makes strong Linen) neither dresses so kindly, nor whitens so well as that which grows in hotter Climates. In *Russia* the best Hemp and Flax grow in the southermost Parts of the Empire, where the Summer is hot and the Air clear, and yet the Flax is not accounted so good as that which grows in *Egypt* or *Italy*. *Egypt* has always been esteemed for its Linen, and even now supplies *Leghorn* with large Quantities, and the Coast of *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, *Smyrna*, *Constantinople*, and other great Cities, have a Supply of Hemp and Flax from thence.

All our Colonies (which run twelve or fourteen hundred Miles in length, all the way bordering upon the Sea) have very hot Summers, the southermost Parts of them lie near the same Latitude with *Egypt*, and the North Part much about the same with *Ancona* or *Bologna* in *Italy*, where Hemp and Flax grow; therefore, we have the greatest Prospect to receive mighty Supplies of Hemp and Flax from them. Part of the Land in the Colonies are very rich, and of so small Value, there will be Opportunity of breaking up fresh as often as there is Occasion to change the Ground, which if laid down will recover itself again without the Charge of Manuring, as we do here, to the very great Damage of our Ploughing Lands. Nothing impoverishes Land more than Hemp and Flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do so well, for the Land ought to be changed after three or four Crops, and generally the finest and fattest Pieces are converted to that Use. Those great Conveniencies of having Land so very cheap, and so fine a Climate, which we know produces excellent Hemp and Flax, so commodiously situated along the Sea Coasts, with such Numbers of large Rivers running up the Country to the most inland Settlements, where Provisions may be raised

at so small a Charge, and where Work may be done by the Labour of Slaves, almost as cheap as in *India*, gives Ground to hope, that we may manufacture Linen here cheaper than any Part of *Europe* can import them upon us, and the Colonies be as profitable to us, by raising rough Materials to carry on the Linen Manufacture, as the *Sussex* and other Downs are, for supplying Wool for that Manufacture, the Profits of which we have valued ourselves so much upon, that we have set the rest of *Europe* upon being our Competitors therein.

Now as the Woollen Manufacture, especially the coarse Part, has spread itself of late into several Parts of the Kingdom, which has exceeded the Demand, and caused great Stocks to remain on Hand, if those rough Materials of Hemp and Flax were prepared in our Plantations, the People in *North Britain*, &c. would soon find the Advantage of falling upon that Manufacture; the laborious and coarse Part being performed abroad, the rest would invite not only the Poor and Neccessitous, but People of better Circumstances to employ their Time in it. If these Propositions are sufficiently considered, and heartily put in Practice, we may hope that by providing the aforesaid rough Materials, we shall have the delightful Prospect of seeing Trade flourish; for as the Silk and Linen Manufactures, where brought to Perfection, are altogether as profitable to those Nations as the Woollen is to us; and as we increase in our Linen Manufactures, those of *Silesia* and all the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria*, whence we take such Quantities, must abate of course; their People also will resort to us, and help to carry them on; for it has always been observed, where new Manufactures are set up, the Manufacturers will likewise remove. This was the Case with the *Flemings* when Queen *Elizabeth* gave such great Encouragement to have the Woollen Manufacture remove hither; and ours, when we had that Inundation of *China* and *India* wrought Silks, our Weavers went to *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, &c. so that several Streets in *Spittlefields* were almost desolate; but when these Silks were prohibited, the Manufacturers returned again.

It is supposed the *Russians* exported to *England*, and all other Parts, in Hemp and Flax, above the Value of a Million a Year. If Hemp and Flax be so valuable a Product for Merchandize with them, there seems to be a much greater Prospect of its being so to our selves, by raising them in our Plantations, because they will not be subject to any Land-Carriage, but shipped immediately from the Place of Growth; because Land is much cheaper in our Plantations than in the South Parts of *Russia*. The Climate, being equal with that in *Egypt* and *Italy*, is supposed to produce Hemp and Flax preferable to theirs. We have before shewn, that in the Cases of Sugar and Tobacco, every white Man employs four at home, that is to say, finds them Work to supply him with Utensils requisite for his. If Sugar and Tobacco employ such a Number of Hands, at home, certainly every Person employed in the Plantations, in raising and dressing Hemp and Flax, must by his Labour there, return more than twice the Advantage that can be produced by Sugar and Tobacco, for they are manufactured in the Plantations: The refining the Sugar and cutting the Tobacco, with the little Quantity that is rolled excepted. Whereas Flax and Hemp are Materials for employing all idle Hands; and of Consequence the Poors Rate will soon be abated, and the Nation will find in a little time what they save yearly thereby, will be more than sufficient to encourage the People to begin that Employment. And if once we come to be employed with Hemp and Flax by the aforesaid Methods, every Place will be filled with Flax-dressers, and the Overseers of the Poor of every Parish where the Wool-spinning Trade is not carried on, may very easily come at Hemp and Flax, which they will find as profitable to them, as the Woollen is to the other; and the more distant the Employment is, the better; for many Inconveniences have attended one Manufacture interfering with another; besides, there will be an Intercourse of Trade created, by one Part of the Kingdom supplying the other with their distinct Manufactures. This will give full Employment to the whole Kingdom, and an universal Chearfulness to every body: For the Poor are

never happier, nor their Minds easier, than when they have full Employment; and when they are employed, Riches is diffused throughout the whole Nation.

It is a common Opinion, that we have above a Million of People in the three Nations destitute of Work; but if those rough Materials (so often mentioned in this Discourse) should come to be raised in our Plantations, there need not be one idle Person: Now, suppose one Million of People were put upon manufacturing those rough Materials, and each Person earned but one Penny a Day, and allowing but three hundred Working-days in the Year, it would amount to one Million two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds: A prodigious Advantage to the Nation, which is still greatly heightened by considering that these People would be then employed, at least in part, and so far as they were employed, would be the better Subjects. That all this might be brought about with less Trouble than has been given the Nation by one *Baltick* or *Mediterranean* Expedition, and at the tenth Part of the Expence of a Campaign in *Flanders*, is a thing will be acknowledged by all who are capable of judging of this Subject; and therefore that it ought to be done, is a Point that cannot be disputed. I would not mislead my Reader by the Comparison, into a bad Opinion of such Expeditions or Campaigns; that is not my Business, or my Intention; the Justice of my Comparison turns upon this, that the Motives to such Expeditions and Campaigns are, comparatively speaking, near and at hand; whereas we are less acquainted, or at least less affected by the Connection between our Interests and those of the Plantations; though, from what has been said, I think it will plainly appear, that they concern us as much, and as nearly; as any Interests can do without the Limits of our own Island.

15. But it is now time to bring this Section to a Close, and after having given the Reader, from the best Authorities I could find, as clear an Account as I was capable of giving of these noble Settlements, I come next to add a few general Remarks, not upon this or that Plantation, but upon the whole Body of our *American* Settlements taken together. We have shewn how the Out-lines were drawn, so early as in the Reigns of King *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* We have taken notice of the Schemes and Preparations that were made for settling the Countries we had a Title to in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. We have given an Account how far these were carried into execution in the succeeding Reigns. And in this Section, we have plainly exhibited the Manner in which this last Plan was fully accomplished. By this Means the Reader sees, that the Discoveries of the *Cabots*, though treated by some unskilful Writers as trifling Things, and Matters of no great Moment, were in Reality the Grounds of our Pretensions, now converted into the actual Possession of that vast Tract of Country from the Northern Coast of *Hudson's Streights*, down to the Southern Limits of the new Colony of *Georgia*, or of the old Colony of *Carolina*; for the Limits are the same. As for the Islands, I take the Settlement of them to have been occasioned by the old Rout to *Florida*, which has been so much ridiculed; but which, notwithstanding, seems to have been the true Source of our Acquisitions in the *Leeward Islands*. *Jamaica* is ours by Conquest, and which is another Circumstance worth remembring, became so, in a great measure, by a Force raised in our Plantations. Whether it be our Interest to think of making such Expeditions for the future, I shall not determine; but Care ought surely to be first taken of the Colonies we have; which it never can be till the Importance of our Plantations in general is thoroughly understood, by the Bulk of this Nation. This is the Point I have principally laboured in this Work, and I shall close all I have to say with the Consideration of three Points; which I hope will make the Matter plain to every Understanding.

The first of these Points is, *What the Condition of this Country was before we had any Plantations?* In regard to this, I think I may safely affirm that it was very low and despicable. In the victorious Reign of *Edward the III.* there was a Balance of Trade struck, and delivered into the Exchequer, by which it appeared that the Exports of one

one Year exceeded the Imports by two hundred fifty five thousand two hundred and fourteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and Eight-pence, which for that Time was a great deal. At the Time Queen *Elizabeth* entered upon the Government, the Customs produced thirty-six thousand Pounds a Year; at the Restoration they were let to Farm for four hundred thousand Pounds; and produced considerably above double that Sum before the Revolution. The People of *London*, before we had any Plantations, and but very little Trade, were computed at about one hundred thousand; at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* they were increased to one hundred and fifty thousand, and are now about six times that Number. In those Days we had not only our Naval Stores, but our Ships from our Neighbours. *Germany* furnished us with all things made of Metal, even to Nails; Wine, Paper, Linen, and a thousand other things came from *France*. *Portugal* furnished us with Sugars; all the Produce of *America* was poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoese* retailed to us the Commodities of the *East Indies* at their own Price. In short, the legal Interest of Money was twelve *per Cent.* and the common Price of our Lands ten or twelve Years Purchase. We may add that our Manufactures were few, and those but indifferent; the Number of *English* Merchants very small, and our Shipping much inferior to what now belongs to the Northern Colonies. These are plain and certain Facts: But as soon as we began to extend our Trade, and to make Settlements abroad, the Face of our Affairs changed; the Inhabitants of the City of *London* were doubled by the End of the last Period, and were again doubled before the End of this; our Shipping increased in a still greater Proportion; we coined within twenty Years after that Queen's Death about five Millions at the Tower, in twenty Years after that seven, and in the next twenty Years eight, which are indubitable Proofs that we had gained a prodigious Balance of Trade in our Favour.

The next Point I shall consider is, *What our Condition has been since?* and, with respect to this, I may boldly affirm that it has altered for the better, almost to a Degree beyond Credibility or Computation. Our Manufactures are prodigiously increased, chiefly by the Demand for them in the Plantations, where they at least take off one half, and furnish us with many valuable Commodities for Exportation. Instead of taking the Quantities we were wont to do of Goods from other Nations, we actually export those very Goods, and sometimes to the very same Nations; Sugar, Rum, and Tobacco, are the Sources of private Wealth and public Revenue, which would have been so many Drains, that would have beggared us, had they not been raised in our Plantations. It is no longer in the Power of the *Russians* to make us pay what they please for Flax and Hemp. The *Swedes* cannot compel us to pay their own Price, and that too in ready Money, for Pitch and Tar, nor would it be in their Power to distress us, should they attempt it by raising the Price of Copper and Iron. Logwood is sunk seventy five *per Cent.* Indigo, and other dying Materials, are in our Power, and at moderate Prices. In short, the Advantages are infinite that redound to us from our *American* Empire, where we have, at least, a Million of *British* Subjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand sail of Ships constantly employed. Such have been the Fruits, such is the Condition of our Plantations, and let any Man doubt of the Benefits resulting from them to this Nation if he can; or when he reflects on the Numbers maintained here by their Industry, and even by their Luxury, let him deny or envy their Wealth if it is in his Power.

When our Plantations were in their Infancy, they were some Burthen and Charge to this Nation, and then it was that some wise and public-spirited Persons took upon them to become Advocates for a thing which they foresaw would prove highly useful and advantageous. I have read many of their Discourses with great Pleasure, because I considered them as written with a kind of prophetic Spirit, in which their Authors have exhibited to the Eye of the Ages in which they wrote, a very just Picture of what has passed in succeeding Times; but with this re-

markable Circumstance, that though several of them were Men as remarkable for bold Flights of Imagination, as for Penetration and Judgment, yet in this Case they have not reached the Truth; the present State of the Plantations exceeding vastly all that they promised, or even hoped from them; the Reason of which I conceive to be their framing Conjectures from the State the Nation was then in, and our Trade was at that Time so inconsiderable in Comparison of what it is at present, that I think there is no wonder the Writers who flourished in those Days should fall so much short in their Expectations from our Settlements in *America*. But, perhaps, it may be objected, that though they did not foresee many things that have since fallen out in those Parts of the World, yet it is very evident that they believed many Advantages would arise from those Colonies that have never yet come to pass; which leads me to the third Point I propose to mention in these Remarks.

This third Point is, *The Improvements and additional Benefits that may be still made in, and accrue from, our Plantations.* We ought, in this respect, to consider of what a vast Extent that Country is, which we actually possess in the New World, to which I will be bold to say this Island does not bear a greater Proportion than the County of *Norfolk*, to the whole Kingdom of *England*; whence we may easily conceive what room there is for making new Improvements in such a vast Tract of Country. It is, indeed, true, that some of our Settlements on the Continent, such as *New England*, *New York*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, are already tolerably well peopled; but then *Nova Scotia* is scarce settled, *New Britain* is a vast Country, and capable of being turned to our Advantage; is so far from being settled, that it is scarce known to us; and the same thing may be said of all the Country bordering upon *Hudson's Bay*. As to the Southern Colonies, by which I mean the two *Carolina's* and *Georgia*, they are very thinly peopled, and very little improved, though beyond all Comparison the most valuable Possessions we have in those Parts. In regard to the Islands of *Bermudas* and *Barbadoes*, they are thoroughly peopled, and most of the *Leeward Islands* tolerably inhabited; but then there are several Islands to which we have as clear and as good a Title, as to any of these, that are not settled at all, though from the Nature of their Climate, Soil, and Situation, they are not inferior to any, but on the contrary, superior to most of those of which we are possessed, as will be hereafter shewn. The noble Island of *Jamaica*, which of itself might serve to enrich any Country to which it belonged, is not a third Part cultivated, so that there is every where room for us to exert our Industry, for the Honour and Advantage of the *British* Nation; which as it has already drawn such immense Profits from its Settlements in *America*, so beyond all Question we may still draw much greater, if we proceed with the same Spirit and Vigour that our Ancestors did, having much more Power in our Hands, much fairer Opportunities than they had, besides the Light and Authority of Experience, to guide, encourage, and support us.

In order to this, and that we may actually add these Advantages in prospect to those which we at present possess, the Steps necessary to be taken fall under the two following Heads: The first is, *Improving such of our Colonies as are already well settled*; and the next, *Providing for the thorough Planting such as are at present but very indifferently, or scarce at all, peopled.* It would require a large Treatise to expatiate fully on these Heads, and therefore I shall content myself with only a few Hints as to each of them. In respect to the first, I cannot conceive that any thing would be more advantageous than providing every Colony with some Staple Commodity, which would infallibly produce the following desirable Consequences: It would make the Inhabitants of those Colonies perfectly easy, and at the same Time it would vastly enrich us. As for *Virginia* and *Maryland* they are possessed of the Tobacco Trade, in which, if any Ease, Encouragement, or Advantage can be granted them, they most certainly deserve it: But with respect to *New England*, *Pennsylvania*, *New York*, and the *Jerseys*, Ways and Means

Means might be found to increase their Commerce with *England* directly, by promoting their Inclinations to furnish us with all kinds of Naval Stores, and with Iron. There was, as to Pitch and Tar, a considerable Bounty given, and it is very remarkable for many Years this produced no Effect, which might possibly countenance an Opinion that the Friends to the Plantations were too sanguine in their Notions on this Head; but Experience afterwards shewed the contrary. For the Circumstances of the Public making it necessary to try how far this might be practicable, it very soon appeared that the thing could be easily done; and upon sending over Persons well acquainted with the Methods of making Pitch and Tar, the People in the Colonies soon fell into it, and such Quantities were imported, as not only supplied our Wants, but enabled us also to supply those of our Neighbours; and then upon a Supposition that the Trade was effectually established, the Bounty was discontinued. The Consequence of this was, that the Importation of these Commodities from *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, was revived; for the People of those Countries building large bulky Ships, peculiarly proper for transporting those Commodities, by navigating these Ships cheaper than we can do ours, are thereby able to undersell our Countrymen in the Colonies, by three or four Shilling in a Barrel; so that to keep this Trade there grew a Necessity of granting a new Bounty upon Pitch and Tar from *America*, or laying a new Duty upon what was imported from the North.

We may say the same thing with regard to Iron, of which, at present, we import very near double as much from *Sweden*, as is sold to all the rest of *Europe*, for which we pay mostly in ready Money; and yet no Question can be made of its being very practicable to bring the best Part of the Iron we want from our Plantations, which has been hitherto prevented by Notions so frivolous, that I do not care to mention them. Hemp and Flax have been sufficiently insisted upon already, and to these we may add Pot-ashes; so that the Reader will easily discern that there is no Difficulty at all in the Way of enabling the Northern Colonies to pay us for our Manufactures, and prevent their setting up Manufactures themselves, but our setting heartily about it. The same Thoughts may, in a great Measure, serve for our Southern Colonies, in which Tar may certainly be made as good as any in the World; but then there are other things peculiar to those Colonies, such as the planting Coffee, Tea, Cocoa, Indico, and the Shrub that produces Cochineal; but above all, we ought to think of Silk, for Reasons that shall be given when we come to treat of the Colony of *Georgia*: At present we shall only say that there is this great and extraordinary Conveniency attends the Cultivation of the last mentioned Commodity, that as it is proper for the same Soil and Climate, as Hemp and Flax, so they may be both carried on together; the Silk Harvest, as they call it, being over before Hemp and Flax are ripe.

As to the Sugar Islands, though they have already a Staple Commodity of very great Value, yet this should not hinder us from considering how that Commodity may be still rendered more useful, I mean to the Planters and to us; and how far other things are capable in the same Countries of being improved. It was the Opinion of Sir *Josiah Child* (and I think the Subject well considered it is not easy to produce a better Opinion) that Sugar may be as much made the Commodity of this Nation, as the Gold and Silver of *Peru* and *Mexico* are the peculiar Treasures of *Spain*. The Reasons he gives are very strong, but it is very certain that we have not fallen upon the right Method of bringing his Doctrine into Practice; since instead of exporting one half of the Sugar we bring home, as we formerly did, we do not now export above a sixth, and this not from falling off of the Demand, but because new Markets have been found, at which Foreigners can buy cheaper. To alter this all Heads should be set to work, and all Arts tryed; and till these succeed, it may not be amiss that the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies would try to bring some other Goods to Market.

Thus much for the first Head, now for the second: It has been computed, by some, that there is a Million and a half of white People in our Plantations, which Computation has been judged by others somewhat of the highest; perhaps it may be so, but without all doubt it would be our Interest to have two Millions of white People there; nor do I think that there is any Reason to fear that this would either drain the *British* Dominions, or at all indanger the Dependancy of the Colonies. I am, on the contrary, very firmly persuaded, that the Increase of People in the Colonies, as it would certainly increase our Trade, so it must necessarily increase the Number of our People at home; and that the Methods proper to be taken for the better peopling our Colonies, and improving them, would infallibly render them more dependent.

But to come closely to the Point, and shew how this may be done. Give me Leave to observe, that though the general Proposition that the Number of the People is the Riches of a Country be true, yet it is true only of industrious and useful People; and it is in this Sense, that the Number of the People in *Holland* is quoted as an Example; so that if there be in any Country Numbers of People useless, they are so far from contributing to the Wealth of that Country, that they are in Fact the Causes of its Poverty. Now, it is certain, that though this Nation might become more powerful and more rich, by being more numerous than it is; yet there is not any more probable Method of bringing this about than by employing our useful Hands, which perhaps may be easier done Abroad than at Home. We have vast Numbers of Vagabonds throughout the Kingdom, who many of them live by Pity, but most of them by the Folly of better People than themselves; there cannot therefore be any Cruelty in sending these People where they must work, and consequently maintain themselves and be useful to others. We have many People convicted of small Crimes, and from the Ignominy of the Conviction and Punishment rendered desperate; it would certainly be a great Charity to provide for these. We find Multitudes released from Time to Time out of Prisons by Acts of Grace, which set them at Liberty, 'tis true; but, at the same Time, leaves them at little better more than the Liberty of starving; and who can say, that it would not be highly laudable to find out some Means for giving these People Bread as well as Freedom? I humbly conceive, that if a proper Fund was assigned for sending these People abroad, not like Transports or Negroes, but like unhappy *Englishmen*, with due Provision for their comfortable Maintenance in their Passage, and a proper Reception in the Places they are sent to, this might be found an effectual way of easing our Poor-Rates, stocking our Colonies, and enlarging the Trade of the Nation.

But in doing this, great Consideration is to be us'd, there ought to be nothing in it of Shame, and as little of Force as may be. The Terms ought to be such as may encourage People in Distress to accept them, and the accepting them might be in the Nature of a Superfedeas to all Criminal Prosecutions, not of a Capital Nature. They should be sent Abroad for a Term of Years, or till they could repay a certain Sum of Money to the Corporation intrusted with the Management of this Scheme, and considerable Rewards should be given to such as behaved well, and gained a competent Settlement during the Time limited for their remaining abroad; and if to this certain honorary Preferments were added, it would be so much the better. These are the Outlines only of a great Design, worthy the Attention of the Legislature, who perhaps may think a Tax on public Diversions a reasonable Fund for such a Service, there being nothing more just than that Luxury should contribute to relieve Necessity, and that those who are able to be idle should be made willing to help those that must work.

Such, at least, are my Notions of these Matters, and of the Means by which our Plantations might be improved, and the Advantages we derive from them increased and extended. If what I have said be rational and practicable, or without much Difficulty may be altered in such a Manner as to become so, I hope it will be thought worthy of Consideration; but if otherwise, let

let some Person better versed in these Things, and more capable of treating this Subject arise, and set it in its true Point of Light. For this is the critical Time, the Season when the Friends of Trade and the Plantations should exert themselves before a Peace takes Place, and a new

Scene opens, of which it will be impossible to give our Judgment immediately, and as impossible to think of executing those Schemes then, that are easy as well as practicable now.

SECTION XX.

The History of the BRITISH Colonies in America, from the Revolution to the Death of his late Majesty King George I.

1. *The Artifices of the French, under the Reign of James II. defeated by the Probity of Colonel Dungan, Governor of New York.* 2. *The Indians, by their Instigation, and with their Assistance, attack the People of New England in 1690, and are repulsed with Loss.* 3. *An Account of Sir William Phipps's unfortunate Expedition against Quebec.* 4. *The History of the Indian War continued to its Close, with other remarkable Occurrences.* 5. *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel incorporated by King William III. and the many Advantages flowing from that excellent Establishment.* 6. *The Affairs of the British Colonies, during the Reign of Queen Anne, briefly considered.* 7. *The unfortunate Expedition against Canada, under General Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker.* 8. *The Methods taken by the French for the Benefit of their own Commerce, at the Expence of ours to the Treaty of Utrecht.* 9. *An Account of his Grace the Duke of Montague's Scheme for settling the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.* 10. *The History of the Expedition for that Purpose, under Captain Uring, and his Relation of its Miscarriage.* 11. *Colonel Braithwaite's Report of his being forced to abandon the Settlement of St. Vincent.* 12. *The indubitable Title of the Crown of Great Britain to those Islands asserted, and the Importance of maintaining it demonstrated.* 13. *Remarks and Observations on the most remarkable Passages in the foregoing Section.*

IT is generally agreed, that the very worst Part of King James's Government was the Inclination that he had to French Counsels, and his falling too readily into French Measures, which is the more extraordinary in Matters relating to Commerce; because never any Prince understood them better than King James. It must therefore have been his violent Zeal for promoting the Popish Cause, that induced him to go the Lengths he did, in Favour of France; contrary most certainly to the Interest of this Nation, as he would have seen sooner than any body, if that Zeal of his had not hindered him. But from hence we see the Difference between English and French Popery. Our deluded Prince, though he understood Trade, was inclined to sacrifice it, in some Measure, for the Sake of his Religion; the French King, though of the same Religion, and pretending to be as zealous for it as King James, made use of it as a Colour to promote his own ambitious Designs, and the Trade of his Subjects at our Expence. I know that this is a delicate Subject to handle, and I should not have mentioned it all, but from a just Sense of its Consequence, and a sincere Love for Truth, and the Interest of my Country.

The French, in the Beginning of King James's Reign, finding their Colony of Canada in the utmost Danger from the Iroquois; a very warlike Indian Nation, jealous of their Liberties, and very capable of defending them by Force of Arms, resolved, since Force had hitherto failed, to try what might be done towards subduing them by the gentler Method of Conversion; in order to which they not only employed a Multitude of artful Jesuits, but contrived likewise, under Pretence of extending the Christian Faith, to engage King James to countenance and assist this Project. In order to this an Irish Gentleman, Colonel Dungan, Son to the Earl of Limerick, was made Governor of New York; and he was directed, by his Master, to permit the French Jesuits to preach to, and convert, the Indians under the Protection of his Government. The Scheme was certainly well laid, and one would wonder how it came not to take effect; which if it had done, must have proved the Ruin of that Colony at least, the Conquest of which had been for a long Time the Object of the French Policy. But this Colonel Dungan, unfortunately for the French, was a Man of very good Sense, and of strict Honour; he obeyed his Master's Commands, though unwillingly, but he kept so strict an Eye upon the French Jesuits, that he very soon saw to the Bottom of their Designs; and, finding them incompatible with the Welfare of the Colony he governed, he obliged them to retire; telling them that they came to promote the

Commerce, rather than the Religion of their Nation; and that if his good Friends the Indians were so much in love with Jesuits, that they could not be without them, he would supply them with those who should make them good Christians and good Englishmen at the same Time.

This greatly provoked the French Governor of Canada, Mr. Denonville, who threatened him with the Displeasure of his own Master, and of the Most Christian King; but this had no Effect upon Colonel Dungan, who would not be either cheated or bullied; and therefore when the French Governor had trapp'd some of the Indian Chiefs, and sent them over to be made Slaves in the French Gallies, by the most notorious Breach of Faith that ever Man was guilty of; the Colonel assisted them in the War occasioned thereby, which brought the French Colony within a Hair's Breadth of Ruin. This Story, which is very remarkable, we have from French as well as English Authors, and which is no less extraordinary, they agree in every Circumstance of it. Only the former are so partial, as to treat the Colonel's Character very ill, because he would not sacrifice the Interest of his Country, his own Honour, and Conscience to their Views. After the Revolution, when he was become Earl of Limerick, King William, who was very well informed of his Proceedings, procured an Offer to be made him of a very considerable Command in the Spanish Service, but he declined it; and though he liked not the Measures, chose to follow the Fortunes, of his Master King James.

The French, by the same kind of Artifices had very near dispossessed the Hudson's Bay Company of that Country entirely; and, as soon as the War broke out, they actually did so, as we have already shewn. They also made a bold Attempt upon the Colony of New York, with the Assistance of the Indians in their Interests, but were repulsed; and Colonel Peter Schuyler, with three hundred English, and the same Number of Iroquois, bravely marched from Fort Albany to Quebec, which is four hundred Miles; and finding the French Governor with seven hundred regular Troops, and as many Hurons, an Indian Nation always at their Devotion in the Field, they boldly attacked them, and killed three hundred Men, and thirty Officers, with very little Loss to themselves; but having no Artillery, and the French retreating into their Forts, the Colonel made a very honourable Retreat, satisfied with the Blow he had struck, and securing his own Country from any farther Depredations. But it was not only on this Side that the French attacked our Colonies at that Time, on the contrary they had framed a Design of greater Consequence against the People

ple of *New England*, of which, as it is a Matter of great Importance, we will give as full and clear an Account of it as we can; for tho' their Intrigues began somewhat earlier than the Period assigned for this Section, yet as our Expedition was not made till after the Revolution, it comes in very properly here.

2. The *French*, in a Time of full Peace, and when, as we have observed, they were soliciting and obtaining Favours from King *James*, excited the *Indians* on the Frontiers of *New England*, to surprise several Out-settlements, where they committed several great Barbarities: Of this Complaints were made to the *French* Governor at *Quebec*, who gave very good Words, pretending that he knew nothing of what had happened; but promised to interpose, and check the Designs of the *Indians* as far as was in his Power, which Promise was very indifferently performed. The *English* thereupon tried what fair Means, and a peaceable Negotiation with the *Indians* would do; in this likewise they were deceived and amused, while their Enemies still persisted in their Depredations, though they continued to treat, and pretended that all Disputes should be amicably settled, well knowing that the Colony would take any Measures rather than engage in an *Indian* War. During these Transactions, the *French* and *Indians* entered into farther Engagements against the *English*, who did what they could with Honour and Justice, to bring Matters to a peaceable Issue, which was rendered very difficult by the Intrigues of the *French*, who upon King *James's* withdrawing to *France*, represented the *English* Nation as in a rebellious and perilous Condition, which was sufficient Encouragement for the *Indians* to continue the War, having the Promise of powerful Assistance from *Quebec*.

They surprised the Garrison of *Quacbecho*, by the Treachery of *Mesandonit*, a Sachem, whom Major *Waldern*, who commanded there, had generously entertained the Night before; and that Traitor lying in his House, opened the Gates in the Morning to a Party of Savages, that lay in Ambush not far off, and rushing in killed the Major and twenty-two Men, burnt four or five of the best Houses, and carried away twenty-nine Persons into Captivity, killing Mr. *Broughton* in their Retreat. The Government ordered Capt. *Noyes*, with a strong Party, to march to *Penocook*, and clear the Country of the Savages; but they cleared it themselves by running away as soon as they heard News of his coming. Captain *Noyes* pursued them, cut down all their Corn, burnt their Wigwams, and laid every thing waste. A Party from *Saco* was surrounded by a great Body of *Indians*, and escaped with Difficulty, having lost six of their Number; they afterwards mastered *Pemmaquid* Fort, by Help of Intelligence given them by one Mr. *Starkey*, who falling into their Hands thought to get out of them by that Service, and told of the weak Condition the Fort was in by the Absence of Mr. *Giles*, and Part of the Garrison; upon whom they fell at *Giles's* Farm, and killed him and fourteen Men. They then got upon a Rock, when they miserably galled the *English*, and obliged the Governor, Capt. *Weems*, to surrender on Promise of Life and Liberty. But the Savages broke the Capitulation, and butchered the greatest Part of them, as also Capt. *Skinner* and Capt. *Farnham*, who were coming to the Relief of the Garrison, and Mr. *Pedishall*, as he lay in his Sloop in the *Barbran*. These Losses caused the Inhabitants of *Sheepscot* and *Kennebeck* to abandon those Places, and return to *Falmouth*.

It was time for the Government of *New England* to look about them, and think of opposing vigorously those Murders and Depredations of the *Indians*: They sent Major *Swayne* with five hundred Men from *Massachusetts*, and Major *Church*, one of their best Officers, from *Plymouth*, with five hundred more, against the Enemy in the East, where they had intercepted Lieut. *Hutchin*, who had drawn off a Garrison he had in those Parts, to set them to work in the Field. The Savages coming unexpectedly upon them cut them to pieces being seventeen in Number, and then came to the Fort, where were only two Boys, and some Women and Children; the Boys defended it against them, wounded several; and when they found that the *Barbarians* were about to set fire to the House

that was in the Fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield but on Terms of Life; which these inhuman Wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the Children, with one of the Boys; the other made his Escape. Capt. *Garner* pursued the Enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another Party of them assaulted *Cano*, killed Capt. *Brooks*, and had put the whole Town to the Sword, had not Capt. *Hall* come opportunely with Relief. The Designs of Major *Swayne* and Major *Church* were frustrated by the Treachery of some *Indian* Confederates, who being sent out as Scouts, discovered all that they knew to the Enemy; who understanding the Number of the *English* fled to their inaccessible Woods and Swamps: So Major *Swayne*, having garrisoned *Blew Point*, retired to Winter-Quarters. I enter not into the Particulars of the barbarous Treatment the *English* Captives met with from the Savages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their Rage and Cruelty, and there was no likelihood of their learning Humanity towards the *English*, by Lessons from their new Allies the *French*, who were very active in instructing and disciplining them for the better Management of the War.

It is plain they had improved in it, both in Arms and in Action, and had continual Assistance from *Quebec*, without which the *English* would soon have chastised them for their Insolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the *French* some Returns for the many Mischiefs the *English* had suffered by their Means, it was resolved in *New England* to carry the War home to them. In pursuance of this Resolution Sir *William Phipps*, who commanded the Fleet and Forces, sailed from *New England* the 28th of *April*, 1690, and on the 11th of *May* following arrived before *Port Royal*. The *French* had then a very flourishing Colony in *Acadia*, or, as we call it, *New Scotland*, consisting of no less than six thousand People, who got a Living at least by their Trade in Lumber, Fish, and Skins; but for all that the Place was so miserably provided for Defence, the Town being covered only by a slight Pallisade, and a little Fort of no Force, that it was very soon reduced; and Sir *William Phipps* had the Honour of recovering this Country to the Crown of *Britain*. The People in *Nova Scotia* had Leave by the Capitulation, either to retire to *Canada*, or remain in the Country; and about two thousand chose the latter: So that Sir *William* not only acquired a Country, but a People; yet we did not keep the Possession of either, for any Length of Time. To revenge these Losses, Monsieur *Artel*, a *French* Officer from *Canada*, and one *Hoophood* a Leader among the *Huron* *Indians*, Confederates with the *French*, with Men of both Nations, assaulted *Salmon Falls*, killed thirty Persons, and carried away fifty into Captivity; which terribly alarmed all *New England*, it being the first time that the *French* had acted openly with the *Barbarians*. And as *Quebec* was thought to be the Source of all their Calamities in this War, it was therefore resolved to attack that Place, which being reduced, the *French* would have no City to rest in, and carry on their ill Designs against their Christian Neighbours.

3. The Success Sir *William Phipps* so lately had, recommended him to the chief Command in this Expedition; but it seems to have been as ill laid and managed as the other was well contrived; for it is certain, he had a Strength with him sufficient to have driven the *French* out of *Canada*, had it been well used: He had thirty-two Sail of Ships, and they had aboard two thousand Men, a prodigious Armament for such a Colony, and sailed from *Hull* near *Boston* the 9th of *August*; but came not within Sight of *Quebec* till the 5th of *October*. Thus they were eight Weeks in a Voyage, that with good Winds and Weather, might have been made in two or three. The *English* were so long making up the River of *St. Laurence*, that the Governor, Count *de Fontenac*, had time enough to prepare for his Defence by drawing all the Strength of the Colony to *Quebec*, which Sir *William* expected would have been divided by an Army marching over Land, and attacking *Mount Royal* Fort on the Frontiers of *Canada*, while he fell upon the Capital.

This Army was to consist of two thousand Men from
New

New York, Connecticut, and Plymouth Colonies, and one thousand five hundred *Indians*, to whom the *French* gave the Name of *Iroquois*; but the *English* distinguished them by the Names of their several Nations. The *English* marched as far as the great Lake of *Canada*; but as there were no Canoes provided for them to pass it, they returned; and it is very strange that there should have been no Provision for their Passage secured, since the Success of the Enterprize so much depended upon it.

When Sir *William* arrived within Sight of the Place, he fancied that the Conquest would have been as easy as that which he had made of *Nova Scotia*, and therefore he drew up a Paper in the Nature of a Summons to surrender, conceived in very rough Terms; for Sir *William* was originally a Carpenter, and afterwards a Sailor; so that he was very blunt and unpolished, though a very honest, and very brave Man: But the *French* Governor, Count *Fontenac*, was so offended at the Style and Subject, that he caused a Gibbet to be set up, and would have hanged the Major that brought the Paper, had it not been for the Bishop's Intercession. He returned, however, a very insolent Answer, calling *Phipps* and his Company *Heretics* and *Traitors*.

On the 8th of *October* the *English* landed, under Lieutenant-General *Whalley*, to the Number of one thousand four hundred, for to these they were reduced by the Small-Pox, and other Diseases; but had their full Complement been preserved, what were two thousand on board the Ships to four thousand within the City; for so many Men *Fontenac* had now with him? Which *Whalley* understanding, he re-embarked his Troops, though they would very fain have attempted one Assault: But their Bravery was ill-timed, considering the Inequality of their Number to that of the Enemy. Some Writers make the Loss of the *English* from the Opposition they met with on Shore, to be six hundred Men; but, I believe, that Opposition is heightened for the Credit of our Nation, that the Troops might not be thought to abandon this Enterprize without looking the Enemy in the Face. The best Accounts given by the *French* Writers of this Matter, do not ascribe the Deliverance of *Quebec* more to the Courage of their own People than to the Want of Conduct and Discipline in the *English*. The Truth of the Matter is, the Scheme was well enough laid, but those who undertook to execute it had not Capacities suitable to a Design of this Nature; and besides, there fell out some Accidents that were fatal to them, as well as wholly unforeseen, and to which in a great measure we may justly attribute their Disappointment.

The Small-Pox did not only carry off Numbers in Sir *William Phipps's* Fleet, but broke out also in the other Army, that was to have marched by Land to attack *Mount Royal*; and this Malady infecting the *Iroquois*, was the true Reason why that Expedition was abandoned; and this being soon known to the *French*, gave them an Opportunity of throwing their whole Force into *Quebec*, which was much too great for Sir *William Phipps* to struggle with, if he and those who attended him, had been better Officers than they really were; so that there is no great Wonder the whole Expedition miscarried. This shews, that Matters of a military Nature cannot be carried on, especially against the *French*, but by military Men and Officers well acquainted with Service; yet the Zeal and Courage of the People of *New England*, in undertaking and pushing this Project of theirs so far as they did, deserves great Applause, as it fully demonstrates the Spirit of the People, and very plainly proves that with proper Encouragement and proper Assistance, they are both willing to endeavour and able to perform all that in their Circumstances a *British* Government can expect from *British* Subjects. In the present Case, their Efforts rather exceeded than fell short of their Abilities, for their Fleet and Army were numerous enough, well provided, and well paid; the Expence of this fruitless Attempt falling little short of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, every Penny of which was furnished by the Inhabitants of this Colony, or, which was worse, they ran in Debt for it, and were left to pay it: Here at home we do not sufficiently reflect upon the Inconveniencies that such Mis-

fortunes as these bring upon our Settlements, but are too apt to charge them with Want of Vigour, Want of Application, and Want of public Spirit; whereas, in Truth, these Wants, generally speaking, lie on our Side the Water; and it is to cover our own Neglects, that we pretend to find Faults in them of which they were never guilty.

The Ships in their Return met with no better Fortune at Sea than the Men had done by Land; some of them were driven as far as the *Leeward Islands*; one was wrecked, another was never heard of; a third foundered with all her Crew in her, a fourth was driven ashore on the desolate Island of *Anticosta*, where Captain *Rinsford* and his Crew, forty at first, were reduced through Want and Weather to half the Number in a Month's Time, and then saved almost miraculously. The Loss of Men in this unsuccessful Enterprize amounted to one thousand, and those as useful Hands as any in the Country. During the Progress of this miserable Expedition, a Party under Lieut. *Clark*, venturing out of *Casco*, to look for the Enemy, met with a Body of four or five hundred *Indians* and *French*, who killed the Lieutenant and thirteen of his Men; the rest escaping into the Town, were pursued by the *Indians* and *French*, who entering the Place reduced it to Ashes. The Garrison surrendered the Fort upon Conditions of safe Conduct to the next *English* Town; but the *French* basely broke the Capitulation, and made them Prisoners of War under a very foolish Pretence of their being Rebels to their lawful King.

The Governor, Major *Davis*, and some of his Men, were sent to *Quebec*; the rest were murdered by the Savages. The Garrisons of *Papocodack*, *Spamwick*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, drew off to *Casco*, twenty Miles within *Casco*, terrified with the Fate of that Place: Their Terror infected that Garrison also, and half of them fled. *Hoophood*, the *Huron*, pursued them and destroyed all the Country, burnt several Houses at *Berwick*, killed thirteen or fourteen Men at *Fort Point*, and carried off six Prisoners; but Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Greenleaf* coming up with him routed his Party, wounded and drove him off to a great Distance. He was afterwards fallen on by the *French* *Indians*, who taking him for an *Iroquois*, killed him and almost all that were with him. The *Indians* and *French* had after that an Advantage over the *English* under Capt. *Wiswell*, whom they killed with fifteen of his Soldiers near *Wheelwright Pond*, the rest were brought off by Capt. *Floyd*. Flushed with this Success the *Indians* and *French* made a Descent upon *Amesbury*, near to the *Massachusetts*, surprised Capt. *Foot* and tortured him to death; but the Townsmen returning into the Fort, maintained it against them. Major *Church* passed by Sea with three hundred Men to *Casco Bay*, where he landed, and passed directly *Peckypset*, an *Indian* Fort, which he found deserted, thence to *Amonoscoggin Fort*, forty Miles up *Casco* River, which he burnt after having killed twenty *Indians*, all that staid in it, and released seven *English* Captives. Having Notice that the *Indians* had agreed to rendezvous on *Peckypset* Plain, in order to attack *Wells*, he hastened thither to give them Battle; which the Savages avoided, and the *English* went into Winter Quarters. Capt. *Convers* and Capt. *Plaistead*, with one hundred Men remaining in those Parts, to scour the Woods; and as the *English* had no Reason to be content with the Success of the War, so they were well pleased at the Sight of a Flag of Truce, with which the *Indians* came to *Wells*, and a Cessation of Arms till the *May* following was agreed on by Commissioners on both Sides.

The Time of the Cessation of Arms with the *Indians* was scarce expired; but the Savages, instead of coming as they had engaged, to restore the Captives, and turn the Truce into a Peace, began to commit new Hostilities, and killed several *English* at *Berwick*, *Exeter*, and *Cape Nidduck*. To prevent further Mischief, Capt. *Marel*, Capt. *King*, Capt. *Sherburn*, and Capt. *Waters*, with four hundred Men, landed at *Macquoit*, and marched to *Speaky*; but these Forces not meeting the Enemy, grew secure, and straggled out in Parties, which the *Indians* observing, gathered in a Body, attacked them and drove them

them to their Ships, with the Loss of Capt. *Sherburn* and several Men, who could not get aboard in time. They killed seven Persons at *Berwick*, twenty-one at *Sandy-Bear*, a Family at *Rowly*, another at *Haverhill*, both in *Essex* County. Thus we find them drawing Southward, and extending themselves into the *Massachusetts*, which they had not done before. The Garrison of *Cape Nidduck* was so thinned by Draughts from it, that the Remainder thought fit to desert it, though a strong Fort. A Party of Popish *Indians* assaulted the Town of *York*, killed fifty *English*, and drove away one hundred into Slavery, and the rest fortified themselves; and though they were but a Handful; yet the Savages, who were several Hundreds, durst not attack them. Here Mr. *Shubal Dunner*, the Minister, was shot at his own Door, to the great Joy of the *French* Papists. A Ship was immediately dispatched to *Sagadahook*, with a Commission, and Effects to redeem the Captives, and those Men who remained in the Town were now thinking of abandoning it.

Major *Hutchinson* was in June 1692 sent with a strong Party under Capt. *Convers*, Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Thaxter*, to assist them, and other *Englishmen* on the Frontiers. Capt. *Convers* was posted at *Wells* with only fifteen Men in the slight Fort there, and fifteen more in two Sloops in the River to be assisting to the others upon Occasion. Against him came no less than four *Indian* Kings, *Modenkawando*, *Moxus*, *Edgerement*, *Warumbo*, and still two greater Men, Monsieur *Labrocree* and Monsieur *Barniff*, with some *French* Soldiers, and five hundred *Hurons*. *Moxus* had not long before attacked *Wells* with two hundred *Indians*, and had been repulsed by Capt. *Convers*, who had not a Quarter of that Number of Men with him, which *Modenkawando* hearing, he said, my Brother *Moxus* has missed it now, but I will go myself the next Year, and have the Dog *Convers* out of his Hole. But he was mistaken, for the *Englishmen* in the Fort, and Chiefs in the Sloops, behaved so gallantly, following the Example of their brave Commander *Convers*, that after several fruitless Attempts of the *Indians* and *French* to master them by Land and by Water, Monsieur *Barniff*, and the four *Indian* Confederate Princes, were obliged to retire. But Monsieur *Labrocree* did not live to bear the Reproach of so scandalous a Retreat, being killed in the first of it. The Enemy happened here to take one *John Diamond* Prisoner, whom they used so barbarously, that it would occasion too much Horror in the Reader to relate it.

Things continued, however, in this Situation, till Sir *William Phipps* came over in Quality of Governor of *New England*, who immediately began to think of erecting a new Fort at *Pemmaquid*, to cover the Frontiers, which he completed in six Months time, though it was one of the strongest Places in *America*; but the Expence, which this occasioned, made the People uneasy; who, it seems, never forgave the raising of the Money it cost, though they could not but be sensible, that it was entirely laid out for their Safety: But it seems in *New* as well as *Old England*, and indeed in all other Countries, it is a much easier thing to serve a Society, than to make that Society sensible of one's Service. In the present Case one might have expected things should have taken another Turn, since by the Care Sir *William Phipps* took, the Frontiers of the Plantation were better secured than in Times past, and the *Indians* more than once defeated in general Engagements; if the Disputes of between two and three hundred Men of a side may be called so, and I see no Reason why they should not, if we consider that the Consequences of these Engagements were of the same Importance to both Nations as if they had been fought by thousands; and I conceive, that it is the Importance of a War, and not the Number of Men employed in it, that renders it worthy of Notice.

These Successes, the building the Forts in the East, and the augmenting the Forces there, inclined the Savages to think in earnest of Peace, especially upon hearing the *Macquas* threatened to fall upon them, for killing some of their Squas or Princesses on *Whortle-bury Plain*. The *Indian* Sachems had a *French* Ambassador at their Courts, who was a Friar, to stir them up against

the *English*, and keep them in Heart. This Priest did his utmost to persuade them to continue the War. But the *French* not assisting them with Men, Arms, and Ammunition, as they promised, the Friar could not hinder them from begging a Peace, which was concluded at *Fort Pemmaquid*, by thirteen Segamores and the *English* Commissioners, who set their Names to the Instrument, August 11, 1693. By this Treaty the *Indians* renounced their Allegiance with the *French*, owned themselves Subjects to the Crown of *England*, confirmed the *English* in the Possession of all the Lands they had acquired, and submitted the Regulation of their Trade to the next General Assembly, which gave great Satisfaction to the People of *New England*; the rather, because hitherto the *Indians* had very honestly kept their Treaties, but it was not long before it appeared that their new spiritual Guides the *French* had taught them other Principles.

4. It was not above a Year before the Jesuits excited their new Converts to break this Peace concluded with Heretics; it is true, there was then a War with *France*, so that as Statesmen and Politicians the Jesuits may be justified, but then they must lay aside all Pretences to Christianity; for it is certain, there is nothing in our Religion that countenances a Behaviour of this Kind, and therefore we may safely say, that all their Labours tended to make these poor People rather Tools to *France* than Christians. The first breaking out of the new War, which happened in the Spring of 1694, was without any previous Declaration, or even Complaint that the Terms had not been kept on the Side of the *English*, nor indeed was this ever so much as pretended. A Body of *Indians* and *French* fell suddenly on *Oyster River Town*, and seized near one hundred Persons, twenty of which were of the Trained-Bands. One *Blackford* courageously defended his House against them, who despairing to reduce him before Succours came, left him, and going to Mrs. *Cut's* Farm near *Piscataway*, they murdered her and her Family. They made an Incursion into *Middlesex* County, and assaulted *Groton*, but were bravely repulsed by Lieutenant *Lukin*, upon which they fell to plundering the Plantations thereabouts, killed twenty Prisoners, and carried twenty more into Captivity. They killed one of the Children of Mr. *Gresham Hobert*, the Minister, and carried off another with them; they murdered three Persons at work near *Spruce-Creek* and eight more at *Kittery*, where they barbarously used a Daughter of Mr. *Downing*. The Savages scalped this young Woman and left her for dead, but she recovered, and was living twenty Years after. Mr. *Joseph Pike*, of *Newbury*, Under-Sheriff of *Essex*, was murdered by them, between *Amesbury* and *Haverhill* in that County.

To balance these Losses the *English* seized *Bommaseen*, a famous Segamore, one of those that signed the last Treaty. He pretended to be just come from *Canada*, and that he came on Purpose to put an End to these Hostilities. But it being proved, that he was a principal Actor in the late Murders, he was sent Prisoner to *Boston*. The taking of *Bommaseen* stunned the *Indians* a little, and they were quiet for six or seven Months. At last a Fleet of Canoes came to an Island a League from *Pemmaquid*, and sent Proposals of Peace to the Garrison. They owned their Guilt in breaking the last Articles, but threw the Blame of it on the *French*. As a Proof of their Sincerity now they delivered up eight Captives, when they had above one hundred still in Captivity. However, a Truce was granted for thirty Days, and Colonel *Philips*, the gallant Major *Convers*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Howiborn*, were appointed Commissioners, to treat with them on the Part of the *Indians*, but because they brought not *Bommaseen* with them, whose Release was all they wanted, the *Indian* Commissioners broke off the Conference, and went away in disgust. They had left the *English* Planters in their Captivity contrary to their Promise to release them as a Preliminary, which was a plain Indication they were not in earnest. Advice was sent immediately to all the *English* Garrisons in the East to be upon their Guard: Notwithstanding which, Major *Hammond*, of *Kittery*, fell into an Ambuscade, and was taken Prisoner;

soner; but having the good Fortune to be transported to *Canada*, he was very civilly treated by Count *Frontenac*, who bought him of his *Indian* Master, and sent him to *Boston* by a Vessel that came to *Quebec* for exchange of Prisoners. In *August* a Party of *Indians* came down to *Bellerica* on Horseback; this was pretty far within the *Massachusetts*. They killed and took fifteen Persons, and plundered Mr. *Rogers's* House. This was the first Time the *Indians* ever made use of Horses. They took nine People out of *Newbury* in *Essex*, and being closely pursued by Captain *Greenleaf*, a valiant and diligent Officer, they so wounded them when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one Lad, which was a signal Proof of their Barbarity.

Captain *March*, Governor of *Pemmaquid* Fort, desiring to lay down his Commission towards the latter End of the Year, he was succeeded in it by Captain *Chub*. He shewed the Baseness of his Spirit, as well as the Weakness of his Understanding, in one of his first Exploits, after he had the Command of this Garrison, by murdering *Edgeremet* and *Abenquid*, and two other principal *Seagamos*, who had signed the last Treaty, and came to him on Assurance of Security, to confer about a new one. In *August* the *French* landed some Soldiers out of a Man of War, the *Newport*, which they had taken from the *English* to assist the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood.

This News so frightened the Traitor *Chub*, that he surrendered the new and strong Fort of *Pemmaquid*, without the firing one Gun, within or without, though he had near one hundred Men in it double-armed. The surprizing News of this Loss caused a mighty Consternation at *Boston*, and all over *New-England*. Governor *Stoughton*, and the Council, immediately ordered three Men of War in pursuit of the *French*, though it was not probable that these Ships could be fitted for that Service time enough to come up with the Enemy, who having done their Business at *Pemmaquid* better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the *English*. Colonel *Gedney* marched with five hundred Men to the East, but the *Indians* were gone home, and he could do nothing but strengthen the Garrisons there. The Savages, before their Retreat, killed five Soldiers belonging to *Saco Fort*, who must not be with their Garrison. And one may observe, that the greatest Mischief the *Indians* do, is by these Ambushes and Surprizes, which, considering how they were almost intermixed with them, it is strange they should not be aware of, and guard against; for the Country must by this Time, and this Means, be, in a Manner, as well known to them as to the Savages. Colonel *Gedney* arrested *Chub*, and brought him to *Boston*; but nothing treasonable being proved against him, the Government only took away his Commission, and sent him thence to his House at *Andover*, in *Essex County*.

Some Time after this the *Indians* entered *Haverhill*, and carried off thirty Captives, one of which was *Hannah Dufsan*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit. She had lain in not above a Week, yet she and her Nurse walked one hundred and fifty Miles on Foot, to the Town where the *Indian* she was to serve lived. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her Master and his Family to a Rendezvous of the Army of the Savages, where, according to the diabolical Custom of them, she, her Nurse, and other *English* Prisoners, were to run the Gantlet; *Hannah* watched her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurse, and an *English* Boy who was with her, they three killed ten of the *Indians* with their own Weapons, and made their Escapes; for which Action they received a Reward of fifty Pound from the General Assembly, and Presents from particular Persons to a good Value. The *Indians* continuing their Inroads killed a Man at *York*, another at *Hatfield*, a third at *Groton*, and a fourth at *Exeter*; which shews us that the *New England* People were in constant Danger, and harrassed on every Side. The *Indians* grew every Day more barbarous and more implacable, as having the Intrigues of the *Jesuits* added to their own Fierceness and Thirst of Blood.

They surprized and shot Major *Frost*, and his two Sons, at *Berwick*, as they were coming from Church one

Sunday, and going to his own House about five Miles off. Two Men that rid Post to carry this unwelcome News to the Governor of *Wells*, fell into an Ambuscade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three Men near *Nechawannic*, and a dreadful Defolation threatened the whole Province; certainly more for want of Management than of Power. The Savages roasted a Man to Death a Mile and a half from *Wells*. Three Soldiers, at *Saco Fort*, as they were cutting Fire-wood for the Fort at *Caco Island*, were shot dead, while Lieutenant *Fletcher*, with his two Sons, who were appointed for their Guard, were a fowling in the Woods: But the Lieutenant and his Sons paid dearly for their Negligence, for they fell into an Ambuscade as they returned, and were all three taken Prisoners. The Father, and one of his Sons, died in Captivity, and the other made his Escape.

In the Beginning of 1697 the Government of *New England* was alarmed with Advice that the *French* in *Canada* intended to make a Descent there; that a Squadron of Men of War was come from *France* to support the Army of the *Indians* and *French*, that was to attack the *English* by Land. The Lieutenant-Governor, and Council, prepared for a vigorous Defence; the Forts about *Boston* were repaired; the Militia throughout the whole Province were raised and well disciplined. Major *March* was ordered to the East, with five hundred, to scour the Woods; the *Indians*, who were gathering together about *Casco Bay*, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his Men aboard some Ships, sailed up among the Eastern Islands, and landed on the Banks of *Damascatos River*; a very prudent Measure, for he could not have overtaken the *Indians* by Land, before they had been got into their Fastnesses. The *Indians* seeing this, fell upon his Men as they were getting ashore, but could not hinder their Landing; upon which a sharp Engagement ensued, and the *English* drove the Enemy to their Canoes, a Fleet of which was in the River to receive them. The *English* had about twelve Men killed, and as many wounded; the Enemies Loss was much greater; but the main Advantage to the *English* was, preventing the *Indians* joining the *French*, who were approaching with the Ships of War and Transports for a Descent; but hearing of the Rout of their Confederates, they made the best of their Way home to *Europe*, with the *French* Troops on board, to their no small Discredit.

A Party of Savages made an Incurfion into *Middlesex*, and plundered *Lancaster*, killing twenty Men, among whom was the Reverend Mr. *John Whiting*, the Minister, and carried five into Captivity. A Month after they killed a poor Man in the Woods, near *Oyster River*. In the Beginning of the next Year they made a Descent upon *Andover*, and killed Captain *Chub* and his Family. They also killed Colonel *Dudley Bradstreet*, took his whole Family, and were carrying them off; but being closely pursued, they released them without doing them any Mischief. The Savages were now in Motion to the Westward, and killed a Man and a Boy in the Meadows near *Hatfield*. They were pursued by a Party of *English* from *Deerfield*, of which one was killed by the *Indians*, who, after that, ran to the Woods. They had attempted *Deerfield* on *Connecticut River*, but were beaten off by the Inhabitants, headed by their Minister, Mr. *John Williams*. These small Actions seemed to presage the End of this War, of which the Savages were as weary as the *English*, and had no Prospect of making any thing of it against a People so much superior to them in Numbers, Arms and Stores; but they ended it with the better Grace, by Means of the Peace of *Ryswick*, between *England* and *France*. Upon which Count *Frontenac* sent to the Sachem of the *Hurons*, and told them he was no longer to support them in their War against the *English*, and advised them to make the best Terms they could for themselves.

The Earl of *Bellamont* was by this Time arrived at *New York*, and a Treaty of a Peace with the *Indians* being set on Foot, he dispatched Major *Convers*, and Colonel *Phillips*, to confer with the *Indian* Sachems at *Penabscot*. They began the Conferences *October* the 6th, in which the Sachems excused themselves for breaking the Peace,

saying, The Jesuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of *Bellamont*, and Count *Frontenac*, would not banish these Devils, they could not promise the next Peace would last long. Major *Convers*, and Colonel *Philips*, concluded it with them on the Foot with the last Treaty; to which they added a more formal Submission to the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*; wherein, after acknowledging themselves guilty of breaking the last Peace, and in not fulfilling their Engagements entered into thereby, while they enjoyed the Benefit of it, which they charge upon the evil Councils and Instigations of the *French*, they proceed thus:

"Wherefore we, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, Segamores, Captains, and principal Men of the *Indians*, belonging to the Rivers of *Kennebeck*, *Amonoscoggin*, *Saco*, and Parts adjacent, being sensible of our great Offence and Folly, in not complying with the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, and also of the Sufferings and Mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto; do, in all humble and submissive Manner, cast ourselves upon his Majesty's Mercy, for the Pardon of all our Rebellions and Violations of our Promises; praying to be received into his Majesty's Grace and Protection; and for, and in Behalf of ourselves, and of all the other *Indians* belonging to the several Rivers and Places aforesaid, within the Sovereignty of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and sincere Obedience to the Crown of *England*; and do solemnly renew, ratify, and confirm, all, and every the Articles and Agreements contained in the aforesaid recited Submission; and in Testimony hereof, we, the said Segamores, Captains, and principal Men, have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, at *Casco Bay*, near *Mares Point*, the 7th Day of *January*, in the tenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *William III.* A. D. 1698-9. Subscribed by *Moxus*, and the rest of the Segamores and petty Princes."

Thus ended, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Indian War*, with respect to which the *French* Writers have undoubtedly given a very false Account, and a still more false Account of the Peace; for they say positively that the *Indians* insisted upon it, that they were not subject to the Crown of *Great Britain*; that they declared against their occupying any of their Lands; and that they openly professed they were, and would be, Friends to the *French*; every Tittle of which, as is manifest by their Instrument above recited, and cited for that Purpose, appears to be a direct Falshood; but in one thing I believe the *French* Writers speak Truth, which is, with regard to the Policy of the *Indians*, who made use of the Small Pox for a Pretence to quit the *English* Army, in its March to attack the *French* Colony of *Canada* by Land, from a Foresight that if this Expedition had been attended with Success, the *French* must have abandoned their Country, and they were unwilling to be left wholly at the Mercy of the *English*.

Many of our Authors, indeed, represent the *Indians* as not capable of so great a Stroke in Politics, but I have seen Papers of Governor *Dudley*, and *William Penn*, who were very well acquainted with them, that seem to countenance this Opinion; for they say, they have strong natural Parts, understand their own Interest thoroughly, and do every thing with great Deliberation. It is, indeed, certain, that they are wedded to their own Sentiments, and to their own Manner of living, and therefore we must refer their Politics to their Maxims, and not pretend to judge of them by our own, with which they have not the least Affinity or Connection.

5. We have, in the Course of this Work, given so full and clear an Account of the Manner in which all our Colonies were settled, and of the Motives upon which different Sorts of People resorted to them, that the Reader cannot be surprized at hearing their religious Affairs were in a very indifferent Situation, when in respect to temporal Concerns their Condition was most flourishing. Several worthy Persons, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* had used their Endeavours to correct this Evil, but their pious Desires did not meet with proportionable Suc-

cess, which, however, was far from discouraging others from following their Example; but though they were somewhat more fortunate, chiefly from the Assistance given them by the pious Queen *Mary*, whose Character for Religion and Virtue will live as long as there is either Religion or Virtue in the World, yet it was at last found that nothing could be effectually done, unless the Encouragers of this noble Design of spreading the Christian Faith through the *British* Dominions in *America*, were incorporated by Charter, the Necessity and Expediency of which Dr. *Thomas Tenison*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, undertook to represent to King *William III.* and upon his Representation a Charter was obtained, dated the 16th of *June*, in the 13th Year of his Reign, by which several Persons, equally distinguished by their Titles and Virtues, were incorporated for that Purpose, under the most honourable of all Names, the Society for the Propagation of the GOSPEL in foreign Parts.

This truly, says the Author of the History of this Society, Dr. *Humphreys*, was an Action suitable to Archbishop *Tenison's* public Spirit and honest Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and exceedingly becoming his high Station and Authority in the Church. The *American* Colonies, sure, can never, without the greatest Veneration and Gratitude, remember him, when they shall, many Ages hereafter, feel the happy Effects of having the Christian Religion planted among them; and reflect how hearty and forward Archbishop *Tenison* appeared to obtain that Charter, which gave Life and Authority to so glorious an Undertaking: Nay, that his Zeal and Spirit did not rest here, he continued to promote and guide, by his wise Councils, the Affairs of the Society; he paid them an annual Bounty of fifty Pounds, during his Life, and at his Death bequeathed them a thousand Pounds, towards the Maintenance of the first Bishop that should be settled in *America*. A Charter being thus obtained, the next endeavour was to carry their laudable Design into Execution; accordingly his Grace the Archbishop, as impowered by the Charter, caused Summons to be issued for the Members of the Corporation, to meet within the Time limited; and several met at the Place appointed, on the 27th of *June* 1701, and chose proper Officers for transacting the Business. At following Meetings they made divers Rules and Orders for their more regular Proceedings in the Administrations of their Trust, and subscribed, among themselves, near two hundred Pounds; for defraying the Charges of passing the Charter, making the common Seal, and other necessary Expences, they also ordered five hundred Copies of the Charter to be printed forthwith, and distributed amongst the Members, to be shewed by them to all proper Persons, the farther to notify the Design they were engaged in, and to invite more Persons of Ability and Piety to assist in carrying it on.

This Step was but an Opening of the Matter to the Public; the Society were diligent to consider of farther and more effectual Ways and Means to obtain Subscriptions and Contributions sufficient to enable them to maintain the Expence of sending many Missionaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the best Argument to Mankind was Example, and the most effectual Means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the Way themselves, by subscribing towards the Support of the Work. Accordingly Archbishop *Tenison*, the President, the Vice-Presidents, all the Bishops and Members then present, did subscribe a yearly Sum to be paid to the Treasurer of the Society for the public Uses, according to the Form of Subscription drawn up for that Purpose; having now made this Advance themselves, they gave out Deputations, under their common Seal, to several of their Members, and other Persons of Figure and Interest in the Counties of *England* and *Wales*; signifying their being constituted and appointed by the Corporation to take Subscriptions, and to receive all Sums of Money which should be subscribed or advanced for the Purposes mentioned in the Charter; and here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that several worthy Persons did, with a public Spirit, take these Deputations to help on with a Work so truly for the national Interest, and the Honour of common Christianity; and did, by their Example and Instances,

Instances, so influence several well disposed Persons, that considerable Remittances of Benefactions to the Corporation were soon made, which enabled them to enter on the Work with Success. There were likewise several considerable Sums of Money sent in to the Society by Persons who desired to conceal their Names; and the same Spirit and Ardour has continued; neither has the Society wanted the Encouragement and Protection of the Successors of their Royal Founder, particularly his late Majesty King George I. and the Society have still increasing Views of Success through the Favour of his Majesty now reigning, from his known Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and Royal Care for the Colonies, so considerable a Branch of the *British* Monarchy.

It is a thing that will certainly excite Wonder in the Minds of all calm and considerate People, let their religious Sentiments or Persuasions be what they will; that this Society, with scarce any settled Fund, should be able to maintain, for between forty and fifty Years, so extensive a Scheme as that of their Charter, which tends to correct almost all the Errors and Mistakes that have hitherto happened in the Management of our Colonies; for by their prudent and pious Care, great Check has been given to Atheism and Irreligion, a thing of great Consequence in our Settlements, considered in a political, as well as Christian Light; for without it there is no restraining the *Indian* Traders from being guilty of such Immoralities, as render us despicable in the Eyes of the Heathen *Indians*; which, as may be easily conceived, must tend vastly to our Disadvantage, more especially, if at the same Time we reflect on the Management of the *French* in this Particular, who are very careful in their Endeavours to convert the *Indians*, and keep up a great outward Appearance of Zeal for Religion, which makes strong Impressions on the Minds of the Savages, even though they are not converted, nor have any Inclination to become Papists. If by such Methods they should so far compass their Ends, as to convert many of the *Indians*, and by that Means awe and influence the rest; it must be accompanied with Circumstances very disagreeable to the Inhabitants of our Colonies, as from the foregoing History of the *Indian* War will appear.

But besides the many and great Advantages that would result from the thorough Establishment of the Protestant Religion through the Colonies, with regard to the Conduct and Behaviour of the People, and the great Enlargement of Power that would follow in Case the Conversion of the *Indians* was undertaken by Practice as well as Preaching, by the Example of the Laymen, as well as the Exhortations of the few Clergy that are sent thither; there is yet another Point that deserves as serious Regard. The Negroes in the Service of our Planters, are a prodigious Body of People, and as there are but too many just Causes given for apprehending the Destruction of whole Countries from their Plots and Conspiracies, which have been sometimes prevented by accidental, or rather providential Discoveries, when they were upon the very Point of being executed; so it is certain, that if these People, or the greatest Part of them, could be converted, it would not only prove a Means of taking away these Apprehensions, but would also add a great Strength to the Colonies, in which they are obliged to make use of Negroes; for these People would then conceive new Notions of their Condition, and consider their being Servants to Christians in the Light rather of a Blessing than a Calamity; it would not only make them easy, but chearful in their Servitude, and by degrees would be attended with more Advantages than we can foresee, and yet a very ordinary Degree of Foresight will not fail to shew us a great many. That this is, and must be, attended with many Difficulties, will be readily granted, but that it is very far from being impracticable, will appear from what Dr. *Humphreys* tells us has been in this respect already done, and which I take to be as material a Point as any that occurs in the History of this Period.

The Negroe Slaves, says he, even in these Colonies, where the Society send Missionaries, amount to many thousands of Persons of both Sexes, and all Ages, and most of them are very capable of receiving Instructions;

even the grown Persons; brought from *Guinea*, quickly learn *English* enough to be understood in ordinary Matters; but the Children born of Negroe Parents in the Colonies are bred up entirely in the *English* Language. The Society looking upon the Instruction and Conversion of the Negroes, as a principal Branch of their Care, esteeming it a great Reproach to the Christian Name, that so many thousands of Persons should continue in the same state of Pagan Darkeness under a Christian Government, and living in Christian Families, as they lay before under in their own Heathen Countries; the Society, immediately, from their first Institution, strove to promote their Conversion, and inasmuch as their Income would not enable them to send Numbers of Catechists sufficient to instruct the Negroes, yet they resolved to do their utmost, and at least to give this Work the Mark of their highest Approbation. They wrote therefore to all their Missionaries, that they should use their best Endeavours, at proper times, to instruct the Negroes; and should especially take occasion to recommend it zealously to the Masters, to order their Slaves, at convenient Times, to come to them, that they might be instructed.

These Directions had a good Effect, and some hundreds of Negroes have been instructed, received Baptism, and been brought to the Communion, and lived very orderly Lives. It is a Matter of Commendation to the Clergy, that they have done thus much in so great and difficult a Work. But alas! what is the Instruction of a few hundreds in several Years, with respect to the many thousands uninstructed, unconverted, living and dying down-right Pagans? It must be confessed, what hath been done is as nothing, with regard to what a true Christian would hope to see effected. But the Difficulties the Clergy meet with in this good Work, are exceeding great. The first is, the Negroes want Time to receive Instructions; several Masters allow their Negroes only *Sundays* for Rest, and then the Ministers of the Parishes are fully employed in other Duties, and cannot attend them. Many Planters, in order to free themselves from the Trouble and Charge of feeding and cloathing their Slaves, allow them one Day in a Week to clear Ground and plant it, to subsist themselves and Families; some allow all *Saturday*, some half *Saturday* and *Sunday*; others allow only *Sunday*. How can the Negroe attend for Instruction, who, on half *Saturday* and *Sunday*, is to provide Food and Raiment for himself and Family for the Week following: The Negroe will urge in his own Excuse, that the Support of himself and all that is dear to him, doth absolutely depend upon this his necessary Labour on *Saturday* and *Sunday*; but if this be not strictly justifiable, yet it is certain the miserable Man's Plea will engage the Reader's Compassion.

This is the Case in some Colonies, in others it differs. In some Places the Negroes do the whole Labour of the Country in the Field, in others they are used only as House Servants. Another Difficulty arises from the Habitations and Settlements of the Masters being at a great Distance from each other in most Places in the Colonies, for which Reason neither can a Minister go to many Families, if the Negroes were allowed Time to attend him, nor can a proper Number of them assemble together at one Place, without a considerable Loss of Time to their Masters. But the greatest Obstruction is, the Masters themselves do not consider enough the Obligation which lies upon them, to have their Slaves instructed. Some have been so weak as to argue the Negroes had no Souls, others that they grew worse by being taught and made Christians. I would not mention these, if they were not popular Arguments still, because they have no Foundation in Reason or Truth.

After the Society had given the general Order mentioned before, to all their Missionaries, for the Instruction of the Slaves, they agreed to use another Method, which they believed would more successfully promote this Work. They opened a catechising School for the Slaves at *New York*, in the Year 1704, in which City there were computed to be about one thousand five hundred Negroe and *Indian* Slaves, and many of their Masters well disposed to have them made Christians. The Society hoped

this

this Example set, might kindle a Zeal in some other good People, to carry on this Work which they were unable to effect, and to erect Schools for the Instruction of the Negroes, and to employ Catechists to teach them at appointed Times; and that the Legislature of the Colonies would by a Law oblige all Slaves to attend for Instruction. The Society found soon, it was not easy to procure a Person proper to be a Catechist: Mr. *Elias Neau*, a Layman, then living in *New York* City as a Trader, was represented to be the properest Person for that Office. He was by Nation a *Frenchman*, and made a Confession of the Protestant Religion in *France*, for which he had been confined many Years in Prison, and seven Years in the Gallies: When he got released, he went to *New York*, and traded there; and had the Character, from People of all Persuasions, of a Man of Piety, of sober Deportment and serious Life. He accepted of the Offer of being Catechist; and his former Sufferings on Account of his Religion did, with great Advantage, recommend him to be a Teacher of the Christian Faith, and his Humility enabled him to bear with the many Inconveniencies in teaching these poor People.

He entered upon his Office in the Year 1704 with great Diligence. At first he was obliged to go from House to House to instruct the Negroes; this was out of measure laborious; afterwards he got Leave that they should come to his House; this was a considerable Relief. There were two Obstructions still; the Time was much too short, and the Place inconvenient, for teaching the great Number of Negroes; a little Time in the Dusk of the Evening, after hard Labour all Day, was the whole Time allowed them for Learning and for Relaxation, and to visit their Wives and Children, which were generally in other Families, not in their Masters. At this Time their Bodies were so fatigued that their Attention could not be great. They were dull and sleepy, and remembered they must rise early the next Day to their Labour; the Place also was incommodious, being the uppermost Floor of Mr. *Neau's* House, and was not able to hold conveniently a small Part of the Slaves that might resort thither. Besides, the Negroes were much discouraged from embracing the Christian Religion, upon account of the very little Regard shewed them in any religious Respect. Their Marriages were performed by mutual Consent only, without the Blessing of the Church; they were buried by those of their own Country, or Complexion, in the common Field, without any Christian Office, perhaps some ridiculous Heathen Rites were performed at the Grave by some of their own People. No Notice was given of their being sick that they might be visited; on the contrary, frequent Discourses were made in Conversation that they had no Souls, and perished as Beasts.

Mr. *Neau* contended with these Difficulties, and notwithstanding all proved an Instrument of bringing many to the Knowledge of the Christian Faith: He took great Pains in reading to them, in making short Collections out of Books on the Catechism, and in making an Abstract of the historical Part of the Scriptures; so that many who could not read, could yet, by Memory, repeat the History of the Creation of the World, the Flood, the giving of the Law, the Birth, Miracles, and Crucifixion of our Lord, and the chief Articles and Doctrines of Christianity. This was a Work of great Pains and Humanity. Mr. *Neau* performed it diligently, discoursing familiarly with those poor People, and labouring earnestly to accommodate his Discourse to their Capacities. His Labours were very successful. A considerable Number of the Slaves could give a sufficient Account of the Grounds of their Faith, as several of the Clergy, who examined them publicly, before they gave them Baptism, have acquainted the Society. In the mean time, while the Society was thinking of farther Ways to advance this Work, a Calamity appeared, which mightily discouraged this Country from promoting the Instruction of their Slaves.

In the Year 1712 a considerable Number of the Negroes of the *Carmantee* and *Pappa* Nations, formed a Plot to destroy all the *English*, in order to obtain their Liberty, and kept their Conspiracy so secret that there

was no Suspicion of it, 'till it came to the very Execution: However, the Blow was, by God's Assistance, happily defeated. The Plot was this: The Negroes set Fire to a House in *York* City, on a *Sunday-Night* in *April*, about the going down of the Moon: The Fire alarmed the Town, who from all Parts run to it. The Conspirators planted themselves in several Streets and Lanes leading to the Fire, and shot or stabbed the People as they were running to it. Some of the wounded escaped and acquainted the Government, and presently by the firing a great Gun from the Fort, the Inhabitants were called under Arms, and prevented from running to the Fire; a Body of Men was soon raised, which easily scattered the Negroes; they had killed about eight Persons, and wounded twelve more. In their Flight some of them shot themselves, others their Wives, and then themselves; some absconded a few Days, and then killed themselves, for fear of being taken, but a great many were taken, and eighteen suffered Death. This wicked Conspiracy was at first apprehended to be general among all the Negroes, and opened the Mouths of many to speak against giving the Negroes Instruction. Mr. *Neau* durst hardly appear abroad for some Days, his School was blamed, as the main Occasion of this barbarous Plot. But upon the Trial of the Wretches there were but two of all his School so much as charged with the Plot, and only one was a baptized Man; and in the Peoples Heat, upon slender Evidence, perhaps, too hastily condemned; for soon after he was acknowledged to be innocent by the common Voice; the other was not baptized. It appeared plain that he was in the Conspiracy, but guiltless of his Master's Murder, who was *Hooglands*, an eminent Merchant. Upon full Trial, the guilty Negroes were found to be such as never came to *Neau's* School; and what is very observable, the Persons whose Negroes were found to be most guilty, were such as were the declared Opposers of making them Christians: However, a great Jealousy was now raised, and the common Cry was very loud against instructing the Negroes.

The Common-Council of *New York* City made an Order, forbidding the Negroes to go about the Streets after Sun-set without Lanthorns and Candles. This was in Effect, forbidding them to go to Mr. *Neau's* School; for none of them could get Lanthorns, or come to him before Sun-set; but some time after, the more serious and moderate People abated of this Violence; it appearing to be a Plot of a few only, not a general one of all the Negroes, no Consequence attended the Action, and the People grew more composed. *Robert Hunter*, Esq; the Governor of the Province, observed their Fears were ill grounded, and that Mr. *Neau's* Scholars were not the guilty Negroes; and therefore, in order to support the Design of instructing them, he was pleased to visit his School, attended by the Society's Missionaries and several Persons of Note, and publicly declared his Approbation of the Design; and afterwards, by a Proclamation put out against Immoralities and Vice, he recommended to the Clergy of the Country, to exhort their Congregations from the Pulpit, to promote the Instruction of the Negroes. This gave new Life again to the Work, and the Negroes frequented Mr. *Neau's* School as before; several were instructed, and afterwards examined publicly in the Church before the Congregation, by the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*; and gave a very satisfactory Account of their Faith, and received Baptism.

The Society had Accounts from time to time of Mr. *Neau's* Diligence and Success, particularly one very ample Testimonial, signed by the Governor (*Robert Hunter*, Esq;) the Council, the Lord Mayor, and Recorder of *New York*, and the two chief Justices, setting forth, That Mr. *Neau* had demeaned himself in all things as a good Christian, and a good Subject: That in the Station of Catechist he had, to the great Advancement of Religion in general, and the particular Benefit of the Free *Indians*, *Negro* Slaves, and other Heathens in those Parts, with indefatigable Zeal and Application, performed that Service three times a Week: And, that they did sincerely believe, that as a Catechist, he did in a very eminent Degree deserve the Countenance, Favour,

Favour, and Protection of the Society. The Society were fully satisfied with Mr. *Neau's* Behaviour, and continued to send him Numbers of *Catechisms* and small Tracts of Devotion and Instruction, to give among the Slaves and Servants at his Discretion. Mr. *Neau* persevered with the same Diligence till the Year 1722, in which he died, much regretted by all who knew his Labours.

The Society have been very careful in carrying on that great and good Work, as far as in their Power lay, ever since; and though they have not been so successful as they could have wished, yet their Disappointments have not been of a Nature to make them despair, and we may reasonably presume, that by degrees, and by a constant Perseverance, they will, in process of Time, overcome all Difficulties.

6. After the Accession of Queen *Anne* to the Crown, and this Nation's engaging in another general War against *France*, it was thought a thing of very great Consequence to secure the five *Indian* Nations bordering upon *New England* and *New York*; and therefore, instead of waiting for an Application from the Society, an Order was directed to them from the Privy Council upon this Subject; and they were directed to send over Missionaries without delay, with a Promise that they should be properly supported; and this in Terms that very plainly shewed the Government looked upon it as a Matter that did not only regard the Church, but the State. The Society, upon this, sent over, very soon after, one Mr. *Moor*, and intended to have sent over other Missionaries if his Endeavours had met with any Success. The Scheme was very wise and very good, yet it did not answer in the Execution, for Want, as I conceive, of proper Expence about it. In a national Concern like this, Money should not have been spared, and great Care ought to have been taken in Preparations before any thing had been hazarded in the Execution; so that a Number of Missionaries should have entered the *Indian* Countries at once, some or other of which would certainly have fallen upon the right Way of gaining the Affection of these People, which it seems was not the good Fortune of Mr. *Moor*; who arriving at *New York* in 1704, was very well received by Lord *Cornbury*, who was then Governor of that Colony, and who also gave him all the Assistance he could desire in his Mission; but the *Mobocks*, to whom he addressed himself, did not treat him as he expected; for at first they seemed to express very great Satisfaction at his Arrival, and to be extremely well pleased with his Concern for their Salvation; but they trifled with him afterwards, and at last gave him plainly to understand, that his coming amongst them would be to little purpose; for under Pretence that Religion was a public Concern, in which all their Families and little Clans had an equal Concern, so that he could not be received by any without the common Consent, they put him off from Time to Time, and would have put him off for ever, if, after a Years waiting, he had not returned to *New York*; where he embarked on board a Ship for *England*, but was unhappily lost in his Passage.

Thus was the Attempt frustrated; but the Society received Accounts that this ill Success was owing not only to the Aversion of the *Indians* to Christianity, but was very much occasioned by the Artifices of the *French* Jesuits, who industriously obstructed the Labours of the *English* Missionaries among them, and left no Means untried to seduce them from their Fidelity to the Crown of *England*, and keep them in a continual War with the *English*. And indeed all the Evils that the *English* Colonies have undergone during the last War, have been occasioned by the *Indians*, that is, those *Indians* which the Jesuits have by their Artifices corrupted; for among the five Nations there is a great Number of *French* Jesuits, who are incorporated, by Adoption, into their Tribes, and as such they ostentatiously assume *Iroquois* Names; and the Chief of the poor silly *Indians*, considering them as Persons of their own Blood, do intirely confide in them, and admit them into their Councils, from whence one may easily imagine what Disorders the Jesuits make in their Affairs. Besides, the *Indians* border-

ing on *New England* are the most cruel and barbarous of all the Savage Nations, and have destroyed all their innocent Neighbours. They are always unfixed, either rambling for several Months together, or hunting, or upon warlike Expeditions; and at their Return to their Villages, have generally forgot all their former Instructions, and it is impossible for any Minister to accompany them in their Rambles of three or four hundred Leagues at a Time. After this good Endeavour was defeated, the *Indians* remained without Instruction, except that some few were taught by the *Dutch* Minister at *Albany*. But the Year 1709 produced an Event, which the Society hoped might have had very happy Consequences, and fixed Christianity among the *Iroquois*. Four Sachems, or four chief Persons of four Nations of the *Iroquois*, came in the Nature of Embassadors to *England*, confirming the Peace made with the Governor of *New York*, and requesting her Majesty would be pleased to direct that their Subjects might be instructed in Christianity, and Ministers might be sent to reside amongst them.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* received, thereupon, the following Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland*, then one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

“ MY LORD, Whitehall April 20, 1710.

“ The inclosed being a Copy of what has been given
“ to the Queen, by the Embassadors lately arrived from
“ the five *Indian* Nations; I am ordered by her Majesty
“ to transmit it to your Grace, and to signify to you her
“ Pleasure, that you lay it before the Society for propa-
“ gating Religion, that they may consider what may be
“ the most proper Ways of cultivating that good Dis-
“ position these *Indians* seem to be in for receiving the
“ Christian Faith, and for sending thither fit Persons for
“ that purpose, and to report their Opinion without
“ Loss of Time, that the same may be laid before her
“ Majesty.

I am, &c.

Sunderland, &c.”

The Archbishop was then much indisposed, and confined to his House with the Gout, and therefore signified to the Secretary of the Society to call a Committee to meet at *Lambeth*; a Committee met, and it was agreed there, and afterwards by the Society at a general Meeting, that two Missionaries should be sent to the *Mobock* and *Oncydes's* *Indians*, with a Salary of one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling each, together with an Interpreter and School-master, to teach the young *Indians*; and this Opinion was humbly laid before the Queen; her Majesty was farther pleased to direct that a Fort should be built among the *Mobocks*, at the Government's Expence, with a Chapel and a Mansion-house for the Minister, for his greater Conveniency and Security, and that the religious Offices might be performed with due Decency; a Fort was soon after built one hundred and fifty Foot Square, and garrisoned with twenty Soldiers and an Officer, and a House and Chapel compleated. The reverend Mr. *Andrews* was appointed Missionary, and Mr. *Clausen*, who had been several Years employed as Interpreter by the Government of *New York*, in Transactions with the *Indians*, was received as Interpreter to Mr. *Andrews*, and Mr. *Oliver* made School-master. Mr. *Andrews* was particularly directed by the Society, to use all possible Means to persuade the *Indians* to let their Children learn *English*; and the School-master was to make it his whole Business to teach them. The Society was now in good Hopes this Attempt would prove successful, since her Majesty was so graciously pleased to provide for the Security of the Missionary, by building a Fort just by the *Mobocks* Castle, to which the Men and Children might easily resort to be instructed; and the Sachems, the chief Persons of this People, had been in *England*, received many Marks of Royal Favour, had been Eye-witnesses of the Greatness of the Nation, had been nobly entertained here, and carried home to their own Countries safely and honourably, and had themselves also desired their People might be instructed in the Christian Faith.

Mr. *Andrews* arrived at *Albany* in November, 1712. The Sachems who had been carried home before he went from *England*, were convened by Order of the Governor of *New York*, to meet Mr. *Andrews* and the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs* at *Albany*, in order to give a public Authority and Sanction to Mr. *Andrews's* Mission, and that the Sachems might receive him their Minister with greater Solemnity. The Sachems came to *Albany*, met the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*, and Mr. *Andrews*, the Missionary, made a long Speech to the Sachems, reminding them how gracious her Majesty was in building a Fort, sending a Minister to them; put them in mind how earnestly they had requested it; and set forth what Advantages they and their Children would reap by being taught our Religion and Learning. A Letter from the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was delivered to them, and afterwards read to them in *Indian* by Mr. *Clausen*, the Interpreter of the Province. Some of the Sachems made Speeches, and returned Thanks to the Queen, expressed a great Satisfaction in having a Minister sent them, and received Mr. *Andrews* as such, and promised him all civil and kind Usage.

The whole Affair was transacted with much Ceremony, the Sachems returned home, Mr. *Andrews* staid some time at *Albany* to refresh himself; soon after he went up to the Fort, two hundred Miles from *New York*, accompanied by *Robert Livingston*, Esq; the Mayor of *Albany*, Capt. *Mathews*, Mr. *Stroopman* of *Schenectady*, the Reverend Mr. *Barclay*, and several other Gentlemen: He was presently visited by a great many *Indians*, Men, Women, and Children, who saluted him with abundance of Joy, and bid him welcome to their Country. The Castle or chief Town of these *Mohocks* is neighbouring to the Queen's Fort, consisting of about fifty Wigwams or Houses: These Wigwams are Huts made of Mats, or Barks of Trees put together with Poles about three or four Yards high. The *Mohocks* Cloathing is a short Cloke, like a Mantle, made of a Blanket, or Bear-skin. Their Bed is a Mat, or Skin, laid on the Ground. They paint and grease themselves very much with Bears Fat clarified. They cut the Hair off from one Side of their Heads, and tie up some of that on the other Side in Knots, on the Crown, with Feathers. The Men are very slothful, the Women very laborious, meer Servants to their Husbands. They carry all Burdens, fetch the Venison home their Husbands kill (the Men are too lazy to bring it), get in the Wood to burn and dress it; carry their Children on their Backs in their Rambles of many hundreds of Miles; hoe the Ground and plant all the *Indian* Corn that is raised. The Language of these People is very difficult, their Ideas are very few, and their Words therefore not many, but as long as Sentences, expressing by a long rumbling Sound what we do in a short Word. There is here no manner of Conveniency of Life for a Missionary; for four or five Months in the Year there is scarce any stirring abroad, by reason of the extraordinary Coldness of the Weather, and the deep Snows that fall; and in the Summer-time, the Flies and Musketoos are almost intolerable, and the Rattlesnakes very dangerous: The nearest Place of getting any Provisions is at *Schenectady*, twenty-four Miles distant, or from *Albany* forty-four Miles off. The Road to these Places is, for the most part, only a small, rough *Indian* Path through vast Woods, where riding is very dangerous, by reason of the Road being in many Places, stopped with fallen Trees, Roots, Stones, and Holes; besides many steep Hills, and dead Swamps or Bogs in the Way; there was nothing desirable to be seen; the Face of the Earth rude and uncultivated, like the wild Inhabitants; no Pleasure to be found but that of doing good to the miserable Natives.

These were the Circumstances of the Place and People, whither Mr. *Andrews* was appointed; and notwithstanding all these Inconveniencies he resided there, and invited the *Indians* to come to him; many came: He used very often to discourse with them, instructing them in the chief Articles of Faith, and giving them short general Accounts of our Religion. This was done by the Help of Mr. *Clausen*, who always attended and interpreted to the *Indians*. Mr. *Clausen* had been formerly taken Pri-

soner by the *Indians*, lived long among them, and understood their Language sufficiently. Mr. *Andrews* used to draw up short Accounts of the Christian Doctrines, and some historical Parts of the *Bible*; particularly the Creation of the World, and Miracles of the Lord. The Interpreter used to read them to the *Indians*, and divine Service used to be performed in *English* to the Soldiers in the Garrison. The School-master, Mr. *Oliver*, opened his School; the *Indians*, at first, sent many of their Children; he began to teach them *English*; the Parents obstinately refused to have them taught *English*; all possible Endeavours were used to persuade them, they still persisted. Mr. *Andrews* sent this Account to the Society, and rather than quite break with the *Indians*, the School-master, and Interpreter, began to teach the Children a little in *Indian*. The Society were forced to comply with the *Indians* Obstinacy: They procured an Impression of *Hornbooks* and *Primmers* in *Indian*, for the Children, sent them great Numbers, as also Leathern Ink-horns, Pen-knives, a Quantity of Paper of several sorts, and several other little Necessaries. The Children were now taught in *Indian*, and were treated with great Kindness; no Correction dared to be used, for the Parents were so fond of their Children, and valued Learning so little they thought it not worth gaining, at the least displeasing of their Children.

To engage them farther to learn, Mr. *Andrews* used to give the Children who came to School Victuals, and some small Utensils for their Parents. The Children used often to come for the sake of getting Victuals, for the *Indians* are frequently drove to great Extremities on account of their making little or no Provision before-hand. The Children had a good natural Capacity, and an Aptness for Learning; many of them begun to read, and some to write. This Method of giving them Victuals, engaged the Parents to send them for some time to School. In the mean time Mr. *Andrews* proceeded to instruct the grown *Indians* by help of the Interpreter, in some of the chief Articles of Faith, and Rules of Life; Divine Service was constantly performed on *Sundays* and *Holidays* in *English*, to the Soldiers, and such *Indians* as understood any *English* frequently attended in the Chapel: The Chapel was very decently adorned; Queen *Anne* had given a handsome Furniture for the Communion-Table, the Imperial Arms of *England* painted on Canvas were fixed up in the Chapel. Archbishop *Tenison* gave twelve large *Bibles* very finely bound, for the Use of the Chapel, with painted Tables containing the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Mr. *Andrews* was very civil to all the *Indians* who came to hear him; used frequently to entertain them at his House, and give them Provisions home with them when they wanted very much, and that they often did.

The Society, since they could by no Means prevail with the *Indians* to learn *English*, neither young nor old, laboured to get some good Translations made of Parts of the Scripture, at least, into the *Indian* Language, though exceeding improper to convey a due Idea of the Christian Doctrines; as being willing, by all Methods of Compliance, to gain something upon them: The Society were much assisted in this by Mr. *Freeman*, a very worthy Calvinist Minister; he had been five Years Minister at *Schenectady*, to a *Dutch* Congregation, and had been employed by the Earl of *Bellamont*, in the Year 1700, to convert the *Indians*. He had a good Knowledge of the Dialect of the *Mohocks*, which is understood by all the *Iroquois*, who reach near four hundred Miles beyond *Albany*. The Society applied to him for any proper Papers wrote in that Language, which he might have. He acquainted the Society, that he had translated into *Indian*, the Morning and Evening Prayers from our Liturgy, the whole Gospel of St. *Mathew*, the three first Chapters of *Genesis*, several Chapters of *Exodus*, several *Psalms*, many Portions of the Scripture relating to the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord; and several Chapters of the first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, particularly the fifteenth Chapter, proving the Resurrection of the Dead. He very frankly gave the Society a Copy of these Translations, which were sent to Mr. *Andrews* for his Help,

Help, and they were a great Help to him. He used frequently to read some of these to the *Indians*, and they could comprehend well enough by his reading. But the Society were desirous some Part of the Scriptures might be printed in *Indian*, and the Copies given to the *Indians*, and they taught at least to read that; accordingly the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Church Catechism, Family Prayer, and several Chapters of the *Old and New Testament* were printed at *New York*. The Copies were sent to Mr. *Andrews*, and he gave them to such of the *Indians* as knew any thing of Letters.

He had Hopes now of some Success in his Mission; several of the Women and some Men began to lead more orderly Lives. They were instructed, and retained well in their Memory what the chief Articles of our Faith are, and Rules of Life; a good Number were baptized, and particular Accounts were sent regularly to the Society. Mr. *Andrews* was willing to try what good he could do in another Nation of the *Indians*; he travelled to the Castle of *Onydans*, one hundred Miles distant from the *Mohocks*; the Country all the Way was a vast Wilderness of Wood, and the Road through it was a narrow Path. He was forced to carry all Necessaries with him, and at Night to lie upon a Bear's Skin. When he arrived at the Castle he was visited by more than one hundred People, who seemed all glad to see him; he read several Papers to them, staid some Time with them, and, after Instruction, baptized several, whose Names have been transmitted to the Society. Mr. *Andrews* afterwards returned to the *Mohocks*, his Place of Residence. In a short Time the *Indians* grew weary of Instruction: The Men grown would go out in Bodies a hunting for several Months, and forget all they had been taught; and the young Boys, when they grew up, were taken out by their Fathers to hunt, and so lost all they had got. This roving Life utterly destroyed all the Missionary's and School-master's Labours.

But besides this Difficulty, and the natural Averseness of the *Indians* to Learning, two Misfortunes happened which created a Jealousy, and afterwards a Hatred in the *Indians* against all the *English* as well as against their Religion. Some Jesuits, Emissaries from *Quebec* among the *Canada Indians*, adjoining to the *Iroquois*, had infused into the Minds of those People, that the *English* did not intend, by building a Fort among the *Iroquois*, to teach them their Religion, but to cut them all off at a proper Juncture; and that a Box had been found accidentally, left by the *English* when they attempted *Quebec*, containing Papers which discovered this Intention of the *English*. The *Canada Indians* believed this idle Story, and spread it among all the *Iroquois*. This stirred up some Jealousy, but a farther Misfortune quite set the *Indians* against the *English*; some of the *Tuscararo Indians* who had fled from *North Carolina* after the War there with the *English*, came and settled in the Country of the *Onontages*, one of the *Iroquois* Nations bordering on the *Mohocks*. These People being enraged at the *English*, stirred up the *Onontages* against them, telling them they had been most barbarously used and drove out of their Country, and the *English* watched only for an Opportunity to extirpate them too. The other *Indians* were too easily persuaded to believe every thing the *Tuscararo Indians* told them; so that when any of these People came by the *Mohocks* Castle, and the Queen's Fort, in their Way to *Albany*, to trade and buy themselves Necessaries, they used only to mock at Mr. *Andrews* when he would offer to talk to them about Religion, and when he proffered to go to their abode they absolutely forbid him.

In a little Time the old *Mohocks* left off coming to the Chapel to Mr. *Andrews*, and the Children came no more to School. Mr. *Andrews* wrote the Society Word of the ill Success of his Mission, though he had spared no Pains; that the hopeful Beginnings proved of no Effect at last; and that he began to despair of converting the *Indians*. The Society found now, from several Accounts, that the Mission among the *Indians* proved fruitless; that it was not possible to teach them the Christian Religion, before they were in some Degree civilized; and they found the following Difficulties did only hinder that. No Way

could be found to engage the *Indians* to lead a settled Life, to apply themselves to cultivate the Ground, to build Towns, and to raise Cattle; they would still rove through their vast Woods many hundreds of Miles, depending for their Subsistence upon the Game they could kill. They would eat all Sorts of Carrion, and in some long Rambles, when by various Accidents they could get no Game, would kill and eat one another, even their Wives, and that without any Concern or Remorse. Generally half of a Hord or Nation went out a hunting or a warring upon a neighbouring Nation together, and on those Expeditions forgot all the little they had learned; and at their Return were as meer Savages as ever. They could not be dissuaded from taking Wives and leaving them at their Pleasure; this not only hindered Religion from being fixed among them, but was the Cause that a great many aged Men and Women perished miserably, as having no one to take any care of them.

They would, in their Wars, use the greatest Barbarities, and destroy all the Prisoners they could take, by such extreme Tortures, it would move too much Horror in the Reader to repeat in this Place. It is true, they were very fond of their Children, but they perverted even so good a Principle; they would not oblige them to learn any manual Art, or our Language, but let them live a lazy bestial Life: Nay some of the young Children who have by Chance fallen into the *English* Hands, and lived in Families, been taught our Language, learnt a decent Behaviour, and known something of Tillage or Handycraft; when they have grown up have run wild again, have thrown off their Cloaths, and chose rather to ramble naked almost in the Woods with their own People, than to live a sober and settled Life. But the greatest Obstruction to their being civilized, was their Greediness of strong Liquors, especially Rum, and the fatal Effect Drunkenness hath upon them. When they drink they will never leave off till they have gone to the greatest Excess, and in this Condition they are most wretched Objects. They grow quite mad, burn their own little Huts, murder their Wives and Children, or one another; so that their Wives are forced to hide their Guns or Hatchets, and themselves too, for fear of Mischief. And if the Men, through this Excess, fall into any Sickness, they perish miserably, as having no Methods of helping themselves by Physic or otherwise.

It is, indeed, Matter of great Wonder, that these wretched People who have lived joining to the *English* Settlements so many Years, and cannot but observe that the *English*, by Agriculture, raise Provisions out of a small Spot of Ground, to support in Plenty great Numbers of People; whereas they, by their hunting, cannot get a wretched Subsistence out of all their Wildernesses of several hundred Leagues in Extent, should still refuse to till their Ground or learn any manual Art; should still live a brutal Life, insensible of Shame or Honour. It is true, the *English* have taken from them exceeding large Countries, yet this, far from being a Prejudice, would be a vast Advantage to them, if they would but learn the *English* Language, Arts, and Industry. They have still an immense Extent of Land, Part of which, if duly cultivated, is able to maintain many Millions of People more than there are. It might have been imagined the Sachems, that is, those petty Kings who were in *England* in the late Queen's Time, should have been so strongly affected with seeing the Grandeur, Pleasure, and Plenty of this Nation, that when they came to their own Countries, they would have tried to reduce their People to a polite Life; would have employed their whole Power to expel that rude Barbarism, and introduce Arts, Manners, and Religion; but the contrary happened; they sunk themselves into their old brutal Life; and though they had seen this great City, when they came to their own Woods they grew all savage again.

Mr. *Andrews* wrote several Accounts more in 1718, that all his Labours proved ineffectual. That the *Indians* would not send their Children to School, and no body came to the Chapel; that the four other Nations of the *Iroquois*, as they came by the *Mohocks* Castle, insulted and threatened him; that the Interpreter

and

and School-master perceived all their Labour was lost, and that they were frequently in Danger of their Lives if they went out of the Fort. The Society received these Accounts with much Dissatisfaction, as being extremely contrary to what their good Desires had made them hope. However, they were so unwilling to abandon this wretched People to themselves, that they would not dismiss Mr. *Andrews* from his Mission, upon his own Representation of his ill Success. They wrote to the Governor of *New York*, *Robert Hunter Esq*; acquainted him with the Accounts they had received, and requested the Favour of his Excellency to cause an Inquiry to be made, whether Mr. *Andrews's* Labours were so fruitless among the *Indians*, and submitted to his Judgment to dismiss Mr. *Andrews* if they should be so found. The Accounts transmitted hither were found true upon Examination, and Mr. *Andrews* left that miserable Race of Men.

We have chosen to give the whole of this remarkable Account together, that the Reader may see, and be fully apprised of the many and great Obstacles that lie in the Way of our bringing the *Indians* to embrace our Interest together with our Religion; but there are still Hopes, that as the Society proceeds in the great Design of settling a regular Clergy in our Colonies, and thereby influencing the Planters, not only to profess, but to shew, themselves Christians; these Obstacles will be lessened by Degrees, and the *Indians* come to have a better Opinion of our Faith, in the same Proportion that they grow better pleased with the Justice and Regularity of our Behaviour towards them; but in the mean Time what has been related shews that this important Task has not remained unattempted, and that if it has been in some Measure interrupted, this Interruption was occasioned by Accidents unforeseen, inevitable, and in their Nature hitherto unconquerable.

7. But it is now Time for us to proceed to that great and singular Expedition, undertaken in the Queen's Reign, for dispossessing the *French* of *Quebec*, and driving them entirely out of *Canada*. This was first conceived practicable, and Measures taken for putting it in Execution, in the Year 1707, at which Time the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State, wrote to the Government of *New England*, to prepare for giving what Assistance lay in their Power, towards a Design of such Importance to, and so often recommended by, the People of that Colony; who from the Time Sir *William Phipps* miscarried in it, were continually wishing for an Opportunity to recover their Credit, and to revenge their Loss upon the *French*, by renewing their Attempts upon *Canada*. The Person then intended to command the Land Troops, was General *Maccartney*, and every thing was settled with respect to his Voyage, when the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, in *Spain*, made it absolutely necessary to send the Troops designed for this Service into that Country, to prevent the total Ruin of the late Emperor's, then King *Charles*, Affairs. The Circumstances of the War in succeeding Years hindered the Revival of this Project till the Change of the Ministry, and then it was resolved upon afresh, as the most effectual Means of forcing *France* into a speedy and solid Peace.

How it was executed is a very hard Task to say; but we will make use of the Account published by the Secretary of the Admiralty, who had it in his Power to give the fullest and fairest Relation of this Matter; and if he has not done so, we know not where to find a better. He tells us the Queen's Instructions to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, Rear Admiral of the White, were dated the 11th Day of *April*, 1711, by which he was ordered to take under his Command, the *Torbay*, a Ship of eighty Guns, the *Edgar*, *Swiftshure*, and *Monmouth*, of seventy Guns; and *Dunkirk*, *Sunderland*, *Kingston*, and *Montague*, of sixty Guns, with two Bomb Vessels; as also the *Leopard* and *Saphire*, one of fifty and the other of thirty Guns, sent before to *North America*; with all these, except the two last, together with the Store-ships and Transports designed on the Expedition, he was, as soon as might be, to rendezvous at *Spithead*; and when Mr. *Hill*, General and Commander in chief of the Forces, should be embarked, and the Troops on board, he was, with the first Opportunity of the Wind, to proceed to

Boston in *New England*, without touching at any Island, Country, or Place, if it could possibly be avoided; and as he was required to appoint proper Signals and Places for Rendezvous, in case of Separation, so was he to give strict Orders to the Captains of the Ships under his Command, that if they happened to be so separated, they should not inform the Enemy, or any other, on what Design they were going.

In his Passage to *Boston*, the chief Town in *New England*, he was, when himself and the General should judge it most proper, to detach one Ship of War or more to convoy directly to *New York* the Transport Ships, in which were laden Artillery, Silks, Cloaths, and Accoutrements, with other Things, for the Use of Forces to be raised there, as well as in the *Jerseys* and *Pennsylvania*; the same to be delivered as the General should direct; and then the Ships of War were to be ordered to return to *Boston*: But if it should not be judged proper to make such Detachment, the Transports were to be sent to *New York*, under a sufficient Convoy, when he arrived at *Boston*; and the said Convoy, to bring there such Necessaries and Stores as should be provided for the Squadron and Forces. When he arrived at *New England*, he was to take the *Leopard* and *Saphire* under his Command, and consider whether it might be necessary to make any Addition to the Squadron by the Convoy to the *New England* Mast Ships or others stationed on the Coast of *America*, which he was impowered to do; and if the General should, upon advising with him, think it practicable to send any of the Transports with some of the new raised Troops in *New England*, to garrison *Annapolis Royal*, lately called *Port Royal*; and to bring from thence the Marines left there, or any Part of them, or the Artillery, or Stores of War, he was to appoint a sufficient Convoy, with Directions for them to return forthwith to *New England*.

He was, when at *Boston*, to take under his Care all Transport Vessels, Ketches, Hoys, Boats, and other Necessaries provided in *New England*; and as soon as the Forces from thence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them into the River of *St. Laurence* up to *Quebec*, in order to attack that Place; and being arrived, to make a proper Disposition of the Ships for that Purpose, as well of such as might be fit to be employed before the Town, as others; upon consulting with the General to pass the Place, and proceed up the River towards the Lake, not only to prevent any Communication with *Quebec*, but to protect the Canoes and Boats with the Forces from *New York*, to which End he was empowered to convert some of the small Vessels sent from thence to *New England* into Frigates, suitable to the Navigation of the upper-part of the River, and to man and arm them accordingly at *New England*, or elsewhere; he was to assist the General with Vessels and Boats proper for landing the Forces and embarking them again, but more especially upon his Arrival at *Quebec*, or fresh transporting them from Place to Place.

He was also ordered to send to the General such Marine Soldiers as should be on board the Squadron, when he should demand the same; which he was to have the Command of while employed on Shore: Besides which, he was to aid him with such a Number of Seamen, Gunners, Guns, Ammunition, and other Stores from the Ships, as he should demand for the Land Service; which Seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the Cannon, or otherwise, as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to *New England*, and proceeding from thence to the River *St. Laurence*; nor in putting in Execution the Service at *Quebec*; but that on his Part, all Expedition should be used in the Reduction of the Place, and of the Country of *Canada*, or *New France*; and in the seasonable Return of the Squadron and Transports. Her Majesty impowered him to direct the Commissary of the Stores to deliver to any Ship or Vessel, whether of War or otherwise, any Provisions or Liquors under his Care: He was likewise to provide any other naval Stores for the Use of the Squadron; and in case of Success it should be found necessary by him and the General to have

have a naval Force left in the River of *St. Laurence*, he was to appoint such Part of the Squadron to remain there as might be judged proper for taking Care to make suitable Provision for the Maintenance and Repair of such Ships; and the like Liberty was given as to any of the smaller Vessels, such as Transports or otherwise, or to make use of any of the Enemy's Ships that might be taken, if proper, to bring into *Europe* such Governors, regular Troops, religious Persons, or others whom the General, by his Instructions, was directed to send away from *Canada*, with Commissaries, Stores, and Provisions for their Transportation.

These Services being directed, he was to take on board the General, if he should think fit to return, and such of the Forces as might not be left in *Canada*, and hasten with the Squadron and Transports out of the River; and if the Season of the Year would permit, he was to proceed to, and summon and attack, *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, in such manner as General *Hill* should direct; which Service being over, he was to order such Ships of War as did not properly belong to the Squadron under his Command, to return to their several Stations, directing the Masters of the Transports which he should have no Occasion for, to go and seek Freight either upon the Continent of *America* or in the Islands, to ease the Public of the farther Charge of them, and for the Benefit of the Trade of *Great Britain*. Lastly: It was recommended to him, as it was to the General of the Land Forces, to maintain a constant good Understanding and Agreement, and on all Occasions to render each other all necessary and requisite Assistance; and if any Differences should arise between them, upon any Construction of Command, or the Nature of Command in the Service, or otherwise howsoever, the Queen was pleased to reserve the Determination of the same to herself, at their Return to *Great Britain*, without Prejudice to either of them in submitting to each other for the Good of her Majesty's Service.

And that he might be sufficiently informed of her Majesty's Design upon *Canada*, and of the Preparations directed to be made for the carrying it on, to the Governors of *New York* and *Massachusetts Bay*, and *New Hants*; as also of the additional Instructions to the Governors of *New York*, and of those to *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; and the several Governors of the Colonies of *Connecticut*, *Rhode Island*, *Providence Plantations*, and *Pennsylvania*.

These were the Contents of the Queen's Orders to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, prepared without so much as consulting the then Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, either as to the Fitness of the Ships appointed for the Expedition, or the Nature of the Navigation; but on the contrary, the Design on which they were bound was rather industriously hid from them, as may appear by some Letters to Sir *Hovenden Walker*, before he sailed from *Spithead*, by which the Secretary seemed to value himself very much, that a Design of this Nature was kept a Secret from the Admiralty, who, had they been consulted, would not, I am apt to think, have advised the sending Ships of eighty and seventy Guns to *Quebec*, since the Navigation up the River of *St. Laurence*, was generally esteemed to be very dangerous; nor were their Lordships permitted to know any thing of this Matter, at least not in Form, until Advice received, that the *French* were equipping a considerable Squadron at *Brest*, which some of the Ministry might be apprehensive were designed to intercept Sir *Hovenden Walker*; but it was too late to take any proper Measures for preventing it, if the Enemy had really had any such Intention. Having thus given a brief Account of what Steps were taken to set forth this Squadron, which, ere it returned, put the Nation to a very considerable Expence, it remains that we accompany them on the Expedition, and I shall give as particular an Account of their Proceedings as the Papers which I have before me, will enable me to do.

Sir *Hovenden Walker* was under Sail with the Ships of War and Transports off of *Dunnoose* on the 29th of *April*, 1711; but coming off of the *Start* the 1st of the next Month, a westerly Wind obliged him to put in at *Plymouth*; being the Length of the *Dead Man* the 4th, he

met with the *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Plymouth*, which Ships he took with him some Leagues into the Sea, and then left them to their former Service of cruizing from the Soundings. The 24th of *June* he arrived at *Nantasket*, near *Boston* in *New England*, having then with him five Ships of the third Rate, six of the Fourth, one of the Fifth, and two Bomb-Vessels. But not meeting with that ready Assistance which was expected from the Government and People of that Country; it was the 30th of *July* before he sailed from thence, and then he was on his Way to *Quebec*, with the *British* and *New England* Forces. The 14th of *August* he got the Length of the *Bird Islands* which lie about two hundred and fifty Leagues from *Cape Ann*; and having sent the *Chester*, *Leopard*, and *Saphire*, to cruize between *Placentia* and *Cape Breton*, on the Island opposite to *Newfoundland*, expected their joining him in his Passage to *Quebec*; the former of which Ships had taken and sent into *Boston*, before he sailed thence, a Ship of about one hundred and twenty Tons, with ten Guns, and had seventy Men on board, whereof thirty were Soldiers for the Garrison of *Quebec*.

The *Leostoff*, *Feverham's Enterprize*, and *Tryton's Prize*, all small Vessels, which were stationed at *New York* and *Virginia*, he ordered to join him off of *Cape Breton*, being impowered by her Majesty's Orders so to do, if he should find it necessary, and this the rather because they might be of good use to him in his Proceeding up the River to *Quebec*, which Navigation most of the People with whom he had spoken represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, which mounted eighty Guns each, too big to be ventured thither; for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his Flag on board the *Edgar*, a Ship of seventy Guns, General *Hill* removing into the *Windsor*, which carried ten less; but since he had Information that a Ship of sixty Guns, and another of thirty, were expected from *France* very shortly; he ordered the aforesaid Ships, *Humber* and *Devonshire*, to cruize in the Opening of the Bay of *St. Laurence*, until the last of *August*, and then to pursue their Voyage home.

He had very fair Weather until he got into the aforesaid Bay, when it came changeable, sometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little Winds, and the Navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of *August*, when he was off *Gaspe Bay*, near the Entrance of the River *Canada*, it blew fresh at North-west, and lest the Transports should be separated, and blown to Leeward, he anchored in that Bay; where, staying for an Opportunity to proceed up the River, he burnt a *French* Ship which was a fishing, not being able to bring her off. The Wind veering westerly the 20th of *August*, he had Hopes of gaining his Passage; but the next Day Afternoon it proved foggy, and continued so all Night and the Day following, with very little Wind till the Afternoon, when there was an extreme thick Fog and it began to blow hard at East-south-east, which, rendering it impossible to steer any Course with Safety, having neither Sight of Land or Soundings, or Anchorage; he, by the Advice of the Pilots then on board him, both *English* and *French*, who were the best in the Fleet, made the Signal for the Ships to bring to with their Heads Southward, at which Time it was about eight at Night, believing that in that Posture they should not come near the North Shore, but rather have driven with the Stream in the Mid-channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their Heads Southwards, and the Wind easterly, in two Hours Time he found himself on the North Shore among the Rocks and Islands, at least fifteen Leagues farther than the Log-line gave, where the whole Fleet had like to have been lost, the Men of War escaping with the utmost Difficulty; but eight Transport Ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen perished.

The *French* Pilot, who, as it was said, had been forty Voyages in this River, and eighteen of them in Command, informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the Sight of the Land, it is impossible to judge of the Currents, or to steer by any Course; for he himself had lost two Ships, and been himself near the South, in-

so much that it was extremely difficult to procure Men in *France* to proceed on so dangerous a Navigation, since almost every Year they suffered Shipwreck. Thus it appeared how things had been misrepresented in *Great Britain*, by those who pretend to aver that Fleets of Ships might safely proceed up the River to *Quebec*; and it was demonstrable that the People of *Boston* knew not any thing of what they proposed, when Schemes were laid for such an Expedition. After this unhappy Disaster, and when Sir *Hovenden Walker* had plied two Days with very fresh Gales, between the West and the South, to save what Men and other things he could, he called a Council of War, and upon enquiring of the Pilots (who had been forced on board the Ships by the Government of *New England*) and duly examining into every Circumstance, it was judged impracticable for a Fleet to get up to *Quebec*, since there were so many apparent Dangers, and no Pilots qualified to take the Charge; besides it was the Opinion of them all, both *English* and *French*, that had the Squadron been higher up the River, with the hard Gales they met with, all the Ships would have been inevitably lost. At this Council of War there were, besides the Rear Admiral, Captain *Joseph Soames*, Captain *John Mitchel*, Captain *Robert Arris*, Captain *George Walton*, Captain *Henry Gore*, Captain *George Paddon*, Captain *John Cockburn*, and Captain *Augustine Rouse*. The Consultation being over, the *Saphire* was sent to *Boston*, with an Account of the Misfortune, and the *Montague*, to find out the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, and to stop all Ships bound up to *Quebec*; and the *Leopard* being left with some Sloops and Brigantines, to take any Men from the Shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some Anchors left behind, he proceeded to *Spanish River*, in the Island of *Breton*, the Rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the State of the Army and Fleet, and to settle Matters for their farther Proceedings.

But all the Ships did not join till the 7th of *September*; the Day following, by consent of the General, he called a Council of War of Sea and Land Officers, where it was considered, whether under their present Circumstances it was practicable to attempt any thing against *Placentia*, which all of them very much inclined to; but upon examining into the State of the Provisions on board the Men of War and Transports, it was found there was but ten Weeks Provision, at short Allowance, in the former, and in the latter much less, so that it was unanimously agreed not any thing of that kind could be undertaken; but that it was necessary the Squadron and Transports should proceed to *Great Britain*, since they had but barely Provisions sufficient for the Voyage, and that there was not any Prospect of a Supply from *New England*, and the Season of the Year being too far advanced for navigating safely in those Parts of the World. At this Council of War there were, besides the Sea Officers of the last, General *Hill*, Colonel *Charles Churchill*, Colonel *William Windresse*, Colonel *Campanfelt*, Colonel *Clayton*, Colonel *Kirk*, together with Colonel *Vetch*, and Colonel *Walton*, who commanded the Forces raised in *New England*.

It was in pursuance of this Resolution taken in *Spanish River*, that he sailed on the 16th of *September* for *England*, where he arrived the 9th of *October* following, and not long after his Return, the *Edgar*, a seventy-gun Ship, on board of which he hoisted his Flag, took fire, and blew up at *Spithead*, by some Accident, the Cause of which was never known; and thus ended an Expedition every Way unfortunate, and which brought nothing but Discredit and Blame upon those who contrived, and those who were concerned in the executing, it, and particularly Sir *Hovenden Walker*, a very honest plain-spoken Man; who, if there was any dark Secret in this Business, was most certainly ignorant of it. His Opinion always was, and he died in the full Belief of it, that though the Expedition might be justly stiled unfortunate, inasmuch as it miscarried, and the Fleet never reached *Quebec*; yet it would have been much more so, if they had got up the River of *St. Laurence*, and had actually landed their Men, as they were by their Instructions directed to do; and the Reasons he gave for it are very well worth the hearing,

especially at this Juncture, when an Expedition of the same kind is said to be under Consideration. The Reasons that he gave for it were these: That in Case the *French* had retired from *Quebec*, they would have carried their Provisions with them, and have destroyed what they could not carry, so that the *English* would have had nothing but a wild, barren, uncultivated Country before them, with the Conquest of which they might please themselves; but in which, nevertheless, they would find it impossible to subsist.

“For, continues he, our Peoples Provisions would have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to six) Weeks, at short Allowance; no Relief could possibly be hoped for in less than ten Months, if so soon; the *Feverham*, and three Store-ships, laden with the Provisions designed for their Supply, being cast away in their Passage; so that if they had escaped Shipwreck, which would have been a very great Chance, between ten and twelve thousand Men must inevitably have perished with Hunger and Cold, and the Ship have become a Prey to the returning Enemy. On the other hand, had the Enemy held out till our People had spent all their Provisions, they must have laid down their Arms, and have surrendered to the *French* at Discretion, to avoid Death in its most frightful Shape, Famine; or if they had taken the Place, either by Storm or Capitulation, the remaining Provisions of a small Garrison would not have gone far towards subsisting so large a Number; nor could they, at that Season of the Year, have marched through the Country in search of more: And this would have been the Case, had they afterwards attempted *Placentia*.”

How far this Gentleman might be in the Right or in the Wrong, I shall not at present desire the Reader to enquire; but, most certainly, what he says has at the first Sight the Appearance of Sincerity and Truth, and therefore we ought to be very cautious of running any fresh Hazards of this Nature: But the driving the *French* from *Canada* is most certainly a Thing very possible and very practicable, provided the Scheme be laid by those who are well acquainted with the State and Force of our Colonies, the Navigation of the River of *St. Laurence*, and the Condition of the Colony we propose to dislodge; and if it be executed by Seamen and Officers of Experience in their respective Professions, and who found the Hopes of promoting their private Interest on the solid Basis of exerting their utmost Abilities in the public Service.

8. The *French*, during the whole Course of the last War, were particularly attentive to the Preservation of their own Colonies, and annoying of ours, in both which Schemes they were but too successful, which however was not owing so much either to the Wisdom of their Councils or the Vigour of their Arms, as to the Faults in our Measures, and the Miscarriages of our Sea Officers. I shall not pretend to enter into a strict Detail of these disagreeable Points, but shall content myself with a few general Points which I flatter myself will be sufficient for my Purpose. At the very beginning of the War, the gallant old Admiral *Benbow* was sacrificed by some of his Officers who had a Pique to him. He was a Man of great Honour and strict Discipline, but had some of the Roughness of a Tar about him, which rendered him very disagreeable to the fine Gentlemen of the Navy, amongst whom were three of the Captains that deserted him; their Conduct indeed had the Look of Cowardise, and of that they were found guilty by a Court Martial, and suffered Death for it very deservedly; but they only acted the Cowards and were not so, for they had behaved gallantly upon other Occasions, and never Man looked Death in the Face with more Intrepidity than Capt. *Kirby* did, which however was so far from extenuating, that in my Opinion it heightened his Offence.

The executing severe Justice upon those three Gentlemen, which certainly was a very wise and right Step, and was taken by the mildest Government this or perhaps any other Nation ever saw, had a very good Effect, and taught People to fear the Justice of the Nation, in case they sacrificed the Concerns of the Public to their particular Resentments or private Views; but that it did not

not entirely put an End to the Evil is very certain, since something of the same kind happened afterwards to Sir Charles Wager, and prevented his taking at least another Galleon. The Admirals also, and great Sea Officers, that were stationed at *Jamaica* for the Protection of the Island and Security of Commerce, did not behave so well as they might have done, as appears from those authentic Registers the Votes of the House of Commons, where the Reader will find, that, after long and strict Enquiries, in which the Merchants were admitted to make particular Charges, and allowed to support them by Evidence, Censures were passed upon those Officers who appeared to be guilty; and both Houses shewed a warm Zeal for redressing those Mischiefs occasioned by the ill Conduct of the Navy, and thereby left ample Testimony of their Regard for the Public, though it was not attended with that Success that might have been wished.

In the mean time the *French* went on in quite a different way; and, when they found their Fleets were able to do little against ours, they very wisely declined waisting their Naval Force in Combats at Sea, and applied it almost entirely to the protecting their own Trade, and distressing ours. They undertook the escorting the *Spanish* Plate Fleets, and were, generally speaking, but too successful in that Undertaking. Notwithstanding our superior Force, they attempted a Commerce with the *Spanish* Settlements in the *South-Seas*; and in this too they succeeded, notwithstanding the dangerous Navigation round *Cape Horn*, and from thence they reaped two great Advantages, *viz.* maintaining and improving their Manufactures, even in a time of War; and bringing vast Sums into *France*, without which she could not possibly have continued the War.

Yet, in some respects, it manifestly appeared that her Force was very insufficient for supporting her Views in the *West Indies*, since, in an Attempt they made upon *Carolina* in 1706, they were shamefully repulsed by the natural Force of that Colony, without any Assistance from hence. And, on the other hand, our People succeeded in their Attempt to drive the *French* out of what they possessed in the Island of *St. Christophers*; which plainly shewed what might have been done, in that War, towards destroying their Sugar Colonies, if, as our Interests most certainly led us, we had considered that Point more attentively than we did some others, which did not concern us near so much. For, had we used the Opportunity that was given us to have driven the *French* out of all or most of their Islands, it must have turned so much to our Advantage, in Point of Trade, that, in all human Probability, we should have had no Reason to regret the vast Expences of that long and consuming War.

But, instead of doing this, our Views were almost entirely confined to *Europe*, where our Success was indeed very honourable for our Arms, but was very far from procuring us any Advantages in respect to Trade; which I do not say with any Design of reflecting on the Ministers by whom that War was managed, who perhaps might mean us well, and did for us as much as was in their Power; but to shew where the Fault really lay, which was our entering into many Engagements that were either useless or detrimental to our Commercial Interests.

Whereas the *French*, who had but very lately entertained any Thoughts of Trade, kept that continually in view, both in their Operations during the War, and in their Negotiations for bringing about a Peace. In respect to the former, besides what they did against us in the *West Indies*, they attacked the *Portuguese* in *Brazil*, ruined the Commerce between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, and established their own; and, besides all this, when they had actually begun to treat with us, and our Court considered them in a manner as Friends, they sent a Fleet to distress us in the *Leeward Islands*; which excessively provoked our Ministry, though they were too far advanced in their pacific Measures to retreat.

At the Conclusion of the Treaty, the *French* shewed the same Care for, and the same Steadiness in, supporting their Commerce. It was with Difficulty that they were prevailed upon to restore what they had taken from our *Hudson's-Bay Company*. *Nova Scotia* we had, and, because

they could not take it from us, they left it to us; but they plainly cheated us out of *Cape Breton*. And tho' they pretended to renounce all Pretensions on *Newfoundland*; yet they preserved what they never had any title to, and what, with respect to that Country, was all they ever wanted. By these Arts they secured great Advantages to themselves, which were all at our Expence; brought a heavy Load of Reproach on the Ministers who transacted with them, and left the Treaty of *Utrecht* as a Memorial to all succeeding Ministers of the Danger of entering into any separate Negotiations with *France*.

9. After the Accession of his late Majesty King *George I.* to the *British* Throne, there followed several Disturbances at home and abroad, which might very well hinder the Ministers from contriving any new Schemes for the Advantage of our Colonies, or from perfecting those which had been formerly laid for that Purpose. The Rebellion in *Scotland* first, and after that the Quadruple Alliance, and the Measures which preceded and followed it, sufficiently occupied their Thoughts, and if they went on in the ordinary way, in protecting them, and providing for their Security, they might very well be excused for postponing Thoughts or Projects of another Nature to more favourable Times.

But the *French*, always watchful for their own Advantage, at the very time when they seemed most solicitous in cultivating the Friendship of *Britain*, and were daily receiving Benefits from it, projected the Settlement of the Island of *St. Lucia*, which had been always included in the Commission of the Governor of *Barbadoes*; and for that Purpose the *French* King thought fit, in the Year 1719, to make a Grant of that Island to the Marshal *d'Etree*, who immediately made the necessary Dispositions for establishing a Colony in that Island, and sent over People for that Purpose. The Governor of *Barbadoes*, as it was his Duty, opposed this Settlement vigorously, and declared roundly, That, if the *French* persisted in settling, he should find himself under a Necessity of driving them off that Island, which belonged to the King his Master, by Force.

At the same time our Minister at the Court of *Paris* presented a Memorial, in which he set forth the Title the Crown of *Great Britain* had to this Island, and, consequently, the great Injustice of the *French* King's Grant, which was very apparent from the following Particulars in relation to the History of this Island, in which both *English* and *French* Writers agree. The *English* settled on the Island of *St. Lucia* in 1639, and lived there near two Years without any Interruption or Disturbance; but in 1640 they were driven off from the said Island, and the Governor and most of the Inhabitants killed by the *Caribbeans*, and, as the *English* suspected, by the Instigation and Encouragement of the *French*; which the *French* Generals, *Parquet* and *de Poincy*, however, both disowned. Nor did the *French*, at that time, or any other time, make any sort of Pretension to the Island. A tacit Acknowledgment undoubtedly of the Right of the *English*.

The Civil Wars in *England* breaking out, the *English* neglected this Settlement; and *Monf. du Parquet* sent thirty or forty *Frenchmen* to take Possession of the Island. The *Sieur de Rousselan* governed here till 1694, and was succeeded by *de la Riviere*, whom the *Caribbeans* killed with several of his Men, and carried off his Wife and two of his Children. He was succeeded by *Monf. le Breton*, he by *Monf. Agremont*, who was also destroyed by the *Caribbeans*. After this the *English* made a Treaty with the *Caribbeans* for the purchasing the Island from them; and, in 1663, sent fourteen or fifteen hundred Men on board of five Men of War, who, being joined by six hundred of the *Caribbeans* in seventeen Canoes, came before the Island in June 1664, which was delivered to them without Resistance, on Condition that the *French* Governor and Garrison in the Fort, which amounted only to fourteen Men, should be transported to *Martinico*, with their Cannon, Arms, and Baggage. In 1666 the *English* Governor, *Mr. Robert Cook*, by reason of the Mortality of his People, Want of Necessaries, &c. abandoned the Island, and set fire to the Fort; yet, two Days afterwards, a Bark arrived from *Lord Willoughby*, Governor

Governor and Captain-General of *Barbadoes*, and the other *English* *Caribbee* Islands, to Windward of *Guardaloupa*, with Provisions, Ammunition, and all Necessaries for the Colony. In this deserted Condition it remained thenceforward, but was always considered as a Part of the *British* Dominions. The Interposition of our Minister produced the desired Effect, and the *French* desisted at that time from their Settlement.

10. This Attempt, however, so much alarmed our Court, that the Duke of *Montague* resolved, at a vast Expence, to settle that Island and *St. Vincent*, which was so agreeable to the Ministry and to his late Majesty, that by Letters Patent, dated the 22d of *June*, 1722, both those Islands were granted to his Grace, that he might be encouraged to put so generous and public-spirited a Design in Execution; and for the farther Benefit and Advantage of the new Colonies which he was to settle, the Duke was also constituted Captain-General of the Islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, which till that Time were included in the Commission, and remained under the Government of the Governors of *Barbadoes*. His Grace, having appointed Capt. *Uring* his Deputy-Governor, and provided seven Ships and Vessels to carry over the Planters, with such Provisions and Necessaries as were requisite to settle Colonies in those Islands, obtained of his Majesty the *Winchelsea* Man of War, commanded by Capt. *Orme*, to convoy, attend, and protect the Planters.

Mr. *Uring* embarked on board the *Winchelsea*, on the 10th of *September* 1722, and sailing to *Ireland* to take in Provisions, made it the 15th of *December* before he arrived at *St. Lucia*. Being come to an Anchor in *Pidgeon Island* Bay, a *Barbadoes* Sloop soon after arrived from *Martinico*, the Master whereof communicated to Mr. *Uring* the Copy of a Mandate by the King of *France*, which he said was published by Order of the *French* General in all the Churches of that Island, and in all the Towns by beat of Drum; which contained in Substance, That if the *English* did not leave the Island in the Space of fifteen Days, they were to be expelled by Force of Arms. The next Morning Mr. *Uring* weighed from *Pidgeon Island* Bay, and stood for the Harbour of *Petite Carénage*, which they found to be a very good one, and in it several Places fit for careening Ships, sheltered from every Wind; in one of which, Ships of sixty Guns and upwards may careen very conveniently: The Land is very hilly all round the Harbour, and in most places steep, ascending from the Water-side. At two in the Afternoon we landed fifty Men to cut down the Trees and Bushes on the Point that lay fit for a Battery of Guns to command the Entrance of the Harbour. The same Day he sent Mr. *Faulkner* to *Martinico*, with Letters from the Duke of *Montague* and the Admiralty directed to Capt. *Charles Brown*, Commander of the *Feverisham* Man of War, and Capt. *Brand* Commander of the *Hector*; who were then at *Martinico*; and acquainted them, that the Duke had appointed him Deputy-Governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and being come to settle those Islands under the Protection of the *Winchelsea* Man of War, he desired that in pursuance of the Orders they had received from the Admiralty for that Purpose, they would join him as soon as possible, being apprehensive the Governor of *Martinico* designed to molest the Colony. In the mean time he proceeded to land his People, Guns, Tools, Planks, and Stores, to fortify the Harbour, and build a large House to shelter the Workmen.

On the 22d of *December* Captain *Brand*, and Captain *Brown*, arrived from *Martinico* with his Majesty's Ships, the *Hector* and *Feverisham*, and soon after a *French* Sloop, which brought a Letter from the *French* General, to acquaint Mr. *Uring* that he had heard of his landing *English* Forces in the Island of *St. Lucia*, and desired to know his Intentions; and at the same Time he received the following Copy of the *French* King's Mandate, viz. A Mandate of the King to the *Sieur Chevalier* de *Feuquire*, Governor and Lieutenant General of the Windward Islands in *America*. "His Majesty having been informed that the King of *England* has given the Islands of *St. Vincent*, and *St. Lucia*, to the Duke of *Montague*, has made his Complaint of it to the Court of *England*,

and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of these Islands belong to that Crown. The first of them ought to remain to the *Caribbees*, according to Conventions made with that People; and the second does belong to *France*, who has been willing to suspend the Settlement of that Island on the request of the King of *England*; notwithstanding those Reasons, his Majesty hath not been informed that there has not been any Revocation of this Grant; on the contrary, he understands that the Duke of *Montague* is repairing to send and take Possession of those Islands, and to transport Numbers of Families thither. This Undertaking being contrary to the Rights of his Majesty, his Intention is, That in Case the *English* should take Possession of *St. Lucia*, and settle there, the *Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire* shall summon them to retire in fifteen Days, in regard that Island belongs to *France*; and if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by Force of Arms. He shall take Care to charge some of the wisest and most experienced of his Officers with this Expedition. His Majesty desires there should be as little Effusion of Blood as possible, nor will he have any Pillage made; he only wishes the *English* would retire, and not possess themselves of a Country which belongs to him. Done at *Versailles* the 21st of *September* 1722, signed, &c."

Upon reading the Mandate, and the *French* Governor's Letter, in which it was inclosed, Mr. *Uring* sent to Captain *Brand*, and Captain *Brown*, to know if he might depend upon their Assistance if he was attacked by the *French*; but they would give him no positive Answer, and soon after sailed to *Barbadoes*; he also sent a Letter to the Governor of *Martinico*, to acquaint him that he had Orders from the Duke of *Montague*, the Lord Proprietor, under his *British* Majesty's Patent, to plant *St. Lucia* and defend it, but proposed suspending all Acts of Hostility, till they could hear from their respective Courts of *Great Britain* and *France*. Mr. *Uring* also thought fit to write to the President of *Barbadoes*, that the Governor of *Martinico* had threatened to drive the *English* from the Island, if they did not depart in fifteen Days, and to desire his Assistance to support this Part of his Majesty's Dominions. To which the President answered, That he was ready to give him all the Assistance in his Power.

But the Captains *Brown* and *Brand* remained so long absent from *St. Lucia*, that the *French* had an Opportunity of sending between two and three thousand Men from *Martinico*, and landing them on the Island; the Captains of the Men of War also refused to give him Assistance, towards fortifying and defending the Colony by Land, and a great many of the Planters falling sick, and others deserting over to the *French* at the same Time, Mr. *Uring* had not fourscore left to bear Arms, which compelled him at length to come to a Treaty with the *French* General, the Marquis of *Champigny*; and the following Articles were concluded between them: First, That the *English* should quit the Island of *St. Lucia* within seven Days, provided that the Ships of the *English* Nation should at all times have Liberty to come into the Ports of the said Island, and wood and water there, and serve their other Occasions, as the *French* also might. Secondly, That the *English* Colony should be at Liberty to reimbarc all their Cannon, Stores, Arms, Baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without Molestation. Thirdly, That all Deserters should be given up. And, Lastly, That immediately after the *English* had evacuated the Island, the *French* Forces also should evacuate it, and that the Island should remain in the same State it was, till the Controversies between the two Crowns, relating to this Island, were decided. In pursuance of which Agreement Mr. *Uring* embarked with his People, and sailed to *Antigua*, sending the *Winchelsea* Man of War, and Captain *Braithwaite*, in the *Griffin* Sloop, to take a View of the Island of *St. Vincent*, and see if it was practicable to make a Settlement there. In the mean Time a considerable Reinforcement arrived at *Barbadoes*, from the Duke of *Montague*, with Ammunition and Provision, and Orders to attempt a Settlement upon *St. Vincent*, if the Planters were driven from *St. Lucia*.

11. In order to this he had Instructions, and a Commission given him by Mr. *Uring*, which were perfectly well adjusted to the Design upon which he was sent; and in the mean Time Governor *Uring* remained at *Antigua*, where he had all the Civilities paid him, and all the Services done him by the Governor, and other Persons in Authority, that he could either desire or expect; which, in some Measure, mitigated his sharp Sense of the Misfortunes he had met with; for he was both a capable and an honest Man; one who had the Service very much at Heart, and who discharged his Duty so punctually, even in this disastrous Undertaking, as to preserve his Reputation, and to merit a kind Reception from his generous Master the Duke of *Montague*, who was so wise as to expect no more from a Man than was in his Power, and so good as to commend and reward him who did that, though it was not attended with the happy Consequences that might have been expected from it. This Gentleman did not remain long at *Antigua*, before he was made sensible that there was as little, or rather less Hopes of making a Settlement at *St. Vincent*, than he by Experience had found there was of fixing a Colony on *St. Lucia*; for Capt. *John Braithwaite*, returning from his unsuccessful Expedition, delivered to Governor *Uring*, in Justification of his own Conduct, and for the Satisfaction of his Grace the Duke of *Montague*, the following Account of the Measures he had taken for executing the Commission granted to him, in order to fix a Settlement on his Majesty's Island of *St. Vincent*. This Paper being equally curious and important, and also entirely historical, we shall give the Reader an Extract of it in that Gentleman's own Words.

The REPORT of Capt. John Braithwaite to Nathaniel Uring, Esq;.

" In Pursuance of a Resolution in Council, and your Order for so doing the Day you sailed with his Grace's Colony for *Antigua*, I sailed with the *Griffin* Sloop, in Company with his Majesty's Ship the *Winchelsea*, to *St. Vincent*: We made the Island that Night, and the next Morning run along the Shore, and saw several *Indian* Huts, but as yet no *Indians* came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no Ground to anchor in. Towards the Evening two *Indians* came on board, and told us we might anchor in a Bay to leeward, and when we were at Anchor they would bring their General on board. Here we came to an Anchor in deep Water, and very dangerous for the Sloop. One whom they called General came on board with several others, to the Number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handsomely, and made the Chief some trifling Presents; but found him to be a Person of no Consequence, and that they called him Chief to get some Present from me. Here two of the *Indians* were so drunk that they would not go ashore, but staid on board some Days, and were well entertained. After this, little Winds and great Currents drove us off for several Days, but at last we came to an Anchor in a spacious Bay to the leeward of all the Island, the Draught of which I ordered to be taken by our Surveyor, for your better understanding the Place; being the only one where a Settlement could be made. The Ship and Sloop were scarce come to an Anchor before the Strand of the Shore was covered with *Indians*, and amongst them we could discover a white Man, who proved to be a *Frenchman*. I took Capt. *Watson* in the Boat with me, with a *Frenchman*, and immediately went on Shore. As soon as I came amongst them, I asked why they appeared all armed, for every Man had a Cutlass; some had Muskets, Pistols, Bows and Arrows, &c. They with very little Ceremony enclosed me, and carried me up the Country for about a Mile, over a little Rivulet, where I was told I was to see their General: I found him sitting amidst a Guard of about an hundred *Indians*; those nearest his Person had all Muskets, the rest Bows and Arrows; and all observed a great Silence: He ordered me a Seat, and a *Frenchman* stood at his Right-hand, for an Interpreter: He demanded

of me, What brought me into his Country, and of what Nation? I told him, *English*; and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to say any thing else before the *Frenchman*; but told him, if he would be pleased to come on board our Ships, I would leave *Englishmen* in Hostage for those he should be pleased to take along with him. But I could not prevail with him, either to come on board, or suffer me to have Wood or Water. He said, he was informed we were come to force a Settlement. And we had no way to remove that Jealousy but by getting under sail. As soon as I found what Influence the *Frenchman's* Company had upon him I took my Leave, after making such Replies as I thought proper, and returned to my Boat, under a Guard; and when I came to the Shore, I found the Guard was increased by a Number of Negroes, all armed with Fuzees. I got into my Boat without any Injury, and went on board to Capt. *Orme*, and told him my ill Success. Immediately after I sent ashore the Sloop's Boat with a Mate, with Rum, Beef, Bread, &c. with some Cutlasses; and ordered a *Frenchman* who went with the Mate, to desire the Guard to conduct them to their General, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common Good of Water, and a little useless Wood, nevertheless I had sent him such Refreshments as our Ships afforded. Our People found the *Frenchman* gone, and that then the *Indian* General seemed pleased, and received what was sent him; and in return, sent me Bows and Arrows. Our People had not been long returned but the General sent a Canoe with ten Chief *Indians*, who spoke very good *French*, to thank me for my Presents, and to ask Pardon for his refusing me Wood and Water, and assured me I might have what I pleased; and they had Orders to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore again they were to remain Hostages for my civil Treatment. I sent them on board the Man of War; and with Capt. *Watson* went ashore. I was well received, and conducted as before: But now I found the Brother, the Chief of the Negroes, was arrived with five hundred Negroes, most armed with Fuzees. They told my Interpreter, they were sure we were come to force a Settlement, or else they would not have denied me what they never before had denied any *English*, viz. Wood and Water; but, if I thought fit, I might take what I pleased under a Guard. Finding them in so good a Humour, I once more introduced the Desire I had to entertain them on board our Ships, and with some Difficulty I prevailed with them by leaving Capt. *Watson* ashore under their Guard as a Hostage. I carried them on board the King's Ship, where they were well entertained by Capt. *Orme*, who gave the *Indian* General a fine Fuzee of his own, and to the Chief of the Negroes something that pleased him. Capt. *Orme* assured them of the Friendship of the King of *England*, &c. The Negro Chief spoke excellent *French*, and made Answers with all the *French* Compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board the Duke's Sloop; and after opening their Hearts with Wine, for they scorned to drink Rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my Commission, and what brought me upon their Coast. They told me, it was well I had not mentioned it on Shore, for their Power could not have protected me; that it was impossible; the *Dutch* had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewise told me, that two *French* Sloops had, the Day before we came, been amongst them, and gave them Arms and Ammunition, and assured them of the whole Force of *Martinico* for their Protection against us: They told them also, that they had driven us from *St. Lucia*; and that we were come now to endeavour a Settlement there; and notwithstanding all our specious Pretences, when we had Power we should enslave them; but they declared they would trust no *Europeans*: That they owned themselves under the Protection of the *French*, but would as soon oppose their settling among them, or any Act of Force from them, as us. They had

“ lately given an Example, by killing several; and they
 “ further told me it was by very large Presents the *French*
 “ ever got in their Favour again, but they resolved never
 “ to put it in their Power, or of any *Europeans*, to hurt
 “ them: They advised me to think what they said was
 “ an Act of Friendship. This being all I could get
 “ from them, I dismissed them with such Presents as his
 “ Grace ordered for that Service, with a Discharge of
 “ Cannon; and received in Return, as regular Volleys of
 “ small Shot as I ever heard. In the Night the *Winchelsea*
 “ drove from her Anchors, which as soon as I perceived,
 “ and had received Capt. *Watson* from the Shore, I got
 “ under Sail, and stood to the Man of War; this is a
 “ faithful Report of all I *John Braithwaite* can recollect.”

12. Mr. *Uring* having read the above Report of Captain *Braithwaite*, he judged there was like to be little good done at *St. Vincent*, and the second Scheme on *St. Lucia* being laid aside, he determined to unload all the Stores, and discharge the Vessels, and proposed to Lieutenant General *Matthews*, to do it at *Antigua*; which he said he thought could be done with more Ease and Security, and in much less Time, and would save a great deal of Charge and Trouble, and less Hazard than at *St. Christophers*; the Lieutenant General answered, that in his House at *St. Christophers* was room enough to hold all the Duke's Stores, and should cost his Grace nothing; and, that as he had the Government of that Island, he had such an Influence over the People, that the Duke's Servants would be more secure there, and that he could better provide for the Officers, than at *Antigua*; and further said, that the Servants could be kept together in *Charles Fort*, where they might have an Opportunity to discipline them against any new Undertaking; and accordingly asked Leave of General *Hart* to discipline them, which was granted. Mr. *Uring* taking Notice of the Advantages that the Lieutenant General proposed, and seeing him so very earnest for the Stores to be lodged at *St. Christophers*, agreed to it, and accordingly ordered them down thither, during their attending the *Griffin's* Return from her Errand to *St. Vincent* and *Martinico*.

Mr. *Uring* frequently visited the Transports, to see things were in good Order; Lieutenant General *Matthews* went in the *Charles* and *Freemason*, to *St. Christophers*, with them; and as soon as they arrived at that Island, he, in Concert with Mr. *Uring*, cantoned the Officers in several Places, as there was Convenience, and they were ordered to their respective Quarters. They had now four Vessels to unload at the same Time, and at a considerable Distance, and a difficult Way to carry the Stores to the Store-houses. Mr. *Uring* ordered such a Number of Servants ashore from the Vessels, as he thought useful for carrying up the Stores; and Officers were appointed at different Places in the Avenues, to keep the People from running into the Country; but notwithstanding all the Care they could take, great Part of them were gone by Night. He ordered more ashore next Day, and continued landing the Stores, Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, &c. and as the Casks very often came to Pieces in getting up to the Store-houses, Mr. *Uring*, for the most Part, stood by till they were repaired, and was, at least, thirty times a Day from the Landing-place to the Store-houses, in order to prevent any Embezzlement, and to hasten the Work. The Officers thinking the Work too hard for them all Day, though they generally stood in one Place, Mr. *Uring* divided them, the one half to attend in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon; though he was obliged to attend the whole Day, in order to preserve the Stores, which he hoped was in a good Measure done; the Goods landing from so many Vessels at one and the same Time, so many Sorts loose, as well as in Casks, made it no easy Matter to keep an exact Account.

The whole Care of every thing, as well as the Stores, was upon Mr. *Uring*. However the Goods were landed and stored, and after the Ships were unloaded, he searched every Ship by Warrant, to see if there remained any thing belonging to the Duke of *Montague* on board them, which the Masters said there did not: Several Provisions were found on board the *Charles* and *Freemason*,

which were put ashore. When every thing was landed out of the several Ships, his next Care was to put them in good Order; many of the Casks being broken, they would not hold the Weight in them, therefore they started them into other sound Casks and Chests, which were made for that Use. He also caused all the Provisions to be turned out of the Store-houses and looked over, and such as were in Casks, or wanted Pickle, were put into better, and new pickled; and he directed the worst to be first spent. He fitted up a Smith's Shop, kept the Smiths and Armourers at Work, and cleaning the Arms. The Men were disciplined, so that they could do their Exercise very well, and made as regular Fires as the King's Troops.

Mr. *Uring* paid off several of the Seamen belonging to the *Griffin* Sloop to ease the Charge, and ordered such Servants on board her as were Seamen, and as many more as he dared trust. By that Time they had put things into tolerable Order, the *Hopewell* arrived, with about ninety Servants and several Officers, a great Quantity of Provisions, with Cannon, Ammunition, and warlike Stores, which were also landed under the Care of Mr. *Uring*, who had Letters by this Ship from the Duke of *Montague*; which informed him that his Grace was in Treaty for five hundred *English* Families, and five hundred *Irish*, which he intended to transport to *St. Lucia* as soon as possible. The *Hopewell* brought from *Barbadoes* a Number of live Sheep, which had been carried thither by the *Leopard*, which was arrived at that Island, laden with Boards, Plank, and Frames of Houses, for the Use of the Colony.

When Lieutenant General *Matthews* returned to *Antigua*, he left Mr. *Uring* his House to live in, where was Room for most of the Officers. He sent then to acquaint them, that he had Convenience for them, and designed to keep a Table for their Entertainment, considering it would be much more convenient and less Charge to his Grace, for them to keep together, than be separated. All the Servants that were not lent to the Planters were lodged in the Out-houses, and due Care was taken both of the Sick and the Well, to have their Provisions at proper times, and well ordered. Mr. *Uring* seldom went to Dinner before he saw all the Sick provided, and well served with fresh Meat and Broth, which was for the most Part four times a Week, and those that were sick, every Day. The Lame, though there were a great many of them, he dressed himself for several Days, when he had no Surgeon. The Servants were all well supplied out of the Duke's Stores, with Cloathing and Necessaries, though they often stray'd about the Country and sold them, and then complained to the Planters that they were naked; for which they were punished and again supplied. He frequently sent out the Sergeants with Parties, to bring in the Stragglers, and had no little Trouble to keep them in a tolerable Decorum; he also put up Advertisements at all the Port Towns, to warn the Masters of Ships from entertaining or carrying any of them off the Island; and in the beginning of *May* sent Captain *King* in the *Griffin* Sloop to *Barbadoes*, to bring down the Runaways from thence, and such Letters as were lodged there from the Duke of *Montague* for him; and after her return he ordered Captain *Watson* to careen her, in doing of which she sunk.

Mr. *Uring* having Notice thereof, went to see her Condition, and hired two Sloops to weigh her, and the *Griffin* was made again fit for the Sea. Mr. *Uring* having been informed that many of his Grace's Servants had made their Escape to *St. Eustatia*, he wrote several Letters to the Governor of that Island, by Officers of the Dukes, which were sent for that purpose, to acquaint him therewith, and to desire him to secure them, that they might be returned to *St. Christophers*, and accordingly two Men were brought back from thence. He had ordered the *Griffin* Sloop to *Antigua*, to lie there during the hurricane Months; when he had a Letter from Lieutenant General *Matthews*, which advised him that the Duke of *Montague* had impowered him to have the sole Disposal of all his Affairs in the *West Indies*, and sent him a Copy thereof. Mr. *Uring* then observed his Direction, until

until his Grace had wholly laid aside the Thoughts of any new Settlement; and had given him Orders to deliver up every thing belonging to him, into the Hands of the Lieutenant General, to whom his Grace had given Direction to discharge all, and pay them their Salaries to that Time, with an Allowance for their Passages for *England*. After Mr. *Uring* had delivered up all Stores, Arms, Cannon, &c. to the Agent of Lieutenant General *Matthews*, he went up to *Antigua*, to finish his Affairs with him, and from thence to *Barbadoes*, where he was received very kindly by Mr. *Worsley*. He staid a Week at that Island, and then returned to *Antigua*, and from thence to *St. Christophers*, where he took a Passage for *England*, and arrived at *Dover* the 28th of May 1724.

Thus we have given a large and circumstantial Account of this Expedition, from the Beginning to the End of it, from the authentic Papers of the two Gentlemen chiefly concerned in it, and very frequently in their own Words. From whence it appears, that it was in all respects the greatest and most expensive Scheme that was ever undertaken by a Subject of this Crown, or of any other; for besides the Ships, naval and military Stores, Cannon, small Arms, &c. he maintained four hundred and twenty-five Servants for a Year and a Half, besides eighty-five Tradesmen and Artificers of several sorts, who had from twenty to thirty Pounds a Year Wages; and upwards of fifty Officers, with Salaries from fifty to four hundred Pounds a Year, all duly paid, and themselves victualed in a very dear Part of the World, during the greatest Part of the Time. The computing therefore of the Duke of *Montague's* Expence at forty thousand Pounds is rather under than over doing the Business; and nothing can induce us to suspect the Largeness of the Sum but the very singular Circumstance that attends it, of its coming out of a private Purse for the public Service. This indeed, and the Time at which this Expedition was undertaken, renders it almost incredible; but whoever considers that in Seasons of the greatest Corruption (as surely that of the *South-Sea*, and the Bubbles that attended it, was here) Providence usually raises up some extraordinary Instances of a contrary Spirit, such as *Phocion* in the Decline of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, and the younger *Cato* when the *Roman* Republic was on the Point of Ruin, will the more readily credit this, and admire it the more. I should insist farther upon this noble and memorable Example but for two Reasons; the first is, that as the illustrious Person to whom it relates is living, amongst the many Instances of Freedom of Speech that may be met with in this Work, I should be ashamed to mix any thing that might be suspected of Flattery. The second Reason is, that the Virtues of the Duke are so well known, and so universally confessed, that I could do no Honour to any but myself, by endeavouring to celebrate them.

But though I am willing to decline a Task to which I confess myself unequal, I shall not be afraid of observing that this is the only proper time of reviving our Claim to those Islands, at least to that of *St. Lucia*, to which our Title is unquestionable. If we were not the first Discoverers, we were at least the first Planters of that Island, and besides the Title which this gives us, we have another, and perhaps a better, *viz.* that of Purchase from the Natives, and original Inhabitants of it. The *French*, it is true, have also settled upon that Island, but as Intruders only, and as such were obliged to quit it in the Reign of King *Charles II.* since which our Rights to that Island have been confirmed by Treaties. But their last quitting it, in 1719, is the strongest and clearest Proof of all. For had they not been sensible of their having no just Pretensions to *St. Lucia*, it is impossible to suppose that Men who so vigorously exerted themselves to prevent our Establishment, would so tamely have given up their own. What their Motives might be to so strange a Conduct, in the Compass of so short a time, I shall not pretend to guess, but this I may safely and honestly say, that no Change in their Conduct could possibly create a Change in their Title or ours: If our Right in 1719 was certain, it must have been as certain in 1722, and if certain then, it must be so still; which

gives us a fair Demand to have this Right of ours acknowledged by the next Treaty of Peace, that can never be concluded on good Terms for this Nation, if while we struggle to make *France* do Justice to others, we suffer her to persist in Acts of Injustice to ourselves. We see very clearly that the general Expressions contained in former Treaties avails nothing against *France* in a Time of full Peace, and therefore common Sense teaches us, and a due Concern for the Good of our Country requires, that we should have Justice done us on this Head before the Conclusion of the present War, because unless it be done now, past Experience shews us that we can never expect it for the future: That we may very rationally hope for it now, appears to every Man of tolerable Understanding, who reflects, that *France*, in this Respect, gives us nothing of which she is in Possession, or to which, in her own Opinion, she has any just Title; so that to refuse it when she pretends to be in a pacific Temper, must be a plain Proof that she dissembles, and then it would be Madness to trust her.

There is, however, one Particular in relation to this Affair that ought to be discussed before we leave it, which is, what Proceedings have since happened between the two Crowns in relation to this Island, after the Expedition before-mentioned; and as to these, I have received two remarkable Papers while this was printing, which I shall give the Reader immediately. In the mean time it is requisite to observe, that his present Majesty King *George II.* having constituted and appointed *Henry Worsley, Esq;* Governor and Commander in chief of this Island, as all his Predecessors had been, who were Governors of *Barbadoes*, he was graciously pleased to send him the following Instruction, in reference to the Disputes that had happened about it.

GEORGE R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well:
 “ Whereas the *French* for some Years have claimed
 “ the Island of *St. Lucia*, and do insist that the Right
 “ to the Islands of *St. Vincent* and *St. Dominico*, under
 “ your Government, is in the *Caribbeans*, now inhabit-
 “ ing the same, although we have an undoubted Right
 “ to all the said Islands; yet we have thought fit to agree
 “ with the *French* Court, that until our Right be deter-
 “ mined the said Islands shall be entirely evacuated by
 “ both Nations. It is therefore our Will and Pleasure,
 “ and you are accordingly to signify the same to such
 “ of our Subjects as shall be found inhabiting any of
 “ our said Islands, that they do forthwith quit the same
 “ until the Right shall be determined, as aforesaid; and
 “ that they do comply with this our Order within thirty
 “ Days from the Publication hereof in each of the said
 “ Islands respectively, under Pain of our highest Dis-
 “ pleasure; and you are to use your best Endeavours
 “ that no Ships of our Subjects, or of any other Nation,
 “ do frequent the said Islands during the time aforesaid
 “ except coming for Wood or Water. But it is our Will
 “ and Pleasure, that you do not execute this our Order
 “ until the *French* Governor of *Martinico* shall have re-
 “ ceived the like Direction from the *French* Court, and
 “ shall, jointly with you, put the same in Execution
 “ without any Exception. And you are hereby further
 “ ordered to transmit to us, by the first Opportunity, a
 “ full Account of your Proceedings, as likewise of those
 “ of the *French* in this Behalf, taking Care by all Op-
 “ portunities to inform ourself whether our Subjects, and
 “ those of the *French* King, do comply punctually with the
 “ true Intent and Meaning of this Agreement, until such
 “ time as the Right to the said Islands shall be absolutely
 “ determined as aforesaid. And for your so doing this
 “ shall be your Warrant. And so we bid you farewell.
 “ Given at our Court at *St. James's* the 30th Day of
 “ *November*, in the fourth Year of our Reign, by his
 “ Majesty's Command.

Holles Newcastle.

It appears plainly from this Instruction, and it will appear still more clearly from the *French* King's Letter upon this Head, that the two Courts had come to an Agree-

Agreement about this Matter, that is, about the immediate Settlement, not as to their Rights; for our King declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this Dispute; and so to be sure it was, and is. But let us see the Instructions from *France*, which are referred to in the foregoing Paper, which were conceived in the Words following:

The French King's LETTER or MANDATE, to the Governor of Martinico, dated December 26, 1730.

Monsieur DE CHAMPIGNY,

“ The *English* have, for some time past, laid Pretensions to the Island of *St. Lucia*, which belongs to me, and to which I have an incontestable Right. The same Pretensions they have laid to the Islands of *St. Vincent* and *St. Dominico*, said to belong to the *Caribbeans*, Natives of the Country, according to the Treaty of the 31st of *March*, 1660; and in the Possession of which it is my Intention to support them. I have, nevertheless, agreed with the Court of *England*, that until these Pretensions shall be determined, the said Islands shall be evacuated by both Nations. And this is to acquaint you, that it is my Pleasure, that you make it known, &c.” As in the former.

Upon these Papers I shall make but one Remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and exposed the true Intention and Design, and, indeed, the whole Workings and Policy of the Court of *France*. There were many who saw and said this at the Time, but thought it indecent and improper to publish so much, when our Court had consented to accept of this Expedient. But now that Reason is removed, and we are at full Liberty to say whatever can be said with Truth upon this Subject, I cannot avoid doing so, and shall dispatch it in very few Words. The *French* had not, in their own Opinion, any Title to the Island of *St. Lucia*, but what arose from Expediency. They saw it lay near them, and they very well knew the Consequences that would follow from its being settled by the *English*, and this, more than any Advantages they expected from it, put them upon the Attempt to settle it.

The Reader may possibly imagine that I only assert this, but the Fact is otherwise; I can really prove it. The *French* Writers on Geography and Trade, nay the *French* Politicians, never dreamed of any such thing, as appears from the Books; and the famous Mr. *Savary*, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*, tells us plainly, that the *French* possess or claim ten of the *Caribbee Islands*, eight entirely, and two in Conjunction with the *Dutch*; all of which he names, but does not include *St. Lucia*; which shews that such People in *France*, as must soonest have heard of this Claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I say that this Settlement was made to prevent our gaining the Island, rather than from any great Hopes of Profit, I mean that these were the Motives of the *French* Ministry, because they had been long of Opinion that *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, ought to be the great Object of their Concern in those Parts of the World, for many Reasons, which will fall properly in another Place. All therefore that they desired, with respect to the Islands, was to prevent our settling upon them, which, besides an immediate Loss, might prejudice their future Views; and therefore they were willing to take Possession of *St. Lucia* as an Out-work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true Reason of their proposing the Expedient contained in the foregoing Papers, which actually answered their Ends better than if the Island had been absolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* fifteen Years ago was such, as made it reasonable for us to suspend our Right, which I lay down as a Supposition, but am far from asserting as a Fact; the Face of Affairs is since changed, and gives us now the fairest Opportunity to establish that Right; if the War continues we may, and we ought to, do it by Force; and whenever there comes a Peace, the *French* can assign no Colour or Pre-

tence whatever, against the confirming that Right, by renouncing their unjust and ill-founded Claim, to the preventing our settling on it. If they took Advantage of a past Conjunction, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our Business, as I hinted before, to take the Benefit of the present Conjunction; when, without Question, it is the Interest, and will be consequently the Business, of *France* to deny us nothing of this Kind, if we insist upon it, that is to say, if we shew we have it at Heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval Power, and to employ our Negotiations for the Service of our own Country, for the promoting our Trade, securing our Navigation, and extending our Interest in the *West Indies*.

But the Question may be asked, what is the real Value and Importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this *St. Lucia* worth? What can be made of it? Why should we trouble ourselves about it? In answer to this, I can only say, in few Words, that it has been computed, that the Product and Commerce of this Island might, in a few Years, be brought to yield *Great Britain* an annual Rent of two hundred thousand Pounds; but to shew the Possibility, or rather the Probability, if not the Certainty, of this Calculation, I shall give the Reader Captain *Uring's* Description of this Island, who went thither on purpose to settle it; who was a Man of great Understanding in Matters of this Nature, and whose Honesty was as little questioned as his Capacity; so that I cannot discern any Objection that can be reasonably made to his Account, which is also remarkably plain and succinct, and with which, as to this Subject, I shall conclude.

“ *St. Lucia* is about twenty-two Miles in Length, and eleven broad; the greatest Part of it very good Land, and in many Places hilly, and many rich Valleys very well watered with fine Rivers all through the Island, which makes it exceedingly pleasant and delightful, and it must be very healthful, by its being so narrow; and the Hills being not so high to intercept the continual Trade-winds, that always fan it from the Eastward, whereby the Heat of the Climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troublesome. The Variety of Situations that it affords by the Hills and Vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the Pleasantness of the Prospects; and it is full of all Trees, amongst which are great Quantities of good Timber, fit for building Houses and Windmills; from whence both *Barbadoes* and *Martinico* have been furnished with very great Quantities, and are still; the Cacao or Chocolate Nut grows here very well, and there grows also a great deal of Fustic, and there is abundance of wild Fowl. It lies West-north-west from the Island of *Barbadoes*, about twenty-four Leagues; South from *Martinico* about seven Leagues; and the same Distance North by East from *St. Vincent*; and hath several good Bays, and excellent Harbours for Ships to anchor in: One of which is the *Petite Careenage*, where we designed the first Settlement. This Harbour is on the North-west Part of the Island, and is much the finest, and most convenient in all the *Caribbee Islands*; great Numbers of Ships may be there safe in all kinds of Weather, and it is very commodious for careening Ships of War and other Vessels. If this Island had been settled, as was intended by his Grace the Duke of *Montague*, proper Forts built, and Garrisons placed therein, for the Protection and Defence thereof, it would have been of the greatest Importance for the securing the *Leeward Islands*, and even *Barbadoes*, from being invaded by *France* in Time of War; for no Armament can be made, nor any Expedition carried on by the *French* at *Martinico*, against any of those Colonies, but must be known at *St. Lucia*, almost as soon as the Design is formed, by the Nearness of its Neighbourhood to that Island; from whence, likewise, *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Islands* might have Notice to provide for their better Defence. If *St. Lucia* were well inhabited by the *English*, the People of *Martinico* would know their Interest better than to enter upon any Expedition

“ against

“ against *Barbadoes* or the *Leeward Islands*, when they
“ had an Enemy so near them; for they must needs
“ consider, if their Men were sent off that Island to in-
“ vade the *Leeward Islands*, the *Barbadians* would join
“ the People of *St. Lucia*, and fall upon *Martinico* in the
“ Absence of their Men; which would endanger the
“ Loss of that Island, or at least the Plunder or spoiling
“ of it; and would be more Damage to them than any
“ Benefit they can propose to themselves, by invading
“ the *Leeward Islands*, and so the same if their Design
“ is against *Barbadoes*; the *Leeward Islands* People join-
“ ing these of *St. Lucia*, *Martinico* will be in the same
“ Danger, and by that Means our Plantations; in those
“ Parts, will be entirely secured by the Possession of *St.*
“ *Lucia*, and it will also be in the Power of the *English*
“ to disturb the *French*, and not in the Power of the
“ *French* to hurt the *English*. But if both Nations should
“ sit still without hurting each other, yet *St. Lucia* will
“ be of the greatest Advantage to *Great Britain*, if it
“ were appointed the Place of Rendezvous for his Ma-
“ jesty’s Ships of War; from whence they might con-
“ tinually relieve each other, if need were, and keep
“ always cruising on the *French*, that they could not be
“ able to have a Vessel go in or out of their Harbour,
“ but what might be intercepted by the King’s Ships,
“ and so the Trade of our Plantations would thereby
“ become secured, and the *Martinicans* would have no
“ Reason to boast as they did in the late War, that they
“ maintained their Islands chiefly by privateering on the
“ *English*, which is too well known to the Merchants
“ that have been Traders to those Parts. But in case *St.*
“ *Lucia* was settled, and proper Measures pursued, it
“ would entirely prevent such Mischiefs for the future,
“ and the *English* would soon grow too powerful for the
“ *French*, who at present have greatly the Advantage of
“ the *English*; and the *Leeward Islands* are in the greatest
“ Danger, in case of a War with *France*, of being inva-
“ ded, which the *English* Planters are most sensible of,
“ and it is what the wisest of them apprehend every
“ Day.”

13. The Remarks that have been already made in the
Course of this Section, upon the several Subjects to
which it relates, make it unnecessary for me to detain
the Reader very long with Observations at the Close.
But, however, some things are both fit and requisite to
be said here, for the Information of my Readers in ge-
neral; and for reminding those in particular, who have
it in their Power to be useful to the Colonies. It is cer-
tain, that from the very Time Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the
Father of our *English* Colonies, and his Associates, first
projected those Establishments, there have been many
who have either found an Interest, or took a Pleasure, in
misrepresenting or lessening the Value of them. When the
Intention of improving these distant Countries, and the
Advantages that were hoped for from it, were first set
forth, there were some who treated them not only as
chimerical, but as dangerous: They said that it was very
uncertain whether we might meet with Success, and if
we did, it might dispeople the Nation. These, and
many other Objections, flowing partly from a Narrow-
ness of Understanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a
Narrowness of Heart, have been disproved by Experience,
which has shewn that what was then proposed was prac-
ticable in itself, profitable in its Consequences, and attend-
ed with none of those Mischiefs that these timorous or
ill intentioned People either apprehended or seemed to
apprehend.

The Difficulties which attended, and which will always
attend, Settlements at the Beginning, proved a new Cause
of Clamour; and many spiteful things were said about
the sacrificing so many *Englishmen*, to the obstinate Desire
of fixing Colonies in Countries, which at that Time did
not produce any great Advantages. But by Degrees, as
these Difficulties were overcome, those Complaints like-
wise ceased, and we heard no more of these pretended
Hardships; which, in reality, were no other than the
sending such, as from the Perverseness of their own Dis-
positions were capable only of doing Mischiefs here; such
as the Severity of their Creditors would have destined to

perpetual Imprisonment; and such as, either from Lazi-
ness or Indigence, would have perished in our Streets,
to be useful to themselves and to the Community in the
Colonies.

But when these Complaints ceased, others rose in their
stead; and when it could be no longer said that the Co-
lonies were useless, it was alledged that they were not
useful enough to their Mother Country; that while we
were loaded with Taxes, they were absolutely free, and
that the Planters lived like Princes, while the Inhabitants
of *Great Britain* laboured hard for a tolerable Subsistence.
This produced Customs and Impositions upon all Plan-
tation Commodities, which if they are grievous to the
Inhabitants of the Plantations, must turn to our Disad-
vantage as well as theirs, and consequently become a great
Prejudice to both. At present there is a vast Change in
the Face of Affairs in these Parts of the World, which
has consequently produced a Change in the Notions and
Sentiments of those who are settled there, and ought
likewise to produce a Change in our Conduct. The prin-
cipal Point in this Change is, the surprizing Growth of
the *French* Power in *America*, from whence we have had
many Warnings given us, which certainly were not re-
ceived with so much Attention as they ought to have
been. If we had considered, that in the Reign of King
Charles II. when *France* had very little Trade, and her
Colonies were of no great Consequence, she was almost a
Match for all *Europe* beside, and that too when the ma-
ritime Powers were in their most flourishing Condition;
we might have easily foreseen to what a Height her Power
would increase with the Help of Colonies and Commerce:
But either we did not foresee it, or we suffered ourselves to
be so much taken up with nearer Objects, that we did
not sufficiently provide against an Evil, which of all others
we ought most to apprehend.

The very thing that has hitherto hindered us from con-
ceiving as we ought to do of our Danger, in this Res-
pect, would have convinced us most fully, if we had
viewed it on the right Side, and reasoned upon it as be-
came us. If we find that in Conjunction with the great-
est Powers upon the Continent, we have not been able
for fifty Years past, to set any Bounds to the Ambition
of *France* in *Europe*, what Limits are we like to set to
her Power in *America*, when it comes to bear any Pro-
portion there, to what she has attained here, and towards
which, as we see she has already made large Strides?

It may be answered, that at present she is very far
from being equal to us in Strength in that Part of the
World; that the Colonies are very apt to think them-
selves in Danger, long before they are so; and that if
their Fears were really so great as they would sometimes
represent them, as they have a Force sufficient, it is scarce
to be doubted that they would at length find a Will to
help and relieve themselves. We may answer to this, that
if the *French* had a Power in *America*, in any Degree ap-
proaching ours, our Care might probably come too late,
especially considering the great Change that has happened
there, where, instead of having all the World for Allies,
we have hardly so much as a Friend in Appearance, the
Spaniards being become Friends to *France*, and the *Dutch*
having neither Force, nor, perhaps, Inclination to assist us.
The Nature of their Government also, though it makes
their Subjects less happy, makes their Colonies more
formidable, and enables the Prince to protect them more
effectually, and to grant them from Time to Time greater
Encouragements; so that we need not wonder they have
overcome so many Difficulties, or that the Trade of the
French Islands should be so much more considerable now,
than it was at the Peace of *Utrecht*. We may be likewise
sure of this, that the more their Trade increases, the
more it will be encouraged; because the *French* Ministry
pay a particular Regard thereto; and as we have already
shewn in our History of the *East India* Company, they
are never wanting to such as are not wanting to them-
selves; but from the great Principle of promoting the
Grandeur of *France*, yield all the Assistance they can to
what they visibly perceive will increase the Wealth, and
augment the naval Power, of the Kingdom.

As to the Apprehensions of the Colonies, Time has

shewn they are but too well founded; our Settlements upon the Continent are, in a Manner, surrounded by them; the Correspondence between *Canada* and *Louvisiana* is in some Measure settled; and, though a great length of Time may be necessary to perfect the Designs they may have formed on that Side, yet if we do not interpose, as indeed we might easily do, they will be some time or other perfected, and then we shall find our Circumstances very uneasy. This to every Man who will but turn his Thoughts upon the Subject, must appear very plain and very certain; we should not therefore wonder that those who both see and feel it, express themselves with some Warmth upon this Topic: And at the worst, our Colonies had better alarm us too soon than slumber themselves, and suffer us to slumber till it is too late. The *French* have already a great Power in the Islands, and if ever they should become entirely Masters of *Hispaniola*, which we know not how soon they may, the Effects would be fatal to us. We have, at present, no Idea of the Importance of that Island, or at least no adequate Idea of it; because the *Spaniards*, who are possessed of the greatest Part of it, either from their Laziness or their Weakness, make no Use of it; but we should find it quite otherwise if the Whole was in *French* Hands; and therefore amongst all our Guarantees, it would be very right to have a general Guarantee for the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West Indies*.

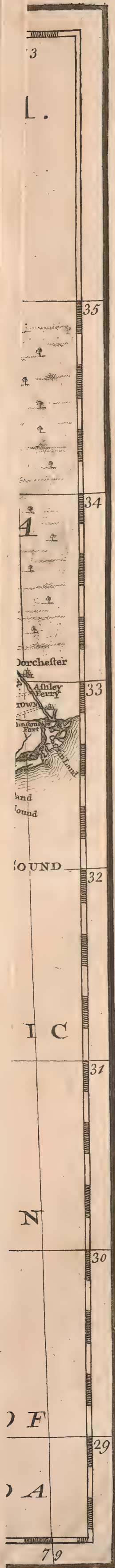
As to our Colonies helping themselves, there is no Doubt they do so, or their Situation would be very bad. We hear daily of great Things done by their Privateers, but our Squadrons perform very little; and whoever compares the Exploits done by the *Buccaneers*, who were but *West-Indian* Privateers, with what has been done by regular naval Force, would scarce believe they were of the same Nation: Men of War in their Ports, and Commodores and Captains on Shore, do our Colonies very little Service; for they neither protect our own Trade, nor distress that of the Enemy; so that whatever Expence this may create to us we ought not to charge it upon them. If any Expedition is concerted here, we find the People in *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Islands*, ready enough to expend both their Treasure and their Blood in the Execution of it; and in Case of Miscarriages, we have seldom had Reason to lay the Blame at their Doors. As to the Northern Colonies, we have known them do some, and attempt many, great Things; so that it is barbarous to accuse them of being wanting to themselves.

The Truth is, we want a proper Military Force in *America*; and I have often wondered that some Way was not contrived to send our Half-pay Officers thither: I do not mean to send them thither upon Half-pay; but to take such Measures as that they should have Whole-pay, one Half from home, and the other raised there. We might likewise make it worth the Attention of our Invalids, both Soldiers and Seamen, who, if they have common Sense, would like a comfortable Establishment in *New York*, *Pennsylvania*, or *Virginia*, with their Wives and Families, full as well as an Apartment in any College, or being cooped up in our Garrisons, or in the *Scilly* Islands. If by these, or by any other Methods, we could establish a regular Military Force, and even in time of Peace keep the Men some way or other in Action and Discipline, our Colonies would be a Match or Overmatch for the *French*, as Experience shews from the Colony of *Georgia*, where we have been always a Match, and once an Overmatch for the *Spaniards*, by mere Dint

of Military Discipline, though we had but a very Handful of People.

These are Things that demand immediate and general Consideration. Our Colonies were always of great Consequence, but they are now of the greatest Consequence, to the Nation; for at least one Half of our Commerce depends upon them, as the Whole of our Strength and Happiness depends upon it: Our Wealth produces Liberty, and our Wealth was produced by Trade; whatever lessens that will therefore effect these, and if ever it should be taken away, we must certainly feel what we felt before, Poverty and arbitrary Power. The wisest Use therefore that we can make of Wealth while we have it is to secure its Sources, by employing our Fleet in that Part of the World where their Success must be attended with certain and immediate Advantages; for distressing the Trade of the *French* must benefit ours. In King *William's* War we had *Spain* for an Ally, and therefore we could not then take any Advantage from her Weakness. In the next general War we were neither her Friend nor Foe; we did her some Hurt, and ourselves no Good. But the *French* have been Gainers by both Wars; they had plundered the *Spaniards* in the first, as open Enemies; they stripped them of their Money in the last, by being pretended Friends. In the present War we have done pretty well, and the *French* have perhaps been no great Gainers by their Friendship with *Spain*. This ought to teach us the Wisdom of living with that Nation always either upon the best Terms or the worst; as cordial Allies or as open Enemies; for whenever we are between both of these we are sure to be the Sufferers, and the *French* and *Dutch* run away with all.

It is our Business therefore to continue always armed in this Part of the World, where we have a superior Force, and where we should be ever ready to exert it, not against innocent and inoffensive Neighbours, but against false Friends and treacherous Allies. If our legal Trade with the *Spanish West Indies* were restored, we ought to make it our Business to see that it be a legal Trade; for it is certain that the Nation neither gets nor loses, while the same Quantity of Goods are disposed of by different Hands: We ought therefore to convince the Crown of *Spain*, that we can treat, and mean to treat, them well; and at the same time, we should shew them, that as it is not their Interest to treat us ill, so it is not our Nature to bear it: Illicit Trade and Conventions may do well enough for a feeble Republic, but are beneath a powerful Kingdom; that, as it owes its Power to, ought to be always able and willing to protect, its Trade. Such are the Sentiments which ought to inspire the Breasts of *British* Statesmen. The rest of the World are convinced that we have not the Talents of Negotiation; we ought therefore to convince them, that we do not stand in need of such Talents; but that we can do our Business without them. The *Dutch*, whatever Language they may use in *Europe*, have always talked in this Tone in the *East Indies*, and we ought to use it in the *West*; while our Power is great there, we should exert and increase it; when once it begins to decline, Advice will come too late, and therefore no Man can be blamed for giving it in time, whether it be followed or not. It is the Privilege of every Freeman to speak and write for the Service of his Country, and the Privilege only of a few to act; but if the former excite, and the latter will perform, nothing is clearer, than that our Country must be served; which in this World is the worthiest End of Men, and therefore what we should all pursue.

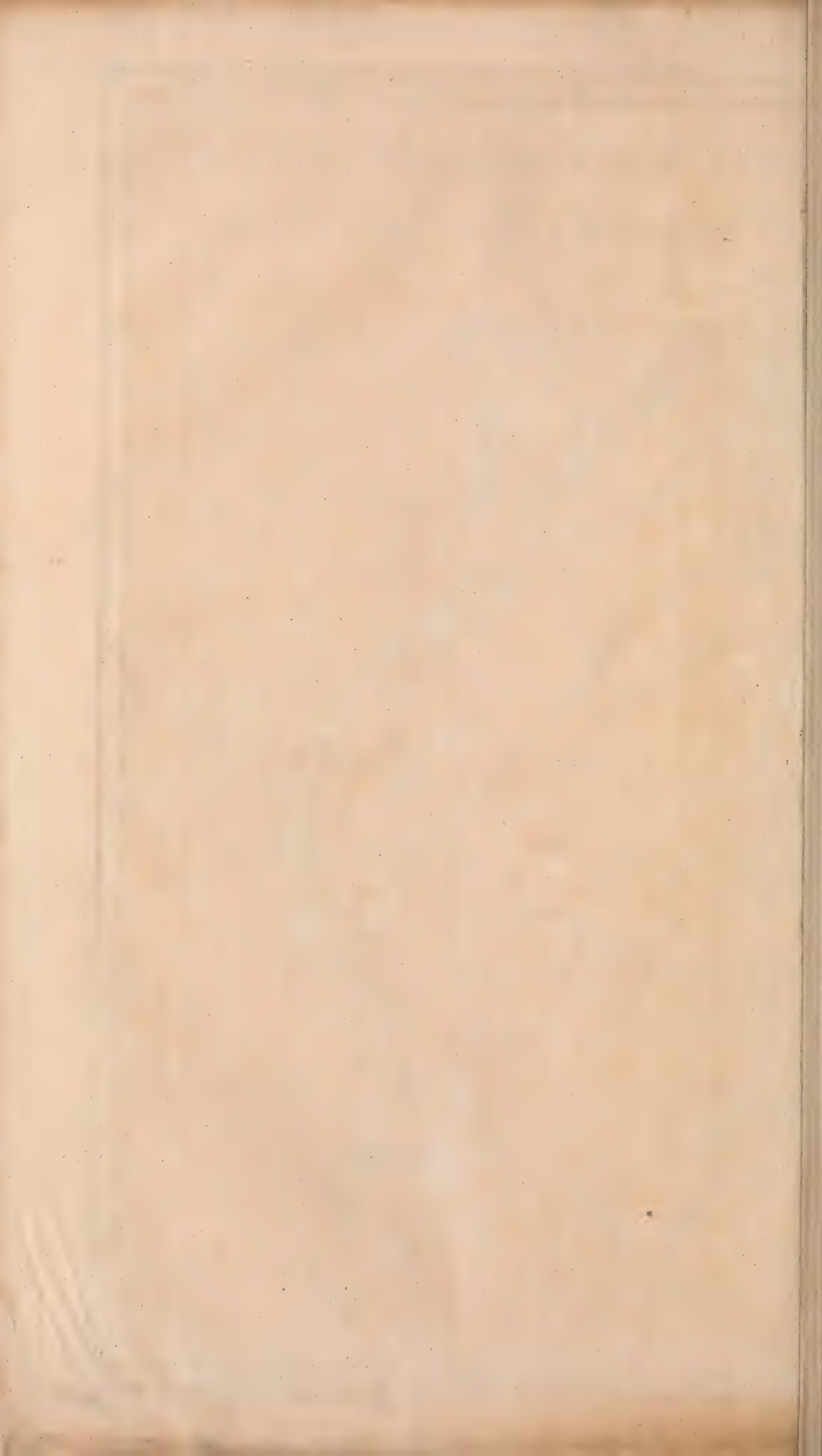


A NEW MAP of GEORGIA, with Part of CAROLINA, FLORIDA and LOUISIANA.

Drawn from Original Draughts, assisted by the most approved Maps and Charts.

Collected by Eman: Bowen Geographer to his Majesty.





SECTION XXI.

The History of the RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of the Colony of GEORGIA; with the Attempt made upon it by the Spaniards, and their total Defeat. Interspersed with Original Papers.

1. *An introductory Account of the Motives which gave Rise to this Design of settling to the South of Carolina, and the Nature of the Colony proposed.*
2. *A large Extract of the Charter granted by his present Majesty, for incorporating the Trustees, and enabling them to carry their Design into Execution.*
3. *The Resolution taken by the Trustees when incorporated, for securing Estates in Land to the original Planters and their Heirs Male, and for the perpetual Exclusion of Negroes.*
4. *The first Colony sent over under the Direction of James Oglethorpe, Esq; the Town of Savannah laid out, and the first Treaty with the Creek Indians.*
5. *The Return of Mr. Oglethorpe to England, in 1734, and his bringing with him Tomochichi and other Indians; the Acts prepared by the Trustees for the Government of Georgia, approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and ratified by his Majesty.*
6. *The great Embarkation, in the Year 1735, on the extraordinary Grant of twenty-five thousand Pounds by Parliament, grounded upon a Memorial from South Carolina; with a Copy of that Memorial.*
7. *The History of the Colony farther continued, together with an Account of the Improvement made therein, and Indulgencies granted to the Planters by the Trustees.*
8. *The same Subject pursued to the Year 1740, and a View of the Number of People sent over by the Trustees, from the Time their Charter was granted to the Close of that Year.*
9. *A Prospect of the Country of Georgia as it is now settled, the Number, Situation, and Importance of the Towns, Forts, &c. erected there; with various other Particulars.*
10. *The Condition of the People in this Colony on the breaking out of the War with Spain, and the Resolution taken of acting in Conjunction with the Carolinians, offensively, against the Spaniards.*
11. *A succinct Account of the Expedition against Fort St. Augustin, and the Consequences of that Expedition.*
12. *The Grand Invasion on that Colony by the whole Force of New Spain, and the true End of this extraordinary Armament.*
13. *The total and wonderful Defeat of that great Force by his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General Oglethorpe.*
14. *The Congratulations on the News of this important and decisive Action, from the Governors of our several Colonies, to General Oglethorpe; which shews their Sense of the Consequences of this happy Repulse.*
15. *The present State of the Colony of Georgia considered, and its Importance demonstrated, as a Frontier against the French and Spaniards, as an Asylum for distressed Englishmen, and foreign Protestants; as a necessary Means for maintaining a good Correspondence with all the Indian Nations, as an excellent Support to the Islands of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and as a Colony from whence we may reasonably expect Silk, Wine, Pot-ashes, &c.*

1. **T**HE last of the *British Colonies* in Point of Settlement, and of which hitherto we have had no accurate or just Account, much less a clear and authentic History, is *Georgia*; of which I intend to treat with as much Perspicuity as possible, that the Reader may apprehend the Nature of the Country, the Importance of its Situation, the Motives upon which it was settled, the Progress of that Design, the Attempts and Disappointments of the *Spaniards*, the present Situation of Things there, and the Hopes that we may rationally entertain as to its Fate and Success. This is certainly a very extensive Plan; but at the same time it is the only Plan upon which we can proceed, in order to give the inquisitive and public-spirited Reader, a true Notion of the Nature and Importance of this new Settlement; which is undoubtedly of far greater Consequence to this Nation than hitherto it has been generally conceived to be: And therefore such a History as we propose will be equally necessary and entertaining; necessary, as it effectually compleats the History of the *British America*, of which this is not only the last Colony in Point of Time, but the last also in respect to Situation, inasmuch as it extends as far southward as we claim any Right to, and fills up entirely the Discoveries of the *Cabots*, which have been so often mentioned; entertaining, as it consists almost wholly of new Matter, and as it shews that even in this Age, when Luxury and all its Attendants, seem to be so firmly established in *Europe*, a Scheme has been formed for erecting in the pleasantest and most fruitful Part of *North America*, a *British Settlement*, upon the truest Principles of Virtue, Industry, and Freedom, which cannot fail of striking firm and deep Root, and of flourishing in such a manner as to do Honour to those worthy, disinterested, and public-spirited Persons who were first concerned in laying the Foundation of this Design, and by whose hearty and vigorous Endeavours it has been so far as it is carried into Execution.

In order to proceed regularly, it is requisite to observe, that about fourteen Years ago, when this Nation enjoyed a profound Peace, and when there appeared no just Cause to

apprehend its being speedily interrupted, some Persons of great Distinction, from Principles of true Patriotism, and Love to Mankind, observing what great Numbers of People there were in these Kingdoms, who from a Variety of Misfortunes and untoward Accidents, found themselves in no Condition of subsisting, at least of subsisting in such a Way as to be useful to themselves and the Community, which is the sole Means whereby a Number of People become a Blessing, generously turned their Thoughts towards the Means of employing such Multitudes of distressed and indigent Persons for their own and the public Good. These Speculations produced at first some Thoughts of improving the most northern Parts of our Plantations on the Continent of *America*; but upon more mature Reflection, and for very good Reasons, they changed their Purposes, and turned their Thoughts to the South, particularly to that Part of *America* which makes properly our Frontier towards the *Spaniards* and the *French*, and which, though within the Bounds of the Province of *Carolina*, as described in its Charter, was in reality no Part of it, as not being at all settled; and for that Reason, rather a Burden than an Advantage to the Province to which it belonged. Upon confining their Thoughts to this Country, they very quickly perceived, that though it had been so long neglected, it was nevertheless the most valuable Part of our Possessions in *North America*, and the most capable of being made a fruitful, populous, and useful Country, though at that time lying entirely waste, overgrown with vast Woods, which gave Shelter to a few *Indians*, Run-away Negroes, and other Banditti; affording great Advantages to the *Spaniards* in time of War, and upon the Extremities of which great Incroachments might be made before this Nation could have proper Intelligence of them. They saw that as to Climate and Situation no Country could claim a better, that it extended seventy Miles from North to South, and that it was three hundred Miles from the Midst of the Coast to the *Apalachian Mountains*, the Country widening all the way; they were convinced that when a little opened and cleared, there could not be

be a pleasanter or healthier Country upon the Face of the Globe ; that the Soil would prove fruitful, and easy to be cultivated ; that therefore People might subsist there upon very moderate Labour ; which Circumstances induced them to think, there could be no Place more proper found for the Habitation of the unhappy People before-mentioned.

But besides these Sentiments of private Pity, they were influenced likewise by Motives of public Utility : They foresaw that if this Project could be brought to bear, it would turn vastly to the Advantage of *North and South Carolina*, then lately purchased by the Crown, by providing an effectual Frontier against the *Spaniards* and the *French*, which they had hitherto wanted, and of the Want of which they had loudly complained : They judged by this Means, that new Alliances might be contracted with the *Indians* ; or in case that could not be effected, the new Colony must certainly keep them in Awe, and prevent their being so terrible as within a few Years before they had been to the People of *Carolina* : And they saw just Reasons to believe that this new Colony, when established, might cultivate many rich and valuable Commodities for the Service of *Great Britain*. These, and many other Reasons of like Nature, engaged them to think seriously of bringing so compassionate, so practicable, and so useful a Project to bear ; in order to which they found it necessary to apply themselves to the Crown for sufficient Powers, to enable them to set this Undertaking on foot. They did so, and received all the Countenance and Encouragement they could desire or expect, as will appear by the following Extract from the Instrument by which they were incorporated, and so put into a Condition of legally executing what they had so charitably projected.

2. " His Majesty King *George II.* by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 9th Day of *June*, 1732, reciting, amongst other things, that many of his poor Subjects were, through Misfortunes, and want of Employment, reduced to great Necessities, and would be glad to be settled in any of his Majesty's Provinces in *America* ; where, by cultivating the Lands waste and desolate, they may not only gain a comfortable Subsistence, but also strengthen his Majesty's Colonies, and increase the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of his Majesty's Realms ; and that the Provinces in *North America* had been frequently ravaged by *Indian Enemies*, more especially that of *South Carolina*, whose Southern Frontier continued unsettled, and lay open to the Neighbouring Savages ; and that to relieve the Wants of the said poor People, and to protect the Subjects of *South Carolina*, a regular Colony of the said poor People should be settled and established in the Southern Frontiers of *Carolina* ; and for the Considerations aforesaid, constitute a Corporation by the Name of *the Trustees, for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, with Capacity to purchase and take Lands ; to sue and to be sued ; to have a common Seal, and to chuse Members in the said Corporation on the third *Thursday* in *March* yearly ; with restraining Clauses that no Member of the said Corporation should have any Salary, Fee, Perquisite, Benefit, or Profit, whatsoever, for acting therein ; or should have any Office, Place, or Employment of Profit, under the said Corporation ; with a Direction to the said Corporation, every Year to lay an Account in Writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Master of the Rolls, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or any two of them, of all Money or Effects by them received or expended, for carrying on the good Purposes aforesaid ; with a Power to make Bye-Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances ; and granted, amongst other things, to the said Corporation, and their Successors, under the Reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided Parts (the whole into eight equal Parts to be divided) of all these Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of *South Carolina* in *America*, which lies from the most Northermost Stream of a River there, called the

Savannah, along the Sea Coast to the Southward, unto the most Southern Stream of a certain other great Water or River, called the *Altamaha*, and Westward from the Head of the said Rivers, respectively in direct Lines to the *South Seas*. To have and to hold the same to them, the said Corporation, and their Successors for ever ; for the better Support of the said Colony, under the yearly Rent of four Shillings Proclamation Money of *South Carolina*, for every hundred Acres of the said Lands, for every of which the said Corporation should Grant, Demise, Plant, or Settle, but not to commence until ten Years after such Grant, Demise, planting or settling ; and erected and created the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, into one independent and separate Province, by the Name of *Georgia* ; and made the Inhabitants who should reside therein free, and not subject to any of the Laws, Orders, Statutes, or Constitutions of *South Carolina*, except the Commander in chief of the Militia ; and authorized the said Corporation, for the Term of twenty one Years, from the Date of the said Letters Patent, to form and prepare Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, for the Government of the said Colony, not repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of *England* ; to be presented under their common Seal to his Majesty in Council, for his Approbation or Disallowance ; and that the said Laws so approved of, should be in full Force and Virtue, within the said Province. And impowered the said Council for the Time being of the said Corporation, or the major Part of them, to dispose of, expend, and apply all the Money and Effects belonging to the said Corporation, and to make Contracts for carrying on and effecting the good Purposes therein intended ; and that they should from Time to Time appoint a Treasurer, Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants of the said Corporation, as they should see proper for the good Management of their Affairs, and at their Pleasure to remove them, and appoint others in their stead ; and that they should appoint reasonable Salaries, Perquisites, and other Rewards for their Labour or Services ; and that such Officers should be sworn before they act, for the faithful and due Execution of their respective Offices and Places ; and declared that the Treasurer and Secretary for the Time being, should be incapable of being Members of the said Corporation ; and granted to the said Corporation, that it should be lawful for them, their Officers and Agents, to transport and convey, into the said Province, such of his Majesty's Subjects, and Foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit, and reside there ; and declared all Persons born within the said Province, and their Children, and their Posterity, to be free Denizens, as if they had been born within any of his Majesty's Dominions ; and impowered the said Common Council, in the Name of the Corporation, and under their common Seal, to distribute, assign, transfer, and set over such particular Portions of the said Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, unto such of his Majesty's Subjects and others, willing to live in the said Colony, upon such Terms, and for such Estates, and upon such Rents, Reservations, and Conditions, as the same might lawfully be granted ; and as to the said Common Council, or the major Part of them, should seem fit and proper, provided no Grant should be made of any Part of the said Lands, unto, or in trust for, or for the Benefit of, any Member of the said Corporation ; and that no greater Quantity of the said Lands be granted, either entirely or in Parcels, to, or to the Use of, or in trust for, any one Person, than five hundred Acres ; and declared that all Grants made contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, should be absolutely null and void. And granted, that the said Corporation, for the Term of twenty one Years, from the Date of the said Letters Patent, should have Power to erect and constitute Judicatures, and Courts of Record, or other Courts to be held in his Majesty's Name, for the hearing and determining all Manner of Crimes, Offences, Pleas, Processes, Complaints, Actions, Matters, Causes, and things

“ things whatsoever arising or happening within the said Province, or between Persons inhabiting or residing there; and for awarding and making out Executions thereupon, and directing the said Corporation to register, or cause to be registered, all Leases, Grants, Plantings, Conveyances, Settlements, and Improvements whatsoever, as should at any Time be made of any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, within the said Province; and yearly to transmit authentic Accounts thereof, unto the Auditor of the Plantations, or his Deputy, and to the Surveyor of *South Carolina*, to inspect and survey the same, to ascertain the Quit-rents, which should become due according to the Reservation before mentioned. But not to have or take any Gratuity, Fee, or Reward, for such Survey or Inspection, on Forfeiture of their Office; with a proviso that all Leases, Grants, and Conveyances, to be made of any Lands within the said Province, or a Memorial containing the Substance thereof, should be registered with the Auditors of the Plantations, within one Year from the Date thereof; otherwise that the same should be void. And directed, that all Rents, Issues, or Profits, which should come to the said Corporation, issuing or arising out of, or from, the said Province, should be laid out and applied in such Manner, as would most improve and enlarge the said Colony, and best answer the good Purposes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other Charges about the same. And directed the said Corporation, from Time to Time, to give in to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Accounts of the Progress of the said Colony. And directed that the said Common Council should, from Time to Time, for the said Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the said Letters Patent, have Power to appoint all such Governors, Judges, Magistrates, Ministers, and Officers, Civil and Military, both by Sea and Land, within the said District, as they should think fit and needful for the Government of the said Colony (except such Officers as should be appointed for managing, collecting, and receiving such of his Majesty's Revenues, as should arise within the said Province) with a proviso that every Governor, so appointed, should be approved by his Majesty, and qualify himself as other Governors in *America* are by Law required to do, and give Security for observing the Acts of Parliament relating to Trade and Navigation, and obeying all Instructions from his Majesty, or any acting under his Authority, pursuant to the said Acts. And granted, that the said Corporation, for the said Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the said Letters Patent, should have Power by any Commander, or other Officer, for that Purpose appointed, to train, intrust, exercise, and govern a Militia for the special Defence and Safety of the said Colony, to assemble in martial Array; and put in Warlike Posture the Inhabitants of the said Colony; and in Time of actual War, Invasion, or Rebellion, to use and exercise the Law Martial, and also to erect Forts, and fortify any Place within the said Colony; and the same to furnish with all necessary Ammunition, Provision, and Stores of War, for Offence and Defence, and from Time to Time to commit the Custody and Government of them to such Person or Persons as to them should seem meet; declaring that the Governor or Commander in Chief of *South Carolina*, should have the chief Command of the Militia of *Georgia*, and that they should observe his Orders. And granted, that the said Corporation should have Power to import and export their Goods, at and from any Port or Ports that should be appointed by his Majesty, within the said Province, for that Purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other Port in *South Carolina*. And declared, that after the End of the said twenty-one Years, such Form of Government, and making of Laws and Statutes, and Ordinances, for the Government of the said Province and its Inhabitants, should be established and observed within the same, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, should ordain and

“ appoint, and should be agreeable to Law; and that “ after the End of the said twenty-one Years, the Governor, and all Officers, civil and military, within the said Province, should be appointed by his Majesty, “ his Heirs and Successors.”

3. As soon as they had obtained this gracious and extensive Charter, the following noble and honourable Persons undertook, in Quality of Trustees, to engage vigorously in the Execution of this Design, viz. *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*, *John Lord Viscount Percival*, since created *Earl of Egmont*, *John Lord Viscount Tyrconnel*, *James Lord Viscount Lymerick*, *George Lord Carpenter*, *Edward Digby*, Esq; *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; *George Heathcoate*, Esq; *Thomas Tower*, Esq; *Robert More*, Esq; *Robert Hucks*, Esq; *William Sloper*, Esq; *Francis Eyles*, Esq; *John Laroche*, Esq; *James Vernon*, Esq; *Stephen Hales*, A. M. *Richard Chandler*, Esq; *Thomas Frederick*, Esq; *Henry L'Apostre*, Esq; *William Heathcoate*, Esq; *John White*, Esq; *Robert Kendal*, Esq; *Richard Bundy*, D. D. Their first Care was to obtain a Fund sufficient for the sending over a considerable Number of People, and providing them with all kinds of Necessaries, towards which they subscribed liberally themselves; obtained considerable Sums by way of Collection from well-disposed People, and had besides a Grant from the Parliament of 10,000 l.

They next turned their Thoughts, as to the most proper Method of settling these People, when sent over to *Georgia*, so as that they might be enabled to live comfortably themselves, and at the same Time answer all the Ends for which they were sent thither; it being judged highly reasonable, that those who were thus provided for, at the public Expence, should be made in every Respect, as useful to the Public as possible. They resolved therefore to consider each Inhabitant in a double Capacity, as a Planter, and as a Soldier, who were consequently to be provided with Arms for their Defence, as well as Tools for the Cultivation of their Land, and taught the Exercise of both. They also resolved, that upon the first settling of this Colony, Towns should be laid out, and Lands allotted each of them for their Maintenance, as near those Towns as possible; that the former might serve for their Defence, and the latter for their Subsistence. In Consequence of these Resolutions, it was agreed that every Lot or Portion of Land, should consist of fifty Acres; and that it should be granted them in Tale Male, as the properest Tenure for the Colony in its Infancy, and the fittest to preserve it from those Inconveniencies to which it was most obnoxious; and with respect to any Hardships that might arise from this Tenure, they determined to remedy them occasionally, till such Time as the Condition of the Colony should render an Alteration necessary.

They likewise determined to prohibit Negroes, the Use of them seeming absolutely inconsistent with the Design of this Colony, and besides this, in many respects, inconvenient and dangerous. Inconvenient, as the first Cost of a Negro is about thirty Pounds; a Sum, that it was not to be supposed many of the People sent to *Georgia* could lay out for themselves; nor was it fit that the Trustees should do it for them, since this would pay the Passage, provide Tools, and defray the Expence of a white Man's Subsistence for a Year, who would then become a Security to the Province. It was foreseen, that if a white Man kept a Negro, he would be less willing and less able to labour himself. If such as were in Circumstances to go over at their own Expence, were allowed to make use of Negroes, it was judged that this would dispirit the poor Planters, would incline such as were possessed of Negroes to absent themselves, as in other Provinces; might enable them, if successful, to eat up and oppress their poorer Neighbours; or tempt them, if unsuccessful, to mortgage or sell their Lands to the Negro Merchants. These were apparent and great Inconveniencies, but the Dangers were still more numerous and more certain. In the first Place, it was evident that as the Planters in *Georgia* were to be sent over with their Families, if Negroes were allowed, whenever the Men were absent from their Plantations upon any Duty, their

Wives and Children would be at the Mercy of these Negroes; and thus, besides the Case of securing themselves against foreign Invasions, they would be likewise under a Necessity of providing for their domestic Safety. In the next Place, it was foreseen that the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustin* would be continually inticing away the Negroes; or inciting them to Insurrections; the former of which would have been very easy, as they had only a small River or two to swim over, which they might do singly as well as in Parties; the latter was so much the more to be dreaded, as an Attempt or two of this kind must have greatly discouraged, if not totally subverted, the *English* Colony; and the Certainty of these Evils was the greater, because in a Time of profound Peace, the *Spaniards* had practised both in regard to the Colony of *South Carolina*, though at a greater Distance, from whence Negroes had often fled in little Boats to the *Spaniards*, and been protected; and they have likewise been incited to rise in large Bodies, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants, and to the no small Hazard of the Loss of that Province: Besides, the allowing Negroes in *Georgia*, would have facilitated the Desertion of the *Carolina* Negroes, through this new Province; and consequently the Colony, instead of proving, as it was intended, a Frontier, and thereby adding Strength to the Province of *South Carolina*, would have proved a Means of drawing away their Slaves, to the great Prejudice of the Planters; and which was much worse, would add thereby to the Strength of their Enemies at *St. Augustin*. So that taking these Considerations together, viz. that Wine, Silk, Pot-ashes, and other Produces, which were expected from the new Colony, did not at all require Negroes; as the Introduction of them so near to a Garrison of the *Spaniards*, would weaken, rather than strengthen, the Barrier; and as they would introduce with them a greater Propensity to Idleness among the Planters, and too great an Inequality among the People; it was thought proper to make the Prohibition of them a fundamental Article of the Constitution.

When the Trustees had made these Dispositions, and were enabled, by Benefactions from the Public, and several private Persons, on the 3d of *October* 1732, it was resolved to send over one hundred and fourteen Persons, Men, Women, and Children, being such as were in decayed Circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any Business in *England*; and who, if in Debt, had leave from their Creditors to go; and such as were recommended by the Minister and Church-Wardens, and Overseers of their respective Parishes; and *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; one of the Trustees went with them at his own Expence, to settle them. On the 24th of the same Month, the People were all examined, whether any of them had any Objections to the Terms and Conditions proposed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully satisfied with them; and executed Articles under their Hands and Seals, testifying their Consents thereto, which are now in the public Office belonging to the Trustees. But four of them desiring their Daughters might inherit as well as their Sons, and that their Widow's Dower might be considered, the Trustees immediately resolved, that every Person who should desire the same, should have the Privilege of naming a Successor to the Lands granted to him; who, in Case the Possessor should die without Issue Male, should hold the same to them and their Heirs Male for ever; and that the Widows should have their Thirds, as in *England*; with which Resolution the People being all acquainted, were very well satisfied.

The Trustees prepared Forms of Government, agreeable to the Powers given them by the Charter; they established under their Seal a Court of Judicature, for trying Causes, as well criminal as civil, in the Town of *Savannah* (the Name which was given to the first Town to be raised) by the Name and Stile of the Town Court. They also appointed Magistrates there, viz. three Bailiffs and a Recorder, and inferior Officers, viz. two Constables and two tything Men. They chose for Magistrates, such as appeared to them the most prudent and discreet; but amongst a Number of People, who were all upon a Le-

vel at the first setting out, it was impossible to make any Choice or Distinction, which would not create some future Uneasiness among them. As I have no Relation to, or Connection with, the Trustees of *Georgia*, I shall take the Liberty of making some Remarks upon their Proceedings, which otherwise I should not have thought becoming either them or me. The Scheme of their Incorporation is entirely new, as was the Project of Mr. *Oglethorpe's* going over at his own Expence, and purely to see these People put into a Way of living without him, whom he had extricated out of so many Difficulties, and who, but for this Condescension in him, must have fallen back into those Difficulties again. The Attempts of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for settling of *Virginia*, were of this Nature with respect to him; that is to say, what he did was from a Motive of public Spirit; but what the *Virginia* Company did, was from a Principle of Gain; whereas this whole Design rose from the charitable and beneficent Disposition of a few worthy and good Men, and has been hitherto conducted according to the same Disposition, for the Benefit of the Colony, and of the Public; and from no other View or Interest in the Trustees, but the making themselves happy from the Consciousness of well doing; which at the same Time that it reflects Reputation upon them, does the highest Honour to this Age and Country, in which the Desire I have to have some small Share, produced the Pains taken in this Section, which I flatter myself will, like its Subject, prove of great Utility to the Public.

4. On the 15th of *November* Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out for *Gravesend*, from whence he soon sailed for *Carolina*, where they arrived on the 15th of *January* following, and were received at *Charles Town* by the Governor, with great Kindness and Civility; who ordered Mr. *Middleton*, the King's Pilot, to carry the Ship into *Port Royal*, and *Small Craft* to convey the Colony from thence to the River *Savannah*. In ten Hours they proceeded to *Fort Royal*. On the 18th Mr. *Oglethorpe* went ashore upon *French's Island*, and left a Guard upon *John's*, being a Point of that Island, which commands the Channel, and is about half Way between *Beaufort* and the River *Savannah*. They had Orders to prepare Huts, for the Reception of the People in their Passage from thence. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went to *Beaufort Town*, and was saluted with a Discharge of the Artillery, and had a new Barrac fitted up, where the Colony landed on the 20th, and were cheerfully assisted by Lieutenant *Wats*, and Ensign *Farrington*, and the other Officers of the independent Company; as also by Mr. *Ledebur*, and other Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood; from thence he went to view the *Savannah* River, and pitched upon a convenient Spot of Ground, ten Miles up the River, on which he designed to build a Town. The Reader will observe that this was exactly agreeable to the Resolutions taken by the Trustees at home; and as there was no Time lost in fixing upon the Place, so on the 9th of *February* the Town was marked out, and the first House begun.

The chief Reasons that determined Mr. *Oglethorpe* in the Choice of this Place were, Health, Pleasure, and Conveniency. Before his Arrival in the Country, it had the Name of an *Indian* Nation, viz. *Yamacraw*, who inhabited here, under the Command of the Chief, *Tomochichi*, and who readily gave them Place, and entered into a close Friendship with him; so much the more agreeable to both Parties, as there was no other *Indian* Nation within fifty Miles. But Mr. *Oglethorpe* called the Town by the Name of the River *Savannah*. It lies, according to Captain *Gascoign's* Observations, in the Latitude of 31 Degrees 58 Minutes, which he took off *Tybee*, an Island that lies at the Mouth of the *Savannah* River. It is distant from *Charles Town* South-west, according to the Course and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks, about one hundred and forty Miles, but by a direct Course seventy-seven, allowing *Sullivan's Island* to be in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 47 Minutes; from *Augustin* North-east and by East about one hundred and forty Miles; and by the Course of the Rivers is distant from *Fort Moore* three hundred Miles; but upon a direct Line but one hundred and fifteen Miles North-west

west and by West; this Bluff is distant ten Miles from the Mouth of the River on the South-side; and *Parrysburgh* is twenty four Miles above it, on the North, and is so situated as to have a beautiful Prospect, both up and down the River. It is very sandy and barren, and consequently a wholesome Place for a Town or City, if *Savannah* should ever grow up and rival *Philadelphia*.

After putting things into order here, and assigning every Man his proper Station and Employment, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, in Company with Colonel *Bull*, who came from *Charles Town* to pay him a Visit, and testified great Satisfaction at the Progress they made, set out for *Charles Town* to solicit Succours for his Colony. Before we take Notice of the Success he met with on that Occasion, it may not be amiss to transcribe a Paragraph from the *South Carolina Gazette*, dated *Charles Town*, March the 22d, 1732, in which there is an Account given of a Journey to *Georgia*, which will shew the Sentiments of the People of that Colony, at a Time when they were freed from all Prejudices, Apprehensions, and Prepossessions. After describing the Town in the Manner we have done, they say, "When they, that is the new Colony, arrived, there was standing on it, viz. the Place where the Town now stands, a great Quantity of the best Sorts of Pines, most of which are already cut down on the Spot where the Town is laid out to build. The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both Sides, within a quarter of a Mile of the Town, is choice good planting Land. Colonel *Bull* told me that he had been seven Miles back, and found it extraordinary good. Mr. *Oglethorpe* is indefatigable, takes a vast deal of Pains; his Fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt Provisions: He is extremely well beloved by all his People. The general Title they give him is *Father*. If any of them are sick, he immediately visits them, and takes a great deal of Care of them. If any Differences arise, he is the Person that decides them: Two happened while I was there, and in my Presence, and all the Parties went away, to outward Appearance, satisfied and contented with his Determination. He keeps a strict Discipline; I never saw one of his People drunk nor heard one swear, all the Time I was there. He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them *English* Beer. It is surprising to see how chearfully the Men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it. There are no Idlers there, even the Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are four Houses already up, but none finished; and he hopes when he has got more Sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short time, to finish two Houses in a Week. He has plowed up some Land, Part of which he sowed with Wheat, which is come up, and looks promising. He has two or three Gardens, which he has sowed with divers Sorts of Seeds; and planted Thyme, with other Sorts of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Scallions, Celery, Liquorice, &c. and several Sorts of Fruit-Trees. He was pallisading the Town, and inclosing some Part of the Common, which I do suppose may be finished in a Fortnight's time. In short, he has done a vast deal of Work for the Time; and I think his Name ought to be immortalized."

This sufficiently shews how well pleased the People at *Carolina* were, as indeed they had Reason to be, with this new Settlement; as a further Testimony of which, not only the Assembly, but the People in general, contributed largely to the Assistance of the new Comers; five hundred Pounds of which Money Mr. *Oglethorpe* laid out immediately in Cattle, and having given other Directions for providing at *Charles-Town* what his People might have Occasion for, he very speedily set out on his return for *Savannah*, and on his way lay at Colonel *Bull*'s House on *Ashly River*. There the Reverend Mr. *Guy*, Rector of *St. John's Parish*, waited on him, and told him his Parishioners had raised a handsome Contribution. Being arrived at *Savannah*, he found that Mr. *Wiggin*, the Interpreter, with the chief Men of the *Lower Creek* Nation, had been to treat of an Alliance with the new Colony. The *Lower Creeks* are a Nation

of *Indians*, who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight, Tribes, who have each their different Government, but are allied together, and speak the same Language. They claim from the *Savannah River* as far as *St. Augustin* and up *Flint River*, which falls into the Bay of *Mexico*. *Tomochichi*, Mico, and the *Indians* of *Yamacraw* were of the *Creek* Nation and Language.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* received the *Indians* in one of the new Houses. They were as follows: From the Tribe of *Coweeta*, *Taban Lakee*, their King or Mico, *Effaboo*, their Warrior, the Son of *Old Brim*, lately dead; whom the *Spaniards* called Emperor of the *Creeks*, with eight Men and two Women Attendants. From the Tribe of *Cussetas*, *Cusseta*, their Mico, *Tatchiquatchi*, their Head Warrior, with four Attendants. From the Tribe of *Owseecheys*, *Ogeese*, the Mico or War King; *Neath-louthko* and *Ougachi* two chief Men, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of *Cheecheaws*, *Outbleteboa*, their Mico, *Tblautho-tblukee*, *Figeer*, *Sootamilla*, War Captains, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of *Echetas*, *Cbutabeeche* and *Robin*, two War Captains (the latter was bred among the *English*) with four Attendants. From the Tribe of *Polachucolas*, *Gillattee*, their Head Warrior, and five Attendants. From the Tribe of *Oconas*, *Oueekachumpa*, called by the *English* Long King, *Koorwoo*, a Warrior. From the Tribe of *Eufaula*, *Tomaumi*, Head Warrior, and three Attendants.

The *Indians* being all seated, *Oueekachumpa*, a very tall old Man, stood, and made a Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. *Wiggin* and Mr. *Musgrove*, and was to the following Purpose: He first claimed all the Lands to the Southward of the River *Savannah*, as belonging to the *Creek Indians*. They then said, though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the *English* Breath had given them Breath also. That he that had made both had given more Wisdom to the White Men. That they were persuaded that the great Power which dwelt in Heaven, and all around, (and then he spread out his Hands and lengthened the Sound of his Words) and which hath given Breath to all Men, had sent the *English* thither, for the Instruction of them, their Wives and Children: That, therefore, they gave them up freely their Right to all the Land they did not use themselves. That this was not only his Opinion, but the Opinion of the eight Towns of the *Creeks*, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief Men with Skins, which is their Wealth.

Then the chief Men brought a Bundle of Buck-Skins, and laid eight from the eight Towns before Mr. *Oglethorpe*. He said these were the best Things they had, and that they gave them with a good Heart. He concluded with thanking him for his Kindness to *Tomochichi*, Mico, and his *Indians*, to whom he said he was related, and though *Tomochichi* was banished from his Nation, that he was a good Man, and had been a great Warrior; and it was for his Wisdom and Justice that the banished Men had chose him King. He also said, that he had heard that the *Cherokees* had killed some *Englishmen*, and that if Mr. *Oglethorpe* would command them, they would enter their whole Force into the *Cherokee* Country, destroy their Harvest, kill the People, and revenge the *English*. When he had done speaking, *Tomochichi* came in with the *Yamacraw Indians*, and making a low Obeisance, said, I was a banished Man, and I came here poor and helpless to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Ancestors, and when the *English* came to this Place I feared you would drive us away; for we were weak and wanted Corn. But you confirmed our Land to us, and gave us Food. Then the Chiefs of the other Nation made Speeches to the same Purpose as *Oueekachumpa*'s.

After which they agreed with Mr. *Oglethorpe* on a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was signed by him and them. A laced Coat, a laced Hat, and a Shirt, were given to each King, and to each of the Warriors a Gun, a Mantle of Duffils, and to all their Attendants coarse Cloth for cloathing, and other things. The Articles of Agreement were, I. The Trustees agreed to let their People carry into the *Indian* Towns all Sorts of Goods fitting to Trade at Rates and Prices settled by the Treaty. II. Restitution and Reparation to be made for Injuries on both Sides, and Criminals to be tried and punished

nished according to the *English* Law. III. Trade to be withdrawn from any *Indian* Town offending against Treaty. IV. The *English* to possess all Lands not used by the *Indians*, provided, that upon settling of every new Town the *English* should set out for the Use of their Nation, such Lands as should be agreed on between the *English* beloved Men, and the Head-Men of their Nation. V. To restore all runaway Negroes, and carry them either to *Charles Town*, the *Savannah*, or *Petachubula* Garrison, upon being paid for every such Negro four Blankets, or two Guns, or the Value thereof in other Goods, if taken on the other Side *Ocorivy River*; and one Blanket if the Negro is killed in taking or endeavouring to make his Escape. VI. Lastly, They promise, with strait Hearts and Love to their Brother *English*, to give no Encouragement to any other white People to settle there, and to all this they set the Marks of their Families. This Treaty being concluded, Mr. Oglethorpe thought fit to return into *England*, as well to report the Situation things were in, in that Country, as to procure the necessary Supplies for promoting the new Colony.

5. In the Month of *June* 1734 Mr. Oglethorpe arrived safely in *England*, bringing with him *Tomochichi*, Mico or King of the *Yamacraws*; *Senawki*, his Consort, and *Toonakowi*, the Prince his Nephew; as also *Hillispilli*, a War Captain, and *Apakowski*, *Stimalechi*, *Sintouchi*, *Hinguithi*, and *Umphychi*, five other *Indian* Chiefs, with their Interpreter. They were lodged at the *Georgia-Office*, *Old-Palace-Yard*, where they were handsomely entertained; and, being suitably dressed, were introduced to the Court, then at *Kensington*. *Tomochichi* presented to the King several Eagles Feathers; which, according to their Custom, is the most respectful Gift he could offer, and made the following Speech to his Majesty. “ This Day I see the Majesty of your Face, and
“ Greatness of your House, and the Number of your
“ People; I am come for the Good of the whole Na-
“ tion called the *Creeks*, to renew the Peace they had
“ long ago with the *English*. I am come over in my
“ old Days; though I cannot live to see any Advantage
“ to myself. I am come for the Good of the Children
“ of all the Nations of the *Upper* and *Lower Creeks*, that
“ they may be instructed in the Knowledge of the *Eng-
“ lish*. These are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is
“ the swiftest of Birds, and who flieth all round our
“ Nations. These Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our
“ Land, and we have brought them over to leave them
“ with you, O! great King, as a Sign of everlasting
“ Peace. O! great King, whatsoever Words you shall
“ say unto me I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings
“ of the *Creek* Nations.” To which his Majesty made a gracious Answer, assuring those Nations of his Protection and Regard.

These *Indians*, but more especially their Mico or Prince, gave evident Marks, during their Stay in *England*, of good Sense, and of a sincere Inclination to carry on a friendly Correspondence between their own Nation and ours; and therefore they desired of the Trustees, that the Measures, Prices, and Qualities of Goods to be purchased by them, with their Deer-Skins, might be settled, as likewise the Weights; that no body might be allowed to trade with the *Indians* in *Georgia*, without a Licence from the Trustees, in order, that if they were in any respect injured, or defrauded by the Traders, they might know where to complain. And they further desired, that there might be but one Store-house in each *Indian* Town, for supplying them with the Goods they might want to purchase, from whence the Traders should be obliged to supply them at their fixed Prices. The Reason which the *Indians* gave for this Application was, because the Traders with them had often, in an arbitrary Manner, raised the Price of Goods, and defrauded them in the Weights and Measures; and, by their Impositions, had often created Animosities between the *English* and *Indians*, which had frequently ended in Wars between them, prejudicial to both.

In Compliance with this Request of theirs, the Trustees prepared a Law, intitled, *An Act for maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia*; which

contained the same Regulations and Provisions that were made in an Act passed by the Council and Assembly in *South Carolina*, in the Year 1731, which Act would have reached the Country now called *Georgia*, if it had not been erected into a separate Province. They likewise prepared another Law, calculated for the same salutary Purpose, I mean the preventing any Dangers from the *Indians*, by the pernicious Effects of spirituous Liquors, as well as the Health of the People already settled, and that might be settled, in their new Colony, which was intitled, *An Act to prevent the Importation and Use of Rum and Brandy in the Province of Georgia, or any kind of Spirits, or strong Waters whatsoever*. They likewise prepared a third Law, upon a very mature Deliberation, and for the Reasons before mentioned, intitled, *An Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible, by prohibiting the Importation of Black Slaves, or Negroes, in the same*. These three Acts were laid before the King in Council, in the Month of *January* following; and after a Report from the Board of Trade, That they were proper to receive his Majesty's Approbation, they were accordingly ratified. Two Embarkations were made this Year, whose Numbers are hereafter mentioned, which consisted chiefly of *Salisbury* men, who with the *Salisbury* men that went before, were settled in a Town called by them *Ebenezer*, upon the River *Savannah*, at some Distance above the Town; and by the Sobriety and Industry of the People, they prove a very thriving Settlement.

6. In the succeeding Year, 1735, the Trustees were encouraged by an extraordinary Supply of twenty-six thousand Pounds, granted by Parliament, and very considerable Benefactions, as well in *Carolina* as in *England*, to think of making very considerable Embarkations for strengthening the southern Part of *Georgia*; and to obviate any Objection that might be made, as in Undertakings of this Nature Objections will never be wanting, of their sending useful Poor from hence, it was resolved, That these Embarkations should consist mostly of People from the North of *Scotland*, and persecuted *German* Protestants. The Reader will observe, that by the Care taken in this Respect, the Nation gained a very considerable Advantage, since by this Means the Overflowings of all the Northern Countries of *Europe*, which are known to breed robust, hardy and industrious People, were secured for our Service, and carried over and settled in that Part of his Majesty's Dominions where such People were wanted most; where, from their Circumstances, they were obliged to fulfil (as indeed they have always done) the Ends for which they were sent thither; and so became an Accession of Strength of great Consequence and Advantage, at a very small and inconsiderable Expence. But that the Reader may be fully apprized of, and perfectly comprehend, the true Reasons which induced the Parliament to grant so much Money, for the Settlement and Improvement of the Colony this Year, and may likewise be enabled to judge of the Weight and Importance of these Reasons, it is requisite to inform him, that the Colony of *South Carolina* drew up a Memorial, dated the 9th of *April* 1734, signed by *Robert Johnson*, Esq; their Governor, *Thomas Broughton*, President of the Council; and *Paul Jenys*, Speaker of the Commons; containing a Representation of the State and Condition of that Province, and therein so full, so clear, and so authentic an Account of Facts, equally curious and important, that it is impossible to set them down either in fewer or better Words than are used in that Memorial; Part of which therefore we shall give here, and should very willingly have given the Whole, if the Nature of our Work would have allowed us Room.

“ Your Majesty's Subjects of this Province, having
“ often felt, with Hearts full of Gratitude, the many
“ signal Instances of your most sacred Majesty's peculiar
“ Favour and Protection to these distant Parts of your
“ Dominions, and especially those late Proofs of your
“ Majesty's most gracious and benign Care, so wisely
“ calculated for the Protection of this your Majesty's
“ Frontier-Province on the Continent of *America*, by
“ your royal Charter to the Trustees for establishing
“ the Colony of *Georgia*; and your great Goodness so
“ rightly

“ rightly and timely applied in protecting the Settlement
“ of the *Swiss* at *Purrysburg*. Encouraged by such just Views
“ of your Majesty’s wife and paternal Care, extended to
“ your remotest Subjects; and excited by the Duty which
“ we owe to your most sacred Majesty, to be always
“ watchful for the Support and Security of your Majesty’s
“ Interest, especially at this very critical Juncture, when
“ the Flame of a War breaking out in *Europe*, may very
“ speedily be lighted here, in this your Majesty’s Frontier
“ Province, which by its Situation is known to be of the
“ utmost Importance to the general Trade and Traffic of
“ *America*: We therefore, your Majesty’s most faith-
“ ful Governor, Council, and Commons, convened
“ in your Majesty’s Province of *South Carolina*, crave
“ Leave with great Humility to represent to your Majesty
“ the present State and Condition of this your Province,
“ and how greatly it stands in need of your Majesty’s
“ gracious and timely Succour in Case of a War, to assist
“ our Defence against the *French* and *Spaniards*, or any
“ other Enemies to your Majesty’s Dominions, as well
“ as against the many Nations of Savages, which so
“ nearly threaten the Safety of your Majesty’s Subjects.

“ The Province of *Carolina*, and the new Colony of
“ *Georgia*, are the southern Frontiers of all your Majesty’s
“ Dominions on the Continent of *America*; to the South
“ and South-west of which is situate the strong Castle of
“ *St. Augustin*, garrisoned by four hundred *Spaniards*,
“ who have several Nations of *Indians* living under their
“ Subjection, besides several other small Settlements and
“ Garrisons near the *Appellaches*, some of which are not
“ eighty Miles distant from the Colony of *Georgia*. To
“ the South-west and West of us, the *French* have al-
“ ready erected a considerable Town near *Fort Thoulouse*
“ on the *Moville* River, and several other Forts and Gar-
“ risons, some not above three hundred Miles distant
“ from our Settlements; and at *New Orleans* on the
“ *Mississippi* River, since her late Majesty Queen *Anne*’s
“ War, they have exceedingly encreased their Strength
“ and Traffic, and have now many Forts and Garrisons
“ on both Sides of that large River, for several hundred
“ Miles up the same. And since his most Christian Majesty
“ has taken out of the *Mississippi* Company the Government
“ of that Contry into his own Hands, the *French*
“ Natives of *Canada* come daily down in Shoals, to
“ settle all along that River, where many regular Forces
“ have been sent over by the King, to strengthen the
“ Garrisons of those Places; and according to our best
“ and latest Advices, they have five hundred Men in Pay
“ constantly employed as Wood-Rangers, to keep the
“ neighbouring *Indians* in Subjection, and to prevent the
“ distant ones from disturbing their Settlements; which
“ Management of the *French* has so well succeeded, that
“ we are very well assured they have wholly now in their
“ Possession, and under their Influence, the several numer-
“ ous Nations of *Indians* that are situate near the *Missis-*
“ *sippi* River; one of which, called the *Choctaws*, by
“ Estimation, consisting of about five thousand fighting
“ Men, and who were always deemed a very warlike
“ Nation, lies on this Side the River, not above four
“ hundred Miles distant from our Out-settlements.
“ Among whom, and several other Nations of *Indians*,
“ many *French Europeans* have been sent to settle, whom
“ the Priests and Missionaries among them encourage to
“ take *Indian Wives*, and use divers other alluring Me-
“ thods to attach the *Indians* the better to the *French*
“ Alliance: By which Means the *French* are become
“ thoroughly acquainted with the *Indian Way* of warring
“ and living in the Woods, and have now a great Num-
“ ber of white Men among them, able to perform a
“ long March, with an Army of *Indians*, upon any
“ Expedition.

“ We further beg Leave to inform your Majesty,
“ That if the Measures of *France* should provoke your
“ Majesty to a State of Hostility against it in *Europe*, we
“ have great Reasons to expect an Invasion will be here
“ made upon your Majesty’s Subjects, by the *French*
“ and the *Indians*, from these *Mississippi* Settlements:
“ They have already paved a Way for a Design of that
“ Nature, by erecting a Fort called the *Alabama Fort*,

“ alias *Fort Louis*, in the Middle of the *Upper Creek*
“ *Indians*, upon a navigable River leading to *Moville*,
“ which they have kept well garrisoned, and mounted
“ with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; and have already been
“ prevented from erecting a second nearer to us in that
“ Quarter. The *Creeks* are a Nation very bold, active,
“ and daring, consisting of about thirteen hundred
“ fighting Men (and not above one hundred and fifty
“ Miles distant from the *Choctaws*) whom though we
“ heretofore have traded with, claimed, and held in our
“ Alliance, yet the *French*, on account of that Fort,
“ and a superior Ability to make them liberal Presents,
“ have been for some time striving to gain them over to
“ their Interest, and have succeeded with some of the
“ Towns of the *Creeks*, which if they can be secured in
“ your Majesty’s Interest, are the only Nation which
“ your Majesty’s Subjects here can depend upon, as their
“ best Barrier against any Attempts, either of the *French*
“ or their confederate *Indians*.

“ We most humbly pray Leave further to inform your
“ Majesty, that the *French* at *Moville*, perceiving that they
“ could not gain the *Indians* to their Interest without
“ buying their Deer Skins, which is the only Commo-
“ dity the *Indians* have to purchase Necessaries with, and
“ the *French* not being able to dispose of those Skins,
“ by reason of their having no Vent for them in *Old*
“ *France*, have found Means to encourage Vessels from
“ hence, *New York*, and other Places which are not
“ prohibited by the Acts of Trade, to truck those
“ Skins with them for *Indian* trading Goods, especially
“ the *British* Woollen Manufactures, which the *French*
“ dispose of to the *Creeks* and *Choctaws*, and other
“ *Indians*; by which Means the *Indians* are much more
“ alienated from our Interest; and, on every Occasion,
“ object to us, that the *French* can supply them with
“ Shrouds and Blankets as well as the *English*; which
“ would have the contrary Effect, if they were wholly
“ furnished with those Commodities by your Majesty’s
“ Subjects trading among them. If a Stop were there-
“ fore put to that pernicious Trade with the *French*, the
“ *Creek Indians* chief Dependance would be on this
“ Government, and that of *Georgia*, to supply them with
“ Goods; by which Means great Part of the *Choctaws*
“ living next the *Creeks*, would see the Advantage the
“ *Creek Indians* enjoyed, by having *British* Woollen
“ Manufactures wholly from your Majesty’s Subjects,
“ and thereby be invited, in a short time, to enter into
“ a Treaty of Commerce with us, which they have
“ lately made some Offers for, and which, if effected,
“ will soon lessen the Interest of the *French* with these
“ *Indians*, and by Degrees attach them to that of your
“ Majesty.

“ The only Expedient we can propose to recover
“ and confirm that Nation to your Majesty’s Interest,
“ is by speedily making them Presents, to withdraw
“ them from the *French* Alliance, and by building some
“ Forts among them. Your Majesty may be put into
“ such a Situation, that on the first Notice of Hostilities
“ with the *French*, your Majesty may be able to reduce
“ at once the *Alabama Fort*, and we may then stand
“ against the *French* and their *Indians*; which if not
“ timely prepared for, before a War breaks out, we
“ have too much Reason to fear we may be soon over-
“ run by the united Strength of the *French*, and the
“ *Creeks*, and *Choctaws*, with many other Nations of
“ their *Indian* Allies: For should the *Creeks* become
“ wholly our Enemies, who are well acquainted with all
“ our Settlements, we probably should also soon be de-
“ serted by the *Cherokees*, and a few other small Tribes
“ of *Indians*; who, for the Sake of our Booty, would
“ readily join to make us a Prey to the *French* and Sa-
“ vages. Ever since the late *Indian War*, the Offences
“ then given us by the *Creeks*, have made that Nation
“ jealous of your Majesty’s Subjects of this Province.
“ We have therefore concerted Measures with the Ho-
“ nourable *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; who being at the
“ Head of a new Colony, will, we hope, be successful
“ for your Majesty’s Interest among that People. He
“ has already, by Presents, attached the *Lower Creeks* to

“ the Service of your Majesty, and has laudibly undertaken to endeavour the fixing a Garrison among the
 “ *Upper Creeks*; the Expence of which is already in Part
 “ provided for, in this Session of the general Assembly
 “ of this Province. We hope therefore to prevent the
 “ *French* from incroaching farther on your Majesty’s
 “ Territories, until your Majesty is graciously pleased
 “ further to strengthen and secure the same.

“ We find the *Cherokee* Nation has lately become very
 “ insolent to your Majesty’s Subjects trading among
 “ them, notwithstanding the many Favours which the
 “ Chiefs of that Nation received from your Majesty
 “ in *Great Britain*; besides a considerable Expence
 “ which your Majesty’s Subjects have been at, in making
 “ them Presents, which inclines us to believe that
 “ the *French*, by their *Indians*, have been tampering with
 “ them. We therefore beg Leave to inform your Majesty,
 “ that the building and mounting some Forts also
 “ among the *Cherokees*, and making them Presents, will
 “ be highly necessary to keep them steady in their Duty
 “ to your Majesty, lest the *French* may prevail in seducing
 “ that Nation; which they may the more readily be inclined
 “ to, from the Prospect of getting considerable Plunder in
 “ Slaves, Cattle, and Commodities, which they very well know
 “ they have among us. Several other Forts will be indispensibly
 “ necessary, to be a Cover to your Majesty’s Subjects settled
 “ backwards in this Province, as also to those of the Colony
 “ of *Georgia*, both which in Length are very extensive.
 “ For though the Trustees for establishing the Colony
 “ of *Georgia*, by a particular Scheme of good Management,
 “ faithfully conducted by the Gentleman engaged here in that
 “ charitable Enterprize, have put that small Part of the Colony
 “ which he has yet been able to establish, in a tenable Condition
 “ against the *Spaniards* of *Florida*, which lye to the Southward;
 “ yet the back Exposition of those Colonies to the vast
 “ Number of *French* and *Indians*, which border on the
 “ Westward, must, in case of a War, cry greatly aloud
 “ for your Majesty’s gracious and timely Succour. The
 “ Expence of our Safety on such an Occasion, we must in all
 “ Humility acquaint your Majesty, either for Men or Money,
 “ can never be effected by your Majesty’s Subjects of this
 “ Province, who, in Conjunction with *Georgia*, do not, in the
 “ whole, amount to more than three thousand five hundred
 “ Men that compose the Militia, and wholly consist of
 “ Planters, Traders, and other Men in Business.”

There are some other Paragraphs in this Memorial which
 “ are still more worthy of Notice, and which therefore we shall
 “ give the Reader in the Words thereof. We must further beg
 “ Leave to inform your Majesty, that amidst our other
 “ perillous Circumstances, we are subject to many intestine
 “ Dangers, from the great Number of Negroes that are
 “ now among us, who amount, at least, to twenty-two thousand
 “ Persons, and are three to one of all your Majesty’s white
 “ Subjects in this Province. Insurrections against us have been
 “ often attempted, and would at any Time prove very fatal,
 “ if the *French* should instigate them by artfully giving them
 “ an Expectation of Freedom. In such a Situation we most
 “ humbly crave Leave to acquaint your Majesty, that even the
 “ present ordinary Expences, necessary for the Care and
 “ Support of this your Majesty’s Province and Government,
 “ cannot be provided for by your Majesty’s Subjects of this
 “ Province, without your Majesty’s gracious Pleasure to continue
 “ those Laws, for establishing the Tax on Negroes, and other
 “ Duties, for seven Years, and for appropriating the Laws
 “ which now lie before your Majesty, for your royal Assent
 “ and Approbation; and the further Expences that will be
 “ requisite for the erecting some Forts, and establishing
 “ Garrisons in the several necessary Places, so as to form
 “ a Barrier for the Security of this your Majesty’s Province,
 “ we most humbly submit to your Majesty.

“ Your Majesty’s Subjects of this Province, with Fullness
 “ of Zeal, Duty, and Affection, to your most gracious and
 “ sacred Majesty, are so highly sensible of the great
 “ Importance of this Province to the *French*, that

“ we must conceive it more than probable, if a War
 “ should happen, they will use all Endeavours to bring
 “ this Country under their Subjection. They would
 “ thereby be able to supply their *Sugar Islands* with all
 “ Sorts of Provisions and Lumber, by an easy Navigation
 “ Trade, which, to our great Advantage, is now not so
 “ practicable from the present *French* Colonies: Besides the
 “ Facility of gaining then to their Interest most of the
 “ *Indian Trade* on the Northern Continent, they might also
 “ easily unite the *Canadees* and *Choctaws*, with the many
 “ other Nations of *Indians* which are now in their Interest.
 “ And the several Ports and Harbours of *Carolina* and
 “ *Georgia*, which now enable your Majesty to be absolutely
 “ Master of the Passage through the *Gulph* of *Florida*,
 “ and to impede, at your Pleasure, the transportation
 “ Home of the *Spanish* Treasure, would then prove so many
 “ convenient Harbours for your Majesty’s Enemies, by
 “ their Privateers or Ships of War, to annoy a great
 “ Part of the *British* Trade to *America*, as well as that
 “ which is carried on through the *Gulph* from *Jamaica*,
 “ besides the Loss which *Great Britain* must feel in so
 “ considerable a Part of its Navigation, as well as the
 “ Exports of Masts, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine, which,
 “ without any Dependence on the Northern Powers of
 “ *Europe*, are from hence plentifully supplied for the
 “ Use of the *British* Shipping.

“ This is the present State and Condition of your
 “ Majesty’s Province of *South Carolina*, utterly incapable
 “ of finding Funds sufficient for the Defence of this wide
 “ Frontier, and so destitute of white Men, that even
 “ Money itself cannot here raise a sufficient Body of
 “ them.” The great Length of this Memorial prevents
 “ our making many Remarks thereon; some few, however,
 “ are absolutely requisite.

The Reader will, from hence, see how well timed,
 “ and how well contrived, the new Settlement of *Georgia*
 “ was, in the Opinion of those who were the best Judges;
 “ how just and how prudent the Precaution of the Trustees
 “ in prohibiting Negroes; and how wisely and happily for
 “ the public Service they contrived to send over, both
 “ from our own Country, and other Parts of *Europe*, white
 “ People, and Protestants, by which they effectually provided
 “ for the Security of all the Northern Colonies behind it;
 “ which, whenever this Country comes to be thoroughly
 “ peopled, as it may be in a very few Years Time in Days
 “ of Peace, if due Attention be had thereto, will be such a
 “ Barrier, as neither *Spaniards* nor *French* can ever break
 “ through, and consequently will for ever put an End to
 “ those Terrors and Apprehensions, that are so strongly and
 “ so emphatically expressed in the foregoing Paper. But to
 “ proceed in our History.

In the Month of *January*, 1735, the *Highlanders* arrived
 “ in *Georgia* (and with them several of the same Country,
 “ as Servants to private Grantees). They were settled on the
 “ *Altamaha River*, about sixteen Miles distant by Water
 “ from the Island of *St. Simon*, which is at the Mouth of
 “ the River. They soon raised convenient Huts till their
 “ Houses could be built; and the Town, at their own
 “ Desire, was called *Darien*, which Name that District
 “ still retains; but the Town which they afterwards built
 “ they thought fit to call *New Inverness*.

On the 6th of *February* following the great Embarkation,
 “ under the Direction of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, arrived, and the
 “ People were settled upon the Island of *St. Simon*. The
 “ *Creek Indians* who came down upon this Occasion, in
 “ consequence of their claiming a Right to the Country,
 “ were treated with, and agreed that the *English* should
 “ possess that, and all the Islands adjacent, which necessary
 “ Step being taken, the Town of *Frederica* was soon laid
 “ out, and the People set to work in building Houses. When
 “ I call this the great Embarkation, it seems but reasonable
 “ that I should express the Number of Persons sent over,
 “ which were four hundred and seventy; and it is likewise
 “ fit to say something of the Island upon which they were
 “ settled. In Point of Situation, a better could hardly
 “ be wished for in that Part of the World, lying as it
 “ does at the Mouth of a very fine River; the Size of it
 “ too was very convenient, being about forty-five Miles in
 “ Extent,

Extent, the Soil rich and fruitful, full of Oak and Hickery Trees, intermixed with Meadows and old Indian Fields.

As soon as this Settlement was made, Care was taken for its Security, and for the Fortification of the Southern Barrier, with which View a regular Fortrefs, strengthened by four Bastions and a Spur-work, towards the River, was erected at *Frederica*, and several Pieces of Cannon mounted thereon; a strong Battery was also raised for the Protection of *Iekyll Sound*, where ten or twelve Forty-gun Ships may safely ride. Another Fort was built on the South-west Part of *Cumberland Island*, where are several Pieces of Cannon pointed towards the River, so as to command all Sloops and Small-craft navigating that Passage; within the Pallisade which surrounds the Fort there are fine Springs of Water, and likewise a well framed Timber-house, with large and convenient Magazines under it for Ammunition and Provisions. But while so much Care was taken of the South Frontier, agreeable as it was conceived to the Design of the Parliament's Grant, and the Prayer of the before-mentioned Memorial; the Northern Part of the Colony was not neglected, since Orders were given for erecting a Fort at *Augusta*, a Place situated on the River *Savannah*, which is now become a very thriving Place; where the Traders with the *Indians*, from *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, resort, on Account of its Conveniency for that Purpose; and where there are large Warehouses furnished with such Goods as the *Indians* want, the Deer Skins taken in Exchange being sent two hundred and thirty Miles down the River, to the Town of *Savannah*, in Boats, which carry each about nine thousand Weight. It may be easily conceived from hence, how necessary a thing it was to have a good Fort here, which was both erected and garrisoned at the Expence of the Trustees for some Time; and a Horse-Road was made from thence to the Town of *Savannah* one Way, and to the Dwellings of the *Cherokee Indians*, who live above the Town of *Augusta*, the other. By these Precautions the Trade of both Colonies, with these *Indians*, was facilitated, and the Country on that Side secured against any sudden Attempts of an Enemy, which was all that could be expected in so short a Time, and in a Tract of Land in Comparison of the Colony, of so large an Extent.

7. The Presence of Mr. *Oglethorpe* contributed greatly to the settling and Preservation of the Colony; which was already become considerable enough, not only to draw the Attention, but to excite the Jealousy, of the *Spaniards*; who, without all Question, would have been glad to have overpowered, and driven out, these new-come Neighbours, if it had been a thing in their Power; and if they had not been apprehensive of the ill Consequences that must have attended the breaking out of a War between the two Nations, on Account of the Disputes between these Frontier Provinces; which Circumstances were so well improved by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and the *Indians* who had entered into Friendship with the new Settlement were so strongly attached to the *English* Interest, that the Governor of *St. Augustin*, upon mature Deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a Negotiation, and to endeavour to conclude an amicable Agreement with the *English* Colony; which Mr. *Oglethorpe* also knowing to be very convenient for the Security of *Georgia*, he negotiated, and concluded a Treaty, upon very just and reasonable, as well as safe and advantageous, Terms; as will appear from the following Copy of the Treaty itself, and the Powers by him given for concluding and signing it.

“ To CHARLES DEMPSEY, Esq;

“ I have impowered you, by Procuration, dated the 23d of June, 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain Matters of Importance, relating to these Provinces, with his Excellency *Don Francisco del Moral Sanches*, Captain General of *Florida*, and Governor of *St. Augustin*, and the Council of War of the said Garrison; and having, since the Dates of these Letters, received Advice from the Governor of *St. Augustin*, as also a Message from his Excellency *Don Juan Francisco Geumes de Horcastas*, Major General in his Ca-

“ tholic Majesty's Service, Captain General of the Island above, and Governor of *Havanna*, by *Don Antonio de Arredondo*, they both impowering him to treat concerning the said Matters, I do hereby impower, constitute, and appoint you, to treat, conclude, and sign the following Articles; and deliver the same unto the Governor and Council of *St. Augustin*, they signing, sealing, and interchanging the said Articles.

“ First, That his Excellency the Governor of *St. Augustin*, shall restrain his *Indians*, Subjects to the King of *Spain*, from committing any Hostilities upon the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*. I will restrain the *Indian* Subjects to the King of *Great Britain* in this Province, from any Hostilities upon the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

“ Secondly, That in respect to the Nations of free *Indians* called *Creeks*, I will use my utmost amicable Endeavours upon any reasonable Satisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abstain from any Hostilities whatsoever, with the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

“ Thirdly, That with respect to the Fort built on the Island of *St. George*, I will draw off that Garrison, together with the Artillery, and all other things by me posted there; provided that none of his Catholic Majesty's Subjects, nor any other Person, shall inhabit, people, or fortify, the said Island; provided also that no Prejudice shall arise to the Right of the King my Master, to the said Island, nor to any other Dominions or Claim that his Britannic Majesty hath upon this Continent. But that his Right shall remain to the said Island, and to all other Places whatsoever; as if the said Garrison had never been withdrawn; and the said Garrison shall withdraw within fourteen Days after the Ratification of these Articles.

“ Fourthly, I will agree with his Excellency the Governor of *St. Augustin*, and the Council of War, That his Britannic Majesty's Subjects, under my Command, shall not molest, in any Manner whatsoever, any of his Catholic Majesty's Subjects, provided that his Catholic Majesty's Subjects do not molest any of his Britannic Majesty's Subjects, nor his Allies.

“ Fifthly, That concerning any Differences that have or shall arise, concerning the Limits of the respective Government and Dominions of the two Crowns, such Differences shall remain undecided, till the Determination of the respective Courts; and that the Subjects of each Crown here, shall remain in profound Peace, and not in any Manner molest each other, until the Determination of the respective Courts on this Subject.

“ Lastly, That no Person shall be received from any Garrison in either Government, without a Passport from the Governor to whom such Persons belong.

“ Given under my Hand and Seal, at *Frederica* in *Georgia*, the 27th Day of September, 1736.

“ By the Power to me given, by his Excellency *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; Governor and Director General of the new Colony of *Georgia*, by his Excellency's Procuration, bearing Date the 27th Day of October, in the tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George* the Second, by the Grace of God of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the Year of our Lord 1736: I do hereby confirm and ratify the above Articles, with his Excellency *Don Francisco del Moral Sanches Villegas*, Captain General and Governor of *St. Augustin* of *Florida*, and with the Council of War of the said Garrison of *St. Augustin*; as witness my Hand and Seal, this 26th Day of October, 1736.”

The Counter-part of this Treaty, executed by the Governor of *St. Augustin*, by the Advice, and with the Consent, of a Council of War, was certified by *Bartholomew Niotto*, Notary-Public, and I have it before me; but as it contains only a Repetition of the foregoing Articles, it seems unnecessary to insert it here, since what we have already given the Reader very sufficiently explains the Nature

Nature of this Treaty : But it seems the Governor of *St. Augustin* was not in the Secret of the Court ; for the *Spanish* Ministry at Home were very far from being desirous that a fair Correspondence should be established between the two Colonies. On the contrary, they aimed at obliging us to desist from our Design of settling the Colony of *Georgia* ; and with this View Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, on the 1st of *September*, presented a Memorial to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, in which, among other Things, he was pleased to say, It is indisputable that the Colony of *Georgia* was settled upon his Master's Dominions ; so that a plainer Proof cannot be had, that the *Spaniards* were determined if possible, to oblige the Crown of *Great Britain* to give up this Settlement.

But as it was not very probable, that we should be induced to do this by Sir *Thomas Geraldino's* Memorials, the *Spanish* Ministry were contriving to do it by Force, and by transporting Troops into the *Spanish Florida*, from the adjacent Island of *Cuba*, and other Parts of their Dominions. It is true, that these Orders were mostly given before they had any Intelligence of the provisional Treaty concluded between the Governor of *St. Augustin* and Mr. *Oglethorpe* ; but when they did know of it, they were so far from laying aside their former Design, or even from suspending it, that they highly disapproved of the Governor's Behaviour in that Particular, the rather perhaps because it was altogether inconsistent with their own Projects and Pretensions. It is also very probable, that as the *Spanish* Councils were at that time wholly guided by those of *France*, this might contribute not a little to their forming Views of expelling us from *Georgia*, which the *French* without doubt consider as equally dangerous to them and their Schemes, or rather more so, than to the *Spaniards*, who on their Side have much more Reason to be offended with the *French* Settlements on the River *Mississippi*, than at our new Colony of *Georgia*. But be this as it will, the Preparations they made were in their Nature so open and extraordinary, that it was not long they could be concealed from our Governors, and other Officers in the *West Indies*, whose Duty it was to observe, and transmit Intelligence hither of Things of that Nature.

The Lieutenant Governor of *South Carolina*, having heretofore acquainted the Trustees by a Letter, dated from the Council-Chamber in *Charles Town*, the 7th of *February*, 1636-7, That he had received Advice from *Commodore Dent*, of Preparations made by the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustin* and the *Havanna*, in order to make an Attack on the Colony of *Georgia* ; and the Trustees having, in a Memorial to his Majesty, set forth the Inability of the Colony to protect themselves against such a Force as was preparing at the *Havanna* and *St. Augustin* ; his Majesty was graciously pleased to order a Regiment of six hundred effective Men to be raised, and sent to *Georgia*, for the Defence and Protection of it.

As an Encouragement for the Soldiers good Behaviour, the Trustees resolved to give each of them a Property in the Colony, and therefore made a Grant in Trust, for an Allotment of five Acres of Land to each Soldier of the Regiment, to cultivate for his own Use and Benefit, and to hold the same during his Continuance in his Majesty's Service. And for a further Encouragement, they resolved, That each Soldier who at the End of seven Years Service, from the Time of his enlisting in the Regiment, should be desirous of quitting his Majesty's Service, and should have his regular Discharge, and would settle in the Colony, should, on his Commanding Officer's Certificate of his good Behaviour, be entitled to a Grant of twenty Acres of Land.

The Parliament having taken into Consideration the great Expences which the Trustees had been at in making Roads through the Province, and the several Fortifications in it, and the Presents made to the *Indians* to engage them firmer in the *British* Interest, and likewise the Preparations that were making by the *Spaniards* in order to take or distress the Colony ; granted thereupon for this Year the Sum of twenty thousand Pounds, for the further settling and securing the Colony, the Trustees made another Em-

barkation, which consisted chiefly of persecuted *German* Protestants.

In Consequence of so considerable an Augmentation of People, all the Towns laid out in *Georgia* began to be improved, and to receive considerable Supplies ; and so mindful they were of their Security, that even at *Savannah*, which was least exposed to Danger, they traced out, and began to build, a considerable Fort ; and in all the Frontier Places, the utmost Care was taken to put the Fortifications into the best Posture of Defence that the Circumstances of the Province would allow. On the Arrival of the Regiment, of which Mr. *Oglethorpe* was appointed Colonel, he distributed them in the properest manner for the Service of the Colony ; but notwithstanding this was of great Ease to the Trustees, and a vast Security to the Inhabitants ; yet Colonel *Oglethorpe* still kept up the same Discipline, and took as much Care to form and regulate the Inhabitants with respect to military Affairs as ever. He provided likewise different Corps for different Services ; some for ranging the Woods ; others, light-armed, for sudden Expeditions ; and he likewise provided Vessels for scouring the Sea Coasts, and for gaining Intelligence. In all which Services he gave at the same time his Orders and his Example ; there being nothing he did not, which he directed others to do ; so that if he was the first Man in the Colony, his Pre-eminence was founded upon old *Homer's* Maxims : He was the most fatigued, and the first in Danger, distinguished by his Cares and his Labours, not by any exterior Marks of Grandeur, more easily dispensed with, since they were certainly needless.

The strict Attention shewn by the Trustees for their infant Settlement was so remarkable, and their Punctuality in supplying what was necessary, so generally known throughout *America*, that it was not long before it created some Inconvenience from the Address of such as were desirous of turning such Instances of public Spirit to their private Advantage ; for several Merchants, and Captains of Ships, had, for their own Interest, carried into the Colony from *New York* and other Places, large Cargoes of Provisions, &c. great Part of which (to save Merchants from Losses) were taken at the Store, without proper Authority from the Trustees, and an Expence created thereby, which the Trustees could not estimate, nor have Ability to discharge, and for which certified Accounts were returned to them ; and therefore the Trustees published an Advertisement in the *London Gazette*, and ordered it to be published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, and to be affixed on the Doors of the Store-houses at *Savannah* and *Frederica*, that out of a due Regard to public Credit they had resolved, That all Expences which they had ordered, or should order, to be made in *America*, for the Use of the Colony, should be defrayed and paid for in *Georgia*, in Sola Bills of Exchange only, under their Seal ; and they gave Notice, that no Person whatsoever had any Authority from them, or in their Name, or on their Account, to purchase or receive any Cargo of Provisions, Stores, or Necessaries, without paying for them in the said Sola Bills.

Yet they were as ready as ever in expending Money, where it was necessary and serviceable to the Colony ; for upon a Petition of one *Abraham de Lyon*, a Freeholder of *Savannah* in *Georgia*, That he had expended a great Sum in the Cultivation of Vines, which he had carried from *Portugal*, and had brought to great Perfection ; and several Certificates being produced of his great Improvements, and of the Goodness of his Grapes, and their thriving in the most barren Lands in the Province, the Trustees assisted him to proceed in his Improvements. But, to be the more able to supply these Expences, they took Care to be frugal, where it was practicable. And the Security of the Colony being provided for by the Regiment sent over by his Majesty, the Parliament gave eight thousand Pounds for the further settling the Colony ; therefore the Trustees sent over an Estimate of all the Expences which they allowed to be made in the Province ; by which several military Expences which they had been engaged in for the Defence of the Colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

In the Year 1738 the Trustees sent over the Reverend Mr. Norris to *Frederica*, with a Salary of 50 l. a Year, and Orders that a House should be built for him, and another provided for the Performance of public Worship, till such Time as a Church could be erected. But while their Cares were thus employed, they met with some Interruption from unforeseen Accidents, both without and within the Province: In respect to the former, the Assembly of *South Carolina*, having the last Year passed an Ordinance for raising a Sum to indemnify their Traders, in Opposition to the Act, which was approved of by his Majesty in Council, for maintaining the Peace with the *Indians* in the Province of *Georgia*; upon a Memorial from the Trustees, complaining of the said Ordinance; and upon the Petition of the Council and Assembly of *South Carolina*, against the said Act, there was a solemn Hearing before the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and afterwards before a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council: Whereupon his Majesty was pleased to order, that the said Ordinance of Assembly of *South Carolina* should be repealed, and declared void; and was pleased to send an Instruction to the Trustees, to prepare a proper Act, or Ordinance, for settling the Trade, carried on by the Provinces of *South Carolina* and *Georgia* with the *Indians*, on such a Footing, as might be for the mutual Benefit and Satisfaction of both Provinces. And his Majesty, at the same Time, was graciously pleased to give an Instruction to *Samuel Horsey*, Esq; Governor, and Lieutenant General of *South Carolina*, to recommend to the Council and Assembly there, to pass a Law for that Purpose, in that Province. But *Samuel Horsey*, Esq; dying soon after, and no other Governor having since gone to *South Carolina*, that Affair remained unsettled. The Trustees immediately sent to Colonel *Oglethorpe* a Copy of his Majesty's Instructions, and desired that he would consult with Lieutenant Governor *Bull* in *South Carolina*; that Plans of proper Acts might be prepared, and sent over to the Trustees, for their Consideration, in order to answer the Purposes of his Majesty's Instructions; and that, in the mean Time, the Commissioners of *South Carolina*, and the Commissioners of *Georgia*, might proceed in their respective Provinces, in concert with each other, to carry on a mutual Trade to the *Indians* in both Provinces.

In Reference to the other Sources of Disturbance and domestic Disquiets, they were of different Kinds; but the greatest was owing to a Number of Persons enjoying the Benevolence due to the Colony, without any real Merit in themselves, or just Title thereto; for which, however, a Remedy was speedily provided. The Trustees, both by their Letters and Instructions to the Magistrates, had constantly exhorted and encouraged the People to a Cultivation of their Lands, on which they were to depend for their Support; and as they found that many (as well of those whom they had sent over as Objects of Charity, as of others, who at different Times had gone into the Country from other Colonies, for their temporary Maintenance) still continued in their Idleness, and were a Burden upon the Trustees; they gave Orders for striking off the Store, all such as having had Time to cultivate their Lands had neglected it. This carried from the Colony many of those who had gone thither, or joined it from other Parts of *America*, to gain a Subsistence for a Year or two, and of others who had not considered the Hardships attending the first Settlement of a Country, and were weary of their Labour. The Trustees receiving an Account, dated *February* 12, 1738, from their Secretary of the Province, of an Uneasiness among several Persons, upon the Tenor of their Lots being confined to Heirs Male; and they, considering that the Colony had been some Time established, the People grew more numerous, and a Regiment being stationed in it, for its Defence, whereby the former Tenures became less necessary; did, on the 15th of *March* following, at their anniversary Meeting, resolve, that in Default of Issue Male, the legal Possessor of Land, might, by a Deed in Writing, or by his last Will and Testament, appoint his Daughter as his Successor, or any other Female Relation; with a Proviso that the Successor should, in

the proper Court in *Georgia*, personally claim the Lot granted and devised within eighteen Months after the Death of the Grantor or Divisor. This was soon after extended to every legal Possessor being empowered to appoint any other Person as his Successor.

The mildest Governments are often but too subject to Discontents; and though the whole Study of the Trustees was to make their People as easy in their private Capacities, as their Duty to, and Concern for, the Public, would permit. Yet this did not hinder ignorant and malicious Persons, who either could not, or would not, comprehend the true Interests of the Colony, from endeavouring to raise fresh Disturbances, for the sake of obtaining what they thought might be of Service to them; and which, if they had judged rationally, they must have perceived would have turned to their Ruin. In short, Part of the People settled in *Georgia*, sent over a Memorial to the Trustees, complaining of the Want of a Fee-simple in their Lands, and of not being permitted the Use of Negroes. But those who were settled on the Frontier, and consequently most exposed to the *Spaniards* and others, who, by their own Industry, had improved their Plantations, so as to draw from them a comfortable Subsistence, sent over a contrary Memorial; in which they represented the Disadvantages and Dangers that would arise from the Permission of Negroes.

It likewise fell out, that at the very Time some of the People of *Savannah* were so clamorous for Negroes (for seventy-five Land and Freeholders, of whom fifty-two were Freeholders, did not apply for them) the Province of *South Carolina* was under frequent Alarms, upon Account of the Negroes there. They had Intelligence that a Conspiracy was formed by the Negroes in *South Carolina* to rise, and forcibly make their Way out of the Province, to put themselves under the Protection of the *Spaniards*; who had proclaimed Freedom to all that should run to them from their Owners. This Conspiracy was discovered at *Winyaw*, the most Northern Part of that Province, from whence as the Negroes must bend their Course, it argued, that the other Parts of the Province must be privy to it, and that the rising was to be universal; whereupon the whole Province were upon their Guard; the Number of Negroes in *South Carolina* being computed to be about forty thousand, and the Number of white Men, at most, not above five thousand. As several Negroes who were employed in *Perryauguas*, and other like Craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the Benefit of the *Spaniards* Proclamation, and gone to *St. Augustin*, the Government of *South Carolina* sent a solemn Deputation to demand their Slaves. This Deputation consisted of Mr. *Braithwaite*, a Member of the Council; Mr. *Rudlidge*, one of the Assembly; and Mr. *Binian*, Clerk of the Assembly. But the Governor of *St. Augustin*, though in Time of profound Peace, peremptorily refused to deliver them up; and declared he had Orders to receive all such as should come thither, and protect them. Upon this, and the Petitions which were sent from the *Highlanders* at *Darien*, and the *Saltzburgers* at *Ebenezer*, representing the Danger, and the Inconvenience, of the Introduction of Negroes; the Trustees sent under their Seal, an Answer to the Representation from some of the Inhabitants of *Savannah*.

In this Answer, which is dated *June* the 20th, 1739, the Trustees say, "That they should deem themselves very unfit for the Trust reposed in them by their Majesty on their Behalf, if they could be prevailed on by any such irrational Attempt, to give up a Constitution framed with the greatest Caution, for the Preservation of Liberty and Property; and of which the Laws against the Use of Slaves, and for the Entail of Lands, are the surest Foundations; and the Trustees are the more confirmed in their Opinions of the Unreasonableness of this Demand, and that they have received Notions from *Darien*, and the other Parts of the Province, representing the Inconvenience and Danger which must arise to the good People of the Province, from the Introduction of Negroes; and as the Trustees themselves are fully convinced, that besides the Hazards attending of that Introduction, it

“ would destroy all Industry among the white Inhabit-
 “ ants, and that, by giving them a Power to alien
 “ their Lands, the Colony would soon be too like its
 “ Neighbours, void of white Inhabitants, filled with
 “ Blacks, and reduced to be the precarious Property of
 “ a few, equally exposed to domestic Treachery, and
 “ foreign Invasion; and therefore the Trustees cannot
 “ be supposed to be in any Disposition of granting this
 “ Request; and if they have not, before this, signified
 “ their Dislike of it, their Delay is to be imputed to
 “ no other Motives but the Hopes they had conceived,
 “ that Time and Experience would bring the Complain-
 “ ants to a better Mind. And the Trustees readily
 “ join Issue with them, in their Appeal to Posterity,
 “ who shall judge between them, who were their best
 “ Friends, those who endeavoured to preserve for them
 “ a Property in their Lands, by tying up the Hands of
 “ their unthrifty Progenitors, or they who wanted a
 “ Power to mortgage or alien them? Who were the
 “ best Friends to the Colony, those who, with great La-
 “ bour and Cost, had endeavoured to form a Colony
 “ of his Majesty's Subjects, and persecuted Protestants
 “ from other Parts of *Europe*; had placed them on a
 “ fruitful Soil, and strove to secure them in their Pos-
 “ sessions by those Arts, which naturally tend to keep
 “ the Colony full of useful and industrious People, ca-
 “ pable both to cultivate and defend it; or those, who
 “ to gratify the greedy and ambitious Views of a few
 “ Negro-Merchants, would put it into their Power to
 “ become sole Owners of the Province, by introducing
 “ their baneful Commodity; which it is well known,
 “ by sad Experience, has brought our Neighbour Colo-
 “ nies to the Brink of Ruin, by driving out their white
 “ Inhabitants, who were their Glory and Strength, to
 “ make room for black, who are now become the
 “ Terror of their unadvised Masters?”

The Trustees had great Reason for proceeding as they did in this Respect; since among the Persons to whom Grants were made, in order to their settling at their own Expence in the Colony, some never went over to take them up, or to settle at all; others were Gentlemen of *Carolina*, who neglected the Prosecution of their Grants, and never so much as desired to have their Lands laid out; and of the rest, several had quitted their Plantations, and the laborious Life of Planters, to go and reside more at their Ease at *Savannah*; where, by the Exercise of their several Trades and Professions, they brought many of the People in Debt; and besides all this, Horse-Races and other Diversions were set on foot, and such a Spirit of Idleness began to prevail, as very easily accounted for their Eagerness in desiring to have Negroes granted them; and plainly shewed with what fatal Consequences it must have been attended, if the Trustees had not remained firm to their first Resolutions, and had not given such an Answer as shewed they were resolved to preserve that Spirit in the Colony upon which it was settled, and which could alone render it worth that Care, which had been hitherto taken of it by the Public. However, to make the People as easy and contented as they could, they published an Advertisement in the *London Gazette*, the 8th of September, 1739, and other Papers, which were continued for several Days, and ordered it to be published in the *South Carolina Gazette*; that they had resolved to enlarge their Grants on Failure of Issue Male, and to make a certain Provision for the Widows of the Grantees, in the following Manner, viz. That the Lands already granted, and such as should hereafter be granted, should, on Failure of Issue Male, descend to the Daughters of such Grantees; and in case there should be no Issue Male or Female, that the Grantees might devise such Lands; and for want of such Devise, that such Lands should descend to their Heirs at Law, with a proviso that the Possession of the Person who should enjoy such Devise, should not be increased to more than five hundred Acres; and that the Widows of the Grantees, should hold and enjoy the dwelling House, Garden, and one Moiety of the Lands their Husband should die possessed of, for, and during the Term of, their Lives. The Trustees directed in the Advertisement, that those who

intended to have the Benefit given them, should enter their respective Claims, in order that proper Grants and Conveyances in the Law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that Purpose; and that no Fee or Reward was to be taken for the entering any such Claim, directly or indirectly, by any Person or Persons whatsoever. It appears clearly from these Concessions, how very desirous the Trustees were of giving the People, settled in *Georgia*, all imaginable Satisfaction, consistent with the Scheme they had formed of securing these Lands to the actual Planters, and thereby prevent those Inconveniencies, to which others, particularly the southern Colonies, were liable, and which would have been so much the more fatal in a Colony, the chief Inducement to establish which, was the making a strong Frontier.

9. The *French*, who by degrees grew more and more uneasy at the Settlement of *Georgia*, and our Intercourse with the *Indians*, began to make use of every Method they could devise, in order to create Differences and Jealousies between us and the *Creeks*, which was no sooner known, than it greatly alarmed, not only the People settled in *Georgia*, but the whole Province of *Carolina*, from a just Sense of the Danger they should be in, if the *French*, either by their Artifices or Presents, should draw over the *Creek Indians* to their Party, as appears by their Applications, both to Colonel *Oglethorpe*, and to the Government at home. Upon this Mr. *Oglethorpe* thought it necessary to enter into a close Alliance with this Nation; and therefore resolved upon a Journey to the *Coweta* Town, though at the Distance of no less than five hundred Miles from *Frederica*, where he then was, and through a Country very little known to, and very difficult for, *Europeans* to travel. He provided him, however, with Horses and Presents fit for the Purpose; set out for that Place, and after a painful and fatiguing Journey, reached it in Safety, where he was received by the *Indians* with all imaginable Marks of Friendship and Respect; and where he had an Opportunity of conferring, not only with the Chiefs of all the Tribes of this Nation, but also with the Deputies of the *Choctaws* and *Chickesaws*, who lie between the *English* and *French* Settlements, and who had sent their Deputies thither with that View. The Consequence of this Meeting was, the making a new, more full, and explicit Treaty with the *Lower Creeks*, than the former; which was of so great Consequence, that Colonel *Bull*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Carolina*, declared, that if the *Creeks* could be secured, they should be under no Apprehensions from the Intrigues of the *French* with the other Nations; and, that this was effectually done, the Reader will perceive from the Perusal of the Treaty then concluded with that Nation; of which the following is a Copy from an Instrument, containing the Exemplification of the said Treaty, under the Seal of the Province of *Georgia*, with all the necessary Certificates from the Magistrates, indorsed thereupon; and which ought therefore to be considered as the most authentic Evidence of that Gentleman's Diligence, Zeal, and Success, in the Service of his Country, and of the *British Colonies* in *America*.

Proceedings of the assembled Estates of all the Lower Creek Nations, held on Saturday, the 11th Day of August, Anno Domini 1739.

“ By Powers from his most sacred Majesty *George* the
 “ Second, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*,
 “ *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. General *James Oglethorpe*
 “ being appointed Commissioner, was present in the
 “ Behalf of his Majesty, and opened the Assembly by a
 “ Speech. There were also present at the said Assembly
 “ of Estates, the Mico, or King, of the *Coweta* Town;
 “ *Chickley Ninia*, Mico of the said Town; *Malachi*, Mico,
 “ Son of *Brim*, late Emperor of the *Creek* Nation, and
 “ the chief Men and Warriors of the *Coweta* Towns;
 “ the Mico, or chief King, of the *Cussitas*; and *Sciskeligo*,
 “ Mico, next to the King of the *Cussitas*; *Iskeigo*, third
 “ chief Man of the *Cussitas*, and the other chief Men
 “ and Warriors of the said Town; and also *Ocakcha-*
 “ *pacho*,

“ *pacho*, and the chief Men of the Town of *Polachuchulas*;
 “ *Kolatto*, chief War-Captain, and other chief Men
 “ and Warriors; being Deputies, sent with full Powers
 “ to conclude all Things necessary for the said Town.
 “ *Tawmarwme*, Mico of the *Ufawles*, with several other
 “ chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies sent with
 “ full Powers to conclude all Things necessary for the
 “ said Town. *Metalccheko*, War-Captain of the *Echetees*,
 “ with several other chief Men and Warriors; being
 “ Deputies sent with full Powers to conclude all Things
 “ for the said Town. *Neathacklo*, chief Man of *Ocsa-*
 “ *chees*, with several other chief Men and Warriors,
 “ sent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the
 “ said Town. *Ocullaveche*, chief Man of the *Cbecaws*,
 “ with several other chief Men and Warriors; being
 “ Deputies sent with full Powers to conclude all Things
 “ for the said Town. *Howanawge Thalacko*, chief Man
 “ of the *Oxmulges*, with several other chief Men and
 “ Warriors; being Deputies sent with Powers to con-
 “ clude all Things for the said Town. The Mico, or
 “ chief King, of the *Occouys*, with several chief Men and
 “ Warriors, having full Powers to conclude all Things
 “ for the said Town. *Nealboclo*, a second chief Man of
 “ the *Swales*, with several other chief Men and Warriors;
 “ being Deputies sent with full Powers to conclude all
 “ Things for the said Town. The said Estates being
 “ solemnly held, and opened at the great Square in the
 “ Town of *Coweta*, and adjourned from thence to the
 “ Town *Cussitas*; and the Deputies having drank black
 “ Drink together, according to the ancient Custom of
 “ their Nation (being a religious Form, transmitted down
 “ by their Ancestors) the whole Estates declared, by a
 “ general Consent, without one Negative, that they ad-
 “ hered in their ancient Love to the King of *Great*
 “ *Britain*, and to their Agreements made in the Year
 “ one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, with the
 “ Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in
 “ *America*; a Counter-part of which Agreement was
 “ then delivered to each Town; and the Deputies of
 “ the several Towns produced the same; and farther
 “ declared, That all the Dominions, Territories and
 “ Lands, from the River *Savannah*, to the River *St.*
 “ *John’s*, and all the Islands between the said Rivers;
 “ and from the River *St. John’s* to the Bay *Appallache*,
 “ within which is all the *Appallache* old Fields; and from
 “ the said Bay of *Appallache*, to the Mountains; doth
 “ by ancient Right belong to the *Creek* Nation, and
 “ they have maintained Possession of the said Right,
 “ against all Opposers by War; and can shew the Heaps
 “ of Bones of their Enemies slain by them, in Defence
 “ of the said Lands. And the said Estates further de-
 “ clare, that the *Creek* Nation hath, for Ages, had the
 “ Protection of the Kings and Queens of *England*, and
 “ that the *Spaniards*, nor no other Nation, have any
 “ Right to any of the said Lands, and that they will
 “ not suffer them, or any other Person, except the
 “ Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in
 “ *America*, to settle on the said Lands. And they do
 “ acknowledge, by the Grant they have already made
 “ to the Trustees for establishing a Colony of *Georgia*
 “ in *America*, all the Lands upon the *Savannah* River,
 “ as far as the River *Ogeeche*; and all the Lands along the
 “ Sea Coast, as far as the River *St. John’s*, and as high
 “ as the Tide flows, and all the Islands as far as the said
 “ River, particularly the Islands of *Frederica*, *Cumber-*
 “ *land*, and *Amelia*, to which they have given the
 “ Names of his Majesty’s Family, out of Gratitude to
 “ him. But they declare, that they did and do reserve
 “ to the *Creek* Nation, all the Land from *Pipemakes*
 “ *Bluff*, to *Havanna* and the Islands of *St. Catharina*,
 “ *Ossebarw*, and *Sappalo*. And they further declare,
 “ That the said Lands are held by the *Creek* Nation as
 “ Tenants in common. And the said Commissioner
 “ doth declare, That the *English* shall not enlarge, or
 “ take up any other Lands except these granted as above
 “ by the *Creek* Indian Nation, to the Trustees: And
 “ doth promise and covenant, That he will punish any
 “ Person that shall intrude upon the said Lands which
 “ the *Creek* Nation hath reserved, as above. Given

“ under my Hand and Seal this 21st Day of *August*, at
 “ the *Coweta*-Town, 1739.

James Oglethorpe.

At this Distance, it is a very difficult, if not imprac-
 ticable, Thing, to give the Reader a clear and distinct
 Intelligence of the Difficulties surmounted, and the Ad-
 vantages acquired by Mr. Oglethorpe’s Journey, and his
 Success in concluding this Alliance: We will, however,
 endeavour to represent them as clearly and as fully as we
 can. In the first place, his making such a Journey as
 this, gained him a great Reputation with the *Indians*;
 impressed upon them Sentiments of deep Respect for the
English Nation, and of particular Affection for the Colony
 of *Georgia*. At the same time it struck the *French* with
 Amazement; some of their Governors of *Canada* had
 indeed made considerable Journeys from *Quebec*, in or-
 der to confer with the *Indians*, and to conclude Treaties
 with them; but then they always thought it requisite
 to be well attended, and never made these Excursions
 but at the Head of a considerable Body of regular
 Troops. Whereas General Oglethorpe had no such
 Attendants, but relied entirely on the good Faith of the
Indians, and of his own Behaviour towards them. He knew
 the Consequence of their living in sincere Amity with the
English; and he was willing to run any personal Hazard
 necessary to establish it. In short, he found it requisite
 for the Welfare of the Colony which he had settled, that
 they should be able to place an intire Confidence in the
Indians, and the *Indians* in them; which reciprocal
 Confidence he actually procured, by reposing himself
 entirely on their Faith; and by the Treaty that he con-
 cluded with them.

His coming to the *Coweta* Town dissipated all their
 Fears, and extinguished all their Jealousies; they told
 him so fairly in their first Conferences. They said it had
 been insinuated to them, that he was come into that
 Country to deprive them of their Land; and that they
 had been assured, he was actually preparing to invade
 them; but they were now convinced that these were all
 Falshoods and Calumnies; that he really meant them all
 the Good they could expect; and that instead of injur-
 ing them by the Settlement he was making, it would
 prove a new Security to them, as well as to the *English*;
 and put it out of the Power of their common Enemies to
 hurt either. For which Reason they were, on their Parts,
 ready to do all that he could expect from them, and were
 perfectly satisfied that he would perform his Engagements
 towards them, with the like Punctuality. There is no
 Wonder therefore, if the *French* were excessively alarmed
 on the News of this Conference, and of the Alliance
 which General Oglethorpe had concluded; since they
 could consider it in no other light, than as the first Step
 to a general Confederacy with all the *Indian* Nations that
 had met at, or sent Deputies to, the *Coweta* Town; from
 whence they foresaw many and great Inconveniencs to
 themselves; for, in the first Place, this new Treaty with
 the *Creeks*, defeated all the Measures they had been
 taking, unravelled all their Designs, and connected that
 Nation more closely than ever with the *English*, which
 in itself was a very great and unlooked for Disappoint-
 ment.

But that was not all, they clearly comprehended that
 by this Means we should not only keep our old Friends,
 but draw off also some of theirs. Of all the Nations that
 bordered upon them, they are most afraid of the *Chic-*
kefaws, whom they look upon as the fiercest and bravest
 Race of *Indians* in *America*, with whom they have never
 been upon good Terms, more especially since the Year
 1731, when they discovered, or pretended to discover, a
 Design they had formed, to surprise and destroy all their
 advanced Settlements. They were also in a very great
 Fear of the *Choctaws*, or as the *French* call them *Tchoctas*,
 both because they are a very numerous Nation, and are
 so situated as to be able, at any time, to disturb and
 disquiet their Settlements. But it soon appeared by Ex-
 perience, that the new Treaty operated successfully, since
 the Governor of *New York*, having given Information
 to Colonel *Bull*, of *Carolina*, of the March of a Body of
 French

French Troops, and *Indians* from *Quebec*, with Intent to attack the *Indians* in Friendship with *England*; but though this put the People of *Carolina* and *Georgia* upon their Guard, there followed nothing from it; for the *French* found the *Indians* well prepared and disposed to receive them, and therefore desisted from their Design, for fear it should produce a general War, that might prove fatal to the Colonies on the *Mississippi* River; the People of which were excessively apprehensive of what might happen from the general Confederacy of the neighbouring *Indians* against them.

The Trustees proceeded as vigorously as it was possible in the Execution of every Part of their Scheme; and having, with such unwearied Diligence, provided for the Settlement of a new Colony, and for the Security of its Frontiers, they began next to employ their Skill and Pains, to promote all kinds of Improvements; and were especially solicitous to obtain from thence some Specimens of the Possibility of raising, in that Country, the Commodities that were expected from it. They very well knew that this required hard Labour, and that nothing had accrued to *Great Britain* worth speaking of, from any of the Colonies in *America*, in many Years longer than this Settlement of *Georgia* had been made. But on the other Hand, they also knew that the *English* Nation was naturally impatient; that great Sums of Money had been issued for the Service of this Colony; that great Expectations were had of it; and that, if nothing soon appeared, however certain in themselves, and just in their Nature, no Excuses would prevail. They therefore recommended it to their Servants in *Georgia*, to use their utmost Skill and Diligence in promoting the Culture of Mulberry Trees and Silk, so that it might be, at least, demonstrated, that they were not deceived in their Expectations; but that in due Time, and with reasonable Encouragement, the Nation might hope to see a full Return in that Commodity, for the Expence she had been, and must be, at, in bringing the Colony of *Georgia* to Perfection. For they persuaded themselves, that from the Methods they had used in sending over proper Persons for the Management of that Business, their Demands, with a due Degree of Care and Diligence in their Servants, might be answered, which would afford them an Answer to all Objections.

A Parcel of raw Silk was accordingly brought this Year from *Georgia*, by Mr. *Samuel Augspourguer*, who made an Affidavit, before a Master in Chancery, that he received it from the Hands of Mr. *Thomas Jones*, the Trustees Store-keeper at *Savannah*, who told him it was the Produce of *Georgia*; and the said *Samuel Augspourguer*, who resided in the Southern Part of the Province, said, That when at *Savannah*, he saw the *Italian* Family there winding off Silk from the Coquons. The Silk was shewed at the Trustees Office, to Mr. *John Zacary*, an eminent Raw-Silk Merchant, and Mr. *Booth*, one of the greatest Silk Weavers in *England*, who declared it was as fine as any *Italian* Silk; and that it was worth, at least, twenty Shillings a Pound. This Mr. *Samuel Augspourguer*, who joined the Colony in the beginning of the Year 1736, left it in July 1739, with two Men Servants and their Children, on his Plantation, and came over to obtain a Grant of five hundred Acres of Land, and to get some of his Countrymen from the Canton of *Bern* in *Switzerland*, to go with him as Servants, on his return to *Georgia*, in order to proceed more effectually in the Cultivation of his Lands.

The Trustees, this Year, also took further Methods for the Satisfaction of the People in the Province. They extended the Tenures, by which the Daughter of a Grantee, or any other Person, was made capable of enjoying, by Devise, or Inheritance, any Quantity of Lands which did not increase her or his Possession, to more than two thousand Acres. A Licence was also granted for all the present Possessors of Land in *Georgia*, to make Leases of any Part of their Lots, for any Term not exceeding three Years, to any Person residing in *Georgia*, and who should reside there, during the Term of such Lease. A general Release was likewise passed, by which no Ad-

vantage was to be taken against any of the present Possessors of Land in *Georgia*, for any Forfeiture incurred at any Time before *Christmas* 1740, to the Tenure or Cultivation of Land; and the Possessors of fifty Acres were not obliged to cultivate more than five Acres thereof, in ten Years from their Grants; and those of under fifty Acres in Proportion; and the Possessors of five hundred Acres of Land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty Acres thereof, in twenty Years from their Grants; and those of under five hundred Acres, and above fifty Acres, in proportion, to prevent any Forfeiture for want of cultivating the Quantities required. Under these Circumstances it is presumed that no Complaint can now, with Reason, be made against the Tenure, by which the Inhabitants at this Time hold their Lands, since they have more Power than is generally given by Marriage Settlements, in which the Grantees are only Tenants for Life, incapable of mortgaging, or alienating, or making any Disposition by their last Will: Whereas the Freeholders in *Georgia* are now become Tenants in Tail-general, and may, with the Licence of the Common Council of the Trustees, upon Application made to them for that Purpose, mortgage, or alien, and further, without Application, have it absolutely in their Power, on Failure of Issue in Tail, to dispose thereof by their last Will. At least this was all the Trustees thought themselves at Liberty to do, considering the Obligation they were under to the Public, as well as to the Settlement; and that they were as much bound to provide, that the Nation had a just Satisfaction for what she disbursed in Favour of the Colony, as that the Inhabitants of *Georgia* should be made easy in their Settlements, and meet with sufficient Encouragement to proceed with Industry in all their Undertakings; and with this double View, to the Service of the Public, and the Welfare of the Settlement, all their Applications at home, and all their Directions abroad, are to be referred.

9. We have now run through the History of this Province for above seven Years, that is, from the time of projecting such a Settlement as this on the South Frontier of *Carolina*, to the carrying that Design into Execution, and bringing the new Province into some tolerable Degree of Order; and, in the Course of our History, we have had occasion to observe, from time to time, what Care and Circumspection has been used, to render it useful to those Ends for which it was intended. We have taken notice of the Sense which the whole Province of *Carolina* had of the Necessity, as well as Expedience, of such a Settlement. We have shewn, that those who were sent over were disciplined in such a manner, as to be able to defend, as well as acquire, Property. We have set down the Reasons why Negroes were prohibited; and those Reasons very clearly prove, that the Colony could not have answered any of those Ends for which it was established, if Negroes had been permitted. We have given some Account, and, if the Bounds of this Section would have permitted, we should have given a farther Account, of the Jealousies entertained by the *Spaniards* and the *French* on Account of this Settlement, which we conceive to be so many demonstrative Proofs of its Utility. We have given the Reader a large Extract from the Memorial of the Assembly of *South Carolina*, setting forth, in the clearest and strongest Terms, the Wants of that Province, and the Points in which they stood in need of Assistance. We have shewn, by a plain Narrative of Facts, how agreeable the Conduct of General *Oglethorpe* was to the Demands of that Memorial; and how far, by the happy Success attending those Endeavours, they have been answered, more especially by his last Treaty with the *Creek Indians*, which, as we shall have Occasion to shew hereafter, has effectually answered his Ends and theirs, so as not only to come up to, but even to exceed and go beyond, their Expectations. We have likewise, from time to time, exhibited the Alterations that, in Compliance with the Peoples Desires, the Trustees have thought fit to make in their Constitution, for the Ease and Encouragement of the Planters. And we have likewise given an Instance, that they have not been disappointed

pointed in their Views as to the Produce of this new Colony; but that it is both possible and practicable to raise therein as good Silk as we can purchase with Money (which is, generally speaking, the Case at present) from any Part of the World.

It remains, according to the Plan that we have laid down, to give a Description of this new Province in the Manner it is now settled, that the Reader may see what the Fruits have been of the Care and Expence of the Legislature, the Prudence and Attention of the Trustees, and the Vigilance and Activity of those intrusted by them in the Management of their Affairs in this Part of the World. And though, as yet, they have not received so copious and so exact a Description of their new Colony as they expect; yet, from what we are enabled to say upon this Subject, it will incontestibly appear, that much has been done, that many Towns have been settled, great Improvements made in the Neighbourhood of each of them, several Fortresses erected, due Care taken of the Frontiers, and, in a Word, as much performed as could be rationally expected in so short a Space of Time, and all Circumstances considered.

The Town of *Savannah* is about ten Miles up the River *Savannah*. There are, besides Warehouses and Huts, at least one hundred and thirty Houses in the Town. As these, for the sake of Air, and to prevent the spreading of any Fire, are built at some Distance from each other, they make several spacious Squares and wide Streets. There is a regular Magistracy settled in the Town, which the Trustees are obliged to be at the Expence of supporting, till the Colony arrives at sufficient Strength to do it. There are, in the Town, a Court-house, a Store-house, a Goal, a House for the Trustees Servants, a Wharf, a Guard-house, and some other public Buildings. A Church is at present building, and a Clergyman is settled there. The Town is excellently situated for Trade, the Navigation of the River being very secure, and Ships of three hundred Tons can lie within six Yards of the Town, and the Worm does not eat into them. About four Miles from *Savannah*, inland from the River, are the two Villages, *Highgate* and *Hamshead*, which lie at about a Mile distance from each other: The People settled there apply themselves chiefly to Gardening, and supply the Town of *Savannah* with Quantities of Greens, and Garden-stuff: There are twenty Plantations within twenty Miles round *Savannah*, which have each of them from five to thirty Acres of Land, shared.

About fifteen Miles from *Savannah* is a Village called *Abercorn*; about twenty Miles further up the River is the Town of *Ebenezer*, where the *Saltburghers* are settled with two Ministers; one of whom computed, that the Number of his Congregation, in July 1738, consisted of one hundred and forty-six; therefore, as the Infants could not be reckoned in the Computation, and as seven more have since been sent and settled with them, it is believed the Numbers have increased, especially since the Town is so healthy, that by a Letter sent to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, by the Reverend Mr. *Bolzius*, one of the Ministers at *Ebenezer*, dated the 26th of June 1740, he declared, That in a Year's time one Person only had died, which was a Child fourteen Years old. The People are industrious and sober, they raise not only a sufficient Quantity of Corn and other Produce for their own Subsistence; but they sell great Quantities to those at *Savannah*, who have not been so careful of their Plantations. They have great Herds of Cattle, and are in so thriving a Condition that not one Person has abandoned his Settlement, or sent over the least Complaint about the Tenures, or the Want of Negroes: On the contrary, they in a Body petitioned against the Use of Negroes; and their Ministers have declared, that their signing that Petition was a voluntary Act; and at their Desire another Embarkation of their Countrymen, who are willing to go from *Germany* and join them, is designed to be sent with all convenient Speed.

About ten Miles from hence, upon a River running into *Savannah*, is a Place called *Old Ebenezer*, where is a Cow-Pen, and a great Number of Cattle for the Use of

the Public, and for Breeding. At a considerable Distance from hence is the Town of *Augusta*, before described, which, from the great Resort of Traders and *Indians*, is in a thriving Condition, and is, and will be, a great Protection to both the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia* against any Designs of the *French*. In the southern Part of the Province is the Town of *New Inverness*, upon the River *Altamaha*, where the *Highlanders* are settled. And about twenty Miles from hence, on the Island of *St. Simon*, near the Sea, is the Town of *Frederica*, with a regular Magistracy, as at *Savannah*, supported at the Expence of the Trustees: Strong Fortifications round the Town are almost finished. And at the South-east Point of the Island, are Barracks for three hundred and thirty Men. There are Settlements on the Islands of *Iekyl* and *Cumberland*, which lie a small Distance from each other to the southward of *Frederica*; and on the last two Forts are built, one of which was described before, and the other was finished in April 1740.

Upon the South-end of the Island it commands the Inlet of *Amelia Sound*, is strongly pallisaded with Flankets, and is defended by eight Pieces of Cannon: Barracks are built upon this Island for two hundred and twenty Men, with Store-houses, which were finished in October 1738. There are six Forts in the Province, and a Battery of Cannon erected to secure the Harbour at *St. Simon's*, under which Ships may safely lie. The *Indians*, from the Presents which they have annually received from the Trustees, and from the Justice and Humanity with which they have been treated, are secured in the *British* Interest, notwithstanding the Arts both of the *French* and the *Spaniards* to seduce them. By this, *South Carolina* has been free from Wars, in which (as the Preamble to his Majesty's Charter set forth) they had frequently suffered, and so late as the Year 1715 had been laid almost waste with Fire and Sword; and by the Security which *South Carolina* received by such a Frontier as *Georgia* is to it, very large Tracts of Land have been cultivated in the southern Part of that Province, which no Person would venture to settle on before; and a great Quantity of Rice raised thereon.

This is a clear Proof of the Injustice of supposing that the Nation hath hitherto received no Advantage from this Colony; since whatever has been gained by *Carolina*, in virtue of the Protection she enjoys by the Settlement of this new Province, ought to be looked upon and considered as the Produce of *Georgia*; and though even this may not be any great Matter hitherto, yet as it is an Instance of the Benefits to be expected from this Colony, it ought to be kindly accepted, as an Earnest of better Things. As to the Number of People sent over to, and settled in, *Georgia*, within the Space of eight Years, they amounted to upwards of two thousand, taking in those that went at their own Expence, which, if compared with the small Number of People that were in *Carolina*, after it had been settled forty Years, will enable us to distinguish between the Consequences of Attention to private Profit, and Concern for the public Good: To say the Truth; of all the Methods that have been hitherto tried, in fixing Colonies in distant Parts of the World, this may very truly and on good Grounds be pronounced the best; because by it due Provision is made, that the People sent over shall all be carefully settled and well taken Care of, and supported from time to time with proper Supplies; that this Care should not cease immediately, on their having Plantations, but be continued till the People are in a Condition to support themselves.

By this Method Towns are formed, not at Random and by Chance, but in proper Situations, and for good Reasons; not purely for the sake of immediate Advantages, but with Views to the general Good, and future Benefit of the Colony. By this Means, every Step made by the rising Plantation may be directed to public Use, and every Measure be calculated for the Service of the Mother-country; which cannot be expected where Grants are made to the Use, and for the Service, of particular People, where Numbers of Men transport themselves for the sake of a better Livelihood, at their own Expence, or where People are transported against their Will; since in all these Cases it is to be presumed, that Men will

follow the Bias of their Inclinations or Interests; but as in this Case, where the Public is at the Expence, and where the Management is intrusted with Persons of Distinction for the Benefit of the Public, nothing of this kind can happen; they will be sure to discharge their Duty, and in Proportion, as the Colony increases and answers the Ends of those who compose it, it will be likewise sure to answer those Ends for which it was settled. Besides all this, the Form of Government, the enacting proper Laws, and the Spirit originally infused into the People, will render such a Colony more dutiful and observant to her Mother-country, than any that want these Advantages.

Lastly, we may be sure that in such a Colony, the Produce will be managed most to the Advantage of the Country from whence it is settled; as for Instance in this of which we are speaking, due Care will be certainly taken that they do not run into the Cultivation of such Commodities as are already produced in the neighbouring Colonies, but bend their Endeavours to the promoting of such as have not been yet raised to any great Advantage in those Colonies, though perhaps their Soil and Climate were sufficiently fit for them. Flax, which as we have before shewn, may be cultivated here to the greatest Advantage, will be certainly attended to; and so also Potashes and Silk, which above all Things claim our Care, of which we had formerly great Hopes from *Virginia*; and with a View of obtaining of which *Carolina* was actually settled; but in both we were disappointed for want of some proper Authority to direct a continued Application in the Planters settled there for that Purpose, without which nothing that does not turn to large Profit immediately can be brought to Perfection; but in Colonies settled by Trustees, their Recommendation will go far, their Authority farther enforce what they desire, and Premiums enable them with Certainty to procure Success; as we shall have Occasion to shew hereafter.

Our Aim at present is to prove the Excellency of this Method of Settling, which far surpasses that of establishing exclusive Companies, as will be evident if we consider that they regard their own Profit solely, and as soon as they have fallen into Ways of promoting it effectually, they forget the Obligation received from the Public, as is but too evident in many Cases, and has justly occasioned almost a general Outcry against such Companies; whereas a Board of Trustees constituted for a limited Time, inspect the Concerns, and promote the Welfare, of a rising Colony, and by their Commission cease to have Power over it when their Care is no longer necessary; but as for Companies, they keep all who belong to them continually in Leading-strings, and never consider how Trading may be made beneficial to a Nation in general; but how it may be ordered so as to become most beneficial to themselves. But it is time to quit these Reflections, in order to resume the Thread of our History, and to shew how, after a few Years Peace, this Colony became strong enough, not only to hold up her Head and preserve her Being; but to repulse her Enemies, and prove a Security to all her Neighbours in time of War; a Thing wonderful in all Respects, and of which Posterity will speak with Admiration, though from an unaccountable Negligence, and want of Attention, in the present Age, we are scarce so well acquainted with that Transaction as it deserves.

II. The Government in *Great Britain* having, after many repeated Insults and Provocations, found themselves under a Necessity of obtaining Satisfaction from *Spain* by Force, a Squadron for that Purpose was sent to the *West Indies*, and Orders issued to the Governors of our respective Colonies, and others his Majesty's Officers in *America*, to annoy the *Spaniards* by all Methods possible. These Orders were received by Mr. Oglethorpe, in Quality of general Commander in chief, in the latter end of the Month of *September*, 1739. Whereupon he immediately considered of Ways and Means for putting them in execution; in order to which he put his own Regiment, and all the Forces he could raise in *Georgia*, into the best Condition possible. He sent to inform the *Cherokees*, and other *Indian* Allies, of the Situation that Affairs were in, and to empower them to enter into the

Spanish Territories. He also sent up to *Charles-Town*, to acquaint the Governor and Assembly with the present Posture of Things; and to acquaint them with his Readiness to undertake an Expedition against *St. Augustin*; for the joint Service of *Carolina* and *Georgia*. The plain Reason that he was desirous of beginning to act offensively against the *Spaniards* was, to raise the Spirits of his own People, to divert the *Spaniards* from the Designs which they were forming to our Prejudice, and to keep the War at the greatest Distance possible.

It is very clear, that from the Situation of Things in *Georgia*, it was altogether impossible for him to obtain a Force sufficient for the Execution of these Designs, without the Assistance of the Province of *Carolina*; and as it was of equal Importance to that Province, that those Designs should be carried into Execution, it was but reasonable for him to expect, that all the Assistance possible should be given him. Governor *Bull*, upon the General's Application, acquainted the Assembly of *Carolina* with what had been proposed; and as they were very sensible of the Importance of the Undertaking, of the Views the *Spaniards* had to their Prejudice, and of the Preparations they were making to annoy both Provinces, they shewed a Disposition to give him what Assistance was in their Power.

But at the same time that they had these Inclinations, they could not help considering the Situation of the Province, which under its Circumstances at that time, was very far from being in a Condition to enter into a large Expence, unless there was a great Probability of Success; by which it seems they understood the reducing the Fortress of *St. Augustin*, with the Strength of which, as it was a regular Fortification, had always in it a good Garrison, and was highly considered by the *Spaniards*, they were very well acquainted; and they knew, besides, that several former Attempts upon that Place had been disappointed. That they might act therefore in such a manner as might equally shew their Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and their Regard for the Welfare of their Constituents, the Assembly directed, that General *Oglethorpe* should be desired to explain himself fully, as to the Nature of the Assistance he expected, and the Ends he conceived it might answer, in case they should agree to grant him the Assistance he required.

Upon which the General, by the following Letter, dated at *Frederica* December the 29th, 1739, laboured to give them all the Satisfaction that was possible, as well in Regard to the Matters under their Consideration, as with respect to his own Conduct, in Reference to the Designs he had in View, and the Assistance he expected. This Letter was conceived in the following Terms, viz. "I send up with this an Officer to concert Measures for the Siege of *St. Augustin*; it will be necessary to have twelve Cannons of eighteen Pounders each, with two hundred Shot for each Gun, and Powder proportionable; one Mortar-Piece, and Bombs, with Powder sufficient; eight hundred Pioneers, Negroes, or white Men, with Tools sufficient for that Number of Men; such as Spades, Hoes, Axes, and Hatchets, to dig Trenches, make Gabelines, and Fascines. If they are Negroes, there must be white Men sufficient to guard them, and oversee them; Vessels and Boats sufficient to carry the Artillery-Men, Provisions, &c. We shall have one thousand *Indians*; six thousand Bushels of Corn will be necessary to feed them, or Rice proportionable; also as many Horsemen as can be had, who may pass over the River *Savannah*, and passing the *Oakmulgy*, and *Orony*, and from thence to the Ferry, on the River *Alata*, where they may pass over into the *Spanish Florida*. Captain *M'Pherson*, or Mr. *Jones* of *Ponpon*, can shew them the Path; for I should think the People of *Carolina* would do very well to raise a Troop of Rangers, under the Command of Captain *M'Pherson*, who is a very good Officer. Captain *Warren* assured me that he would be very willing to assist in convoying the Vessels, and in carrying Cannon, &c. The *Cherokee Indians* have promised me to be down in *March*; I have not heard from the *Creek* Nation lately, but I expect them down about " the

the same Time, and have had a Party of them with me for some Months. I can march four hundred Men of the Regiment, and leave sufficient for the Garrisons behind me. I have ordered three Troops of twenty Men each to be raised, but I have been disappointed of Horses by Captain *Cuthbert's* Death, so I have got yet only twelve. If the *Carolina* People will pay them, I believe they may raise fifty very good Men at *Purrisburg*. I should desire four Months Provisions for four hundred Men of the Regiment, of Rice and Meat, with Boats for carrying it to *St. Augustin*, at the Rate of one Pound of each *per Diem* for each Man. I have thirty-six Cohorns, and about eighteen hundred Shells: Of the People of the Province of *Georgia* I cannot draught many, because I must not leave the Country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting Season, it will be difficult for them to subsist; therefore I would only raise two hundred, which is equal to the Number of Soldiers I shall leave behind, and this I cannot do unless I can pay them. I believe they will be content with 9 *l.* *Carolina* Currency *per Month*, and six Pounds of Meat, and six Pounds of Rice, each *per Week*, besides which there must be Pay to the Officers. Therefore if the Assembly should grant me a Sum sufficient to pay them, and the Provisions, I would raise the Men. This is my Opinion with relation to the Preparations for dislodging the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustin*, without which we certainly cannot do it. The legislative Power of *Carolina* will be the best Judges of the Service it will be to them. For my own Part, I think that if we do not take this happy Opportunity of attacking *St. Augustin* whilst it is weak, the *Havanna* being blocked up by our Men of War, which renders them incapable of receiving Succours from *Cuba*, all *North America*, as well as *Carolina* and this Province, will feel it severely. As soon as the Sea is free, they will send a large Body of Troops from *Cuba*. You remember the Account you sent to *England*, of the Preparations some Time since made at *Havanna*; every thing is there still, and if they should come up and land in *Florida*, we must then make a defensive War, and they may then chuse who they will attack separately. They may molest all *North America* with their Privateers, and if they can by any Means get the start of the Men of War, they can run into Shore-Water, where they cannot follow them. I am willing myself to do all I possibly can for annoying the Enemy as his Majesty has ordered, and shall spare no personal Labour or Danger towards freeing *Carolina* of a Place from whence their Negroes are encouraged to massacre their Masters, and are openly harboured after such Attempts. The *Spaniards* attacked the Island of *Amelia*, and murdered two Men there: I, to return their Civility, landed in *Florida*; the *Spanish* Horse with a Party of Negroes and *Indians* advanced as if they intended to attack us; but before they were within two Miles of us went very fast off. Our *Indians* pursued them to their Forts, and killed one of the Negroes who had run away from *Carolina*, within a few Miles of *St. Augustin*. I hope you will excuse this long Letter, and believe me to be, &c."

It is very clear from this Letter, that the General meant to make the Assembly of *Carolina* perfectly acquainted with his Intentions, and with every thing relating to the Execution of them; and that this might be more fully and effectually done, he went himself to *Charles Town*, where, after many Conferences, and much Deliberation on both Sides, a Scheme of Action was agreed upon, and an Act of Assembly was passed *April* the 5th 1740, for carrying the same into Execution; the *Carolina* Regiment for this Service was raised, and put under the Command of Colonel *Vanderdussen*, and Mr. *Oglethorpe*, as General and Commander in Chief, published a Proclamation, settling the Terms of the Expedition, and amongst other things, declared that he would give whatever Share of Plunder came to him as Commander in Chief, towards the Relief of such Men as might happen to be maimed or wounded, towards the Assistance of the Widows and

Children of such as might be killed, and towards rewarding those that might distinguish themselves in the Service. All things being prepared for entering upon this Expedition, with the Troops of both Provinces; the Rendezvous for all the Forces was appointed at the Mouth of *St. John's* River, where, accordingly, most of them arrived the 9th of *May*. But some Time before this the General had attacked and taken *St. Francis de Pupa*, a little *Spanish* Fort, wherein were a Serjeant and twelve Soldiers, about seventeen Miles from *St. Augustin*.

From the Mouth of *St. John's* River the Army marched on the 10th of *May* to attack *Fort Diego*, about twenty Miles distant; which Fort had nine Swivels, two Carriage Guns of two Pound Shot, and fifty Men; and having surrounded it, on the 12th they sent in a *Spanish* Prisoner with a Drum, to summon the Garrison, who immediately capitulated on the following Conditions: 1st. The Garrison to surrender Prisoners of War, and deliver up the Fort, with the Guns and Stores, to the King of *Great Britain*. 2dly, That they should have Liberty to keep their Baggage, and not be plundered. 3dly, That Seignior *Diego Spinoza*, to whom the Fort belonged, being built at his Expence, and on his Lands, should hold his Lands, Slaves, and such other Effects as were not already plundered in the Field. 4thly, That no Deserters or Runaways from *Carolina*, should have the Benefit of this Capitulation, but be surrendered at Discretion. This Fort was garrisoned by sixty of the General's Forces; and from thence they returned to the Place of Rendezvous, where they were joined by Colonel *Vanderdussen*, with the rest of the *Carolina* Regiment, on the 19th of *May*, whence they marched again to *Diego* the 31st; and from thence, in two Days, to *Fort Moosa*, in view of, and near two Miles distant from, *St. Augustin*, and twenty-three from *Diego*. The *Spaniards* having deserted *Moosa*, the General ordered the Gates to be burnt, and three Breeches to be made in the Walls, which was plainly with a Design to prevent any of his own People from taking Post within the Place.

They then proceeded with the whole Army to reconnoitre the Town and Castle, after which they returned back to *Diego*; from thence the General ordered Colonel *Vanderdussen* to march with his Regiment, and take Possession of *Point Quartell*, lying to the North of the Bar, and separated from *Port Moosa* by a Creek; while the General, with about two hundred and sixty Men of his Regiment, and the greatest Part of the *Indians* embarked on board the Men of War, and arrived at the Island of *Anastasia*, opposite to the Castle; leaving behind him on the *Main* but between ninety and one hundred white Men, *Highlanders* and others, in his Pay, with forty-two *Indians*, and two commissioned Officers, to alarm the *Spaniards* on that Side; but he gave a verbal Command of the whole to Colonel *Palmer*, a Volunteer from that Province. About the same Time two hundred Sailors, from the Ships, were landed upon that Island, which the *Spaniards* directly abandoned, under the Command of Captain *Warren*, Captain *Law*, and the Honourable Captain *Townsend*, who were all very instrumental in that Service.

While things were in this Situation, the *Spaniards*, on the 15th of *June*, marched a very considerable Body of their Forces from *St. Augustin*, in the Grey of the Morning, in order to attack the People, under Colonel *Palmer*, at *Moosa*, in which they were but too successful; since they surprized the People that were there, cut many of them to Pieces, and took Part of the rest Prisoners, which was owing to the Neglect of the Orders given them not to shut themselves up in a Place which had been dismantled and ruined, on purpose to shew that the General did not intend to keep or use it as a Fortification. But the Conveniency of lying under Cover, tempted them to forget those salutary Instructions, which brought on their Misfortune, and gave the General inexpressible Concern, more especially for Colonel *Palmer*, who was a Gentleman of Experience and Interest, as well as a Volunteer, who served purely out of Zeal for the public Good, and therefore justly esteemed.

To prevent any Accident of the like Nature, and the more

more effectually to block up the Place, which for want of Numbers they were not able regularly to invest, the *Carolina* Regiment was sent over to *Anastatia*. In this Island there were three Batteries erected, all above a Mile from *St. Augustin*: But, however, they fired from them warmly, with some Prejudice to the Place; from whence they were as warmly answered, but were most hurt from the Fire from six *Spanish* Half-Galleys that lay within the Harbour. This induced a Proposal to the Captains of the three Men of War, to attempt the burning of these Half-Galleys; and upon a Consultation between them and the Land Officers, this was agreed to; but afterwards the Sea Captains declared they thought it impracticable, for want of sufficient Depth of Water at the Entrance: Yet this was disproved on the 27th of *June*, by the going in of Captain *Robert Tyrrel*, and his coming out again on board a Schooner, who reported that there was Water enough; yet the Majority voted the Design still impracticable, which hindered any Attempt to carry it into Execution, though the Land Officers considered it as a Point that would have greatly contributed to the reducing of the Place.

When it was first proposed to attack the Galleys, it was projected in the following Manner, *viz.* the General was to make a Diversion on the *Main*, by attacking the Town; Colonel *Vanderdussen*, with Part of his Regiment, was to keep a continual Fire on the Town and Castle, from the Batteries, while Captain *Tyrrel* was to have set upon the Galleys, with the Seamen and the rest of the Colonel's Regiment. The General was accordingly on the *Main* with his Troops, expecting that Service; but the Commodore disapproving this, and it being yet a second Time agreed to be attempted, upon the Remonstrances of Colonel *Vanderdussen*, and Captain *Warren*; when the Commodore's Lieutenant was to have commanded the Attack, new Difficulties were further started when they came on Shore, and so it was still unattempted. Yet it appears, that soon after the Men of War slipping their Cables, and putting out to Sea in a Storm, the Colonel endeavoured to revive the Attempt on the Galleys in their Absence: But proposing it to the Commodore's Lieutenant, Mr. *Swanton*, who appeared to be a Gentleman of Spirit, and commanded the Seamen left on Shore, he was told, "He had Orders left not to venture any of them before the Return of the Shipping."

Towards the End of *June*, some Sloops, with a Supply of Provisions for the Garrison, got in safe at the South Entrance, to the Harbour of *St. Augustin*, called the *Metanfas*, without having been discovered by any of our Men of War, till it was too late to intercept them. How this happened has not been hitherto accounted for, but it was a seasonable Relief to the Garrison, who had not then above three Days Provision of Bread-kind in the Place; and the Hurricane Season coming on, the Commodore gave Notice to the General, that he must leave his Station, and sail away with the King's Ships on the 5th of *July*. Upon this it was represented, "That since the Men of War were obliged to sail away, it would be necessary to send the two Men of War Sloops into the *Metanfas*, to guard that, and either secure the Retreat of the Forces to *Anastatia*, if they should be reduced to one, or assist in continuing the Blockade, till they should be enabled to act more offensively, by a further Assistance."

To this Proposal it was agreed, provided the Sloops of War had Water enough to get in there; and a Council was held *July* the 3d, wherein some of the Pilots that had been sent to sound, declared upon Oath, "There was not Water enough on the Bar of the *Metanfas* for the Sloops to go in, and if they could go in, they could not lie safe there from a Hurricane, nor could they fight above one a-breast, in case they were attacked by the Galleys."

But the Commodore, afterwards asking Mr. *Blomfield Barradel*, Lieutenant of the *Wolf* Sloop, who had been along with the Pilots, and happened to be aboard his Ship that Night, with some Captains, what he had to say in that Affair? he replied, that the Pilots had given

their Opinion, and that he was not then to be examined; but if they asked his Opinion, he would give it. They then desired he would; he affirmed, "That there was Water enough on the Bar for the Sloops to get in; that they could lie safe from a Hurricane when in; and that there was also sufficient Room, when in, to fight three a-breast, in case they were attacked." Upon the Pilots afterwards objecting to their lying safe, he asked them, "Whether they remembered to have seen such an Island when they were there?" And when they acknowledged they did, he replied, "That they ought to know they could lie safe from a Hurricane under that Island." Notwithstanding which, it was resolved afterwards in Council, that they should take off all their Men, and sail away, leaving Captain *Townsend* at *Frederica*; which put an End to the Enterprize.

Thus ended this Expedition, which, though not attended with the Success some expected from it, I mean the taking the Fortress of *St. Augustin*, was nevertheless of very great Consequence, inasmuch as it kept the *Spaniards* for a long Time upon the defensive; when if the Siege had not been undertaken, they would certainly have been otherwise employed; it laid all the Country open, so that the *Indians*, in Friendship with us, made Excursions up to the Gates of the Fortress; and the War being carried on in this Manner for a length of Time, and in Conjunction with the *Indians*, bound them so strongly to the *English* Interest, that with a very little Assistance from the People of *Georgia*, they kept the War at a Distance; so that the Inhabitants of *Carolina* felt none of its Effects as a Colony, except the Losses suffered by their Privateers, till the *Spaniards* executed their long projected Invasion, in 1742; in which they employed the whole of their Strength, and from which they expected to have changed the whole Face of Affairs on the Continent of *America*; and even then the People of *Carolina* suffered only by their Fears.

12. This Expedition of the *Spaniards*, as has been already hinted to the Reader, was really meditated before the War commenced, and had very probably taken place, if Reprisals had not been made upon the *Spaniards*, on Account of the Depredations committed by their *Guarda Costas*; at least we have Reason to judge so, from the Memorial of Sir *Thomas Fitzgerald*, before-mentioned; in which he asserted, that *Georgia* belonged to the Crown of *Spain*, and which he repeated in a subsequent Memorial. But the Operations of our Fleet in the *West Indies*, under Admiral *Vernon*, put a Stop to their Preparations at the *Havanna*; and the Siege of *St. Augustin*, and its Consequences, retarded them likewise for some time. Yet as the *Spaniards* are not apt to desist from Projects they have once formed, and as the Ministry at *Madrid* had very high Expectations from the Execution of this, they still kept it on foot, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity for performing what they imagined would have entirely changed the Scene of Things in *North America*. As to the Manner in which they executed it at last, and the amazing Disappointment they met with notwithstanding the vast Force they employed, and the smallness of that by which they were assisted, we had so full, so clear, and so authentic an Account published by Authority, that I know of no Method more fit to convey an Idea of it, or less liable to any Exceptions, than transcribing it, the rather because as it stands here connected with the History of *Georgia*, the Reader will have all the Lights that are necessary to render every Circumstance in it perfectly intelligible. Thus then that Account, transmitted to us by General *Oglethorpe*, ran: "The Beginning of *May* last the *Spaniards* fitted out their Fleet from the *Havanna*, consisting of fifty-six Sail and between seven and eight thousand Men, with an Intent to invade *Georgia* and *South Carolina*, and the other northern Colonies. At their first setting out, in turning the *Moor* Castle, they lost a large Settee with one hundred and fifty Men, and a few Days after the Fleet was dispersed by a Storm; so that all the Shipping did not arrive at *St. Augustin*. The latter end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, Capt. *Haymer* of the *Flamborough*, in his Cruise to the Southward, sent in to General

Oglethorpe

“ *Oglethorpe* for Intelligence ; who acquainted him, that
 “ he would probably meet with some *Spanish* Vessels to
 “ the Southward of *St. Augustin* ; which he accordingly
 “ did, and engaged ten Sail of the *Mosquetos* and
 “ drove some of them ashore ; but in the Action lost
 “ seventeen of his Men. He on his return acquainted
 “ the General with what had happened, and could not
 “ then come in for the Defence of *Georgia*, but pro-
 “ ceeded to *Charles-Town*, to clean his Ship. The Ge-
 “ neral thereupon sent Lieutenant *Maxwell* by Water, and
 “ Lieutenant *Hugh Mackay* over Land to *Carolina*, with
 “ Advice to the Governor, but no Assistance came from
 “ thence till after the Retreat of the *Spaniards*. Lieute-
 “ nant-Col. *Cook* was at *Charles-Town*, in his Way to *Lon-*
 “ *don*, when Lieut. *Maxwell* arrived with the said Advice.
 “ The 21st of *June*, nine Sail endeavoured to come
 “ into *Amelia* Sound ; but the eighteen Pounders from
 “ *Fort-William*, and the Guard-Schooner with eighty
 “ Men, commanded by Capt. *Dunbar*, fired so briskly
 “ that they sheered off as fast as they could. The Ge-
 “ neral, on this Advice, resolving to support the Forts
 “ on *Cumberland*, set out with a Detachment of the Re-
 “ giment on board his Boats ; sent Capt. *Horton* with his
 “ Company of Grenadiers before, and was himself obliged
 “ to fight his Way with two Boats, through fourteen Sail
 “ of *Spanish* Vessels which endeavoured to intercept him
 “ in *Cumberland* Sound. In this Engagement, several
 “ of the *Spaniards* being killed, the said Vessels set out to
 “ Sea, and did not join their Fleet till the Day before
 “ they left *St. Simon's* Sound. Lieutenant *Tolson*, who
 “ commanded the Boat of the greatest Strength, instead
 “ of following the General, run into a Marsh, where he
 “ remained till next Morning, when he returned to *St.*
 “ *Simon's* ; for which Behaviour he was put in Arrest, in
 “ order to be tried. Major *Heron*, from the Shore,
 “ seeing the General surrounded by the Enemy, and hid
 “ in Smoke, concluded him lost ; but next Day, to the
 “ great Joy of the People, he returned in the Guard-
 “ Schooner to *St. Simon's*, after having drawn the Com-
 “ mand from *St. Andrew's*, and the Stores and Artillery
 “ that were there, and reinforced *Fort William*, where he
 “ left one of the Boats he had with him.
 “ He having laid an Embargo on all Vessels in the
 “ Harbour, took Capt. *Thomson's* Ship, which mounted
 “ twenty Guns, into the King's Service, and manned her
 “ out of the small Vessels which were of no Force. He
 “ also called in the *Highland* Company from *Darien*.
 “ Capt. *Carr's* Company of Marines, and the Rangers,
 “ from where they were differently detached ; and sent
 “ Mr. *Mullryne* to *Carolina*, to get all the Men he could.
 “ The 28th of *June* the *Spanish* Fleet came to Anchor
 “ off *St. Simon's* Bar, who were diverted from coming
 “ in, or landing any of their Troops, for several Days ;
 “ in which time the General raised another Troop of
 “ Rangers ; and by rewarding those who did extraordi-
 “ nary Duty, and promising great Encouragement to all
 “ who should signalize themselves on this Occasion, he
 “ kept up the Spirits of the People, and increased their
 “ Numbers daily. The 5th of *July*, with the Tide of
 “ Flood, and a brisk Gale, thirty-six *Spanish* Vessels entred
 “ *St. Simon's* Harbour, nine of which were large Top-
 “ mast Vessels. We received them with a brisk Fire from
 “ our Batteries and Ships, killed some of them with
 “ our eighteen Pounders from the Fort, and our four
 “ Pounders from the lower Battery. The *Spanish* Com-
 “ modore, on board a Ship of twenty-two Guns, with
 “ a Settee, with an eighteen Pounder and two nine
 “ Pounders in her Bow, attempted to board Captain
 “ *Thomson's* Ship ; but he with his great Guns, Captain
 “ *Carr* with his Company of Marines, Lieutenant *Wall*
 “ and Ensign *Otterbridge* with a Party of the Regiment,
 “ made so brave a Defence, that the *Spaniards* were
 “ obliged to retire with Loss. A Snow of sixteen Guns
 “ at the same time attempted to board our Guard-
 “ Schooner, but was also repulsed by Capt. *Dunbar* ;
 “ the Engagement lasted upwards of three Hours, in
 “ which the Enemy lost seventeen Men, and had ten
 “ wounded. They passed all our Vessels and proceeded
 “ up the River, upon which the General held a Council
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“ of War at the Head of his Regiment, where it was
 “ the Opinion of the Whole immediately to march up to
 “ *Frederica*, for the Defence of that Place.
 “ The General accordingly gave Orders for the Regi-
 “ ment to march, and ordered all the Troops that were
 “ on board the Vessels, to come ashore, and directed
 “ Capt. *Thompson*, with the Guard-Schooner and Prize
 “ Sloop, to make the best of their Way to *Charles-Town* ;
 “ and this was all done in Sight of the Enemy. The
 “ General, during this Action, being obliged to be some-
 “ times on Shipboard, sometimes at the Batteries, and
 “ to act as Engineer, found himself under a Necessity
 “ of having a Lieutenant-Colonel with the Regiment ;
 “ he therefore appointed Major *Alexander Heron* Lieute-
 “ nant-Colonel, in the Absence of Lieutenant-Colonel
 “ *Cook*, who was also Engineer, and the Sub-engineer,
 “ having attended him to *Charles-Town*, was also absent.
 “ Late at Night the General arrived at *Frederica*, after
 “ having destroyed all the Stores at *St. Simon's*, and sunk
 “ the Vessels that might be of Use to the Enemy, and
 “ rendered the Guns incapable of Service, and ordered
 “ the Wounded to be carried off on Horseback. That
 “ Night the Enemy landed their Forces on a dry Marsh,
 “ about a Mile and an half from the Camp, under Cover
 “ of their great Guns. They lay all that Night under
 “ Arms, and the next Morning took Possession of the
 “ Camp which we left.
 “ 13. About Noon the *Creek Indians* brought us five
 “ *Spanish* Prisoners, from whom we had Intelligence, that
 “ Don *Manuel de Monteano*, Governor of *St. Augustin*, com-
 “ manded in chief the Expedition ; and that Major-
 “ General *Antonio de Redondo* chief Engineer, and two
 “ Brigadiers, came with the Forces from *Cuba* ; that their
 “ whole Number consisted of about five thousand, and
 “ that the Night before they had landed about four thou-
 “ sand three hundred Men. One of the Prisoners the
 “ General sent with Mr. *Bedon* to *Charles-Town*. The
 “ 7th of *July*, at nine in the Morning, a Ranger of the
 “ Patrol brought an Account, that the Enemy were
 “ marching within a Mile and an Half of the Town.
 “ Whereupon the General immediately ordered four
 “ Platoons of the Regiment to march, and in the mean
 “ time went himself with the *Highland* Company,
 “ who was then under Arms. The *Indians*, and a Party
 “ of Rangers, came up with the Enemy about a Mile
 “ from the Town, as they were entering the *Savannah* to
 “ take Possession of a Ditch they had a Mind to use as
 “ an Intrenchment, but the Enemy were attacked so
 “ briskly that the General soon overcame them ; most
 “ of their Party, which consisted of one hundred and
 “ twenty of their best Woods-Men, and forty *Indians*,
 “ being killed or taken Prisoners. The General took two
 “ Prisoners with his own Hands ; Lieutenant *Scroggs* of
 “ the Rangers took Capt. *Sebastian Sachio*, Prisoner,
 “ who commanded the Party. *Toeanoeowi*, being shot
 “ through his Right Arm by Capt. *Mageleto*, drew his
 “ Pistol with the Left, and shot him through the Head.
 “ The General pursued the Enemy near two Miles,
 “ and halted on an advantageous Piece of Ground until
 “ the Party of the Regiment came up ; he posted them
 “ with the *Highlanders* in a Wood, with a large *Savan-*
 “ *nah* or Meadow in the Front, over which the *Spaniards*
 “ must pass in their Way to *Frederica*. After which he
 “ hastened back to *Frederica*, and ordered the Rangers,
 “ and Company of Men, to make ready. In the mean
 “ time two Companies of *Spaniards* of fifty Men each,
 “ and two hundred more of the Enemies best Troops,
 “ came up with Shouts, and Drums beating ; where-
 “ upon the General hearing Platoons firing, immediately
 “ made haste that way, and met three of the Platoons,
 “ who in the Smoke and drizzling Rain had retreated in
 “ Disorder, and the Fire continuing, he ordered his Men
 “ to rally and follow him, who hastening on, found that
 “ Lieutenant *Sutherland*, with his Platoon, and Lieute-
 “ nant *Charles Mackay*, with the *Highlanders*, had intirely
 “ defeated the said three hundred of the Enemy, in
 “ which Action Don *Antonio Barba* was made Prisoner,
 “ and mortally wounded ; several others were killed, and
 “ two Grenadiers were taken Prisoners. Capt. *Demeret*,
 “ and

“ and Ensign *Gibbon*, rallied their Platoons, and came up to the Ground. Capt. *Carr*, with his Company of Marines, and Lieutenant *Cadogan*, with a Party of the Regiment, came up at the same time, and were followed by Major *Heron*, with the Body of the Regiment. In both Actions the Enemy lost two Captains, one Lieutenant, and two Sergeants; two Drummers, and about one hundred and sixty private Men; and one Captain and nineteen Men were taken Prisoners. The General, with the Regiment, halted all Night, about a Mile and a Half from the Enemies Camp, to intercept those who had straggled in the Woods; and expecting the Enemy to make a second Attempt to march in the Morning; but the General having advanced with a Party of *Indians*, before Day-break, towards the *Spanish* Camp, found them all retreated into the Ruins of the Fort, and under Cover of their Cannon.

“ Next Morning, the 8th of *July*, the General and his Men returned to *Frederica*, and he appointed a General Staff, viz. Lieutenant *Primrose Maxwell*, and *Hugh Mackay*, Aids de Camp; Lieutenant *Sutherland*, Brigade-Major; and Sergeant *John Stuart*, second Ensign, for his brave Behaviour in the late Engagement. The 9th and 10th of *July* all Hands were employed in the Works at *Frederica*, and the *Indians* brought in some Scalps and Prisoners. The 11th of *July* a Settee and two Quarter-Galleys came within Gun-shot of the Town; but on our firing some Guns and Bombs from the Fort, and the General going towards them with his Boats, they returned to their Fleet, and with the rest drew up in Line of Battle. The next Morning, being the 12th of *July*, an *English* Prisoner escaped from them, who informed us, that the Enemy, on their landing, had resolved to give no Quarter; but from the Day their Grenadiers were defeated, they were in great Terror, and intrenched themselves, and gave Orders that none should go without their Sentinels, for fear of being surprized by the *Indians*. By other Prisoners and Deferters we were also told, that upon their calling over their Rolls, there were two hundred and forty Men and nineteen of their *Indians* missing; that there were great Divisions among them, infomuch that Don *Antonio de Redondo*, who commanded the *Cuba* Forces, encamped separate from those of *St. Augustin*, and that the Commodore had ordered all his Seamen on board. That Night the General and five hundred Men marched within a Mile of the Enemy's Camp, intending to surprize them, but was prevented by the Treachery of a *Frenchman*, who was got among the Company of Boatmen, and fired his Piece and gave Alarm to the Enemy, and then deserted to them. When the General found his Intention discovered, he ordered all his Drums to beat the Grenadiers March, and then returned to *Frederica*.

“ The General the next Day, being the 13th of *July*, in order to defeat the Information of the *French* Deferters, directed a Letter to be wrote, and sent by a *Spanish* Prisoner, who, for the sake of Money the General gave him, and the Promise of Liberty, undertook to deliver it to the said *Frenchman*, wherein he was instructed to acquaint the Enemy's Commanding Officer of the defenceless State of *Frederica*, and encourage them to come up by Water under his Pilotage; which Letter the *Spanish* Prisoner delivered to the Governor of *St. Augustin*, and it had so good an Effect, that the said *Frenchman* was immediately taken into Custody, and looked upon as a double Spy, and thereupon put into Irons. The next Morning, being the 14th of *July*, the *Spaniards* burnt the Barracks and Officers Houses at *St. Simon's*, and Capt. *Horton's* House on *Iekyll*; and the same Night they reembarked with so much Precipitation, that they left a Quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, and some Guns, behind them. On the 15th all the large Vessels with the *Cuba* Forces on board sailed Southward, and the Governor and Troops from *St. Augustin* on board the small Craft, went within Land,

“ and encamped in *St. Andrew's*, and caught fifty Horses, with a Design to carry them away; but on the General's appearing in his Boats, the Enemy shot the said Horses, and burnt the Fort and Houses at *St. Andrew's*. The General the next Day, being the 16th of *July*, followed the *Spaniards* with all his small Craft, but was not strong enough to attack them. He landed a Man out of his Boat on *Cumberland*, who that Night passed the Enemy's Camp, and early the next Morning came to *Fort-William*, with Advice to Ensign *Stuart* that the *Spaniards* were beat off *St. Simon's*, and that the General was coming with Succours, and ordered him to defend the Fort to the utmost. On the 18th of *July* twenty-eight Sail of *Spanish* appeared off *Fort-William*, fourteen of which came within Land, and attacked the Fort from their Gallies and other Vessels, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by a Party of Rangers from behind the Sand-Hills. Ensign *Stuart*, who commanded with sixty Men in the Fort, defended it so bravely, that after an Attack of upwards of three Hours, they were obliged to put to Sea with considerable Loss.

“ The Eighteen Pounders there disabled two of their Gallies. The 19th of *July* the General was on his Way to *Fort-William*. The 20th of *July* the General arrived at *Fort-William*, and sent his Boats and Rangers as far as the River *St. John*, who returned next Day, and brought Advice that the Enemy was quite gone: Upon which the General gave the necessary Orders for repairing *Fort William*, and on the 22d returned to *Frederica*. A few Days afterwards the Men of War from *Charles-Town* came off *St. Simon's* Bar, and Capt. *Thompson* with some Volunteers from *Carolina*; our Guard-Schooner and two Gallies came into *St. Simon's* Harbour; and Capt. *Hardy*, of the *Rye* Man of War, receiving a Message from the General, by Lieutenant *Maxwell*, who went on board him, sent for Answer, that he would take a Cruise with the rest of the King's Ships. But the General apprehending the *Spaniards*, upon recovering their Fright, might return with more Courage and better Conduct, continued Capt. *Thompson's* Ship in the King's Service, and sent Expresses over Land to the Northern Provinces on this Occasion.

“ These Forces were commanded by Don *Manuel de Monteano*, Governor of *St. Augustin*, Commander in Chief of the Expedition; Major-General *Antonio de Rodondo* Engineer-General, two Colonels with Brevits of Brigadiers; and consisted of one Regiment of Dragoons dismounted, with their Saddles and Bridles; the Regiment called the Battalion of the *Havanna*, ten Companies, of fifty Men each, draughted off from several Regiments at *Havanna*; one Regiment of the *Havanna* Militia, consisting of ten Companies of 100 Men each; one Regiment of Negroes, regularly officered by Negroes; one ditto of Mulattoes, and one Company of Miquelets; one Company of Train, with proper Artillery; *Augustin* Forces consisting of about three hundred Men, ninety *Indians* and fifteen Negroes, who run away from *South Carolina*. To these Accounts I shall add the following Deposition of *Samuel Cloake*, formerly belonging to his Majesty's Ship the *Flamborough*, and taken Prisoner off *St. Augustin* by the *Spaniards* in May 1742.

Frederica in
Georgia, fs.

“ This Deponent, being duly sworn, saith, That he was put Prisoner on board a Ship called the *Pretty Nancy*, taken by the *Spaniards* from the *English*, fitted out with ten Carriage and six Swivel Guns, which was Part of the Fleet that carried the Troops from *St. Augustin* for the Invasion of *Georgia* and *South Carolina*: That she had one hundred and fifty Soldiers on board, besides Sailors: That he counted forty-four Sail, besides the Launches and those that went in Land, and Pettiauguas which carried the *Indians*: That they sailed from *St. Augustin* the beginning of *June*, and met with very hard Gales for three Days, which dispersed the Fleet: That the chief Pilot on board the Commodore was one

Parris,

Parris, belonging to Port Royal in South-Carolina, and who was married there, and had a Plantation in that Province: That they came to an Anchor with Part of the Fleet off Frederica Bar, to the Northward of it; and the Spaniards said that they should not have found out Georgia, had it not been for Parris their Pilot: That they lay several Days at Anchor off the Bar, during which Time the Men were put into small Boats in order to land; but seeing several Men marching on the Beach, they were afraid to land, as they intended, and came on board again; for about three Days after, holding a Council of War, they resolved not to land any Men till they had made themselves Masters of the Harbour. During the Time they lay off this Bar, the Spaniards often whetted their Swords, and held their Knives to this Deponent's and other English Prisoners Throats, saying, they would cut the Throats of those they should take at Georgia. They sailed on the 5th of July with a strong Easterly Wind and Tide of Flood: That the English fired from the Batteries and Ships very briskly, and the Spaniards said that the English stood very well: That a Four-Pound Shot hulled the Ship where the Deponent was; and one Eighteen-Pound Shot from the Battery killed seven Men on board the large Ship: That there were of the Spaniards eight Three-Mast Ships; the Commodore's was a Twenty-Gun Ship; there was also a Snow with fourteen Nine-Pounders, and a Galley with three large Guns, one of which he heard was a Twelve-Pounder, which was manned with above one hundred Men; there were also several Privateers, some of them with ten Guns, and some with eight: That the Spaniards and some Irishmen on board told him, that in the whole Fleet there were about five or six thousand Men, and were come with a Design to take Georgia, and after that go to Port-Royal in South-Carolina. He farther says, that they had a whole Regiment of Negroes, with a Company of Grenadiers, in the same Manner as other Regiments have, and clothed in the same Livery as other Spanish Regiments; they were commanded by Negro Officers, and he saw the Officers walking along with the Governor of St. Augustin ashore; that they were dressed in gold and silver-laced Cloaths, like other Officers, and that they were kept in the same Pay as the other Regiments. He further saith, that the Ship where this Deponent was, was loaded with Grenadiers and Dragoons, who had on board Saddles, Bridles, Pistols, and all Accoutrements: That they landed all them from on board his Ship, and put a small Guard of ten Men on board: That two or three Days afterwards one of the Captains and one Sergeant of the Grenadiers came on board, and this Deponent asking the Sergeant whether he had been at Frederica, he answered, that the Woods were so full of Indians that the Devil could not go through them, and that the Indians had killed about one hundred and fifty of their best Men, and that there were but very few Soldiers: Those who came on board were so down-hearted that they could hardly speak a Word: That upon this they were ordered to get Water on board, in order to get to Sea in a Hurry, which this Deponent took the Advantage of, and made his Escape to General Oglethorpe.

Mark.

SAMUEL X CLOAKE.

14. It may be truly said, that there never happened in this Part of the World, any thing more honourable for the English Nation, or more likely to strike a Terror into their Enemies, than this entire and total Defeat of so formidable an Invasion, by such a Handful of Forces. Instead of raising and heightening this Success, to do Honour to the General's Character, we ought rather to lessen or diminish some of its Circumstances, to render it in such an Age as this more credible; but we have taken no Liberties at all, the Facts are represented Step by Step as they happened; and the Reader is left to judge how far it appears from hence that Georgia is a true Frontier, in respect to Carolina; and what Advantages are to be hoped for in case the new Colony should increase in a

reasonable Proportion, for twenty Years to come; but to help the Reader's Judgment in this Respect, and to shew him in what Light this Transaction was considered by all our Colonies in America; the Inhabitants of which were certainly the ablest, and most equitable Judges; it is requisite to observe, that John Tinker, Esq; Governor of the Bahama Islands; Lewis Morris, Esq; Governor of New Jersey; William Gooch, Esq; Governor of Virginia; George Clark, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of New York; Gabriel Johnson, Esq; Governor of North Carolina; Thomas Bladen, Esq; Governor of Maryland; and George Thomas, Esq; Governor of Pennsylvania; all wrote to General Oglethorpe upon this memorable Occasion, to congratulate him upon being the happy Instrument in so honourable and so important a Service; to assure him of the Share they took in the Honour he had acquired, and of the true Sense they had of the great Deliverance that Providence had wrought for all the British Colonies in North America, by his Conduct and Courage. Stronger Testimonies than these, with respect to the Consequence of the Action he had performed, it was impossible for him to receive, and better Evidence than these Letters afford it is likewise impossible that we should have here at home; and therefore to set this Fact in its true Light, and that the People of Great Britain may have a just Notion of the Advantages arising from this wise and well conducted Defence, in which the Bravery of British Soldiers, their Affection for, and Confidence in, their Commander, is so clearly expressed, I thought it reasonable to annex the Copies of the Letters written by the three first mentioned Gentlemen, as being equally honourable for them, and for the Person to whom they are addressed; and if I add no more, it is to avoid being tedious, and that I may have an Opportunity of closing the historical Part of this Section, with Papers that do so much Honour to the new Colony of which it treats.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency JOHN TINKER, Esq; Governor of the Bahama Islands, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R,

N. Providence, Nov. 6. 1742.

I am favoured with both of your Excellency's Letters, of the 31st of July and 16th of September, with an inclosed Account of the Spaniards Descent upon your Province, and your fortunate Victory over them: Upon which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to assure you none of your Acquaintance can receive more real Satisfaction at an Event that must contribute so much to your Honour and Reputation as this last. I rejoice too for the Public, because I am sure if you had not given so good an Account of them, the neighbouring Provinces would have been in imminent Danger. I know the General had Orders to attack this Island upon their Return, so I may justly thank you for saving me a great deal of Trouble.

If there is any thing in this Government that can contribute to your Pleasure, and facilitate the Continuance of our Friendship and future Correspondence, I shall, with Joy, embrace the Proposition. The Bearer has been a long Time here, and can give you an exact Account of the Carte du Pais. We are, at present, employed in repairing the Fortifications, and making some additional ones, which will, I hope, be compleated this Winter. I have the Honour to be, with great Regard and Truth,

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble Servant,

(signed)

JOHN TINKER.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency LEWIS MORRIS, Esq; Governor of New Jersey, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R,

Burlington, the 2d of Nov. 1742.

I received the Honour of yours of the 31st of July last,

last, by the Express you sent along the Continent, who is now got thus far back in his Return to you. The Contents of it gave me very great Pleasure, as it informed me of your Health, and of the great (or rather wonderful) Success God has been pleased to give to his Majesty's Arms under your Conduct: And I doubt not has effectually convinced the Aggressors how unable they are to cope with resolute *British* Troops; and I hope will be a sufficient Discouragement to a second Attempt of that kind; which, if the first had succeeded, might prove of dangerous Consequence to his Majesty's Plantations on the Continent, especially the most southern ones.

You have gathered unenvied Laurels, and well deserve to wear them. I take Leave to assure you no body can be better pleased with your Success, than,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and obedient Servant,

(signed) LEWIS MORRIS.

Extract of a Letter from the honourable WILLIAM GOOCH, Esq; Governor of Virginia, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

S I R,

October the 12th, 1742.

I received the Letter of the 31st of *July* your Excellency honoured me with, by the Hands of your trusty Courier, Mr. *Watkins*, and with it a very sensible Satisfaction: I rejoice to hear your Courage and Conduct have had their deserved Success, in so unequal a Trial. Your prudential Behaviour on the Occasion, cannot be too much applauded, nor Actions so truly laudable too much admired. The whole Continent is under lasting Obligations to you, for your extraordinary Vigilance and Magnanimity, when, not thinking your Services to your King and Country compleated, nor your Valour sufficiently proved in the Defence of your infant Settlement, against the repeated Attacks of cruel and inhuman Foes, more than could be expected, considering their Numbers; with an uncommon Resolution you forced them in the Field to a precipitate Retreat, and effectually defeated the desperate Designs of an Enemy that had the Vanity to flatter themselves with the Hopes of making an easy Conquest of some, at least, of the *British* Provinces.

As these great Actions are to be attributed to your Fortitude, so in my Judgment the unexpected and vigorous Opposition they met with, ending in so severe a Rebuff, has thrown them into such Disorder, that I am confident those Troops, were they all together in *St. Augustin*, could not so soon recover sufficient Courage to animate them to the like Undertaking: The Confusion and Hurry in which they reimbarcked, are such evident Tokens of their being terrified and dismayed, that with your usual Watchfulness you may rest secure from further Disturbance, &c.

I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

(signed) WILLIAM GOOCH.

15. We have now compleated the History of the *English* Colonies in *America*, in such a Manner, that the Reader cannot help discerning their intrinsic Value and great Importance; there is therefore no Necessity of our adding any thing on this Subject here, and therefore we will confine our Remarks entirely to the Colony of *Georgia*, and endeavour to shew from what Views, upon what Hopes, and in how great a Degree the Public is interested in the Maintenance and Support of this new Colony. In the first Place, we have seen that the Trustees originally designed it for a Boundary or Frontier to cover

the other Provinces upon the Continent; that it was extremely proper for this, the very Situation of it shews; that it was extremely wanted we may gather from the Histories of the other Provinces, in which we find various Instances of the Ruin of their advanced Settlements; from their leaving so large a Country as *Georgia* uncultivated, a plain Sign of their Fear of becoming nearer Neighbours to the *Spaniards*; and from the Names of Places, such as *Bloody Point*, which commemorate the Massacres that have been heretofore committed in those Parts; but the strongest and clearest Proof of all, is the Memorial from the Assembly of *Carolina*, in which the Reader has seen this Matter stated in the fullest and fairest Light; from all which I infer, that the establishing of such a Barrier, was a Point worthy of public Attention; and that the Benefits accruing from it to *Carolina*, and all the Provinces to the Northward, might very well be considered as a sufficient Recompence for any Expence that might attend the establishing of such a Frontier. That the Public were not amused in the Hopes that were given them by the Trustees of *Georgia* in this respect; that the sending a Regiment thither, was not a needless or useless Expence; and that the Money employed in fortifying there, was not either wasted or thrown away, manifestly appears by their repulsing the *Spaniards* in the late Invasion. If this was solely owing to the Bravery, Firmness, and Strength of the new Colony, then surely there is no room to find Fault with it; and if the Province is as some People would have it, thinly peopled, and very little capable of Defence, what Applause is due to the General? Who, without the least Assistance from any other Place, could repel such a Force, and thereby secure all our Colonies in *North America*: Take it either Way, we are sure of a Barrier while we have *Georgia* under his Direction.

In the second Place, this Country was designed as an Asylum for distressed People in our own Country, and for such industrious foreign Protestants as should be willing to go thither. If we consider the thing in this Light, the supporting this Design was no Favour in the Government; for it is the Duty of every Government to provide for such of its poor Subjects as are willing to work; and the least they can do, is to send them to the Colonies, since it must be owing to their Mismanagement that they have not Employment at home; but it is not their Duty only, it is their Interest also; for Men active and industrious, who can find nothing to do, and are at a Loss to find any thing to eat, are not apt to remain long in such a Condition: And surely it is better to send such People abroad, though at a small Expence, than see them, for want of such Care, send themselves to the Gallows. In times of general and continued Peace, there will, however, be such Overflowings in most Nations; under arbitrary Princes from Mens Aversion to Slavery, under free Governments from a superabundance of People. In both Cases that Government is to be commended, which laying hold of these Overflowings, applies them to its own Use. To give such People Territories, is to acquire, though it seems a Solecism in Speech, the very Territories you give; for Land without People is of no Use; but Land inhabited and cultivated by white People, let it lie where it will, is of great Value; and that Value is much enhanced when that Land is cultivated, and those People are settled precisely where you want them most. This is the Case of *Georgia*; for the *Carolina* Memorial tell us, that white Men were not to be raised there for Money; which was the same thing as if they had told the Government, that the best Way they could employ their Money, was in sending of white People thither. But when we consider the Expence of sending white Men, and compare it with the Purchase of Negroes, the Case appears still more advantageous: Since the white Men come cheaper, and are of much greater Advantage: By settling them you acquire useful Subjects, and consequently increase your Force; by purchasing Negroes, you only gain so many Slaves that increase your Danger and Terror, by lessening your Force. Your own People and foreign Protestants will be always yours, but Negroes are any body's that will

will but promise them better Conditions than they have under you, which may be very easily done; and of what ill Consequence this may prove, appears from the Negro Regiment in the *Spanish* Service; for had they succeeded in their Invasion, and once penetrated into a Colony full of Negroes, they might have raised new Regiments by barely beating their Drums; Regiments that would have been equally terrible to us, and useful to them, from their Knowledge of the Country, and from their Hatred of their old Masters.

There was a third Advantage proposed in the settling this new Colony where it is settled, and from the Terms upon which it was settled; and that was, the securing the Nations of *Indians* which inhabited the vast Countries to the South and South-west of *Georgia*, in the *British* Interest. A thing so much the more necessary, considering the Views that the *French* had of the same kind; and of vast Importance to all the Colonies, as the maintaining of Friendship with these Nations, must necessarily interrupt the Correspondence between the *French* Colonies of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, upon which their being formidable to us *North America* absolutely depends; since if ever they complete it, every Child that can be brought to comprehend a Map, will see that they will surround all our Colonies on the Main, from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia*; but by this last Colony, we have bid fair for interrupting their Design, by engaging in our Interest those *Indian* Nations most capable of doing us good, and them hurt: As for Instance, the *Lower* and *Upper Creeks*, a Nation so called from their Country being intersected with Rivers, which Country extends from the River *Savannah* to the Lakes of *Florida*, Southward and Westward, to the *Cherokee Mountains*, and the River *Cousa*; so that we may easily discern how useful their Friendship must be to the Colonies of *Georgia* and *Carolina*, more especially when it is considered that they are a very brave, a very numerous, and a very faithful Nation, as appears from their Conduct in the present War; in which they have shewn as heroic Courage as any the *Greek* History records, and a Fidelity to their Allies, equal to that of the early *Romans*, which has been owing to Alliances concluded with Equity and supported by Integrity, and the same Conduct constantly pursued towards them, will for ever bind them to our Service.

The *Cherokees* possess the mountainous Country Westwards to the River *Mississippi*, as the *Chickesaws* do the Plains to the Southwest of the Country of the *Cherokees*, both brave and numerous Nations, enthusiastically fond of Liberty; in which it is our Interest to support and maintain them against the *French*. Hence it appears, that in this Light the Trustees were both well informed, and have happily succeeded; the Reason of the thing, and the History of the Country, plainly proves this; and, besides, they have the only kind of Evidence in Credit with the Moderns: I mean, that all they promised themselves has been verified by the Event.

By the happy Situation of this Country, the Inhabitants of it will not only be enabled to protect and defend the Northern Colonies that lay behind it, but may be also of great Use to *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Islands*. I am sensible that there are many that will affect to treat the first Part of this Assertion as ridiculous, and to sneer at the latter as chimerical; but I have considered very well what I have asserted, and am from thence convinced of the Truth of what I say. I can very easily foresee that it may be objected, my own Book shews that there are thousands and ten thousands in *Virginia*, *Pennsylvania*, *New York*, the *Jerseys*, and *New England*; and therefore it is a Jest to say that these great and populous Countries are to be protected by a handful of poor People just settled in *Georgia*: Yet for all this the Fact must be true, or that Colony abandoned. If we, here at home, continue to protect and to support the People of *Georgia*, and in Consequence of that Protection and Support, induce them to consult their private Interest, by pursuing such Schemes as are most for the public Advantage, *Georgia* will very soon be full of People, and of useful People, who must have their Tools, their Cloathing, and other Necessaries from hence; and who will be in a Con-

dition to pay us plentifully for all they have. *Georgia*, if attended to, may become as populous as *Barbadoes*, or the *Bahama Islands*, and that in a very short Space of Time; for if a large Bounty were given for a certain Number of Years, upon every Pound of Silk imported from thence, we should see it a rich and thriving Colony, and People would flock thither from all Parts; who, by maintaining their Treaties with the *Indians*, might establish an effectual Barrier against both the *French* and *Spaniards*, with all their *Indian* Allies. All this is highly possible and practicable, nay, and very probable too; and when once it comes to be a Fact, there will be no Sort of Absurdity in saying the People of this Colony, and their *Indian* Allies, will afford Shelter and Protection to the Settlements that lie to the North of them. But this is not all, for, as I observed before, if the Inhabitants of *Georgia* once become numerous, they will then, in Consequence of their Situation, be most able to help *Jamaica*, by a Supply of stout, well disciplined, white Men, in Case of any Attack by the *French* or *Spaniards*; or, which is an Evil they are not altogether secure from, any sudden Insurrection of their Negroes. I very readily grant that I argue from an Uncertainty, that is to say, we are not sure that this Colony will be so protected and supported; but if it be, the Consequences are absolutely certain; and the Consideration of these Consequences ought to be no mean Argument with our Government to maintain and support it.

We are now come to the very last Article of our Remarks, which is the Hopes that may be rationally entertained of the Produce of this Country. We will begin with what the Trustees certainly designed should be the Staple Commodity of *Georgia*; I mean Silk: That this Country is very happily situated, that its Soil and Climate render it very fit for producing Silk, cannot be denied by any who are at all acquainted with this rich Branch of Commerce, which some very good Judges have affirmed to be much more considerable than either the Linen or the Woollen Manufacture. This Country lies along the Sea-side, is well watered within Land, has a Soil extremely proper for the Culture of the Mulberry-Tree, and is seated in a Latitude and Climate we might judge would prove agreeable to the Silk-worm. These Circumstances might very naturally lead one to expect that the Inhabitants might set about the Production of Silk in this Country, for their own Advantage. With a View to this, proper Persons have been sent thither: The Experiment has been tried, Silk made in *Georgia* has been sent over, and Sir *Thomas Lombe*, and other excellent Judges of that Commodity have declared, that it is in all Respects as good, and works to the full as well, or better, than any *Piedmont* Silk, which stands us in twenty Shillings a Pound. At the very Time that this Section is under my Hand a Letter has been received from the Reverend Minister of the Protestant Congregation at *Ebenezer*, by which it plainly appears, that Silk may be produced in the greatest Perfection, and without any considerable Difficulty in this Country, provided the People had proper Encouragement. We are not to understand by this, that the People in that Country affect to make Terms with us, and refuse to raise Silk unless we will give them more for it than it is worth; for the Fact is quite otherwise, the Encouragement they demand, is not so much on their own Behalf as for the sake of the Commodity.

All Beginnings are hard, and these People, in undertaking this Work, are beginning two Things at the same time, *viz.* to raise Silk, and to raise a Subsistence: If these interfere with each other, 'tis very plain that the former must give way to the latter. It is natural for People to wish to live well, but it is necessary that they should live some way or other; and therefore this poor Clergyman honestly tells us, that his People having now got into a Way of winding the Silk off the Coccons, they would apply themselves more diligently to this Business, if they were not called off by other Cares, that is, to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we really mean to promote the raising of Silk in general, and aim, instead of Curiosity, to make it a Commodity, we need only declare a Bounty upon it: This would speedily do the Bu-

finest; it would encourage every body there to turn their Hands to this Work, and it is a Work to which all Hands may be turned, Women and Children as well as Men; and no such hard Labour as to render Slaves necessary. What this might produce we may in some measure guess, from what the Culture of Silk produces in *Italy*; where four and five Pounds an Acre are common Prices for Lands that bear Mulberry Trees, where the Leaves are sold at a high Rate, and where the poor People willingly give their Time and Labour, in feeding and attending the Worms, for half the Price of the Silk; which is but divided between the Labourer and the Landholder; amounting commonly to between three and four Pounds a Tree. If once this Business was effectually set a-going, there is no Question but the Progress would be very speedy, and the Bounty paid for a few Years, would most effectually establish both Commodity and Colony.

On the other hand it ought to be considered, that the Price of *Georgia* Silk, and the Bounty upon it, would be both paid in our own Commodities, whereas we pay now for *Piedmont* Silk wholly in ready Money; so that the Difference to the Nation will be but a very Trifle; perhaps I should not carry the Thing too far, if I said nothing. It is very possible, that when this Trade came to flourish in *Georgia*, it might also be set up in *Carolina*, and even in *Virginia*, there being no sort of Doubt, that with due Attention and Application, Silk might be produced in both these Colonies; neither is this any new Discovery, but what has been observed by all the Writers upon the Affairs of the Plantations for many Years past; but if it should be the Case, it would not be at all detrimental to this Nation; but on the contrary, this very Thing will lay us under a new Obligation to *Georgia*, for then we should have the Silk Manufacture as much in our Hands, if not more, than we have the Woollen; and how vast an Alteration this would make in the Balance of our Trade, may be easily shewn.

It is to be observed, that in all Silk Manufactures there are two Kinds of Silk employed, one for the Warp or Cane, which is the very Silk that our Colonies would produce; but before this Silk can be used, it must be thrown by an Engine into what is called Organzine, for which there is at present but one Engine in this Kingdom, which is the famous Silk-mill at *Derby*; since the erecting of which his *Sardinian* Majesty has prohibited the Exportation of raw Silk from his Dominions; so that what we have from his Country is Organzine. He has done still more for the Benefit of his Subjects; for he has laid such high Duties upon our Manufactures, as amount almost to a Prohibition; so that as I have more than once said, we are obliged to pay for this Silk in ready Money, for it is so necessary to us, that our Silk Manufactures cannot be carried on without it; and by this Means his Subjects take annually from this Nation about two hundred thousand Pounds in Money. Besides what we receive from *Piedmont*, we have likewise considerable Quantities of raw Silk of the same Kind with that from *Genoa*, and other Parts of *Italy*; which is thrown into Organzine by the Engine at *Derby*.

As to the other Kind of Silk, which makes the Woof or Shute, it comes to us from many Places, but particularly by the Way of *Turky*; so that if we had the former Kind of Silk from our Plantations, it would enable us to consume a much greater Quantity of this other Silk that cometh to us by the Way of *Turky*, for which we pay in our Woollen Manufactures: So that here is plainly a double Advantage; first, of saving the ready Money which is paid for one Kind of Silk; and next, increasing the Exportation of our own Goods, for which we bring Home in exchange that other Kind of Silk; and if once we were in possession of these Advantages, there would follow a third, equal, if not superior, to both; for we should be then incontestibly able to fabricate all Kinds of wrought Silks at so cheap a Rate as to under-sell most Parts of *Europe*; which would draw a Demand from *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, to the inconceivable Benefit of the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom, who are beyond all Question, in Con-

junction with the Seamen, who must thrive when they do, the most valuable People in it, and by whose Industry the rest are maintained. Thus we see that the Design of establishing the Business of raising Silk in *Georgia*, is in itself a Matter of vast Moment, not to the Trustees or the Inhabitants of that new Colony only, but to the whole Nation; a Thing that would give a new Turn to our Trade; employ a Multitude of Hands at Home, by promoting both the Silk and Woollen Manufactures; enlarge our Commerce Abroad; increase our Shipping; augment the Number of our Seamen, and enable us the better to bear those vast Expences into which, it is said, the Circumstances of Affairs Abroad have necessarily plunged us.

Before I part with this Subject, I think it becomes me to add somewhat with respect to the Conduct of the King of *Sardinia*, which, from what I have said above, may be thought in some measure unkind towards this Nation; whereas, properly understood, nothing of that sort will appear. The first and great Concern of every Prince, or at least of every wise and good Prince, is the Welfare of his own Subjects; and with respect to the Monarch of whom we are speaking, he has pursued it with great Steadiness and Prudence. His Duties upon *French* Commodities are very low; so that his Subjects are furnished from thence with Woollen Manufactures at very reasonable Rates, and by putting our Goods under a very high Custom his Subjects sell their Silk dear, and for ready Money: And thus, by the Interposition of the Government, they make the most of their Goods, and are as rich as the Nature and Extent of their Country will permit them to be. It must indeed be allowed, that as Things stand at present his *Sardinian* Majesty's political and commercial Concerns are in a manner opposite to each other; but this does not hinder him from pursuing both. The Balance of Power in *Italy* is a Thing of vast Importance to him, since, if it should be lost, he would scarce be able to keep his Dominions; but the Trade of his Subjects is likewise of very great Importance, for without that his Dominions would be hardly worth keeping. His Conduct therefore, in both Respects, is wise and just, though it falls out to be in some measure prejudicial to us, and that too in our tenderest Concerns, our Manufactures and our Trade.

But what then, ought we to differ with or blame him? Nothing like it: We ought, on the contrary, to admire and imitate him; we ought to make the same Distinction that he does, between our political and commercial Interests; we ought to shew ourselves firm in supporting the former, and in order to it we must be vigorous in promoting the latter. We see very plainly and clearly, or at least we may see it if we will, that there is nothing more practicable in the World, than the raising the Silk Trade in *Georgia*; the Country is fit for it, the Climate is fit for it; we have raised, and may raise, what Quantities of Mulberry-trees we will: The Silkworm thrives there wonderfully well, which however is the Case of very few Countries; and the Silk brought from thence has been found excellent. If all this does not pass for Demonstration in a Matter of this Nature, it is in vain to look for Demonstration. On the other hand, that the raising of Silk in *Georgia* would fill that Country with White People; would secure to us the Affection, and the Assistance of the neighbouring *Indian* Nations, and so render it an effectual Frontier, is beyond all Dispute; and that the Advantages accruing to this Kingdom, by enabling that Plantation to furnish us with Silk equal in Quality to the *Italian*, are so plain and certain that I make no Scruple of affirming, that if due Care was taken in this Respect, all the Expence necessary to establish the Silk Trade there, would not amount to above one Year's Purchase of the Profits, five and twenty Years hence: By which I mean, that the Advantages accruing from this Colony to *Great Britain*, in 1771; supposing the Silk Trade immediately settled there, and by immediately, I mean no more than as soon as possible, will equal all that the Public has, or may lay out upon that Settlement before it becomes able to maintain itself. We manure our Lands before we expect Crops from them; we manufacture our Goods before

before we send them to Market; we educate our Children before we expect they should provide for themselves; and why should not we take the same Care of this Colony, before we expect public Advantages from thence?

It has been already shewn what may be expected from the different Method pursued in the establishing this and other Colonies; and how easily, and how entirely, it may be turned to the Service of *Great Britain*, so as in the Compass of a few Years to answer national Expectations, better than Colonies that have been much longer settled. But we must keep these Points in View; we must proceed as we have begun, or all that we have hitherto done will be thrown away; and if it should, we can blame no body but ourselves. We have seen the Silk Trade planted there; we have seen it take Root, and even bring forth Blossoms, which, if the best Judges may be trusted, promise the fairest Fruit; let it not then be lost for a little Care or a little Expence, if that be necessary, in pruning and watering it.

I might likewise take Notice of the raising Wine here; indeed I have promised it, but I have insisted so long upon Silk, that I can be but short upon this Head; yet something I will say. There were great Hopes that this Improvement might soon have been brought to Perfection, but some Difficulties have been found in the Way, and they are chiefly these: The Coat of the natural Grape is not strong enough, and therefore when it grows ripe they burst. The Frost, about the vernal Equinox, frequently kills the Vines when they are shooting; and as to the *European* Grapes, it is found that the Insects of the Country destroy them. Yet Experience has shewn, that by grafting the *European* on the wild Vine, all these Inconveniencies are in a great Measure prevented; for then it shoots later, and so escapes the Frost better; the Grape Skins become thicker and stronger, and Insects do it less Prejudice: So that there are still Hopes that Wine may be made there, both in great Plenty, and in great Perfection; and if we reflect on the Mistake we made, with respect to the *Cape of Good Hope*, which we abandoned as worth nothing, and which the *Dutch*, by their Industry, have made one of the finest and most valuable Plantations in the World; we shall not be hasty in slighting these Hopes.

Besides, there is nothing wanting in this Country but a sufficient Number of Inhabitants, to render it, in every respect, a fertile and a pleasant Settlement. They reap very good Wheat here in *May*; they mow their Grass in *June*; they might cultivate Rice here to great Advantage, if that was judged proper, which, however, for many good Reasons is thought not so; Olives flourish there in the greatest Perfection; and so do Oranges in the South Part of the Province, where (I speak on the Credit of Eye-witnesses) an Orange Tree has been known, in seven Years Time, to have been fifteen Foot from the Root to the Branches.

These Considerations, with Respect to the Consequences that may follow from the Improvement of this last Settlement, which I look upon to be the Honour of the present Age, have proceeded solely from a regard to Truth, and to the public Service, which are the same Motives that have directed me through the Course of this Undertaking. It appeared to me that there were many things, in relation to most of the Colonies, and

particularly in respect to this, about which the World in general was either misinformed or not informed at all; and therefore I thought it would be doing some Service to Trade, to the Colonies, and to the Public, if these Points were fully and fairly treated; for which Purpose I took Pains to procure the best Materials I could, and have digested them in the best Method I was able, but in such a way that the principal Facts appear all along with their proper Authorities; so that the Reader sees to what he gives Credit, and is not obliged to take any thing upon Trust from me; all my Reasonings being submitted, as they ought to be, to his Judgment, with full Liberty to admit as little or as much as he thinks fit, when he has duly weighed the Arguments that are offered in support of them. It is in this way, and in this way only, that sedentary Persons can make themselves useful to Society, and in this way they may be very useful, by furnishing others with an Opportunity of viewing and reflecting upon things which otherwise might never have come to their Notice.

One thing more I must observe before I conclude this Section, which is, that if there be any thing in it, or indeed in any of those relating to the *British* Plantations, which ought, in a particular Manner, to claim the Attention of the Public; it is, in a great Measure, due to the Lights afforded by the Honourable *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; from whom, if the Author has caught any Part of that generous Spirit, which inclines a Man to bend all his Thoughts, and turn all his Labours, to the Service of his Country, it is but just that he should acknowledge it; and this he is the more ready to do, because if there be any Merit in his Performance, capable of making it known to, and esteemed by, Posterity; he would willingly consecrate it as a Mark of his Esteem and Gratitude, for the many Informations he has received, and the right Turn that has been given to his Inquiries, by that knowing and worthy Person, who is equally happy in rendering the greatest personal Services himself to the Community, and by infusing the like Disposition in others, both by his Example and Conversation.

There remains, in order to complete our History of the *West Indies*, no more than an Account of the *French* and *Dutch* Settlements in that Part of the World, in reference to which we may have leave to be the shorter in our Relations, as we have already taken Occasion to deliver many things concerning the former, and there cannot be a great deal said with respect to the latter. In treating both, however, we shall endeavour to represent all things fairly and agreeable to Truth, without exaggerating, as some have done, the Power of the *French*, or as others, the Industry of the *Dutch*: Both indeed are worthy our Notice and our Attention, but neither as things stand at present can justly provoke our Envy, since there is no Comparison between our Condition and theirs; nor can we justly apprehend any considerable Alteration in our Circumstances but what must follow from our own Negligence, rather than from any Attempts of theirs; though it must be confessed that both are ready enough to catch at any Advantages for promoting their Interests in that Part of the World, though it should be at the Expence of their Neighbours; things that ought to teach us Care and Circumspection, which are as necessary to secure Prosperity, as to obtain it.

SECTION XXII.

A succinct History of the DISCOVERIES, SETTLEMENTS, and CONQUESTS, made by the FRENCH in America; a View of their Policy, Numbers, Commerce, and Strength, in that Part of the World; and some Conjectures as to the Event of their Designs; extracted chiefly from their own Authors.

1. *An introductory Account of the first Voyages made, or said to be made, by the French to America, with a more particular Detail of that of John Verazzano, or Verazani, under the Reign of Francis I.*
2. *The Voyage of James Cartier of St. Malo's, who discovered Canada; and a curious Account of the Etymology of that Word.*
3. *The first Establishment of the French on the Banks of the River of St. Laurence; the building of the Town of Quebec, and the Difficulties found in fixing a Colony in those Parts.*
4. *A Description of the Savages, Natives of Canada, their Customs, Manners, Superstitions, and enthusiastic Fondness for their own Way of Life.*
5. *A concise Account of the Illinois, by Mr. Joutel; and a larger Relation of the Customs and Manners of the same Nation, by Father Marquette.*
6. *A more particular Description of the Colony of Canada, or New France, the City of Quebec, and other Places therein, with an Account of the French Commerce with the Indians, and their Force in those Parts.*
7. *The present State of that Colony, its Strength, Produce, Shipping, and Importance to France fairly represented.*
8. *The Consequence of Acadia, Placentia, and Isle Royal to France, in respect to their Fishery, &c. set in its true Light.*
9. *The first Expeditions of the French to the West Indies, their Views, and the Consequences of those Expeditions in relation to Commerce.*
10. *The Settlements made by that Nation in the Leeward Islands; the Situation, Extent, Produce, Strength and Importance of those Islands.*
11. *Their Trade with our Northern Colonies, their own directly to France, and the Value of the Sugars they export, with other Particulars.*
12. *A brief Relation of the first settling of the Subjects of France on the Island of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo; the amazing Progress of their Colony there; a true Representation of its present Condition and vast Importance.*
13. *A short Account of the various Attempts of the French, to seize Part of the Southern Coasts of Florida; their repeated Disappointments; and new Project of finding the Course and Mouth of the great River of Mississippi.*
14. *The Consequences of these Inquiries; the making this Affair a Bubble; the Resolution of settling Louvifiana owing to that Bubble; the Nature of that Settlement, and what may be probably expected from it in Time, both as to the Benefit and Disadvantage of the French Trade.*
15. *A fair Prospect of the present Situation of the French Colonies, Affairs and Commerce throughout all America, with some short Observations and Remarks, in order to set the Subject of this Section in the clearest and justest Light possible.*

1. **T**HE national Vanity of the French is in nothing more visible, than in the Accounts that some of their Authors have given us of their Settlements in America. William Postel has had the Assurance to assert, that the French were not only the first Discoverers of America, but that the ancient Gauls carried on the Fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, before the coming of Jesus Christ; but, that finding those Countries without Corn, without Cities, and but very thinly inhabited, they despised and neglected these Discoveries; which Dream of his is as ridiculous and absurd, as it is groundless and without Foundation. We have some Accounts of Frenchmen who visited North America at the Close of the fifteenth, and the Beginning of the sixteenth, Century; but the Relations we have are very uncertain, and at most prove no more than this, that some French Seamen and Pilots that had been employed in the Newfoundland Fishery, had some Knowledge of the adjacent Continent, which is not a thing of very great Consequence.

At length, in 1523, Francis the Ist, one of the wisest and greatest Monarchs the French ever had, began to think of making Establishments on the Coast of America; and with this View he fitted out John Verazzano, a Florentine, who had, under his Command, only one Ship, with fifty Men on board, and Provisions for eight Months; he returned to Dieppe in July 1524; but we know nothing of his Discoveries at that Time. He sailed, towards the latter end of the succeeding Year, on the same Design, and arrived on the Coast of North America, and it is not very clear upon what Part of that Coast he arrived. He seems to have been a timorous Navigator; for he did not care to venture himself within any of the Bays or Ports that he saw before him; but wanting Water, and lying in a Road very near the Shore, he persuaded one of his Seamen to swim thither; and by the Help of Presents, with which he furnished him, procure what they stood in need of from the Natives, who came down in Crouds upon the Strand, to gaze upon the

Ship. The poor Fellow, when he got on Shore, and came to have a nearer View of the Savages, was so excessively amazed at their uncouth Appearance, that throwing his Presents down upon the Ground, he ran as fast as he could to throw himself again into the Sea, that without loss of Time he might recover his Ship. But the Waves disappointing his Design, threw him back upon the Shore, with such Force, that he lay breathless upon the Sands, and had, in all probability, been drowned, if the Savages had not hastened to his Relief; they took him up, carried him in their Arms to a Place at some Distance, and took all the Pains they could to bring him to himself.

But when he recovered his Senses a little, and saw there were none but Savages about him, he set up such a Cry, as made the Woods ring; and the poor Indians, hoping to quiet him, cried as loud or louder than he, which terrified him still more. At last they began to make a great Fire, before which they undressed him, admiring greatly the Whiteness of his Skin, and the Hair on several Parts of his Body; the Seaman taking it for granted, that they were going to eat him, or burn him, trembled excessively, and those on board the Ship were also very much frightened, for they saw every thing that was done, and expected every Moment when he should have been sacrificed; by degrees, however, they were all satisfied that the Savages meant him no manner of Harm; for after drying his Cloaths, they suffered him to put them on again, and having given him something to eat, conducted him, at his Request, to the Sea-side, and, retiring to some Distance, looked on till he swam safely aboard the Ship, and then quietly departed; as for Verazzano, he returned home to France, reported nothing but this Story, and that it happened in the Latitude of fifty Degrees. This very plainly shews, that neither he nor his People were of a Disposition fit for the Task they had undertaken.

However, they engaged the next Year in a third Voyage, but

but what became of him was very uncertain; some say that he was lost; others, that he went ashore with Part of his Crew, and that falling into the Hands of the Savages, they killed and eat them, which, however, is very improbable; certain it is, that in this Voyage he was lost: And from what the Reader has seen, he will be of Opinion, that the *French* have no great Cause to boast of his Expeditions, which were thirty Years later than those of the *Cabots*.

2. After this unlucky Adventure, it was some Years before the *French* thought of fitting out any more Ships for Discovery; but at length Admiral *Chabot* prevailed upon *James Cartier*, an experienced Pilot of *St. Malo's*, to undertake another Expedition: Upon which he sailed from that Port the 20th of *April* 1534, with two Ships of sixty Tons each, and one hundred and twenty Men. He arrived on the 10th of *May* on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, and finding the Country covered with Ice and Snow, sailed to the Southward, and entered into a Bay, which bears, at present, the Name of *Spanish Harbour*; where, liking both the Country and the People, he went ashore. It is reported that the *Spaniards* had long before visited this Coast, and there are some Authorities to prove it; but finding no Signs of any Minerals, they were in a Hurry to go off again, crying out, in their Language, *Aca Nada!* that is, *there is nothing here*, meaning the Country was good for nothing; which Words the *Indians* retained, and when the *French* came ashore, cried out *Aca Nada! Aca Nada!* which they took for the Name of the Country, so that it has been called *Canada* ever since. This is a very strange Derivation, but as we find it in the best *French* Authors, it is worth setting down.

He afterwards discovered a good Part of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and of the Islands that are situated therein; after which he returned to *France*, where he arrived safely on the 5th of *September*. The next Year he was sent again with three large Ships, in order to make a Settlement; and because he entered the Gulph on the Feast of *St. Laurence*, he gave it that Name, which was afterwards extended to the River, which in his first Voyage he had called the River of *Canada*. He was very successful in this Expedition, and went up as high as the Fall of *St. Louis*, giving Names to the Islands and Rivers as he thought proper; and it is certain that he shewed himself, in the Course of this Voyage, a very expert Seaman. But though at first he was extremely well pleased with the Country, yet the Scurvy getting among his People, and bringing them into a very low Condition, so that twenty-five of them died in a very short Space of Time; he began to alter his Sentiments, and to fancy that it was a very unwholesome and bad Climate. At last, however, when he found himself attacked with this Distemper, he applied to the Inhabitants, and enquired of them, as well as he could, whether they knew of any Cure for this Distemper? Upon which they taught him to make an Infusion of the Leaves and Bark of the White-thorn-tree, by which they were all very speedily recovered.

As soon as the Season of the Year would permit, he returned into *France*, where he arrived in the Spring of 1536; but there is no obtaining any Certainty as to the Account he gave of the Country which he had discovered: If we trust to his written Memoirs, it will appear, that he gave King *Francis I.* a very just and fair Account of the Places he had visited, and represented the settling a Colony in that Part of the World, as an Action extremely worthy of the most Christian King; but if we adhere to what is generally reported in *France*, either he, or some who came home with him, acted a very different Part, and gave so discouraging a View of this new-found Country, that the King looked upon it as not worth the keeping, or troubling himself about.

However, three or four Years after, the Project of settling in this Country began again to be talked of, and a Gentleman of *Picardy*, whose Name was *Francis de la Roque*, Lord of *Roberval*, undertook to accomplish this Design; to qualify him for which, King *Francis I.* by Letters Patent, dated *January* 15, 1540, granted him

abundance of fine Titles, such as Viceroy, and Lieutenant General in *Canada*, *Hockelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Bellisle*, *Cape Breton*, *Labrador*; the grand Bay and Coast of of *Baccaloes*; giving him the same Power and Authority in those Places that he had himself, which was very easily done, since there was not a *Frenchman*, or a Cottage, in any one of the Places, nor had he any more Title to most of them, than to Lands in the Moon. However this Gentleman, who had a good Estate, and was a Man of Family, resolved to pursue this Expedition, and prevailed upon *James Cartier*, by the large Promises he made him, to undertake another Voyage to the Coasts of *Canada* in Quality of his Pilot.

3. It was this Gentleman that, in two or three Voyages he made, first fixed some *French* Settlements in *America*, which however were afterwards abandoned. After this Time the Navigation of the River *St. Laurence* fell into different Hands, and from time to time Voyages were made thither to very little Purpose. In 1608, or thereabouts, they laid the Foundation of the City of *Quebec*, after having settled, and abandoned, several other Places. It was some time after, that *Champlain* bestowed the Name of *New France* upon this Country; but then he took in likewise *Acadia*, and other Coasts, that had long before been discovered by us; for the *French*, according to a Maxim natural enough with them, thought every Country which they had not seen before, unknown to all the rest of the World, and so set up Crosses and the *French* Arms, to shew that they had taken Possession of them. It must be observed, that most of these Expeditions were made in the Reign of our King *James I.* when the *English* Colonies were but thin, and far enough from being strong; and yet his Subjects asserted their prior Rights to those Places of which the *French* had taken Possession, demolished their Crosses, drove away the People where they found them, and forced them to confine their Views to the Gulph and River of *St. Laurence*, where, with much-ado, in the Space of twenty Years, they raised three or four Settlements, of which *Quebec* was, as it still is, the chief.

In 1629 the *English*, under the Command of Sir *David Kerk*, followed them even thither, as looking upon *Canada* to be within the Limits of the *English* Dominions, and made themselves Masters of *Quebec*, and of all their Settlements. When this News arrived in *France*, that new discovered Country was looked upon to be of so little Consequence, that it was long debated in the *French* Councils, whether they should demand the Restitution of this Colony, though they already had established a Company for managing that Commerce; but at last it was resolved, that it should be demanded; and it was accordingly restored by the Treaty of 1632, but in a very bad Condition, and as a Place hardly worth the keeping. Mr. *Champlain* was the first Governor after it fell again into the Hands of the *French*, and from this Time forward they pursued their Discoveries and Settlements in those Parts, without any Molestation from us, but still with many and great Difficulties; so that though they have often changed their Manner of conducting their Affairs in these Parts of the World; have applied to, and received the Protection of the ablest of their Ministers; and have had Company after Company set up, on purpose to promote and to encourage their Commerce, yet have they been able to make no greater Matter of it, though, besides their Pains and Attention, these Settlements in *Canada* have actually cost the *French* vast Sums of Money.

The Reasons of these many and great Difficulties are very easy to be found; for with respect to *France* itself, though it be a very large Country, and tolerably well peopled, yet it is the Inhabitants only of Part of its Coasts, that are inclined to naval Expeditions, or, to say the Truth, are capable of them, and they have not a Force sufficient for any great Undertakings. In the next place, the Country of *Canada* is very far from being agreeable to *French* Constitutions, more especially before there were any regular Settlements made there; so that of Numbers of People sent thither, a great Part perished by the Hardships they endured; many of them took the first Opportunity of returning; and at their Return gave

such a dreadful Account of the Colony they had left, as discouraged others from going thither, and made the Ministry repent of the Pains they had taken about it; but the greatest Obstacle of all was, their continual Wars with the Natives, of which they have given us very large Accounts, that, in my Opinion, do no great Honour either to the particular Persons who have had the Direction of their Affairs in those Colonies, or the *French* Nation in general. Before we proceed, however, to an exact Description of this Country, it will be very requisite to say something of its original Inhabitants, their Customs, and Manners, and the rather because what we shall offer on that Subject, will be equally useful and entertaining.

4. Among all the *French* Writers who have taken upon them to treat of this Subject; and to describe the *Indians* with whom they had conversed, the most sensible and most worthy of Credit that I have met with is Mr. *Joutel*, who accompanied the famous *Monf. de Sale*, in his Discoveries on the River *Mississippi*. He behaved himself in every respect so as to obtain an established Reputation; and as no body had better Opportunities than he to be acquainted with the Nations he describes, so I see not the least Reason to doubt of what he has delivered about them. As to the Accounts of *Lakontain*, and Father *Hennepin*, they have been formerly very much admired, yet we are now very well satisfied that they are rather Romances than Relations, and that their Authors had their particular Schemes so much in View, that they have made no manner of Scruple of abusing the Confidence of Mankind; so that if we except some Parts of their Writings which relate to Matters in which they could not so well deceive their Readers, they are not much to be depended upon. But for Mr. *Joutel*, he did not set up for a great Politician, but confined himself barely to the reporting what he saw; which he does in a very plain, natural Way: Whereas most of the Missionaries either magnify the Savages at the Expence of *Europeans*, or else run them down, as if they were very little better than Beasts. Our Author comes nearest to the latter Opinion, which by comparing him with later Writers, appears to be most consistent with Truth; and if we follow the Lights he gives us, we must regard them as Men as much distinguished from the rest of the human Race, as the Country they live in is from the rest of the World: He speaks of them thus:

Allowing, says he, that there are some *Barbarians* less wicked and brutal than the others; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of knowing such Things as are above the Reach of our Senses: There is no relying on them; there is always Cause to suspect them: And, in short, before a Savage can be made a Christian, it is requisite to make him a Man; and we look upon these Savages as having neither King nor Laws, and, what is most deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear they have any sort of Religion, or well formed Notion of a Deity; if some of them, upon certain Occasions, do sometimes own a first or sovereign Being, or pay some Veneration to the Sun; as to the first Article, they deliver themselves in such a confused manner, and with so many Contradictions and Extravagancies that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it; and as for the second, it is only bare Custom, without any serious Reflections on their Part. The same Traveller, speaking of an Interview he had with the Chiefs of another Nation, to the westward of the River *Mississippi*, says, their Elders came to meet us in their Formalities, which consisted in some Goats-skins dressed, and painted of several Colours; which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of several Colours on their Heads like Coronets; six or seven of them had square Sword-Blades, like the *Spanish*, on the Hilt whereof they had fastened great Plumes of Feathers, and Hawks-bells; some of them had Clubs, which they called Head-breakers; some only their Bows and Arrows; others Pieces of white Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder: All their Faces were daubed with black and red: There were twelve Elders, who walked in the

Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the right and left of the old Men. Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us made a Sign for us to halt, which, when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their right Hands above their Heads, crying in a most ridiculous Manner; but it behoved us to have a care of Laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, using all Sorts of Endearments. The whole Company conducted us, afterwards, to their Chief's Cottage, and after we had staid there a short Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they had their public Rejoicings, and great Assemblies: We found it furnished with Mats for us to sit on. The Elders seated themselves round about it, and they brought us to eat some Sagamite, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they made with boiled Flower; and at last they made us smook. The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in some of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook, or Corner-bed, and other Utensils to itself, but without any Partition to separate it from the rest: However, they have nothing in common besides the Fire, which is in the Midst of the Hut, and never goes out: It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, so that when once lighted, it lasts a long Time, and the first Comer takes Care to keep it up.

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Rick of Hay; some of them are six Foot in Diameter: In order to build them they set up long Poles as thick as a Man's Leg, tall and strait; and placing them in a Circle, join the Tops together; then they fasten and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages, and build new ones on the Ground they design to inhabit. Their Moveables are some Buffaloes or Bullocks Skins well cured, some Mats close wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and some Earthen Vessels, which they are very skilful in making, and wherein they boil their Flesh, Roots, and Sagamite Pottage. They have also some small Baskets made of Canes, serving to put their Fruit and other Provisions in. Their Beds are made of Canes, raised two or three Feet above the Ground, handsomely fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins, which serve them instead of Feather-beds, Quilts and Blankets, and these Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up. Their Tillage consists in breaking up just the Surface of the Earth with a wooden Instrument like a Pick-ax, which they make by splitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, which serves for the Handle, and putting another Piece of Wood sharp-pointed at one End into the Slit. This Instrument serves them instead of a Hoe or Spade; for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus broke up, the Women sow and plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pumpions, Water-Melons, and other Grain and Garden-Stuff. The *Indians* are generally handsome, but disfigure themselves by making Streaks on their Jaws, from the Top of the Forehead down the Nose to the Tip of the Chin, which is done by pricking the Skin till it bleeds, and then strewing fine Charcoal on the Skin, which sinks in and mixes with the Blood. They also make, after the same Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers, on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies; and paint themselves, as has been said before, with Black or Red, and sometimes both together. The Women are generally well-shaped, and would not be disagreeable did they adhere to Nature; but they disguise themselves as ridiculously as the Men, not only with the Streaks they have like them down their Faces, but by other Figures they make at the Corner of their Eyes and on their Bodies, particularly on their Bosoms. The Women do all the Work in the Cottage, either in pounding the *Indian* Corn and baking their Bread, dressing their other Provision, drying, parching, and smoking their Flesh, fetching the Wood they have Occasion for, or the Flesh of wild Beasts killed by their Husbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Distance. I did not observe that their Women were naturally

rally given to Leudness; but their Virtue is not Proof against some of our Toys when presented to them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets: That Temptation is rarely resisted by them; and the less, because they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that Practice. It is true, their Husbands, when they take them in the Fact, sometimes do punish them, either by Separation, or otherwise.

The Country of these *Indians* being generally warm, almost all of them go naked, unless when the North Wind blows; then they cover themselves with a Buffalo's Hide, or a Goat's-skin Card. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, or some Sort of Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching half way down their Legs before and behind: On their Heads they wear nothing but their Hair platted and knotted behind. As for their Temper, it may be said of these as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not mischievous, unless wronged or attacked, in which Case they are fierce and revengeful. They watch all Opportunities to be revenged, and never let any slip when offered, which is the Cause of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that martial Humour so predominant among them. As to the Knowledge of God, they did not seem to us to have any fixed Notion of him; it is true, we met with some in our Way, who, as far as we could judge, believed there was some superior Being which was above all things, and this they testified by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, or believing that the said exalted Being does regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any Places of Worship, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to manifest their Devotion, it may be said of them all, that they have no Religion at all, at least, those that we saw. They observe some Ceremonies it is true, but whether they have any Regard to a superior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Custom, is what we were not able to discover. Those Ceremonies are as follow: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Basket, which is placed on a Stool dedicated to that Use, and serving only upon these mysterious Occasions, which they have a great Veneration for. The Basket with the Corn being placed on the venerated Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the said old Man distributes the Corn among the Women, and no Person is allowed to eat of the new Corn till eight Days after the Ceremony. This seems to be in the Nature of offering, or blessing, the first Fruits of their Harvest.

At their Assemblies, when the Sagamite, or Pottage, which is the most essential Part of their Meal, is boiled in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool above-mentioned, and one of the Elders stretches out his Hands over it, muttering some Words between his Teeth for a considerable Time, after which they fall to eating. When the young Folks first take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, consisting of some Skin or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver, and Arrows, are placed on the same Stool, an old Man stretching out his Hands over them, muttering the consecrating Words, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are given to the Persons they belong to. The same Ceremonies are used by them in the cultivating their Grain and Product, but of the Tobacco particularly.

There is one Particular relating to these People, which he does not mention; and that is, the strong and general Passion for Liberty, which prevails through the whole Nation; which is born, and grows up, with them, governs all their Actions, and is never to be extinguished but with their Lives. It is their Notion of Liberty, that induces them to prefer their own Manner of living, to that of the *Europeans*; and they say sometimes, what is not altogether destitute of good Sense, that if they possess fewer Conveniences, they have the less Trouble in acquiring what they think necessary, and consequently the more Time to themselves, which their middle-aged and old Men usually spend in conversing together; and

if we may trust to some of our own Country, as well as the *French* Writers, there are as great Politicians among them, as in any Nation in *Europe*, the *Italians* themselves not excepted. There is another *Indian* Nation of whom Mr. Joutel has given us a Relation, which deserves to be considered, because they are thought to be very different in their Manners from the *Iroquois*.

5. As for the Manners and Customs of the *Illinois*, they are, in many Particulars, the same as those of the other Nations before-mentioned; they are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them, the Toil of sowing, planting, carrying of Burdens, and doing all other things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women; the Men have no other Business, but going to the Wars and hunting. The Nations I have spoken of before, are not at all, or very little, addicted to thieving, but it was not so with the *Illinois*; it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the Way very dextrously. They are subject to the general Vice of other *Indians*, which is, to boast very much of their warlike Exploits, that is the main Subject of their Discourse, and they are very great Liars. They pay a Respect to the Dead, as appears by their Care in burying them: This is also practised among the *Accanceas*, but they differ in this Particular: That the *Accanceas* weep and make their Complaints for some Days, whereas the *Chabouanous*, and other People of the *Illinois* Nation, do just the contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins, made of the Barks of Trees; then sing and dance about them for twenty-four Hours; those Dancers tying Gourds about their Bodies, with some *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noise; and some of them have a Drum, made of a great earthen Pot, on which they extend a Goat-skin, and beat thereon with a Stick; during that rejoicing, they throw their Presents on the Coffin; such as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen-ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Presents, and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When the Ceremony is over, they bury the Body with Part of the Presents, making Choice of such as may be most proper for it: They also bury with it some Store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, and repeat the same Ceremony at the Year's-end.

With respect to this People, there is a very large and curious Account in the Travels of Father Marquette, a Man of good Sense and fair Character; and therefore I shall subjoin it, that we may not be obliged to dwell longer upon this Subject. His Account in his own Words runs thus: "The Word *Illinois*, in their Language, signifies Men, as if they should look upon the other Savages as Beasts; and truly it may be confessed, that they are not altogether in the wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have seen in *America*; the short Time I remained with them, did not permit me to inform myself as much as I desired of their Customs and Manners, but here is what I was able to observe: They are divided into several Villages, whereof some are very remote from those that I have seen, they call them *Perouarea*. But as they live so far one from the other, their Language is also very different: However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to understand what they said, and to converse with them. They are good-natured Men, tractable and easy. They keep several Wives, and yet they are exceeding jealous; they observe with very great Care their Behaviour, and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chastity, they cut their Noses and Ears; and I saw several of them, who carried upon their Faces these Marks of their Infidelity.

"The *Illinois* are very well shaped, and very dextrous. They are good Marks-men with their Arrows and small Guns, with which they are supplied by the Savages, and have a Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations, inhabiting

“ to the Westward, who have no Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frightened at the Noise of their Guns, make Excursions very far to the Westward, and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Those Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools, and their Knives, Axes, and other Instruments, are made of Flints, and other sharp Stones. When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village must have Notice of it, and therefore they use to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to set out. Their Captains are distinguished from the Soldiers by red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears, or wild Oxen, that are curiously wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is so fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They sow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and especially those whose Seed is red.

“ They esteem much their Citruls, though they are none of the best; they dry them up and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabbins are very large, they are made covered, and paved with Mats of Marsh Rushes. Their Dishes are of Wood, but their Spoons are made with the Bones of the Skulls of wild Oxen, which they cut so as to make them very convenient to eat their Sagamite. They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Presents they make unto them, who have prescribed them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beasts, which serve to cover their Women, for the Men go most of the Year stark naked. I don't know by what Superstition some of the *Illinois*, and *Nadoneffians*, wear Womens Apparel; when they have taken the same, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off. And certainly there must be some Mystery in this Matter, for they never marry, and work in the Cabbins with Women, which other Men think it below them to do. They may go, however, to the Wars, but they must use only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they say, only for Men. They assist at all the Superstitions of their Jugglers, and their solemn Dances in Honour of the Calumet, at which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are called to their Councils, and nothing is determined without their Advice; for because of their extraordinary way of living, they are looked upon as Manitoes, or, at least, for great and incomparable Genii.

“ I must speak here of the Calumet, the most extraordinary thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it the God of Peace and War, and the Arbitrer of Life and Death. One, with this Calumet, may venture among his Enemies, and in the hottest Engagements, they lay down their Arms before this sacred Pipe. The *Illinois* presented me with one of them, which was very useful to us in our Voyage. Their Calumet of Peace is different from the Calumet of War. They make use of the former to seal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with Safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War. It is made of a red Stone, like our Marble: The Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixed to a hollow Reed to hold it for smoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of several Colours, and they call it the Calumet of the Sun, to whom they present it, especially when they want fair Weather, or Rain; thinking that that Planet can have no less Respect for it than Men have, and therefore that they shall obtain their Desires. They dare not wash themselves in Rivers in the Beginning of the Summer, or taste the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danced the Calumet, which they do in the following Manner: “ This Dance of the Calumet, is a solemn Ceremony amongst the Savages, which they perform upon im-

portant Occasions, to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They use it also to entertain any Nation that comes to visit them; and in this Case we may consider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabbins, and in open Fields in the Summer. They chuse for this Purpose a set Place among Trees, to shelter themselves against the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the Middle a large Mat, as a Carpet, and set upon it the God of the Chief of the Company who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitoe*: It is sometimes a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any Thing else that they dream of in their Sleep; for they think that this Manitoe will prosper their Undertakings, as Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their Manitoe they place the Calumet, their great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms *viz.* Their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows. Things being thus disposed, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, those who are to sing take the most honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or green Arbours they make, in case the Trees be not thick enough to shadow them. They chuse for this Service the best Wits amongst them, either Men or Women. Every body sits down afterwards round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the Manitoe, which they do by the blowing the Smoke of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense; every body, one after another, takes the Calumet, and holds it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs.

“ This Preludium being over, he who is to begin the Dance appears in the Middle of the Assembly, and having taken the Calumet presents it to the Sun, as if he would invite him to smoke; then he moves it into an infinite Number of Postures, sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings as if he would make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while: This is the first Scene of this famous Ball. The second is, a Fight, with Vocal and Instrumental Music; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices; the Person who dances with the Calumet gives a Signal to one of their Warriors, who takes a Bow and Arrows with an Ax from the Trophies already mentioned, and fights the other, who defends himself with the Calumet alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the Calumet makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battles he has fought, and the Prisoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Present, from the Chief of the Ball: He gives then the Calumet to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another; and so to all the others, till the Calumet returns to the Captain, who presents it to the Nation invited unto the Feast, as a Mark of their Friendship, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I cannot pretend to be so much Master of the Language, as to judge of their Songs; but methinks they are very lively and witty.”

6. This Country of *Canada*, as we find it described by the best *French* Writers, is said to be half as big as *Europe*, reaching from the Latitude of 39 Degrees to that of 65; that is, from the Lake of *Errie* to the North of *Hudson's-bay*, and from the Longitude of 284 Degrees to 336; *viz.* from the River *Mississippi* to that Part of the Continent which fronts *Cape Rase* in *Newfoundland*. According to this Description, it has *Hudson's Bay* on the North, the Sea on the East, the *English* Colonies on the South, *Louvisiana* on the South-east, and the Territories of the Crown of *Spain* on the West. This we must allow is a very large and noble Plan of *New France*, if it were in any Degree in the Possession of the Subjects of that Crown; but the Truth of the Matter is, that a great Part of this Tract is not so much as known to them, and, at the very most, there is not a twentieth Part of the Country that can with any Propriety be said to be under their Jurisdiction. The great River of *St. Lawrence*,

rence, which at its Mouth is about sixty Miles big, and runs through the Middle of this Country, but the Source of it is still unknown, though some of the *French* Buccaneers affirm, that they have gone eight hundred Leagues up it; but then they take it for granted, that it passes through five or six great Lakes, which are those of *Frontinac*, *Errie*, the Lake of the *Hurons*, the *Upper Lake*, the Lake of *Leuempigon*, and that of the *Affinipouals*; beyond which the *Indians* tell them there is another Lake still greater than any of these, out of which this River originally comes.

But the Truth however seems to be, that the River of *St. Laurence* flows from the Lake of *Frontinac*, and from thence runs a Course of two hundred Leagues, to the Sea. At the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence* lies the Island of *Anticosty*, which some say was formed, but all agree, was very much enlarged by an Earthquake; the *French* have a very small Settlement upon this Island, for the sake of trading with the *Indian* Nations on both Sides, for Seal-skins and Furs; in exchange for which they give them Fire-arms and Ammunition. The Town or City of *Quebec* lies upon the great River of *St. Laurence*, at the Distance of about a hundred and ten Leagues from the Sea. The Foundation of it was laid, as we said before, in the Year 1608; and that which is now called the *Lower Town*, was formerly the Bed of the River, which has since sunk so far below this Place. It must be allowed to be both a large Town and a strong one, for besides a Fortrefs or kind of Citadel, in which the Governor resides, the whole Extent of the Place is covered by a regular Fortification, with several Redoubts well furnished with Artillery; there is a Cathedral, and episcopal Palace, which are very stately Buildings; the *Jesuits* have a fine College here, and there are several other religious Houses; but after all, if we consider that this is not only the Capital, but almost the only Town in *New France*, it is no great Affair, since according to the last Account which the *French* themselves have published of it, there are not in it above seven thousand Inhabitants, and none of these are said to be very rich.

From *Quebec*, which lies in the Latitude of 47 Degrees 56 Minutes, to *Montreal*, which is in the Latitude of 44 Degrees 30 Minutes, the Banks of the River are pretty well settled; but without either Towns or Villages; and the *French* distinguish this Part of the Country by the Name of the Coasts. Some of their Writers, indeed, making use of that Licence which is allowed to Travellers, speak of two Villages between *Quebec* and the Island of *Montreal*, each of fifty Leagues in Extent, by which they mean, that both Sides of the River are so thoroughly planted, that the whole on each Bank may be considered as a Village. The Town of *Montreal* is strong by Situation, but is only surrounded with a Pallisado, and is looked upon to have about a third as many Inhabitants as *Quebec*. The Savages come down hither in Boats, and sell their Skins; for the sake of which Trade the Place was built; but this Commerce is not now any thing comparable to what it was.

The Manner in which this is carried on is singular enough to deserve Notice: When the Savages who are in Amity with the *French* come thither to trade, their Chief, first of all, demands Audience of the Governor-General, and if he is not there, of the Governor of *Montreal*, to which he is with great Ceremony admitted. This Audience is generally given in the great Square or Court, in the Middle of the Town; where a Chair of State is placed for the Governor, and the several *Indian* Nations, each by itself, take their Places round him, with their Pipes in their Mouths: After a due Silence kept, the oldest Chief of the *Indians* lays down his Pipe, then stands up and addresses himself to the Governor, to this Purpose: "He tells him, that his Brethren are come to visit him, and to renew their ancient League and Friendship with his Nation: He adds, that having nothing in View but the Ease and the Advantage of the *French*, they have brought down with them good Quantities of Skins and Furs, being sensible that the *French* could not obtain so many, or so good, if they did not bring them down to their Settlements; that

"they are sensible how much these Things are valued and esteemed in *France*, and know, that what they are to take in Exchange are but paltry Things, and of little Value; but however, that their good Friends, the *French*, may not be without Furs, they are content to deal with them; and therefore hope, that in order to enable them to bring a greater Plenty of their Goods the next Year, as well as to put them into a Condition to fall upon the *Iroquois*, in case they should attack or disturb their good Friends, they will let them have Guns, Powder, and Ball, upon reasonable Terms." At the Close of his Speech he lays a String of Beads, and a Packet of Skins, at the Governor's Feet, and desires "that he will secure them a free and fair Trade, and protect them from Thieves." Then retires to his Place, and takes up his Pipe again. The Governor speaks next, assures them of his Protection, and makes them a Present in return. The next Day the Trade begins, and is soon over; by which the *French* gain very considerably; but they are not allowed to sell either Wine and Brandy to the Savages, because they are extremely apt to drink to Excess, and are then furious and mad, and at such times, if they do any Mischief to one another, or to the *French*, they can scarce be brought to give any Satisfaction; for they affirm, it was the Liquor, and not the Man that did the Mischief; and that it is unjust to punish a Person for what he does when he is out of his Senses.

Chambli was formerly as great a Place of Trade as *Montreal*, and there was a pretty good Town there, but now the *French* have only a Port, to hinder the Natives, and their own People, from trading with the *English*. They have, besides, three other Towns, none of them of any great Size, at the three Rivers, at a Place called *Tadoussac*, and at *Richlieu*; and yet, according to their Computation, there are two hundred thousand Souls in *Canada*, but perhaps this is pretty largely reckoned; but their regular Troops and Militia, which are able Men and well disciplined, amount to eight or ten thousand, and this renders them formidable to their Neighbours, both of the *English* Colonies, and *Indians*. They sometimes talk of drawing Lines, and extending a Chain of Fortifications from their advanced Settlements to the River *Mississippi*; but whoever considers the Extent of that Country, and compares it with their Force even as stated by themselves, will plainly see that this is impossible and impracticable, or rather, to place it in its true Light, absurd and ridiculous. But this, however, is no Reason that we should grow careless or negligent; for there is no doubt they will extend themselves as fast as they can, and therefore it is our Business to interrupt their Designs as much as it lies in our Power.

7. Though this Country of *Canada* is situated in the midst of the North temperate Zone, yet the Air of it is excessively sharp, so that their Winter, which sets in about the Middle of *November*, and lasts to the Middle of *May*, is excessively severe. It is not very difficult to assign the Causes of this Cold, which seems so little consistent with the Climate; for we ought to consider, in the first Place, that the Winds which blow from *Hudson's Bay*, and from the Ocean, that is, from at least half the Points of the Compass, pass over vast Tracts of Snow and Ice, and are consequently loaded with prodigious Quantities of nitrous Particles, which is one great Cause of their rigorous Seasons. Secondly, there are vast Forests in this Country, of which, but a very small Part is cultivated, and this is another great Cause of Cold; because, as Experience shews us, in all northern Countries, where the Lands are well broken and tilled, the Climate becomes milder, by the sulphurous Exhalations from the Earth, which are totally bound up in barren Soils, by the Influence of the Cold. I restrain this to the northern Countries, because Experience has also shewn in the *West Indies*, that the cutting down of the Wood alters the Seasons, and where it is done without Judgment, has a very bad Effect, which is owing to the different Degree of Heat. A third cause of Cold is, the too great Quantity of Water; the Exhalations from those vast Lakes and Rivers, which are found in this Country, occasion Fogs,

Fogs, Mists, and Rains, which are extremely prejudicial. But notwithstanding these Inconveniencies, the *French* boast very much of the Fertility of this Country, and, indeed, where it is cultivated, it yields *Indian*, and other Sorts of Corn, Peas, Beans, and, in short, all kinds of Herbs and Vegetables in great Plenty.

As for Trees and Fruits, they are much the same here as in *New England*, and the like may be said of Animals; so that with a reasonable Degree of Labour, there is no Doubt that People may subsist there tolerably well; and as they are not burdened with Taxes, and as the Gentry are allowed great Privileges in their Estates, the People of *Canada* live, as the *French* Authors themselves express it, very much at their Ease, and exercise a generous kind of Hospitality, which is very laudable, and makes them some amends for living, as it were, out of the World; as to the Produce of this Colony, it consists of Furs, especially Castors, which they purchase from the *Indians*; in several kind of Hides or Skins, which they likewise purchase from the Natives; in Fisheries, which, however, are of no great Consequence; in some Sorts of Drugs, and in what we call Lumber, that is, Planks, Pipe-staves, and other things of that Nature. The greatest Part of the Commerce of the Country is carried on in light Canoes, made of Bark, proper for the navigating their Lakes and Rivers, incumbered with Water-falls, which render them unfit for other kind of Vessels; so that whatever Improvements are made here, no Increase of Shipping or Seamen can possibly be expected from them. In Winter they make use of a kind of Sledges, which are drawn either by Horses, or by Dogs, and are very proper for passing over vast Tracts of Snow and Ice, and enable them to continue their Commerce with the *Indians* all the Winter, which, however, the *French* tell us is attended with one great Inconveniency.

The Persons who carry on this Trade must have Licences granted by the Governors, which are confined to a certain Number every Year; and though this brings them in large Sums, yet by hindering the Resort of *Indians* to their Fairs in the Summer, when every Man is at Liberty to make the most of his Goods, this Practice turns to the Prejudice of the Colony in general. The *Normans* were the first who ingrossed the Trade of *Canada*, and for many Years there were no Ships seen in the River of *St. Laurence*, but from *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, and *Havre du Grace*. The Trade then fell into the Hands of the Inhabitants of *St. Malo's* and *Nantes*, and last of all it is become, in a great Measure, the Property of the People of *Rockelle*, except that some Ships are sent from *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*, which are freighted with Wines, Brandies, Tobacco, and all Sorts of Iron and Steel Wares.

There are two Seasons in which Ships sail from *France* to this Country, viz. towards the End of *April*, or the Beginning of *May*, and at the Close of *August*, or Beginning of *September*; the Reason of which is, that they may arrive as the Ice is just broke, or a little before it is formed, for with respect to the rest of the Year, there is no going thither. The Vessels employed in this Trade export all their Goods from *France* Custom-free, neither are they liable to any Duties in *Canada*, except for Brazil Tobacco; upon which there is five Pence a Pound, or about twenty Shillings Sterling per hundred Weight; the Cargo of these Vessels is pretty much the same with what is sent to the *French* Islands, and as we shall speak of them hereafter, there is no need of mentioning them here; but it is proper to observe, that Tobacco, Sugar, and some other *West Indian* Commodities, make a Part of those Cargoes, the Soil and Climate of *Canada* not allowing its Inhabitants to raise any of these Commodities for their own Use; and we must likewise remark, that for the same Reason there is a Difference in the Woollen Goods exported thither, coarse Cloths being sent to *Canada*, and thin and light Stuffs to the Islands; the Profits upon these Goods are very large, seldom less than fifty per Cent. and those that go off best are of least Use, such as Ribbands, Laces, Snuff-Boxes, Watches, Rings, Necklaces, and such kind of things, of which there

are never too many, though they are commonly sold for four times their Worth, all Charges included.

As soon as the Vessels arrive at *Quebec*, the Merchants there send away the greatest Part of their Cargoes that are fit for the *Indian* Trade to *Montreal*, and the three Rivers, where they have Factors; but the finest Goods, more especially those before-mentioned, remain at *Quebec*, and are sold amongst the *French* themselves; all these different Sorts of Merchandize are paid for in Money, in Bills of Exchange upon the Merchants of *Rockelle*, in Furs, or in Lumber.

It must, however, be observed, that it is seldom or never these Ships return full laden into *France*, because the Colony does not produce what is sufficient for that Purpose; and therefore, that their Voyages may turn to Account, they generally run down to *Cape Breton*, and there take on board a large Quantity of Coal for the *French* Sugar Islands, where they are sure to complete their Cargoes with Ease. We may gather from all this, that whatever our own, or the *French*, Writers may say upon this Head, the Advantages received from *Canada*, by the *French*, are very far from being so great as most People imagine. If ever there is any Money in the Colony, it comes thither from *France*, in virtue of the Establishment on the King's Account; this amounts to about one hundred thousand Crowns of their Money, which makes somewhat more than twelve thousand Pounds of ours, which is generally drawn off again by the Over-Balance of their Trade with *Old France*. This royal Establishment accounts, likewise, for the Bills of Exchange, but at the same Time it most evidently shews that this cannot be accounted a thriving Colony, when it cannot bear its own Expences, or even keep a Part of the Money that is sent thither to pay the King's Officers; for it appears by the best Accounts that can be had from thence, that the running Cash of *Canada* amounts but to a very inconsiderable Sum, and is sometimes reduced even so low as a thousand Crowns, and there is always three fourths of that at *Quebec*. The Calculations of the whole Trade of *Canada* are so various, that there is no reckoning upon any of them with tolerable Security; but I persuade myself that I rather exceed than fall short in my Computation, when I estimate the Amount of this Trade at eight hundred thousand Livres a Year, or at thirty-five or thirty-six thousand Pounds Sterling.

The Reader will easily see from hence, that the Calculations, with respect to the People in *Canada*, which we have taken from *French* Authors, are excessive, and that after all there cannot be above half the Number of Souls they speak of. The Danger, therefore, of our Colonies does not at all arise from the Trade carried on between *Old* and *New France*, but from the Number of Inhabitants in the latter; who, while they can subsist themselves there, will be always very dangerous and troublesome Neighbours, and therefore we need not wonder that the People of *New England* are so uneasy about them; but could we once people *Nova Scotia*, and secure the Possession of the Island of *Cape Breton*, I must confess that, in my Opinion, our Fears would be soon over, since the Trade between *Old* and *New France*, in the Space of a few Years, would be lessened half in half, and perhaps in a few Years more would decline to little or nothing.

8. While the *French* were in possession of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, they raised that Colony to a much greater Degree of Perfection, than they are ever like to do *Canada*; and, indeed, a great Part of the Trade of the latter was owing to the former, and to the Settlement of *Cape Breton*; the Loss that the *French* have suffered by the Cessions made to us by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the true State of their Affairs in this Part of the World and ours, will best appear from the following Account taken from Father *Charlevoix*, who is, beyond Comparison, the most accurate Writer that I have ever met with upon this Subject; the Person who knew most, and has shewn the greatest Sincerity in speaking what he knew, and not over-valuing things, as is the Custom with most of the

the Writers of his Nation, and, indeed, of all other Nations, when speaking of their own Concerns.

By the Cession of *Acadia* and *Placentia*, says he, to the *English*, there remained to *France* no other Place to carry on the Fishery of Cod-Fish, or at least to dry their Fish in, but the Island of *Cape Breton*, which is now only known by the Name of *Isle Royal*; this Island is situated between 45 and 47 Degrees of North Latitude; and forms with the Island of *Newfoundland* (from which it is distant but about fifteen Leagues) the Entrance of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*; the Streight which separates *Cape Breton* from *Acadia*, is about five common Leagues of *France* in Length, and about one in Breadth, it is called the Passage of *Fronsfac*. The Length of the Island, from North-east to South-west, is not quite fifty Leagues; its Figure is irregular, and it is in such a Manner cut through by Lakes and Rivers, that the two principal Parts of it hold together only by an Isthmus of about eight hundred Paces in Breadth, which Neck of Land separates the Bottom of *Port Toulouse* from several Lakes, which are called *Labrador*. The Lakes empty themselves into the Sea to the East, by two Channels of unequal Breadth, which are formed by the Islands *Verderronne*, and *la Boularderie*, which is from seven to eight Leagues long. The Climate of this Island is pretty much the same with that of *Quebec*, and although Mists and Fogs are more frequent here, yet no one complains that the Air is unwholesome. All the Lands here are not good, nevertheless they produce Trees of all Sorts. There are Oaks of a prodigious Size, Pines for Masts, and all Sorts of Timber fit for Carpenters Work; the most common Sorts, besides the Oak, are the Cedar, Ash, Maple, Plane Tree, and Aspin; Fruits, particularly Apples, Pulse, Herbs, and Roots; Wheat, and all other Grain necessary for Sustenance; Hemp and Flax abound here less, but are every whit as good as in *Canada*.

It has been observed, that the Mountains may be cultivated up to the Tops, that the good Soil inclines always towards the South, and that it is covered from the North and North-west Winds by the Mountains which border upon the River *St. Laurence*. All the domestic Animals, such as Horses, Horned-cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, and Poultry, pick up a good Living here. What is got by Hunting, Shooting, and Fishing, is able to maintain the Inhabitants a good Part of the Year. This Island abounds in Coal-pits, which are in the Mountains, consequently the Trouble and Expence of digging deep, and making Drains to carry off the Water, are generally saved; here is likewise Plaster in great Abundance; 'tis said that there is no Part of the World where more Cod-fish is caught, nor where there is so good Conveniency for drying it; formerly this Island was full of Deer, they are now very scarce, particularly Elks; Partridges are here almost as large as Pheasants, and in their Feathers not unlike them: In a Word, the Fishery of Sea-Pike, Porpoises, &c. is in great Abundance here, and carried on with great Ease.

All its Ports open to the East, turning a little to the South, and within the Space of fifty-five Leagues, beginning at *Port Dauphin*, and continuing to *Port Toulouse*, which is almost at the Entrance of the Passage of *Fronsfac*. In all other Ports of the Island it is difficult to find Anchorage for small Vessels, in small Creeks, or amongst the Islands. All the Northern Coasts are very high, and almost inaccessible; and it is very difficult to land on the Western Coast, till you come to the Passage of *Fronsfac*, out of which you are no sooner got, but you meet with the *Port Toulouse*, known formerly by the Name of *St. Peter*. This Port is strictly between a kind of Gulph (which is called *Little St. Peters*) and the Island *St. Peter* over against the Islands *Madame*, or *Maurepas*. From thence ascending towards the South-east, you find the Bay of *Gaborie*, of which the Entrance (which is near twenty Leagues Distance from *St. Peter's* Island) is a League broad, between Islands and Rocks. It is not very safe to come near these Islands, some of which advance a League and a half into the Sea. This Bay is two Leagues deep, and the Anchorage very good.

The Harbour of *Louisbourg*, formerly called the *En-*

glish Harbour, is not above a League from the above Bay, and is, perhaps, one of the finest in *America*; it is near four Leagues in Circumference, and every where there are six or seven Fathom Water; the Anchorage is very good, and you may, without Danger, run a Ship a-ground upon the Mud. The Entrance is not above two hundred Fathoms wide, and lies between two small Islands: It is discovered at the Distance of twelve Leagues at Sea, by the Cape of *Lorembec*, which is but at a small Distance from it, to the North-east. Two Leagues farther up is the *Port de la Baleine*, the Entrance of which is very difficult, occasioned by many Rocks which the Sea covers when it runs high; no Ships of greater Burden than three hundred Tons can go into it, but they are quite safe there when they are got in. From thence, in less than the Distance of two Leagues, you come to the Bay of *Penadou*, or *Medanou*, the Entrance of which is about a League broad, and the Bay itself is about two Leagues deep. Almost over against this Bay, is the Island *Scatari* (formerly called *Little Cape Breton*) which is above two Leagues long; the Bay of *Mire* is separated from it by a very narrow Neck of Land; the Entrance of this Bay is likewise near two Leagues wide, and it is, at least, eight Leagues deep: It grows narrower the further you go into it; however, large Ships may go into it about six Leagues, and find there good Anchorage under Cover of the Hills.

Besides the Island of *Scatari*, there are many other small ones, and Rocks, which the Sea never covers, but may be discovered a great Way off. The largest of the Rocks is called the *Forillon*; the Bay of *Morienne* is higher up, separated from the Bay of *Mire*, by the *Cape Brule*; and a little higher is *l'Isle Plate*, or *l'Isle a Pierre de Fusil*, directly in the Longitude of 46 Degrees 8 Minutes. There is, between all these Islands and Rocks, very good Shelter, and you may go amongst them, and near them, without Fear or Danger. From hence proceeding for about three Leagues to the North-west, you find a very good Harbour, which is called *l'Indiane*, but is fit only for small Vessels; from thence to the Bay *des Espagnols* there are two Leagues. This Bay is a very fine Harbour; its Entrance is but about one thousand Paces wide, but it grows wider, and at the Height of a League divides itself into two Branches, which may be sailed up for two Leagues; both these Branches are excellent Ports, which might be made better at a very small Expence. From this Bay, to the lesser Entrance of *Labrador*, is a Gulph about twenty Leagues long, and is above three or four wide in its greatest Breadth. It is counted a League and a half from the large Entrance of *Labrador* to *Port Dauphin*, or *St. Anne*, and you may come to an Anchor almost any where amongst the Islands of *Cibou*; a Neck of Land almost entirely covers the Port, and leaves Room for no more than for one Ship at a Time to go in. The *Port Dauphin* is about two Leagues in Circumference, and Ships hardly feel the Wind there, by reason of the Height of the Mountains which surround it. They may come as near the Shore as they please. All the Harbours and Ports being so near each other, it would be very easy to make Roads by Land from one to the other; and nothing could be more advantageous to the Inhabitants, than these Communications, which would save them the Trouble in the Winter Season of going so far about by Sea.

This is the Description given of this Island in general, by the above-mentioned Jesuit, who has been a long time there, pretends to be very exact in his Enquiries, and published his History a very little while before this important Island was conquered by the *English* Nation: He afterwards proceeds to describe more particularly some of the above Ports, such as that of *Louisburgh*, and that of *St. Anne* or *Port Dauphin*.

After the Cession of *Placentia* and *Acadia* to the Crown of *England*, it is certain, the *French* had no other Place where they could dry their Fish, or even fish in Safety, but the Island of *Cape Breton*; they were therefore drove by Necessity to settle an Establishment there, and to fortify it. They began by changing its Name, and called it the *Royal*;

Royal; they next debated upon the Choice of a proper Place to settle the general Quarters in, and they were for a long time divided between *Louisburgh* and *Port Dauphin*. It has been already said, that the former is one of the finest Harbours in all *America*, that it has near four Leagues in Circumference, that there is Anchorage that is good, and that one may run a Ship a-ground in the Mud, without Danger. Its Entrance is not two hundred Fathoms wide between two little Islands, which may easily defend it, by having Batteries erected on them.

The Cod-fishing is there very abundant, and one may fish from the Beginning of the Month of *April* to the End of *December*; but then it was said, that the Land about this Port is barren, and that it would cost immense Sums to fortify it, because all the Materials must be brought a great way; besides which it had it seems been remarked that there was no sandy Bottom in this Harbour for more than about forty fishing Vessels. It has likewise been observed, that the Port *St. Anne*, or *Dauphin*, has a sure and safe Road for Ships at its Entrance, amongst the Islands of *Cibou*; and that a Neck of Land, almost entirely shuts up the Port, leaving a Passage for no more than one Vessel at a time.

This Port, thus shut up, has near two Leagues Circumference, in an oval Form; Ships may here lie just as they please; for the Land, and the Mountains that surround it, keep off the Winds in such a manner that they are hardly felt. They who were for opening this Port for the chief Settlement alledged, that it might be rendered impregnable at an easy Rate; that more might be done here for two thousand Livres, than at *Louisburgh* for two hundred thousand; because every thing necessary for building a large City, and fortifying it, was at Hand. It is further certain, that this sandy Bottom is as extensive here as at *Placentia*; that the Fishing is very good; that there is a great Quantity of excellent Timber about this Place, such as Maple, Beech, and Wild Cherry-tree, but above all, Oaks of above thirty Feet high, fit for Building, &c. It is likewise true, that Marble is here very common; that the Lands are generally good; that about the great and smaller Entrances of *Labrador*, which are about the Distance of a League and an Half, its Soil is very good. In a Word, this Port is but four Leagues from the Bay of *Espaniola*, which is likewise a very good Harbour, where the Lands are excellent, and covered with Woods, fit for almost all Uses: It is true that here is no fishing in small Boats, on Account of the westerly Winds which generally blow here, but one may fish here, as in *New England*, in large ones; the only Inconveniency in *Port St. Anne* is, that the Entrance is difficult, and this Inconveniency alone determined the Controversy in favour of *Louisburgh*, where, says he, neither Pains nor Expence have been spared to render it both convenient and impregnable. With respect to the former, this Author was right; but in regard to the latter, Experience shews us that he was absolutely in the wrong.

The *French* reaped many great Advantages from their Possession of this Island, and promised themselves many more; which might, however, be all reduced to these three Points: First, That this Island might be planted to great Advantage, as containing in itself Commodities of considerable Value; such as Cod-fish, Oil, Coals, Plaister, Timber, and other Things. Secondly, it was capable of being made a Magazine, or Staple, between *Old* and *New France*, and of becoming thereby of very great Advantage to both. And lastly, a Fishery might be erected there, or rather several Fisheries, from whence vast Benefits might be derived. It was with a View to the Execution of all these Projects, that so great Care was taken of this Island, such mighty Fortifications erected at a very large Expence, and such Encouragement given to those who would settle there. And as their Plan was well laid, I think there is very good Reason to believe that the *French* were actually great Gainers with respect to every one of the three Heads before laid down, but more especially with regard to the last, though I am also of Opinion, that the Calculations that have been made of their Profits by their Fishery, the Numbers of their Ships, and Seamen employed therein, very much

exceed the Truth; but at the same time I readily admit, that in the Space of a few Years, those Calculations would have been made good.

The Inferences I would draw from all that has been said on this Subject, are three, which I esteem of very great Consequence, as being perfectly satisfied in regard to the Truth of every one of them: The first is, that *Canada* considered independently, and by itself, never was, or ever can be, of any great Consequence to the *French*, either as to its Product, its Commerce, or the Number of Shipping and Seamen that are, or can be, employed thereby. My next is, that *Nova Scotia* and *Cape Breton*, which I esteem but one, the latter being but Part of the former, and belonging to us of Right as much as any of our Colonies, were of far greater Use and Benefit to *France*, than *Canada*, and the Possession of them all that could possibly have rendered *Canada* itself of any Use or Importance, and were, therefore, very dangerous to us, and what we could never suffer to remain in *French* Hands, without being wanting to ourselves, and sacrificing, at once, our Honour and our Interest. Our Honour, as these Places were indisputably Part of our *American* Dominions; our Interest, as they were the only Countries by the Possession of which the *French* might be able to increase their naval Power, and become troublesome to us in that Part of the World. The third Observation I have to make is, That as Providence has put in our Power to remove these Inconveniencies, and to rid ourselves of these Dangers, it would be inexcusable in us not to take the utmost Care to improve the Advantages gained in this War, or to neglect securing them, when a general Peace shall be made; because by this means we may be entirely safe, and *France* can have no right to expect we should restore what we always claimed as our own, and what she kept only by deceiving or deluding our Ministers, at the making the last general Peace at *Utrecht*. A thing so notorious to this Nation, that there is no great Reason to fear any other Ministry will ever be guilty of the like Mistake, with which Remarks I shall close this Part of my Subject.

9. We have already observed, in the Account we gave of the Island of *St. Christophers*, that the *English* and *French* took Possession of that Island the same Day, and from thence we are to date the Power of the *French* in the *West Indies*. The Reader must remember, that the *Leeward Islands* were originally discovered by the great *Columbus*; but after the *Spaniards* had settled themselves in *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Porto Rico*, and other great Islands, they neglected the rest; and it was the Knowledge that the *English* and *French* had of this that induced them to think of settling these lesser Islands. It was in the Year 1625, that Sir *Thomas Warner*, on our Part, and Mr. *Desnambue*, for the *French*, took Possession of this Island; but, in the Space of two Years, both the *English* and the *French*, who agreed very well together, were attacked and driven out of the Island by the *Spaniards*, and this was more fatal to the *French* than to us; for our Colony, after a short Time, returned; the *French* being once separated, scattered themselves through all the adjacent Islands, and began to apply themselves to the very worst Sort of Methods, in order to get a Living; and from this Accident, as the *French* Writers with great Probability affirm, sprung up two Sorts of People, that proved afterwards the Curse and Plague of the *West Indies*. We generally speak of them under one Name; but the *French* Writers seem to have distinguished them rightly enough into *Boucaniers*, or, as we write it, *Buccaneers*, and *Flibustiers*, whom we call *Freebooters*. The first of these were a kind of Huntsmen, and consisted of such of these People as settled on the North-side of the Island of *Hispaniola*, where, by killing wild Cattle of all sorts, they obtained an indifferent Livelihood; but some of these People growing weary of the Hardships to which they were exposed, applied themselves to the *Dutch*, to whom they sold their Skins, to furnish them with Vessels to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, which they very readily did, and those Vessels being originally Flyboats, the Privateers who made Use of them received their *French* Name from those Vessels; whereas we affirm from the Trade they

they carry on of robbing and spoiling all they meet with, they had the Name of *Freebooters*, which, as I apprehend, means pretty much the same thing with *Pirates*.

But Mr. *Desnambuc*, who was a Gentleman of a very good Family, was very far from being guilty of any thing of this sort; but with those that remained faithful to him returned to *St. Christopher's*, fortified himself there, and laid the Foundations of a good Colony, for the Support of which there was a Company already formed in *France*. He saw with extreme Regret, that Sir *Thomas Warner* had got the Start of him; that the *English* Colony was in a much better Condition than his own, and that they had already made themselves Masters of several of the adjacent Islands. He resolved therefore, and indeed he had no other Choice to make, to send over some of the principal Persons in his Colony to *France*, that they might secure Supplies, and chiefly with a View of settling the Island of *Guadaloupe*. Amongst the Persons he sent over there was one Mr. *Olive*, a bold enterprising Man, and one who had nothing in View but his own Interest. He had it seems some Notice of the *French* Governor's Design, in which he resolved to supplant him; and having entered for that Purpose into a Treaty with one Mr. *du Plessis*, and some other Merchants of *Dieppe*, who formed a Company for the Support of this Scheme; these two were sent over Governors, with joint Authority to the Island of *Guadaloupe*, where they arrived on the 8th of *June* 1635, with about five hundred Men. It so fell out that in the very Beginning of their Enterprize they committed two Mistakes; the first was, they settled on the wrong Side the Island, where the Soil was very bad; the second, that they fell out with the Natives before their Colony was in a Condition to subsist. The bad Consequences that actually attended these Errors, and the Foresight he had of what must certainly follow, soon broke the Heart of Mr. *du Plessis*. As for Mr. *Olive*, who was now sole Governor, his Haughtiness and Pride had certainly brought the Colony to Ruin, if he had not fallen blind. Upon which the Company sent over one Mr. *Aubert*, a very discreet and prudent Gentleman, who, in a few Years time, put the Affairs of this Colony into Order, and established it so effectually, that the Inhabitants have subsisted very happily ever since. But though Mr. *Desnambuc* had the Misfortune to see this Country thus taken out of his Hands; yet he had the Pleasure before his Death to settle the Island of *Martinico*, of which, by that Means, he became Proprietor, and by his Last Will and Testament left it to his Family.

At this time Cardinal *Richlieu* came to the Head of the *French* Councils; and having received an Account of the Advantages that were like to arise from the settling of these Islands, he thought proper to send over a Person of Distinction, to take the Direction of the whole Island, and accordingly made choice of Mr. *de Poincy*, a Knight of *Malta*, whom he sent over thither, with the Title of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Islands in *America*: He embarked at *Dieppe* on the 15th of *January*, 1639, and after a very short Passage arrived at *Martinico*, from whence he went to *Guadaloupe*, and afterwards to *St. Christopher's*. He was a Man of very great Parts, had read much, and was well acquainted with the World; and with all this he had the Qualities that rendered him the fittest Man in the World for his Office: He was very severe in the Execution of his Authority against those who were for making hasty Estates, at the Expence of the Public: He was extremely kind and good to the industrious Part of the Inhabitants who were willing to discharge their Duty, and let their private Fortunes depend upon the flourishing State of the Colonies: He had a true Notion of Religion, caused Churches to be built in all the Islands, took care that the Priests were well maintained; but would have no Monasteries or Monks: He established also an excellent Form of Justice, granted Commissions to Privateers, and hanged up Pirates with very little Ceremony. His Concern for the Public Good was so apparent, that without any Assistance from the *French* Government he was in a manner absolute, and his Orders were obeyed with the utmost Alacrity, because the People were sensible that he had nothing in View but

their Interest. In short, he changed the whole Face of Things in that Part of the World, settled desert Islands, and though he made many hundreds of People rich and happy, contented himself with the Pleasure of doing it, without making any Fortune of his own.

But after the Death of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the Disturbances that followed in *France*, the Colonies sunk, by the ill Management of the Company; and then the Chevalier *de Poincy*, in the Year 1651 purchased the Islands of *St. Christopher*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Martin*, and of the *Holy Cross*, for the Order of *Malta*. In the like Manner other Islands were disposed of by the *French* Company, to such as would give any thing for them; which, as may be easily conceived, was of very bad Consequence; and brought the Affairs of the *French*, in that Part of the World, into a very strange Situation. The *Dutch*, always attentive to their own Interest, taking notice of the Condition things were in, established Magazines at *Flushing* and *Middleburgh*, for *West India* Commodities; and employed, in the Trade of the *French* Islands, upwards of one hundred Ships every Year. This continued till about the Year 1664, when a new Company was set up in *France*, which, with the Assistance of the Government, purchased back from the Island of *Malta*, and from the other Proprietors, the Rights that they had acquired, put an End to the *Dutch* Trade, and brought the Commerce of the Colonies once more into a right Channel, which was what the Government had chiefly at Heart; for when after ten Years Possession of their Grant, they began to increase their own Profit, by Methods prejudicial to the People, the Ministry thought fit to interpose again; and as they had made use of the Company to deliver the Inhabitants from the Oppression of Foreigners; so when once it was discovered, that they meant to become Oppressors themselves, that was put out of their Power, and every thing so settled, that such as were diligent and industrious might be secure of reaping the Fruits of their own Labours, and the Profits of the Trade in general be secured to the *French* Nation. These new Regulations took Place about the Year 1680; since which, the *French* Islands have been in a very flourishing Condition, and are, at this Day, of very high Consequence to the Crown of *France*, as they contribute greatly to the promoting Manufactures at home, and are the Source of a very extensive and profitable Commerce abroad.

10. This general View of the Manner in which these Islands were first settled and secured to *France* being given, we shall next proceed to a very short Account of the Islands themselves, as they lie from South to North; and then we shall give a more particular Detail of their Commodities, which will shew the general Value and Importance of these Settlements, and rectify some Mistakes that have been made about them; a thing as useful and necessary to us, as to the *French* themselves.

To begin then with *Granada*; it is situated in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about thirty Leagues South-west of *Barbadoes*, and about the same Distance North of *Caribiana*, or *New Andalusia*; this Island is twenty-five Leagues in Circumference, and has several good Bays and Harbours, some of which are fortified. It is esteemed a fruitful Soil, and well watered; producing Sugar, and such other Plants as are found in the rest of the *Caribbee* Islands; there are abundance of very small Islands that lie at the North End of *Granada*, which are called the *Granadillas*.

Martinico is situated between 14 and 15 Degrees of North Latitude, and in 61 Degrees of Western Longitude, lying about forty Leagues North-west of *Barbadoes*. It is twenty Leagues in Length, but of an unequal Breadth; the inland Part of it hilly, and, at a Distance, appears like three distinct Mountains, being exceedingly well watered by numerous Rivulets, which fall from the Hills; and there are several commodious Bays and Harbours on the Coast, some of them so well fortified, that they bid defiance to the *English*, when they made a Descent there, with several thousand Men in the last War. They were forced to return to the Ships

after they had burnt and plundered some Plantations in the open Country. The Produce of this Island is the same with that of *Barbadoes*, viz. Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Piemento, &c. and as it is much larger, it has many more Inhabitants, and produces greater Quantities of Sugar than *Barbadoes*. This Island was replenished with *Indians*, when the *French* first attempted to settle here, anno 1635, and many Battles were fought between them and the Natives, with various Success. But the *French*, at last, overpowered and extirpated the ancient Inhabitants, and it is now the Chief of all the *French Caribbean Islands*, and the Seat of their Governor-General.

Marigalante is situated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, a little to the South-west of *Guardaloupe*, and is about five Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth: It was discovered by *Columbus*, in his second Voyage to *America*, anno 1493, and named by him *Marigalante*, or the *Gallant Mary*, after the Name of his Ship. The *French* began to send Colonies thither about the Year 1647; and having expelled the Natives, after several Years Wars, the *French* remained in the peaceable Possession of this Island, the Produce of which is the same with the rest of the *Caribbees*.

Guardaloupe, so named by *Columbus*, from its Hills resembling those of that Name in *Spain*, is situated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, and 61 Degrees of Western Longitude, about thirty Leagues North of *Martinico*, and almost as much South of *Antigua*. It is said to be the largest of all the *Caribbee Islands*, being twenty-two Leagues in Length, and half as much in Breadth at each End; but almost cut in two by a deep Gulph or Bay on each Side, so that the Ends are joined together by a narrow Isthmus. This, like *Martinico*, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, &c. and is in a very flourishing Condition, and, agreeable to the Consequence it is of to the *French*, they have taken Care to fortify it with several regular Forts and Redoubts, which were in so good a Condition, when the *English* Admiral *Benbow* made a Descent here, with a considerable Body of Land Forces, anno 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them; but he destroyed a great many of their Plantations, and open Villages. The *French* began to send Colonies to this Island about the Year 1632, but knew so little what the Soil was good for then, that for many Years they were in Danger of starving; and afterwards the Planters, by their Divisions, almost ruined one another; so that this Island did not make any great Figure till the present Century; since the Beginning of which it has vastly increased, and makes more Sugar now than any of the *British Islands*, except *Jamaica*.

Desiada, or *Diserada*, the desirable Island, so called by *Columbus*, because it was the first Land he discovered in his second Voyage to *America*, anno 1493. It is situated about ten Leagues North-east of *Guardaloupe*, a little inconsiderable Island, not so fruitful as some others which belong to the *French*. *St. Bartholomew's* is a small Island, about ten Leagues North of *St. Christopher's*, taken by the *English*, under the Command of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, in the Year 1689, but restored to the *French* at the Peace of *Ryswick*. *St. Croix*, or *Santa Cruz*, another small Island, situate in 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, about twenty Leagues East of *St. Christopher's*, and has been contended for by the *English*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, and *French*; but it is now in the peaceable Possession of the *French West India* Company. *St. Martin's*, another Island of no great Consequence, belonging to the *French*, situate a little to the North-west of *St. Bartholomew's*.

The Island of *Martinico* is the chief of the *French* Settlements: The Governor-General, and Intendant, reside there; it is also the Seat of the sovereign Council, which has Jurisdiction, not only throughout the *Antilles*, but also over the *French* Settlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortugo*. The Number of People in this Island, by which we are obliged to compute the rest, are affirmed to be ten thousand Whites, and twenty thousand Negroes. It appears from hence, that the *French* are very numerous in these Islands, and though they have been

exposed to many and great Difficulties in raising and establishing these Plantations, yet they are now brought to a very fair and flourishing Condition, carry on a great Trade, and are daily improved. The principal Commodity they raise at present in these Islands, is Sugar, whereas formerly it was Tobacco. Mr. *de Poincy*, before-mentioned, was the first who taught them the Art of raising the Sugar-Cane, and curing the Juice of it. He was a Man of such extraordinary Genius, that he improved upon the Methods then in Use at *Brazil*, and the *Madeiras*; the Mills he caused to be erected, were stronger, neater, and better fitted for Use; and his Furnaces likewise were contrived to much greater Advantage; so that he not only introduced it, but carried the Art of Sugar-making to a very high Degree of Perfection. Besides Sugar, they raise also a great deal of Indigo, in which they did not so soon succeed as in Sugar; which, I find, the *French* Writers attribute to the intolerable Stench with which the making that Commodity is attended. But they were more happy in raising Cotton, which requires very little Pains or Labour.

They also cultivate Cacao to great Advantage, and draw considerable Profit from the Ginger, Cassia, and Piemento, which is what we call *Jamaica* Pepper, or Allspice, of which they export considerable Quantities. They likewise manufacture Rocou, for the Use of Dyers, and send home Variety of medicinal Gums, and wet Sweet-meats of several kinds. These Islands produce also several kinds of valuable Woods, which are used for dying, inlaying, and Cabinet-Work; such as Rose-wood, which, when wrought and polished, has a very beautiful Appearance, as well as a fine Smell. The *Indian* Wood is also of the same Nature, and the Iron Wood, so called from its being excessively hard, is esteemed preferable either to Cedar or Cypress; *Brazil*-Wood they have in great Quantities, and *Brazillito*, yellow Wood, or Fustick, and green Ebony, which is both used by the Cabinet-Makers and the Dyers. We may add to these Commodities, raw Hides, and Tortoiseshell, and then the Reader will have a tolerable Comprehension of all the Wealth and Riches of the *French West Indies*. But to execute our Design effectually, it is necessary we should give an Account of the Commerce of these Islands, which is what we shall endeavour to do in as few Words as possible, and in such a Method, as may take in the full Extent of their Trade, a thing that has not hitherto been attempted, at least in our Language.

II. In the first Place then, it is to be considered, that though these Islands produce so many rich and valuable Commodities, yet they stand in need of very large Supplies of various Kinds of Necessaries, without which they could not possibly subsist, such as Horses, and Cattle of all Kinds; Corn, Roots, dry Fish, and all sorts of Lumber, of which they receive considerable Quantities from *Canada*, and the rest from our Northern Colonies, in Exchange for Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, and other Goods, which are sent to *Canada*, and for Melasses or Molasses, to our Colonies, where it is distilled into Rum, of which Kind of Commerce we have spoken largely elsewhere, and therefore there is no need that we should dwell upon it here. The Inhabitants of this Island stand always in want of Negroes, with which they were formerly supplied by their own *African* and *Senegal* Companies, which, as we have already shewn, have been long ago united to the *French East-India* Company, by whom this Slave-Trade is now carried on with great Regularity, and much Profit. The Negroes are sent to *Martinico*, where they are purchased by the Inhabitants of the other Islands, at a settled Price of so many Hogsheads of Sugar a Head, as in the *Spanish* Ports they are bought for so many Pieces of Eight.

Before we speak of the direct Trade between those Islands and *France*, it will be proper to give a short Account of the Quantities of Sugar, that, according to the best Computations, are raised in them; because this being the Staple Commodity, it will enable us to form some sort of Notion of the whole Extent and Value of their Exports. In *Martinico* it is computed that they make, one Year with another, ten thousand Hogsheads of Sugar, each

each of about six hundred Weight; in *Guardaloupe*, about four thousand Hogsheads; and in the other Islands, about one thousand Hogsheads all together. The *French*, employ in this Trade annually between two and three hundred Ships, from the Burden of one hundred to three hundred Tons. The time in which they sail from *France* is between *September* and *February*, that they may avoid as much as possible the Hurricanes, and arrive in a fit Season for compleating their Cargoes.

The Vessels from *Rochelle* and *Bordeaux* are, generally speaking, laden with salt Beef and Pork, Flour, Brandy, all sorts of Wines of the Growth of that Part of *France*, and also *Madeira*, which they take in at that Island; dried Cod, pickled Herrings, Oil, Cheese, Butter, Tallow, Iron, Linen, and most sorts of Mercery Goods. The Ships from *Rouen* seldom carry Provisions, but are freighted with Woollen and Linen Goods, Silk, Ribbons, Shoes, Stockings of all Sorts, Hats, Tin, Copper, and Brass Ware, small Arms, and Sword Blades, Pewter, Pins, Needles, Paper, Pens, Cards, and an infinite Number of other Things of the same Kind. The Ships from *Marseilles* and *Toulon* are freighted with Oils, dried Fruit, Wines, and several Kinds of light Stuffs, that are manufactured in *Provence*. Thus we see what prodigious Advantages these Settlements bring to *France*, by encouraging Industry, employing a large Number of Ships, and consequently raising and maintaining many hundreds of Seamen. It is no Wonder therefore that the *French* Government pay so much Attention to this important Branch of their Traffic, and are so careful in taking every possible Method to encourage these Colonies, and to protect their Trade, which, however, suffered considerably in the two last Wars, and still more considerably at the Beginning of this.

As to the general Amount of their Trade, it is a very difficult thing to make so much as a probable Calculation, but if we may depend upon that of Mr. *Savary*, who was allowed to understand these Matters as well as any Man in *France*, the Goods exported from that Country rise to the Value of about four Millions of Livres, or two hundred thousand Pounds of our Money, annually; for which he computes they bring home very near double the Value in *West India* Commodities; and if we take in the other Branches of Trade before-mentioned, we may fairly compute the Profits of these Islands at half a Million Sterling, provided the Calculations before-mentioned are tolerably exact.

We may venture, before we quit this Subject, to make some few Remarks, for the Service of the *English* Reader: As for instance, That it appears clearly from this Account, we were very considerable Gainers, by securing to ourselves that Part of the Island of *St. Christopher*, which had been almost one hundred Years in the Possession of the *French*, and in their Part of which they raised more and better Sugars than in any of the Islands they now possess, *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe* excepted; and perhaps we should not carry the Matter too far, if we said, more Sugar than in all their Islands, exclusive of those before-mentioned. We may likewise observe of how great Consequence it would be to us to plant the other Islands to which we lay claim; as this would increase our Trade and our Strength in that Part of the World, at the same time; and contribute also, in the Time of a *French* War, to curb and annoy out Enemies. The *French* themselves, for Reasons that have been already assigned, do not seem very desirous of extending their Plantations, and therefore cannot offer any just Reasons why we should be debarred any longer from settling those Islands that belong to us, and which they do not desire to settle themselves. We may also consider it as a Thing very practicable in any *French* War, to reduce these Islands to the greatest Extremity, by the proper Distribution of our naval Force in the *West Indies*, which in Proportion to the Value of their Commerce, would distress the Merchants in *France* to the last Degree, and give our own Colonies vast Advantages in supplying those Markets which are at present supplied by the *French*; and there are some who are very good Judges of our Strength and theirs, who think these Islands might be entirely ruined by us in a few Years.

12. We reserved the Island of *St. Domingo* to be treated of separately, as being a distinct Government, and indeed a distinct Concern to the *French* from all their other Islands. When this Country was first discovered by *Columbus*, in 1492, it was called by the Inhabitants in their own Language *Ayty*; but their Followers gave it the Name of *Hispaniola*, or Little *Spain*; the Admiral himself intended to call it *Isabella*; but the City he founded in 1494 being dedicated to *St. Dominic*, the Name was first extended to that Quarter, and, in Length of Time, to the whole Island; so that it is now equally well known in *Europe* and the *West Indies*, by the Appellation of *St. Domingo*, and is generally so called in Charts: This Island is reckoned four hundred Leagues in Circumference; but if all the Creeks, Inlets, and Bays, be measured, it will be found six hundred at least; it is allowed to be the most fruitful, and by much the pleafantest, in the *West Indies*; the Forests are vast in Extent, and the Trees taller and larger, the Fruit more lovely to the Eye, and better tasted than in the other Islands; the Meadows or Savannahs, as they are called, are extremely large, and in a manner boundless, in which there are innumerable Herds of Black Cattle that belong to the Country, as also wild Horses, and wild Hogs, produced from the Stock of those Animals brought over by the *Spaniards*. There is scarce a Country in the World better watered, either by small Brooks or by navigable Rivers, all of which are full of Fish. Add to this, that there are many rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, which were formerly wrought with great Profit; but the *Spaniards* being now too weak to carry them on for their own Advantage, conceal them with all imaginable Care, to prevent any other Nation's driving them out, and reaping the Advantage of those Treasures which by their Indolence and ill Management are no longer in their Power.

The Reasons that induced that Nation to abandon so rich and valuable a Country, were chiefly these: First, the Severity of the Government; for the sovereign Council of the *Indies* being established at *St. Domingo*, kept the Inhabitants more within Bounds than in other Places. Secondly, the vast Riches gained by their Countrymen in *Mexico*, the Noise of which drew Numbers to forsake this Island, in Hopes of coming in for a Share of this Wealth that was to be had elsewhere. Thirdly, the great Demands for People to maintain and secure their Conquests on the Continent. Fourthly, the Destruction of the *Indians*, which put it out of the Power of the *Spaniards* to cultivate their Lands; for as yet, the Use of Negroes had not reached the *Spanish* Settlements; but was confined intirely to the *Portuguese* in *Brazil*. And, lastly, the Descents of the *English* and *French* on the western Part of the Island, which by Degrees obliged the *Spaniards* to abandon all the Country between *Mont-christo* and *Cape Mongon*.

This made Way for the Settlement of the *Buccaneers* in those Parts, but chiefly in the little Island of *Tortugo*, where they soon raised a kind of Settlement, which, however, the *Spaniards* destroyed in the Year 1638, with inexorable Cruelty; notwithstanding which the *Buccaneers* were not hindered from returning, and resettling in that Island, under the Command of Captain *Willes*, an *Englishman* of established Reputation, whose Courage and Conduct soon put them out of Fear of being disturbed by the *Spaniards*. It was not long however that they continued in this Situation, for *Monf. de Poincy*, whom we have so often mentioned, thought fit to secure this Island for the *French*; and with that View sent thither one Mr. *Vasseur*, with whom the *French* *Buccaneers* that were already in the Island joining, *Capt. Willes*, with the Forces under his Command, found himself under an absolute Necessity of abandoning the Place.

This put the *French* in Possession of it for that Time; but the *Spaniards* harrassed them for many Years, and drove them out of the Island more than once; however, being constantly supported from their Islands, and being joined from Time to Time by Adventurers of all Nations, they still kept up their Claim, and not only fixed themselves effectually upon this little Island, but began also to make Settlements upon the West End of *St. Domingo*; where, in twenty Years Time, they became so strong,

strong, that the *Spaniards* were glad to live upon good Terms with them. Yet they never considered them in any other Light, than as Usurpers, and Men whom Force maintained in a Country to which they had no manner of Right. The Way in which the *French* settled themselves was very singular, for they might well be divided, and, indeed, the *French* Historians have divided them into three very distinct Sorts of People.

First, The *Buccaneers*, or Hunters, who, for the Conveniency of killing black Cattle, and selling their Skins, fixed upon the Continent of *Hispaniola*, and built some Villages for their Retreat, and several Fortresses for their Security. *Flibustiers*, or *Privateers*, who were furnished by Commissions from the *French* Governor of *Petit Guaves*, to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, and who were mostly at Sea, sometimes in small Vessels, every Crew upon its own Account, and sometimes in large Squadrons, with fifteen hundred or two thousand Men on board them, but of all Nations, and who resorted from Time to Time into the *French* Ports, to careen their Ships, dispose of their Prizes, and to recruit. The third Sort of People were, Men of a more sober way of Living, who settled in the Country, laid out Plantations, in which they raised Tobacco, and other valuable Commodities, whom the *French* therefore stile *Inhabitants*. These three Sorts of People were very useful to each other; for the *Hunters* furnished Provisions and Hides in vast Quantities; the *Privateers* brought in Prizes of great Value, and spent their Money very freely; and by enriching increased the Number of *Inhabitants*, so that in a short Space of Time, the *French* extended their Settlements all along the South-west Coast of *St. Domingo*; and as for the Tortoise Island, so called from its being thought to resemble that Animal; it was very thoroughly planted, and the Tobacco they raised there was very good, and grew into great Esteem.

It is true, that in Time of Peace, both the *Spaniards* and the *English* complained loudly of the Conduct of the *French* Governors, under Colour of whose Commissions the *Privateers* committed great Disorders, took Ships of all Nations, and disturbed the whole Commerce of *America*. But the *French* did not give themselves much Pain upon this Head; on the contrary, though they sometimes gave good Words, and promised some Redress, yet they suffered the Governors to go on in the same Way, because they found that it drew numbers of People to their Settlements, and was like to secure them the Possession of the Western Part of *St. Domingo*. In 1664 they set up a particular Company for managing the Trade of these Parts, but that was soon found ineffectual; and therefore in about two Years Time they let it fall. It was not till the Year 1697 that they gained a legal Possession of this Country, by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, by which the *Spaniards* yielded to them one half of the Island; and the Boundaries between them and the *French* were settled, by a Line drawn cross the Country, from North to South; so that the *French* enjoy all the Western half of *St. Domingo*, which they have settled very effectually. In the Year 1726 the Number of People there was computed at thirty thousand Whites, and one hundred thousand Negroes, and Mulattoes. The principal Place they have on the North Side of the Island is *Cape Francoise*, which is very happily situated, and has a very good Port; the Town is large and well peopled, and is thought to contain four thousand white, and as many Negro, *Inhabitants*; on the West Side they have the Town and Port of *Leogane*, which is the Seat of the Government; and, besides these, they have several other good Ports and great Towns.

The principal Trade of *St. Domingo*, for many Years, consisted in Tobacco, in which it is said there have been from sixty to one hundred Ships employed; but upon the establishing an exclusive Farm of this Commodity in *France*, the Trade of *St. Domingo* for that Commodity began to decline, and is, at last, sunk to nothing. Instead of Tobacco, they fell to planting of Sugar, and though at first they met with some Difficulties, which was occasioned by the too great Fertility of the Soil, yet these were soon got over, and Sugar became, in a short

Space of Time, the staple Commodity of the Island; it is, in the Opinion of some, the very best Sugar made in the *West Indies*, and, generally speaking, yields three or four Shillings a hundred more, than the Sugar from any of their other Islands, which has occasioned a surprizing Progress in the Cultivation of this Commodity in *St. Domingo*, which, in 1726, stood thus: There were then two hundred Sugar Works in the Island, which, it was computed, yielded, one with another, four hundred Hogheads of Sugar, each Hoghead of about five hundred Weight. At this Time Sugar yielded, upon the Spot, from twelve to thirteen Livres per hundred Weight; so that from this Computation, it appears that the Sugar of this Island produced the *French*, annually, about two hundred thousand Pounds, and the Indigo is said to produce near half as much; they raise, likewise, Cacao, Ginger, and Cotton. Coffee grows there very well, and some are of Opinion, that Cinnamon, Clove, and Nutmeg Trees might be raised in this warm Climate; but the great Profit the *Inhabitants* make at present of their Sugar and Indigo, hinders them from running into any new Improvements; and as the *French* Ships that come hither return well laden with the Commodities before-mentioned, and raw Hides, it is very probable they will continue to go on in the Way they are in, till such Time as the Price of the Sugar falls considerably. The *French* are thoroughly persuaded that there are considerable Mines of several Sorts in their Part of the Island, but as one of their Writers expresses it, while the Sugar Mine, and the Indigo Mine, produce so much, and with such Certainty, they are never like to look for any other Mines.

Corn has been sown here, but is said to ripen at different Times, so that it cannot be reaped with any Profit; and though their Grapes are very fine, yet it is pretended they will neither make Wine, nor Raisins; but the Truth of the Matter seems to be, that the Government discourages raising either, and this from very just and reasonable Motives; for say they, if *France* takes off all the Sugar and Indigo, made by the *Inhabitants* of *St. Domingo*, it is but reasonable that the People of that Colony should take Corn and Wine from *France*; we may very well suppose, that from the same Motive they discourage Silk, of which the *Spaniards* made great Quantities, and very good. It is very apparent, from what has been said of this Island, and what might be said of it, that it is, beyond Comparison, the most considerable, and most important, Colony, that the *French* have; which is the Reason they are so desirous of obtaining the Cession of the other half from the *Spaniards*; which, some Time or other, it is more than probable they will obtain, unless the other Powers of *Europe* provide against it, by a special Clause in their Treaties with the House of *Bourbon*, which appears to me a Matter of the greatest Consequence.

For should the *French* once carry their Point, and become sole Masters of this Island, we may very reasonably believe, that in the Space of fifty or sixty Years, it would become the richest and most valuable Country in that Part of the World, especially if the *French* should abandon their other Islands, and transport their *Inhabitants* thither; and even in that Case, there would be no Danger of its being over-peopled, and its Fertility is such, that they would all find Room to exercise their Industry, and that Industry would be richly rewarded; besides, this would afford them many Advantages; for whereas their other Islands are subject to many Inconveniences, but more especially the Want of Provisions; these would be all remedied there, and it would afford them an Opportunity of encreasing their Strength to such a Degree, as would put it out of the Power of any of their Neighbours to give them much Disturbance; on the contrary, they would soon become formidable, both to us and to the *Spaniards*; which is an Evil, that as it has been foreseen in Time, it is hoped Care will be taken to prevent its ever coming to pass.

Before we quit this Subject, it is necessary to observe, that on the South Side of the *French* Part of *St. Domingo* there lies a little Island, called *Avache*, at the Distance of about

about twelve Leagues from the Continent; this Island is about nine Leagues in Compass, the Soil very good, and there are two or three tolerable Ports, one of which is capable of receiving Ships of three hundred Ton. This Island lies very convenient for carrying on a Trade with the *Spanish* Colonies on the Continent of *America*, and sooner or later the *French* will, in that respect, make it turn to good Account. It is also very commodious for maintaining an Intercourse with the only Settlement they have on the Coast of *South America*, I mean the Island of *Cayenne*, of which it is requisite that we should next give the Reader an History, and short Description; because that in Time, likewise, this may become a troublesome Settlement, though hitherto the *French* have not drawn from it any very considerable Advantages.

The Island of *Cayenne* has been a *French* Colony ever since the Year 1625; it lies close by the Continent of *Guiana*, and only cut off and made an Island by the Rivers *Ovia* on the East, and *Cayenne* on the West, from which last it takes its Name, as may be seen in the Map. The Town and Fort where the great Road is, at the Mouth of the River *Guiana*, are exactly in 4 Degrees 50 Minutes of North Latitude, and 332 Degrees of East Longitude from *Ferro*. It is reckoned about eighteen or twenty Leagues in Compass, standing high on the Coast, and looks, at a Distance, like Part of the Continent. The Length of the Island, from the River of *Ovia*, to the River *Cayenne*, is about seven Leagues, and the Breadth about three. The River *Cayenne* falls into the North Sea, on the West Side of it, dividing the Country of the *Caribbees*, from that of the *Galibis*. The Island forms three principal Capes or Promontories, being those of *Fort Lewis*, *Seperon*, and *Matiuri*; it has much meadow and pasture Ground in several Parts, the rest is low and marshy, especially in the Middle, so as to be almost impassable. The Edges of it are mostly covered with Trees, which we call Mangroves, having that peculiar Quality of growing in Salt Water, so deep, thick, and wide rooted, that from these very Roots other Trees rise up without End, so wonderful close, interwoven with one another, that in some Parts of the Island a Man may walk Leagues on them without touching the Ground.

About six Years ago the Island was extraordinary unhealthy, by reason of the long Rains, which lasted above nine Months in twelve, but especially from *December* till *June*; as also because the Ground was close wooded, and so marshy, that it occasioned several Sorts of Diseases among the Inhabitants, which in a more particular Manner affected young Infants, insomuch that many died almost as soon as born, and others at a very tender Age; for which Reason the most substantial Planters used to send them over to *France* very young, to preserve them from the Malignity of that bad Air; which is now nothing near so pernicious to those young Babes, since the Land has been grubbed up, so that they grow up healthy and strong; besides, the Women are safer in Child-bed, and the generality of the Inhabitants are less subject to the Distempers than they were before the Island was cleared of most of the Wood; however, it is still, and always will be, an uncomfortable Place to be in, because of the long rainy Season every Year, and scorching close Air Night and Day, which dispirits a Man; and the heavy Showers and Vapours exhaled from the swampy Grounds, which still occasion Disorders in Men and Beasts, though not so much as formerly; large Cattle, particularly, can scarce live there. They are also continually tormented with Gnats, Flies, and Worms, Ants, Bugs, and other Sorts of Vermin; all which, together, render the Place very disagreeable and uneasy; for which Reason several Planters, when grown rich, retire into *France*, and let their Plantations.

The Soil of *Cayenne*, by reason of the continual Rains, produces plenty of Sugar Canes, which, though small and short jointed, yield very plentifully; also Mandioca, or Cassibi, *Indian* Wheat, Rocou, Cotton, Accajou-Apples, Banillas, Pete, Ebony, Letter, and Violet Wood, Ananas, Tuberoses, very fine and large Papaia's, and several Sorts of *American* and *European* Grain and

Seeds, besides Lemons, Oranges, Indigo, and Figs, &c. The Country abounds in wild Boars, called there Packs, Deer, Agontils, Woodcocks, Ortolans, Nightingales, Arras, Occos, Toucans, Parrots, Parroquets, and other Birds, only remarkable for their Feathers: Also Flamingos, Birds about as big as a Hen, flying in Swarms like Ducks or Cranes; large wild Ducks with red Tufts on their Heads, Lizards, Cameleons, and very large Serpents, some of them above twenty-five Feet long, besides many smaller. The chief Town of *Cayenne* stands on the West Part of the Island, in an advantageous Situation, Nature and Art having equally contributed to the fortifying of it. It is of an irregular hexagon Figure; the Fortifications of the Town, which are extensive, were mostly cast up with Earth by the *Hollanders*, after they had driven the *French* from the Island, and have several Batteries mounted with Cannon, and a dry Ditch quite round, besides rows of Trees that surround it in a Triangle, which makes a handsome Prospect at a Distance; within this slight Fortification stand above two hundred Houses, disposed in such a Manner, as to make two different Streets or Lanes; all built with Planks of a certain Tree, by the *French* called *Poirier*, and of other Sort of Timber, and thatched: Which is the Reason they are now and then burned down so fast, that nothing can be saved, to the great Loss and Damage, not only of the Owners, but of several Inhabitants round the Town. On the North-east Part of it, towards the Gate of *Armire*, the Jesuits have a little Chapel standing in an open Place by itself, and before it a Grove of Lemon Trees, which afford a pleasant Shade to walk under; the Chapel is adorned with a small Spire of Planks, with good Bells.

On a pretty steep Hill, or Eminence, stands the Fort of *St. Lewis de Caperoux*, built by order of *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*, on the Sea-side, commanding every Way, mounted with forty-two Iron Guns; the Garrison whereof commonly consists of four Companies of regular Forces, besides near five hundred Inhabitants, mostly *French*, and divers *Indians*, who retire into the Island with their Canoes, and there make their Cottages and Carbets, living either in the Town, or on the Island round about, as far as mount *Sincry*, because of the Goodness of the Soil, and the Wholesomeness of the Air, as it lies much higher than the Island. These, upon the least Alarm, are obliged to stand to their Arms; the Signal to give Notice to them to come together, being to fire off some Cannon, especially in the Night-time. The weakest Places of this Island are also defended by some Batteries and Guns. The next Town in the Island to this, is *Armire*, distant about three Leagues Eastward, but small and thinly peopled, where the Jesuits have a Chapel also for the Convenience of the Inhabitants of that Part of the Island; and about a League farther East is the Point *Maturi*, and near it a very fine Plantation for Sugar, and is a fit Place to land at. West of this Plantation stands an *Indian* Carbet. These are all the remarkable Towns of *Cayenne*, except here and there some few Cottages and Plantations about the Island; the fourth Part of which is stored with fine large Meadows, or pasture Ground, called *Savannahs*, and three Rivulets; they have usually a Watch-house, and a Battery of some Iron Guns at *Armire*, to give Signals when they discover Ships coming from the Eastward. *Fort Lewis* commands both the Town and the Sea; the anchoring Place for Ships is under the Cannon of the Fort, within Musket-shot from Land, in three Fathom and a half muddy Ground, South-west of the Water-gate, which has four good Guns to defend the Road.

The Colony is partly subsisted by Provisions brought from *France* in Merchant Ships by way of Trade, which commonly are Wine, Brandy, Meal, and powdered or salt Meats, for Beef is very scarce there, besides that they are not allowed to kill any, nor Calves neither, without Leave of the Governor, or his Substitutes, that Cattle may multiply in the Island: All sorts of Linen-Cloathing, Stuffs, Silks, Shoes, and other wearing Apparel, are also carried thither from *France*, for the Use of Men, Women, and Children; and all sorts of Tools, and small Wares, either for the Service of the Colony, or

for the *Amazons* and *Indian* Trade, are bartered for Sugar, Rocou, Indigo, Tortoise-shells, Tyger-skins, and other inconsiderable Curiosities of the Country, which did once turn to great Profit to the Traders there. The other necessary Provisions of the Product of the Island are Manetada or Cassibi, and *Indian* Wheat, of which each Planter sows large Quantities, both for the Subsistence of their own Families and Slaves, and to sell to the other inferior Inhabitants. The Sea and River Fish, Poultry, Pidgeons, Quets, or Ring-doves, whereof there is great Plenty, and delicate Turkeys, Venison, Hares, Agontils, Hogs, and Packs, that is, wild Boars, are also a Part of their Subsistence.

But Lamentins and Sea-Tortoises are their chief Provision, and may well be called the *Manna* to the poorer sort; the Manati's Flesh used at *Cayenne* is brought ready salted from the River of the *Amazons*, several of the principal Inhabitants sending the Barks and Brigantines thither with Men and Salt, to buy it of the *Indians* for Beads, Knives with white Hafts of a low Price, some Linen, Toys, and Iron Tools. When these Vessels have entered the River of the *Amazons*, the *Indians*, who always follow the Manati-fishery, go on board, take the Salt, and with it run up the River in Canoes or Frigates, to catch the Manaties, which they cut in Pieces, and salt as taken, returning with that salt Fish to the Brigantines, which go not up, because the *Portuguese* who dwell to the eastward, at *Para*, and other Places of *Brazil*, claim the Sovereignty of the North-side of that River, and give no Quarter to the *French*, or other *Europeans*, they can take in their Liberties; which has occasioned many Disputes and Quarrels between them. That Controversy was decided by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1713, which fixed that Boundary.

They have ever since been using all the Arts imaginable, to render this Colony of some Use, but hitherto they have been able to make no great Matter of it, the Expence being so large, that by their hardest Labour the Inhabitants find it difficult to gain wherewithal to purchase their Subsistence. As for the Trade carried on from *France*, it consists chiefly in Provisions, such as salt Meats, Flour, Wine, Brandy, Linen, Stuffs, and Mercery Goods; in return for which they export Sugar, Dying-woods, and for the most part, the same Kind of Commodities they do from the *Leeward Islands*. It is thought, that the Number of Whites upon this Island may amount to twelve or fifteen hundred, and that the whole Number of the People, taking in Soldiers and Slaves, may amount to three thousand, or thereabouts; amongst these there are sixty or seventy *Jews*, who, besides cultivating their Plantations, carry on a kind of underhand Trade with the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*; and what little Quantity of Gold and Silver they have in that Country is in the Hands of these People, who notwithstanding are far enough from being rich.

13. We have already, in the History of the *French East India* Company, mentioned the several Attempts made by *Monf. de la Salle*, for the Discovery of the *Mississippi*, and therefore we may be allowed to be the shorter here. This Gentleman was certainly a Person of great Worth and good Understanding; and the Notion he had of fixing Colonies in this Part of the World, was, in general, well enough founded; but it does not appear that he was so well qualified to govern or conduct a Colony: He had passed down the River he sought, in the Spring of the Year 1683, to the very Mouth of it; he afterwards remounted that River, and returned to *Canada*, in the Month of *October* the same Year; from whence he took his Passage back to *France*, where he gave a large Account of the mighty Advantages that would certainly accrue from the settling of a Colony in those Parts; upon which a new Company was formed in the Beginning of the succeeding Year, for the carrying those great Designs into Execution; and on the 24th of *June*, 1684, he sailed with a Squadron consisting of four Vessels, having on board a sufficient Number of Persons, and all kind of Goods and Provisions necessary for the Service of the new Colony, which he proposed to fix at the Mouth of the *Mississippi*; but when he arrived in the

Bay of *Mexico* he was not able to find the Mouth of the River, as he expected; and therefore attempted to fix a Colony at the Bay of *St. Lewis*, which is one hundred Miles to the West of the River *Mississippi*; where they endured such Hardships that most of them perished miserably; while *Monf. de la Salle*, still intent upon Discoveries, made various Excursions with such of his Company as were still able to move; in one of which he was barbarously murdered by two of his own People, which put an End to the Design for the present.

Seven Years after, *Monf. d' Iberville* undertook to perform all that *Monf. de la Salle* had promised; and, as he was a Man who had already performed great Things, the Court encouraged him; and he was really as good as his Word. He carried his People very safely and happily to the Mouth of the great River, and there laid the Foundations of the first Colony the *French* ever had on the *Mississippi*. He took Care to provide them with every Thing necessary for their Subsistence, and obliged them to erect a strong Fort, for their Protection against the *Indians*, before he would return to *France* in order to obtain Supplies. The Success of his Voyage made him extremely welcome to the King, who promised him all the Assistance he could desire; so that he was soon in a Condition to put to Sea again; and his second Voyage was as fortunate as the first; but very unluckily for his Colony, he fell sick and died, as he was preparing for the third. This had very near overturned the whole Design, if it had not been for the Generosity and public Spirit of a private Man, who undertook to support it at his own Expence, receiving from the Government an Authority to act.

In the Grant of *Louisiana* to Mr. *Crozat*, by *Lewis XIV.* anno 1712, the Bounds of it are said to be the River and Lake of *Illinois* on the North, *Carolina* on the East, the Gulph of *Mexico* on the South, and *New Mexico* on the West. As to *Canada*, or *New France*, the *French* would scarce admit it had any Bounds to the North on this Side the Pole, till they were limited on that Side by an Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which assigns *New Britain* and *Hudson's Bay* on the North of *Canada* to *Great Britain*; and Commissioners afterwards on both Sides, ascertained the Limits by an imaginary Line, running from a Cape or Promontory of *New Britain* to the *Atlantic Ocean*, in 38 Degrees 30 Seconds, North Latitude, and running from thence South-west to the Lake *Miscosink* or *Mistassim*, and from thence farther South-west directly to the Latitude of 49 Degrees. All the Lands to the North of the said Line, being assigned to *Great Britain*; and all the South of that Line, as far as the River of *St. Laurence*, to the *French*. These are the true Limits of *Louisiana* and *Canada*.

This Grant to Mr. *Crozat* did not subsist long, for it being necessary to have some plausible Pretence for setting on Foot a Project for changing the Face of public Affairs in *France*, this Settlement was thought the most convenient; and therefore all imaginable Pains were taken to represent it as a Paradise, and a Place from whence inexhaustible Riches might be derived, provided due Encouragement could be obtained from the Government; and for this Purpose it was thought requisite, that a new Company should be erected; to make Way for which Mr. *Crozat* was to resign his Grant, and this he accordingly did, as we have hinted in another Place.

14. This occasioned that Noise that was made about the *Mississippi*, not in *France* only, but throughout all *Europe*, which was filled with romantic Stories of the vast Fruitfulness of the Banks of this great River, and the incredible Wealth that was like to flow from thence. It was these *Indies* in the *North Seas* that produced our Notions of finding *Indies* in the *South*; but in the End both proved Bubbles, partly from the Falshood of those Relations, and partly from there being no fixed and settled Resolutions of promoting the Trade to either. This *Mississippi* or River of *St. Lewis*, according to the *French* Account, rises in the North-west Part of *Canada*, taking its Course first to the South-east, and in 45 Degrees, turning almost due South, continues that Course till it discharges itself into the Gulph of *Mexico* in 30 Degrees North

North Latitude, and 95 Degrees of western Longitude. By four or five Mouths of several large Rivers falling into it, both from the East and West, the *Mississippi* is swelled into a very large deep River; and some *French* Writers add, that it is a gentle Stream, and navigable for large Vessels from the Source almost to the Mouth; but other *French* Writers, and some *English* Seamen, affirm, that it has a very rapid Stream; and that there are Cataracts in several Parts of it, which obstruct the Navigation, and that there are such Shoals at the Mouth of the River, that large Ships cannot enter it.

The Country upon the Banks of this great River has nothing very extraordinary to recommend it, except that the Air is milder, and the Soil more fruitful than that of *Canada*, which might be reasonably expected from its Situation. There is no sort of Question that People may live there with the Help of their own Industry, in Peace and Plenty; but perhaps they might live with as little Pains and Trouble in *France* itself. But as to what was pretended when such a Noise was made about the *Mississippi*, that the Country abounds with Silver Mines, and that it was not improbable that Gold might be found here, it was a mere Fable; and those that have been sent from *France* to make Trial of the Mines have reported, That they are far from being valuable, and that it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to work them; so that now we hear no more of the Metals in this Country; but they are content to talk of Furs, raw Hides, Tobacco, Corn, and Silk, of which indeed there is more Probability; but no very great Progress has been hitherto made in raising any of them. As this Country lies in the Middle between the *Spanish* Settlements on one Side, and the *English* on the other, the *French* have fancied to themselves a Possibility of driving out both; but this must certainly arise from their national Vanity, since there is no great Probability of their becoming in some Ages very formidable to either, unless both should become very negligent, and the *French* more happy than they have hitherto been in their Improvements.

At present they have divided this Country into nine Provinces, in each of which they have some small Posts, but the only Place they have of any Consequence is, *New Orleans*, so called from the late Regent, who was the Parent of this new Settlement. It is seated about one hundred and twenty Miles from the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, in a very fruitful Part of the Country, where the Inhabitants raise Corn sufficient for their Subsistence, and some Tobacco. The Expence they have been at from time to time about their Colonies in this Country has been very large, but the Profits drawn from them very inconsiderable, and no way answerable to their Expectations; yet it must be allowed, that in its present Situation, *New Orleans* is a considerable Place, both with respect to its Size and Strength, and the Jesuits sent from *Europe* thither have taken a great deal of Pains to bring over the *Indian* Nations to the *French* Interest, the only Means by which they can become troublesome to their Neighbours; but notwithstanding this, they are not able to rely much upon their new Converts, there having been frequent Instances of their revolting, attacking, and destroying, their new Masters or Allies, when they least expected it: So that on what Grounds they build their Hopes of establishing a powerful Empire in this Part of *America*, must be left to their own Writers to declare.

To say the Truth, I see but one Way that any Thing worth mentioning can ever be brought about here; and that is at the Expence of their own Colony of *Canada*; for if it should ever appear that an easier Livelihood is to be gained in the Colonies on the Banks of the *Mississippi*, than in those on the River of *St. Laurence*, it is not at all impossible, that the People settled on the one may by Degrees remove to the other. This would become daily more and more practicable, and perhaps more necessary, if we proceed in the Settlement of *Nova Scotia*, and preserve the Possession of the Island of *Cape Breton*; for then, as I have before observed, *Canada* will rather become a Burden than an Advantage to *France*; and the wisest Step she could take would be to remove the Inhabitants thither. At the same time that I say this, I desire the Read-

er will consider it as a pure Conjecture; and as a Thing barely possible; and not at all as a Design thought of by the *French*, or that is ever likely to come to pass: But, however, this we may be allowed to affirm, that if they do not take this Step, it is not at all likely that either of those Colonies will become more considerable than they are at present. We have already observed, that the Computations they have given the World of the Inhabitants of *Canada* are very extravagant, and much beyond the Truth; and I doubt the same Thing may be with equal Truth affirmed, of what they report as to the Numbers of those settled in *Louisiana*, which some of their Authors raise to twelve thousand Souls, while many intelligent People think there are not much above half that Number.

15. The Observations and Remarks upon this Period may be the more concise, since we have already taken Occasion to deliver something of that Nature, in respect to each of the Colonies we have mentioned. The *French* have not been very fortunate in the Management of their Interests in this Part of the World; for their Settlements are as unconnected and ill placed, as their Enemies could wish them. *Canada* is at a vast Distance from their Islands, and the Navigation of the River of *St. Laurence* so difficult, that they cannot make above two Voyages in a Year. We may say the same with respect to the Island of *Cayenne*, which lies out of the way of all the rest of their Colonies, and for that Reason has little or no Correspondence with any of them; and it is pretty much the same with their Settlements on the *Mississippi*, which is a great Disadvantage to them; as may appear from the Consideration of our own Colonies, that strengthen and support each other, by their mutual Commerce, there being several hundred Vessels employed in the *American* Trade only, in which the *French* employ very few or none. We may, therefore, with strict Regard to Truth, divide the *French* Settlements into those which are profitable, and those which are not; the former including their Islands, and the latter all the rest.

It must, indeed, be owned, that it is very possible to raise several Commodities of Value, both on the River of *St. Laurence*, and on the *Mississippi*; but, as the *French* are at present circumstanced, it may very well be doubted, whether they will be ever able to do this, because it does not appear that they could do it to their own Advantage. While our Northern Colonies supply their Sugar Islands with Lumber, in Exchange for their Molasses, it will hinder their taking, except in Time of War, those kind of Goods, even from their own Colonies, and nothing but an open and advantageous Market can tempt the Inhabitants to raise them. As for Tobacco, Wine, and Silk, in *Louisiana*, they may serve to talk of, but there is little Reason to suppose they will ever apply to the Cultivation of them in earnest. For, first, in regard to Tobacco, it is not at all likely that they should raise it better or cheaper than in *Virginia*, from whence the *French* take that Commodity at present, in Preference to what might be raised in *St. Domingo*, and the adjacent Islands; and, with respect to Wine and Silk, though they would be valuable Commodities to us, they could scarce be so to them; considering how much of their own Wine they export to the Colonies, and what Quantities of Silk they raise in their own *European* Dominions. It is their Islands therefore that the *French* chiefly concern themselves about; and as to the rest, it is rather for the Credit of their Crown, and for the Sake of distant and very improbable Expectations, that they make a Point of maintaining their other Colonies.

It may be, if they were to transfer the People of *Canada* to their Settlements in *Louisiana*, and be at some Pains to establish a Correspondence between that and their Sugar Islands, they might render both more beneficial than they are at present; but even in that Case, perhaps some insurmountable Difficulties might be found, which are not at present foreseen; and though they are not, yet even the Possession of *St. Domingo* entire, if ever they should obtain it, would make that Commerce decline. Upon the whole, though the *French* have great Views in *America*, and seem indefatigable in pursuing those Views, yet,

yet, to speak impartially, there is very little Ground to believe, if we mind our own Affairs, and could once come to a right Understanding with *Spain*, they will be ever able to succeed. I may add farther, that if ever we come to form right Notions of the Importance of the Sugar Trade, and in Consequence thereof give all neces-

sary Encouragement to the Inhabitants of our Islands, in Time of Peace, and make it our Business, in Time of War, to distress the *French* in this tender Point; it is possible we may drive them out of a great Part of that Trade, which would be the happiest Event that could be for us, as well as the greatest Disappointment to them.

SECTION XXIII.

The DISCOVERIES, CONQUESTS, SETTLEMENTS, and PRESENT STATE of the DUTCH Colonies in America; the Nature and Value of their Commerce with the Spaniards, and the Manner in which their Returns are made to Europe; to which is added an Account of the Danish Settlement; the whole collected chiefly from the Dutch Writers.

1. *A short View of the Scheme formed by Count Maurice of Nassau, for erecting a Dutch Empire in America, equal, if not superior, to that of the Spaniards.*
2. *The Expedition of General Brewer, in order to the Execution of that Scheme; and his Successes in Chili, to the Time of his Death.*
3. *The History of that Expedition continued, in which the principal Causes of its Miscarriage are clearly pointed out.*
4. *The Dutch Settlements on the Continent of South America, at Surinam, Boron, Berbice, and Approwack, described; together with an Account of the Commodities raised there, and the Importance of those Settlements.*
5. *A View of the Islands possessed by the Dutch in the West Indies, viz, Tabago, St. Eustachius, St. Martin, Curacao, and its Dependencies; their Produce, and the Nature of their Commerce with Holland.*
6. *A large and exact Relation of the clandestine Trade, carried on by the Inhabitants of these Islands, with the Spaniards.*
7. *The present State of the West India Company in Holland, and the Causes of its declining Trade.*
8. *A Description of the Island of St. Thomas, of the Danish Settlement there; its Produce, Commerce, and Importance.*
9. *Observations and Remarks on the foregoing Section, which concludes the History and present State of the Continent of America and the West Indies.*

1. **W**E have, in several former Sections, taken some Pains to explain the Rise, Progress, and Extent of the *Dutch* naval Power; which, if I am not altogether mistaken in my Judgment, was much superior to any thing of the same Kind, that we read of in ancient or modern History; so that if their Project of establishing a *West India* Company had succeeded, as well as that did for erecting one for managing the Trade of the *East Indies*, I see no Reason to doubt of their becoming the most formidable Power in *Europe*. It would take up a great deal of Time, which we have not to spare, to shew how this miscarried; but there is a particular Incident, which falls in with the Subject of this Section, that will fully prove the Truth of both these Assertions. The Reader may remember that we insisted in the History of *Brazil* very largely, on the Conduct and Measures of Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, as able a Captain, as great a Statesman, and I must have leave to say, because I am convinced of it, the honestest Man, and the best Patriot, that Family ever produced. In that Section we clearly proved, that the running him down by the republican Faction in *Holland*, was the Ruin of their Affairs in *Brazil*, and, at present, it shall be our Business to shew, that it lost an Opportunity of making them as great in the *West Indies*, as they are now in the *East*; for that Prince had formed a Scheme of raising such an Empire at once in *America*, as, had it been as steadily pursued as it was wisely projected, would have defied the Rage of Enemies, defeated the Power of Accidents, and, perhaps, would have escaped the Teeth of Time itself.

He saw plainly, that their Establishment in *Brazil*, as fair and as flourishing as it seemed, under his wise and glorious Administration, would sink to nothing, if it was not supported by new Acquisitions; for he knew that a naval Power is, of all others, least at a stay; and that if it did not proceed, it would decline with the same Rapidity with which it rose; and, to prevent this, he formed Project after Project, all of which succeeded but one; and, had that one succeeded, he knew that there had been need of no more. This Project we are to give an Account of here, and in few Words; it was this: He was informed that the Inhabitants of *Chili*, which lies at the back of *Brazil*, fronting the *South Seas*, as this does the North, and the richest Country in *America*, had revolted from, and driven out, the *Spaniards*; he conceived therefore a Design of fixing a *Dutch* Colony there,

which he thought might be easily done, under the plausible Pretences of assisting the Natives against their late imperious Lords the *Spaniards*.

He communicated this Design to the States General; he shewed them the Utility of it; he explained to them the Advantages with which it would be attended, and which were chiefly three. First, That it would give them the Possession of a large, fruitful, and agreeable Country, abounding with the Necessaries of Life, and with what is capable of supplying Necessaries in any and all Countries, the richest Gold Mines in the World. Secondly, That it would humble the *Spaniards*, by distressing them in the tenderest Part; secure, as well as open, a Commerce in the South Seas; and render their two great Empires in *Mexico* and *Peru* precarious, unless secured by a Peace with the *Dutch*. Thirdly, That it would complete, and firmly cement, the Circle of their Commerce; for the Slaves, procured by their Settlements in *Africa*, would be taken off by that Colony and by *Brazil*. The Passage from thence to the *East Indies*, and from them round to *Europe*, would, in Time, become common; that this new Trade would fill that Country with People, and facilitate a Correspondence between their Dominions on both Sides the Continent of *South America*; which would soon put them in a Condition of rooting out all their Enemies, and enable them to keep the best and most valuable Part of the new World entirely to themselves. Vast and prodigious as this Design was, every competent Judge will, at first Sight, perceive, that in the State things were then, it was both possible and practicable, and therefore we need not at all wonder that the States General readily embraced it, and cheerfully disposed all things requisite for the carrying it into Execution, without much regarding either the Difficulty or the Expence.

2. The States, however, thought it requisite, that a great Part of the Charge should be borne by their *West India* Company, because in Case of Success they were to reap the greatest Part of the Benefit, since, in Virtue of their Charter, the new conquered Country was to belong to them; but, however, the regular Troops that were to serve in this Expedition were to remain in the Pay of the States. The Person fixed upon to command in chief, with the Title of General, was Captain *Henry Brewer*, a Man of great Abilities, and remarkable for his personal Courage; which had, however, a strong Tincture of what

what the *Dutch* called Severity, which, in any other Language, would have been denominated Cruelty. He had served with Reputation in the *East Indies*, and was allowed to have a surprizing Power over the Seamen. He had under him four Captains of established Character, and his Squadron consisted of five Sail of stout Ships, on board of which he had eighteen hundred Men, with every thing that was thought necessary, either for making a Descent, or for establishing a Colony.

General *Brewer*, and his Squadron, sailed from the *Texel* the 6th of *November*, 1642, and arrived at *Fernambuco* on the Coast of *Brazil*, in 9 Degrees of South Latitude, on the 22d of *December* following; where, having consulted with Count *Maurice of Nassau*, General and Commander in chief for the *Dutch* in *Brazil*, he sailed from *Fernambuco* with five Ships well equipped, and provided with Necessaries, on the 16th of *January* 1642-3; and, on the 5th of *March*, they came in Sight of the Straights of *La Maire*, as they were then called, which is only a Passage between *States Island* and the most Easterly Point of *Terra del Fuego*, in 45 Degrees some Minutes South Latitude, and since stiled *Brewer's-Straights*, in Memory of this Expedition. They came to an Anchor in a Bay of *States Island*, to the Eastward of the Straights of *La Maire*; where, having remained till the 25th of *March*, they sailed round *Cape Horn*, suffering pretty much by stormy Weather; and losing the Company of one of their Ships, called the *Orange Tree*, and arrived with the other four on the Coast of *Chili*, on the 30th of *April* 1643; and on the 9th of *May* they came to an Anchor in a Bay of the South Sea, in 41 Degrees 30 Minutes South Latitude, to which they gave the Name of *Brewer's-Haven*.

An Officer being sent on Shore with a Company of Soldiers, they discovered great Herds of Oxen, Sheep, and Horses, and some Houses; but the Inhabitants were fled. However, they supposed that Part of the Country to be in the Possession of the *Spaniards*, by the large wooden Crosses they saw fixed at the Entrance of the Houses; and going ashore the next Day they discovered a Party of *Spanish* Horse, and some Cannon-shot were fired at the Boat. A Company of fifty Soldiers being sent ashore again, the 20th of *May*, they discovered the Town of *Carelmappa*, and had a smart Engagement with a *Spanish* Party, consisting of ninety Men, Horse and Foot, whom they defeated; whereupon the *Spaniards* abandoned the Town of *Carelmappa*, and the *Dutch* took Possession of it, where they remained till the 25th, and then setting fire to the Town, and killing the Horses they had taken in the Engagement, they retired to their Ships. They afterwards sailed to the Town of *Castro*, on the Island of *Chiloe*, where they arrived on the 6th of *June*.

There appeared a good Body of *Spanish* Horse and Foot on Shore; but the *Dutch* no sooner landed some Soldiers, than the Inhabitants set fire to the Town, and abandoned it, having before carried away every Thing that was valuable. This Place, called *Castro*, had been a fine *Spanish* Town, adorned with magnificent Buildings pleasantly situated on a Hill, surrounded with fruitful Orchards and Gardens, and the Fields beyond well cultivated, and at the Time when the *Dutch* arrived there, the Fruit then remained on many of the Trees, though it was in the Beginning of their Winter. The *Dutch*, taking an hundred Sheep and some Hogs off the Island, re-embarked on the 17th of *June* and returned to *Brewer's-Harbour*. From hence they proposed to sail to the River *Baldivia*; but the North Wind blowing hard in their Teeth, they altered their Minds, and came before *Carelmappa* again; where landing a Company of Soldiers, on the 16th of *July*, they took three *Spanish* Prisoners, who informed them, that the Winters on that Coast were usually tempestuous, but that the most stormy Month was past: That there were Gold Mines at *Orsorno*, and more at *Baldivia*; but that the Mines were not wrought of late, and that at *Castro* there were none to be seen, the *Indians* not having been compelled to work in the Mines since the general Revolt in 1595.

They learned also, from an old *Spanish* Woman they

had taken, that before the said general Revolt, the *Spaniards* lived in great Splendor at *Orsorno*, that the meanest of them had three hundred *Indian* Vassals at least, who were compelled to pay their respective Lords a certain weekly Tribute in Gold, and were used so cruelly by the *Spaniards*, that the *Chilese* arose as one Man, drove them from *Orsorno*, and other *Spanish* Towns; and they possessed little more in this Part of *Chili*, than *Carelmappa* and *St. Michael de Calembuco*; since which, however, the *Indians* of *Orsorno*, *Baldivia*, *Villarica*, *Imperial*, *Jucapel*, *Arauco*, and *Puren*, had lived in a pretty good Intelligence with the *Spaniards* till very lately, when the *Indians* took up Arms again, and they were actually here in a State of War with the *Spaniards*, which was confirmed by five *Indian* Caziques, who came on board the 20th of *July*, and assured the *Dutch* they were extremely rejoiced that they were come to assist them against their ancient Enemies the *Spaniards*.

The *Dutch* answered, They had brought good Store of Arms to exchange with their Countrymen of *Orsorno*, *Baldivia*, and other Places, for such Merchandize as *Chili* afforded, that they might be enabled to carry on that War against the *Spaniards*, and were ready to assist them to the utmost of their Power. The *Chilese* replied, They lived very uneasy under the *Spanish* Government of *Carelmappa*, and were contriving how to get to their Friends at *Orsorno* and *Baldivia*; but the *Spaniards* had possessed all the Passes, and the Country was so overflowed by the Winter Rains, that they found it impracticable to go by Land at present; and therefore desired the *Dutch*, that they would carry them to *Baldivia* in their Ships; which the General agreeing to, they returned ashore, to give their Friends an Account of it, and make Preparations for their Voyage. The next Day, more *Chilese* went on board, and one of them brought the Head of a *Spaniard* with him whom he had killed, and declared they were determined to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke. Whereupon the General made a Present to them of some Spears and Swords, as also Muskets with Powder and Ball; and the *Chilese* sent some black Cattle on board in Return.

3. Thus far this Expedition had succeeded perfectly well, as being entirely under the Management of one who was altogether equal to the Project he went upon; for it is essential to great Designs that succeed, that they are contrived and concerted by great Men, and that they are executed by great Men also; for when once People of mean Parts and narrow Understandings come to be lifted up into Employments beyond their Capacities, they soon ruin all that wiser Heads have been long framing; and this, notwithstanding they do their best, and use their utmost Endeavours to prosecute their Predecessor's Plan.

The *Dutch* Officers, who perhaps never considered this Maxim, were experimentally taught the Truth of it, by the Death of their General *Henry Brewer*, which happened on the 7th of *August*; a fatal Day to them, though they did not perceive it at the Time. He had set his Heart upon the Undertaking, and died in the full Persuasion, that it might have been accomplished. Though Capt. *Hackerman*, who succeeded him in the Command, might have no less Zeal to serve his Country, yet he certainly miscarried for want of proper Address. He too soon discovered to the Natives with what View the *Hollanders* visited their Coasts, and created Jealousies in them, which he found it impossible afterwards to remove, as will appear hereafter. The late General was so confident of the Success of the Enterprize, that he directed his Countrymen to take his Corpse with them, and bury it at *Baldivia*, which he had intended to fortify; and appointed the *Chilese* to rendezvous there and meet the Fleet, not doubting of a general Revolt in their Favour. His great Ambition was, to have a Tomb erected in that Place, which might perpetuate the Memory of his being the Author of so great a Good to his Country. But to proceed: The *Dutch* having taken four hundred and seventy *Chilese* on board, who had furnished themselves with Corn and Cattle, and other Provisions for the Voyage, set sail for the River *Baldivia* on the 21st of *August*, where they arrived the 24th of the same Month.

The River is about a League over at the Mouth, and

the *Dutch* having sailed half a League up it, they observed three Channels, of which, taking the Middlemost they run aground, and it was two or three Days before they could get all their Ships afloat again; so that it was the 28th before they arrived at the Town of *Baldivia*, where they only found the Ruins of the ancient Gates, which were very high, and strong built; but the Place was now over-run with Bushes and Weeds, and more like a Wilderness than a City: Here they found three or four hundred *Chilese* Horse and Foot armed with Spears, eighteen Foot long, some of whom came on board, and welcomed them at their Arrival. The *Dutch* General harangued them by an Interpreter, and acquainted them, That the *Hollanders* were now in the Possession of *Brazil*, upon the same Continent, not above two Months sail from them, and were in a Condition to supply them from time to time with Arms and Ammunition, and would assist them to drive their Enemies, the *Spaniards*, out of the Country, desiring they would enter into a League offensive and defensive with them. He also presented them with the Letters from the Prince of *Orange*, of the like Tenour; which were interpreted to the *Indians*; for it is to be remarked here, that neither the People of the *East* or *West Indies* have any Notion of a Republican Form of Government, and therefore the *Hollanders*, in all Negotiations with those distant Nations, pretended to be authorized to treat with them by the Prince of *Orange*, or some single Person, whom they insinuated to be their Monarch.

The *Caziques* gave the General no other Answer to his Propositions at present, but, That they would consult their Brethren of *Orsorno* and *Coneo*, and then return to *Baldivia*. Whereupon the *Dutch* proceeded to land their Soldiers on the 2d of *September*, and the General took a View of the Ground, in order to erect a Fort. The same Evening arrived above one thousand *Chilese* from *Orsorno* and *Coneo*, to treat with the *Hollanders*; and the next Day the General, by his Interpreter, made them another Speech: He acquainted them, That the chief Motive of their Voyage was to assist the *Chilese*, the Fame of whose great Actions had reached as far as *Holland*: That the *Dutch* had been at War with the *Spaniards* for upwards of fourscore Years, as well as the *Chilese*, for the Preservation of their Liberties, and had met with the like Success, extending their Conquests as far as *Brazil*; and if the *Chilese* would now enter into a Confederacy with the *Hollanders*, they were ready to supply them with Cannon, small Arms, and Ammunition; which they would exchange for the Product of their Country; and the *Chilese* would be enabled thereby, not only to defend themselves, but to expel the *Spaniards* from their Coasts. After which a Letter was delivered to every one of the *Caziques*, as sent them from the Prince of *Orange*. To which the *Caziques* answered, That they thought themselves extremely fortunate to meet with a Supply of Arms from so distant a Country as *Holland*, at a Time when the War with the *Spaniards* was revived; and that they would consider of what was proposed.

The *Dutch* thereupon enquired if the *Chilese* could supply their Fleet with Flesh and other Provisions, if they continued on their Coast to protect them against the *Spaniards*? To which they unanimously answered, They would not fail to bring them all the Provisions they wanted, for they had Plenty of Corn and Cattle; provided the Fleet did not stir from the Coast. And they readily entered into a verbal Alliance Offensive and Defensive, with the *Hollanders* against the *Spaniards*; but would not be persuaded to execute written Articles, which were offered, and interpreted to them; declaring, That this was not customary amongst them; but, that Promises were ever looked upon as sacred, and of equal Obligation with written Contracts. The *Hollanders* then proceeded to build a Fort at *Baldivia*, for their Security; which the Natives did not seem to oppose; but when the *Dutch* proposed the Trafficking with the *Chilese*, and exchanging Arms for their Gold, the *Caziques* immediately appeared jealous of their new Allies; and declared, they had no Gold Mines, nor was there any such Thing as Gold in Use amongst them: They remembered indeed

that, heretofore, they had been obliged to pay heavy Taxes to the *Spaniards* in Gold, on Pain of losing their Ears and Noses, as many of them actually did who could not procure as much as was expected; and this had given them such an Abhorrence of that Metal, that they could not bear to hear it named amongst them; that they were very far from valuing or coveting it as they found all Strangers did; and that it was the Cause of many Mischiefs to them, from which the *Indians* were free.

The General finding the Natives were not ignorant of his Views, replied they were not come to exact any thing of them, as the *Spaniards* had done; but were ready to pay them with Arms, or whatever Merchandize they liked best for their Gold; and every one was at Liberty to exchange what he pleased. Whereupon the *Caziques* stared at one another without returning one Word of Answer; and the *Dutch* relate, they did not think fit to urge them any farther on that Head, lest they should imagine they had a Mind to serve them as the *Spaniards* had done, though they were certain there were very rich Mines in that Part of the Country. The *Dutch* General, therefore, seeing now he could expect but little Assistance from the Natives, and that it would be impossible to maintain his Ground long against the *Spaniards*, and the rest of the *Chilese* in Alliance with them, dispatched Captain *Chrisspinson*, with two of his Ships, to *Fernambuco*, in *Brazil*, to give their Friends an Account of the State of their Affairs, and to desire a further Reinforcement; and, in the mean Time, continued to fortify the Post he had taken at *Baldivia*, where he hoped to defend himself till those Supplies arrived. In the Letter the *Dutch* General sent by Captain *Chrisspinson* to *Brazil*, he informs the Government, that the *Spaniards* had not more than fifteen hundred Soldiers, either on the Continent or Islands of *Chili*, viz. three hundred in *Valperiso* and *St. Jago*; one hundred in *Serena* or *Coquimbo*; one hundred on the Bank of *Riolio*; eighty in *Tucupel*; five hundred in the Forts in the Valley of *Arauco*; one hundred and twenty in the Island of *Chiloe*, *Carelmappa*, and *Calembuco*; what the Number of the *Spanish* Inhabitants were, he does not say, only that they were more numerous than the Garrison Soldiers; and it is evident, that many of the *Chilese* professed the Christian Religion, and were intermarried with the *Spaniards* at this Time; and therefore were, in a Manner, one People with them, and that some Tribes or Clans that were not under the *Spanish* Government, were in Alliance with them, though most of them were in a State of War with the *Spaniards*. And in those Circumstances the *Dutch* General informs the Government of *Brazil*, that in Case ten Ships, and three Yachts, with eight hundred Soldiers, Seamen, Cannon, and Ammunition in Proportion, were sent to his Assistance, he did not doubt of making himself Master of all the *Spanish* Settlements above-mentioned; and should have no Occasion to be afraid of all the Force the *Spaniards* had, either in *Chili* or *Peru*; and if he could make himself Master of *Chili*, by this Means, it might encourage the Natives of *Peru* to throw off the *Spanish* Yoke.

These *Indians* having entertained an inconceivable Aversion to the *Spaniards*, he informs his Employers also, that they had received the Advice, that the Natives of the neighbouring Provinces of *La Plata*, had rose upon the *Jesuits* (the then Sovereigns or Usurpers of that Country) and had murdered many of those Fathers, which was looked upon as an Indication of a general Revolution against the *Spaniards*; and then repeating his Importunities for a speedy and effectual Supply, concludes, that when the War was once kindled on that Side, it might spread over all the *Spanish West Indies*; and the *Hollanders* might supplant them in the *West*, as they had done the *Portuguese* in the *East Indies* and *Brazil*. This Express had not been dispatched a Week, before the *Dutch* General became sensible of his Mistake; and that whatever Misunderstanding there might be between the *Chilese* and the *Spaniards*, the Natives were much more afraid of the *Hollanders*, than of their ancient Enemies, and would probably join with the *Spaniards* to expel them their Country. For the next Conference he had with the *Caziques*, they gave him to understand, that he must expect no Provisions

vifions from them; and endeavoured to terrify the *Dutch*, by reporting that the *Spaniards* were affembling their Forces, by Sea and Land, to drive them from *Baldivia*; and it is probable that the *Dutch* General expected no Affiftance from their new Alliance, but were rather apprehenfive they would betray them to the *Spaniards*; for he foon after demolifhed his new erected Fortification; and, having reimbarbed his People, fet fail for *Brazil* on the 28th of *October*, 1643; and, having doubled *Cape Horn*, repaffed the Streights of *La Maire* on the 21ft of *November*; and on the 28th of *December* arrived at *Fernambuco* in *Brazil*; fo that they were but juft two Months in their Voyage from *Baldivia* to the northern Part of *Brazil*.

This fhews how eafily the Communication might have been maintained between the two Colonies, if the *Dutch* had been fo fortunate as to have eftablifhed themfelves in *Chili*; but at the Time the Fleet arrived at *Brazil*, Prince *Maurice* had refigned the Government; fo that they were no longer at a Lofs for the Reafon of their not being fupported in Time, as with great Juftice they expected, and as the Importance of the Enterprize deferved. We have been more particular and circumftantial in the Hiftory of this Expedition, becaufe it appears to have been of the higheft Confequence in itfelf, and in all refpects the beft concerted and contrived, of any in which the *Dutch* were ever concerned; and in Cafe it had fucceeded, would abfolutely have been a Means of giving, not only a new Face to their Affairs, but to the general Situation of things in *America*; nor is it eafy to fay with what Confequences it might have been attended. But it is Time to proceed from this Detail of the Ruin of their projected Empire, to an Account of the fmall Remains of their Territories in *America*; which, though they would be of very little Ufe to any other Nation, are, notwithstanding, highly beneficial to them.

4. We will begin with their Settlements upon the Continent; the firft, and moft confiderable, of which, is *Surinam*; that formerly belonged to us, and was the fole Remains of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Discoveries in *Virginia*, of which we have given an Account already, and of the Manner in which it was exchanged for *New York*, which we had taken from the *Dutch*; this Settlement of *Surinam*, while in our Hands, was a Place of very little Confequence or Advantage; but, however, we met with very little Difficulty in keeping it, as living upon very good Terms with the Natives; whereas the *Dutch* have been always upon fo bad a footing with them, that they have been obliged to erect a ftrong Fort, and to keep in it a good Garrifon, in order to cover their Settlements; without the Limits of which, if the *Indians* meet with any *Dutchman*, they are fure to give him no Quarter. The Commodities they raife, are Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, and Cotton; for the Improvement of which they have constant Supplies of Negroes from their Colonies in *Africa*; where a Part of their Goods likewise are taken off, and when it amounts to more than the Value of their Negroes, the Ballance is commonly paid in Gold Duft. This, however, returns into *Europe*, in Payment for the Goods fent over to the Colony, by the Merchants of *Amfterdam*, who have ingroffed almoft all this Trade to themfelves.

They have, befides this Settlement, three others upon the Continent, viz. *Boron*, *Berbice*, and *Approwack*, which are at no great Diftnce from each other; and in which they raife, for the moft Part, the fame Commodities as in *Surinam*, except that at *Berbice*, befides an extraordinary Quantity of Cotton; they have likewise the Advantage of preparing of a very rich Dye, called *Orlane*, from an Herb of the fame Name, much in the like Manner as they prepare Indigo. They have likewise the good Fortune to have for their Neighbours in that Colony, a Race of mild and good-natured *Indians*, with whom they trade for Provifions, Hides, and other kind of Merchandize.

But as thefe Colonies lie on the Frontiers of the Country of *Guiana*, the Reader will, very probably, be well pleafed to fee fome Account of this Region, from thofe who actually inhabit it; and the Relations they give

us of it, amount to this: That this Country is, in many Parts, very wild and thinly peopled, efpecially the loweft Lands, which are often over-flowed by the Rivers; but the upper hilly Countries are very populous, the Soil being watered by fo many Rivers, very commodious for Travellers. The Air in that Up-land Country is much colder than towards the Coaft; and the Hills are very rich in Mines of feveral Sorts. Fruit is very plentiful and good; and all Sorts of Grain grow there all the Year round, except Wheat, coming up in a fhort Time, and with little or no Diftnction of Seasons; for there being no Winter, the Trees are always green and full of Leaves, Blossoms, and Fruit. Though this Country is between the Line and the Tropic of Cancer, that is, within the Torrid Zone, the Climate is pretty temperate, and the Air wholefome; the Heats being generally allayed by a frefh eafterly Wind, which reigns the greateft Part of the Year, during the Day; and at Night the Land-Breezes prevail, but do not reach to two or three Leagues out at Sea. The Waters are, likewise, excellent, and of fuch a particular Nature, that they will keep fweet and frefh during the longeft Voyages, as has been often found by Experience. On the Sea-Coasts, which, as has been faid, are generally low, there are many large Iflands, fit, if improved, to feed Cattle.

The Sea, about the Coasts, abounds in Fifh, the moft common is that which the *French* call *Machoran*, and the *Englifh* Cat-fifh, being of a yellow Colour, and very large, fweet Mulletts, and Thorn-backs, Lamentynes, and Sea-Tortoifes. Fowl is alfo very plentiful, either tame or wild, and other Game, with all which they fupply the *European* Settlements at the Sea Coasts, exchanging for Toys and Iron. This Country produces divers Sorts of Phyfical Gums, Woods, and Roots, as well as feveral Sorts of Woods for dying, and for making of Cabinets, and inlaid Works; among which is the Letter-wood, by the *French* called *Bois de la Chine*, and which grows no where in the World but here. Yet the Natives cut and carry it quite to the Water-fide, fo cheap, that a Tun Weight of it does not coft above ten Shillings; and in *Europe*, a Tun of that Wood has formerly yielded fifty Pounds Sterling, or more, and never under twenty-five or thirty Pounds to this Day. There is Ebony of a different Sort from the Letter-wood, and one Sort called *Bois de Violet*, and feveral others very common. There are alfo prodigious large Trees, whereof the *Indians* make Canoes, which carry twelve or thirteen Tuns in Cafks; befides a prodigious Store of very lofty large Trees, the Wood of which is exceffively hard and weighty, but has the Advantage of refifting Worms in Salt-water.

Here are alfo incredible Numbers of Monkeys of divers Sorts, among which is the Sort, called by the *Indians*, and after them by the *French*, *Sapajous*; a kind of little yellowifh Ape, with large Eyes, a white Face, and black Chin: It is of a low Stature, and of a lively and diverting Nature; but fo tender in cold Weather, that it is, with great Difficulty, they can carry fome over to *Europe* alive: where they are there much efteemed, and yield a confiderable Price among Perfons of Quality. There are Tamerinds, Sagovias, Parrots, Cameleons, Agontils, Arras, Ocos, Tocaus, or Toucans, Flamans, and wild large Ducks, with red Feathers at their Head, but not in great plenty, which eat very well, being ftewed, and feveral other Birds, which have nothing remarkable in them befides their Feathers. It likewise abounds in fmall Tygers, Deer, Pigs, little Porcupines, large and monftrous Serpents, and divers other Sorts of Animals.

As to Fruits, befides Sugar Canes (which grow very well in *Guiana*) the *Cafia*, *Papaye*, *Accajou*-Apples, *Vanillas*, *Tobacco*, *Pete*, and *Rocou*, it produces alfo *Indian* Wheat, *Mandioca*, Cotton, Indigo, and the other Fruits common in *Brazil*, and feveral others among the Plants, which the *Indians* cultivate in their Plantations. Cotton is one that abounds moft, and is ufed by the Women, who adorn themfelves with it, and can fpin it as fine as they pleafe. There is fuch Plenty of it every where, that if it were poffible to have Women enough there to fpin it, to fave the great Trouble and Expence of

of transporting it in the Wool to *Europe*, which renders the Profit very inconsiderable to the Planters, it might furnish all *Europe*, without costing the *Dutch* any other Trouble than purchasing it of the *Indians*, for very inconsiderable Toys, and Haberdashery Ware of little Value. The *Indians* esteeming a Grain of Crystal, to adorn their Necks or Ears, as much as a Diamond of the same Bigness is valued among the *Europeans*; and if the Disorders which have happened in the *European* Settlements in *Guiana*, at several Times, had not hindered the establishing a regular Commerce, this advantageous Trade would have been already settled, and a vast Number of People enriched by it; but in a more peculiar Manner the Inhabitants of *Cayenne*, because of the Situation of their Island, their Sea-port Town, and great Interest with the *Indians*.

The Pete is an Herb that can be peeled, as Hemp and Nettles with us, but the Threads are finer than Silk, and would have long since supplanted it, if it had been allowed to be transported into *Europe*. The Vanilla is a Weed that creeps up Trees as Ivy does; the Leaves are of a bright Green, long, strait, thick, and pointed at the Ends. When it has been seven Years set in the Ground, it begins to bear a kind of Husks, full of an oily Matter, and Seed much smaller than that of Poppy, which they use there to perfume Liquors and Tobacco, and is used in some Parts of *Europe*, in Chocolate. The Papaye is a thick Fruit, tasting somewhat like a Cucumber, of a round Shape, the Stem tall, but slender, with large Leaves, cleft like Vine-leaves; the Tree is hollow, and grows fifteen Foot high in one Year. The Accajou-apple is long, thick, and of an Orange-red; it has a sharp Taste, and is commonly eaten baked. At the End of this Fruit is a green Nut, which tastes like *Spanish* Nuts or Filberts, much in the Shape of a little Sheep's Kidney; the Shell whereof is oily; the Oil staining the Skin black, so as it does not rub off in a long Time, and is medicinal and very laxative. The Plant is a round Sort of Tree like a Chestnut Tree, and the Leaves in Shape and Form resembling those of the Bay-Laurel. The Wood is very fine, proper to make all Sorts of Household Goods. The *Indians* make their long Canoes, which they call *Piraguas*, of it; though these are commonly forty or fifty Feet long. It has been observed that wherever the Juice of this Apple falls, the Stain cannot be taken away till the Season of the Apple is quite over.

We will now proceed from the Country and its Produce, to the People, of whom the *Dutch* Writers speak to this Purpose: The *Indians* are generally red, and of a middling or rather low Stature, of a robust strong Constitution, having black, long, and lank Hair, going all naked, their Privy-Parts covered only with a little Cotton-wool hanging down to the Legs: The Women are shorter generally than the Men, and of a red Colour, but tolerably handsome; their Eyes for the most part blue, and very regular Features in their Faces, and well framed; they use a Piece of Cloth about six Inches square, which they call *Camisa*, usually wove in Stripes of divers Colours, and especially white, which is the most valued among them.

The Men cut off their Beards, dye their Faces with Rocou, and cover their Arms and Faces with several Folds of the kind of Cloth before-mentioned. They wear, by way of Ornament, a sort of Crown, or Garland, of Feathers of sundry Colours, and bore a Hole between their Nostrils, where they hang a little Piece of Money or a large green Stone, or rather Crystal, brought from the River of the *Amazons*, which they put a great Value on. These *Indians* are generally of such a robust Constitution, and live so long that they reckon a Man dies young at a hundred Years of Age. They are endued with pretty good Sense, their long Lives serving them to gain Experience, and improve their Judgments in such Things as are within the Reach of the Light of Nature; they are judicious, ingenious, patient and skilful in fishing and hunting, and spend the greatest Part of their Time in those Exercises, and spare no Pains to get their Living, being more inclined to Peace than War, which yet they engage in, either upon a just Quarrel, or Revenge, in

Point of Honour. They perform their Promises to each other exactly, and will not do to others what they would not have others do to them.

It once happened that several of those Nations near the River of *Amazons* entered into a League against another, and were, about a Year in making great Preparations for War, which at last ended in one Night's Expedition, by surprizing two or three Carbets, so they call their Hamlets or Villages, where they burnt about an hundred Persons of all Sexes and Ages, and returned home as proud and fierce as if they had conquered the whole Country; other Wars are seldom concluded till they make forty or fifty of their Enemies Prisoners, whom afterwards they either kill, boil in their Pots, and eat as the *Noragues* do, or sell them to the *Europeans* at the Coast, for Slaves. This Barbarity seems in them to be rather the Effect of an ancient ill Custom, to eat the Flesh of their Enemies, than a natural Disposition; for they seem to be ashamed of it, when the *Europeans* represent to them, in their Language, That by the Laws of God we are forbid to kill an Enemy when he is taken Prisoner, and much more to eat him. And they did not offer to reply to it, and some of the *Alguas* have appeared full of Indignation when they heard that some *Galibis* insinuated, they would be roasted by them, if the *Europeans* should venture to travel through their Country. Whence it may be inferred, that though this barbarous inhumane Practice is so much established and received among these *Asoguas* and *Noragues*, yet it seems to be no difficult Matter to restrain them from it.

They are generally great Eaters, and drink little or nothing at their ordinary Meals till they have done, and then commonly drink one Draught; but when they assemble together for warlike Enterprizes, or to begin a Canoe, or to launch it, or to admit one into their Council after they have exposed him to several hard Trials, they make extraordinary Rejoicings, which frequently hold three or four Days, continuing till they have drank up all their Liquors; for upon those Occasions they make three or four different sorts of Drink, some of which become very strong by Fermentation, as that which they call *Palinot*, which they make of Cassibi, that is, baked more than ordinary; their common Diet is that they call *Cassibi*, being Cakes made of the Mandioca Root baked on the Embers, as also *Indian* Wheat, Fish, and Fruit.

These Particulars shew, that the Accounts formerly published, when it was proposed to fix an *English* Colony on these Coasts, were perfectly well founded, and that there are no very considerable Obstacles to be surmounted by the *Dutch*, in order to render *Surinam*, and the rest of the Places they possess on the Coast of *South America*, much more advantageous than they are at present; the greatest Difficulty is, to quiet the Minds of the Natives; the greatest Part of the Nations in *Guiana* having conceived an excessive Hatred to the *Dutch*, which is believed to arise chiefly from the Stories told them by the *French* and *Portuguese* Missionaries, who make no sort of Scruple of affirming any thing that may serve their Turns, and hinder the *Indians* from conversing or trading with Heretics. We are told that the Natives pretend to this Day a great Esteem and Veneration for the *English*; and that they tell a great many romantic Stories about them, which are supposed to be owing to the Correspondencies formerly settled there by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. In a Time of profound Peace perhaps it might not be impossible to attempt, and succeed in, fixing an *English* Colony upon one of the two great Rivers, by which *Guiana* is bounded; at least it is right to keep alive the Memory of our having a Right to do this, and that we have a much better Title to this large and agreeable Country than any other Nation in *Europe*.

5. The Island of *Tobago* lies in the Latitude of 11 Degrees 15 Minutes North, and is the most to the East of all the Islands called *Antilles*: It is about twelve Leagues in Length, four in Breadth, and thirty in Circumference. It originally belonged to us; for in 1628 we find that King *Charles I.* granted it, together with *Trinity Island*, *Barbuda*, and *St. Bernard*, to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*; but it does not appear that ever any

Settle-

Settlement was made thereon, in Consequence of this Grant. In 1642, or thereabouts, the *Dutch*, from *Flushing*, sent a considerable Colony thither, who fixed themselves very commodiously; and though at first they found the Climate sickly and unwholesome, yet by Degrees, as they cleared it, the Air agreed with them better, and they began to extend their Settlements. The *Spaniards*, however, from the Island of *Trinity*, in Conjunction with the *Savages* from *St. Vincent*, fell upon the *Dutch*, murdered them to a Man, and destroyed their Plantations: After which the Island lay for several Years desert.

About the Year 1664 Mr. *Adrian Lampsin*, a *Dutch East-India* Director, and his Brother Mr. *Cornelius Lampsin*, Burgomaster of *Flushing*, one of the Deputies to the States-General, from the Province of *Zealand*, formed a Design of re-settling this Island entirely at their own Expence. Mr. *Cornelius Lampsin*, after obtaining a Licence for that Purpose from the States, applied himself to the Crown of *France*, in order to prevent, if possible, any Danger to his new Colony from the Subjects of that Kingdom; and *Lewis XIV.* out of his great Generosity, from a Desire of shewing his Affection to the *Dutch*, and from a Principle of Indulgence to Men of noble Dispositions, created Mr. *Lampsin* Baron of *Tabago*, with all the Privileges of a Baron of *France*, and assigned him also a fair Coat of Arms sprinkled plentifully with Flower-de-Luces. Upon these Encouragements the two Brothers proceeded, and entirely at their own Charge, and by their prudent Management, from a waste and desert Country, in the short Space of eleven Years, rendered it the most flourishing for its Size of all the *Leeward Islands*; they called it, from one of the largest Isles in the Province of *Zealand*, *New Walcheren*, raised a very good Town, and a strong Fortrefs, called *Lampsinberg*, and two other good Forts, *Beveren* and *Belleviste*; and, which is very amazing, they settled, during their Administration, twelve hundred white People in that Island, where they succeeded in raising all the Commodities that are brought from the *West Indies*, viz. Tobacco, Sugar, Ginger, Indigo, Cotton, Cassia, Cacao, Rocou, Fustic, Citrons, Oranges, Ananas, &c. And besides these, they had some very valuable Commodities which were not in the other Islands; such as an excellent Kind of Saffras, a Kind of wild Mace and Nutmegs, and a great Quantity of Gum Copal.

They raised, besides, all sorts of Grain and Provisions in Quantities sufficient for their own Use, and for Exportation to the other Islands. But in 1678. Marshal *d'Estrees*, by the express Command of his Master *Lewis XIV.* sailed with a great Fleet to destroy this very Settlement, notwithstanding it had been made under his Protection, and by his Encouragement; for it seems it is one of the Privileges of the Barons of *France* to be beggared and destroyed whenever their grand Monarch pleases, which with some Difficulty was accomplished; for the *Dutch* defended themselves obstinately; but after two hard-fought general Engagements, they were defeated or rather over-powered by Numbers, and the Colony totally ruined, not more to the Loss of the industrious Planters than to the eternal Infamy of that barbarous Prince, who placed his Glory in making better Men than himself miserable. This Island was restored to the *Dutch* by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; and they have repaired some of their Settlements; but it is now a Place not worth speaking of, and very probably will never be, in any Degree, restored to its primitive Condition, because, lying within Reach of the *Savages* of *St. Vincent* and the Continent, it will be a very difficult Matter to settle there with Safety, unless a new Colony was undertaken in the same Manner, and carried on with the same Spirit, as the last.

The Island of *St. Eustachius* lies to the North-west of *St. Christopher's*, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 40 Minutes North. It is but small, being no more than five Leagues in Compass; it appears, to the southward, like a high Mountain rising out of the Sea, but stretches out northward into an indifferent good Country. The *Dutch* took Possession of it in the Year 1635, and the States granted the Propriety of it to Mr. *Vanree*, and some other Merchants of *Flushing*, who very soon settled

a Colony there of about six hundred Families. In the Year 1665 the *English* in *Jamaica* dispossessed the *Dutch*, and sent Colonel *Morgan* with three hundred *Buccaneers* to keep Possession of the Place. He soon after, making an Attempt upon the *French* Part of the Island of *St. Kitt's*, was killed; and the next Year the *Dutch* and *French*, both then engaged in a War against *Great Britain*, attacked and made themselves Masters of this Island, which by the Treaty of *Breda* was restored to the *Dutch*.

In 1689 it was taken from them by the *French*, but was restored to them again by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, since which they have remained in the peaceable and quiet Possession thereof. The Number of Plantations thereon, and the comfortable Condition of its Inhabitants, do very great Honour to the *Dutch* Industry; for without Doubt in any other Hands it would be a very indifferent Place; all the Sides of the Hill are laid out into small Settlements, and cultivated; the Houses are well built and well furnished; most of the Inhabitants are in good Circumstances, and have Warehouses well filled with *European* Commodities, with which they supply their Neighbours at a round Price, whenever they are disappointed of Supplies from *France* and *England*. They likewise raise great Quantities of excellent Tobacco, which comes to a good Market in *Holland*, and some other Commodities; yet there is not a Drop of Water in the Island, but what they are supplied with from the Clouds, which they preserve so carefully in Cisterns, that they are very seldom distressed. The Top of the Mountain is covered with a vast Wood, and in the Midst of it, instead of the Point one would expect, as it rises in the Form of a Sugar-loaf, there is a wide and deep Cavern, whence some have imagined that it was formerly a Vulcano, or burning Mountain.

To the North-west of this Island lies that of *Saba*, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 35 Minutes, which appears at first Sight to be a Rock; but the *Dutch* Governors of *St. Eustachius* have sent a small Colony thither, who have found a tolerable Valley, where they raise Tobacco, and other Things. It is a great Misfortune to both these Islands that they have not so much as a Port; but in the former there is a good Road, to command which there is a pretty strong Fort, and there all the Ships ride.

The Island of *St. Martin* lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees 15 Minutes, is in Length about seven Leagues, and in Breadth four: The Climate is very far from being wholesome, and the Soil cannot be very fertile, since there are no Rivers, and very few Springs, in the Island, which are also dried up in the hot Seasons; and then the Inhabitants are forced to have recourse to their Cisterns of Rain-water; yet, as insignificant as this Place may appear, it has been contended for by three, and is actually inhabited by two, powerful Nations; so that the History of it is extremely curious, and very well deserves our Notice. The *Spaniards* in Right of Conquest took possession of it, built a Fort there which was very strong, not so much for the sake of what they were able to make of the Island, as to prevent any other Nation from settling there; but when they perceived that the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, had seized the more valuable Islands, they thought it ridiculous to be any longer at the Expence of keeping this, and therefore resolved to quit it. This Resolution was taken in the Year 1648, and was executed very soon after. They destroyed their Cisterns, burnt their Houses, blew up their Fort, and then retired to *Porto Rico*.

It so fell out, that in this Garrison there were four *Frenchmen*, five *Dutch*, and a *Mulatto*, and all these ten hid themselves in a Wood, till the *Spaniards* were embarked, and then courageously sallied out and took Possession of the whole Island of *St. Martin*. But they very soon made choice of different Places to settle in, and, by a very solemn Treaty, agreed to divide the Country between the *French* and *Dutch* Nations. The *Dutch* made a little Canoe, and sent one of their Number to *St. Eustachius*, to inform the Governor of their Situation; and they promised the *French*, that Care should be taken to send the like Notice to the Governor of *St. Christopher's*; the former, being their own Affair, was performed very exactly; but the latter, concerning their Neighbours only, slipped out of their Heads. The *Dutch* did not

neglect this new Acquisition; on the contrary, one *Martin Thomas* was sent from *St. Eustachius*, to take Possession of their Part of the Island, with a considerable Number of new Planters. After this they began to treat the *French* but very indifferently, who, receiving no News from their Countrymen, began to suspect the Reason; and therefore, though with some Difficulty, found the Means of sending a Person to *St. Christopher's*, to inform *M. de Poincy* of the Agreement they had made, and the Hardships they laboured under; whereupon he sent an Officer and thirty Men, to take Possession for the Crown of *France*; but the *Dutch* would not suffer them to land, declaring, that they looked upon themselves as the legal Possessors of that Island.

They founded this Claim upon a prior Possession; of which it may not be amiss to say something. The *French* were the first who attempted to settle this Island; but, allowing the *Dutch* to trade with them, they surprized and drove them out of it, and built a Fort for their own Security; but the *Spaniards*, not liking their Neighbourhood, drove them out in their Turn, and erected a strong Fortrefs on the Island, as has been before-mentioned. As soon as the *French* Officer returned to *St. Christopher's*, *M. de Poincy* sent his Nephew, with three hundred Men, to put an End to this Dispute, and he did it very effectually; so that the *Dutch* Governor was glad to settle the Division of the Island, according to the first Agreement; by which all that Part of the Island, which looks towards *Anguilla*, was to belong to the *French*; and the other Side of the Island, in which formerly stood the *Spanish* Fort, remained to the *Dutch*. The former was the better half in every Respect, except the Salt-pits, which belonged to the *Dutch*. The Contract was settled on the Top of an Hill, the highest on the Island, which was from thence called *la Montange des Acordes*.

From this Time, to the War in the Year 1688, the two Nations lived together in strict Friendship, till the *French* called off the greatest Part of their Inhabitants to people that Part of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, out of which they had driven the *English*; and being afterwards driven out by them, these poor People were, for the most Part, undone; so that when they endeavoured to persuade them in the next general War, to take the same Step, they would not listen to the Proposal at all, but resolved to remain where they were; and the *Dutch* and *French* lived, while that War lasted, in great Quiet and Tranquility; neither would they suffer the Privateers of either Nation to injure the other. The *French* Settlement is of very little Consequence; but the *Dutch* are in a mighty good Condition, have large Warehouses, and carry on a considerable Trade, especially in Tobacco, which is very much esteemed, and the Place would be still more considerable, if they had a tolerable good Port; but they have only a Road, where Ships are much exposed, and, besides, it lies somewhat out of the Way, as being too much to the Leeward, which renders the Commerce to the Windward Islands very difficult. There is great Plenty in this Island of a kind of Tree, which both the *Dutch* and *French* call *Candlewood*. When it grows dry, and fit to burn, it yields a very pleasant Smell; and the small Sticks of it, when lighted, serve for Candles; and at the same Time that they light the Room, yield a very pleasant Scent, which arises from a fragrant Gum in the Tree, which cannot otherwise be extracted.

These are all the Possessions of the *Dutch* in this Part of the World, and it is equally surprizing that they have kept these so long, and that they have not been able to acquire better; since it is certain, that they have succeeded as well as any Nation, in those they have settled, and carry on a considerable Trade to *Holland*, in all Kinds of *West India* Commodities; as on the other Hand, they maintain a very considerable Commerce in *America*, from the great Warehouses of *European* Commodities, which they keep always full, and have small Vessels ready to carry their Goods wherever they hear of a Market, more especially in the Time of War between *Great Britain* and *France*; for then they have an Opportunity of supplying the Colonies of both Nations, in ex-

change for Sugar, and other *West India* Goods, which they transport in their own Vessels into *Europe*; so that in a very few Years such a War cannot fail of making all the *Dutch* Planters prodigiously rich. We are now to proceed to their other Islands, which lie nearer the *Spanish* Coast, and are consequently of more Value to them.

Curaçao, or as the *Dutch* pronounce, and sometimes write it, *Curraçaw*, is a small Island in the Latitude of 12 Degrees 40 Minutes North, about nine or ten Leagues in Length, and about five in Breadth; the Soil of which is far enough from being fruitful, and the Climate still farther from being either wholesome or agreeable; but notwithstanding these Disadvantages, such have been the Care and Industry of the *Dutch*, that they have always drawn great Advantages from this small, and seemingly inconsiderable, Country, in which formerly there were large Pastures, and a great Quantity of Cattle; but of late they have turned these into Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, so that at present it is thought the Provisions of all Sorts, that are raised in this Island, would scarce maintain its Inhabitants for one Day; yet such is the Prudence of the *Dutch* Government, that the Inhabitants are so far from being exposed to Want, that there is not a more plentiful, or better provided, Place in the *West Indies*; but, at the same Time, it is to be understood that every thing fetches a high Price there, which is so far from being a Disadvantage, that, in reality, it is the principal Source of the great Wealth of the Inhabitants. On the South-side of the East End of this Island, there is an Harbour called *Santa Barbara*; but the chief Harbour is about three Leagues from the South-east End, on the South-side, where the *Dutch* have a very good Town, and a strong Fort. Ships bound in thither must be sure to keep close to the Harbour's Mouth, and have a Hausar, or Rope, ready to send one End ashore to the Fort; for there is no anchoring at the Entrance of the Harbour, and the Current always sets to the Westward; but, being got in, it is a very sure Place for Ships, either to careen or lie safe; at the East End are two Hills, one of them is higher than the other, and steepest towards the North-side.

The *Dutch* Town, upon this Island, is, for its Size, one of the fairest and finest in *America*; and there are in it every thing requisite to render it commodious and agreeable, as far as the Climate and Soil will admit; public Buildings there are of all Kinds, very neat and commodious; the Port is rendered as safe as it is possible, and though the Entry is dangerous, yet the Precautions taken for the Service of Strangers, by the Government, are such, as not only free them from all Difficulties, but render them also, in a great Measure, insensible of any Hazard; so that though Nature has made it as inaccessible as any, yet, by the Skill and Industry of the *Dutch*, it is become one of the most frequented Ports in the *West Indies*. All kind of Labour here is performed by Engines, and that with such Dexterity, that Ships are lifted at once into the Dock, where they are carefully and effectually careened, and furnished with Provisions, naval Stores, Ammunition, and even Artillery if they want it; and all this is done with equal Readiness to all Nations, the *Dutch* being in perpetual Alliance with ready Money, let it be *English*, *French*, or *Spanish*; as appeared clearly in our late Expedition to *Laguaira*, and *Porto Cavallo*, where they furnished us with Cables, Ammunition, and even Men, for attacking the *Spaniards*, whom they had before furnished with Powder and Ball, sufficient to render that Attack ineffectual, and, but for the Neighbourhood of this *Dutch* Settlement, the *Spanish* Fortresses before-mentioned had been infallibly reduced, and in our Possession.

Bonaira and *Aruba* are two Islands likewise in the Possession of the *Dutch*, and dependent upon the Island of *Curaçao*; the former, which is twice as big as *Curaçao*, lies ten Leagues to the Eastward of it, and is about seventeen in Compass; the *Dutch* have a Deputy-Governor here, a Guard of Soldiers, and considerable Number of *Indians*; of late Years there is a Fort built for the Protection and Security of the Place, in which the Soldiers do Duty. The *Indians* are Husbandmen, and plant Maize

Maize and *Guinea* Corn, and some Yams, and Potatoes; but their chiefest Business is about Cattle, for this Island is plentifully stocked with Goats, and they send great Quantities every Year in Salt to *Curaçao*. There are some Horses, Bulls, and Cows, but no Sheep or Hogs all over the Island, or any Animals, but those before-mentioned; the South-side is plain Low-land, and there are several Sorts of Trees, but none very large; there is a small Spring of Water by the Houses, which serves the Inhabitants, though it is brackish; at the West End of the Island there is a good Spring of fresh Water; and three or four *Indian* Families live there, but there is no Water or Houses in any other Place.

On the South-side, near the East End, is a good Salt-pond, where *Dutch* Sloops come for Salt, which is now become a very considerable Commodity, and the *Dutch* are contriving Methods for turning it to still greater Advantage. The Island of *Aruba* lies seven Leagues West from *Curaçao*, and is not very considerable; however, they breed some Cattle there, and a great many Horses, which makes it useful to their chief Colony; to which it also furnishes a great Quantity of Garden-stuff, without which the People, at *Curaçao*, could not subsist; for amongst other Methods they have of getting Money, one is, allowing Strangers to erect Hospitals ashore for their Sick, in which they consume a great many Greens and Roots, and pay for them very largely, as indeed they do for every other Conveniency.

6. As this Island is not above seven Leagues distant from the *Spanish* Coast, a more convenient Station cannot be wished for the carrying on a clandestine Trade; it was first introduced by the Sale of Negroes, brought thither by the *Dutch*, from their numerous Settlements on the Coast of *Guinea*. These the *Spaniards* brought, in a Manner, openly, and have transported, in their own Vessels, fifteen hundred at a Time. But since the *English*, from *Jamaica*, have interfered in this Trade, it is sunk very considerably, though they still supply the neighbouring Provinces, and reap a great Profit thereby, because no body understands the Management of this Business better than they do, can bring Slaves at a cheaper Rate, or vend them at a higher Price. Some Writers have asserted, that in its most flourishing Condition, the Slave Trade alone drew from the *Spaniards* considerably above a Million of Pieces of Eight *per annum*.

The Dealers at *Curaçao*, and their Correspondents in *Holland*, were too knowing, and too conversant in Business, to let the Declension of the Slave Trade rob them of the Benefit of this Island. In order to replace what was lost by the *English* interfering with them, they built vast Magazines, and stored them with *European* Goods, which had a very good Effect: In the first Place, it preserved to them the Remainder of their Slave Trade, for the *Spaniards* knowing that this, of all others, was most winked at by their Governors, resolved to keep up a Pretence of buying Slaves, in order to have an Opportunity of purchasing other things. Secondly, It tempted the *Spaniards* to run all Hazards, that they might, at a reasonable Price, obtain any Sort of *European* Merchandise they wanted, and that too whenever they please. It is incredible what vast Sums have been annually traded for in this Way; besides, the Inhabitants of *Curaçao*, to keep up a good Correspondence with their Neighbours, and, as far as possible, to fix their Affections, refused to suffer any Privateers to enter their Ports; nor would, upon any Terms, purchase their Plunder, which, at the same Time, was publicly sold at *Jamaica*, where the Privateers usually spent their Money; this Spirit of Self-denial, however, did not hinder the Traders of *Curaçao* from directing the Privateers to put into the Island of *St. Thomas*, whither they instantly sent Sloops with Money and Agents on board them, to purchase what the Privateers had to sell; taking Care to send the Effects as soon as possible to *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* might have no Intelligence of this Contrivance.

It is to be observed, that in respect to this clandestine Commerce, it is chiefly carried on by the *Spaniards* themselves, who run all Hazards, come in Person to the

Island, and carry away whatever they have bought, in their own Ships. In process of Time, however, some Merchants devised another Way of carrying on the same kind of Commerce, by Ships sent directly from *Europe* to the *Spanish* Coasts. These Vessels were of such Force, that those aboard them stood in no Fear of any Precautions the Governors could take; and, on the other Hand, as their Cargoes passed immediately from their original Owners to the *Spaniards*, they could be afforded considerably cheaper than those consigned to Factors in *America*. The Method of trading, was by a Signal from the Ships, or from the Shore. The Long-boat was then sent off well manned, brought the Merchants aboard with their Money, and carried them back with their Goods. The Reader has been elsewhere told, with what Obstinacy one of these Ships was defended against two *Guarda Costas*, and, to say the Truth, those aboard them chose rather to sink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of Courage, for which, however, it is not impossible to account; and, as it may be useful as well as pleasant, I think it not amiss to enter into the Particulars thereof.

At the Time one of these Ships is fitting out, Notice is given to all Sailors, that they may have an Opportunity of entering; which they do with great Alacrity, there being, generally speaking, twice as many who offer themselves, as can be made Use of; when the Proprietors have their Complement of picked Seamen, they not only allow every Man his proper Cargo to a certain Value, but also furnish it themselves on Credit, at prime Cost; by this Means every private Man aboard becomes a Proprietor; and if the Ship is attacked, fights for his own Property, which is the Reason that he will drown sooner than part with it, and is one Cause why *Guarda Costas* are not over-fond of meeting with those Vessels, but chuse rather to prey on fair Traders, who have fewer Men, and are of less Force. The Scheme I have mentioned is certainly a right one, though in a wrong Cause. The only Way to support the Spirits, and fix the Affections, of ordinary People, is to consult their Interest; and those who imagine that Justice, Honour, or any thing else, will answer the same End, without a due regard to this, must not expect much Pity when they find their Mistake; so true in all Cases is that divine Maxim, *That the Children of this World are wiser in their Generation than the Children of Light*.

In a Time of full Peace, it has been computed that the Trade of this Island did not produce less to the *Dutch* than five Millions of Florins *per annum*, which is about half a Million Sterling; and considering that they derive this from a Parcel of Rocks, that any but they would scarce think worth keeping, it is a prodigious thing, and must, in the Opinion of every competent Judge, pass for the clearest Proof of the *Dutch* Skill and Industry that can possibly be given. In time of War the Profit is much larger; for then every Article of their Commerce is vastly increased, they sell more Slaves, more naval and military Stores, and more *European* Goods to the *Spaniards*; and the Governors are themselves less strict in Point of Licences; for these are things that must be had, and there is scarce any other Market. Besides, at such a Time, they drive a good Trade with the *English* Squadrons, that come upon those Coasts, and have also considerable Dealings with their Privateers, for which, in Time of War, they always keep a regular Factory at *St. Thomas*, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Reader may collect from hence the true Reason of those Disputes, so often mentioned in the *Dutch* Gazettes, between the Crown of *Spain*, and the Republic; the former looking upon all the Commerce of *Curaçao* as a kind of contraband Trade, which ought to subject the Vessels employed in it to frequent Seizures, by the Law of Nations, which the latter will by no Means allow, pretending that the Tobacco, Indigo, and Hides, aboard those Vessels, are the Produce of their own Colonies; and that the Silver found in them, is nothing more than the Balance of their Trade with other Nations. The *Spaniards*, indeed, know, but are not always able to prove, the contrary, and therefore are sometimes obliged to release the *Dutch* Ships, taken by their *Guarda Costas*,
and

and for those that are confiscated, though the *Dutch* always make a great Noise about it, yet they are sensible enough, that they have not much Reason; and this is the true Cause, notwithstanding all their loud Complaints, that they never proceed to Extremities upon this Subject, but are content with what Restitution they can get, and still keeping up a Claim to what they know will never be restored.

7. We have, in several Parts of this Work, had Occasion to speak of the *Dutch West India Company*, and therefore we shall not repeat here what has been already said upon that Subject, but content ourselves with observing that the *West India Company*, which subsists at present in that Country, is not the same that formerly made so great a Figure in the World, were Masters of *Brazil*, and the Scourge of the *Spaniards*; but another Company erected on the Ruin of that, in the Year 1674, into which the Proprietors of the *Old West India Company* were indeed admitted, but admitted upon such Terms, as shewed plainly enough how low they were fallen, and how near becoming Bankrupts, for they were allowed no more than fifteen *per Cent.* in the new Capital; that is to say, if a Member of the *Old West India Company* was possessed there of one hundred Florins in Property, it gave him a Title to no more than fifteen Florins in the new Stock; neither could they think this hard, since some of their Creditors bore a great Proportion in the Loss. Those that had lent Money upon the Stock, had no more than thirty *per Cent.* allowed them; but as to the fair Creditors, with whom the Company had run in Debt for the Support of their Commerce, they had their Demands converted into Stock at par; so that the Proprietors of the New Company were three different Sorts of People, in Favour of whom the Republic granted all the Privileges and Emoluments which the Old Company had enjoyed; and they entered, likewise, into the Possession of all the Fortresses and Colonies which belonged to the same Old Company.

The Affairs of this New Company were managed, as they still are, by Directors, in the same Manner as those of the *East India Company*; and though by several Calls they raised considerable Sums of Money, and carried on their Trade with tolerable Spirit for some Years, yet they could never retrieve their Affairs, but have been always endeavouring to unite themselves to the *East India Company*, as the only Means left for preserving their Settlements in *Africa* and the *West Indies*. As for *Surinam*, there is a particular Company established for the Management of its Commerce; and the Trade to *Curaçao* is managed by private Persons, who pay the Company for their Licences, and a small Duty upon all the Goods exported or imported. The only exclusive Trade they now enjoy, is that of Negroes, which of late is very much declined. The Reader will easily perceive, that the great Cause why this Company has sunk so low, is the Loss of the Colonies in the *West Indies*; for if they had more Plantations there, and those of greater Extent, it would occasion a Demand for Negroes; and as the *African Trade* is still in the Hands of this Company, they would be great Gainers thereby, and a considerable Part of the Commodities brought from the *West Indies*, must necessarily enter their Warehouses.

As it is, the *Dutch* drive a large and a beneficial Trade to that Part of the World, so that the Nation in general suffers very little, if any thing, by the Company's being in a low Condition; which, in all probability, is the true Cause why the Republic is at so little Pains to recover, or restore, the Affairs of that Company; and, perhaps, would be glad to see it united to that of the *East Indies*, as a Means, and, indeed, the only Means, of reviving and supporting the Slave-Trade. There was a Probability, as we have shewn in another Place, of seeing this accomplished, upon the Proposal made by the *West India Company* for that Purpose, in 1714, when they made it appear, that their Funds amounted to near one hundred and fifty thousand Florins a Year, exclusive of a legal Demand they have upon the Crown of *Portugal* for a large Sum of Money; but, since that Time, the Affair seems to have been no more thought of, or is it at all likely that it

will hereafter be brought to a Conclusion. Upon the whole, therefore, we have very good Reason to suppose, that as their Affairs now stand, the *Dutch* will never make any great Progress in this Part of the World; for, except their Colonies upon the Continent, they have none that are either capable of being improved or extended. *Tobago* can hardly be resettled, unless we should expel the *Indians* out of *St. Vincent*, *St. Eustachius* and *Saba* are down-right Rocks, of which it is wonderful that they make so much as they do, but it is impossible that they should make more; and the same thing may be said of *Curaçao*, and the Islands which depend upon it; so that how much soever private People may gain by the contraband Trade, carried on from thence with the *Spaniards*, yet it is not at all probable that they should ever become formidable to us, or to the *French* in the *West Indies*.

We may add to this, that even a great Part of that Trade is now carried on with the *Spaniards* from *Holland* directly, so that many of the Ships employed therein barely touch at *Curaçao*, that they may have a Pretence for standing over to the *Spanish Main*, where, especially in Time of War, they find a Way to trade, in the following Manner: They bear away directly for a *Spanish* Port, and as they enter it make Signals of Distress, pretending, commonly, that they have sprung a Leak, and that they are in imminent Danger of perishing at Sea, which obliges them to seek for Shelter and Protection in the Port of a Crown allied to the Republic. As soon as they come to an Anchor, the first thing that is done, is to give Notice to the Governor of their great Distress, and, as a full Proof thereof, to send a very considerable Present. By this Means Leave is obtained to come ashore, to erect a Warehouse, and to unload the Ship; but then all this is performed under the Eye of the King's Officers, and the Goods are regularly entered in the Register, as they are brought into the Warehouse, which, when full, is shut up, and the Doors sealed; all these Precautions taken, the Business is effectually carried on in the Night, by a Back-door, and the *European* Goods being taken out, Indigo, Cochineal, Vanillas, Tobacco, and above all, Bars of Silver, and Pieces of Eight, are very exactly packed in the same Cases, and placed as they stood before.

But then, that such as have bought may be able to sell publicly, a new Scheme takes place, a Petition is presented to the Governor, setting forth the Strangers Want of Money to pay for Provisions, building the Warehouse, Timber for repairing the Ships, and a proportionable Number of public Items; in Consideration of all which, Leave is desired to dispose of some small Part of their Cargo, in order to discharge those Debts; these being obtained in the usual Manner, something of each Sort of Goods, which has been privately sold, is now publicly brought to Market, and purchased by those Persons respectively who had large Quantities in their Warehouses before. Thus this whole Scene of Iniquity is transacted with all the formal Solemnity which could attend an Act of Justice and Compassion. The larger Concern the *Dutch* have in this Kind of Trade, the less they will be inclined to planting; that is to say, while they have this Channel for the bringing in of Wealth open, they will be the less ready to think of settling new Colonies, or of extending and improving those that they already have; and indeed, if they were to think otherwise upon this Subject, they would find infinite Difficulties in the Execution of any Design of that Nature, at a Time when all the Nations in *Europe* are thoroughly convinced of the Importance of their *American* Settlements, and are extremely jealous of each other's Progress therein.

8. There remains now but one little Island more in this Part of the World, of which the Nature of our Design obliges us to give an Account: This is, the small Island of *St. Thomas*, which lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees North, and is one of the largest of that Cluster of Islands which are called the *Virgins*. This Island is not above seven Leagues in Circumference, but has the Advantage of a very good Situation in all Respects: The Port is excellent, the Form of it an Oval, almost entirely surrounded

surrounded by two Promontories, which defend the Ships that lie within from almost all Winds. In the Centre of the Port there is a small Fortrefs, which stands in the Middle of a Plain; it is a regular Square, with four good Bastions though very little, but has neither Out-works or Ditch; and the only Security, besides its Walls, is a Pallisade, with which it is surrounded. On the Right and Left of the Fort, there are two small Eminences, which in our Plantations would be called *Bluffs*, and seem by Nature designed for Batteries, which would command the whole Harbour; but whether the *Danes* have mistaken her Intention, or are unwilling to be at any Expence that may be avoided, certain it is, that there are no Batteries here. The Island belongs to the King of *Denmark*, who has a Governor and a Garrison here; but there is besides, a large Factory on the Island, which belongs to the *Brandenburghers*, or Subjects to the King of *Prussia*.

The Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Island of *Porto Rico*, which is at no greater Distance than seventeen Leagues, secures the Inhabitants of *St. Thomas*, from any Danger of wanting Provisions, to which otherwise they would not fail to be exposed; for though the Soil of their Island be tolerably good, and every Foot of it cultivated, yet it would not produce sufficient for the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, which for the Size of the Place, are very numerous. The Town of *St. Thomas* consists of one long Street, at the End of which is the *Danish* Magazine, which is a very large, magnificent, and convenient Building, wherein there is room for Stores, Slaves, and Goods of all Sorts. The *Brandenburgh* Factory is also very considerable, and the Persons belonging to it are chiefly *French* Refugees, who fled thither when the Protestants were expelled from the *French* Islands. The chief Produce of their Plantations here is Sugar, which is very fine-grained, but is made in small Quantities, and the whole Amount cannot be very considerable; yet the *Danish* Governor is generally a Man of some Rank, lives in a Manner very suitable to his Character, and generally acquires a very good Fortune in that Station. The Director of the *Danish* Trade becomes likewise rich in a few Years; and the Inhabitants in general, by the Neatness of their Houses, and the Condition of their Plantations, shew plainly enough that they are in easy Circumstances.

All this is derived from their Trade, which is very large and extensive, and of very different Kinds; of all which, however, we will do the best we can to give the Reader a tolerable Idea. In the first Place, the *Spaniards* send hither large Vessels continually, for the Purchase of Slaves, which is the chief Support of the *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* Commerce, as they draw the Slaves which they sell, from their Settlements, upon the Coast of *Africa*, and which, if they had not this Vent for them, would long ago have become useless, and consequently have been deserted. But besides Slaves, the *Spaniards* buy here, as at *Curacao*, all Sorts of *European* Goods, of which there is always a vast Stock in the Magazine, which belong chiefly to the *Dutch*, who carry on a prodigious Commerce here, by which they are great Gainers. Besides this Trade with the *Spaniards*, there is a very great Resort of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Vessels to this Port, where there is a common Market for them all; where they can always depend upon the Sale of superfluous, and the Purchase of, necessary Commodities; and this cannot be done without considerable Advantage to the Inhabitants of the Place where these Dealings are transacted. But if in Time of Peace there is a vast deal of Business done at *St. Thomas*, and immense Sums of Money turned in the Space of a Year, in Time of War this is vastly increased; for being a neutral Port, the Privateers of all Nations resort thither to sell their Prizes; and the *Dutch*, who will not receive any thing taken from the *Spaniards* at *Curacao*, buy these Goods without Scruple at *St. Thomas*, and have always an Agent and large Sums of Money there, ready for that Purpose.

This Manner of dealing, in Time of War, is so advantageous, that in Time of Peace the People of *St. Thomas* can hardly leave it off, but are a little too apt to deal with that Sort of Privateers, which, in plain *English*,

are stiled Pirates. This passes in the Eye of the World for the Work of the *Danes*, but the Truth of the Matter is, that the greatest Part of this Commerce is driven by their Neighbours, who are not scrupulous of dealing with any Sort of People, provided always they can deal to Advantage. It was here that the famous Captain *Avery* or some of his Companions, disposed of the greatest Part of the rich Goods, taken in a Ship belonging to the *Mogul*, about forty Years ago, when the Magazines at *St. Thomas*, were so excessively crowded with *Indian* Goods, that they were not entirely emptied in twenty Years after, though they generally sold them at low Prices; and it was by this Accident, that Pieces of *Arabian* Gold, which were, properly speaking, Pagodas, were long current in the *West Indies*, under the Name of Sequins, for they knew not what to call them, at the Rate of about six Shillings, and Nutmegs, Cloves, Cinnamon and Mace, were likewise bought there very cheap, for many Years after.

9. We have now run through the entire History of *America*, from its first Discovery to the present Time: We have shewn how, when, and by whom, all the different Parts of the Continent; and all the several Islands of this new World were discovered, planted, or conquered; but we have been more particularly careful to explain the present State of its Commerce, and the Importance of their Settlements to the several Nations in *Europe* which have Territories in that Country. All therefore that we have now to do is, to add somewhat by Way of Conjecture, as to what may be the future State of these vast Countries, and what Changes may possibly happen in the Affairs of their present Possessors. It is very certain, that a Writer runs a great Risk, who hazards his Credit upon such Contingencies, and is commonly but very little pitied, if he is so unfortunate as to fall into Mistakes, because he might have avoided, if he had been wise, the running any such Risk; but there is great Difference between an Author who has nothing so much in View as raising his own Character, and one who considers only the Benefit of his Readers, and the Advantages that may result from his Writings to others. The latter I freely own is all I aim at, and as I am very certain, that whether the Event justifies my Conjectures or not, the Public will be Gainers, I am very little concerned about my Character as a Writer, and therefore am very willing to take my Chance, whether what I am going to say upon this Subject may raise, or ruin, my Reputation.

The *Spaniards* have undoubtedly, the fairest, largest, and richest Countries in *America*; but I am very far from thinking that they are the most powerful Nation in those Parts, or that they draw greater Advantages from their Settlements, than are derived from their Colonies to the *British* Nation. This will appear to many an absurd and ridiculous Assertion, and will appear to most a Paradox hardly to be maintained; but to me it seems a Truth, and therefore I venture to lay it down; and shall next offer my Reasons in the Support of it. In the first place, though the *Spanish* Empire in *America* be very wide, yet it is also very weak: In the Kingdom of *Mexico*, where they are strongest, the Government is in a very ticklish Situation, the People in general are discontented, and even those entrusted with the Government are far enough from being pleased; insomuch that I am very certain, if any Attempt had been made with a reasonable Force upon that Country, in the Beginning of the present War, a general Insurrection would have ensued. In *Peru* or *South-America* their Situation is much worse, their Force being not near so great, and the Disposition of the People not at all better; so that if any Notice had been taken of a Project published when we first declared War against that Nation, under the Title of *A Proposal for humbling SPAIN*, we might have made ourselves Masters of *Buenos Ayres*, with as little Loss as was sustained in the fruitless Attempt upon *Laguaira* and *Porto Cavallo*, which could not have turned to any great Account if we had succeeded. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had it not in their Power to hurt us, as appears from their being defeated in an Attempt upon the least and weakest of our Colonies, with all the Force they

they were able to raise. Such is the Difference between the Strength of their Governments in that Part of the World, and ours.

But to enter more closely into the Matter, let us consider the vast Extent of the Country they have, and the Number of People they have in it, and compare it with our own Territory and Force. The *Spaniards*, on one Side of the Continent, possess a Tract of Land, from 37 Degrees of North Latitude, to 53 Degrees of South; that is to say, from *Cape Sebastian*, the most northern Part of *California*, to the Streights of *Magellan*, which makes about two thousand Leagues; and on the other Side of the Continent, from the River of *Plate*, to the Head of the Bay of *Mexico*, their Territories lie directly along the Shore, or immediately behind it. Yet to guard this immense Tract of Ground, they have not above six hundred thousand white People of all Ranks, Sexes, and Ages, and not above three Millions of Subjects of all Colours; and of these it is generally reckoned that a sixth Part are Ecclesiastics, and consequently useless to the State for its Defence; on the other Side we have five or six hundred Leagues Coast, in which we have very near as many white People as the *Spaniards*, and those continually increasing, both by the Number of Persons bred and born in those Countries, and by the Accession of People from other Places, drawn thither by the Hopes of Profit. The *Spanish* Colonies have been always held dangerous and destructive to *Old Spain*, by draining that Country of its People; but this is so far from our Case, that, as I have already observed, our Numbers have not only increased, since we began to make Settlements in *America*, but have really been increased by them, that is, in Consequence of the Navigation and Trade which those Colonies have produced.

At the Time *Spain* discovered the *West Indies*, and for some Time after, she was the greatest maritime Power in *Europe*; but the Maxims she laid down for securing her Dominions in the New World, ruined her naval Strength in the Old; so that instead of great Fleets and numerous Squadrons, she is now reduced to a few Ships of War of no great Strength; and the whole Trade of her *West Indies* is, as to Shipping and the breeding of Sailors, very inconsiderable. On the other Hand, our naval Power took Rise from our Disputes with them, grew in Proportion as theirs declined, and is, at this Day, supported and maintained by what has weakened them, our *American* Settlements, where, comparatively speaking, we carry on as great a Trade, and employ as much Shipping, as in *Europe*.

The *Spanish* Subjects in *America* are, generally speaking, a weak, lazy, and effeminate People; so that whatever good is derived from them to their Mother Country, arises not from their Industry, but from the Labour and Pains of their tributary *Indians* or Negro Slaves. With respect to our People, it is the very Reverse; they are generally active and busy, engaged in different Methods of getting their Living, and very seldom remain fixed to one Spot for their whole Lives; and whenever there is a War in that Part of the World, and tolerable Encouragement given them, they are able to raise considerable Armies, and fit out Numbers of Privateers. The Weakness and Declension of the *Spanish* Power, is visible in all Parts of their Empire; where several great and flourishing Cities, erected by their first Conquerors, are either sunk into Villages, or totally deserted; but is more especially apparent in their Islands, which were formerly the best peopled, and the most flourishing Parts of their Dominions; whereas they are now fallen so low, that it is with Difficulty they keep them, and there is no direct Trade between them and *Old Spain* at all. Our Colonies are so far from being in such a State, that they are daily increasing; and some of them, such as the Islands of *Bermudas*, are rather over than under peopled; and whenever a long Peace, and a wise Administration, with respect to our Settlements, shall take Place, they will become infinitely stronger, and more considerable, than they are at present; and perhaps it will be found both practicable and expedient to make new Settlements, a

thing unthought of by the *Spaniards*, who can scarce keep what they have.

Upon the whole, all these Circumstances considered, I flatter myself it will not be thought the mere Effects of Partiality, in Favour of *Britain*, that have led me into this Notion, but rather a serious and attentive Consideration of the Situation and Circumstances of both Countries, with respect to their *American* Dominions. I am very well aware of one Objection, which is, the general Computations made of the Profits of both Colonies. It may be said, what Proportion does the Trade, or rather the Ballance of Trade, from the *English* Settlements, bear to forty Millions of Pieces of Eight, which in a Time of Peace, it is computed, are annually brought home by the *Spanish Flota* and *Galleons*; and how idle and ridiculous a thing is it, to compare such immense Treasures of Gold and Silver, with our Cargoes of Sugar, Tobacco, naval Stores, and Fish? But, perhaps, when we consider this more attentively, it will neither appear so ridiculous, nor so much to our Disadvantage, as at first Sight it may seem.

We might, in the first Place, dispute the Matter of Fact; for it is certain, that if we examine it nicely, and require all the necessary Proofs, it can never be brought any thing near that Sum; but this we are content to wave, because if the fraudulent, as well as fair, Trade, be taken in, it is not impossible, in Time of Peace, that there may be in Jewels, Gold, Silver, and Goods, the Value of eight Millions of our Money exported in one Year, from *America* into *Old Spain*. But the next Question is, does it remain there? Does this prodigious Wealth belong to the Subjects of *Spain*? Does it circulate through that Nation? All these Questions must be answered in the Negative, and I believe it will be allowed me, That to suppose two Millions Sterling, or, at most, ten Millions of Pieces of Eight, become *Spanish* Property, is over-doing the thing, and allowing them more Riches than really comes to their Share. But admitting the Case to stand thus, the Comparison between what they gain by their Colonies, and we by ours, is far enough from appearing ridiculous.

But it may be objected, that we do not bring home Money or intrinsic Riches, which is all that can add to the real Wealth of a Nation. Yet this very Objection, which seems to set us farther back than ever, confirms our Argument. The Commodities we receive from our Colonies, are the Produce of Labour and Industry; they are returned us for what was the Produce of Labour and Industry here, become, when imported, the Objects of Labour and Industry again; and after supplying our home Consumption, for the Supply of which we must otherwise have sent out ready Money, the Overplus is once more exported, and actually produces ready Money. Now if we reflect, that every Fact, and every Circumstance attending each of these Facts, is strictly true, with respect to ourselves, and that nothing can be replied to it on the Behalf of the *Spaniards*, who have the Goods and Manufactures they send to the *West Indies* carried to them in foreign Vessels, and the Money which pays for them again, exported from *Spain* in foreign Vessels; we shall be satisfied that this is no delusive Scheme of the Advantages derived to *Great Britain* from her Colonies in *America*. No specious Dream of imaginary Treasures, but a clear and strict Demonstration that Labour, Industry, and Commerce, are more valuable Mines than any in *Mexico* or *Peru*.

But all this is not said with any Design to lift us up, or render us proud, lazy, and negligent, but quite the contrary; it is exhibited to the View of the Reader, that he may see the real Value of Industry and Navigation, and why the Author is of Opinion that the *English* are as powerful as any Nation at present in *America*, and may become, out of Comparison, more so, if they are not wanting to themselves. The *French* come certainly next, but with regard only to their Islands; for as to their Plantations on the River of *St. Laurence*, I cannot believe they will ever turn much to their Advantage; and as to their Settlements on the *Mississippi*, I am persuaded they

they will never enrich the present Generation, and a thousand Accidents may fall out that will hinder their turning to the Advantage of Posterity.

Two Points thoroughly laboured, would set us free from all Apprehensions of the *French*, and consequently of any other Nation in *America*. The first is, giving Relief to the Sugar Planters, which either must be done, or, by degrees, that Trade will be lost, at least as to us, and fall, entirely, into the Hands of the *French* and *Dutch*. People do not go into the *West Indies* to work for others, but for themselves; and if it once comes to pass, that they find they cannot do this in our Colonies, they will go where they can; we have certainly no Power, and I think it very doubtful whether we have any Right, to hinder them. To oblige People to work for little or nothing, at so great a Distance from their Country, and in such uncomfortable Climates, supposing it could be done, would be degrading them into white Negroes, which, except to some modern Governors, would not, I presume, appear a thing reasonable to any of the Inhabitants of the *British* Isles. We are free by Birth, by the Law of Nature, and the Law of these Realms, and therefore Freedom is our Inheritance, in the most distant Part of the *British* Dominions, as well as in the County of *Middlesex*; and the Interests of *British* Subjects, wherever they are settled abroad, ought to be the Care of the Government at home, because they are the Interests of the People at home; and therefore I take it for granted, that the Reports of laying new Duties upon Sugar are absolutely false and groundless; and that as soon as the War is over, proper Measures will be taken for removing some of those Duties that have been laid upon this Commodity already, which are just as serviceable to the *French*, as prejudicial to our own Subjects.

The other Point necessary to be considered is, the raising of Silk, which would open a new Branch of Trade, equal in Value, perhaps, to half of what is now gained by our Trade to the *West Indies*. It is very probable that the introducing and establishing this Commodity, may cost us a great deal of Trouble and Expence; but if Silk can be raised in our Colonies, upon any Terms, whatever, it is worth our while to be at all this Trouble and Expence; since if we once have it, we shall, in Time, most certainly have it cheap. It was with vast Difficulty that Silk was introduced into *France*, nor was it done without Trouble and Expence; but it has paid that Nation abundantly for both, and there is no doubt, could we but get it, it would pay us as well. Besides, laying out our Money is nothing with us, we lay it out every Day, not only for ourselves, but other People, and in some Cases lay it out visibly to our Prejudice; the only Question therefore ought to be, when we are laying it out, what we lay it out for? And if, as in this Case, it can be answered, that we lay it out to get more, all is well. The Sugar Trade preserved, and the Silk Trade acquired, I, for my Part, see no more that can be wished, except it be the improving and preserving them, in order to make us an active and wealthy, as well as keep us a free and happy, People.

But if we should neglect these Advantages, I take it for granted that the *French* would grow upon us in the *West Indies*; for if once they become Master of the Sugar Trade, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to get it from them: Because it is much easier to preserve a flourishing, than to raise a declining, Commerce. If they get the Sugar Trade, and the Island of *St. Domingo*, they will certainly rival us in the Tobacco; and as their Plantations grow rich and populous, the very Overflowings of them may, for any thing I know, make their Settlements, on the River *Mississippi*, turn to a good Account; which, without some such lucky and unforeseen Accident, they never will. Thus I make the efficient Cause of the *French* Greatness, in those Parts, our Negligence, and not their own Power or Abilities, for these can do nothing, unless we give them room to work; then, indeed, they may, and certainly will, prove dangerous; for where they have the Capacity, we know they never want Will to hurt us.

As for the *Dutch*, whatever they may be elsewhere, it is certain they need not be here the Objects of our Apprehensions; for they can neither extend their own Trade to a Degree of provoking our Jealousy, nor is there any just Reason to fear they will ever hurt ours, unless by our ill Management we drive the most Industrious of our Sugar Planters to take Shelter in *Surinam*, which, with all its Inconveniences they would be apt to prefer to nearer and better Countries, under an arbitrary and popish Government. To conclude the Whole, I cannot forbear saying, that I look upon the *Spanish* Empire in *America*, as a decaying Structure which cannot subsist long, unless its Neighbours will charitably contribute to its Support, in which perhaps they may consider their own Interest enough, to be sufficiently compensated for their Labour. I look upon the *English* Acquisitions there, as the Glory of our Crown, and if we manage them prudently, the inexhaustible Treasures of the Nation. The *French*, in my Apprehension, thrive; but not in such a Degree as to be very formidable hitherto. And as for the *Dutch*, I reckon their Trade more beneficial, but less valuable, than that of the *French*, as being more precarious, and depending entirely upon the good Pleasure of *Spain*, which if her Disputes were thoroughly adjusted with *Great Britain*, might prove but a sandy Foundation.

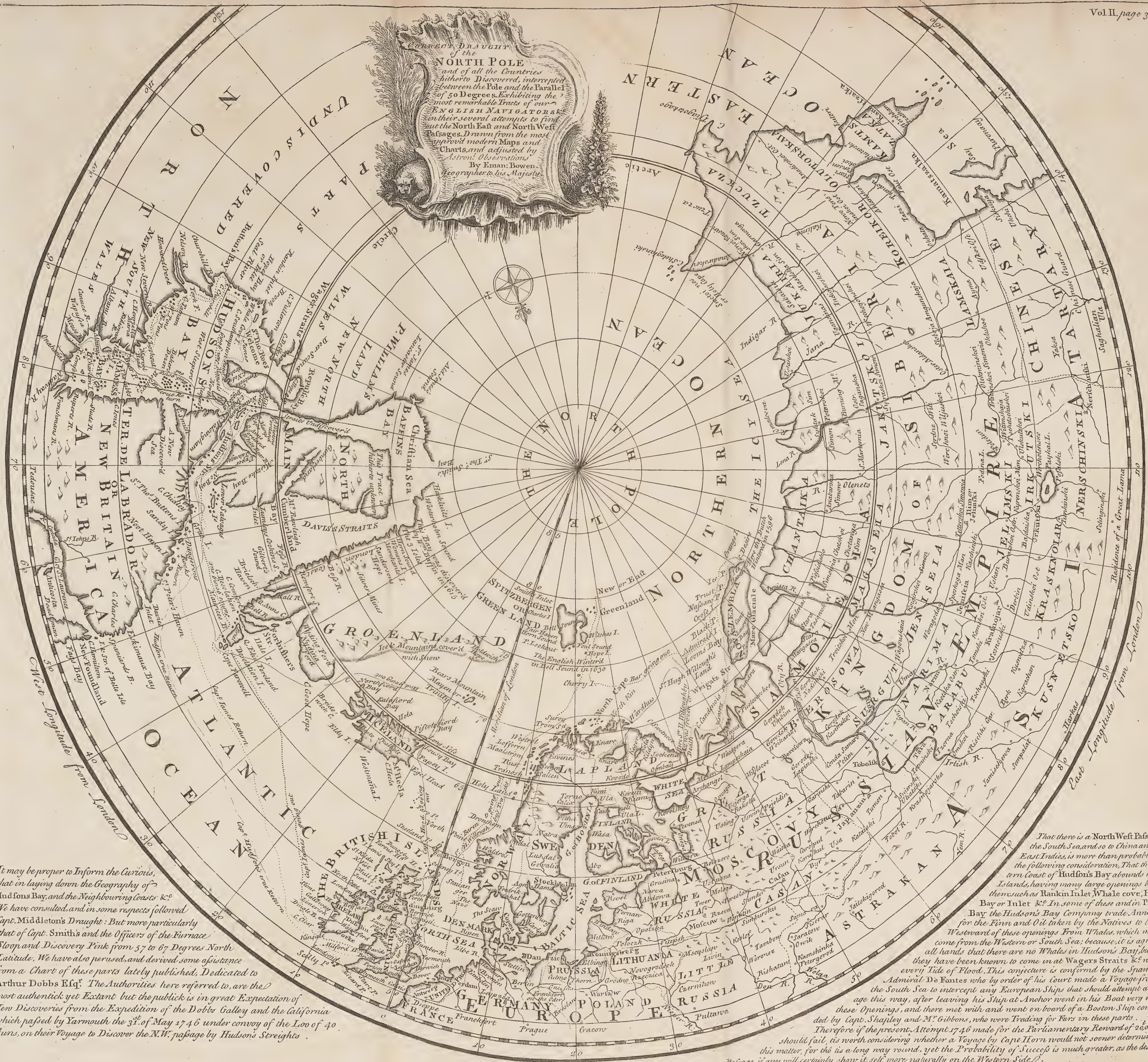
We might easily strengthen these Remarks if it was necessary, by many others of the same Nature, and perhaps it may not be amiss, for the sake of Perspicuity, to give the Reader a few; the rather because they will serve to illustrate this Subject in many other Respects. The Inhabitants of the *Spanish America* have it certainly in their Power to make still great Discoveries, and to extend their Conquests in that Country considerably, if they had Men, or if they had not addicted themselves so much to their Mines, which has been equally the Ruin of their *Indian* Subjects, and of themselves. In the Island of *Hispaniola* it is said to have destroyed Millions, and many more Millions in *Mexico*, which is the true Source of their own Weakness; for had they performed what they pretended in their Applications to the Court of *Rome*, on the Subject of their Discoveries in the *West Indies*, had they studied the Conversion of the People to the Christian Faith, instead of converting them into Slaves, and had they contented themselves with Settlements upon the Coasts, their Power would have been sufficiently great; the Industry of the *Spanish* Nation had been encouraged, and their Navigation extended; whereas, in the present State of Things they are Lords indeed, but precarious Lords only of wide Territories, which are diminishing daily; and at the same time have the Mortification of seeing mighty Acquisitions practicable, if they had but Force sufficient to keep them; but instead of grasping these, they are forced to withdraw their Colonies in the more distant Parts of their Territories, to sustain the main Body of their Dominions, which shew their Government to be in a kind of paralytic State, likely to subsist long, though past all Hopes of Recovery. The *English*, as they have Numbers of People in *America*, so taking Things generally, they are not at all in Danger of wanting Room for their Inhabitants. To the North they have *Nova Scotia* and the Country of *New Britain*; to the South they have *Carolina* and *Georgia*, thinly peopled. A great Part of the Island of *Jamaica*, is still uncultivated, and many of the *Leeward Islands* that we claim are unplanted; so that as our Power is greater than that of the *Spaniards*, by being more connected at present, so it is very easy for us to extend that Power by Degrees, without lessening this necessary, this salutary Connection. The *French* have indeed Room enough, and to spare, in *Canada*; but the more People they send there, the more they lose to their Country; for if that Colony was twice as numerous as it now is, it would be very little, if at all, more advantageous to *France*, unless she considers its being troublesome to us in the Light of an Advantage, and of such an Advantage as may balance the vast Expence she must be at in maintaining and supporting it. Her Islands are already as well peopled as she can wish, unless she knew better how to furnish them with Provisions,

vifions, their Wants often putting them entirely into the Power of their Neighbours, and rendering, not their Trade only, but their very Subfiftance precarious. In *St. Domingo*, indeed, they have more Room, but, perhaps, there may be Reafons why, unlefs they can procure the entire Poffeffion of the Ifland, they may be unwilling to fend more People there, than they have in it already. Upon the River *Missiffippi* they might certainly eftablifh twenty times the Number of People they have there, but this they will be hardly able to do, if they cannot give them better Encouragement than thofe Planters have had they have fent thither already; fo that take it altogether, the *French* have confiderable Difficulties to ftruggle under, but more efpecially thefe three: The firft is, the great Difftance of their Colonies from each other, and their being fituated in fuch a Manner, as to have their Correftpondence eafily interrupted by an Enemy more powerful than themfelves at Sea. The fecond is, the Dangers and Inconveniencies that attend their Navigation, from their refpective Colonies to each other; fo that even in Time of Peace, they are very far from being either fafe, regular, or expeditious. Thirdly, their Want of proper Commodities in their moft Northern, and moft Southern, Colonies, to create, or to continue, fuch a Commerce; which therefore is fcarce to be apprehended, notwithstanding

the Power and Policy of the *French* will be always bent to promote it. As for the *Dutch* and *Danes*, they are at their *Ne Plus ultra*; they may, indeed, increafe their Traffic occasionally, and by Intervals; but it is impoffible they fhould extend their Dominions, or, confequently, that their future Power, in thofe Parts, fhould ever become much greater than we now fee it. And though it may enrich themfelves, it can give their Neighbours no Umbrage.

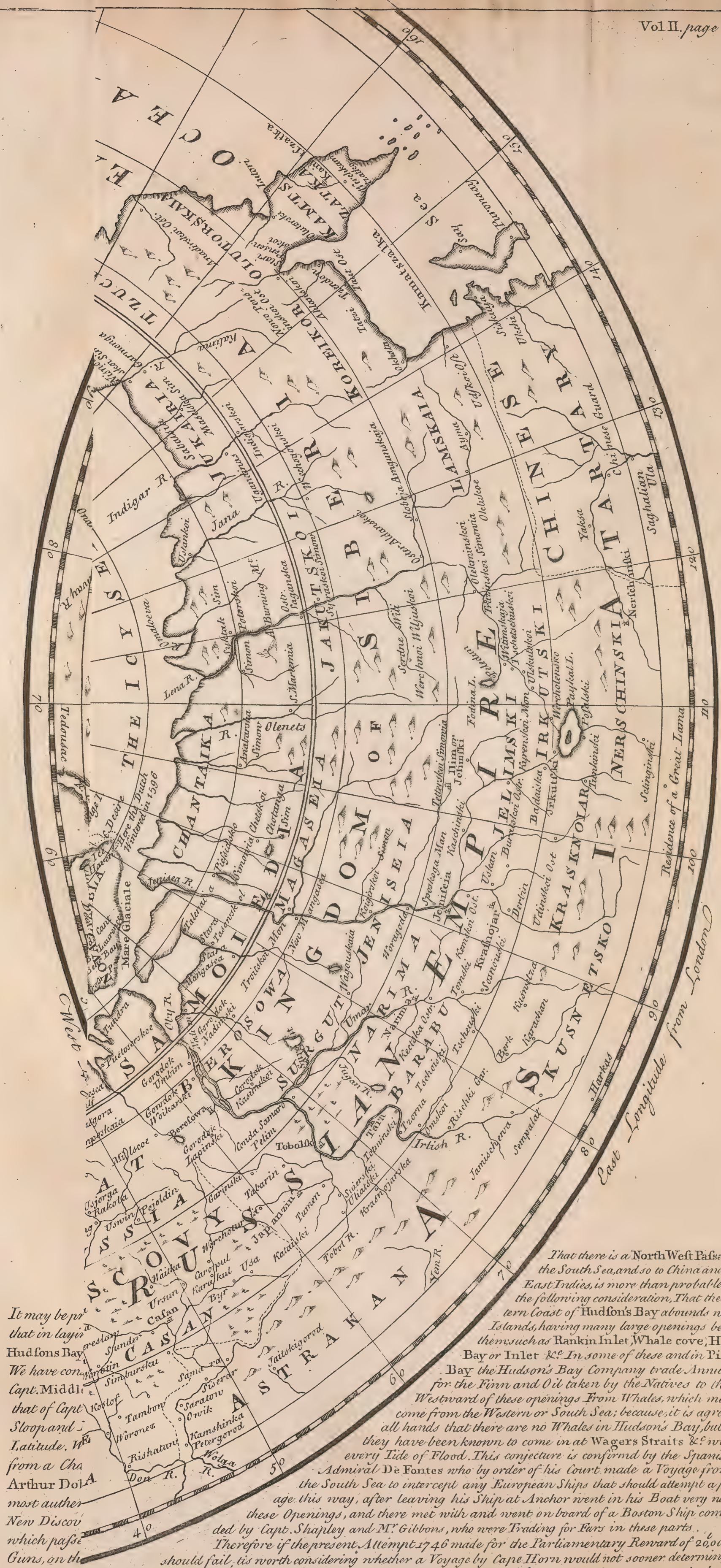
Thus in parting with the Subject, I have endeavoured to give the Reader a Proftpect of the future Condition, as in the foregoing Sections I have endeavoured to exhibit the prefent State, of this great Country, the Difcovery of which gave Chriftians an Opportunity of propagating their Religion, which they miferably abufed. If any thing that is faid herein could contribute to the redreffing this and other Evils, and infpire Men with free and generous Sentiments of promoting Virtue, Induftry, and Peace, it will fully anfwer the Author's Intention, and, which is of far greater Confequence, tend to the Welfare and Benefit of the Human Species; which it is our Intereft, our Duty, and our Glory, to promote, the only good Thing we can defire here, or hope to be rewarded for hereafter.





It may be proper to Inform the Curious, that in laying down the Geography of Hudson's Bay, and the Neighbouring Coasts, &c. We have consulted, and in some respects followed Capt. Middleton's Draught: But more particularly that of Capt. Smith's and the Officers of the Furnace Sloop and Discovery Pink from 57 to 67 Degrees North Latitude. We have also perused, and derived some assistance from a Chart of these parts lately published, Dedicated to Arthur Dobbs Esq. The Authorities here referred to, are the most authentick yet Extant but the publick is in great Expectation of New Discoveries from the Expedition of the Dobbs Galley and the California which passed by Yarmouth the 31st of May 1746 under convoy of the Loo of 40 Guns, on their Voyage to Discover the N.W. passage by Hudson's Straights.

That there is a North West Passage to the South Sea, and so to China and the East Indies, is more than probable from the following consideration, That the Western Coast of Hudson's Bay abounds with Islands, having many large openings between them such as Rankin Inlet, Whale cove, Hopes Bay or Inlet &c. In some of these and in Piftol Bay the Hudson's Bay Company trade Annually for the Finn and Oil taken by the Natives to the Westward of these openings from Whales, which must come from the Western or South Sea; because, it is agreed on all hands that there are no Whales in Hudson's Bay, but that they have been known to come in at Wagers Straits &c. with every Tide of Flood. This conjecture is confirmed by the Spanish Admiral De Fontes who by order of his Court made a Voyage from the South Sea to intercept any European Ships that should attempt a passage this way, after leaving his Ship at Anchor in his Boat very near these Openings, and there met with and went on board of a Boston Ship commanded by Capt. Shapley and Mr. Gibbons, who were Trading for Furs in these parts. Therefore if the present Attempt 1746 made for the Parliamentary Reward of 20,000 should fail, it is worth considering whether a Voyage by Cape Horn would not sooner determine this matter, for tho' it is a long way round, yet the Probability of Success is much greater, as the desirable Passage, if any, will certainly show it self more naturally on the Western Side.



It may be possible that in laying out the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, we have considered that of Capt. Middleton's Sloop and Latitude, which passed from a Chart of Arthur Dolan's most authentic New Discoveries, which passed Guns, on the

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Or, A Complete COLLECTION of

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

B O O K II.

VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES towards the NORTH, and through most of the Countries of *Europe*.

C H A P. I.

The DISCOVERIES made directly towards the NORTH, and the Attempts hitherto made for finding the NORTH-EAST and NORTH-WEST Passages.

S E C T I O N I.

The HISTORY of the Countries lying round the NORTH POLE; their Climate, Soil, and Produce; together with an Account of the Customs, Manners, and Trade of their Inhabitants.

1. A succinct Introduction to the History of the northern Parts of the World, shewing the Reason of considering them in this Part of the Work, rather than in any other.
2. The first Discovery, Situation, and Plantation of Groenland, or old Greenland, and the Accidents by which the Knowledge of that Country was afterwards lost.
3. The several Voyages for the Recovery of that Country, from the Reverend Mr. John Egede, a Danish Missionary, who resided there fifteen Years.
4. The Soil, Produce, Plants, &c. in this Country, and the Probability of its being anciently much more fruitful than at present.
5. The Climate, Seasons, Length of the Days, Fogs, Mountains of Ice, &c. in this Country, and in the Seas adjacent.
6. Of the various Animals in Groenland, and of the Manner in which the Inhabitants hunt the Rain-Deer in the Inland Part of the Country.
7. The different Methods practised by the Inhabitants in Fishing, particularly the various Inventions made use of for catching Seals, and other amphibious Animals.
8. Their Ingenuity in making Hooks, Lines, and other fishing Tackle; their Method of constructing Boats of several Sorts, and their surprizing Manner of navigating them.
9. Their Houses in which they live in Winter; their Beds, Lamps, Kettles, and other Furniture; their Tents in which they live in Summer, and their Manner of transporting them.
10. Their Customs, Manner of Living, Virtues, Vices, Civility to Strangers, and whatever else concerns the Behaviour of the Natives.
11. Their Cloathing, Neatness, and Conveniency of it; Difference in the Habits of Men and Women, and the Changes wrought in this Respect, by the settling a Danish Colony in that Country.
12. The Commodities and Commerce of Groenland; the Religion of the Inhabitants; their Notions of Astronomy, and surprizing Passion for Poetry.
13. Remarks upon the foregoing Particulars; and the Reasons which induced the English, Dutch, and

other Nations, to make Voyages for Discovery in these northern Parts. '14. The Discovery of Spitzbergen, or Greenland, more properly New Greenland; and a short Account of the Dispute between the English and Dutch, about that Discovery. 15. A Description of this Country, its Islands, Bays, Sounds, Harbours, and the usual Places where the English and Dutch fix themselves ashore, during the Whale Fishing. 16. The Soil, Climate, and Seasons, in this Country; with some curious Remarks on the Colour of the Sea Water. 17. Of the Animals that are found here, particularly Deer, Bears, Foxes, &c. with the Method of dressing their Skins upon the Spot. 18. A distinct Account of the Whale; the Size, Strength, and Manner of Swimming of that Creature; and the vast Quantities of Oil extracted from the Fat, or Blubber. 19. An accurate Account of the Manner of catching the Whale, cutting up, and making Train Oil, and Bone, from it, as practised in this Fishery. 20. Of the other valuable Fish in these Seas, such as the Fin-fish, Morje, Horse-whales, Dragon-fish, White-fish, Sword-fish, Sea-unicorn, Hay-fish, and the Profits derived from them. 21. Of the Countries adjacent to Spitzbergen, or Greenland, such as Mayen's Island, Nova Zembla, &c. the Reasons why they were formerly frequented, and have been since deserted. 22. Of the Land of Yedzo, or Jedzo, subject to the Emperor of Japon; supposed to join to, or to be divided by a narrow Streight from, the North Continent, either of Greenland or Nova Zembla. 23. Of the undiscovered Parts of the World, from the Borders of the Land of Yedzo, to the Frontiers of North America towards Hudson's Bay. 24. Of the Advantages that might attend the farther and more complete Knowledge of these Countries, towards the perfect understanding of the terrestrial Globe, and the mutual Relation between its Parts. 25. A circumstantial Account of the present State of the Whale-fishery, and a Computation, as near as may be, of the Share of several Nations in the annual Produce of that Fishery.



HERE is hardly a general Rule that admits of fewer Exceptions than this; That no Sort of Knowledge is burthenome, or appears, upon Reflection, not worth obtaining. If there were any such dark and useless Spot in the noble Science of Cosmography, or general Knowledge of this Globe, one might expect it should lie in this very Quarter, upon which we are now entering; I mean the History of these Northern Countries lying round the Pole, of which, hitherto, we cannot, with any Certainty, say whether they belong to this or that Quarter of the World, or whether they do not form a fifth Part distinct; that is to say, divided from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and, if so, there may be, very probably, a sixth Part lying in the like Manner round the South Pole.

But Experience has taught us, that the Knowledge of these dark and dreary Regions is very far from being useless and unprofitable, and still farther from being dry or unentertaining. We have thrown them into a Section by themselves, for the Reason before assigned; because there is no Certainty of these Countries being joined to any Part of the known World, and we have chosen to place them at the Head of this Book, because all we know of them is from their being visited by Europeans.

It is for the same Reason that we begin with *Groenland*, which, for any thing that appears from History, was the first of them that was discovered. The Reader is to observe, that though *Groenland* and *Greenland* be the same Words, the former being only the *Danish* Way of pronouncing and writing the latter, yet they are now made use of to denote two different Countries, sometimes also distinguished by the Names of *Old* and *New Greenland*; for want of attending to which, many modern Authors have fallen into great Mistakes and Absurdities. We shall begin with the first of these, and after giving the best Account of it we can, we shall then proceed to the latter.

2. *Groenland* lies but forty Miles to the West off of *Iceland*, beginning from the 59th Degree 50 Minutes of North Latitude. The Eastern Coast extends itself to the North, as far, probably, as *Spitzbergen*, or *Greenland*, between 78 and 80 Degrees, which is thought to be an Island separated from the Continent of *Groenland*. The Western Shore is discovered as far as 71, or 72 Degrees. Whether it be a large Island, or borders upon Countries to the North, is not yet found out. There seems great Reason to believe it is contiguous to *America* on the North-west Side, because there we meet with the Bay or Inlet, which in the Sea Charts is called *Davis's Streight*, from that famous *Englishman*, who in the Year 1585, was the first Discoverer of it, and is yearly frequented by Ships of different Nations, on Account of the Whale Fishery, but no body, as yet, has been able to find out the bottom of

it. And according to the Notice we have endeavoured to gather from those *Groenlanders*, who live farthest to the North, there is either but a very narrow Passage between *America* and *Groenland*, or, as is most likely, they are quite contiguous; and one is the more inclined to believe this, because the farther you go Northwards in the said Streight, the lower is the Land, contrary to what we observe where it borders on the Sea or main Ocean, where it never wants lofty Promontories.

It is said to have been first discovered by a *Norwegian*, named *Eric Rotcop*, who, having committed a Murder in *Iceland*, resolved to fly to some strange Country. He landed here, and because of its Greenness, called it *Groenland*; he sent his Son to *Olaus Trugger*, King of *Norway*, to get his Pardon, which was obtained. Upon this many Gentlemen ventured to plant there, settled Christianity, and built two Towns, called *Garde* and *Albe*. The King sent thither a Viceroy, who had his Seat at *Albe*, which was also made a Bishop's See, and had a Cathedral. They write also of a Monastery, dedicated to *St. Thomas*, which they pretended was built of Pumice-Stone, and that it had a Spring so hot, as to boil their Meat, and being conveyed into the Rooms by Pipes, warmed them as well as Stoves: But this seems fabulous. This small Colony failed in 1349, whether by a Disease they call the Black Plague, or the Barbarity of the Natives, is not certain. In 1406 the Bishop of *Drontheim* sent one *Andreas* to bring an Account of the State of Christianity there, but he never returned.

The fabulous Accounts after this Period are not worth preserving, because they contain nothing certain, useful, or entertaining; as to Sir *Martin Frobisher's* Voyages, we shall have Occasion to mention them in another Place. It is sufficient for our Purpose to take Notice here, that his Discoveries upon the Coast of *Groenland* put the *Danes* upon attempting something on that Side also, but with very little Success; what they have since done, from that Time to this, is much more within our Power, and worthy of the Reader's Notice; which therefore we shall give him in the Words of the Reverend Mr. *John Egede*, a *Danish* Missionary, who has written a History of this Country from his own Knowledge, and in his own Language, wherein, as to that Matter, he gives us the following, curious, and authentic Account.

3. "After the Expeditions of *Frederick II. Christian IV.* his Successor, with great Cost, ordered four different Expeditions for this Discovery. The first was undertaken under the Command of *Godske Lindenow*, with three Ships. And, as the History tells, *Lindenow*, with his Ship, arrived upon the East Coast of *Groenland* (which I can hardly believe) and found none but wild, uncivilized, People there, like those *Frobisher* is said first to have met with. He staid there three Days, during which Time the wild *Groenlanders* came to trade with him, changing Furs, Skins, " and

“ and precious Stones, against all Kinds of small Iron-ware; such as Knives, Scissars, Needles, common Looking-Glasses, and other such Trifles. When he set sail from thence, there were two *Groenlanders* remained in the Ship, whom he carried off, and brought them home with him. These, as they endeavoured to get away from him, and sometimes would have jumped into the Sea, they were obliged to tie and secure, which, when their Countrymen observed, who flocked together on the Shore, they made an hideous Out-cry and Howling, flung Stones, and shot their Arrows at the Sailors; upon which those from the Ship fired a Gun, which frightened and dispersed them, and so the Ship left them. The two other Ships that set sail in Company, and under the Command, of *Lindenow*, after they had doubled *Cape Farewell*, steered directly for the Streight of *Davis*, in which Navigation they discovered many fine Harbours, delightful green Meadow Lands, but all the Inhabitants along the Coasts wild and savage. It is pretended also, that they, in some Places, found Stones which contained some Silver Ore, which they took along with them; of which one hundred Pound yielded twenty-six Ounces of Silver. These two Ships also brought four Savages home with them to *Copenhagen*.

“ The second Expedition was made by order of the same King, in the Year 1606, with five Ships, under the Conduct of the afore-mentioned Admiral *Lindenow*, carrying along with him three of the Savages (one of them dying in the Voyage) which they had brought off the Year before from *Groenland*. But this Time he directed his Course to the Westward of *Cape Farewell*, standing for the Streight of *Davis*, where, coasting along, he took the Survey of several Places, and then returned home again. The third and last Expedition of this glorious King, was only of two Ships, commanded by Captain *Carsten Richards*, an *Holstenian* by Birth. He espied the Land, and its high and craggy Rocks afar off, but could not come near it on Account of the Ice, and so returned home. The fourth Expedition of King *Christian IV.* under the Conduct of Captain *Jens Munck*, in the Year 1616, was not made for the discovering of *Groenland*, but to find out a Passage between *Groenland* and *America* to *China*, the Misfortunes of which Expedition are related by the said Commander.

“ There were besides these four Expeditions at the King's Cost, a fifth, undertaken in the same King's Reign, by a Company settled in *Copenhagen*, in the Year 1636; of which Company, the President was the Lord High Chancellor *Christian Früs*. Two Ships, fitted out by this Company, directed their Course for the Westward of *Groenland*, fell in with the Streight of *Davis*, where they traded for a while with the Savages; but this was not the main Design of the Commander, who was acquainted with a Coast whose Sand had the Colour and Weight of Gold, which he accordingly did not miss, and filled both their Ships with the same. After their Return to *Copenhagen*, the Goldsmiths were ordered to make a Trial whether this Sand would yield any Gold or no; who not being skilful enough to make such a Trial, condemned it to be all thrown over-board; which was done by Order of the High Chancellor, President of the Company. Some Part of the said Sand was yet kept out of Curiosity, out of which an Artificer, who afterwards came to *Copenhagen*, did extract a good deal of pure Gold. The honest and well-meaning Commander who went upon this Adventure was turned out of Favour, and soon afterwards died of Grief, whereby not only the Treasure they had brought home, but also the Knowledge of the Place where it was to be found was entirely lost, as he kept this absolutely a Secret to himself.

“ In the Year 1654, during the Reign of King *Frederick III.* a noble and wealthy Adventurer, *Henry Muller*, fitted out a Ship for *Groenland*, under the Command of *David de Nelles*, who arrived safe in that Country, and brought from thence three Women, whose Names were *Kunelick*, *Kabelau*, and *Sigokou*,

“ who, according to the Opinion of Bishop *Torlais*, who had perused the said Captain's Journal, were taken in the Neighbourhood of *Herjolfsnes*, on the eastern Shore; but which I cannot believe. My Opinion is, they were brought from the western Shore near *Baal's* River, as some of the Inhabitants who are still living had in fresh Remembrance, telling me their Names, as they are laid down in the afore-mentioned Journal. The last Adventurer that was sent upon the Discovery of *Groenland*, according to *Torfaeus* in his *History of Groenland*, was Capt. *Otto Oxelson*, in the Year 1670, in the Reign of *Christian V.* of glorious Memory; but what Success this Adventurer met with he leaves us to guess; nevertheless we find, in a Manuscript Description of *Groenland*, written by *Arngrim Vidalen*, That his said Majesty did invite, and with great Privileges encourage, Mr. *George Tormuntzen*, Counsellor of Commerce at *Bergen*, to fit out Ships for the said Discovery; whereupon the said Counsellor, not only got ready Shipping well-stored for such an Expedition, but also got together a Number of Passengers, who resolved to go and settle in those Parts; whom he provided with all Things necessary for that Purpose, both Provision and Ammunition, as well as Houses made of Timber, ready to be erected in that Country; but this great Design miscarried, the Ship being taken by the *French*, and carried into *Dunkirk*.

“ Thus for a long while it seemed that all Thought of *Groenland* was laid aside, until the Year 1721, when, after many well-meant Invitations and Projects proposed by me to the *Groenland* Company at *Bergen* in *Norway*, approved and authorized by his late Majesty *Frederick IV.* of glorious Memory, the Company thereupon resolved, not only to send Ships, but also to settle a Colony in *Greenland* in the 64th Degree; when I went over with my whole Family, and remained there fifteen Years. During my Stay, I endeavoured to get all the Intelligence that could be, both by Sea and Land, of the present State of the Country, and did not lose my Labour; for I found some Places that formerly were inhabited by the *Norwegians* on the western Shore.

“ But whereas my main Drift and Endeavour has been all along to discover the eastern District of *Groenland*, which always was reckoned the best of our ancient Colonies; accordingly I received a Letter from the above-mentioned *Groenland* Company at *Bergen*, in the Year 1723, in which I was told, that it was his Majesty's Pleasure, That the East District might likewise be visited, and discovered; which, the better to effect, I took the Resolution to make this Voyage in person, and accordingly I coasted it southwards as far as the *States Promontory*, looking out for the Streight of *Frobisher*, which would have been my shortest way according to those Charts, which lay the said Streight down in this Place; but such a Streight I could not find. Now, as it grew too late in the Year for me to proceed further, the Month of *September* being near at an End, when the Winter Season begun in those Parts, accompanied with dreadful Storms, I was obliged to return. In the Year 1724 the Directors of the said *Bergen* Company, according to his Majesty's Good-will and Pleasure, fitted out a Ship to attempt a Landing on the eastern Shore, as had been formerly practised on that Coast which lies opposite to *Iceland*; but the surprizing Quantities of Ice which barricaded the Coast made the Enterprize abortive and quite miscarry, as many others had done, as there was no Convenience for Ships to approach this Shore.

“ The same King, in the Year 1728, resolved, besides other very considerable Expences, to have Horses transported to this Colony, in hopes that, with their Help, they might travel by Land to this eastern District: But nothing was more impossible than this Project, on Account of the impassable, high and craggy Mountains, perpetually covered with Ice and Snows, which never thaw. Another new Attempt by Sea was, by Order of the same King, made in the Year 1729, by Lieutenant *Richard*, who with his

“ Ship

“ Ship passed the Winter near the new *Danish* Colony in
 “ *Groenland*; and in his Voyage back to *Denmark* made
 “ all the Endeavours he could, to come at the afore-
 “ said Shore opposite to *Iceland*, but to no Purpose, be-
 “ ing herein disappointed like the rest before him.

“ All these Difficulties and continual Disappointments
 “ have made most People lose all Hopes of succeeding in
 “ this Attempt; nevertheless I flatter myself to have hit
 “ luckily on an Expedient, which to me seems not im-
 “ practicable, though hitherto not tried, or at least but
 “ slightly executed, viz. To endeavour to leave the Land,
 “ from the *States Promontory*, (or as we call it) *Cape Prince*
 “ *Christian*, northwards. The Information I have had
 “ from some *Groenlanders*, who in their Boats have coasted
 “ a great Part of the East-side, confirms me in my Opi-
 “ nion; for although an incredible Quantity of driven
 “ Ice, yearly comes from *Spitzbergen*, or *New Greenland*,
 “ along this Coast, and passes by the *States Promontory*,
 “ which hinders the approaching of Ships, as far as the
 “ Ice stretches, where about the best Part of the *Nor-*
 “ *wegian* Colonies were settled, yet there have been found
 “ Breaks, and open Sea, near the Shore, through
 “ which Boats and small Vessels might pass accord-
 “ ing to the Relation of the *Groenlanders*, as well
 “ as agreeable to my own Experience, the Current
 “ that comes out of the Bays and Inlets, always
 “ running along the Shore South-westwards, hinders the
 “ Ice from adhering to the Land, and keeps it a
 “ Distance from the Shore. By which Means the *Groen-*
 “ *landers* at certain Times, without any Hindrance, have
 “ passed and re-passed part of this Coast in their *Cone-*
 “ *boats* (so they call their large Boats) though they
 “ have not been so far as where the old *Norway* Colonies
 “ had their Settlements, of which, no doubt, there are
 “ still some Ruins to be seen on the Eastern Shore.

“ Furthermore: I have been credibly informed by
 “ *Dutch* Seamen that frequent those Seas, That several
 “ of their Ships have at times found the East-side of
 “ *Groenland* cleared of the Ice as far as the 62d Degree;
 “ and they had tarried some time among the Out-rocks
 “ on that Coast, where they carried on a profitable Trade
 “ with the *Savages*; and I myself, in my Return from
 “ *Groenland* homewards, in the Year 1736, found it to
 “ be so when we passed the *States Promontory* and *Cape*
 “ *Farewell*, and stood in for the Shore, where at that
 “ time there was no Ice to be seen, which at other Times
 “ is very uncommon; but as this happens so seldom, it
 “ is very uncertain, and unsafe for any Ship to venture
 “ so far up under the Eastern Shore.

“ But, as I observed a little before, it is more safe and
 “ practicable to coast it from the Promontory along the
 “ Shore in small Vessels, especially if there was a Lodge
 “ erected in the Latitude of between 60 and 61 Degrees;
 “ and it would be still more convenient, if there could
 “ be Ways and Means found likewise to place a Lodge
 “ on the eastern Shore, in the same Latitude; for accord-
 “ ing to the Account the Ancients have left us of *Groen-*
 “ *land*, the Distance of Ground that lies uncultivated,
 “ between the West and East-side is but twelve *Norway*
 “ Miles, by Water; or, according to a later Compu-
 “ tation, it is a Journey of six Days in a Boat; and as
 “ the Ruins of old Habitations, which I have discovered
 “ between 60 and 61 Degrees, are without doubt in
 “ the most southerly Part of the West-side, it of Necess-
 “ sity follows that the Distance cannot be very great from
 “ thence to the most southerly Part of the eastern Side.
 “ Now, if it should be found practicable at certain
 “ Times to pass along the Shore with Boats or small
 “ Ships to the East-side, to the Latitude of 63 and 64
 “ Degrees, little Lodges might be made, though larger
 “ Ships could not yearly visit one of them, but only
 “ touch at the most southern ones, I am also persuaded
 “ that the Thing is possible, if it should please God in
 “ his Mercy to forward this Affair, Colonies might be
 “ established here, which without great Trouble might
 “ be supplied yearly with all Necessaries.

4. As to the Soil, we are informed by ancient Histo-
 ries that the *Groenland* Colonies bred Cattle, which afford-
 ed Milk, Butter, and Cheese, in such abundance, that a

great Quantity was brought over to *Norway*, and, for
 its particular Goodness, was set apart for the King's
 Kitchen, which was practised until the Reign of Queen
Margaret. We also read that some Parts of the Country
 yielded the choicest Wheat; and in the Valleys the Oak
 Trees produced Acorns of the Bigness of an Apple, very
 good to eat. The Woods afforded plenty of Game, such
 as Rain-Deers, &c. The Rivers, Bays, and Seas, fur-
 nished an infinite Number of Fishes, Seals, Morfes, and
 Whales, of which the Inhabitants made a considerable
 Trade. And though the Country, at present, cannot
 boast of the same Plenty, as it lies destitute and unculti-
 vated, yet, no doubt, but the old dwelling Places, for-
 merly inhabited and manured by the ancient *Norway* Co-
 lonies, might recover their former Fertility, if again
 peopled, as about these Places there grows fine Grass,
 especially from the Latitude of 60 to 65 Degrees.

In the great Bay, which at present is called the Bay
 of *Good Hope* (from the *Danish* Colony settled near the
 Entrance of this Inlet) there are on both Sides of the Co-
 lony many good Pieces of Meadow Ground, for the
 grazing of Numbers of Cattle; besides plenty of Pro-
 visions, which the Sea, as well as the Land, yields.
 Woods of any Consideration are rarely to be met with,
 yet there are Underwoods and Shrubs in great Quantity,
 especially of Birch, Elm, and Willows, which afford suf-
 ficient Fuel for the Use of the Inhabitants. The largest
 Wood is in the Latitude of 60 and 61 Degrees, where
 the Birch Trees are two or three Fathom high, some-
 what thicker than a Man's Arm. Small Juniper Trees
 grow here in abundance; the Berries of which are of
 the Bigness of Grey-pease.

The Herb called *Quaun*, which is our Angelica, is
 very common, as well as wild Rosemary, which has the
 Taste and Smell of Turpentine, from which is extract-
 ed a fine Oil and Spirit, of great Use in Medicine. That
 precious Herb Scurvy-grass, the most excellent Remedy
 for the Cure of the Distemper which gives its Name,
 grows every where on the Sea-side, and has not so bitter
 a Taste as in softer Climates. The Country also produces
 a Grass with yellow Flowers, the Roots of which smell
 in the Spring like Roses, and are very wholesome. In
 the Bays and Inlets you have wild Time, on the Side
 of the Mountains, which, after Sun-set, yields a fra-
 grant Smell. Here also you meet with the Herb Tor-
 mentil, and a great many other Herbs. Their most
 common Berries, are those called Blew-Berries, Tittle-
 Berries, and Bramble-Berries; Mult-Berries, which are
 common in *Norway*, do not come here to any Perfection,
 on Account of the Fogs that hang upon the Island at
 the Time these Plants bud.

This Country yields the pleasantest Prospect about the
 Latitude 60 to 64 Degrees, and seems fit to be manured
 for the Produce of all Sorts of Grain, and there is to this
 Day Marks of arable Land to be observed. The Au-
 thor, himself, made a Tryal of sowing Barley in the Bay
 joining to their new Colony, which sprung up so fast,
 that it stood in its full Ear towards the latter End of July;
 but did not ripen on Account of the Night Frosts which
 nipped it, and hindered its Growth. But as this Grain
 was brought over from *Bergen* in *Norway*, no doubt it
 wanted a longer Summer, and more Heat to ripen.
 Turnips and Cole are very good here, and of a sweet
 Taste, especially the Turnips, which are very large. It is
 to be observed, that all that has been said of the Fruitful-
 ness of the *Groenland* Soil, is to be understood of the La-
 titude from 60 Degrees to 65 Degrees, and differs accord-
 ing to the different Degrees of Latitude; for in the most
 Northern Parts, you find neither Herbs nor Plants; so
 that the Inhabitants cannot gather Grass enough to put in
 their Shoes to keep their Feet warm, but are obliged to
 buy it from the Southern Parts.

5. The Natives of *Groenland* have no Reason to com-
 plain of Storms or Rain, which seldom trouble them, es-
 pecially in the Bay of *Disco*, in the 69th Degree of Lati-
 tude, where they commonly have clear and settled Wea-
 ther during the whole Summer Season. But when foul
 Weather falls in, it rages with an incredible Violence,
 chiefly when the Wind comes about Southerly, or South-
 west,

west, and the Storm is succeeded by fair Weather, as soon as the Wind shifts to the West and North. The Country would be exceeding pleasant and healthful in Summer-time, if it was not for the heavy Fogs, especially near the Sea Coast, for it is as warm here as any where, when the Air is clear, which happens when the Wind blows Easterly; and sometimes it is so hot, that the Sea-Water, which, after the Ebbing, has remained in the hollow Places in the Rocks, before Night, by the bare Heat of the Sun, is coagulated into a fine white Salt.

Sometimes for three Months together they have fair settled Weather, and warm sun-shiny Days, without any Rain; the Length of the Summer is, from the latter End of *May*, to the Midst of *September*; all the remaining Part of the Year is Winter, which is tolerable in the Latitude of 64 Degrees; but to the Northward of 68 Degrees, and even there, the Cold is so excessive, that the most spirituous Liquors, as *French Brandy*, will freeze near the Fire-side. At the End of *August* the Sea is all covered with Ice, which does not thaw before *April* or *May*, and sometimes not till the latter End of *June*. It is remarkable, that on the Western Coasts of different Countries, lying in one and the same Latitude, it is much colder than on the Eastern, as in some Parts of *Groenland* and *Norway*. And though *Groenland* is much colder than *Norway*, yet the Snow never lies so high, especially in the Bays, where it is seldom above half a Yard higher than the Ground; whereas the Inland Parts, and the Mountains, are perpetually covered with Ice and Snow, which never melt, and not a Spot is bare, but near the Shore, and in the Bays; where, in the Summer, you are delighted with a charming Verdure, caused by the Heat of the Sun; reverberated from Side to Side, and concentrated in those lower Parts of the Valleys, surrounded by high Rocks and Mountains, for many Hours together, without Intermision. But at Sun-set the Air is changed at once, and the cold Ice Mountains make you soon feel the Nearness of their Neighbourhood, and oblige you to put on your Furs.

Besides the Ice that covers the whole Face of the Land, the Sea is almost choaked with it: Some large and flat Fields of Ice, and some prodigious Mountains of an astonishing Bigness, lying as deep under Water as they soar high in the Air. These are Pieces of the Ice Mountains on Land, which lie near the Sea, and, bursting, tumble down into the Sea, and are carried off. They represent to the Beholders, afar off, many odd and strange Figures, some of Churches, Castles with Spires and Turrets; others you would take to be Ships under sail, and many have been deluded by them, thinking they were real Ships, and going to board them. Nor do their Figures and Shape alone surprize, but also their Diversity of Colours pleases the Sight; for some are like white Chrystal, others as blue as Sapphires, and others again green as Emeralds. One would attribute the Cause of these Colours to Metals or Minerals, in Places where this Ice was formed, or of Waters of which it was coagulated; but Experience teaches, that the blue Ice is the Concretion of fresh Water, which at first is white, and at length hardens and turns blue. But the greenish Colour comes from Salt-water. For it is observed, that if you put the blue Ice near the Fire, and let it melt, and afterwards remove it to a colder Place to freeze again, it does not recover its former blue Colour, but becomes white; from whence it seems that the volatile Sulphur which the Ice had attracted from the Air, by its Resolution into Water exhales and vanishes.

Though the Summer-season is very hot in *Groenland*, it seldom causes any Thunder and Lightening; the Reason of which may be the Coldness of the Night, which allays the Heat of the Day, and causes the sulphurous Exhalations to fall again, with the heavy Dew, to the Ground; as for the ordinary Meteors, frequently seen in other Countries, they are common in *Groenland*, as the Rainbow, flying and shooting Stars, and the like; but what is more peculiar to the Climate, is the Northern Light, or *Aurora Borealis*, which, in the Spring of the Year, about the Time of the new Moon, darts Streams of Light all

over the Sky, as quick as Lightening, especially if it be a clear Night, with such a Brightness, that you may read by it as by Day-light. The Air is not at all unhealthy, for if you except the Scurvy, and Distempers in the Breast, they know nothing here of many other Diseases; and these pectoral Infirmities are the Effects of that nasty foggish Weather, which this Country is subject to; which we may impute to the vast Quantities of Ice that cover the Land, and drive in the Sea, from the Beginning of *April*, to the End of *July*, which is therefore called the foggy Season, and from that Time the Fog decreases.

But as in the Summer-time they are troubled with the Fog, so in the Winter-season they are likewise plagued with the Vapour, called Frost-smoak, which, when the Cold is excessive, rises out of the Sea, as the Smoak out of a Chimney, and is as thick as the thickest Mist, especially in Bays where there is any Opening in the Ice; 'tis very remarkable, that this Frost Damp, or Smoak, if you come near it, will finge the very Skin off your Face and Hands; but when you are in it, you find no such piercing or finging Sharpness, but warm and soft, only it leaves a white Frost upon your Hair and Cloaths. There is a wonderful Correspondence observed in *Groenland*, between Fountains and the main Sea, viz. That at Spring-tides, in new and full Moon, when the strongest Ebbing is at Sea, the hidden Fountains or Springs of fresh Water break out on Shore, and discover themselves often in Places where one could scarce expect to meet with any such, especially in Winter, when the Ground is covered with Ice and Snow. Yet at other Times there are no Water-springs at all in those Places.

6. There are no venomous Serpents, or ravenous wild Beasts, in *Groenland*, if you except the Bear, which some will have to be an amphibious Animal, as he lives chiefly upon the Ice, in the most Northern Parts, and feeds upon Seals and Fish. He very seldom appears near the Colony in which our Author lived. He is of a very large Size, and of a hideous and frightful Aspect, with white long Hair, greedy of human Blood. Rain-Deer are, in some Places, in so great Numbers, that you will see whole Herds of them; and when they go and feed in Herds, they are dangerous to come at. The Natives spend the whole Summer-season in hunting them, going up to the innermost Parts of the Bays, and carrying, for the most part, their Wives and Children along with them, where they remain till the Harvest Season comes on. In that Space, they, with so much Eagerness, pursue and destroy those poor Deer, that they have no Place of Safety but what the *Groenlanders* know; and where they are in any Number, there they chase them by Claphunting, rushing upon them on all Sides, and surrounding them with all their Women and Children, to force them into Defiles and narrow Passages, where the Men lie in wait for them and kill them. And when they have not People enough to surround them, then they put up white Poles with Pieces of Turf to head them, which frightens the Deer and hinders them from escaping.

There are also vast Numbers of Hares which are white, Summer and Winter, very fat, and of a good Taste. There are Foxes of different Colours, white, grey, and blewish; they are of a lesser Size than those of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and not so hairy, but more like Martens. The Natives commonly catch them alive in Traps built of Stones, like little Huts; the rest of four-footed Animals, which ancient Historians tell us are found in *Groenland*, are Sables, Martens, Wolves, Loffes, Ermins, and several others, but none on the Western Side; domestic Animals there are none, but Dogs in great Numbers, and of a large Size, with white Hairs, or white and black, and standing Ears. They are, in their Kind, as timorous as their Masters, for they never bark, but howl only. In the Northern Parts they use them instead of Horses to drag their Sledges, yoking four or six, and sometimes eight or ten, to a Sledge, loaden with five or six of the largest Seals, with the Master setting upon them himself, who drives as fast with them as we can do with good Horses, for they often travel fifteen *German* Miles with them, in a Winter Day, upon the Ice; and though the poor Dogs are of so great Service to them,

them, yet they don't use them well: For they are left to subsist themselves as wild Beasts, feeding upon Muscles thrown upon the Sea-side, or upon Berries in the Summer-season; but when they catch a multitude of Seals, they give them their Blood boiled, and their Entrails.

As for Land-Fowls, or Birds, *Groenland* knows of none but the Rypper, which is a Sort of large Partridge, white in Winter, and grey in Summer-time, and these they have in great Numbers; Ravens seem to be domestic Birds with them, for they are always about their Huts, hovering about the Carcasses of Seals that lie upon the Ground. There are likewise very large Eagles, their Wings spread out, being a Fathom wide, but they are seldom seen in the Northern Parts of the Country; Falcons or Hawks, some grey, some of a whitish Plumage, and some speckled, as also large speckled Owls. There are different Sorts of little Sparrows, Snow-Birds, and Ice-Birds, and a little Bird not unlike a Linnet, which has a very melodious Note. Amongst the Insects of *Groenland*, the Gnats are the most troublesome, whose Sting leaves a swelling and burning Pain behind it; and this Trouble they are most exposed to in the hot Season, against which there is no Shelter to be found. There are also Spiders, Flies, Humble-Bees, Wasps. They know nothing of any venomous Animals, as Serpents and the like; nor have they any Snakes, Toads, Frogs, Beetles, Ants, or Bees; neither are they plagued with Rats, Mice, or any such Vermin. In regard to the Fish in these Seas, more especially Whales, and other large Fish, valued for the Sake of Oil, we shall have Occasion to speak of them so fully, when we come to treat of the Whale-fishing hereafter, that for the Readers Benefit, as well as our own, we shall, to avoid Repetitions, forbear speaking of them here, and proceed to the Manner of these Peoples living, providing for their own Subsistence, and acquiring wherewithal to trade with Strangers.

7. If we measure the good Sense, prudent Behaviour, and polite Carriage of other Nations, by what is esteemed Wisdom, Prudence, and Politeness amongst ourselves, which is the ordinary Way of settling the Standard of those things, it is very certain that these *Groenlanders* will pass for a Race of stupid, barbarous, and brutish People. But if we measure their Conduct, by the Situation of the Country in which they live, the Necessities they are under, and the Want of Communication with any other Race of Men but themselves, which we may justly call the Standard of Nature; we shall find they are neither despicable with respect to their Capacities, nor liable to Reproach from their Manner of living, which, however opposite to ours, is very consistent with their Circumstances, and the Helps with which Providence has furnished them. Their ordinary Employments are Hunting and Fishing: On Shore they hunt the Rain-Deer, and at Sea they pursue the Whales, Morfes, Seals, and other Animals. As for their hunting, we have spoke of it already, and shall therefore only add here, that their Bow is commonly of Fir-Tree, which, in *Norway*, is called *Tenel*, and on the Back strengthened with Strings made of Sinews of Animals, twisted like Thread; the String is made of a good strong Strap of Seal-Skin, or of several Sinews twisted together, and the Bow is a good Fathom long; the Head of the Arrow is armed with Iron, or a sharp-pointed Bone, with one or more Hooks, that it may keep hold when shot into a Deer's Body. The Arrows they shoot Birds with are covered with one or more pieces of Bone, blunt at the End, that they may kill the Fowl without tearing the Flesh. The Sea-Fowls are not shot with Arrows, but struck with Darts, headed with Bones, or with Iron, which they throw very dextrously, and with so steady a Hand, at a great Distance, that no body can hit surer with a Gun.

They are more frequently employed at Sea than on Shore, and they surpass therein most other Nations; for their Way of taking Whales and other Sea Animals is by far the most skilful and easy. When they go a Whale-catching they put on their best Apparel, as if they were going to a Wedding Feast; the *Groenlanders* fancying that if they did not come cleanly and neatly dressed, the Whale would shun and fly from them. The Manner

of their Expedition is thus: About fifty Persons, Men and Women, set out together in one of the large Boats, called a *Cone Boat*. The Women carry with them their Sewing Tackle, consisting of Needles and Thread, to sew and mend their Husbands Spring Coats or Jackets, if they should be torn or pierced through, as also to mend the Boat in Case it should receive any Damage. The Men go in search of the Whale, and when they have found him, they strike him with their Harpoons, to which are fastened Lines or Straps, two or three Fathoms long, and made of Seal-Skins; at the End of which they tie a Bag of a whole Seal-Skin, filled with Air like a Bladder, that the Whale, when he finds himself wounded, and runs away with the Harpoon, may the sooner be tired, the Air-Bag hindering him from keeping long under Water. When he grows tired, and loses Strength, they attack him with Spears and Lances till he is killed, and then they put on their Spring-Coats, made of dressed Seal-Skin, all of one Piece, with Boots, Gloves, and Caps, laced so tight together, that no Water can penetrate them. In this Garb they jump into the Sea, and begin to slice the Fat of him all round the Body, even under the Water; for in these Coats they cannot sink, because they are always full of Air; so that they can, like the Seal, stand upright in the Sea; nay, they are sometimes so daring, that they will get upon the Whale's Back while there is yet Life in him, to make an End of him, and cut away his Fat the sooner.

They go much the same Way to work in killing the Seals, except that the Harpoon is less, to which is fastened a Line of Seal-Skin, six or seven Fathom long, and at the End is a Bladder or Bag, made of a Seal-Skin, filled with Air, to keep the Seal, when he is wounded, from diving under the Water, and being lost again. In the Northern Parts, where the Sea is all frozen over in the Winter, they use other Methods in catching of Seals. They first look out for the Holes which the Seals themselves make with their Claws, about the Bigness of a Half-penny, that they may fetch their Breath; after they have found any Hole, they seat themselves near it in a Chair made for that purpose; and as soon as they perceive the Seal coming up to the Hole, and putting his Snout into it for Air, they immediately strike him with a small Harpoon, which they have ready in their Hand; to which Harpoon is fastened a Strap of a Fathom long, which they hold in the other Hand. After he is struck, and cannot escape, they cut the Hole so large that they may get him up through it; and as soon as they have got his Head above the Ice, they kill him with one Blow of the Fist. But besides these there is a third Way of catching of Seals. They make a great Hole in the Ice, or in the Spring they find out Holes made by the Seals, through which they get upon the Ice to lie and bask themselves in the Sun. Near these Holes they place a low Bench, upon which they lie down upon their Belly, having first made a small Hole near the large one, through which they let softly down a Perch, sixteen or twenty Yards long, headed with a Harpoon, a Strap being fastened to it, which one holds in his Hand, while another, who lies upon the Bench, with his Face downwards, watching the coming of the Seal, which, when he perceives, he cries *Kæ*, whereupon he who holds the Pole pushes and strikes the Seal. The fourth Way is this: In the Spring, when the Seals lie upon the Ice near Holes which themselves make to get up and down, the *Groenlanders*, disguised in Seal Skins, and a long Perch in their Hand, creep along upon the Ice, moving their Head forwards and backwards, and snoring like a Seal, till they come so near him, that they can reach him with the Perch and strike him. A fifth Manner of catching Seals is, when in the Spring the Current makes large Holes in the Ice, the Seals flocking in great Shoals there; the Natives watch their Opportunity to strike them with their Harpoons, and hawl them upon the Ice. There is yet a sixth Way of catching them; when the Ice is not covered with Snow, but clear and transparent, then they lay under their Feet Foxes or Dogs Tails, or a Piece of a Bear's Hide to stand upon, and watch the Animal; and when by his blowing and snoring, they find what Course

Course he takes, they softly follow, and strike him. All these Methods prove, that the *Greenlanders* are so far from being stupid, that they are subtle and ingenious.

8. As this Affair of their Fishing is in a manner the sole Concern of these People, so, from thence we are best enabled to judge of their Characters and Capacities. It is true, that this appears to us a very insignificant Thing; but it is not so to them; for upon their Ability in Hunting and Fishing depends their Subsistence, both as Individuals, and as a Nation, which alters the Case extremely, since with respect to every People upon Earth, the right Management of their principal Concern is what contributes most to their own Happiness, and ought consequently to fix the Notions of the rest of the World about them. In Fishing they make Use of Hooks of Iron, or Bones; their Lines are made of Whalebones cut very small and thin, and at the End tacked together; and with such Lines they will draw a hundred Fish, to one that our People can catch with their Hemp-Lines; but to catch Holy-Butts, they make use of strong Lines made of Seal-skins, or thick Hemp-Lines. Their Way of fishing for small Salmon, or Sea-Trout, is this: At low Water they build small Inclosures with Stone, near the River's Mouth, or any other Place where the Salmon runs along; and when it begins to flow, and the Tide comes in, the Salmon retreats to the River, and in high Water passes over the Enclosure, and remains in the River till the Water falls again; and then the Salmon strives to return to the Sea; but the Fishermen way-lay him at the Inclosure, and stop his Passage; and soon after, when the Water is quite fallen, and it is low Ebb, the Salmon remains upon dry Land, and may be caught with Hand; and when they are left in Holes, they take them with an Instrument made for this Purpose, *viz.* a Perch headed with two sharp-hooked Bones, or with one or two Iron Hooks.

The Rogn-fish, or Roe-fish, so named from the great Quantity of Roe that is found in it; as he is commonly found in shallow Water, and upon the Sands, so is caught like the Salmon with the afore-mentioned Instrument. There is such abundance of these Fish that, as they cannot consume them while fresh, they are obliged to dry them on the Rocks, and keep them for Winter Provision: When catching of them is over, which happens in the Month of *May*, the *Groenlanders* retire into the Bays and Creeks where the Stint-fishing then takes place; there are such numberless Shoals of them near the Shore, that they catch them in a kind of Sieves fastened upon long Poles, and throw them upon the Shore. They open and dry them upon the Rocks, keeping them for their Winter Stock. This Fish is not either agreeable or wholesome when eaten fresh; besides, they have a nauseous Smell, but when dried they are tolerable; the Natives eat them with a bit of Fat, or soured in Train-oil, and so they do all other sorts of Fishes. What the *Groenlanders* cannot consume fresh, they dry upon the Rocks in the Sun, or in the Wind, and lay them up for Winter's Provisions.

As to the *Groenlanders* Boats, there are two sorts of them; the one, of which the Men alone make use, is a small Vessel, sharp, and pointed at both Ends, three Fathom in Length, and at most but three Quarters of a Yard Broad, with a great Hole in the Midst, just large enough for a Man's Body to enter it and sit down: The Inside of the Boat is made of thin Rafts, tacked together with the Sinews of Animals, and the Outside is covered with Seal-skin dressed, and without Hair; one only can sit in it, who fastens it so tight about his Waste, that no Water can enter it. In these small Boats they go to Sea, managing them with one Oar of a Fathom's length broad at both Ends, with which they paddle, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, with so much Strength and Swiftnefs, that they are said to row ten or twelve *Norway* Miles in a Day; they chiefly make use of them in catching of Seals and Sea-Fowls, which they can approach on a sudden and unawares: Whereas in our large Boats we can very seldom come so near as to touch them. They have no fear in venturing out to Sea in them in the greatest Storms, because they swim as light upon the largest Waves as a Bird can fly; and when the

Waves come upon them with all their Fury, they only turn the Side of their Boat towards them, to let them pass without the least Danger of being sunk; for though they may be overfet, yet they easily raise themselves up again with the Paddle; but if they are overfet unawares, as it often happens, and the Boat be not close and tight about their Waste, they are inevitably drowned.

The other Kind of Boats are large and open, like ours, some of them twenty Yards long, and those are called *Cone-Boats*, that is, Womens-Boats, because the Women commonly row them, for they think it unbecoming a Man to row such a Boat, unless great Necessity requires it. And when they first set out for the Whale-fishing, the Men sit in a very negligent Posture, with their Faces turned towards the Prow, pulling with their little ordinary Paddle; but the Women sit in the ordinary Way, with their Faces towards the Stern, rowing with long Oars: The inside of those Boats is composed of thin Rafts, and the Outfides covered with thick Seal-skins. In those Boats they transport their Baggage, as Tents, and the little Household Furniture, when they go to settle in some distant Places, for Conveniency of Provision; in these Boats they also carry Sails made of the Inside of Seals-Guts, fastened to the Deck at the lower-end; so they neither want Braces, Bowlines, or Sheet-ropes, and with these Sails they sail well enough with the Wind, but not otherwise: These Boats, as they are flat-bottomed, are soon overfet. The Men meddle, at home, with nothing but what concerns their Tools for hunting, and their Fishing-Tackle, *viz.* their Boats, Bows, Arrows, and the like; all other Work, even of building and repairing their Houses, belong to the Women, who are to the full as industrious, dextrous, and fearless as the Men.

9. As to their Houses, they have one for the Winter, and another for the Summer-season: Their Winter-habitation is a low Hut, built with Stone and Turf, two or three Yards high with a flat Roof: In this Hut the Windows are on one Side, made of Seals Guts dressed, and sewed together, or of the Maws of Holy-butts, and are white and transparent: On the other Side the Beds are placed, which consist of Shelves or Benches, made of Deal-Boards raised half a Yard from the Ground: Their Bedding is made of Seals and Rain-Deer Skins. Several Families live in one of these Huts, each Family occupying a Room by itself, separated from the rest by a wooden Post, by which the Roof is supported; before it there is a Hearth, in which there is a great Lamp, in the Form of a Half-Moon; on a Trivet, over this, are hung their Kettles, of Brass, Copper, or Marble, in which they boil their Victuals; under the Roof, just above the Lamp they have a sort of a Shelf to put their wet Cloaths upon, to dry.

The Fore-door, or Entry of the House, is very low, so that they must creep upon their Hands and Feet to get in at it, which is contrived so to keep the cold Air out as much as it is possible; the Inside of the House is covered, or lined with old Skins, which before have served for their Boats; some of these Houses are so large that they afford Lodgings for seven or eight Families. Upon the Benches, or Shelves, where their Beds are placed, is the Seat of the Women, attending their Work of sewing, and making up of the Cloathing. The Men, with their Sons, sit on the foremost Parts of the Benches, turning their Backs to the Women. On the opposite Side, under the Windows, the Men belonging to the Family, or Strangers, take their Seats upon Benches placed for that Purpose. I cannot forbear taking Notice that though in one of these Houses there are ten or twenty Train-Lamps; one does not perceive the Steam or Smoke thereof to fill these small Cottages; the Reason probably is, the Care they take in trimming these Lamps, *viz.* They take dry Moss rubbed very small, which they lay on one side of the Lamp, which, being lighted, burns softly, and does not cause any Smoke if they do not lay it on too thick, or in Lumps. This Fire gives such a Heat that it not only serves to boil their Victuals, but also heats their Rooms to that Degree, that they are as hot as a Bagnio; but to those who are not used to this Method the Smell is very disagreeable, as well

well by the Number of burning Lamps, all supplied with Train Oil, as on Account of diverse Sorts of raw Meat, Fish, and Fat, which they heap up in their Habitations; but especially their Urine-Tubs smell most insufferably, and strike one that is not accustomed to it, to the very Heart.

Those Winter Habitations they resort to immediately after Michaelmas, and leave them again at the Approach of Spring, which is commonly about the latter End of *March*; and all the warm Part of the Year lodge in Tents, which are their Summer Habitations. These Tents are made of Rafts or long Poles, set in a circular Form, bending at the Top, and resembling a Sugar-Loaf, fenced by a double Cover, of which the Innermost is of Seal or Rain-Deer Skins, with the hairy Side inward (if they be rich) and the Outermost also of the same Skin, without Hair, dressed with Fat, that the Rain may not penetrate them. In these Tents they have their Beds, Lamps to dress Meat, and a Curtain made of the Guts of Seals sewed together, through which they receive the Day-light, instead of Windows. Every Master of a Family has such a Tent, and a great Woman's Boat to transport their Tents and Luggage from Place to Place, where their Business calls them, in the Manner before-mentioned.

10. They are, undoubtedly, as good-natured, and as inoffensive People in their Behaviour, as any in the World; Hatred and Envy, Strife and Anger, are never heard of among them; and though it may happen that one bears a Grudge to the other, yet it never breaks out into any scolding and fighting; neither in their Language have they any Words to express such Passions. It has, indeed, happened, that a very wicked and malicious Fellow, out of a secret Grudge, has killed another, which none of the Neighbours have taken Notice of, but all let it pass with a surprizing Indolence, save the next of Kin to the Dead, if he finds himself strong enough, revenges his Relation's Death upon the Murderer: They know no other Punishment. But as for a Sort of old Women, called *Witches*, and such as pretend to kill or hurt by their Conjurat[i]on, to such they shew great Rigour, making nothing of destroying and killing them without Mercy. And they insist on it, that it is very well done, those People not deserving to live, who by secret Arts can hurt others. They have as great an Abhorrence of stealing among themselves, as any Nation upon Earth, and therefore they keep nothing under Lock and Key, but leave all free that every body can come at it, without Fear of losing it.

This Vice is so much hated among them, that if a Maid should steal any thing, she would forfeit all Hopes of a good Match. Yet if they can lay Hands upon any thing belonging to Foreigners, they make no great Scruple of Conscience about it. But as the *Danes* have now lived some Time in their Neighbourhood, and are looked upon as settled Inhabitants of the Country, they at last have forbore to molest them any more that Way. As to any Trespasses in point of Chastity, either in Words or Deeds, they are never guilty, except what passes amongst the married People in their public Diversions. They never enter any House where they are Strangers, unless they are invited; and when they come in, the Master of the House, to whom they pay the Visit, shews them the Place where they are to take their Seat. As soon as a Visitor enters the House, he is desired to strip stark naked, and sit down in this Manner, like all the rest; for this is the grand Fashion with them to dry the Cloaths of all their Guests.

When Victuals are put before him, he takes Care not to fall to eating immediately, for fear of being looked upon as starved, or of passing for a Glutton. He must stay till all the Family be gone to Bed before he can lie down, for to them it seems unbecoming, that the Guests should go to rest before the Landlord. When ever a Stranger comes into a House, he never asks for Victuals, though never so hungry, nor is there any need he should; for they exercise great Hospitality, and are very free with what they have, and, what is highly to be admired and praise-worthy, they have most things in

common; and if there be any among them who cannot work or get his Livelihood, they do not let him starve, but admit him freely to their Table; in which they ought to confound, with Shame, such as are called Christians, who suffer, notwithstanding, so many poor and distressed Creatures to perish for Want of Necessaries.

But after all, the *Groenlanders*, as to their Manners and common way of Life, are very slovenly, nasty, and filthy; they seldom wash themselves; will eat out of Plates and Bowls after their Dogs, without cleaning them; and, what is most nauseous, they eat the Vermin which feed on them. They do not blush to set down and ease themselves in the Presence of others; every Family has an Urine-Tub placed before the Entry, in which they make Water, and leave it so standing till it smells insufferably; for they put all the wet Skins which are to be dressed, to steep in it, which affords a loathsome Scent; to the increasing of which, the rotten Pieces of Flesh and Fat, thrown under their Benches, contribute a great deal. Yet notwithstanding this nasty and most beastly way of Living, they are very good-natured and friendly in Conversation. They can be merry and bear a Joke, provided it be within due Bounds; never any of them offered to hurt the *Danes*, unless provoked to it; but on the contrary, reverence them as a Nation superior to themselves.

11. The Reader will not suppose these Folks are over-nice in their Apparel, and yet they are far from being deficient in that Point. Their Cloaths are, for the most Part, made of Rain-Deer and Seal Skin, as also of Birds Skin nicely dressed and prepared, for in this lies their greatest Ingenuity. The Mens Dress are a Coat or Jacket, with a Cap or Hood sewed to it, to cover the Head and Shoulders, in the Fashion of a Domino or Monk's Hood. This Coat reaches down to the Knees; their Breeches are very small, not coming above their Loins, that they may not hinder them in getting into their small Boats; and as they wear no Linen, the Hair of the Skins the Coat is made of is turned inward, to keep them warm. Over this Coat they put a large Frock made of Seal Skin, dressed and tanned without Hair, to keep the Water out; and thus they are dressed when they go to Sea. Between the Leathern Frock and the under Coat they wear a Linen Shirt, or for want of Linen, one made of Seal-Guts, which also helps to keep out the Water from the under Coat; of late they appear sometimes in more shewy Dresses, as Shirts made of striped Linen, and Coats and Breeches of red and blue Stuffs, which they buy of *Danish* or *Dutch* Merchants, but fashioned after their own Way. In these they make Parade when they keep Holidays ashore. The Stockings they wore formerly were made of Rain-Deer or Seal Skin, but now they are better, such as worsted Stockings of different Colours, white, blue, and red, which they buy of the *Danes*; their Shoes and Boots are made of Seal-Skins, red or yellow, well dressed or tanned. They are nicely wrought with Folds behind and before, without Heels, and set well upon the Feet.

The only Difference in Dress between the Men and the Women is, that the Womens Coats are higher on the Shoulders, and wider than the Mens, with higher and larger Hoods. The married Women, that have got Children, have got much larger Coats than the rest, most like Gowns, because they must carry their Children in them upon their Backs, having got no other Cradle or swaddling Cloths for them. They wear Drawers which reach to the Middle of their Thigh, and over them Breeches. The Drawers they always keep on, and sleep in them. Their Breeches come down to the Knee; these they do not wear in the Summer, nor in the Winter, but when they go abroad, and as soon as they come home they pull them off.

Next to their Body they wear a Wastecoat, made of a young Fawn's Skin, with the hairy Side inward. The Coat, or upper Garment, is also made of fine coloured Swan-Skins, trimmed and edged with white, and nicely wrought in the Seams, and about the Edges, which looks very well. Their Shoes and Boots, with little Difference, are like those

those of the Men. Their Hair, which is very long and thick, is braided, and tied up in a Knot, which becomes them; they commonly go bare-headed, as well without as within Doors; nor are they covered with Hoods, but in Case it rains or snows. Their chief Finery is to wear Glass-Beads of divers Colours, or Corals about their Neck and Arms, and Pendants in their Ears; they also wear Bracelets of black Skin set with Pearls, with which they also trim their Cloaths and Shoes.

The *Groenland* fair Sex have, besides this, another Sort of Embellishment, *viz.* they make long black Strokes between the Eyes, on the Forehead, upon the Chin, Arms, and Hands, and even upon the Thighs and Legs. These they make with a Needle and Thread made black, and though this to others seems disfiguring and frightful, yet they think it very handsome and ornamental; and they say those who do not thus decorate or deform their Faces, their Heads shall be turned into Train-Tubs, which are placed under the Lamps in Heaven, or rather in the Land of Souls. They keep their Cloaths pretty clean, though in other things, especially in their Victuals, they are not so nice, particularly the Women who have got Children are very dirty, well knowing that they cannot be repudiated or divorced. But those which are barren, or whose Children are dead, and do not know the Moment they may be sent away, are obliged to be more careful in point of Cleanliness, that they may please their Husbands, and enjoy Maintenance and Protection from them.

12. The Commodities *Groenland* affords, for the entertaining of Commerce, are Whale-Blubber or Fat, and Whale-Bones, Sea-Unicorn-Horns, Rain-Deer Skins, and Bears, Seal and Fox-Skins. These Wares they used to barter against the following Merchandizes, *viz.* Coats and Shirts, made of white, blue, red, and striped Linen, or Woollen-Cloth; as also Knives, Hand-Saws, Needles, Hooks to angle with, Looking-glasses, and such other Merchandizes, or hard Wares; besides what they buy of Wood, as Rafts, Poles, Deal-Boards, Chests; and of Brass and Copper, as Kettles, and the like; Tin Dishes and Plates, for which they pay to the full Price. At the Beginning of the *Danish* Settlements in those Parts, the Trade was much brisker than at present, and much more profitable; for foreign Traders flocking there in great Numbers, so over-stocked them with Goods, and under-fold one another, to draw the Natives to them from others, that the Trade is now constantly slackened and fallen. Yet says Mr. *Egede*, from whom we take this, if we once become Masters of this Trade, as it in justice belongs to us, by the Right the King of *Denmark* claims to these Countries, as much as to any Kingdom or Province subject to him; I trust, continues he, that with this Provifo, the Trade to *Groenland* would prove as profitable as any other Trade whatsoever, which has been evidenced not long ago; when, by his Majesty's special Order, the foreign Trade has been prohibited within a certain Distance on each Side of the Colonies. For if the lading of some Ships with Fish and Train, from *Finmark*, and others with Fish, Train, Salt-Meat, and Butter, from *Iceland* and *Ferro*, bring to the Traders considerable Profit; who would question but the same, or better Advantage, may be expected from the importing Quantities of Whale-Train, Whale-Bones, Rain-Deer Hides, Fox and Seal-Skins, which are of more Value than the *Iceland* or *Ferro* Commodities? And if the Produce of *Groenland* was formerly reckoned of that Importance, that it was esteemed sufficient to maintain the King's Table, why not also at present, provided *Groenland* may, by Settlements and Improvement, receive its former Abundance, which is not impossible?

If the old Lands, formerly inhabited and manured by the *Norway* Colonies, were again peopled with Men and stocked with Cattle, they would, without doubt, yield as much as either *Iceland* or *Ferro*, seeing there is as good Pasture Ground as in those Islands. I shall forbear to mention Salmon and Cod-fishing, as it seems at present to be of little or no Importance, especially on the West-side; though I am credibly informed by the Natives, that on

the Southern Coast they catch abundance of fine large Cods; yet this may be more than sufficiently compensated by the Whale-fishery on the North, and the Capture of Seals on the South, which, if rightly undertaken, and with Vigour set on foot, will bring as much, nay far more, Profit than the Salmon and Cod-catching does in other Places, chiefly the catching of Seal, which can be undertaken at very small Expence, *viz.* at the Coast, with strong Nets, with which they may catch many thousands in *Groenland*, which if hitherto not practised, ought to be imputed to Negligence, and want of a good Regulation. In short, *Groenland*, as we see, is very convenient for trading, and may be very well worth one's while to take in hand, but there is little to be done without an established and formed Company of Men of Substance as well as Resolution, it being altogether impossible for any private Man to master and go through with it.

The Ignorance shewn by these People of a Creator would make one believe they were Atheists or Naturalists; for when they have been asked whence they thought that Heaven and Earth had their Original? they have answered nothing but that it had always been so; but if we consider that they have some Notion of the Immortality of Souls, and that there is another much happier Life after this; as they are addicted to different kinds of Superstition, and that they hold there is a Spirit, which they call *Torngarsuk*, to whom they ascribe a supernatural Power, though not the Creation or the Production of Creatures, one would think they did own a God. But notwithstanding all their Superstitions are grounded upon the Notion they have of *Torngarsuk*, whom their lying Angekuts or Prophets hold for their Oracle; yet the Commonality know little or nothing of him, except the Name only; nay even the Angekuts themselves are divided in their whimsical Ideas they have formed of his Being; some saying he is without any Form or Shape, others giving him that of a Bear, others again pretending he has a large Body, and but one Arm, and some make him as little as a Finger, &c.

They assign him his Abode in the lower Regions of the Earth, where they tell you there is constantly fine sun-shiny Weather, good Water, Deer and Fowls in abundance. They also say he lives in the Water, wherefore when they come to any Water, of which they have not drunk before, and there is any old Man in the Company, they make him drink first, to take away its *Torngarsuk*, or the malignant Quality of the Water, which might make them sick and kill them. They hold likewise that a Spirit resides in the Air, which they name *Innertirrorsok*, that is, the Moderator or Refrainer, because it is pursuant to his Order, that the Angekuts command the People to restrain or abstain from certain earthly things or Actions, that they may not come into Harms-Way. According to their Theology, there are Spirits that govern all the Elements, and their Conjurers pretend to have familiar Spirits, and to be able to do great Matters. They are, however, a Crew of Knaves and Lyars, and it would give very little Satisfaction to the Reader to insert their Fables, which are not at all more false than they are foolish, and serve to shew us that tho' Reason may go a great Way in teaching Men how to manage their Affairs in this World, yet it is far from being strong enough to penetrate into the Secrets of the other World, and of a future State.

Their Notions of the heavenly Bodies are very whimsical; they say the Moon was once a young Man, and the Sun a young Woman his Sister, with whom he was familiar in the Dark; but that she, being desirous to find out her Lover, rubbed her Hands with Soot, with which she marked his white Deer-Skin Coat, and hence they say are the Spots in the Moon. The Sun, flying from his Embraces, ascended into the Air, whither the Moon followed her, and still continues to pursue, without being able to overtake her.

Yet for all this Nonsense, they have given Names to many of the Stars, and Constellations, *viz.* The three Stars in the Belt of *Orion* they name *Sicktur*, that is Separated; because these three, they say, before their Metempsychosis, or rather Metamorphosis, were three honest

Groenlanders, who being out at Sea a Seal-catching, were bewildered, and not being able to find the Shore again, were taken up into Heaven. *Ursa Major*, the great Bear Star, is stiled by those who dwell in the 64th Degree, *Tugto*, or Rain-Deer; while they that live in the Bay of *Disco*, at 99 Degrees, call it *Affelluit*, the Name of a Tree to which they tie their Line when they shoot Seals. *Taurus*, the second Sign in the *Zodiac*, is named *Kelluckturset*, or *Kennel of Hounds*, who seem to have a Bear among them; by this Constellation they reckon their Hours by Night. *Iversuck*, that is two Persons that contend with Songs or Verses in taunting one another, as is customary among the *Groenlanders*. These two Stars are in the Constellation *Taurus*, of which we have already spoken, and there too is *Aldebaren*, or *Nennerroak*, that is, a Light who lights the two Singers.

Canis Major is called *Neleragnek*, which is a Name of a Man amongst them. This they say has got on a Coat of Rain-Deer Skin. *Gemini*, *Auriga*, and *Cupella*, are named *Killaub Kuttuk*, that is the Breast-Bone of Heaven. When two Stars seem to meet together, they say they are visiting one another; others will have it to be two Women, who being Rivals, take one another by the Hair. Concerning Thunder and Lightning, they say that two old Women live together in one House in the Air, who now and then fall out and quarrel about a thick and stiff out-stretched Seal-Skin; because such a Skin, if beaten as a Drum, has some Likeness to the Noise of Thunder; whilst they are thus by the Ears together, down comes the House with great bouncing and cracking, and the Lamps are broken, the Fires and broken Pieces fly about the Air, and this, in their Philosophy, is Thunder and Lightning. In their astronomical System, the Heaven turns about the Point of a huge Rock.

The Snow, according to their Fancy, is the Blood of the Dead, on account that it turns reddish if you keep it in the Mouth. The Rain comes from a Ditch or River above in Heaven. When it overflows there, it rains here below. They have no Kalendar or Almanacks, nor do they compute or measure the Time by Weeks or Years, but only by Months, beginning their Computation from the Sun's first rising above their Horizon in the Winter, from whence they tell the Month, in order to know exactly the Season in which every sort of Fish, Sea-Animals, or Birds, seek the Land, according to which they order their Business. As to their Diversions, they have many, such as Running, Leaping, Wrestling, Football and Dancing.

The most singular Circumstance however in this Respect is, their Talent for, and mighty Delight in, Poetry. In this, from the Specimens we have received in the Relations of *Groenland* lately publish'd, it appears that they are far from wanting either Genius or Method. The Poems they compose are a kind of Lyric Odes, the Harmony of which depends both upon Rhyme and Quantity, there being a visible Regularity in the Number of Syllables of which their Verses are composed, and a plain Regard to Cadence even in our Manner of reading them. They use this sort of Poetry, which, all Things considered, is as far from being rude as it is from being exact, to express all their Passions, such as Love, Joy, Grief, but more especially Anger; for when two People quarrel in this Country, they challenge each other not to fight, for that they never do but in Jest, or by way of Diversion, but to contend in Verse; and he who first wants Words to express himself in this poetical Duel, is held to be conquered, and so the Controversy ends without either Blood or Law-suit.

13. We have given this large Description of this Country, and these People, because both were very much wanted; nothing of this kind having occurred in any of our Collections of Voyages. It accounts for what happened to Capt. *Davis* and his People, which we have related in the former Book; as also, for what befel Capt. *Hudson's* Crew, after they had basely deserted their Captain. It shews how consistent those Relations may be with Truth, which seem to be inconsistent with themselves, by shewing that *Savages*, that are gentle, kind, and humane to each other, may be faithless, thievish,

and cruel to Strangers, as these People really are from Principle; because they look upon the rest of Mankind to be of a different Race, and therefore they don't think that they are obliged to treat them as they do one another.

We may likewise see from hence, how ingenious those People are in providing Necessaries for themselves, who discover, notwithstanding, very little Genius or good Sense in contriving for the Conveniencies of Life. The Boats of the *Groenlanders* are very perfect in their Kind; their Cloaths not only sufficient for Covering, and very warm and strong, but also well-shaped and neatly put together; and their Instruments for Hunting and Fishing admirably contrived in every respect; but then their Houses are very poor, their Manner of living very wretched, and the Bounds of their Knowledge almost as confined as the Animals upon which they feed. Their Skill and Success in former Instances plainly shew that they do not want Capacity; and the Rudeness of their Condition in other Respects, is plainly owing to their Want of Education; or, if I may be allowed to use the Word, because it expresses my Meaning better, Cultivation: Their Minds are not barren, but produce few Things for Want of a Variety of Seed sown in them; and this shews the Advantage of Commerce, not only for improving the Circumstances, but for enlarging and bettering the Understandings, of any People.

Trade will not mend the Climate of *Groenland*, but it may enable the People to live more comfortably there: Fish, Train-Oil, Skins, Furs, and whatever else the Country produces, or can be made to produce, when converted into Commodities, will bring the Inhabitants Variety of Conveniencies, will enable them to convert their Huts into Houses, and change their inhospitable Deserts, not into a fine and pleasant, but into a tolerable, Country; and at the same time will enrich those who take the Pains to trade with, and civilize, these People. If this could be done effectually, they might be made use of to perfect those Discoveries, that politer and wiser Nations have not hitherto been able to make. They may be employed to find out how far the Country behind them is inhabited to the North; and whether, after advancing nearer the Pole, the Climate continues to grow more rigorous, or, as some have imagined, not altogether without Reason, becomes milder.

Our general Notions, with respect to the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are not always confirmed by Experience: The Ancients thought the *Torrid Zone* uninhabitable, on the Score of Heat, but we now know with Certainty, that they were mistaken; neither is it impossible that in thinking the Land or Sea absolutely frozen under the Pole, we may be mistaken likewise. That an Experiment of this Kind would not be impracticable to the *Groenlanders*, appears from hence; that as cold as their Country is in 69 Degrees, there are Persons living, who have advanced full ten Degrees farther North, without finding the least Inconveniency from the Cold, in the Day-time. Upon this Occasion, I will take the Liberty of observing, that there is no Country in the World, the Inhabitants of which might make Discoveries of more Importance than the *Groenlanders*, as may appear from what the Reverend Mr. *Egede* tells us he learned among them: "According, says he, to the Relation
"and Opinion of those that inhabit the *Gulph of Disco*,
"their Country is an Island, which they incur from the
"strong Current that runs from the North, and keeps
"the Ice open, even in the Midst of the Sea. They
"will also tell you, they have spoken with People different from themselves, on the other side of the Ice,
"and haled them. Their Language, they say, is the
"same, but the Persons different; so that a small Streight
"only divides *Groenland* from *America*. The Streights
"are so narrow, that Men on both Sides can shoot, at
"one and the same Fish. The Continent farthest to the
"North, is all covered with Ice, the Islands only uncovered, where Rain-Deer, Geese, and other wild Birds,
"are found in great Numbers."

I must confess, I am not very well satisfied with this Account, and believe that the *Danes* may with little Trouble,

Trouble, engage the *Groenlanders* to gain them in time a better, and more certain Account; for, without doubt, in one Summer, they might do more towards the settling the Possibility, or Impossibility, of finding a North-west Passage by their Discoveries on Land than we have been able to do, in upwards of one hundred and fifty Years, by Sea; besides, they might also make Discoveries on the opposite Coast, looking towards *Spitzbergen*; which would lead us to a Certainty, whether there be an open Sea on that Side, or not; a Thing which, as the Reader will see hereafter, is a Matter of far greater Importance than is commonly imagined. It was to penetrate into these Secrets of Nature, and to open to Mankind the entire Knowledge of the Universe, that so many Expeditions were made towards the North, by the *English* and *Dutch*, in the Beginning of the last Century; but which, after all, served only to discover another Country to the East of *Groenland*, which, for any thing that is hitherto known, is absolutely uninhabited, but must not therefore be left undescribed, especially as we want not sufficient Materials for that Purpose.

14. The Country of *Spitzbergen*, or *Greenland*, lies the nearest to the North-Pole of any yet examined by Seamen, that is, from 76 to 82 Degrees North Latitude; but whether it be Continent or Islands is not yet discovered. It received its Name of *Greenland* from the *English*, on Account of its being thought Part of *Old Groenland*; but the *Dutch* call it *Spitzbergen*, that is, sharp Mountains, because the icy Rocks of this Country mount like Pyramids, one behind, or rather, above another, to marvellous Heights. There are great Disputes as to the Discovery of this Place: For, on the one hand, we assert that it was found out by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553; which the *Dutch* deny, and have invented a Country called *Willoughby Land*, and placed it in their Maps, to quit themselves of this Difficulty. He was afterwards frozen to death, with his Ship and Company, in the River *Arzana* in *Lapland*, leaving upon his Table an Account of his Discoveries, drawn up in very concise Terms: Wherein he mentions sailing for several Days on the West-side of a Country, in a very high Latitude, which it is believed, and on very good Grounds, could be no other than *Greenland*. After this, Mr. *Stephen Burrows*, in the Year 1556, arrived in the Latitude of 78 Degrees, and sailed along a Coast altogether desolate, the Ice blue, and abounding with Birds, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees 11 Minutes; which was certainly no other than *Greenland*.

The *Dutch* Discoverers were *William Barentz*, and *John Cornelius*, who visited this Country in 1595, and called it *Spitzbergen*. Our Maps differ from the *Dutch*, because the Names of Places in them are all *English*; whereas, in the *Dutch* Maps, they are in their own Language; which however determines nothing as to the Matter of Fact, or who were the first Discoverers. If we decide the Points according to Evidence, the Discovery perhaps ought to be adjudged to the *English*; but the present Possession, and the Profits resulting from thence, are most undoubtedly wholly in the *Dutch*.

15. *Spitzbergen* is actually undiscovered on the North, so that it is not possible to say with Certainty, how it is bounded; On the West it has the Northern Ocean; on the South, the same Ocean between it and the *Muscovite Lapland*; on the East an undiscovered Country, to which it is joined by an Isthmus; on the West-side of it lies *Charles Island*, which is divided from the main Land by a narrow Streight called *Foreland Ford*, between which and *Muscle Haven* are the highest Mountains, most of which are of a red Colour, and reflect the Sun-beams so as to seem all on fire; but seven of the Mountains, all of a remarkable Sharpness, are of a fine Sky-blue. *South-Haven* is the most commodious Place on the Island, affording all the Conveniences necessary for repairing leaky or damaged Ships, and is so large that thirty or forty Sail may ride at Anchor there very conveniently; here also may be had fresh Water, from the melting of the Snows; for as to the Rivers they are brackish, as far as hitherto they have been discovered, and no Springs or Wells have been yet found.

The Mountains about *South Haven* are very high, especially on the Left; and in the Midst of the Harbour is an Island called *Deadman's Island*, because such as die in the Voyage are usually buried here; if the Bodies can be preserved from the Bears, they remain uncorrupt for many Years. There are several Islands in this Neighbourhood, called *Fowl Islands*, from the prodigious Number of Birds that are bred there. The next capacious Haven is that called by the *Dutch*, *Maurice Bay*, where some have wintered: Near this Place were a few Cottages built by the *Dutch*, for the Convenience of making their Oil, and this Place they call *Smearbourg*, or the *Haerlem Cookery*. In the North Bay there is an Island which the *Dutch* call *Voegelsang*, from the great Noise which the Fowls make when they take their Flight; whence some have imagined the famous Problem of our Birds of Passage may be easily solved, since they suppose they are bred in the *Fowl-Islands*, and at a certain Season of the Year fly southward from the Island before-mentioned. *Deer Sound* is so called from the Abundance of Deer which feed about it, though the Soil seems to be all Slates set edgewise. *Muscle Haven* lies at the Mouth of the *Waygate*. *Martens a Humburgher*, who has given us the best Account of this Country, sailed as high as 81 Degrees North, where the Ice hindered him from approaching.

16. The Soil of *Greenland* is for the most part nothing but Rocks, or Heaps of vast Stones, so very high, that half of them are lost in Clouds; the Valleys between them are full of Stones and Ice, which fall from those prodigious Mountains. About *Deer Sound* and *Muscle Haven* there is some low Land, which is also stony, and, for the most part, covered with Snow and Ice; and this being melted, as it sometimes is in the Summer, discovers nothing but a barren Soil, covered with Heath, Moss, and very few Plants. Such of the Mountains as are exposed to the warm Air and Sun-beams are likewise covered with Heath and Moss; and, in the Cliffs of those Rocks, there are infinite Numbers of Fowls, that rest there all the Year.

The Dung of those Birds, with the Moss washed down by the melted Snow, makes a rich kind of Mould on some Places near the Shore, where it produces a kind of Lettuce, Scurvy-grass, exceeding mild and pleasant, Sorrel, Snakeweed, Mouse-ear, Heart's-ease, wild Strawberries, House-leeks, Wall-pepper, and some Plants unknown to us. The Sea is observed not to be so salt here as in other Places, and changes (as it does every where) its Colour with the Sky. If the Air be clear, the Sea is blue; if cloudy, green; if foggy, yellow; in stormy Weather, quite black: But there is one thing remarkable, which is, that, in fair Weather, the Sea is so clear, that you may see ten or twelve, or even fourteen Fathom deep. The Air is so cold, that there is almost a continual Frost, which is strongest in *April* and *May*, and then in a manner intolerable, especially if the Wind blows from the North or East; South or West Winds bring Snow or Rain, and moderate the Cold. In *June*, *July*, and *August* the Weather is usually calm; and in the last two Months, but especially in *July*, the Sun shines so hot, as to melt the Tar between the Seams of a Ship, if the Wind cannot come at it.

The Sun appears about the Middle of *February*, and disappears about the 1st of *October*; but they have a Twy-light when he comes near their Horizon. From the Beginning of *May* to the 1st of *August* the Sun never sets; yet they reckon Day and Night very easily: for, when he is in the West, they call it Night; and, when he comes about again to the East, they reckon another Day begins. It is observed, by *Martens*, that the Light of the Sun is then like that of the clear Moon, so that Men may look upon it without dazzling their Eyes.

17. The Beasts of this Country are white Bears, very differently shaped from those that are seen elsewhere; they have long Heads like Dogs, and bark like a Dog that is hoarse. They are leaner and swifter than other Bears, and very bold. Some of them are six Feet high, and fourteen Feet long; and there has been sometimes an hundred Weight of Fat taken out of one of them. When any of them are killed and not carried off, the rest eat them;

them; but when they are attacked, and begin to howl, such as are within hearing run to their Assistance, and the old ones will rather suffer themselves to be killed, than desert their Young. The largest are those which are called Water-Bears, which live upon what they can get at Sea, and have been sometimes found fourteen Miles from Shore. The Skins of those Creatures make very comfortable Cloathing for such as travel in the Winter, and are dressed at *Spitzbergen*, by treading them in hot Sawdust.

The Deer in *Greenland* are grey and shaggy in Spring, afterwards of a dusky Colour, with cleft Feet, and Horns like a Hart, or Elk. They have three or four Branches on each Side, about two Inches broad, and a Foot long; their Ears are long, and their Tails short. By feeding upon the yellow Moss, they grow so very fat in three Months, that they cut sometimes four Inches deep on the Ribs, which enables them to hold out during the Winter; and yet many of them are starved, and in the Spring they are all very lean. At the Sight of a Man they fly; but, if he stops, they stop too, and this gives an Opportunity for shooting them. Their Flesh is exceeding good roasted. There are Foxes here of various Colours, and prodigious Numbers of Seals, or Sea-dogs, and Sea-horses, which are the same that, in the *South-Seas*, are called Sea-lions; Animals which we shall hereafter describe. There are very few Land Fowl; but of Water Fowl abundance, yet none so curious as to merit a Description here.

18. As for the Fish on this Coast, they deserve Notice, because the taking them is the sole Motive that brings Ships into those Seas, where the Whale-fishing is carried on with great Profit. The true large Whale differs from the rest of the Fish so called by his having no Teeth, instead of which, on each Side of the upper Jaw, grows the Whale-bone, in four or five hundred different Blades, at equal Distances, some exceeding twelve Feet in Length, and a Foot broad at Bottom, growing narrow upwards, like the Sticks of a Fan inverted, the largest of them weighing about twenty Pounds.

He contracts and dilates the Distances of those Blades at the shutting and opening his Mouth, making them serve as Strainers, to separate the Water from the Shrimps, Prawns, and such small Fish as his Food consists of; and, for the same Purpose, on the Inside of the Bone, next the Tongue, grows a Quantity of Hair, to make still a finer Percolation, which is the more necessary, because, notwithstanding the Bulk of a Whale's Body, the Throat of the largest is not above a Foot wide. His Bones are hard, like those of four-footed Beasts; but, instead of having one large Cavity in the Middle, are porous, and full of Marrow. His Eyes measure about six Inches over, with Eye-lids and Hair like a Man's. His Belly and Back are quite red; his Flesh is coarse and hard, like that of a Bull, mixed with many Sinews, and is very dry and lean, because the Fat lies between the Flesh and the Skin. The Fat is mixed with Sinews, which holds the Oil as a Sponge does Water; the other strong Sinews are about the Tail, with which he turns and winds himself, as a Ship is guided by a Rudder.

He swims as swift as a Bird flies, and makes a Track in the Sea like a large Ship under sail. Besides the uppermost thin Skin, there is another almost an Inch thick; but neither of them are very strong, which is believed to be the Reason why the Whale does not exert that mighty Force that might be expected from a Fish of its Size. They are mightily tormented with Lice, which makes them sometimes spring out of the Sea in an Agony. It is also believed they feel great Pains in their Bodies before a Storm, which makes them twist and tumble violently while the Wind blows from the East; but, notwithstanding their violent Agitation, they are naturally very timorous. The middle Sort of them are from fifty to sixty Feet long, and yield from seventy to a hundred Barrels of Blubber; though sometimes they are much larger. *Martens* mentions one that yielded a hundred and thirty Hogsheads. This Blubber lies immediately under the Skin; they cut it into thin Slices, which are put into hot Coppers. The Oil soon melting out, the Skin is thrown away. The Tail

serves for a Chopping-block, upon which they cut the Blubber before it is boiled. The Manner of taking the Whale deserves a particular Description.

19. As soon as the Fishermen hear a Whale blow, they cry out, *Fall, fall!* And then every Ship gets out its Long-boat, in each of which there are six or seven Men; they row till they come pretty near, then the Harpooner strikes him with his Harpoon, which is a sharp Iron, resembling the Head of an Arrow, fixed to a Stick; and this requires great Dexterity. Through the Bone of his Head there is no striking; but, near his Spout, there is a soft Piece of Flesh, into which the Iron sinks with Ease. As soon as he is struck, they take care to give him Rope enough; for otherwise, when he goes down, as he frequently does, he would inevitably sink the Boat: and this Rope he draws so quick, that, if it were not well watered, it would set the Boat on fire. The Line fastened to the Harpoon is six or seven Fathom long, and is called the Forerunner. It is made of the finest and the softest Hemp, that it may slip the easier. To this they join a Heap of Lines, of ninety or a hundred Fathom each; and, when there are not enough in one Long-boat, they borrow from another.

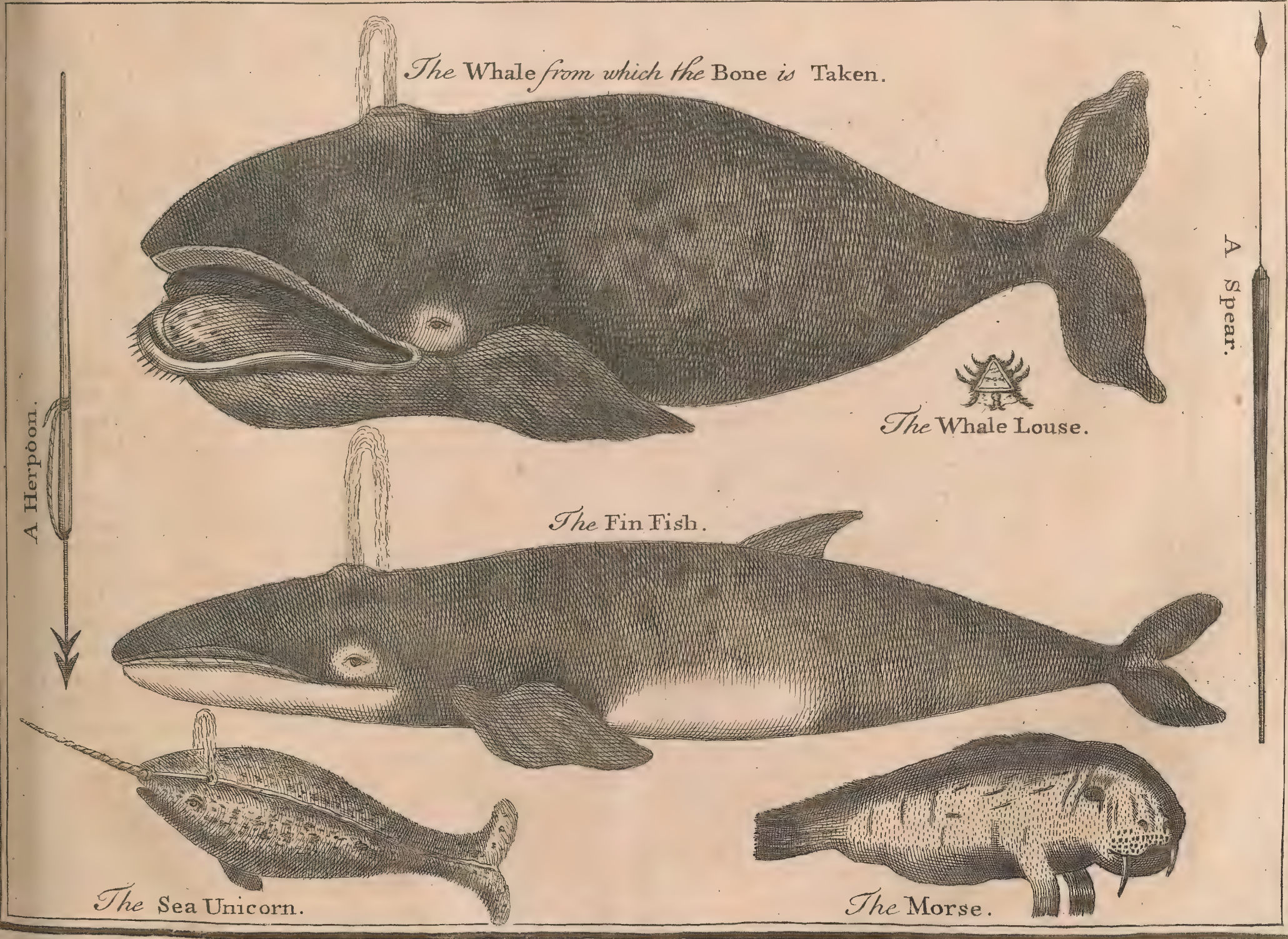
The Man at the Helm observes which Way the Rope goes, and steers the Boat accordingly, that it may run exactly out before; for the Whale runs away with the Line as fast as the Wind, and would overturn the Boat if it were not kept strait. When the Whale is struck, the other Long-Boats row before, and observe which Way the Line stands, and sometimes pull it: If they feel it stiff, it is a Sign the Whale still pulls in Strength; but if it hangs loose, and the Boat lies equally high before and behind upon the Water, they pull it in gently, but take Care to lay it so that the Whale may have it easily again, if he recovers Strength. If he runs out one Level, as he sometimes does, they take Care not to give him too much Line, because he sometimes intangles it about a Rock, and so pulls out the Harpoon. The fat Whales do not sink as soon as dead, but the lean ones do, and come up some Days afterwards. They begin to stink as soon as they expire, and their Flesh ferments, creating such a Steam as inflames weak Eyes. When they see him spout out Blood, they know that he draws towards his End, and then prepare for cutting him up. In order to this, they hawl him close to the Ship-side, and with great Knives slice his Sides, raising the Blubber by a Hook and a Pulley, which they lift up as they cut. Many of these great Flakes they string upon a Rope, and so drag them on Shore, where they are heaved up by a Crane laid upon the Whale's Tail, and chopp'd into small Pieces; afterwards hew'd into Pieces no bigger than Trenchers, and so thrown into Coppers; and as soon as they become brown, are called Fritters, taken out, and cast away.

The Liquor is then laded out into a Boat half full of Water to cool and cleanse it; and thence, by long Troughs, that it may be more cool, conveyed into Hogheads close to the Shore. In the mean time the Head is cut off, and drawn as near as can be to the Shore, and hoisted up by a Crane till the Whale-Bone is cut out, and tied up by Fifties, and then the rest of the Head is boiled for Oil. The Tongue, which in its Figure resembles nearly that of a Wool-Pack, is craned up with great Care: That of a large Whale will weigh about eight Ton, and will yield from six to eleven Hogheads of Oil, tho' there have been Instances of their yielding twenty-four Hogheads; but this is look'd upon as a Thing very extraordinary. The Ships that use this Trade carry thirty or forty Men, five or six Sloops, and from four-hundred to eight-hundred Hogheads of Blubber. Their Arms consist of sixty Launces, six Sea-Horse Launces, forty Harpoons, ten long Harpoons for striking Whales under Water, six small Sea-Horse Harpoons, and thirty Lines of ninety or a hundred Fathom each.

20. There are in these Seas several other kind of valuable Fish, many of which are looked upon to be of the Whale-kind; of these the most remarkable is the Fin-Fish, which is full as long, tho' not so thick, as the Whale, by two Thirds: He blows Water higher than a



The WHALE FISHERY and KILLING the BEARS.



Whale of his Size, thence called the Trumpeter; his Lips are brown, and twisted like a Rope, and the Whale-Bone hangs to his upper Lip; in Colour he resembles a Tench; and is so nimble, as well as strong, that the Fishermen dare not strike him with a Harpoon near the Ice, because by a sudden Jerk he is able to pull them and the Boat under it. When these Fish come upon the Coast, it is a Sign that the Whales are gone. The Horse-Whale, which is also called the Morfe, the Whalerush, or the Sea-Horse, in Shape resembling the Seal, but in Size is full as big as an Ox; the Head is thick, round, and exceeding strong; the Neck is covered with short Hair, and with a Skin near an Inch thick; upon the rest of the Body the Hair is longer, but the Skin thicker; in their upper Jaw they have two long Teeth, from twelve to twenty-six Inches, which are closer, whiter, and keep their Colour better than any kind of Ivory. This Creature feeds upon Herbs and Fish, and is very bold, making toward the Boat as soon as he is attacked, and endeavouring to overset it, by leaping into it; and when he cannot effect this, he sometimes beats Holes through it with his Tusks. They are not easily killed either with Shot or Blows, and therefore the Seamen usually dispatch them with Launces.

When Whales happen to be scarce, the Oil and Teeth of this Creature make up the Voyage. The Dragon-Fish has two Fins on his Back, and two Holes in his Neck, through which he spouts the Water; his Body is long and thin, his Skin greyish, and glitters like Silver. The Butshopf, or Place-head is another Fish of the Whale-kind, with a Spout-hole in his Neck, his Back brown, his Belly white; in Length from sixteen to twenty Feet: And it is to be observed that they swim along by the Shore-side. The White-fish is as large as the Butshopf, and is very fat. When there is Plenty of these Fish, it is a Sign of a good Whale-Season. The Sea-Unicorn has no Fin upon his Back, but a Spout-hole in his Neck, their Bellies are white; they are from sixteen to twenty Feet long, and are chiefly valued for their long and wreathed Horn, which proceeds from their Snout, and is exceedingly white and firm; which Horn, when they are pursued, they sometimes thrust above Water. His Danish Majesty's Throne is composed entirely of these Horns, which were formerly esteemed as Specifics against Poison. All these Fish swim against the Wind, and are observed to tumble against Storms, which some attribute to their having the Cramp in their Bellies.

The Saw-Fish, or Sword-Fish, is of all Sizes from two to twenty Feet long: He is shaped like a Man's Arm; his Eyes stand high out of his Head; his Sword is sometimes smooth and sometimes ribbed or indented like a Saw. This Creature is by Nature an Enemy to the Whale and Fin-Fish, pursuing them with the greatest Eagerness. A few of them will dispatch a great Whale, and then they eat no part but the Tongue. In calm Weather the Fishermen are often Spectators of the Combat; and when they perceive the Whale dying, they row towards him, upon which the Sword-Fish retreats and leaves his Prey in their Hands. The Hay is another Enemy to the Whale, and of these there are several sorts; they are generally of a grey Colour, and from one to three Fathom in Length. Of all Fish the Hay is the most voracious, for it bites great Pieces out of the Whale, as if they had been dug with Shovels, insomuch that sometimes Fishermen take Whales that have half their Blubber torn away in this Manner. The Liver of this Fish abounds in Oil, and is excessively large. The Flesh of their Back, when dried some Days in the Air, is accounted tolerable Provision either boil'd or roasted, and the less the Fish the better. They are caught by a large Hook, baited with Flesh, and fastened to a strong Iron Chain; and in the Sea, if Men fall over-board by Accident, the Hays in their Turn devour them.

21. There are, besides *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, some other Islands in these Seas that deserve our Notice, such as *Cherry-Island*, which lies directly South of *Spitzbergen*, in the Midst between it and the Continent of *Europe*. It was so called in 1603, in honour of Sir *Francis Cherry*, by a Ship's Crew which he had fitted out. There were

for many Years after many profitable Voyages made to this Place, which lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees and 5 Minutes; and where, in one Season, they made twenty-two Tons of Oil out of the Flesh, and got three Hogf-heads of Morfe's Teeth. In the Year 1610, the *Russian* Company took Possession of it, and that Year they killed a thousand Morfes, and made near fifty Tons of Oil: They likewise discovered three Lead and Coal Mines upon this and the small Islands near it, and found the Country so hot towards the End of the Month of *June*, that the Pitch ran down the Side of their Ship. This Island also abounds with several sorts of wild Fowl and Seals; and there are likewise in it a vast Number of Bears. It does not appear that for the last hundred Years any Ships have visited this Coast.

On the South-East of *Spitzbergen* lies the great Country of *Nova Zembla*, which has been discovered from 58 to 68 Degrees of Latitude. It is very uncertain whether it be an Island, or joined to the Continent; for that which is called the Straights of *Weygatz*, and is supposed to divide this Country from *Russia*, is but a fresh Water Bay. In the *Muscovite* Tongue, *Nova Zembla* signifies New Land. It is a most wretched Country, and yet not altogether destitute of Inhabitants. This Land was first discovered by the *English*, and afterwards frequented by the *Dutch*; and their famous Pilot, *William Barenz*, perished in a Voyage made hither in 1596. Some Maps lately published in *Russia*, say, that this Country is joined to that of the *Sammoieds* by the *Pater-noster* Mountains; and there are some Maps that join it with *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland* on the North. However, all this is very uncertain at least, and I think very improbable. The *Dutch*, who winter'd therein, assert, that this Country produces neither Leaves nor Grass; but Mr. *Hudson*, who visited it in the Summer, says, The high Land was very green and pleasant, on which he saw large Herds of Deer grazing. Farther Discoveries are expected from the Industry of the *Russians*, who have already made great Progress in their Searches on this Side.

John Mayens Island, as the *Dutch* call it, lies to the South-west of *Spitzbergen*; it lies from South-west to North-east; the Extremity of it is in the Latitude of 71 Degrees 23 Minutes. There were formerly abundance of Whales in the Sea which wash the Shore of this Island, but their being removed farther northward, is the Reason that this Island is in a Manner forsaken: There is a Mountain towards the northern Part of it, which extends quite across the Island: It is of a prodigious Height, and absolutely perpendicular, being discernable thirty Miles off, at Sea; *Beerenbergen*, i. e. Bear-mountain, from the prodigious Numbers of those Creatures that have been seen upon it; there are several good Bays, the Names of which I need not set down, because, they are no longer visited. This Coast, though it is allowed that the Land is habitable, and abounds with Stone, Fish, and in all Kind of Deer, is forsaken. The greatest Inconveniences attending the Navigation thereabout, is the vast Quantities of Ice which float on all Sides, but especially towards the East, where, in the Spring, it is absolutely inaccessible.

The many Hardships and Difficulties to which People are exposed in Voyages to these Places, and the many Losses and Misfortunes that happened to such as were employed in the Fisheries upon these Coasts, brought them into Discredit with us, and by Degrees occasioned their being totally deserted, notwithstanding the great Pains that had been taken to promote these Discoveries originally; yet it is very certain, that the Confusions which happened here, in the Time of the Civil War, contributed not a little to check Endeavours of this sort; and one may very safely affirm, that those unhappy Times were very prejudicial to our Navigation, by confining Mens Thoughts and Endeavours to Things of immediate Profit which are soon worn out, and diverting them from Discoveries which, how hard and difficult soever, in the Beginning, commonly turn in the End to the greatest Account. Thus we were brought by Degrees to abandon these Northern Expeditions, as dangerous, useless, and unprofitable, though we had several Advantages over other Nations;

Nations; and from persisting in which the *Dutch* have actually raised one of the most considerable Branches of their Commerce; for such, next to their Herring, the *Greenland* Fishery is esteemed, and very justly too, as shall be fully shewn in its proper Place. This Advantage however may be said to have resulted to us from these Discoveries, that it has given us an indubitable Right to resume and pursue them whenever it shall be judged necessary or expedient; and perhaps there may come a Time when this will be thought an Undertaking worthy of Encouragement.

Cherry Island, before-mentioned, lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees; the Weather in *June*, *July*, and *August*, is not only warm, but extremely hot, so that, in 1610, the melted Pitch is said to have run down the Ship-sides. In this Island there are both Lead and Coal Mines, and in the Season of the Year a very profitable Fishery might be carried on there; perhaps too, greater Advantages might be found out by leaving People to winter in that Island, which is very well seated for Discoveries. But it may be said, that this can never be attempted, because there is no Reason to imagine that any *English* would be prevailed upon to stay in such a miserable Place. But to this I answer, That two Things ought to be considered; the first is, that *Cherry Island*, in all Probability, cannot be a worse Place than some of the Factories belonging to the *Hudson's Bay* Company; where some People actually reside at no very considerable Expence; and that in the Compass of a Year, we have many condemned in *England* that, either from the Nature or Circumstances of their Crimes, are very justly held to be no fit Objects of Royal Mercy; but if such Persons would make it their Choice to go and winter in this Island, in order to obtain their Pardon, in case they survived, it might turn to the Advantage of their Country. And I do not doubt, if the Profits that might be probably acquired by a regular Voyage thither every Year were clearly stated, there would be People enough found willing to furnish the Expences necessary for recovering this Trade, which in a few Years would become equally beneficial to them, and to their Country in general. I hint this Matter here for the Employment of their Thoughts, who have a truly public Spirit, and would be glad to see any thing attempted that may encourage Industry, promote our Navigation and encrease our Commerce. I shall add but one thing more upon this Head; which is, that so long ago as King *Ælfred*, the Founder of our naval Force, these Seas were visited, and a very profitable Fishery carried on; and therefore I can see no Reason why we should suppose that it is impracticable now; and if not impracticable, why it may not be attempted with reasonable Hopes of Success, by the present Generation: We consider ourselves as much more knowing, and at the same time as much more powerful, than our Ancestors were in those Days, and therefore it ought to be thought scandalous in us, to fall short of them in Industry, which every one must acknowledge to be the Case, when Branches of Commerce which were enjoyed by them are lost to us, and that Loss too absolutely unregarded.

22. We are very far from having any Certainty that *Greenland* is united, on the East, to any other Country whatever: Some have imagined that it was joined to *Nova Zembla*, but the Discoveries made by the *Dutch* in 1670, have disproved this; for they advanced a great way behind the last-mentioned Country, and found nothing but Snow and Ice. In order therefore to give some Account of the Arctic Regions lying next to *Greenland* on this Side, we must have Recourse to the Expeditions made for Discovery from *Japon*. We have, in our former Volume, given some Account of the Land of *Yedzo*, or *Jesso*, which lies to the North of the great Island of *Nippon*, which is the largest of those known to us by the general Name of *Japon*, and from which it is most probable that Word was framed. The *Japonefe* are very bad Sailors, and consequently have not been able to make any great Discoveries on that Side. Our Countryman Mr. *William Saris*, of whom I have given the best Account I was able, in the former Part of this Work, had a Commission from the Government of

Japon to make Discoveries on that Side; but it does not appear that he had any Opportunity of executing this Commission; if he had we should probably have had a better Account of this Country than we have at present, or indeed are ever like to have, in consequence of any Discoveries made from *Japon* by the Natives.

This Commission was granted to Mr. *Saris* in the Year 1613; and about seven Years after, Father *Angelis*, a *Sicilian* Jesuit, actually went thither to plant the Christian Faith, and from him we had the first tolerable Account of this Country. Some other Missionaries followed him, and from their Accounts it appeared, that *Jesso* was neither a very excellent nor a very despicable Country, in some Things very far short, in others rather better, than *Japon*. The Climate they found to be very cold, but withal very wholesome; the People less sprightly, but much honefter, than the *Japonefe*; the Produce of the Place they found not much to be boasted of, but as they came to be better acquainted with it, they were well informed that it was very rich in Silver Mines, and that prodigious Quantities of this precious Metal were yearly transported to *Japon*; notwithstanding which the Traders from this Country brought those People, annually, considerable Quantities of silver Ear-rings, and other Toys; for which they paid a high Price. I mention this Circumstance because some of the *Portuguese* Writers would persuade us, that because silver Rings are brought from *Japon* to *Jesso*, there can be no Silver Mines in the last-mentioned Country; whereas, by comparing the original Authors, from whom they take their Accounts, it is very evident that the Fact is as we state it; neither is there any thing strange in it; for in *Mexico*, where Silver is the principal Commodity, Silver-Toys, and indeed all sorts of wrought Plate, sell very dear.

These Missionaries however deliver it as their Opinion, that the Country of *Jesso* is an Island, which agrees very well with the *Japonefe* Accounts; but then they distinguish better the *Upper* and *Lower Jesso*; the latter they make an Island, the former a Continent, the Northern Parts of which they say are not discovered, that is, they are not known to the *Japonefe*; but, as we shall shew hereafter, they are not only known, but have been conquered by the *Russians*, who have extended their Empire to the Frontiers of that of *Japon*, if we allow the Country of *Jesso* to make a Part of the *Japonefe* Dominions; and that it is really dependent upon the Empire of *Japon*, is no longer to be questioned.

But it is now time to speak of the *Dutch* Discoveries on this Side; and in order to have a clear Notion of these it is requisite to observe, that the *Dutch East India* Company, after they had established themselves in the Island of *Formosa*, and had settled their Commerce in *Japon*, began to think that it would contribute greatly to the Advancement of their Affairs, if they could find a nearer Passage into *Europe* from those Countries, and therefore they determined to try whether a North-west Passage might not be found on that Side, which would have been the same Thing as finding a North-east Passage from *Europe*. In 1643, the Company fitted out from *Batavia* two Sloops for this Discovery; the first was called the *Buskins*, commanded by Capt. *Henry-Cornelius Schaep*; the other, the *Castricoom*, under the Orders of *Martin Heritszoom Van Uriez*. The Instructions that the Commanders received were, that they should sail on the most Northern Point of the Island of *Japon*, and from thence to the Height of 56 Degrees; but the former of these Vessels being separated from the latter in a Storm, and obliged to seek for Shelter in one of the Ports of *Japon*, there was an End of their Expedition, it being seized, and the Crew made Prisoners; but Capt. *Uriez*, in the *Castricoom*, continued his Voyage, and made those Discoveries which will render his Name immortal. In the Latitude of 42 Degrees he discovered Land, and sailed to the Height of 43 Degrees, along a Coast which was tolerably well peopled, and landing several times, was informed by those People, that there were several rich Mines in their Neighbourhood.

As he sailed higher, he found the Country mountainous, covered with very high Trees, and, as the People informed him, abounding with Silver Mines; he called the

the higheft of the Mountains *Pico Antonio*; and tells us farther, That the Country thereabouts was very like that of *England*, that is to fay, a rich Clay, covered with Grafs and Herbs, and at a Distance he faw very wide Downs. There is no fort of Doubt, that this was the East Coaft of the Continent of *Jeffo*. He proceeded from thence through a Gulph, which in the Latitude of 55 Degrees 50 Minutes difcovered itfelf to be a Streight about fourteen Leagues, or fomewhat more than forty of our Miles broad, in the Midft of which was an Ifland, and two vaft Continents on each Side. He called the Ifland *States Land*; the new difcovered Continent, *Company's Land*; and to the Streights he gave his own Name, which they have ever fince borne, and thefe are the famous Streights of *Uriez*; which are fuppofed to divide the Continent of *Asia* from that of *America*; the Land of *Jeffo*, which belongs to *Asia*, lying on the Left-hand, and *Company's Land*, which is fuppofed to be Part of *America*, on the Right.

If this Notion be well founded, then the Country between *California* and the Streights of *Uriez*, comprehends no lefs than 80 Degrees of Longitude, and is confequently one thoufand fix hundred Leagues in Extent. The Account that Capt. *Uriez* gives of *States Ifland* is, that it is full of high Mountains, the Tops of which are covered with Rocks, without Trees or Grafs: He gives us a large Description of the Country on the Left-hand, which is the Land of *Jeffo*; but I do not find that he landed upon the *Company's Land* at all, or made any farther Discoveries about it; we muft therefore confine ourfelves at prefent to this Land of *Jeffo*, with which the *Muscovites* have brought us better acquainted; for they, by travelling from *Siberia*, have difcovered that, in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, there is a Gulph which feparates the Continent of *Great Tartary* from a Peninfula, which they call the Country of *Kamtschatka* which extends from the 42d Degree of Latitude, which is the moft fouthern Part of the Continent of *Jeffo*, to 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, and there is bounded by the Ocean.

This Country is divided from the Peninfula of *Corea* and *Great Tartary*, by a Gulf of its own Name, and from *Company's Land* by the Streights of *Uriez*; fo that we need be in no farther Perplexity about the Land of *Jeffo*, fince it appears plain to be the fouthern Extremity of this vaft Country, of which the *Ruffians* are in a great meafure Mafters, and actually navigate that great Sea which feparates *Asia* from *America*, in which they have difcovered large Iflands, well peopled, and abounding with various rich Commodities.

All thefe Discoveries plainly fhew what vaft Advantage would accrue to the maritime Powers, if a Passage to the North-eaft were practicable; and perhaps, whoever confiders thefe Discoveries attentively, will be apt to think it might be done, more efpecially when it is remembered that the *Dutch*, who were employed in 1670, in endeavouring to find a North-weft Passage, advanced within a very few Degrees of that open Sea which is commonly navigated by the *Ruffians*, and which had infallibly brought them to the Coafts of *Japon* and *China*; fo that it feems equally ftrange that in former Times, when there was no Sort of Knowledge in our Part of *Europe*, of the Vicinity of thefe Countries to the *Ruffian* Dominions, fo many Attempts fhould be made (as will appear hereafter) to the North-eaft, and that none at all fhould be made now, when there is a kind of moral Certainty that fuch a Passage might be difcovered.

The only fatisfactory Reafon that, as I apprehend, can be given is, the *Dutch* are now of Opinion, that the Difcovery of a North-eaft Passage, or indeed of any other Passage to the *Indies*, except that by the *Cape of Good Hope*, would be extremely prejudicial to them, and therefore think no more of it; and as we are generally governed in our Notions of Things by what the reft of the World thinks, we likewife have quitted all Thoughts of finding fuch a Passage; but the Confideration of this Matter belonging properly to another Place, we will fay nothing more of it here, but proceed to the proper Bu-
fines of this Section.

23. That there is fome Country or other between *Cal-*

ifornia and *Japon*, is a Point I believe no reasonable Man ever doubted, though it muft be confefled, that no fuch Country has been ever hitherto clearly difcovered: I fay, clearly, becaufe fome obfcure Hints we have both of Continents and Iflands within the Extent before-mentioned. I have, in fome *Spanifh* Authors, met with an Account of one *Frederick de Gama*, who in paffing from the *Philippines* to *Mexico*, difcovered in a high Latitude a very fine Country, along which he failed for a few Days together, and if I am not miftaken, there are in fome *Spanifh* Charts the Coafts of this Country laid down; but as it is many Years ago fince I faw thefe Charts, I cannot take upon me to fpeak of this Matter with any Degree of Certainty. I muft however obferve, that there is no great Weight in the Objection commonly made to this Suppofition, as if the *Spaniards* muft certainly have difcovered thefe Countries, or fome of them at leaft in their *Acapulco* Ships, and this for two Reafons; firft, becaufe it is certain they really have difcovered feveral Iflands; and next, becaufe for the fake of an expeditious Passage, they fail in too low a Latitude for making any of thefe Discoveries that we expect, fince, I think, it is not probable that any Part of the Country between *Asia* and *America* lies farther to the South than forty-five Degrees, and confequently is not within their Rout from the *Philippines*: but we are not entirely deftitute of Accounts relating to thefe Countries, though it muft be confefled they are not fo diftinct and clear as we could wifh, yet, fuch as they are, the Reader will very probably be glad to fee them, and it is our Bufinefs to give them.

The firft that occurs is from the Account published by Dr. *Cox*, in his *Description of the Province of Carolina*, of which he looks upon himfelf as the Proprietor, in virtue of feveral Grants from the Kings of *England*, the Validity of which I am fure I fhall not difpute; and which takes in all, or the greateft Part, of the *French* Settlements on the *Missiffippi*. The Defign of the Doctor's Book is to fhew the Importance of this Country to the Crown of *Great Britain*, which I think he has unqueftionably made out, and in the fifth Chapter thereof he gives us a very large Account of a Part of that Country now under our Confideration, and therefore we fhall make no Scruple of inserting it here for the Reader's Perufal, who will very probably find many Things therein not eafy to be credited, but which, notwithstanding, deferve to be known and examined, and which certainly ought not to be abfolutely exploded, till by fome kind of pofitive Evidence the Facts he afferts are actually difproved.

“ It will be one great Conveniency of this Country,
“ if ever it comes to be fettled, that there is an eafy
“ Communication therewith and the South-Sea, which
“ lies between *America* and *China*, and that two Ways.
“ By the North Branch of the great yellow River, by
“ the Natives called the River of *Massorites*, which
“ hath a Courfe of five hundred Miles, navigable to its
“ Heads or Springs, and which proceeds from a Ridge
“ of Hills fomewhat North of *New Mexico*, paffable
“ by Horfe, Foot, or Waggon, in lefs than half a Day;
“ on the other Side are Rivers which run into a great
“ Lake that empties itfelf, by another great navigable
“ River, into the South-Sea. The fame may be faid
“ of the River *Mifchaouay*, up which our People have
“ been, but not fo far as the Baron *le Hontain*, who
“ paffed on it above three hundred Miles almoft due
“ Weft, and declares it comes from the fame Ridge
“ of Hills above-mentioned; and that divers Rivers
“ from the other Side foon make a large River, which
“ enters into a vaft Lake, on which inhabit two or three
“ great Nations, much more populous and civilized
“ than other *Indians*. And out of that Lake a great
“ River difembogues into the South-Sea, which is,
“ doubtlefs, the fame with the before-mentioned, the
“ Head of the two Rivers being little diftant from each
“ other.

“ About twelve or fourteen Years fince, I had im-
“ parted unto me a Journal, from a Gentleman ad-
“ mirably well skilled in Geography, efpecially of *Ame-*
“ *rica*; who had made thither divers Voyages from
“ *New*

“ *New England*, and all our *English* Plantations in *America*, and visited most Parts of the Gulph of *Mexico*; where he became acquainted with one Captain *Coxton*, a famous Privateer, who, towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II*, was entertained in his Majesty's Service. But whether he was disabled, or his Genius prompted him to follow his old Trade, having with his Carpenters fitted up a Ship of twenty-six Guns, he sailed to the South-Sea, with a Design to take the Ship which comes annually from the *Manillas*, or *Philippine Islands*, in the *East-Indies*, to *Acapulco*, the chief Port of *Mexico*; which Ship, as he had been well informed, usually made that Part of the Continent that lies between *Japon* and *America*, at a famous Point in 42 Degrees; but when he came to the Head of the Island, or *Peninsula* of *California* (it being too soon, by some Months, for the putting in Execution his intended Design) rumaging the Coast, he discovered a great River in about — Degrees North Latitude, which entered a great Lake near the Mouth, whereof he found a very convenient Island, where he staid two or three Months to refit himself, happening to have a Man aboard who understood the Language of the Country.

“ The Natives finding he was engaged in Expeditions against the *Spaniards*, treated him very kindly, supplying him very chearfully with whatsoever he wanted, and he contracted great Friendship with them: He calls them the Nation *Thoya*. The *Spaniards*, as I find, in divers of their Expeditions, call it *Theyago*, sometimes *Tejago*; they are often at War with the *Spaniards*, who have been always repulsed by them. They bring thirty or forty thousand Men in one Body into the Field. These, and two other neighbouring Nations, not much inferior unto them, are accounted the most sensible and civilized *Indians* in *America*. When the Season came fit for their Expedition, they sailed West by South, and happened to stop, upon some Occasion, at an Island called *Earinda*, or *Carinda*; there were five in all near each other, like the *Canary Islands*, but lay rounder, and were thought, one with another, about fifty or sixty Miles in Compass. The Inhabitants were not shy of them, but supplied them with Provisions, and brought them Gold to barter, for such Commodities of ours as they liked, and in three or four Days, they purchased eighty-six Pound Weight of that Metal. The Natives told them they were sorry they had no more. They taking Care to provide only against a certain Time of the Year, for Persons who come from the Sun-setting, at a particular Season, and bartered divers Commodities with them for Gold.

“ These Traders, or Merchants, must certainly be the Inhabitants of *Japon*, which I gather from a large Relation in the History of that Island, published by the *Dutch*, and translated into our Tongue, and makes the sixth Volume of *Ogleby's* Collections. They therein declare, That they sent from *Batavia* two Ships (as they pretended) to discover a Passage for the North-east Part of *Japon*, round *Tartary*, to *Europe*, though 'tis very probable they had other Views. Those Ships were separated a little East of *Japon*, by a Storm; the *Castricoom* proceeded, and found the Streight entering into the Gulph of *Tartary* or *Jesso*, and searched the Gulph on the West-side to 49 Degrees. The other Ship, the *Bleskins*, having suffered much by the Storm, put into the Port of *Nambo*, near the North-east End of *Japon*, not doubting they should be kindly received, being in League, and having a free Trade with their Empire; but while they were refitting, they were unexpectedly surprized by the *Japoneses*, sent to Court, and very strictly examined, whether they had not been at, or went not to discover, the Gold Islands, as they called them, lying to the East, of which the Emperor is so jealous, that it is capital for any to go thither without his Permission, or to declare to others the Distance and Situation of them; and had not the *Dutch* given uncontrollable Evidence, that they had

“ not been, nor were they going thither, but only upon the forementioned Discovery, they had been all executed.

“ There are, upon the Coast, between *America* and *Japon*, divers very large and safe Harbours, and a very good Climate; the Coast stretching South-west mostly from 40 to — Degrees of North Latitude. The Seas abounding with Fish, and the Land with Fowls and Venison; the Inhabitants are sociable and hospitable. I have a Draught and Journals of all the Coasts from *America*, with those of diverse Harbours, until you are within about one hundred Leagues of the Streight of *Uriez*, which the *Dutch* discovered about sixty or seventy Years since; and which is the Entrance of the Sea or Gulph of *Tartary*, lying one hundred and twenty Leagues North-east from *Namboe*, the most Northerly Haven or Promontory of *Japon*. This Streight, or rather these Streights (there being two made by a long Island) are the Inlets into a great Sea or Bay, into which disembogue a vast River on the West-side of it, between 49 and 50 Degrees of North Latitude; navigable many hundred Miles, by the biggest Ships, and is made by the Conflux of many large Rivers, some of which come from the South-west, as *Chingola*, *Hiluras*, *Ola*, *Sungoro*, and their Fountains near the great Wall of *China*, and run through the Dominions of the Eastern *Tartars*, who are now Masters of *China*. Other Rivers from the North-west, proceed from the Territories of the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, who hath built divers large and well fortified Cities, on the main River of *Tamour*, and several of its Branches, as *Negovim*, *Nepelhou*, *Albazin*, *Argun*, *Nettinskoy*, &c.

“ This River of *Tamour*, or *Amura*, hath a Course from its furthest Fountains above one thousand two hundred Miles, without any Interruption by Cataracts, so frequent in all the other great Rivers in *Muscovy*, as the *Oby*, *Jeneseeg*, or *Jenescsa*, &c. By this River you may trade with the Inhabitants of *Jedso* for Furs, who have great Store, and those very rich; they inhabit all the Coast on both Sides the Mouth of the River, and a considerable Way up it. You may likewise traffic with the *Muscovites* for the same Commodities, who sell them there for a fourth Part of what they yeild in *Moscow*, or *Archangel*; these Parts being above 40 Degrees almost due East from *Moscow*, their capital City, a most prodigious tedious and difficult Journey, as appears by divers large and accurate Journals, which have been many Years published in Print; and by means of the Rivers which come from the South-west, you may correspond with the Eastern *Tartars*, *Chinese*, and the great rich Kingdom of *Tanguth*, all now united under one and the same Emperor, being very civilized Nations, and kind to Strangers. To say nothing of the great and rich *Peninsula* of *Corea*, which is contiguous to one or two Branches of this River, was once a Province of *China*, hath the same Manners and Language, and is now tributary to the present Emperor. This River, and its Branches, are in a good Climate; it never varying above two or three Degrees from a due easterly Course. Three or more Ships may be sent every Year, who may part at the Streights of the *Tartarian Gulph*, or Sea; one for *Jedso* and the River, another for *Japon*, and a third for *North China*, to the great City *Tunxo*, and the Port of *Pekin*, the Capital of that Kingdom, from which it is not above one Day's Journey by Land or Water; and there is not a better Commodity, or of which more Profit may be made, than of the Furs, which are so easily procured, and so soon brought into that imperial City, where, in the Court, and among the *Grande*s, there is a prodigious Consumption of them, and most extravagant Prices given for them, especially those of the better Sort, though even the meanest come to an extraordinary good Market.”

It must be confessed that there are some very strange and singular Passages in this Relation, to which some Objections might be made; but, however, I think it better to pass these by at present, that we may bring in all

all our Observations at once; so as that they may assist and give Light to each other, and render the Subject upon the whole more intelligible. I shall therefore proceed to another very curious and entertaining Relation, published many Years ago, and since revised; and some Remarks added by the ingenious Mr. *Dobbs*, to whom his Country is so much obliged for the Pains he has taken to revive the Concern taken for, and Endeavours to find out, a North-west Passage. This Narrative is very clear in itself, and there is therefore no Sort of Necessity that we should trouble the Reader with any farther Introduction; only it may be right to observe, that it relates also to that Part of the Northern World of which we are now speaking.

The Viceroy of *New Spain* and *Peru*, having Advice from the Court of *Spain*, that the Attempt for the finding a North-west Passage, which had been tried before by *Hudson* and *James*, was again attempted in 1609, by some industrious Navigators from *Boston* in *New England*, Admiral *de Fonte* received Orders from *Spain*, and the Viceroy, to equip four Ships of Force; and being ready to put to Sea the 3d of *April*, 1640, from *Lima*; the Admiral in the Ship *Spiritus*, the Vice-Admiral, *Don Diego Penelosa*, in the *St. Lucia*, *Pedro de Bernarda*, in the *Rossaria*, and *Philip de Ronquillo*, in the *King Philip*, the 7th of *April*, at five in the Evening, he got to *St. Helen*, in 2 Degrees South Latitude, where he took in a Quantity of Bitumen or Tar, by way of Medicine against the Scurvy and Dropsy. The 10th he passed the Equinox at *Cape del Passao*, the 11th *Cape St. Francisco*, in 1 Degree 7 Minutes North Latitude, and anchored at the Mouth of the River *St. Jago*, and took in there several Refreshments. The 16th he sailed from thence to the Port and Town of *Ralco*, three hundred and twenty Leagues West-north-west, Westerly about 11 Degrees 14 Minutes North Latitude. It is a safe Port, covered from the Sea by the Islands *Ampallo* and *Mangreza*, both well inhabited by *Indians*. *Ralco* is but four Miles over Land to the Head of the Lake *Nicaragua*, that falls into the North Sea, in 12 Degrees North Latitude, near the *Corn* or *Pearl Islands*; here being plenty of fine Timber, he bought four Shalops, built expressly for sailing and rowing, about twelve Tons each, and thirty-two Feet in the Keel.

The 26th he sailed from thence to *Saragua*, within the Islands and Sholes of *Chamilly*, in 17 Degrees 31 Minutes North Latitude, four hundred and eighty Leagues North-west by West from *Ralco*. From *Saragua*, and *Compostello*, near this Port, he took in a Master, and six Mariners used to trade on the East-side of *California* for Pearl; which the Natives catch on a Bank in Latitude 29 Degrees, North from the *Baxas St. Juan*, in 24 Degrees North Latitude, twenty Leagues North-north-east from *Cape St. Lucas*, the South-east Point of *California*. The Master the Admiral had hired, with his Vessel and Mariners, informed him that two hundred Leagues North from *Cape St. Lucas*, a Flood from the North had met the South Flood, and he was sure it must be an Island. *Don Diego Penelosa*, undertook with his Ship and four Shallops, to discover whether *California* was an Island or not, along with the Master and his Mariners, they hired at *Saragua*; but Admiral *de Fonte*, with three Ships, sailed from them, within the Isles of *Chamilly*, the 10th of *May*, 1640; and having got the Length of *Cape Abel*, on the West-south-west of *California*, in 26 Degrees North Latitude, one hundred and sixty Leagues North-west by West from the Isles of *Chamilly*, the Wind sprung at South-south-east a steady Gale; that from the 26th of *May*, to the 14th of *June*, he had sailed to the River of *Rays*, in 53 Degrees North Latitude, not having Occasion to lower a top Sail in sailing eight hundred and sixty-six Leagues North-north-west, four hundred and ten Leagues from *Port Abel* to *Cape Blanco*, and four hundred and sixty-six to *Rio los Reys*, and sailed two hundred and sixty Leagues in crooked Channels, amongst the Islands, named the *Archipelago de St. Lazarus*, where the Ship's Boats always sailed a Mile a-head, sounding to see what Water, Sand, and Rocks there were.

The 22d of *June* Admiral *de Fonte* dispatched one of

his Captains to *Pedro de Bernarda*, to sail up a fair River, a gentle Stream, and deep Water; he went first North-north-east, and North-north-west, into a large Lake full of Islands, and one very large *Peninsula*, full of Inhabitants, a friendly honest People in this Lake. He named it *Velasco*, where Captain *Bernarda* left his Ship, nor all up the River was it less than four, five, six, seven, and eight Fathom Water; both the Rivers and Lakes abounding with Salmon, Trouts, and Whale-Pearch, very large ones, some two Foot long; and with three large *Indian* Boats, called *Piraguas*, made of two large Trees, fifty and sixty Foot long, Captain *Bernarda* first sailed from his Ships in the Lake *Velasco*, one hundred and forty Leagues West, and then four hundred thirty-six East-north-east, to 77 Degrees North Latitude. Admiral *de Fonte*, after he had dispatched Captain *Bernarda* on the Discovery of the North and East Part of the *Tartarian* Sea, sailed up a very navigable River, which he named *Rio los Reys*, that ran nearest North-east, but on several Points of the Compass, sixty Leagues at low Water, in a fair navigable Channel, not less than four or five Fathom Water; it flowed in both Rivers near the same Water, in the River *los Reys*, twenty-four Foot, full and change of the Moon, a South-south-east Moon made high Water; it flowed in the River *de Haro* twenty-two Feet and a-half, full and change.

They had two Jesuits with them, who had been on their Mission to 66 Degrees North Latitude, and had made curious Observations. The Admiral *de Fonte* received a Letter from Captain *Bernarda*, dated the 27th of *June*, 1640, that he had left his Ship in the Lake *Velasco*, betwixt the Island *Bernarda*, and the Lake *Conibasset*, a very safe Port; he went down a River from the Lake, three Falls, eighty Leagues, and fell into the *Tartarian* Sea, in 61 Degrees with the Pater Jesuits, and thirty-six Natives, in three of his Boats, and twenty of his *Spanish* Seamen; that the Land trended away North-east; that they should want no Provisions, the Country abounding with Venison of three Sorts, and the Sea and Rivers with excellent Fish (Bread, Salt, Oil, and Brandy, they carried with them); that he should do what was possible. The Admiral, when he received that Letter, was arrived at an *Indian* Town called *Conassset*, on the South-side of the Lake *Belle* (where two Pater Jesuits, on their Mission, had been two Years) a pleasant Place. The Admiral, with his two Ships, entered the Lake the 22d of *June*, an Hour before high Water, and there was no Fall or Cataract, and four or five Fathom Water, and six and seven generally; in the Lake *Belle* there is a little Fall of Water till half Flood, and an Hour and a Quarter before high Water the Flood begins to set gently into the Lake *Belle*. The River is fresh at twenty Leagues Distance from the Mouth or Entrance of the River *los Reys*. The River and Lake abound with Salmon, Salmon-Trouts, Pike, Perch, and Mulletts, and two other Sorts of Fish, peculiar to that River, admirable good; and Lake *Belle* also abounds with all those Sorts of Fish, large and delicate; and Admiral *de Fonte* says, the Mulletts, caught in *los Reys* and Lake *Belle*, are much delicater than are to be found in any other Part of the World.

The first of *July*, 1640, the Admiral sailed (from the Ships in the Lake *Belle*, in a good Port, covered by a fine Island, before the Town *Conassset*) from thence to a River he named *Parmentiers*, after his Comerade Mr. *Parmentiers*, who had exactly marked every thing in and about that River, and passed eight Falls, in all thirty-two Feet, perpendicular from its Source; out of Lake *Belle* it falls into the large Lake he called Lake *de Fonte*, at which Place he arrived the 6th of *July*. This Lake is one hundred and sixty Leagues long, and sixty broad; the Length is East-north-east, and West-south-west, twenty, thirty, and in some Places sixty, Fathom deep. The Lake abounds with excellent Cod and Ling, very large and well fed; there are several very large Islands, and ten small ones; they are covered with shrubby Woods, the Moss grows six or seven Feet long, with which the Moose, a very large Sort of Deer, are fat in the Winter, and other lesser Deer, as fallow, &c. There are abundance of wild Cherries, Strawberries, Hurtle-

Berries, and wild Currants, and also of wild Fowl, Heath-Cocks and Hens, likewise Partridges and Turkeys, and Sea-Fowl in great Plenty. On the South-side of the Lake is a very large, fruitful Island, which had a great many Inhabitants, and very excellent Timber; as Oak, Ash, Elm, and Fig-Trees very large and tall.

The 14th of July, they sailed out of the East-north-east End of the Lake *de Fonte*, and passed a Lake he named *Estricho de Ronquillo*, thirty-four Leagues long, two or three broad, twenty, twenty-six, and twenty-eight Fathom Water: They passed this Streight in ten Hours, having a stout Gale of Wind and whole Ebb. As they sailed more easterly, the Country grew very sensibly worse as it is in the North and South of *America*; from thirty-six to the extreme Parts, North or South, the West differs not only in Fertility, but in Temperature of Air, at least ten Degrees; and it is warmer on the West-side than on the East, as the best *Spanish* Discoverers found it, whose Business it was, as it is noted by *Alvarez Acosto* and *Mariana*. The 17th they came to an *Indian* Town, and the *Indians* told their Interpreter, Mr. *Parmentiers*, that a little way from them lay a great Ship, where there never had been one before; they sailed to them, and found one Man advanced in Years, and a Youth: The Man was the greatest Man in the mechanical Parts of the Mathematics he had ever met with; the Admiral's second Mate was an *Englishman*, an excellent Seaman, as was his Gunner, who had been taken Prisoner in *Campeachy* as well as the Master's Son.

They told him the Ship was of *New England*, from a Town called *Boston*, and the whole Ship's Company came on board the 30th, and the Navigator of the Ship, Capt. *Shapley*, told him his Owner was a fine Gentleman, and Major-General of the finest Colony in *New England*, called the *Massachusetts*, so he received him like a Gentleman, and told him his Commission was to make Prize of any People seeking a North-west or West Passage into the *South-Sea*; but he would look upon them as Merchants, trading with the Natives for Beavers, Otters, and other Furs and Skins; and so for a small Present of Provisions, he had no need of, he gave him his Diamond-Ring, which cost him one thousand two hundred Pieces of Eight, (which the modest Gentleman received with Difficulty) and having given the brave Navigator Capt. *Shapley*, for his fine Charts and Journals, a thousand Pieces of Eight, and the Owner of the Ship, *Seamor Gibbons*, a Quarter-Cask of good *Peruvian* Wine, and the ten Seamen each twenty Pieces of Eight, the 6th of August, with as much Wind as they could fly before, and a Current, they arrived at the first Fall of the River *Parmentiers*; the 11th of August, eighty-six Leagues, and was on the South-side of the Lake *Belle*, on board their Ships; the 16th of August, before the fine Town *Conasset*, where they found all Things well; and the honest Natives of *Conasset* had, in his Absence, treated his People with great Humanity; and Capt. *de Ronquillo* answered their Civility and Justice.

The 26th of August an *Indian* brought a Letter from *Conasset* on the Lake *Belle* from Capt. *Bernarda*, dated the 11th of August, where he sent him word, he was returned from his cold Expedition, and did assure him, there was no Communication out of the *Spanish*, or *Atlantick*, Sea, by *Davis's Streight*, for the Natives had conducted one of his Seamen to the Head of *Davis's Streight*, which terminated in a fresh Lake about thirty Miles in Circumference, in the 80th Degree of North Latitude; and that there were prodigious Mountains North of it; besides, North-west from that Lake the Ice was so fixed from the Shore, to a hundred Fathom Water, for aught he knew, from the Creation; for Mankind knew little of the wonderful Works of God, especially near the North and South Poles: He wrote farther, that he had sailed from *Basset Island* North-east, and East-north-east, and North-east by East, to the 79th Degree of Latitude; and then the Land trended North, and the Ice rested on the Land.

He received afterwards a second Letter from Captain *Bernarda*, dated from *Minbanset*, informing him he made the Port of *Arena* twenty Leagues up the River *del Roje*,

the 26th of August, where he waited his Commands. The Admiral having good Store of salt Provisions of Venison, and Fish, that Capt. *de Ronquillo* had salted by the Admiral's Orders in his Absence, and an hundred Hogsheds of *Indian* Wheat, or Maize, he sailed the 2d of September, 1640, accompanied with many of the honest Natives of *Conasset*; and, on the 5th of September in the Morning, about eight was at Anchor between *Arena* and *Minbanset* in the River of *Reys*; after that he returned home, having found there was no Passage into the *South Sea* by that they call the *North-west Passage*: The Charts will make this much more demonstrable.

"The Style of the foregoing Piece, says Mr. *Dobbs* very justly, is not polite (being wrote like a Man whose Livelihood depended on another Way, but with abundance of Experience, and like a Traveller) yet there are in it so many curious and hitherto unknown, Discoveries, that it was thought worthy a Place in these Memoirs, and it is humbly presumed, it will not be unacceptable to those who have either been in those Parts, or will give themselves the Trouble of reviewing the Charts. By this Abstract of *de Fonte's* Voyage, which has all the Appearance of being authentic, it is plain, that there is a navigable Passage from *Hudson's Bay* to *California*, and though it has not had Justice done to it in the Translation, and probably has not been exactly copied, or printed; yet, making an Allowance for Errors of that Kind, it has throughout the Air of Truth: There may be, probably, some Errors in the Figures relating to the Degrees of Latitude and Leagues in their Course, for the Length of the Lake *de Fonte* is said to be one hundred and sixty Leagues, and the Streight *Ronquillo* thirty-four. Upon his Return from the *Boston* Ship, he is said to have got again to the Mouth of the River *Parmentiers* in five Days, with a stout Gale and brisk Current, which, he says, was eighty Leagues; which plainly ought to have been one hundred and eighty, otherwise, with that stout Gale and Current; it would have been but sixteen Leagues in twenty-four Hours, and the other would be but thirty-six, which was reasonable sailing. As to his saying there was no Passage, although he met the *Boston* Ship, I take his Meaning to be, that either *Bernardo* found no Passage by the North-west of *Davis's Streights*, the Way probably the *Spaniards* expected it, or, that by his passing upon a River to Lake *Belle*, and down another to Lake *de Fonte*, by what he called Sharps or Falls, he apprehended there was no navigable Passage for Ships the Way he went; or he desired to disguise it, to prevent other *Europeans* from attempting it to his Country's Prejudice; and therefore he did not publish his Chart which he refers to in his Letter.

"It is plain that it was an Island below the Lake *Belle*, which divided the River *los Reys* from the River *Parmentiers*, and as the Sea in Lake *de Fonte* was upon a Level with the Sea at the Mouth of *Rio los Reys*, and the Tide flowed up that River into the Lake *Belle*, it must also flow up the River *Parmentiers*, and the Sharps and Falls be observed in that River, were only the Sharps occasioned by the several Ebbs he had in sailing down the River, being five Days in passing to the Sea, so that the great and true Passage was without that Island, which the Admiral missed, by getting among the Islands in the *Archipelago* of *St. Laurence*. It is a Misfortune his Chart was not published, which would have given more Light as to the Lands, Lakes, and Rivers he mentions, now we can only guess in the dark, and may be mistaken.

"However, I shall venture to give my Opinion of their Situation, though I may not judge right. As I apprehend it the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, and *Rio los Reys*, and Lake *Belle*, and also the Lake of *Velasco*, are no Part of *North America*, but a Country distinct from it; the Passage lying betwixt those Lands and *America*; for in his Journal he says he sailed eight hundred and sixty-six Leagues North-north-west from *Cape Abel*, in *California*, in Latitude 26 Degrees, the last two hundred and sixty of which was in crooked Channels, among Islands, until he got to *Rio los Reys*,

“ *Reys*, in Latitude 53 Degrees; since by all other Accounts the Coast of *America* falls off North-east from *Cape Blanco*. This must have been a Country distinct from *America*; here he found two Rivers, one came from the North, from the Lake *Velasco*, which *Bernarda* failed up, and the other came from the North-east, from the Lake *Belle*, which lay betwixt Latitude 45 and 55 Degrees. Upon what Point the *Parmentiers* ran out of the Lake *Belle* is not mentioned, but at *Rio los Reys* it ran South-west. We may suppose the other ran East, or South-east, and fell into the Sea, which he calls the Lake *de Fonte*, in near the same Latitude, that Lake, or Arm of the Sea, stretching thence East-north-east one hundred and sixty Leagues, if there was any West Variation, as there is now, the North-east End of that Lake might be in Latitude 57 or 58, almost West of *Churchill*; and the Streight *Ronquillo* running still North-east, might end in Latitude 59. In two Days from thence he came to an *Indian* Town, probably about Latitude 60, near which the *Boston* Ship lay; so that it may be imagined the *Boston* Ship had passed into some of the Openings near *Whale Cove*, and got to Latitude 60, or, perhaps, to 59 Degrees, and was trading for Furs, and the Ship might have been afterwards lost or surprized by the *Eskimaux*, upon her return, having but twelve or thirteen Hands aboard, since no Account of this Voyage was ever transmitted from *Boston*. Upon Enquiry, made by Order of Sir *Charles Wager*, whether any one of the Name of *Shapley*, which was the Master's Name, lived at that Time in *Boston*, it appeared from some Writings, that some of that Name then lived in *Boston*, which adds to the Weight of *de Fonte's* Letter, and confirms its being an authentic Journal.”

24. We have now gone compleatly round the Globe, making the North Pole our Centre; and have, so far as the best Discoveries would enable us, given the Reader a Description of the Countries which lie in these cold Climates; this, for any thing I know, is a Work never before performed, or at least not so fully and circumstantially. I must, however, admit there would be no great Merit in doing this, if no Use could be made of it; but this is very far from being the Case; for in the first Place it opens to us the entire Knowledge of the terraqueous Globe; I say the intire Knowledge, because if we were once thoroughly acquainted with the Manner in which the Countries are disposed about the North Pole, we might, from thence, gain tolerable Satisfaction with regard to the antarctic Regions, in respect to which, from actual Discoveries, we know very little. In the next Place, we ought to consider, that hitherto no new Countries have been found without considerable Advantages resulting to those who discovered them; and before we conclude this Section, we shall shew that the Whale-fishing, in these Northern Seas, is an abundant Recompence to such as take the trouble of sailing on them. There is yet a third Consideration, which is the Means of finding a Passage this Way round the Globe, which every body knows would be not only a great, but a gainful, Discovery, more especially to us who lie so conveniently for taking the Advantage of it, and to whom the bleak and barren Islands of the *Orkneys*, would become a kind of *Indies*, if once such a Discovery was made. We can never, however, rationally hope for this, unless the Situation of all the Countries round the Globe, considering the Pole as the Centre of the Northern Hemisphere, be tolerably well known.

What can be done with respect to this, from the Perusal of actual Surveys has been already shewn; we will now therefore endeavour to carry it a little farther, by adding Reason to Experience, and reflecting upon the Lights we have received. It is certain, because it is self-evident to every Reader, that the Countries round the Pole must be disposed in one of these three Manners: First they may be joined together, and also to some of the great Continents already known. Or, 2dly, they may be joined together, and make a distinct Continent. Or, 3dly, they may be separated from each other, and

from all the other Continents. We must allow, that there are Authorities, in favour of each of the three Dispositions, and therefore we will speak of them separately, though very briefly. First then, that they are joined together, and to the known Continents, there are two Matters of Fact alledged in the Nature of Proofs. The first is, that the People of *Groenland*, by which I mean the old Christian Colonies, had a Tradition of a Harald Goat, that travelled into their Country from *Norway*, which, whether true or false, by the Way proves nothing, or at least proves nothing to the purpose. If the Story of the Goat be a Fable, there is an End of it; but if it was Truth, which, however, is very improbable, then it came by Sea, that is, in the Winter-Season upon the Ice; for that *Groenland* is not joined to *Norway*, is as certain as any thing can be. Tradition may probably prove something, where there is no other Evidence; but Tradition against Evidence is Nonsense. The other Point of Fact is, that a Jesuit, who had been in *California*, going afterwards to the *Philippines*, and from thence to *China*, says there he saw a Woman whom he had known in the first of these Countries, who said she was brought thither over Land, except one or two little Streights which she passed in small Vessels; but this does not come up to the Point, since, however small these Streights might be, they most certainly disjoin the Countries of each Side of them.

As to the second Opinion, that these Lands join together, though disjoined from the great Continent, I know nothing that has been said for it, except the Tradition of the *Groenlanders*, about the narrow Streight between their Country and *America*, and of there being great Countries to the East of them, of which they own they know nothing. The third Opinion, though it cannot be fully proved, seems to be very probable, and if it be not consistent with Truth, looks, at least, very like it. It is thought that *Groenland* is disjoined from *America* by *Davis's* Streights, and that it is actually disjoined from *Greenland* we have tolerable Evidence from those who have visited the last mentioned Coast, none of them speaking of any Land on the West. It was formerly thought that *Greenland*, or *Spitzbergen*, and *Nova Zembla* were the same Continent, and that they were separated from *Russia*, or *Tartary*, by the Streights of *Waygatz*; but we are now satisfied it is not so, but that in all probability *Greenland* is an Island, or rather a Cluster of Islands, separated by the Ocean, from the Land of *Yedzo*, as that Country most certainly is from *Companies Land*, by the Streights of *Uriex*; as on the other Hand, this Arctic Continent is thought to be separated from *California*, by the Streights of *Anian*. The Truth of the Matter seems to be, that there are a multitude of Islands of different Sizes, lying all round the North Pole, but how disposed we cannot yet say; and it is upon this Supposition, that the Hopes of finding a North-east, or a North-west, Passage has been built.

What Reasons may be offered in both Cases? What Attempts have been made? And how they have ended? the Reader will hereafter see. At present we will content ourselves with observing, that some very great Men have been of Opinion, that the most probable, the most feasible, and shortest Passage, must be by sailing directly North, and under the very Pole itself. A bold and amazing Proposition at first Sight, and which we have more than once promised the Reader should be fairly examined; for strange and surprizing as it seems, it is not all impossible that it may be true. It has been already observed, there are really sufficient Reasons to persuade us, that the Countries round the Pole, are so many Islands separated from the known Continents, as well as from each other, it will thence appear highly probable that there may be an open Passage immediately and directly under the Pole, because it is plain there can be nothing but Sea there.

It may, indeed, be said, that though there be Sea, there may, for all that, be no Passage; in Proof of which it may be alledged, that the *Dutch*, in 1679, found it impossible to pass for Ice, to the Northward of *Nova Zembla*; and if the Sea be thus frozen, in 79 or 80 Degrees, what

what Reason is there to believe that it is not much more strongly frozen in a higher Latitude? The Reason seems to be clearly this: That freezing does not depend so much upon the Latitude of Places, as upon their Situation, in other respects; as is very plain from hence, that the most intense Cold is felt in some Parts of *Hudson's Bay*, which lies very near in the same Latitude with *London*. Now that under the Pole the Sea should not freeze, some very strong Reasons may be given: First, it is not known that the main Sea ever freezes. Those vast Mountains of floating Ice, that frequently render the Coast of *Greenland* inaccessible, are formed three Ways: First, by the falling of vast Rocks of Ice, from the Mountains, into the Sea. Next by the Tides breaking up the Ice at the Mouths of great Rivers. And, lastly, by the Addition of Snow and fresh Water to the Sea Water, which weakens its Force, and disposes it to freeze. We may also take Notice of what we have before heard of the Frost-Fogs or Vapours arising from the Sea, through the Ice, which are allowed to be warm, and from whence we may, in some Measure, discern the Cause why the Ocean does not freeze.

Secondly, under the Pole itself, for six Months, the Sun is continually above the Horizon, and consequently must have a very great Effect, more especially on the Sea; so that if we consider this Matter attentively, we cannot but be convinced that it is absolutely impossible the Sea should be frozen; on the contrary, there seems to be more probable Grounds to suspect that the Heat may be troublesome. Thirdly, these Reasons are supported, these Conjectures are verified, by daily Experience; for on the Coasts of *Greenland*, in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Heat is known to melt Pitch, when great Quantities of Ice are unmelted on the Coast in 69 Degrees. We may, from these Reasons, therefore conclude, not only with Probability, but with Certainty, that during the Summer, at least, there is a clear and open Sea under the Pole, and, if so, the Passage that Way is indisputably the shortest, the easiest, and the most practicable, that has been hitherto thought of. This was long ago observed by the famous Sir *William Monson*, as great a Seaman as this Nation could ever boast, who affirms that the Passage, this Way from *England*, to *China*, does not exceed fifteen hundred Leagues.

But we will now proceed to Matters of Fact, and shew that this not only may be done, but that it actually has been done; as will appear from the following Paper, communicated to the Royal Society, by Mr. *Joseph Moxon*, one of its Members; which therefore we shall transcribe, as a Piece that cannot fail to give the Reader, on this Head, as full Satisfaction as he can desire. Thus then it runs: "Among the many Essays that have been made to find a clear Passage to *Japon*, *China*, &c. the most probable and likely, hath as yet (in my Opinion) been overseen, or, at least, not attempted; and therefore I shall, hereby, communicate my Conception to public Approbation or Censure; it is, that a Passage may very probably be about the North Pole, and the Reasons inducing me to conceive so is: That we have no Certainty, from all the Discoveries that have been made of any Land lying within eight Degrees about the Pole; but on the contrary, I have been credibly informed, by a Steersman of a *Dutch Greenland Ship*, that there is a free and open Sea under the very Pole, and somewhat beyond it; and I, for my own Part, give Credit to his Relation, and do conceive that any sober ingenious Man would do the like, did he know in what an honest Manner, and by what an Accident, I happened to hear it; for thus it was:

"Being about twenty-two Years ago in *Amsterdam*, I went into a public House to drink a Cup of Beer for my Thirst; and sitting by the public Fire, among several People, there happened a Seaman to come in, who seeing a Friend of his there, who he knew went in the *Greenland Voyage*, wondered to see him, because it was not yet Time for the *Greenland Fleet* to come home, and asked him what Accident brought him home so soon? His Friend (who was the Steersman

aforsaid, in a *Greenland Ship* that Summer) told that their Ship went not out to fish as usual, but only to take in the Lading of the whole Fleet, to bring it to an early Market, &c. But, said he, before the Fleet had caught Fish enough to lade us, we, by Order of the *Greenland Company*, sailed unto the North Pole, and came back again. Whereupon I entered into Discourse with him, and seemed to question the Truth of what he said; but he did assure me it was true, and that the Ship was then in *Amsterdam*, and many of the Seamen belonging to her ready to justify the Truth of it; and told me, moreover, that they had sailed two Degrees beyond the Pole. I asked him if they found no Land or Islands about the Pole? He answered no, there was a free and open Sea. I asked him if they did not meet with a great deal of Ice? He told me no, they saw no Ice. I asked him what Weather they had there? He told me fine warm Weather, such as was at *Amsterdam* in the Summer-time, and as hot. I should have asked him more Questions, but that he was engaged in Discourse with his Friend, and I could not, in Modesty, interrupt them longer. But I believe the Steersman spoke Matter of Fact and Truth; for he seemed a plain, honest, and unaffected Person, and one who could have no Design upon me.

"But though I believe this Story, yet methinks I hear many object against it, and are apt to urge three plausible Reasons to prove it false, or, at least, some Particulars of his Relation: And first, That it cannot be warm under the Pole, because that about *Greenland*, and many other Parts less northerly, the Sea is so full of great Bodies of Ice that Ships can hardly sail for it. Secondly, if warm, yet not so warm as at *Amsterdam* in the Summer-time, because the farther northerly, the colder Weather. Thirdly, If they were under the Pole, they could not tell how to come back, but that they might as well go farther as return nearer to home; because the Needle always pointing North, they must therefore lose themselves in the North Pole, where it must respect all Points of the Horizon alike.

"One Answer may serve to the first and second Objection, That it cannot be warm under the North Pole, &c. If we consider the Experience of Travellers and Navigators, we are told, that between the Tropicks, nay, under the Equinoctial, is generally as moderate Weather as here in *England* in Summer-time; why may it not then be as warm under the Pole as here, or at *Amsterdam*, in the Summer-time? The small Height the Sun has there can be no Exception, for then we, having the Sun, in its Summer-Solstice, in lesser Altitude than between the Tropicks, it must needs be colder here; which is contradicted: But one Reason why it is as warm here as between the Tropicks is, because between the Tropicks the Sun remains above twelve Hours of twenty-four above the Horizon, to warm it; when, as here, it remains almost seventeen Hours of twenty-four above the Horizon, and therefore leaves a greater Impression of Heat upon it; and the farther northward we go, the longer it remains above the Horizon, and less under the Horizon every twenty-four Hours, till we come within the Arctic Circle, where the Sun remains for half a Year together; viz. all the Summer above the Horizon, and never sets; and therefore, though his Beams are not so perpendicular, yet they must needs cause a great Degree of Heat upon the Horizon. And if it be argued, that it is so cold about *Greenland*, &c. and the Seas so full of Ice that Ships can hardly sail for it, yet cannot that Argument prove that it is so about the Pole; because the Ice is made about Shores of Land, but never in open Sea, and comes here only by Strength of Currents, or high Winds, which do indeed carry it some small Distance from the Shore; but as this Relator said, there is under the Pole a free and open Sea, &c. and consequently clear of Ice, in Summer-time, at least.

"Besides, Experience tells us, that all Land-breezes are

are colder than those that come from the Sea, and therefore it may be cold about *Greenland*, because of the Land, yet warmer under the Pole while the Sea is open, &c. The third Objection is, That if they were under the Pole they could not tell how to come back, because of the Indifferency the Needle should bear to every Point of the Horizon. I examined not my Relator upon this Argument, though when I was parted from him I was sorry I did not; but it is easy to apprehend how to guide a Ship either forward or backward, by an Observation of the Sun a little before they enter the Pole; for by finding in, or near, what Meridian it is; or upon what Part of the Ship it bears, whether on the Head or Stern, or Star-board or Lar-board; you may measure Time near enough with a Glass, to know several Days after, in, or near, what Meridian the Sun is, at any known or estimate Time, and consequently know how to proceed, or come back with your Ship: Or, if the Moon have North Latitude, you may do the same by the Moon; but if the Pole were traded, in a short time it might be found by Variation of the Needle; for there is doubtless Variation in it, and in all the Meridians about it several Variations.

Thus far it appears there is a free and open Sea in Summer-time (at least) about the North-Pole. But I shall add another Relation of *James Ben*, whose Father lived about five Years ago in *Crown-court* in *Russel-street*, *Covent-garden*, and himself now lives in *Wapping*: This Mr. Ben sailed to *Japon* with the *Dutch*, as a Carpenter of the Ship, and he told me that that Year, viz. 1668, he was newly come home from *Japon*. I asked him how long they were on their Way home from thence? He told me he could not very well tell; because when they sailed from *Japon*, the Captain commanded the Steersman to sail due North, and they did sail so from thence for about four hundred *Dutch* Miles, which is almost twenty-seven Degrees due North. I asked him if they met with no Land or Islands, as I had done before the *Dutch Greenland* Steersman? He told me, No, they saw no Land; but there was a free and open Sea; so far as they sailed no Land appeared. I asked him, why they sailed so far northward? He told me he could not tell, only the Captain commanded it, &c. but I suppose the *East-India* Company commanded the Captain either to make a Discovery of Land to increase Trade, or to satisfy themselves with the Knowledge of another Sea, that when they saw Reason they might expedite their Voyages between *Holland* and those Parts that Way. I was thus inquisitive with him, because ever since I heard the former Relation of the *Greenland* Steersman, I harped on a Passage through, or about, the North-Pole to *Japon*, *China*, &c. And by these two Discoveries it appears very probable there is so, and that it is passable in Summer-time.

It is very strange, that a Paper of this Consequence should not be more considered; more especially, as it is certain, that to this very Time the *Dutch* Men of War, when any are sent with the *Greenland* Fleet, cruise constantly very far to the northward, without meeting either with Obstructions or Inconveniencies from Ice or Cold. And I have been informed by a Gentleman who was Surgeon to one of these Men of War, that in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Sea to the North was open, and the Weather very hot in the Month of *June*. I cannot say exactly what Year this was in; but by a Comparison of Circumstances I am led to think, that it might be in 1718 or 1719. There being an open Sea at that Season very plainly shews it to be always open; for it is impossible, if it had been frozen in the Winter, that it should have thawed so soon, or that there should have been no Islands of Ice floating in it, as has been observed from the Latitude of 57 Degrees, or thereabouts, to 80.

The Reader will easily observe, that the Discoveries that have been lately made, as to the true Figure of the Earth, and its being flatted towards the Poles, favour this Opinion and Account for the Sea's being always open.

It may also deserve some Notice, that perhaps there is no Occasion for sailing so high as 90 Degrees; for if a Passage is to be found either to the East or West, and the Sea be open, a Ship might sail either Way, perhaps in the Latitude of 85 Degrees, which would make this shorter and easier, by bringing the Vessels sooner upon known Coasts. While I am upon this Subject I will take the Liberty of observing, that if any Attempts should be made of this kind by us, the most probable Method of doing it would be in concert with the Court of *Russia*, by procuring an Order from the Empress, to the Governors of the frontier Countries towards *Japon*, to give such Assistance or Relief as might be necessary, to any Vessel that arrived upon those Coasts; and it would be requisite that such an Order should be procured, and expedited the Year before the Attempt was made from hence; and that the Commander of the Frigate employed in this Expedition, might carry with him an authentic Copy of that Order, for his own Security and Advantage.

I am very sensible that a Multitude of Objections may be raised against such an Undertaking; but I am very confident they may be very easily answered, and whoever considers that so long ago as 1553, Sir *Hugh Willoughby* discovered the most Northern Part of *Russia*; and though he perished in the Attempt, opened thereby that Trade which has been since of so great Advantage to this Nation, we may very well hope, that at this Distance of Time, and with all the great Advantages that modern Navigators have, farther and more useful Discoveries may be made, with much less Hazard: At least, it is very right to suggest Designs of this Nature to the Public, whether they may, or may not, be thought practicable for the present; because the very mentioning such Things, and thereby creating Discourses about them cannot but be attended with good Effects, because we know that they were the very Means by which former Discoveries were brought about, and we cannot think so meanly of our Countrymen as to suppose that either their Courage, their Judgment, or their Spirit, is inferior to that of their Ancestors, though Accidents and Circumstances may induce some weak People to think or encourage some wicked Men to say so, in order to serve their own Purposes. But perhaps we can never entertain any probable Hopes of Success in this great Affair, until we engage once again in the Whale Fishery; and that we may be encouraged to think seriously of that, we will conclude this Chapter with a clearer and more perfect Representation of this Trade, than to our Knowledge has been hitherto published, which cannot therefore fail of giving the ingenious and inquisitive Reader great Pleasure and Satisfaction.

25. We are to observe then, that it was towards the latter End of the sixteenth Century, that the Whale-fishing, on the Coast of *Spitzbergen*, became considerable, and was entirely in the Hands of the *English*, till the Year 1578. This Commerce was, by a Company, which sent thither annually a few Ships, and they actually excluded the rest of their Countrymen, and endeavoured to exclude Foreigners. In the Year 1613, they sent a Squadron of seven Sail, which found there fifteen *Dutch*, *French*, and *Flemish* Ships, besides *English* Interlopers. And the next Year, the *Dutch* sent eighteen Sail, of which four were Men of War. And, in 1615, the King of *Denmark* sent a Squadron of three Men of War, to assert his exclusive Right, but with such indifferent Success, that he thought fit to give up the Point. In 1617 our Company were more lucky than in any other Year, and actually made one thousand nine hundred Ton of Oil. The *Dutch* made, for many Years after, very indifferent Voyages; and as their great Statesman, M. *de Wit*, well observes, had certainly been beat out of the Trade, if it had not been laid open by the Dissolution of their *Greenland* Company, to which he attributes their having beat the *English*, and almost all other Nations, out of that Trade, which they carry on to a prodigious Advantage. And as the same great Author observes, it is the best Nursery of their boldest and most hardy Sailors. But as we do not affect to deal in general Terms, which never can convey any clear and distinct Notions of any Subject, we shall

shall endeavour to descend to such Particulars, as may set this Matter in the clearest Light possible.

It is agreed by the *Dutch* Authors, who have written on Whale-fishing, that the most fortunate Season they ever had, was in the Year 1697. We will therefore consider the State of this Fishery, for that Year, in order to settle the Profits of it; and will afterwards compare it with Accounts received from *Holland*, of the Fishery for 1744, communicated while this Section was writing, that we may the better judge how things now stand. In 1697 there were one hundred and eighty-nine Vessels, of several Nations, employed in the Fishery on the Coast of *Greenland*; of these the *Dutch* made one hundred and twenty-nine, but seven were lost upon the Coast. The *Hamburgers* had fifty-one, of which they lost four. The *Swedes* had two; the *Danes* four; the *Bremeners* twelve; the *Emdeners* two; and the *Lubeckers* one. The Number of Whales taken that Year amounted to one thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight, which the *Dutch*, and the Ships of other Nations before-mentioned, caught in the following Proportions, viz.

Nations.	No. of Whales.	Casks of Oil.
The <i>Dutch</i>	1255	41344
The <i>Hamburgers</i>	449 $\frac{1}{2}$	16414
The <i>Swedes</i>	113	540
The <i>Danes</i>	52	1710
The <i>Bremeners</i>	96	3790
The <i>Emdeners</i>	2	68
The <i>Lubeckers</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$	17
	<hr/> 1968	<hr/> 63883

The Total Value of the Fishery of 1697.

The Cask of Blubber sold that Year for thirty Florins; the whole Number thereof came to	f. 1916490
The Fins, reckoning those of each Whale at 2000 l. and the Current Price being 50 f. a Quintal; the whole therefore came to	f. 1868000
	<hr/> f. 3784490
In our Money l.	<hr/> 378449

The particular Account of the *Dutch* Fishery stated.

Their 41344 at 30 f. per Cask, came to	f. 1240320
Their 25100 wt. at 50 f. per C. wt. came to	f. 1255000
	<hr/> f. 2495320
In our Money l.	<hr/> 249532

According to a Letter from *Amsterdam*, dated the 26th of July, the Whale-fishery, for the Year 1744, was pretty near over, and the Proportions stood then as follows, viz.

	Whales.
The <i>Dutch</i> had caught	662
The <i>Hamburgers</i>	45
Those from <i>Altena</i>	20
The <i>Bremeners</i>	18
The <i>Emdeners</i>	8
In all	<hr/> 753

I have not been able to procure, hitherto, as clear and distinct an Account of the Whale-fishery, for the two last Years, as for that before given; but I am very well informed, that the Whale-fishery scarce ever answered better than it did in this present Year 1746, more especially to the *Dutch*, who had more Ships, and better Luck with their Ships, than any other Nation. It is worth observing, that the wise Inhabitants of *Holland* have continually maintained and practised this Fishery, as *de Witte* advised them; and have thereby added immense Sums to the Wealth of their People, as well as to the Strength of

their State, considered as a maritime Power. We will reflect a little upon both these Points, that we may be the better satisfied, as to the real Importance of the Whale-fishery. He judged it to be very beneficial to his Country, because of the Ease and Expedition with which it was performed; for in six Day's Time the Ships sailed out of Harbour, and were, actually, if the Season was favourable, engaged in their Fishery. The whole Time it continues, does not exceed four Months; during which a great Number of Vessels are employed, in which abundance of hardy and experienced Seamen are bred, by whom also the whole Business is performed abroad, and, upon their Return, a much greater Number of People find work at home; so that there is no great Reason to doubt, that *de Witte's* Calculation, of twelve thousand Persons maintained by this Trade only, is very agreeable to Truth, and not at all tinctured with Partiality towards his Country. He very justly observes, that what renders this Trade still more valuable, is the Exportation of the greatest Part of its Produce; and if we consider this attentively, and make the necessary Allowances in such kind of Calculations, we shall be able to form to ourselves a tolerable Notion of what the *Dutch* have got by the *Greenland* Fishery, from that Time to this.

It is now fourscore Years since *de Witte* framed his Computation, and we shall certainly run no Hazard of over-valuing the Industry of our Neighbours in this Particular, if we suppose that the Whale-fishing has brought them in, one Year with another, in Whale-Bone and Oil, two Millions of Florins, of which we may also allow that they have exported, at least, one Half; so that they have saved fourscore Millions of Florins in what they have used themselves in these Commodities, which they must otherwise have purchased, and have drawn besides, from other Countries, into their own, as much in ready Money, which amounts to eight Millions Sterling. A prodigious Sum indeed, and which ought to cover us with Shame, considering that we have had, at least, as great Opportunities as they, of making a like Advantage of this Fishery, of which, for many Years past, however, we have not made one Shilling. Whence this arises is very hard to say, and the more so as it is certain we were once the sole Proprietors of the Whale-fishing, which we pointed out as worthy other Peoples Concern, and have since neglected ourselves, though many of our best Writers upon Commerce, have taken Pains to expose the gross Absurdity and inexcusable Negligence of such a Conduct. At present, perhaps, an Opportunity might be gained of reviving this Fishery, if the Government should think fit to erect a Fortress, and open a Port in the *Orkneys*, which might, in many respects, prove very beneficial; but more especially in this, because it would give us, immediately, very great Advantages over the *Dutch*, *Hamburgers*, and all other Nations that at present frequent the *Greenland* Seas, as we might have all kind of Utensils necessary, erected in any of these Islands, which would enable us to make more, and better Oil, than any of our Neighbours, from the same Quantity of Fish; as it would also give us an Opportunity of visiting the Coasts of *Greenland* earlier, and remaining there later, than other People. There is no Doubt that, if any Attempt of this Sort was once made, at the Expence of *English* Merchants, they would be very soon able to raise a prodigious Number of stout and able Seamen in those Parts, as capable and as enterprising as those of any other Nation whatever. It might also prove the Cause of opening to us some other Branches of Commerce hitherto not known, or which have been long disused; and it might prove likewise a Means of renewing that Thirst for Discoveries, for which this Nation was formerly so famous, and to which she certainly stands indebted for the most valuable Branches of her Commerce. These, I mean the *Orkney Islands*, are the Islands, *Sbetland* excepted, the least known, but not the least valuable Part of the *British* Dominions; for besides this *Greenland* Fishery, for the establishing of which there is not in *Europe* a Place so proper, and a considerable Fishery round them, they might be made a general Magazine for such Commodities as sell to Advantage to the North,

North, by which our Trade to several Parts of *Germany*, as well as to *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, might be rendered twice as valuable to us, as it is at present. But it is now Time to close the present

Section, and to proceed to the History of the Attempts made for the Discovery of a North-east and North-west Passage into the Ocean; the latter of which, perhaps, may be discovered before this Volume is concluded.

SECTION II.

The rational and philosophical MOTIVES for seeking a Passage into the SOUTH SEAS, by the North-west, examined and explained; together with the History of the Attempts made with that View, for the Space of one hundred and thirty Years.

Collected from *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danish* Writers.

1. *An Introduction shewing the Nature and Design of this Section, and the Method pursued therein.* 2. *The Importance of a North-west Passage, if it could be found; and the Advantages that would result from thence to our Navigation, which fully justifies the Endeavours of such as have laboured to find this Passage.* 3. *An Account of the Reasons, Arguments, and Presumptions in favour of such a Passage; in which the Strength or Weakness of each Motive is shewn fairly, and in its proper Light.* 4. *The History of the Attempts made for the Discovery of this Passage, by John Cabot, Sir Martin Frobisher, Captain Davis, Mr. Henry Hudson, Mr. James Hall, and Mr. William Baffin, from Anno Domini 1497, to 1615.* 5. *The Expedition of Sir Thomas Button into Hudson's Bay, in 1611, with a succinct Account of his Discoveries.* 6. *The Attempts made for the like Purpose by the Danes; and the unfortunate End of Captain John Monk, one of the ablest Navigators ever bred in Denmark, occasioned by his undertaking and failing in an Expedition for this Purpose.* 7. *The Expedition of Captain Luke Fox, in his Majesty's Pinnace, the Charles, in the Year 1630; with the Reasons which induced several Persons of the first Distinction, and some of the greatest Merchants in this Kingdom, to enter into an Association for the Discovery of the North-west Passage; and the Measures taken by them for carrying this Design into execution.*

AFTER the Discovery of *America*, by *Christopher Columbus*, and the publishing to the World, the Reasons which induced him to look upon this Discovery as a thing practicable; such as were well acquainted with *Cosmography*, and such as were practical Seamen, began to emulate his Success, and to think of raising like Reputations to themselves by Discoveries of the same Nature. Amongst these, *John Cabot*, whom we have often had Occasion to mention, was the first that suggested the Possibility of a Passage to the new found World, by the North-west. His Son, who lived to be a very old Man, was the most expert Mariner of his Time, and died Governor of our *Russia* Company, always maintained this Opinion; which the more it was considered and examined, by Men of the brightest Parts, and greatest Experience, the more it grew into Credit, and the more it was generally believed. This Notion has prevailed to our Times, and if we follow the Opinion of *Cicero*, this alone is a considerable Argument in its Favour; for he observes that Truths founded in Nature, grow stronger in length of Time, and from a Course of Observations; whereas weak and groundless Opinions are soon destroyed, and become quickly out of date. There is, certainly, a great deal of good Sense and sound Reason in this Observation; which, I believe, will be found to have stood, generally speaking, justified by Experience; and, perhaps, sooner or later this may be ranked among the Number of Truths, that ought to give Weight and Authority to this Maxim.

At present it is our Business to exhibit to the Reader as full and clear an Account of this Matter as it is possible; the rather because it is not only a Matter of great Importance in itself, and a Subject of general Enquiry, but also from a late Act of the Legislature, and a great Undertaking founded thereupon, become the Topic of common Discourse, and of almost universal Expectation. In order therefore to discharge our Duty effectually, and to represent the Reason and History of this Matter with the utmost Perspicuity; we shall first of all enquire into the Nature of those Advantages, that may be expected from the Discovery of such a Passage, supposing it to be practicable. We shall next set forth the Reasons that have been assigned in Favour of this Opinion, that such a Passage may be found, by those who have maintained it. And lastly, we shall give a distinct historical Ac-

count of the Attempts that have been made, for the finding such a Passage, and the Consequences with which these Expeditions have been attended. We have, indeed, already had frequent Occasions to touch this Subject, both in our former Volume, and in this; but wherever we have mentioned it, we have referred the Reader for a clearer and more particular Account to this Section; and we shall herein take all imaginable Care to avoid all unnecessary Repetitions, by making the requisite Allowances on those Heads, which have been incidentally examined and explained already.

2. The Reader will perceive, from what has been laid down in the foregoing Section, that if such a Passage could be discovered, it would open a Communication between the North and South Seas, infinitely shorter and easier than the only one that is at present known round *Cape Horn*, or through the Straights of *Magellan*. We have seen, in the History of the Circumnavigators, how very tedious and troublesome that Method of reaching the Coasts of *Mexico* and *California* is, with how many and great Inconveniences it must be always attended, and how far it lies out of our Power; all these Circumstances considered, to make any considerable Use of it; which is the true Reason why the *Spaniards* enjoy, with so little Disturbance, so many fine Countries, and hinder others from discovering many more, the Knowledge of which might be highly advantageous to this Northern Hemisphere.

But if ever a Passage could be this Way found into the South Seas, we might, very probably, reach, in six Weeks, Countries that we cannot now visit in twelve or fifteen Months; and this by an easy and wholesome Navigation, instead of those dangerous and sickly Voyages, that have hitherto rendered the Passage into the *South Seas* a thing so infrequent and ingrateful to *British* Seamen. If such a Passage could be found, it would bring us upon the unknown Coasts of *North America*; which we have many good Reasons to believe are very populous, inhabited by a rich and civilized People, no Strangers to Trade, and with whom we might carry on a very great and beneficial Commerce; for this is, apparently, that Country, concerning which we have had some dark Hints given us by the *Savages* that come to trade at *Hudson's Bay*, mentioned by several of the *French* Writers; from the Information of the *Indians* inhabiting about the Lakes beyond *Canada*; from *Doctor Cox*, in the Account cited from

from him in the former Section, concerning the Advantages that might be drawn from settling his Province of *Carolana*; from various Passages in almost all the *Spanish* Historians, in reference to the Extremities of *North America*, of which they acknowledge themselves to have very indifferent Accounts; and are, perhaps, not much inclined to gratify the rest of the World, even with the best Accounts they have; from the memorable Fragment of the *Spanish* Admiral's Voyage, quoted in the former Section, with Mr. *Dobb's* judicious Remarks, and a multitude of other Passages, which it is needless to enumerate; all of which agree in this, that the Part of *America*, to which this North-west Passage would lead us, is a rich, fertile, and well inhabited Country, which would abundantly reward our Pains taken for the Discovery of it, even supposing this Passage would lead us to no other Country besides.

Yet this is far from being the Case; since it is evident that it would likewise bring us to an Acquaintance with those Countries that lie opposite to *America*, whether Continents or Islands, and that fill up that vast Space between *California* and the Land of *Yedzo*, of which, at present, we have heard so much, and yet know so little. But though we know so little of them from actual Discoveries, yet we may be confident from Reason, and the Consideration of the Climate in which they lie, that these Countries abound with valuable Commodities, and that the Inhabitants living, as they do, in a cold Country, would be very glad to deal with us for Woollen-Goods, &c. and perhaps for Iron Ware, and many other Commodities. If to this it be objected, that in the few Accounts we have of this Country, and these People, it is expressly said, they are well clothed, use large Ships, and have Arms, and various Utensils of Iron, and other Metals, as well as the *Europeans*; which they barter with the Inhabitants of *North America* for Gold and other things; if I say this should be objected, then the plain and easy Answer is, they are a mercantile People; and considering the vast Distance between us and them, there is no doubt that a very great and profitable Trade may be driven between us; and this is more than sufficient to prove the great and general Proposition, that the Discovery of such a Passage would be very profitable to this Nation, though we should be ever so much mistaken as to the Nature of the Commodities in which this Profit may lie. Some Benefit we see results to the *Danes*, by their Commerce with the poor barbarous *Groenlanders*, and can we doubt of bringing things to a better Market among a rich and civilized People? The former, indeed, part with what they have for a Trifle, but then they have not much to part with; the latter may not be so soon over-reached, but they have more to trade for, and consequently more is like to be got by them.

There is still another great Advantage, which would result from the Discovery of a South-west Passage; and was that originally proposed from it, which is, the reaching *Japon*, the Land of *Yedzo*, &c. by a much easier and shorter Rout, than either that by the *Cape of Good Hope*, or round by *Cape Horn*; so that the finding it would give us a much more facile Passage to the *East Indies*, as well as the *South Seas*, and which is more, to those Parts of the *East Indies*, with which we have no Correspondence, and consequently would, in that respect, be absolutely a new Branch of Commerce, probably of much greater Benefit to this Nation, than the whole of our *East India* Trade, as it is now carried on. All these Benefits are so far from being hazardous or uncertain, that at first Sight, and from the bare Inspection of the Globe and Charts of the Northern Hemisphere, they appear certain and indubitable; neither have they hitherto been called in question, by any who have sought to discredit this Passage, who all bend their Endeavours to prove the Discovery impracticable, without insinuating any thing to the Prejudice of the Expectations raised from it, in case it could be discovered and sailed through. We need not, therefore, wonder at all that so much has been written on this Subject, so many Undertakings set on Foot, such a variety of Attempts made on all Sides, and by all means, to come at this North-west Pas-

sage; since, in respect to this Part of *Europe*, it would be a kind of maritime Philosophers Stone; a Discovery every Way equal, if not superior, to that of *Columbus*. I do not mean in regard to the Subject of the Discovery, but in respect to us; and what I would say is, that we should, for our Part, owe as much Obligation to whoever should find this new Passage, as to *Columbus*, who found out the new World; to which it is a Passage, and such a one, as to us would double the Value of that Discovery. So much may suffice as to the first Point we promised to examine, let us now proceed to the second, and shew why this Passage is thought practicable.

3. We have already observed that *Cabot* first projected this Passage, in the Life-time of *Columbus*; and from the same Motive which engaged that illustrious Person in the Discovery of the new World, *viz.* to find a shorter way to the *East-Indies*, than that practised by the *Portuguese*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*; he offered many Arguments to prove this was practicable by the North-west; and since his Time, and from the mighty Improvements that have been made in Navigation, there have been added many more. That we may reduce these within the narrowest Compass possible, without Prejudice to the Subject, we will propose them separately, not in the Order in which they were from Time to Time advanced, but in the Method the most easy, most natural, and best connected in our Power; so that the Reader may very fairly judge of the Merits of the Cause, though perhaps some frivolous or doubtful Evidence may remain unexamined, in order to spare Time and Trouble.

First, It is thought probable there must be a free Circulation of the Waters at the Pole, because if it were otherwise, it would not be easy to conceive how the Equilibrium of Land and Water is maintained, or that Regularity which is observed in the Tides, where the Shores are not covered by Islands, Rocks, or broken Lands. Because if it was otherwise, there must fall out great Changes in the Tides, the nearer we approached the Pole, as is seen in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltic*, which are close Seas, and therefore differ from the Ocean, there being a sensible Tide only in some Parts of the former, and that too not very considerable, and none at all in the latter; whereas in the most Northern Seas, the Tides are high and very regular, which renders it apparent there must be some Passage, or rather Communication with the rest of the Ocean.

Secondly, This Argument becomes more pressing when confined to *Hudson's Bay*, where there are not only Tides, but such irregular Tides in some Places, as seem to indicate the Reception of more Water into that Bay, than comes from *Hudson's Straights*, or any other Passage into it hitherto known. But from the Nature and Height of these Tides, and the Situation of the Places where they are observed, it seems almost indisputable that they come by the West, either through some large and practicable, or through some icy and impassable, Channel; the former is Mr. *Dobb's* Sentiment, and the latter the Opinion of Captain *Christopher Middleton*, a very knowing and ingenious Gentleman, who did not embrace this Notion, however, till he made a Voyage for the Discovery of this Passage, and failed in it.

Thirdly, We may discern the Cogency of this Argument, from what has been actually discovered towards the South Pole, where the Situation of the Straights of *Magellan* agrees perfectly with this Notion, and suggests according to the Analogy of things, a like Communication between the Seas towards the North Pole. We may also observe, that those Straights are through broken Lands and Islands, in a very cold Climate, and, in many other respects, agreeable, as far as hitherto has been discovered, to the Countries lying round the North Pole, more especially under the Latitudes where of late this North-west Passage has been sought for.

Fourthly, It has been generally believed, from the great Difference between the Productions of all kinds, and even between the Animals, in *America*, and the other Parts of the World, that they are absolutely separate; and as to its Southern Extremity, Experience has justified the Conjecture, and so renders the Presumption strong, that

that there is a like Separation on the North, and that this Country is not contiguous to any of the other Continents.

Fifthly, The Situation of the Northern Parts of *America*, so far as they are yet discovered, afford very strong Presumptions in favour of this Opinion. The great Ridge of Mountains beyond the Lakes of *Canada*, have many Rivers running from them into those Lakes, and we may from thence conclude, and the Testimony of the Natives sufficiently confirm it, that there are also Rivers running on the opposite Side, and these must therefore necessarily fall into this West Sea, or Channel, which we seek. Part of this Argument is real and certain, *viz.* that there are such Mountains, and though we cannot affirm as much, in respect to the other, as no *European* has yet reached those Mountains, yet there is nothing in it absurd or improbable, but rather quite the contrary.

Sixthly, We have no Tradition, either on the *Groenland* or *American* Side, of any Communication between them; but quite the contrary: The *Groenlanders* never speak of any civilized Nations near their Country distinct from the *Europeans*; whereas the *Americans* do, and have always persisted in a Story of Persons coming in very large Canoes, or Ships, to the North-west Coast, and trading there with the People, who, according to their Accounts are also more civilized than any other Nation, Natives of *America*. If any Credit be due to this Account then we must conceive that these Traders come from *Japon* (which is very improbable) or from some northern Country hitherto unknown, equally separated from *America* and *Asia*.

Seventhly, It is asserted that this Streight has been passed before and since the Discovery of *America*, and that various Memorials of these Transits are still preserved in authentic Histories. *Gemma Frisius* reports, that it was passed by three Brethren, and thence received the Name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*; but he does not tell us when or where these Brethren lived, whence they sailed, or whither they returned after performing this Voyage. It is reported by an ancient *Latin* Author, that certain *Indians* being cast on Shore in *Germany*, were presented by a barbarous King, into whose Dominions they came, to *Quintus Metellus Celer*; and it is taken for granted they came through this Passage. It may be questioned whether these *Indians* were any other than *Groenlanders*; and if so, without question, their being cast upon the Coast of *Germany*, proves nothing. About the Year 1160, under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, certain *Indians* also are reported to have been wrecked on the *German* Coast, and of these we may say the same thing. *William of Newberry* has a Story of much the same Nature, only accompanied with some very incredible, not to say ridiculous, Circumstances, of two Green Children, which in the Reign of King *Stephen* came hither from the Land of *St. Martin*, which, by their Description, appears to be *Iceland*: So that take them all together these Stories prove little or nothing. One *Cortereal*, a *Portuguese*, is also said to have passed this Streight, and to have bestowed upon it his Name; but how, when, or where, is not to be enquired, or at least not to be resolved. One *Gomez* is said to have offered the Discovery of this Passage to the Emperor *Charles V.* which must not be understood, as grounded on his own Knowledge, but from a Persuasion of Mind that the finding such a Streight was practicable, in which however upon Trial he failed. Some flying Reports of much the same kind we meet with in many Writers, but though they have, without Cause, been urged as Proofs of such a Passage, yet this by no Means turns against it; nor can it be alledged, that since these Stories are some of them absurd, others dark, and the rest incredible, therefore the North-west Passage they are brought to prove is fabulous. If Truths were to suffer by the bringing of improper or improbable Arguments to support them, some even of greater Consequence than this, of which we are at present speaking, might run no small Risk; but as debasing Gold or Silver does not destroy them, so the Addition of Falshoods, though they may sometimes discredit Truths, cannot change their Nature.

Eighthly, There is one Argument in favour of this Passage, which may be drawn even from those Fables, without being at all tinged with Fiction: It is this, that the general Opinion amongst the Learned in favour of it was strong; which induced them to refer every thing of this Nature to the North-west Streight: In the like manner, the Notion of the Garden of *Hesperides* made way for the Discovery of the *Canaries*; the Rumour of an *Atlantis*, or western World, proved the Means of unfolding *America*; nay, in the present Case, though these Tales have not hitherto helped us to this so much desired Passage to the North-west, yet they may be said to have guided us to the opposite Streight of *Magellan*; for it was upon the Reasons assigned by *Cabot*, in favour of this Way of going round the Globe, that *Magellan* formed his Project to discover a Passage into the same Seas, by sailing southward; which he happily effected at the first Trial, and by doing this, gave some Degree of Evidence that the original Scheme of opening a Way by the North-west, is neither against the Analogy of the Mundane System, nor in its Nature impracticable from the Difficulties to which those employed to find it may be exposed; for though it appears that many have suffered excessively in the Attempts hitherto made for that Purpose, yet no Account of Voyages to the North-west represents the Cold more intolerable, or the Troubles occasioned by the Ice, greater than in going round *Cape Horn*, through the Streights of *le Maire*, or those of *Magellan*. If therefore the Reasons persuading this Passage have (generally speaking) appeared so conclusive to the Learned, as to give Credibility to ill-founded Stories; if they have actually led to the finding a Passage at the opposite Extremity of the Globe, and this Streight be practicable, notwithstanding its being full of Ice, and the Weather rigorous beyond Description, why should we suspect that an Opinion having so many Circumstances in its Favour is notwithstanding absolutely groundless, because it is as yet unsupported by Experience, as if every thing not hitherto performed must be in its Nature impossible, which though Warrant enough for a vulgar Notion, cannot be thought a fit Foundation for a philosophical Principle; yet granting it were, even this Foundation perhaps might be shaken; for if nothing but Experience will prevail, there are some Instances independent of those romantic Tales before-mentioned, which look very strongly that way.

Ninthly, There was, so long ago as *A. D.* 1567, a Person in *Portugal* who affirmed, he had actually sailed through this Streight into *Europe*, and published immediately, on his Return, a Relation of his Voyage, which, had it been false, might have been easily confuted; but instead of that, by the King of *Portugal's* Command, the Book was called in, and very carefully suppressed. The Proof of this Fact, as it is very extraordinary and decisive, is thus set down by the laborious *Purchas*, in the third Part of his *Pilgrims*, Pag. 840; *viz.* "I Thomas Cowles
" of *Bedminster* in the County of *Somerset*, Mariner, do
" acknowledge, that six Years past, at my being at
" *Lisbon*, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, I did hear one
" *Martin Chacke*, a *Portuguese* of *Lisbon*, read a Book
" of his own making, which he had set out six Years
" before that Time in Print, in the *Portugal* Tongue,
" declaring, That the said *Martin Chacke* had found,
" twelve Years now past, a Way from the *Portugal*
" *Indies*, through a Gulph of the *Newfoundland*, which
" he thought to be in 59 Degrees of the Elevation of
" the North Pole by Means that being in the said
" *Indies* with four other Ships of great Burden, and he
" himself in a small Ship of fourscore Tons, was driven
" from the Company of the other four Ships, with a
" westerly Wind; after which he passed along by a great
" Number of Islands, which were in the Gulph of the said
" *Newfoundland*. And after he over-shot the Gulph, he
" saw no more of any other Island until he fell in with the
" North-west Part of *Ireland*, and from thence he took
" his Course homewards, and by that Means he came to
" *Lisbon*, four or five Weeks before the other four Ships
" of his Company that he was separated from, as
" before-said. And since the same time, I could
" never see any of those Books, because the King com-
" manded

“manded them to be called in, and no more of them to be printed, lest in time it would be to their Hindrance. In Witness whereof I set to my Hand and Mark, the 9th of April, Anno 1579.”

There is no doubt something strange enough in this Story; and one might be tempted to suspect, that either the *English* Seaman had made some Mistake, or that the *Portuguese* Pilot had boasted of more than he had done, if in those Days these kind of Points had not been much more thoroughly understood, as well as more narrowly enquired after than they are at present; so that if there had been any just Grounds for rejecting this Story, we should hardly have found it mentioned by those judicious Writers who seem to lay great Stress upon it; but it so falls out, that I think I am able to join to this another Proof that has been very little taken notice of, and which notwithstanding seems very strongly to corroborate this Report, from which I do not at all doubt that it was derived.

The Fact upon which I depend is this. Captain *James Lancaster*, afterwards Sir *James Lancaster*, commanded the first Fleet sent to the *East Indies* by our Company, which sailed in the Month of *February* 1600, and a very prosperous Voyage he made: While this Gentleman was in the *Indies*, he heard a Report of another Passage into those Parts, which, as I hinted was probably that through which the *Portuguese* Pilot had failed; and this Gentleman, who was a very experienced Mariner in Theory as well as Practice, was entirely persuaded of the Truth of it, as appears from the following remarkable Accident which will do Honour to his Memory, as long as any Records remain of our maritime Affairs. In his Return to *England*, on board the *Dragon*, a very fine large Ship, with a most valuable Cargo, he met with such a Storm off the *Cape of Good Hope*, as tore away his Rudder, and put him in such Danger that he very much doubted the Possibility of his returning home; yet, instead of quitting his Ship in this Distress, he contented himself with writing a short Letter to the Company; which he sent on board the *Hector*, and to this Letter he added the following remarkable Postscript: *The Passage to the East Indies lies in 62 Degrees 30 Minutes by the North-west, on the American Side.* Upon comparing this with the Map prefixed to Mr. *Dobbs's Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, I find it falls in precisely with an Opening called there by the Name of *Lovegrove*. And it agrees perfectly well with the *Portuguese* Pilot's Account; since he might very well sail through broken Lands and Islands from thence, as he did to *Newfoundland*, or perhaps to *Labrador*, and thence to *Ireland*. I mention all these Facts together because they seem to relate to the same Thing, and to confirm each other. I shall now proceed to another Instance.

Tenthly, Mr. *Michael Lock*, a very intelligent Person, who resided at *Venice* in 1596, obtained there, by a very singular and extraordinary Accident, an Account of this very same Passage from a Man who had himself discovered it on the *American Side*, of which, from his own large Discourse preserved in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, I shall give as short and true an Extract as I am able. In the Month of *April*, in the Year before-mentioned, he met with *Juan de Fuca*, a Native of the Island of *Cephalonia*, then about threescore, who had long served the *Spaniards* in Quality of a Pilot in the *South Seas*, and in this Station was taken in the *St. Anne*, an *Acapulco* Ship coming from the *Philippines*, in *A. D.* 1587, by Capt. *Candish*, and by that Accident lost sixty thousand Ducats. He told Mr. *Lock* that he was Pilot of three small Ships sent by the Viceroy of *Mexico* to fortify the Straights of *Anian*, to prevent the *English* from penetrating that Way into the *South Seas*, which miscarried by the Commander's being guilty of some foul Practices that raised a Mutiny. He was afterwards employed again for the same Purpose, in 1594, with a small Ship and a Pinnace; and having sailed along the Coasts of *New Spain, California*, and, as he expressly affirmed, Part of the Continent beyond, to the Height of 47 Degrees, and finding that the Land trended there North-north-east, with a broad Inlet of the Sea, between 47 and 48 Degrees, he

entered into this Strait, and sailed therein more than twenty Days; and found that Land trended still sometimes North-west and North-east, and North and East, and South-eastward, the Sea growing much broader than at the Entrance, and having in it many Islands small and great, by which he passed. He also took notice, that at the very Entrance of the Strait, there was a great Headland, or Island, in which there was a prodigious large Rock, like a Pillar or Pyramid. He further affirmed, that he landed several times, and saw many of the Inhabitants, who were cloathed in Beast-skins, or Furs; and as to the Country, he described it as exceedingly fruitful, and rich in Gold and Silver, Pearl, and other valuable Commodities, and with every Thing that was to be found in *New Spain*.

He reported farther, that he having entered thus far into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea, and finding the Passage wide enough every where, and about thirty or forty Leagues wide in the Mouth of the Straights where he entered; he thought he had now well discharged this Office, and done the thing which he was sent to do; and that not being armed to resist the Force of the *Savage* People, he therefore set sail, and returned homewards again, towards *New Spain*, where he arrived at *Acapulco*, *A. D.* 1594, hoping to be rewarded largely of the Viceroy, for the Service done in this Voyage. Also he said, that after his coming to *Mexico*, he was welcomed by the Viceroy, and had great Promises of great Reward; but that having sued there two Years Time, and obtained nothing, the Viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in *Spain* by the King himself, very largely; and desired him therefore to go into *Spain*, which Voyage he performed. He added, that when he was come into *Spain*, he was well received there at the King's Court, in Words after the *Spanish* Manner; but after long Time of Suit there also, he could not get any Reward. And that therefore, at length he stole away out of *Spain*, and came into *Italy* to go home again, and live among his own Kindred and Countrymen in his old Age. He likewise owned, that he thought the Cause of his ill Usage by the *Spaniards* was, because they did understand, very well, that the *English* Nation had now given over all their Voyages for Discovery of the North-west Passage, wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that Way into the *South Sea*, and therefore they needed not his Service for the future.

This old *Greek* Pilot, offered Mr. *Lock* to go over to *England*; and in case Queen *Elizabeth* would have been pleased to make him Compensation for the Losses sustained when taken by Captain *Candish*, in case of Success, he would, in her Majesty's Service, attempt the Discovery of this North-west Passage from *Europe*, which, with a Vessel of forty Tons and a Pinnace, he doubted not to perform in thirty Days. At the Time of his making this Offer, Mr. *Lock* had it not in his Power to bring him over, but he acquainted the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Mr. *Richard Hackluit* therewith, who approved his Design, but sent him no Money. At last, in 1602, his own Circumstances being mended, he resolved to bring this Man over, with whom he had all this while kept a constant Correspondence on his proper Expence; but upon his Arrival at *Zant*, to his great Grief and Disappointment, found him dead.

Eleventhly, Yet these Discoveries by Sea are not all that is in our Power to produce on this Subject; we have likewise some Proofs that are no less conclusive, drawn from Discoveries made by Land, of which we have partly spoken in another Place; but which it is absolutely necessary we should again mention here, though in Terms as succinct as it is possible. In the Year 1568 Sir *John Hawkins*, after an Expedition attended with indifferent Success against the *Spaniards*, found himself obliged to set about one hundred of his Crew ashore, about six Leagues West of the River *la Mina*, and about one hundred and forty Leagues West by North of *Cape Florida*; amongst these was *David Ingram*, of *Barking* in *Essex*, who, with some of his Companions, travelled Northwards through many unknown Countries, where they saw vast Riches, as well as precious Stones, as of Gold and Silver.

Silver. In the most Northern Countries, through which they passed, the People were cloathed with Bear-Skins and fine Furs. In the Month of *May* they came into a rich and fertile Country, which is particularly described in his Travels, preserved by *Hackluit*. And in this Country he affirms he saw Elephants, and other strange Beasts, not known in *America*; and after marching, according to his Computation, near two thousand Miles, and passing over several large Rivers, some four, some six, some eight, and some ten Miles over; and one so large, that they were twenty-four Hours in crossing it in a Canoe; they came to *Cape Breton*, where himself, and two of his Companions, embarked aboard a *French Ship*, one Mr. *Champaigne*, to whom one of *Ingram's* Companions, *Richard Brown*, gave a very large Pearl, that he had picked up in this Journey. They landed at *New Haven* in *France*, in 1569, and soon found a Passage to *England*; where, within a Fortnight after their Arrival, they came to their old Captain *Hawkins*, to whom they related this Story, affirming that they had travelled to the North Sea, by which they meant the Sea that washed the Northern Part of *America*, opposite to the Bay of *Mexico*; and they likewise affirmed, that for two Days together they travelled along the Shore of this Sea, and that the Inhabitants gave them to understand, that they were not unacquainted with Ships, drawing the Figure of them upon the Sand, with their Masts, Sails, and Flags.

This Account of *Ingram's* was not digested into writing till several Years after, as appears by his affirming that *Richard Brown* was slain five Years before, in a Ship called the *Elizabeth*, belonging to one Mr. *Cockins* of *London*; and that his other Companion, *Richard Twide*, died three Years before, at the House of Mr. *Sheerwood*, in *Ratcliffe*; but they had all given this Account upon their first Arrival, to Captain *Hawkins*. It cannot be denied that there are some very strange and improbable things in this Relation of *Ingram*; which shew him either a very weak and credulous Man, or one that delighted in using the Privilege of Travellers, of exceeding the Truth. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. *Hackluit* was of Opinion, that his Relation amounted to a strong Proof of a North-west Passage; as to which, however, it does not appear that the Man himself had any Notion, for otherwise he might have pretended, that the River he was twenty-four Hours in passing was it; for so in all probability it really was. I must acknowledge, that upon reading and considering his Narrative, I was once in very great doubt, whether it deserved any Credit at all, or whether it ought to find a Place amongst those Matters of Fact, that deserve to be mentioned as Proofs of the Possibility and Probability of there being a Passage to the *South Seas* by the North-west; but I was at last determined to give it a Place, by meeting accidentally with another Account no less strange and extraordinary, and which the Reader will perceive has such an Agreement therewith, that is not easily to be accounted for, without allowing that there is at least a considerable Mixture of Truth in them both; for that the one should be copied from the other, considering the Persons by whom both Relations were made, is, in my Judgment, absolutely impossible. Besides they seem also to be confirmed, both by the most ancient, and by the more modern *Spanish* Authors, who mention the Northern Extremities of *America*. But it is Time to come to the Matter of Fact.

Twelfthly, The Author of the *French Mercury Galant*, for the Year 1712, gives us the following Relation, viz. "That ten *Frenchmen*, and two *Savages*, set out from *Montreal* in *Canada*, and having continued for some Time in the Country of the *Illinois*, and on the Banks of the River *Mississippi*, they resolved to proceed farther on new Discoveries. They made use of three Canoes of Bark of Trees, to remount the *Mississippi*, and being gone up the same one hundred and fifty Leagues, they were stopped by a Fall, which obliged them to carry their Canoes over Land, and then they embarked again on the said River, and went up the same forty Leagues more, without meeting any People; they spent a Month and a Half in hunting, and conti-

ning their Design of attempting some new Discovery, they met, fifteen Leagues from thence, with a River running to the South-south-west, from whence they conjectured it discharged itself into the South Sea, its Course being opposite and contrary to those which fall into the North Sea. They resolved thereupon to carry their Canoes into it, and in their Way saw Lions, Leopards, and Tygers, which did not offer to attack them. They fell down that River about one hundred and fifty Leagues, and met with a Nation called *Escaaniba*, which possess a Country of two hundred Leagues at least, in which they saw several Forts, Towns, and Villages, whereof the Houses are built of Timber, and Bark of Trees. They have a King who pretends to descend from *Moteczuma*, and who is commonly cloathed with Beasts Skins, which is also the ordinary Cloathing of the Inhabitants.

"They seem, in their Manner, to be under some Rules of Policy. They are Idolaters, and their Idols, which are in their Kings Palace, are frightful, and of a prodigious Size. There are two amongst others, whereof one is the Figure of a Man armed with Lances and Arrows, having one Foot upon the Ground, and the other lifted up, with a Hand on the Figure of a Horse, as if he were going to mount it. They say that this is the Statue of one their Kings, who was a great Conqueror. That Statue holds in its Mouth a large square Carbuncle, which casts a Light in the Night as Fire. The other Figure is a Woman, who was a Queen, setting on a Saddle, upon an Unicorn, having four great Dogs on one Side. These Figures are of massy Gold, but very ill made. They are set on a raised Place, being a Square about thirty Feet, covered with Gold. Between those two Statues is the Way into the King's Apartment; and at the Door of the same stands his Guards, consisting of two hundred Men. The Palace is very large, and is three Stories high. The Walls are eight Feet high, and of massy Gold, cut in square little Bricks, and laid one upon another, fastened with Hooks and Bars of the same Metal. The rest of the Building is of Timber, and covered with the same. Those People have a great Trade for Gold, but our Discoverers could never guess with what Nation, unless it be with the People of *Japon*; for they carry their Gold to so great a Distance, that they told the *French*, that they spent six Months in their Journey to that Nation. Our Adventurers were present at the setting out of one of their Carravans, which consisted of above three hundred Oxen laden with Gold, and guarded by the like Number of Men, armed with Lances and Arrows, and with a kind of Poniard.

"They barter their Gold for Iron, Steel, Lances, &c. They are altogether Strangers to writing, but use a Sort of Bark dressed for that Purpose, on which they mark the Quantity of Gold intrusted to each of the Men aforesaid, for which he must be accountable at his Return. The King is called *Agauzan*, which signifies, in their Language, the great King; and though he is at War with nobody, he keeps a standing Army of one hundred thousand Men. Their Trumpets are of Gold, and strait, and they sound the same, in a disagreeable Manner. Their Drums are large Kettles of Gold, covered with Hart-Skins, and so large, that they must be carried by Oxen. These Troops exercise once a Week in the King's Presence. The Inhabitants are of a brownish Complexion, and look frightful, having a long narrow Head, which they form into that Shape, by pressing the Heads of Children between two pieces of Board. The Women are handsome, and as white as in *Europe*: They have, as well as the Men, large Ears, which they account a great Beauty, and adorn them with Gold Rings. They let their Nails grow as long as they can, and this is, amongst them, a mark of Distinction. The most hairy Men, are looked upon to be the most handsome. Polygamy is in use, and they shew little Concern for the Conduct of their Daughters. They love Rejoicing and Dancing, and are great Eaters. They make a Sort of Wine

“ Wine of Palm-Trees, and have several other Sorts of
 “ Liquors. They smook very much, and have good
 “ Tobacco, which grows in their Country without any
 “ Culture.

“ The Climate is very temperate, and the Inhabitants
 “ live to a great Age, without being troubled with Dis-
 “ eases. The Country affords all sorts of Fruits both of
 “ the *Indies* and of *Europe*. They have Abundance of
 “ *Indian* Wheat, and wild Oats, which are as white
 “ and as good as Rice. They make Bread of both, but
 “ cultivate only the former. They have large Plains,
 “ which afford excellent Pasture for all sorts of Cattle.
 “ Their Rivers are full of Fish, and their Woods abound
 “ with all sorts of Birds, especially Parrots. They have
 “ Monkeys and Animals peculiar to that Country. Their
 “ capital City lies within six Leagues of the River *Missi*,
 “ which signifies the River of Gold. The *French*, upon
 “ taking their Leave of that King, promised to return
 “ in 36 Moons, *i. e.* in three Years, and to bring with them
 “ several Goods from *Canada*, to barter with their Gold,
 “ which they value so little, that the King bid them take
 “ as much as they pleased, which they did, and brought
 “ away each sixty Bars, weighing about two hundred and
 “ forty Pounds. Two of the Adventurers had the Cu-
 “ riosity to go to the Place from whence they bring their
 “ Gold, and informed the others, that the Mines are
 “ within the hollow Parts of the Mountains, from which
 “ the Gold is carried away by Rivers, and is found on
 “ the Banks of them. Those Rivers are almost quite
 “ dried up for four Months in the Year. Most of these
 “ Adventurers returning home, were killed at the Mouth
 “ of the River *St. Laurence*, by an *English* Pirate, and
 “ two of them only escaped, who, after a long Captivity,
 “ during which they had been in several Bays in the *East*
 “ and *West Indies*, and in *China*, at last arrived at *Brest*;
 “ and offered, upon pain of their Lives, if conducted
 “ to the *Mississippi*, easily to find back again from thence
 “ the Way leading to that *New Peru*.”

It would be no very difficult Matter to assemble other Passages of a like Nature from the Works of various Authors, *English*, *French*, and *Spanish*, all concurring in the Report, that there are very great Nations in the most Northern Parts of *America*, and that they trade and have Correspondence with the Inhabitants of some other Country absolutely unknown; but that this seems to be unnecessary after what has been before related. One Thing however I will take the Liberty of hinting to the Reader, because I think it may contribute to give some Light to these Stories of a civilized Nation in *North America*; and it is this, that the *Mexicans* themselves always acknowledged, that they came from the *North*, and were not the original Inhabitants of that Country where the *Spaniards* found them: So that if we suppose the *French* Adventurers above-mentioned spoke Truth, we may very well conclude that it was not the last *Moteczuma*, but a former Prince of that Name these *Indians* spoke of; and that instead of being the *Mexicans* expelled by the *Spaniards*, they may be the original Nation from whom those *Mexicans* were derived that contended with the *Spaniards*. This I do not pretend to lay down as a Thing certain, but as a Thing possible, if not probable, and therefore worthy of future Consideration.

Thirteenthly, The last Argument I shall offer is from the conferring and comparing together those that have gone before; for I think it can hardly be esteemed possible, that Nature, Art and Tradition, should conspire to lead Mankind into Error in this Respect, by affording so many probable Inducements to look upon the finding such a Passage to the North-west as not only probable but practicable. The wisest Philosophers, as well as Cosmographers, have admitted this Proposition, considering only the Reason of the Thing. The most able Seamen have been of that Opinion, after repeated Trials and Experiments; such as *Cabot*, *Davis*, *Hudson*, *Button* and *Baffin*, not to mention others that have been employed in the *Danish* Service. We find the Rumour of such a Passage spread every where in *Italy*, *Spain* and *Portugal*, as well as in *Great Britain*, *Denmark* and *Holland*. In the *East Indies*, and in the *West*, amongst the *Indian* Natives, as well as

European Planters: Whence I conclude, that as no Fiction was ever so generally believed, this will sooner or later be found a Truth, and then the Wonder will be that it was found no sooner. But let us now proceed, from the Reason of the Thing, which I have laboured to make as clear as I could, to an Historical Account of the Expeditions which the Persuasion that there is such a Passage by the North-west has occasioned; in discoursing of which I shall be as concise as it is possible.

4. The first who attempted this Discovery, as has been often said, was the famous *John Cabot*, towards the latter-end of the fifteenth Century, but was prevented from finishing his Discovery by a Mutiny on board his Ship. He constantly retained his Opinion that there was a Passage this Way, and that he should have found it if this Accident had not happened. It was however fifty Years before another Attempt was made, and then Sir *Martin Frobisher*, in 1576, failed with two Barks in search of this Passage. He discovered in the Height of 62 Degrees, on the Coast of *Groenland*, a large Inlet, to which he gave the Name of *Frobisher's Straights*, through which he sailed about sixty Leagues, with main Land on both Sides, and saw some of the Inhabitants. He made a second and a third Voyage, and called the Country he discovered *Meta Incognita*. In 1583 Sir *Humphry Gilbert* sailed to the River of *St. Laurence*, took Possession of that Country which the *French* call *Canada*, and settled our Fishery upon that Coast. In 1585 Capt. *John Davis*, of whom we have given elsewhere a large Account, made an Attempt to find this North-west Passage, and discovered a Part of *Groenland*, to which he gave the Name of the *Land of Desolation*. He sailed afterwards as high as 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, through that which has been since called *Davis's Straights*, and thence to the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In 1586 he made another Voyage, in which he made farther Discoveries, and returned full of Hopes that a third Voyage would compleat his Design. Accordingly in 1587 he proceeded through *Davis's Straights* to the Height of 72 Degrees 12 Minutes, and found an open Sea to the South-west.

In 1610 Mr. *Henry Hudson*, after he had in vain made Trial of the North-east Passage, attempted a Discovery to the North-west, and made a great Progress therein; passing through the Straights that have since bore his Name into a large open Sea, called *Hudson's Bay*, and would have proceeded further, but was hindered by a Mutiny among his Seamen, who basely deserted him, as we have formerly mentioned. In 1612 *James Hall* and *William Baffin* made a like Attempt, in which the former was killed by a Savage. This Accident did not hinder Mr. *Baffin* from going thither in the Year 1615, who proceeded to the utmost Extremity of that Sea, which communicated with *Davis's Straights*, and found it to be no other than a large Bay, which has been since known by his Name. He went thither again the next Year, and discovered an Inlet, which he called *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees, but returned to *England* without Success, though he remained firm in his Opinion of a North-west Passage to his Death, which happened in the *East Indies*, yet his Miscarriage discouraged for a long Time any Attempts from hence.

5. Mr. *Henry Button*, (afterwards Sir *Henry*) in the Year 1611, having been encouraged by Prince *Henry* to attempt a more perfect Knowledge of that Sea which had been found by Mr. *Hudson*, went thither accordingly, and proceeded 200 Leagues farther to the South-west, coasting along a great Continent, to which he gave the Name of *New South Wales*, and winter'd at *Port-Nelson*; then sailing cross that Sea, which has since been called *Button's Bay*, he discovered another Country, to which he gave the Name of *New North Wales*, which seems to be only an Island in that great Sea, which opens into the Northern Ocean by the Passages of *Hudson's Straights* and *Davis's Straights*, and of which *Hudson's Bay*, *Button's Bay*, and *Baffin's Bay*, are only Parts, bounded by the Continents of *Groenland* and *North America*. In his wintering at *Port-Nelson*, which is in the Latitude of 57 Degrees 10 Minutes North, he lost the best Part of his Crew through extreme Cold, notwithstanding all the Precautions

tions he could take to prevent it; but it does not appear that he was in any Degree distressed for want of Provisions, since he assures us that besides Deer and other wild Beasts, there was such vast plenty of Partridges, and other Fowls, that they killed upwards of one thousand eight hundred Dozen; and he likewise observes, that the Natives fished in their Seal-Skin Boats, without appearing to be much incommoded by the rigorous Season. He, for Causes elsewhere related (especially the Tides) concluded a North-west Passage certain, and thereby restored the Hopes of it, then fallen very low.

6. The King of *Denmark*, believing that the Vicinity of his Country gave him greater Advantages than any other *European* Power, resolved to perfect these Discoveries, which the *English* had begun; in order to which he caused two Ships and a Pinnace to be fitted out in 1605, under the Command of Captain *John Cunningham*, a Native of *Scotland*; with whom one *Lindenaw*, a *Danish* Nobleman, was joined in Commission; *James Hall*, and *John Knight*, both *Englishmen*, were Pilots. The *Dane* very soon returned, but *Cunningham* proceeded a little Way through *Davis's Straights*, to a Place called *Cunningham's Ford*; from whence he brought away a kind of Stone, which he took to be Silver Ore; out of one hundred weight of which there were extracted twenty-six Ounces of fine Silver. In 1607 another Ship was sent from *Denmark*, of which *James Hall* had the Command; but before they had advanced as high as *Cunningham's Ford*, the *Danish* Seamen mutinied, and forced them to return. His *Danish* Majesty, however, persisted so obstinately in this Design, that he sent for Seamen from *Norway* and *Iceland*, supposing that they were better able to endure Cold than other People; and having fitted out two Ships for Discovery, gave the Command of them to one *Christian Richardson*, a Native of *Holstein*. These People, however, behaved worse than the *Danes* had done, for they mutinied before they saw the Coast of *Greenland*, and so disappointed that Voyage. In 1619 Captain *John Munk* undertook this Voyage, and arrived safely at *Cape Farewell*, in the Latitude of 60 Degrees thirty Minutes, where, though their Tackle was so frozen, and full of Ice, that they could not handle them; yet the next Day was so hot and sultry, that they were forced to work in their Shirts. He gave here Names to several Places in *Hudson's Bay*, but made no great Discoveries, though he was obliged to winter in the Latitude of 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, in a Place which has since retained his Name, on the West-side of the Bay before-mentioned.

The Hardships this Man endured in the long Winter he passed there, are almost incredible. In the Month of *May*, 1620, he found himself alone in a Hut, scarce alive himself, and almost morally certain that all his Mariners were dead: He collected his Spirits, however, as well as he could, crawled out, and found, of all his Crew, no more than two left, and those in almost as weak a Condition as himself; however, they removed the Snow in some Places, and finding fresh Herbs underneath, recovered from the Scurvy by eating them; and when the Season permitted, and they had collected a little Provision, they left their Ship behind them, and ventured to return in their Pinnace, with which, after overcoming great Difficulties, they safely arrived in *Norway*. This Captain *Munk* was not only a great Seaman, but a very ingenious Mathematician; and some Years after revived this Design of finding a North-west Passage, of which he gave so good an Account to several of the *Danish* Nobility, and made it so probable to some of the richest Merchants in *Norway*, that they raised a joint Stock to defray the Expences of his Voyage.

When all things were in a Manner ready, *Munk* himself was taken off by a very odd Accident. The King asked him how he came not to discover the North-west Passage the last Time, upon which he gave him a large Account of his Misfortunes. The King told him that he had destroyed a great many Men already, to which Captain *Munk* made a quick Reply, and provoked the King to strike him over the Stomach with his Cane. This Indignity had such an Effect upon the Man's Spirit, that as soon as he came home, he obstinately refused all

Refreshment, and died in two or three Days. The unfortunate Issue of this Affair so discouraged the *Danes*, that we hear nothing more of their Attempts, though it is certain, that with respect to such Expeditions, they enjoy much greater Advantages than almost any other Nation.

7. As long as the *Greenland* Trade was carried on with Advantage to this Nation, the Endeavours for a Discovery were kept up, and a special Committee was appointed by the Merchants concerned in that Trade, for drawing Instructions to the Commanders of such Vessels as were sent abroad in that Service, and Sir *John Wolstenhome* the younger was appointed their Treasurer. We have a great many Letters and Papers transmitted to this Committee, in the third Part of *Purchas's Pilgrims*, and of these there are some that are very well worth the reading. It appears from them, that *Thomas Marmaduke*, of *Hull*, had sailed as far as the Latitude of 82 Degrees North, which was to the utmost Extent of *Greenland*; but he seems to have kept too near the Shore, which was the Reason that he found himself much incommoded by Ice; whereas if he had kept a little to the Westward, it is allowed that he would have met with an open Sea. But by this Time other Nations began to interfere in the *Greenland* Trade, and the Company found themselves under a Necessity of having recourse to the Crown for Protection and Assistance, as well for defending their Fishery, as for prosecuting their Discoveries; and accordingly they addressed themselves to King *Charles I.* upon both Heads, who very readily granted them all that they desired, particularly a Frigate, called the *Charles*, under the Command of Captain *Luke Fox*; which, being manned and victualled for eighteen Months, sailed in the Spring of the Year 1631, in order to make Discoveries towards the North-west; and, as he tells us himself, this was the sixteenth Voyage that had been undertaken expressly for this Purpose.

He traced *Frobisher*, *Hudson*, *Davis*, *Baffin*, and *Button*, meeting with Whales, much Ice, and foul Weather. He built a Pinnace in River *Nelson*, where he found several Remains left there by Sir *Thomas Button*. He observed abundance of small spruce Fir-Trees on both Sides the River, almost covered with Moss, and other Sorts of Trees, but small. The Valleys had good Grass, Blackberries, Strawberries, Vetches, Venison, &c. but no Natives or Inhabitants to be met with in this Place; tho' in other Parts of the Sea he saw several *Savages*. Captain *James* departing from *England* soon after Captain *Fox*, upon the same Design, they both met, and caressed each other, near *Port Nelson*, in the Month of *Aug.* 1631. *Fox* got home before Winter, and some time afterwards published a large Account of his Voyage, under a pompous Title, which, however, was never much esteemed; and sunk still lower, in the Opinion of Mankind, after Mr. *James's* Voyage was made public, which every body allowed to be an excellent Performance, and to have all the Merit that could be expected from a Work of that kind.

It appears from hence, that there was a surprizing Degree of Vigilance and Steadiness in the Conduct of the mercantile Part of the Nation at that Time. They applied themselves to the Study of Navigation and Commerce, as to Sciences capable of raising their Fame and Reputation, as well as their Fortunes; and this made them jealous of seeing themselves rivalled, or out-done, by any other Nation whatever. The King too had great Knowledge in these Matters, conferred about them with the principal Commanders in his Navy, and the most able Seamen throughout his Kingdom; offering freely whatever Assistance his Prerogative enabled him to give, and encouraging the wealthier Sort of Merchants to continue these Kinds of Expeditions, by his own Example. It was this that became a kind of Law to the Nobility and Courtiers, who, in imitation of the King, interested themselves deeply in Attempts of this Nature, as manifestly appears by the Names given to Roads, Sounds, Bays, Islands, Headlands, Promontories, and Coasts in *Hudson's Bay*, and other Northern Regions, by which the Titles of some noble Families are preserved, which are now extinguished, and their Memories also almost totally forgotten.

SECTION III.

The accurate and admirable VOYAGE of Captain THOMAS JAMES, for the Discovery of a PASSAGE into the SOUTH SEAS, by the North-west; his wintering in Charlton Island, and wonderful Return with his Ship, and most of the Crew, into England.

Extracted from his own Account, and delivered in his own Words.

1. *An Introduction containing the Reasons of this Expedition, and the Motives and Preparations of Captain James, for undertaking this Voyage.* 2. *The Author departs from Bristol, and arrives upon the Coast of Groenland.* 3. *Finds himself and his Crew exposed to great Danger, and prodigious Inconveniencies, by the vast quantities of Ice in those Parts.* 4. *An Account of their landing at several Places, the miserable Barrenness of the Country, and the Sea destitute of Fish.* 5. *They fall into new Perils from the Ice, from which they free themselves by incessant Labours.* 6. *A farther Account of the Country, Coasts, and Seas.* 7. *The Methods taken by Captain James, to encourage and keep up the Spirits of his Seamen, in the Midst of so many Difficulties.* 8. *Their Dangers and Labours still increase, notwithstanding all the Precautions that could be taken to avoid them.* 9. *A Misfortune happens in the weighing of their Anchor, by which several of the ablest Men in the Ship are miserably hurt.* 10. *They meet with Captain Luke Fox, who had been sent out the Year before upon the same Discovery; and after mutual Civilities, part from, and see, each other no more.* 11. *A violent Storm, by which they are in great Danger; from which they are delivered by their own Industry, and the Care of their Commander, with the Blessing of God.* 12. *The Ship run ashore by an Accident, which put them into so great Danger, that they had Thoughts of quitting their Vessel, and making their Escape in their Boat; but afterwards are so lucky as to get the Ship off.* 13. *Another Storm in which they lost their Shallop, and were driven to such distress, that they were forced to think of wintering in those Seas.* 14. *They are miserably incommoded with Fogs, strong Currents, and floating Islands of Ice; by which they are put in the utmost Danger for several Days together.* 15. *The Captain lands upon an Island in order to make Discoveries; to procure Wood, Water, and other Conveniencies, and to search out a proper Place for their wintering in.* 16. *Their House is set up, a Deer taken, and one of their Men lost in seeking for Refreshments.* 17. *An Account of their various Precautions taken to avoid such Accidents for the future; their Distress from the Severity of the Weather; and the Death of their Gunner.* 18. *Captain James inclines to run his Ship aground; the Reasons which induced him to think of this Expedient; and the Accidents which hindered him from putting it in execution.* 19. *They resolved, after mature Deliberation, to sink the Ship, as the surest Means of preserving her; this Resolution executed, and the Difficulties they met with in getting ashore.* 20. *Captain James's Speech to his Crew, in Relation to their Wintering; the Assurances given him by them, of their Fidelity and Obedience, together with the Distribution made of the Men to several Employments.* 21. *Farther Precautions taken for securing themselves in this uncomfortable Country, getting their Boat ashore, and raising a Storehouse for their Provisions.* 22. *A large and very curious Account of their Habitations in this desert Island, and of the Methods taken for the Ease and Refreshments of the Sick.* 23. *Observations on the Cold, Ice, Snows, Spring-Tides, and other things, at the Beginning of the Year 1632.* 24. *The Miseries endured by the whole Crew, from the dismal Effects of the Scurvy; and the great Pains taken by their Chirurgeon to give them all the Relief in his Power.* 25. *The Difficulties that attended the getting of Wood; and various Methods practised to overcome those Difficulties.* 26. *The Captain resolved to dig a Passage through the Ice to the Ship, which, with inexpressible Labour, was effected, and the Vessel found safe and sound.* 27. *The Order in which their Provisions were served to them, while they continued ashore; and the Danger their Sick were in of being starved, for want of a Power of eating.* 28. *The Death of their Carpenter; their Rudder recovered; and the Island named, from their wintering upon it, Charles Town, or Charlton Island.* 29. *The Ship cleared; the Men recover chiefly by the Help of Sallads; the Nature of the Spring in this Country.* 30. *The Ship begins to float; Captain James takes Possession of the Island for King Charles I. and begins to think of his Departure.* 31. *The Captain in Danger of being burnt by a very strange Accident; erects Tombs for his dead Men; the Nature of Freezing in this Country.* 32. *The Manner of the Waters Thawing described; with a View of the Country in the Spring, and other Particulars.* 33. *They labour to leave Charlton Island, but are hindered by the Ice.* 34. *Put to Sea with much Difficulty, and meet with great Tempests, and other Misfortunes.* 35. *Undergo vast Varieties of Hardships, through Storms, Rocks, Ice, &c.* 36. *In much greater Danger than ever; so that not only the Crew, but the Captain himself, began to despair of the Possibility of returning.* 37. *He lays hold, notwithstanding, of the first Opportunity that offered, for prosecuting the intended Discovery.* 38. *Exposed to new Difficulties and Dangers, which engage them, after mature Deliberation, to resolve upon shaping their Course home, which was accordingly done.* 39. *Captain James changes his Sentiments, with respect to the Possibility of finding a North-west Passage; Motives assigned by him, in Support of that Change; and his Reasons for thinking the Passage useless and unprofitable, if it could be discovered.* 40. *His Notions upon this Subject considered and confuted.* 41. *Conclusion of this Voyage, with Observations and Remarks.*

1. **A**S curious and instructive as the History of the Expeditions made for finding a North-west Passage must certainly be esteemed by all competent Judges of a Collection of this kind, yet it is very natural for them to expect to see some Voyage entire, by which they may judge of the Nature of such an Expedi-

tion; the Method of pursuing it; the Discoveries that incidentally fall in; the Difficulties that occur; the Nature of the Climate and Coasts; and other Singularities which render such kind of Pieces equally useful and entertaining. The Foresight of this, and the Desire of complying, as far as possible, with the Expectations of my

my Readers, induced me to think of giving Place to the Voyage of Captain *Thomas James*, undertaken for the Satisfaction of King *Charles I.* at the Expence of the Merchant Adventurers of *Bristol*. And this for various Reasons: First, Because the original Edition of 1633, published by the Author himself, from whence this, with the Omissions only of some obsolete Phrases, and some Verses, not much to the Purpose, is literally taken, is become exceeding scarce, and, indeed, hardly to be met with. Secondly, Because it is very justly looked upon as the very best Work of its kind that ever was published, and this in every respect; the Author being a knowing, careful, and experienced Seaman, one who wrote every thing as it occurred, and framed the History of his Voyage while it was making, and not after his return Home, from loose Papers, or a bare Sea Journal. Thirdly, Because the giving this Voyage will satisfy the Reader in all the Points of Enquiry that he can possibly frame, and this upon the Authority of so judicious and candid a Writer, that the famous Mr. *Robert Boyle* chiefly depended upon the Extracts he made from his Work, in framing one of the most valuable Pieces that he published, I mean his History of Cold. Fourthly, Because it will free us from the Necessity of inserting any more Voyages into these Northern Parts, as containing every thing that is worth reading in the rest of them; digested clearly and plainly, so as to carry Conviction throughout, and leave us no room to question either the Abilities or the Sincerity of its Author. And Fifthly, Because it affords us an Opportunity of exhibiting, at once, the Reasons from which it was for many Years after this believed, that the finding such a Passage was impracticable, and adding thereto the Motives that have induced able and experienced Persons in later Times to conceive, that how formidable soever these Objections may at first Sight appear, they are not absolutely conclusive, but that such a Passage may be still sought for with rational Hopes of Success.

After having given this Account of the Causes of inserting this long Voyage, I shall next present the Reader with an Account from Captain *James's* Preface, which is to be found only in his original Edition; of the Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, containing many Particulars that are very well worth Notice, and which will not fail to convince the Reader that never any Enterprize of this kind was better concerted, or more Deliberation used in providing for its Success. Captain *James* had been employed, as he tells us, in some Northern Voyages before, whence he came to be thought the fittest Person in the Kingdom, for attempting this so long wished for Discovery; which, however, he was not determined to undertake, till it was signified to him on the Part of the King, that it would be highly satisfactory to his Majesty. After he was once come to a Resolution, he signified to the Merchants of *Bristol*, in whose Service probably he had been formerly employed, both his own Inclination to venture on this Voyage, and the Encouragement he received from his Majesty; upon which they very readily raised such a Sum of Money as was requisite, and deposited it in the Hands of a Treasurer, for carrying it on with the utmost Facility and Expedition.

Captain *James* desired only a single Ship, and that a small one, of the Burden only of seventy Tons. She was built for this Voyage; and it will appear from what follows, that she was as well and strongly built as ever any Vessel of her Size was. The Number of Persons that he desired for the Execution of so difficult and so dangerous a Design, was no more than twenty-two; and the Provisions and other Necessaries that he required, was for 18 Months; and he acknowledges that they were provided for him in the full Proportions he demanded, and that in their several kinds they were as wholesome and as good as he could wish. He had the free Choice of the Men that were to serve under him, but he absolutely refused all Volunteers that had never been at Sea, in which there is nothing strange; but it must be allowed that it was somewhat surprizing, that he should reject also such as had failed in those Seas before; for which he says he wanted not good

Reasons, though it seems they were such as he did not think fit to disclose. The Qualities he required were, that they should be unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen; he likewise took care that they should not have the least Knowledge or Acquaintance with each other; and, instead of entering them all at once, he first fixed upon a Boatswain and his Crew for rigging the Ship, and put them aboard before the rest of the Seamen; then he shipped the common Men, and lastly his Officers; so that all things were ready at once; the Expence kept as much within Bounds as it was possible, and the wisest Precautions taken to prevent Factions, and Mutinies, with which, as we shall see, he was never troubled, notwithstanding all the Miseries and Misfortunes that he and his People endured.

When all things were ready he made a short Journey to *London*, to receive his Majesty's last Commands, and such Letters and Commissions as he judged might be of Service to him; and, upon his Return to *Bristol*, he went directly aboard his Ship, with a Resolution of sailing the first fair Wind. After his Return he drew up the following History of his Voyage, for his Master's Satisfaction; and prefixed to it the following Dedication, which is also not to be met with, entire and correct, in any but the original Edition.

" *Most gracious Sovereign*: That my unskilful self was
 " made Choice of for this Employment, and my Un-
 " dertaking in it encouraged by your gracious Com-
 " mandment, I must ever account of, as the greatest
 " Honour ever yet befall me. Many a Storm, and
 " Rock, and Mist, and Wind, and Tide, and Sea, and
 " Mount of Ice, have I in this Discovery encountered
 " withal; many a Despair and Death had almost over-
 " whelmed me; but still, the Remembrance of the Ac-
 " count I was to give of it, to so gracious a Majesty, put
 " me in Heart again, made me not to give Way to my
 " own Fears, or the Infirmities of Humanity. Your
 " Majesty, in my Employment (like a true Father of
 " your Country) intended the Good of your Subjects,
 " and who is not bound to bless God for your royal
 " Care in it, had it now been my Fortune to have done
 " my Country this Service, as to have brought home the
 " News of this supposed and long-sought for Passage;
 " then should the Merchant have enjoyed the Sweetness
 " of the hoped Profit, and the Subjects have been sen-
 " sible of the Benefit of your Majesty's Royal Intention
 " in it. I have done my Good-will in it, and though
 " I have not brought home the News, yet shall I here di-
 " vulge these Observations, which may (I hope) become
 " some Way beneficial unto my Country. The Account of
 " them I here in all Humility offer unto your most judi-
 " cious Majesty; your gracious Acceptance of what I
 " had done, though I had not done what was expected
 " emboldneth me to do so; and since your Majesty was
 " pleased to signify your Desires of having a brief Ac-
 " count of my Voyage presented unto you, that Word
 " became a Command unto me, to draw this rude Ab-
 " stract of it. Your Majesty will please to consider, that
 " they were rough Elements which I had to do withal,
 " and will, with Favour, vouchsafe to pardon, if a Sea-
 " man's Stile be like what he most converseth with. In
 " the Plainness therefore of well meaning, since your
 " Majesty hath been so gracious to me, as to appoint me
 " your Servant, I am now bound to vow you my Ser-
 " vice, and it shall be my Honour to be commanded
 " it; and I shall account no Danger too great in the
 " going through it. These are the Resolutions of
 " your Majesty's humblest Subject and Servant *Thomas*
 " *James*."

But it is now Time to proceed to the Captain's Narrative, which is delivered mostly in his own Words, because it was found impossible to express his Sense in Words better chosen, or that could bring the Facts he relates into a narrower Compass.

2. The 2d of *May* I took my Leave of the Merchant-Adventurers in this Action, in the City of *Bristol*; and being accompanied by the Reverend Mr. *Palmer*, and several of the Merchants I repaired aboard; where Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly

therly Love, and to be bold to profess the Christian Religion, wherever we should come in this our Peregrination. After they had received such Entertainment as I could afford they departed for *Bristol*. This Afternoon I made a Review of all Cloaths, Necessaries, and Victuals. The 3d of *May*, after Prayer, about three in the Afternoon, we sailed down the *Severn* to the westward of *Lundy*, where the Wind opposed us so strongly, that we were obliged to anchor in *Lundy Road*; where we remained till the 8th in the Morning, when we sailed; but were forced to put into *Milford*, where we anchored about Midnight: Here we remained till the 17th, when, in the Morning, with the first fair Wind we proceeded, and doubled *Cape Clear*, off *Ireland*. The 22d we were in Latitude 51 Degrees 26 Minutes, and the *Blasques* bore from us North-east about twelve Leagues off; which *Blasques* is in Latitude 52 Degrees 4 Minutes; here I ordered the Course that should be kept, which was generally West-north-west, as the Wind would permit, which in this Course and Distance is very variable. The 4th of *June* we made the Land of *Groenland*, standing in with it, to have Knowledge of the trending of it: It proved very foul Weather, and next Day, by two in the Morning, we found ourselves encompassed with Ice; and endeavouring to clear ourselves of it we were the more engaged, and struck many fearful Blows against it. At length we made fast to a great Piece, and, with Poles, wrought Day and Night to keep off the Ice; in which Labour we broke all our Poles.

The 6th, about two in the Morning, we were beset with extraordinary Pieces of Ice, that came upon us with great Violence, and doubtless would have crushed us to Pieces if we had not let fall some Sail, which the Ship presently felt. In escaping the Danger we ran against another great Piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been flaved to Pieces; but by pumping we found she made no Water. The former Pieces of Ice had crushed our Shallop all to Pieces, wherefore I caused our Long-boat to be had up from betwixt the Decks and put over-board, by the Help whereof we recovered our broken Shallop, and set her upon the Deck, intending to new-build her. All this Day we beat, and were beaten amongst the Ice, it blowing a perfect Storm. In the Evening we were enclosed among great Pieces as high as our Poop, and some of the sharp blue Corners of them reached quite under us. In this Extremity I made the Men let fall, and make what sail they could, and the Ship forced herself through it, though so tossed and beaten as I think never Ship was. When we were clear we tried the Pumps, and found them staunch; upon which we went instantly to Prayer, to praise God for his merciful Delivery of us.

The seventh and eighth Days we endeavoured to double about *Cape Farewell*, being still pestered with much Ice. The 9th we were in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, and we made Account the *Cape Farewell* bore off us due East, and some ten Leagues off. The *Blasques* in *Ireland* is in Latitude 52 Degrees 4 Minutes, and *Cape Farewell* in Latitude 59. The Course is West-north-west, and the Distance about four hundred and ten Leagues: I know very well these Latitudes, Courses, and Distance, do not agree with mathematical Conclusions; but thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compass in Latitude 52 Degrees 30 Minutes, and thirty Leagues to the westward of *Ireland*, is about 3 Degrees to the eastward; in Latitude 57, about three hundred and ten Leagues West-north-west from the *Blasques*, the Compass doth vary nine Degrees to the westward; in Latitude 59 Degrees 15 Minutes, some forty Leagues to the eastward of *Cape Farewell*, the Variation is 14 Degrees 45 Minutes. In this Course I have been observant whether there were any Current that did set to the North-east, as some have written there did, and that as well in calm Weather as otherwise, but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable, and the Seas of an unsearchable Depth; we have not seen from *Ireland* hitherto any Whales, or other Fish; the Weather for the most part was foggy.

3. On the 10th all the Morning was very foul, and high Sea, although we had Ice about us, and some Pieces

as high as our Topmast Head. Our Long-boat, which we were forced to tow a-stern, broke away, and put us to some Trouble to recover her. This we did, and brought her into the Ship, though much bruised, and had two Men much hurt. By eight in the Morning we were shot up as high as *Cape Desolation*; for finding the Land to trend away North and by East, we certainly knew it to be the *Cape*: It stands in Latitude 60 Degrees, and the Land from *Cape Farewell* to it trends North-west the Distance about forty Leagues, the Course West half a Point North. The Latitude of the South-end of the Island being 61 Degrees 20 Minutes, some twelve Leagues to the westward of *Cape Desolation*, the Variation 16 Degrees. In this Course we were much beaten with the Ice, many Pieces being higher than our Topmast Head. In our Way we saw many Grampusses amongst the Ice, and the Sea is full of them; the Weather, a stinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occasioned by the Fog.

The 17th, at Night, we heard the Tract of the Shore, as we thought; but it proved to be the Rutt of a Bank of Ice. It made a hollow and hideous Noise, like an Overfall of Water, which made us to reason among ourselves concerning it, for we were not able to see far, it being dark-night and foggy; we stood off from it till break of Day, then in again; and about four in the Morning we saw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Island of *Resolution*. This Night was so cold that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compass the southern Point of the Island, where runs a quick Tide into the Streight; but the Ebb is as strong as the Flood. The Fog was of such a piercing Nature that it spoiled all our Compasses, and made them flag, and so heavy that they would not traverse; wherefore I would advise any that shall sail this Way, to provide Compasses of *Moscow* Glass, or some other Matter that endures the Moisture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up we could see the Entrance of the Streight to be full of Ice close wedged together; endeavouring to go forward we were fast enclosed amongst it; and so drove to and again with it, finding no Ground at two hundred and thirty Fathoms, four Leagues from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning we had got about the southern Point of the Island; and the Wind at West drove both us and the Ice upon the Shore; when we were driven within two Leagues of the Coast, we came among the strongest Whirlings of the Sea that can be conceived. There were great Pieces of Ice aground in forty Fathoms Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Island among those Isles of Ice, made such a Destruction that we were carried round sometimes close by the Rocks, and sometimes so close by these high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We made fast two great Pieces of the Ice to our Side, with our Sledges and Grapnels, that drew nine or ten Fathoms; that so they might be on Ground before us, if we were driven on the Shore; but that Design failed us. And now from the Top seeing in among the Rocks, I sent the Boat to see if she could find some Place of Security; but she was no sooner parted but she was inclosed, and driven to trail upon the Ice, or else she had been dashed to Pieces; they ran her over the Ice from Place to Place, and in the mean while, with the whirling of the Ice, the two Pieces broke away from our Sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made Signs to the Boat to make all the haste she could to us, which she perceiving, did; the Men being with much Difficulty forced to slide her over many Pieces of Ice. In the mean time we made some sail, and got to that Piece of Ice which had our Grapnel on it, which we recovered.

By this time our Boat was come, and we put a fresh Crew into her, and sent her to fetch our Kedger, which she endeavoured with much Danger of Boat and Men. By this time the Ship was driven so near the Shore that we could see the Rocks under us, and about us, and we were carried by the Whirlings of the Water close by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this notwithstanding the Sail we had aboard, and we expected continually when she would be beaten to

Pieces.

Pieces. In this Extremity I made them open more Sail, and so forced her in among the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there were many large Pieces of Ice aground. We went over many great Pieces of Rocks that had but twelve or thirteen Feet Water on them, and so let fall an Anchor; this Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that by good Fortune the Ship ran against a great Piece of Ice that was aground: This Shock broke the main Knee of her Beakhead, and a Corner of it tore away four of our main Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at her Bow; and so stopped her Way that she did wind up to her Anchor.

We saw the sharp Rocks under us, and had but fifteen Feet Water; being also in the Tides Way, where the Ice would drive upon us. Our Boat we could not see, which made us doubt she had been crushed to pieces; in her was the third Part of our Company; but soon after we saw her come about a Point among the Rocks, she had recovered our Kedger, which made us joyful; with all speed we laid out Hawfers to the Rocks, and every one worked to the best of his Strength to warp her out of this dangerous Place to the Rock's Side, where we had three Fathom Water, and were under the Shelter of a great Piece of Ice that was aground, which kept off the straggling Ice that otherwise would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well at the Ebb, but when the Flood came we were assaulted with Pieces of Ice, that every half Hour put us into desperate Distress; we worked continually to keep off the Ice: At full Sea our great Piece of Ice which was our Buckler was afloat, and do what we could got away from us, and left us in imminent Danger from the Ice that drove in upon us; but the Ebb being once made, this great Piece of Ice came again aground, very favourable to us, and sheltered us all the rest of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard to shift our Cables, Hawfers, and to make them fast aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better pass under them. All Day and Night it snowed hard, and blew a Storm at West, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working against the Violence of the Ice, the Hook of our Kedger was broken, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawfers, our Shallop being again very much bruised; whereupon we went to work to repair it. This Tide the Harbour was choaked full of Ice, so that it seemed firm and immoveable, but when the Ebb came it moved; some great Pieces came aground, which altered the Course of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks.

Here, notwithstanding our utmost Endeavours, she settled upon a sharp Rock, about a Yard above the main Mast, and as the Water ebbed away, she hung after her Head, and held to the Offing: We made fast Cables and Hawfers aloft to her Masts, and so to the Rocks, straining them tough with our Tackles; but as the Water ebbed away she was turned over, that we could not stand in her. Having now done to the best of our Understandings, but to little Purpose, we went all upon a Piece of Ice and fell to Prayer, beseeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an Hour to low Water, and the Tide wanted a Foot and Half to ebb to what it had ebbed the last Tide: We were careful Observers of low Water; and had Marks by Stones and other Things which we had set up, so that we could not be deceived. The Ship was so turned over that the Port-les of the Forecastle was in the Water, and we looked every Minute when she would overset; indeed at one Time the Cables gave way, and she sunk down half a Foot at that Slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and sensibly we perceived the Water began to rise apace, and the Ship withal; then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, praising God for his Mercy in so miraculous a Deliverance. As soon as she was freed from this Rock, we wrought to get her farther off. All the Flood we were pretty clear from the Ice, but when the Ebb came the Ice came driving again upon us, which drove us to great Extremity: We got as many Pieces between us and the Rocks as we could, but there came a great Piece upon our Quarter, which was above three hundred of my Paces about, but it came aground. Thus came divers great Pieces besides; which was the Oc-

caſion that this Tide the Harbour was quite choaked up so that a Man might go any Way over it from Side to Side.

When it was three Quarters Ebb, those great Pieces that came aground began to break with a most terrible thundering Noise, which put us in great Fear that those about us would break us all to Pieces; but God preserved us. This Morning the Water veered to a lower Ebb than the last Tide it had done by two Feet, whereby we saw God's Mercy appear to us in our late Extremity. That Flood we had some Respite from our Labours, but after full Sea our Hopes ebb'd too. The great Piece that was by us so stoppt the Channel that the Sea came all driving upon us, so that now undoubtedly we thought to have lost our Ship.

To work we went with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for such a Purpose, to break the Corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to go from us. It pleased God to give good Success to our Labours, and we got so much of the softer Sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks, that we thought ourselves pretty secure: But at low Water those Pieces that were aground breaking, kept a most thundering Noise about us. This Day I went ashore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the highest Place of the Island, and put a Cross upon it, and named this Haven, *The Harbour of Good Providence*.

4. On the 23d in the Morning with the Flood the Ice drove up among the broken Grounds, and with the Ebb drove all out except one great Piece, which coming aground not far from us, settled itself in such a Manner that we much feared it: But there came no more, otherwise we must have expected as great Danger as heretofore. I took the Boat and went ashore upon the Eastern Side, to see if I could find any Place free from Danger, and where, among the Rocks, I descried a likely Place. From the Top of the Hill where I was I could see the Ship. It was now almost low Water: At which Instant the great Piece of Ice broke with a terrible Noise in four Pieces, which made me afraid it had spoiled the Ship, it being full half Mast high. I made what Haste I could to the Boat, and so to the Ship to be satisfied, where I found all well, God be thanked. I instantly sent away the Boat to found the Way to a Cove which I had found, which was a very dangerous Passage for the Boat. At her Return we unmoored the Ship, and with what Speed possible warped away from among this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them before they broke all to Pieces, and would surely have made us bear them Company, but that God was more merciful to us.

We got round the Rocks, and so in to this little Cove. Here we made fast to the Rocks, and thought ourselves indifferently safe; which being done, I went ashore again to wander up and down, to see what I could discover: I found it all broken rocky Ground, and not so much as a Tree, Herb, or Grass upon it. Some Ponds of Water there were upon it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. We did not find in the Snow any Footing of Deer or Bears, but Foxes we saw one or two. We found where the Savages had been, but it appeared to have been long since: They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Fire-brands about them; and we found some Heads and Bones of Foxes about them, with some Whale-bones. I could not conceive to what Purpose they should have come thither, for we could find none or very little Wood on the Shore-side, and no Fish at all, though we endeavoured to take some. But it may be the Season was not yet come. I called this Cove by the Master's Name of my Ship, *Price's Cove*: The Latitude of it is 61 Degrees 24 Minutes. The Fire-brands and Chips, which I spoke of, had been cut with some Hatchet or other Instrument of Iron. From the Top of the Hills we could see the Islands that are on the South Shore, commonly called *Sir Thomas Button's Islands*. They bear South and by East, half a Point Easterly, some fourteen or fifteen Leagues Distance. Upon the Change-Day it flows here at seven o'Clock and a half, and the Tide highest at most three Fathom. The Flood comes from the Eastward, and thither it returns. I have

been observant from the Top of the Hills, and descried the great Pieces of Ice two or three Leagues from the Shore, drive to and against the Flood and Ebb indifferently: Hence I collected that assuredly no Current sets in here, but that it is a mere Tide. Near the Shore the Eddies whirl in twenty Manners when the Ebb is made, which is because it comes out of the broken Ground amongst the Ice, that is, a Ground near the Shore; besides which Reason there are divers Rocks lying under Water, on which you shall have thirty, then twelve, and anon but eight, and then twenty Fathoms; and those Uncertainties occasion such Distractions, I would therefore advise no one to come near those dangerous Shores, for fear he lose his Ship.

This Morning, being the 24th, there sprung up a fresh Gale of Wind at East; and after Prayer we unfastened our Ship, and came to sail steering betwixt great Pieces of Ice that were a-ground in forty Fathoms, and twice as high as our Top-mast-head. We sailed out of this Cove upon the Flood, and had none of these Whirlings of the Waters as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore, kept ourselves within a League of the Shore of the Island of *Resolution*, where we had some clear Water to sail through. In the Offing it was all as thick wedged together as possible. By twelve o'Clock we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at East, yet we could make no Way through it, but the Ice grated us with that Violence that I verily thought it would have wrenched the Planks from the Ship's Sides. Thus we continued in Terror till the 26th Day, driving to and fro in the Ice, not being able to see an Acre of Sea from Top-mast-head. The 26th was calm sunshiny Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation, and had Ground, at a hundred and forty Fathom, small white Sand. I caused the Men to lay out some Fishing-Lines, but to no Purpose, for I could not perceive the Bait had been so much as touched. The Nights are very cold, so that our Rigging freezes, and fresh Ponds of Water stand upon the Ice about half an Inch thick.

On the 27th there sprung up a little Gale at South-east, and the Ice did something open. Hereupon we let fall our Fore-sail, and forced the Ship through the Ice. In the Evening the Wind came contrary, at West-north-west, and blew hard, which caused us to fasten to a great Piece, to which we remained moored till the 29th. I am satisfied here is no Current by many Experiments I have made; such as these, by making Marks on the Land, and noting our Drift to and again, with Ebb and Flood, for many Days together, as well in calm Weather as otherwise. By all these Experiments I found that the Tide was no stronger there than that betwixt *England* and *France*. This Morning there sprung up a fine Gale at East, and the Ice opened something, so that we forced the Ship through it with her Fore-sail. By twelve o'Clock we were got into some open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at East, and so clear Weather that we could see the Island of *Resolution*, the East End bears East-north-east, some twelve Leagues off.

5. From the 29th to the 5th of *July* we sailed continually through the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and sometimes calm. The 5th at Noon we had a good Observation, and were in Latitude 63 Degrees 15 Minutes, and then we saw *Salisbury Island* bearing West-by-north, some seven Leagues off, with much Ice betwixt it and us, to weather which we were driven to stand to the northward. Soon after we saw *Prince Charles's Cape*, and *Mill-Island*; and to North-north-west (and indeed round about us) the Sea most infinitely pester'd and cumber'd with Ice. This grieved me very much; for as I had determined to prosecute the Discovery to the North-westward, I saw it was not possible this Year. We were driven back again with contrary Winds, still closed and pestered with Ice, and with all the Perils and Dangers incident to such Adventurers, so that we thought a thousand times the Ship had been beaten to Pieces. By the 15th of *July* we were got betwixt *Digg's Island* and *Nottingham's Island*, not being able to get more Northward. There, for an Hour or two, we had some open Water.

But before I proceed further, it will not be amiss in

some manner to describe the Streight which begins at the *Island of Resolution*, and ends here at *Digg's Island*. If you go down into the Bay, the Streight is about a hundred and twenty Leagues long, and trends West-north-west and East-south-east. Generally in the Entrance it is about fifteen Leagues broad, and then on the southward Side is a great Bay: About the Midst it is likewise about fifteen Leagues broad, and then the Land opens something wider; so that betwixt *Digg's Island* and *Cape Charles* it is about twenty Leagues broad, betwixt which two stand *Salisbury Island* and *Nottingham Island*. If it be clear Weather, you may see both the South and the North Shores. The Depth in the Middle of the Streight is a hundred and twenty Fathoms, white Sand, a certain Tide runs in it, and no Current. The North Shore is the straightest and the clearest from Ice. Along this North Shore you have many low small Islands, which cannot be seen far from Land, and in many Places the Land appears as if it had small Sounds into it: The main Land on both Sides is indifferent high Land.

Being now convinced of the Impossibility of doing any thing to the North-westward, for the Reasons aforesaid, I gave Orders to the Master of my Ship to steer away West-south-west, to have a Sight of *Mansfield Island*, which the next Day by three o'Clock in the Afternoon we had; having so much dangerous foul Weather among the Ice, we struck more fearful Blows against it than we had ever yet done. This was the first Day that we went to Half-allowance of Bread on Flesh-Days, and I ordered Things as sparingly as I could. Two of our Men likewise complained of Sickness, but soon recovered. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and sent the Boat ashore to try the Tides: They brought me word whilst the Boat was ashore it flowed about three Feet, as we found by the Ship and by the Ice. The Water at that Time came from the West-south-west; and the highest Tides, so far as they could perceive, had not swelled above two Fathoms. They found that the Savages had been upon it by certain Fires which they left, and Heaps of Stones, Tracts of other Beasts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was so contrary, and the Weather so foggy, that we were forced to spend some Powder to recover our Boat again.

6. Next Morning being the 17th, the Wind came favourable, and we weighed the Shore, being something clear of Ice, though very thick all to the Offing. We stood along it South-and-by-west ten Leagues. In the Afternoon the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, for out to Sea was all thick Ice and impassable. I went ashore myself, to be well resolved of the Tide, and found whilst I was ashore that it flowed two Feet, and at that Time the Flood came from Southwest-and-by-west. I doubted it was a Half-Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Island, but could find little or no Drift-wood on Shore, no Beasts on the Island, or Fishes in the Sea. It flows on the Change-Day about eleven o'Clock. We saw some Fowl on it, one of which we killed, and returned on board. This Island is very low Land, little higher than a Sand-bank; it hath Ponds of fresh Water, but no Grass, and is utterly barren. On the 18th in the Morning the Wind came favourable, we weighed and made sail, for the Ice was all come about us.

We endeavoured to proceed to the Westward, intending to fall in with the Western Land about the Latitude of 63 Degrees; by twelve o'Clock, having been much pestered, we were come to a firm Range of Ice; but it pleased God that the Wind larged, and we stood away to West-south-west. At Noon in Latitude 62 Degrees, by four in the Evening, having escaped dangerous Shocks, we were come as we thought into an open Sea, and joyfully steered away West and West-by-North, though the Joy was soon quell'd, for by ten o'Clock at Night we heard the Rut of the Ice, and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it; nevertheless we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it the more hideous Noise it made. On the 19th by three in the Morning we were come to it, and as it cleared a little we could see the Ice as thick as
any

any we had yet seen, these being impassable, and more-over the Wind at North-west. We stood along it hoping to weather it to the Southward, but at last we became so blind with Fog, and so encompassed with Ice, that we could go no farther.

7. On the 20th in the Morning, notwithstanding the Fog, we endeavoured to get to the Westward, our Ship beating all this while dreadfully. In this Wilfulness we continued till the next Day, when, being fast among the Ice, I observed we were in Latitude 60 Degrees 33 Minutes, and then looking what Damage our Ship might have received, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron which was before her Cut-water she was all bruised and broken, the two Knees she had before to strengthen her spoiled and torn, and many other Defects which we could not by any means come to mend. Notwithstanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not see a Pistol-shot about us, we proceeded with the Hazard of all till the 27th, which was the first Time we had clear Weather to look about us. The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice opened something, so that we made some Way through it to the Westward.

In the Evening we were fast again, and could go no further, the Wind veering from the South to the East and blowing a fresh Gale. This occasioned our Grief the more that with a good Wind we could not go forward. Putting therefore a Hawser upon a great Piece of Ice, to keep the Ship close to it, we patiently expected better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield Island* our Depth was commonly a hundred, and a hundred and ten Fathoms, ouzy Ground. Now the Water began to shallow, for driving fast to and again in the Ice we had but eighty Fathoms. On the 28th and 29th we were so fast inclosed in the Ice, that notwithstanding we put abroad all the Sail that was at Yards, and it blew a very hard Gale of Wind, the Ship stirred no more than if she had been in a dry Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice to sport and recreate ourselves, letting her stand still under all her Sails. It was flat extraordinary large Ice, the worst to deal withal that we had yet found. I measured some Pieces, which I found to be one thousand of my Paces long.

This was the first Day that our Men began to murmur, thinking it impossible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of Opinion that it was all such Ice betwixt us and the Shore: Others, that the Bay was all covered over, and that it was a Doubt whether we could get any Way, or to any Land to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it freezed so hard that we could not sail by Night, nor in the thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the best I could; and to put away those Thoughts we drank a Health to his Majesty on the Ice, not one Man in the Ship, and she still under all her Sails. I must confess that their Murmuring was not without Reason; wherefore doubting that we should be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire should be made but once a-Day, and that with but a certain Number of Shides that the Steward should deliver to the Cook by Tale, the better to prolong our Fuel whatsoever should happen.

On the 30th we made some way through the Ice, heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mauls and Crows of Iron, breaking the Corners of the Ice to make way as we got forwards. The Water shoaled apace, so that I believed it to be some Island. At Noon we observed through the Fog, with the Quadrant upon a Piece of Ice, and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 54 Minutes, our Depth thirty Fathoms. We put out Hooks to try to catch some Fish, but to no Purpose, for there are none in this Bay. On the 31st we laboured as before, and got something forward. At Noon we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 40 Minutes, our Depth twenty-three Fathoms. It was very thick hazy Weather, or else I think we should have seen the Land.

8. On the 1st of *August*, the Wind came up at West which drove us to the Eastward where our Depth increased to 35 Fathom. At Noon, by Observation with the Quadrant on the Ice, we were in Latitude 58 De-

grees 45 Minutes. At 6 o'Clock this Evening we might perceive the Ice to heave and set a little, which was occasioned by a swelling Sea that came from the South-west. This did comfort us very much, hoping shortly we should get out of the Ice. On the 2d it blew hard at South-west, and yet we could not feel the swelling Sea, which did again quench the Hopes we had formerly conceived. On the 3d we saw a little open Water to the North-westward and felt a Sea from thence, which doth assure us that there is an open Sea to the Westward. On the 5th we saw the Sea clear but could by no Means work ourselves to it with our Sails, wherefore about 6 in the Evening we let fall an Anchor in 50 Fathom Water, and stood all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice and let it pass to Leeward, and continued this Labour all Night. In the Morning the Wind came up at North-west and we weighed with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 28 Minutes, very free of Ice. The Wind larged upon us, so that we stood away North-west to get us as high Northward as we could, and so come coasting to the Southward. We went to Prayer and to give God Thanks for our Delivery out of the Ice. On the 9th being in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes, we came again to the Ice which lay very thick to North, since we came out of the Ice our Depth increased to 110, and since decreased again, so that I think we approached towards the Shore. The 10th proved very foggy Weather, the Wind contrary, and the Water shallowing apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fathom. On the 11th in the Morning we weighed and made in for the Shore, and about Noon saw the Land our Depth being 16 Fathom in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes. The Land to the North of us did trend North by East and so made a Point to the Southward, and trending away West by South, which we followed taking it for that Place which was formerly called *Hubbart's Hope*, and so it proved indeed, but it is now hopeless. The Tide set in the Middle of the Bay East and West, as we have often tried by our Lead aground but near the Shore, as they forced by the Land; I am of Opinion, that in the Ocean or large Bays the Tide naturally set East and West, and that this gives little Hope of a Passage. The greatest Depth we had in the Bay was 110 Fathom, and so shoaling as you approach the Land, we coasted round this forementioned little Bay which is 18 Leagues deep in 8 and 6 Fathom, and in the Bottom of it we were two Fathom and a half Water, and saw the firm Land almost round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward 6 and 7 Fathoms Water, within Sight of the Breach of the Shore keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night we came to an Anchor.

This Night having little Wind we came to an Anchor with our Kedger, but in weighing of him we lost him, having no more aboard us. The 12th we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 46 Minutes, some two Leagues from the Shore, the Variation is about 17 Degrees. On the 13th in the Afternoon it being something hazy, we saw some Breaches a-head of us, our Depth was 9 and 10 Fathom, and loosing to clear ourselves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks, the Ship being under our two Top-Sails, Fore-Sail and Sprit-Sail with a fresh Gale of Wind. In this dreadful Accident we struck all our Sails amain, and it pleased God to fend two or three good swelling Seas, which heaved us over the Rocks into three Fathom, and presently into three Fathom and an half, where we chop'd to an Anchor and tried the Pumps, but we found she made no Water, tho' she had three such terrible Blows that we thought her Mast would have shivered to Pieces, and that she had been assuredly bulg'd. We hoisted the Boat over-board and double mann'd her to go and found a Way out of this perilous Place, she was no sooner gone but there arose a Fog, so that we were obliged to spend some Powder that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd something, otherwise it had been doubtful whether she could ever have recovered us again. After she had been absent two or three Hours she brought us word that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us, and that withal, she had found a Way where there was

no less than two Fathom and an half Water, and that afterwards the Water deepened; we presently weighed and followed the Boat, and passed over two Ledges of Rocks on which there were but 14 Feet Water, then it deepened to three, or four, and so to 14 Fathom, then it shoaled again to nine.

It being now dark, we came to an Anchor where we rid all the Night. In the Morning the Wind came contrary, so that we could not go that Way we intended to clear ourselves; and therefore we went to work to fit our Holds, to splice our Cables, and made ready two Shot, and so placed them in the Hold that they might on all Occasions run clear, the Ends of them being fastened to the Main-mast. We also looked to our Anchors and fitted our spare ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks, which was very much broken and bruised. The Carpenter went to fit her, for I intended to tow the Shallop a-stern and to have the Boats ready at an Instant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be serviceable to what God should be pleased to try our Faith and Patience with, for in him was our only Trust and Hope.

At Noon, in Latitude 57 Degrees 45 Minutes, we could see the Land from the North-west to the South-east by East, with Rocks and Breaches, and the Rocks that we came over dry above Water, whereby I knew it flows here above two Fathoms at least. At Noon I sent the Boat off to sound to the Eastward, because the Water shallowed when we came to an Anchor. She brought us Word the shallowest Water she had been in was seven Fathom: We intending thereupon to weigh, the Wind came East early, so that we could not stir, but lay here the 14th all Night with a stiff Gale of Wind. On the 15th in the Evening, our Cable rubbed off, by Reason of which perilous and sudden Accident, in which we had not Time to put a Buoy to it, we lost our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water before we could set our Sails. When we had done we stood South-south-east, the Wind being at East, but the Water shallowed to three Fathom Water, then we stood North-north-east, and it deepened by Degrees to 10 Fathom, and because it grew dark they came to an Anchor, and rid there all Night.

9. On the 16th in the Morning, the Wind came up at North, a fresh Gale, and we weighed and made sail; by 9 o'Clock it came to a very Storm, and we turned to and again in 10 Fathom Water. In the Evening the Wind dulled, and we stood South-west to have a Sight of Port Nelson, which Course we stood all Night, by the Stars being in the Latitude 57 Degrees 25 Minutes, the Variation about 17 Degrees. On the 17th in the Morning we stood South, and our Depth decreased to eight Fathom; at Noon we had good Observation, being in Latitude 57 Degrees 15 Minutes, and made Account that we were come six or seven Leagues of the Southern Side of Port Nelson. Here the Appearance of the Water changed, and was of a sandy red Colour: We stood into six Fathoms, and could not see the Land from Top-mast Head; so Night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at East by South, we stood in again to ten and twelve Fathom, where the Water was again of the usual Colour of the Sea.

On the 18th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, we stood in again South and came into thick Water, into eight, seven, and six Fathom, and then off again, so it grew foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going Night and Day. The 19th being clear sun-shiny Weather, we stood in again into the thick Water into eight Fathom, where we came to an Anchor to try the Tides, for from the Top-mast Heads we could not see the Land; we were at Noon, by good Observation, in Latitude 57 Degrees 20 Minutes, and the Tide set North-west-and-by-west, and South-east-by-east. It ran two Knots and a half in two Glasses; I perceived that there were nothing but Sholes to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to blow, so that we had much ado to get up our Anchor; this done, we stood East-south-east, but the Water shallowed apace, and then we stood East and deepened a little. In the Evening the Wind came up at West, and then we stood East-south-east

into ten and eight, and afterwards South-east as our Depth guided us by our Lead and the Colour of the Water into seven and six Fathom.

On the 20th at six in the Morning we saw the Land; it being very low Land, we stood in to five Fathom to make it the better, and so stood along it. At Noon we were in Latitude 57; we named it the *Principality of South Wales*, and drank a Health, of the best Liquor we had, to his Royal Highness Prince Charles, whom God preserve; we stood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward, near to which Point there are two small Islands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an Anchor; the Tide came as before. There we rid all that Night and the next Day. About nine at Night it was very dark and it blew hard.

We perceived by the Lead that the Ship drove, wherefore bringing the Cable to the Capstang to heave in our Cable, for we thought we had lost our Anchor, the Anchor hitched again, and upon the Chopping of a Sea threw the Men from the Capstang; a small Rope, in the Dark, had gotten foul about the Cable and about the Master's Leg too; but by the Help of God he cleared himself, tho' not without bruising. The two Mates were hurt, the one in the Head, the other in the Arm; one of our lustiest Men was struck on the Breast with the Bar, that he lay sprawling for Life, another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escaped. The rest were flung where they were much bruised, but our Gunner, an honest and diligent Man, had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capstang, which wrung off his Foot, and tore the Flesh all off his Leg, and crushed the Bone to Pieces, and bruised his whole Body, in which miserable Manner he remained crying till we had recovered ourselves, and had Strength to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgeon, the Ship drove into shallow Water, which put us all in Fear, we being so sorely weakened by the Blows which had hurt eight of our Men. It pleased God that our Anchor held again, and she rid it out all Night. By Midnight the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the gartering Place, and dressed the others that were hurt and bruised, after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

On the 22d we weighed and stood a little off into deeper Water, expecting a better Wind, which in the Afternoon favoured us; we stood in again for the Shore and we proceeded along it; it is very shallow about 14 Leagues off and full of Breaches. On the 23d at Noon we were in Latitude 56 Degrees 28 Minutes; in the Evening the Wind came contrary, and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month the Wind was very variable, and continued not long upon one Point, yet it happened so that we could get but little forward.

10. On the 26th there sprung up a fine Gale at West, but thick Weather nevertheless; we stood in to seven and six Fathom, the Water very thick. At Noon it cleared, and we could see that we were in a little Bay, the Land being almost round about us; we stood out of it, and so along it in Sight till the 27th in the Morning, when we came to higher Land than we had yet seen since we came from *Nottingham Island*; we stood in to it and came to an Anchor in five Fathom; I sent off the Boat well manned and armed, with Order in Writing what they were to do, and a Charge to return again before Sun-set. The Evening came, and no News of our Boat; we shot, and made also Fires, but had no Answer, which much perplexed us, fearing there had some Disaster befallen her through Carelessness, and in her we should lose all, we aboard at present not being able to weigh our Anchor nor sail the Ship.

At last we saw a Fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, because they did not answer our Shot nor false Fires with the like; we thought it had been the Savages that triumphed in their Conquest; at length they came all safe and well, and excused themselves, that upon their coming on Shore it ebbed so suddenly, that a Bank of Sand was presently dried, so that they could not come away till that was covered again, and with that they pacified me. They reported that there was great Store of Drift-wood on the Shore, and a good

Quantity

Quantity growing on the Land. That they saw the Tracts of Deer and Bears, and store of Fowl, of which they killed some, but no Sign of People. That they passed over two little Rivers, and came to a third, which they could not pass. That it flowed very near three Fathom sometimes, as appears by the Shore. That it was low Water at four o'clock; that the Flood came from the North-west; and that it flowed half Tide, which both they and we had perceived by the Ship. At low Water we had but three Fathoms where we rid.

On the 29th in the Morning we made Account we had driven back again some sixteen or eighteen Leagues, and in the Morning, as it cleared, we saw a Ship to Leeward of us three or four Leagues, so we made sail and bore up with her; she was then at anchor in thirteen Fathom. It was his Majesty's Ship, commanded by Captain Fox; I saluted him according to the Manner of the Sea, and received the like of him; so I stood in to see the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep the Weather of him, and to send my Boat aboard of him; but the Wind shifted, so that for that Time I could not. Yet in the Evening I came to weather of him, who presently weighed, and stood off with me till Midnight, and then we stood in again. In the Morning Captain Fox and his Friends came aboard of me, where I entertained them in the best Manner I could, and with some fresh Meat I had gotten from the Shore. I told him that I had named the Land the *Principality of South Wales*. I shewed him how far I had been to the Eastward, where I had landed, and, in brief, I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coast, as far as I had been. He told me he had been in *Port Nelson*, and had made but a cursory Discovery hitherto; and that he had not landed, nor had many times seen the Land. In the Evening after I had given his Men some Necessaries, with Tobacco, and other things they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship, and the next Morning stood away South-south-west, since which Time I never saw him. The Wind sometimes favouring me, I stood in for the Shore, and so proceeded along. The Month of *August* ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold as at any Time I have felt in *England*.

11. *September* the 1st we coasted along the Shore in ten Fathom, when it cleared in sight of Land; at length the Water shallowed to six and five, and, as it cleared, we saw it all Breaches to Leeward, so we hulled off North-north-east, but still raised Land; by Night we had much ado to get out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight the Wind came up at South, and so we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward, into deeper Water. This Day was the first Time the Chirurgeon told me that there were diverse of the Men tainted with Sickness. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 12 Minutes.

On the 2d we stood in for the Shore; but as we came into shallow Water it began to shew the Weather threatening a Storm, wherein we were not deceived; for in standing off we had a violent one. By Midnight it broke up, and the 3d in the Morning we stood in for the Shore, and by eleven we saw it; here we found the Land to trend South-south-east, and South, so that we knew that we were at a Cape Land, and named it *Henrietta Maria*, by her Majesty's Name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 5 Minutes, and that is the Height of the Cape. From *Port Nelson* to this Cape the Land trends generally East-south-east, but makes with Points and Bays, which in the Particulars doth alter it, a Point two or three; the Distance is about one hundred and thirty Leagues. The Variation at this Cape, taken by Amplitude, is about 16 Degrees, a most shallow and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found. The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a Storm at North, which continued till Midnight with extreme Violence. The 4th in the Morning the Storm being broke up, we stood in again South-west, the Weather being very thick, and we continued sounding. By Noon it cleared, and we saw the Land; here it trended South-east, and the Tides sat

along it with a quick Motion. In the Evening there came a great rolling Sea out of the North-north-east, and at eight o'clock it blew very hard at South-east; and by Reason of the Encounter of the Wind, and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, snow, rain, and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We shipped many Seas, but one more dangerous, which racked us fore and aft; and I verily thought it had sunk the Ship, it struck her with such Violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this Diffraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all things fast in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning the Wind shifted South-west, but changed not its Condition; in the Afternoon it changed again to the North-west, with that tearing Violence, that not I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a Breach. Our Ship was so tormented, and so laboured with taking it in on both Sides, and at both Ends, that we were in most miserable Distress, in this so unknown a Place; at eight o'clock in the Evening the Storm broke up, and we had some Quietness in the Night following, not one having slept a Wink in twenty Hours before. If this Storm had continued Easterly, as it was at first, without God's Goodness we had all perished.

On the 6th the Wind was at South-west, so that we could do no good to the Windward. We spent the Time therefore in trimming our Ship; we brought all our Coals, which for the most part was great Coal, aft, as we also did some other things, and all to lighten her afore. Others picked our Bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could we shipped abundance of Water between Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea so continually over-racked us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whale's Belly. We overlooked our Tacks and Sheets, with other Riggings of Stress, because that henceforward they were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatswain, a careful Man, and one that had laboured extremely these two or three Days, was very sick, swooning away three or four Times, insomuch that we thought he would presently have died.

The 7th in the Morning the Wind came up to South-west, and we stood away South-west, under all the Sail that we could make. In this Course we saw an Island, and came close aboard it, and had twenty Fathom Water, which was some Comfort to us; for hitherto we could not come within four or five Leagues to the Shore at that Depth. This Island stands in 54 Degrees 10 Minutes. The Afternoon we stood away South-west, and in the Evening had the shallowing of the Western Shore, in eight, ten, and seven Fathom, but it was so thick, that we could not see the Land. It is about fourteen Leagues between this Island and the Main. The 8th was foggy and calm, which so continued till the 9th in the Morning, the Wind then coming up at South-south-west. In the Evening the Water shallowed to ten and nine Fathoms, wherefore we stood off and on all Night. The 10th we made it, finding it an Island of about eight or nine Leagues long. It stands in Latitude 53 Degrees 5 Minutes, and about fifteen Leagues from the Western Shore. The Part of it that we coasted, trends West-north-west, I named it my Lord *Weston's Island*. We stood still away to the Eastward, it being foggy Weather. In the Afternoon we descried Land to the Eastward of us, which made like three Hills. Towards them we sailed, keeping our Lead still going and very circumspect.

At length we also saw Land to the Southward of us, whereupon we loosed up and made to that by Course, as we had set it in the thick Fog. We came in among such low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which Way to turn us; but, God be thanked, it was but little Wind, and soon came to an Anchor. Soon after it cleared, at which Time we could see nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us, that Way only excepted which we came in. I sent presently the Boat to sound among the Sholes and Rocks, that if we

should be put to extremity, we might have some Knowledge which Way to go. This Night proved calm, and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

12. On the 11th, in the Morning, I went in the Boat ashore myself, and sent the Boat about among broken Grounds, to sound; I found the Land utterly barren, even of that which I thought easily to be found; which was Scurvy-grass, Sorrel, or some Herb or other, to have refreshed our sick People. I could not perceive that the Tide flowed here ordinarily above two Feet. There was much Drift-Wood on the Shore, and some of it drove up very high in the North-side of the Island, where I judged that the Storms were very great at North, in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard, and sent many of our sick Men to another Part of the Island, to see if themselves could fortunately find out any Relief for their Grief. At Noon, by good Observation, we were in Latitude 52 Degrees 45 Minutes. In the Evening our Men returned comfortable, and then we weighed, and stood to the Westward, coming to an Anchor under another Island, in twenty Fathom.

The 12th in the Morning it began to blow hard at South-east, which was partly off the Shore, and the Ship began to drive, it being soft oozy Ground. We heaved in our Anchor thereupon, and failed under two Courses. Whilst most were busy in heaving out the Top-Sails, some, that should have had especial Care of the Ship, ran her ashore upon the Rocks, out of mere Carelessness in looking out and about, or heaving of the Lead, after they had seen Land all Night long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blind with Self-conceit, and been enviously opposite in Opinion. The first Blow struck me out of a deep Sleep, and I, running out of my Cabin, thought no other, at first, but I had been wakened to provide myself for another World.

After I had controuled a little Passion, and had checked some bad Council that was given me to revenge myself upon them that had committed this Error, I ordered what should be done to get off these Rocks. First we hauled all our Sails back, but that did no good, but made her beat the harder. Whereupon we struck all our Sails amain, and furled them up close, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable through the Cabin, to Capstang, and so laid out an Anchor to heave her astern. I ordered all the Water in the Hold to be staved, and set some to the Pumps to pump it out, and intended to do the like with our Beer; others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We coiled out our Cables into the Long-boat, all this while the Ship beating so furiously, that we saw some of the Sheathing swim by us. Then we stood, as many as could, to the Capstang, and heaved with such a good Will, that the Cable broke, and we lost our Anchor, but with all Speed therefore we put another. We could not now perceive whether she leaked or no, and that by Reason we were employed in pumping out the Water, which we had bulged in Hold, though we feared she had received her Death's Wound. Therefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Matches and a Tinder-Box; Fish-Hooks and Lines; Pitch and Oakham; and, to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such an Extremity. All this we sent ashore to prolong a miserable Life for a few Days. We were five Hours thus beating, in which Time she struck an hundred Blows, insomuch that we thought every stroke had been the last that it was possible she could have endured. The Water we could not perceive all this while to flow any thing at all.

At length it pleased God she beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether she was staunch; whereupon we went to pumping all Hands, till we made the Pumps suck, and then we saw how much Water she made in a Glass. We found her to be very leaky, but we went to Prayer, and gave God Thanks it was no worse; and so fitted all things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard at West-south-west, which if it had done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship with-

out any Redemption. With much ado we weighed our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eastward, among the broken Ground and Rocks, the Boat going before founding; at length we came among Breaches, and the Boat made Signs to us that there was no going further among the Rocks, therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rid all Night, and where our Men, which were tired out with extreme Labour, were indifferent well refreshed. Here I must observe, that when the Wind was at South, it flowed very little, or no Water at all, so that we could not bring our Ship a-ground to look to her, for we pumped almost continually.

13. The 13th at Noon we weighed, and stood to the Westward, but in that Course it was all broken Ground, Sholes, and sunken Rocks; so that we wondered how we came in among them in a thick Fog. Then we shaped our Course to the Northward, and after some Consultations with my Associates, I resolved to get about this Land, and so to go down into the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*, and see if I could discover a Way into the River *Canada*; and if I failed in that, then to winter on the main Land, where there is more Comfort to be expected than among the Rocks or Islands. We stood along the Shore in Sight of many Breaches. When it was Night we stood under our Fore-sail, the Lead still going. At last the Water shallowed upon us to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We tacked about, and it deepened to twelve or fourteen Fathom, but by and by it shallowed again to eight Fathom; then we tacked about again, and suddenly it shallowed to six, and five; so we struck our Sails amain, and came to an Anchor, resolving to ride it for Life and Death. We rid all Night, and thought our Ship would have been torn to Pieces. At Break of Day, the 14th, we were joyful Men when we could look about; we descried an Island some two Leagues off at West and by North, and this was the Shole that lay about it. Here ran a distracted, but yet a very quick, Tide, of which we taking the Opportunity, got up our Anchor, and stood North-west, to clear ourselves of this Shole; in the Afternoon the Wind came up at North-east, and we stood along the Western Shore, in Sight of a multitude of Breaches. In the Evening it began to blow a Storm, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we now towed at Stern, being moored with two Hawfers, was sunk, with her Keel up. This made our Ship to hull very broad, so that the Sea did continually over-rack us. Yet we endured it, and thought to recover her. All Night the Storm continued with Violence, and with some Rain; in the Morning it was very thick Weather.

The Water shoaled apace, with such an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to be endured; and what was worse, there was no trusting to an Anchor. Now therefore we began to prepare our selves, how to make a good End of a miserable tormented Life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we saw two Islands under our Lee, whereupon we bore up to them, and seeing an Opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night, for that there was no hope of us if we continued out at Sea that Night, therefore come Life, or come Death, we must run this Hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night safely, and recovered our Strengths again, which were much impaired with continual Labour; but before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, being moored with two Hawfers, and we lost her to our great Grief. Thus now we had but the Ship's Boat, and she was all torn and bruised too. This Island was the same that we had formerly coasted the Western Side of, and had named *Lord Weston's Island*. Here we remained till the 19th, all which Time it did nothing but snow and blow extremely, insomuch that we durst not put our Boat overboard.

This Day the Wind shifted North-north-east, and we weighed and stood to the Southward, but by Noon the Wind came up at South, and so we came to an Anchor under another Island; on which I went on Shore, and named it *The Earl of Bristol's Island*. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilst I wandered up

up and down in this desert Island. I could not perceive that there had been any Savages on it, and in brief, we could neither find Fish, Fowl, or any Herb upon it; so that I returned comfortless again. The Tides high, about some six Foot, now the Wind is northerly. The Flood comes from the North, and it flows Half Tide; the full Sea this Day was at one o'Clock. Here, seeing the Winds continue so northerly that we could not get about to go into *Hudson's Bay*, we considered again what was best to do, to look out for a wintering Place; some advised me to go for *Port Nelson*, because we were certain that there was a Cove where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counsel, for that is a most dangerous Place, and it might be so long ere we got thither, that we might be debarred by the Ice; moreover, seeing it was so cold here that every Night our Rigging froze, and sometimes in the Morning we shoveled away the Snow, half a Foot thick, off our Decks; and in that Latitude too I thought it far worse than the other Place: I resolved thereupon to stand again to the Southward, there to look for some little Creek, or Cove, for our Ship.

14. On the 21st the Wind came up at North, and we weighed although it was a very thick Fog, and stood away South-west, to clear ourselves of the Shoals, that were on the Point of this Island. This Island is in Latitude 53 Degrees 10 Minutes. When we were clear we steered away South. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weather, and it thundered all the Afternoon, which made us fear a Storm, yet we ventured to proceed. In the Evening the Wind blew hard, therefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the southward, heaving the Land every Glass. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was thirty Fathom, and it increased to forty-five, which was a great Comfort to us in the dark. At Midnight our Depth began suddenly to decrease, and as fast as the Lead could be heaved it shoaled to twenty Fathom, wherefore we hop'd to come to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship aft, to mount to the Sea, and fitted all Things to ride it out. There was no Need to bid our Men watch now. We rid it out all Night although it blew very hard.

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we saw an Island under our Lee some Leagues off, all Shoals and Breaches between us and it. At Noon, by the Help of the windward Tide, we attempted to heave up our Anchor, although the Sea went Mountains high; joining all our Strength therefore with our best Skills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could set our Sails we were driven into nine Fathoms, endeavouring thereupon to double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Island, the Water shoaled to five Fathoms; but when we were about it, deepened again; and we came to an Anchor in a very good Place, and it was well for us that we did; for the Wind increased to a very Storm; here we rid well all Night, and recovered our Strength again. The last Night, and this Morning it snowed and hailed, and was very cold; nevertheless I took the Boat and went ashore to look for some Creek or Cove to carry in our Ship; for she was very leaky, and the Company became very sickly and weak with much pumping and extreme Labour. This Island, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but Ledges of Rocks and Banks of Sand, and there was a very great Surf on them; nevertheless I made them row through it: And on Shore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches, and come to an Anchor and stay for me. I made what Speed I could to the Top of a Hill, to discover; but could not see what we looked for; and because it began to blow hard I made haste toward the Boat again. I found that it had ebbed so low that the Boat could not, by any Means, come near Shore for me, so that we were forced to wade through the Surf and Breaches to her, in which some got such a Cold that they complained of it to their dying Day.

But now it began to blow hard, so that we could but get little to Windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was shifted since we went ashore; and return to the Shore we could not, by Means of the Surf. We rowed for Life: They in the Ship let out a Buoy by a long Warp,

and by God's Assistance we got to it, and so halled up to the Ship, where we all rejoiced together. This was a Premonition to us to be careful how we sent off the Boat in such Weather. I named this Island *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*; it is full of small Wood, but in other Benefits not very rich, and stands in Latitude 52 Degrees 10 Minutes. At Noon we weighed, seeing an Island that bore South-south-east of us some four Leagues off, which was the highest Land we had yet seen in this Bay; but as we came near, it suddenly shoaled to six, five, and four Fathom; wherefore we struck our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, but it was very foul Ground; and when the Ship was wound up we had but three Fathom Water at her Stern; as it cleared, we could see the Breaches all along under our Lee; holding it not safe therefore to stay long here, we settled every thing, in order for the Ship to fall the right Way. We had up our Anchor, got into deeper Water, and stood up again for *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us, some two Leagues off; which did well shelter us. The Tides run very quick here, and the Times of running Ebb or Flood, very uncertain; their Currents are likewise so distracted that in the Night there is no failing by the Compass, therefore we were forced to seek, every Night, some new Place of Security, to come to an Anchor.

The 24th in the Morning it lowered, and threatened a Storm, which made us, with the windward Tide, weigh, to get near under the Island. It was very foggy Weather, and as we stood to the North-eastward we came to uncertain Depths; at one Cast twenty Fathom, the next seven, then ten, five, eight, and three; and coming to the other Tack, we were worse than we were before. The Currents defeating our Judgments in the thick Fog, when we could see no Land-marks. It pleased God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the Lee of the Island; which being not able to do, we were obliged to come to an Anchor in thirty-five Fathom some two Leagues off the Shore: All this Afternoon, and indeed all Night too, it snowed, hailed, and was very cold. The 25th we weighed, and thought to get to the eastward; but as we tacked to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeth, that it put us within a Quarter of a Mile of the very Shore, where we chopped to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these we endured among the Shoals and broken Grounds, or rather more desperate than I have related, with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt in *England* in my Life. Our Sheet-Anchors were down twice or thrice in a Day; which extreme Pains made a great Part of our Company sickly. All this lasted with us until the 30th of this Month *September*, which we thought would have put an End to our Miseries, for now we were driven among Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not, but there rid among them in Extremity of Distress.

15. The 1st of *October* was indifferently fair Weather, and with a windward Tide our Boat went to sound a Channel, to help us out of this dangerous Place; the Boat within two Hours returned, and told us she had been a Way where there was not less than ten Fathom; we thereupon weighed, but found it otherwise, and came among many strange Races and Overfalls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea; as we proceeded, the Water shoaled to six Fathoms. Well! there was no Remedy, we must go forward, seeing there neither was any riding, and as little Hope to turn any way with a Sail, but that there appeared present Death in it: It pleased God so to direct us that we got through it. The Water sometimes deepened to twenty Fathom, then upon a sudden it shoaled to seven, six, and five Fathoms, so that we struck all our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight for Life and Death, it blowing a merciless Gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach; the Ground was foul Ground too, insomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d in the Morning there was little Wind, whereupon,

upon, taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to found, which returning again in two Hours told us, they had founded about that Shole, and had found a Place of some Safety to ride in, and had been in no less Water than five Fathom. We weighed, and found our Cable galled in two Places; which had soon failed us if the Weather had continued. We stood the same Way that the Boat directed us; but it proved so calm that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fathom, hooked the Boat, and went on Shore on an Island that was on the southward of us; which I named the *Earl of Danby's Island*: From the highest Place in it I could see all broken Grounds and Sholes to the southward, and rather worse, than any thing better, than that which I had been in. I found that the Savages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made haste to found the Bay, for fear of Sholes and funken Rocks; but found it indifferent good.

Toward the Evening it began to blow hard, wherefore we made towards the Ship; she put forth her Buoy, and a Warp, and we rowing for Life reached her, wore to Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hauled up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water, ourselves being as wet as drowned Rats; and it made us the more rejoice that we had escaped so great Danger; all Night it blowing a most violent Gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail. On the 3d, about Noon, the Wind dulled, and we had up her Anchor, standing farther into the Bay in four Fathom and an half Water; here we came again to an Anchor with our second Anchor, for many of our Men are sick, and the rest so weakened that we can hardly weigh our Sheet-Anchor. I took the Boat and went presently on Shore to see what Comfort I could find: This was the first time that I put Foot on this Island, which was the same that we afterwards wintered upon; I found the Tracks of Deer, and saw some Fowl; but that which rejoiced me most was, that I saw an Opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we made with all Speed, but found it to be barred, and not a Foot Water at full Sea, on the Bay, and yet within a most excellent fine Harbour, having five Fathom Water. In the Evening I returned aboard, bringing little Comfort for our sick Men, more than Hopes.

On the 4th it snowed very hard, yet I got ashore and appointed the Boat to go to another Place (which made like a River) and to found it; in the mean time I went with four more some four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no Relief for my Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied ourselves, I returned to the Place I had appointed them to tarry for me; where at my coming I still found her, she having not been where I ordered her, for it had blown such a severe Gale of Wind that she could not row to Windward; thus we returned aboard with no good News. It continued foul Weather with Snow and Hail, and extremely cold till the sixth, when with a favourable Wind I stood in nearer to the Shore and moored the Ship. On the 7th it snowed all Day, so that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very hard Storm withal; it continued snowing and very cold Weather, and it froze so that all the Bows of the Ship with her Beak-head were all Ice; about the Cables also was Ice as thick as a Man's Middle; the Bows of the Boat were likewise frozen half a Foot thick, so that we were fain to beat it off. The Sun shined very clear, and we bore the Top-sails out of the Tops which were hard frozen in them into a Lump, so that there they hung a sunning all Day in a very Lump, the Sun not having Power to thaw one Drop of them. After the Boat was fitted we rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the Place where we were used to land, for it was all thick Water with the Snow that had fell upon the Sands that are dry at low Water; this made it so difficult to row that we could not get through it with four Oars; yet something higher to the Westward we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood, I made them fill the Boat and went aboard, and

sent the Carpenter to cut Wood, others to carry it to the Water-side whilst the Boat brought it on board; for I doubted that we should not be able to go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable cold already aboard the Ship, every Thing froze in the Hold and by the Fire-side; seeing therefore we could no longer make use of our Sails, it raised many Doubts in our Minds that we must stay and winter.

After we had brought as much Wood on board as we could conveniently stow, and enough, as I thought, to have lasted two or three Months, the sick Men desired that some little House or Hovel might be built on Shore, whereby they might be the better sheltered to recover their Healths: I took the Carpenter and others whom I thought fit for such a Purpose, and chusing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it; in the mean time, I accompanied with some others wandered up and down the Woods to see if we could discover any Signs of Savages, that we might the better provide for our Safeties against them; we found no Appearance that there were any upon this Island nor near it; the Snow by this Time was half Leg high, and through it we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had all this Time wrought upon our House; they on board our Ship took down our Top-sails the mean while; and made great Fires upon the Hearth in the Hatch-way; so that having well thawed them, they folded them up and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had an Occasion they might bring them again to Yard.

16. The 12th we took our Main-sail from the Yard which was hard frozen to it, and carried it on Shore to cover our House withal, having been forced to thaw it by a great Fire; by Night they had covered it, and had almost hedged it about, and the six Builders desired to lie in it ashore that Night, which I condescended unto, having first fitted them with Muskets and other Furniture, and a Charge to keep good Watch all Night: They had on Shore two Buckhounds, a Dog and a Bitch, which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us some Deer, if happily we could find any. By the 13th at Night our House was ready, and our six Builders desired they might travel up into the Country to see what they could discover. On the 14th by Times in the Morning, being fitted with Ammunition and their Order to keep together, but especially to seek out some Creek or Cove for the Ship, they departed. We on board took down our two Top-masts and their Rigging, making Account, if we removed, to make use of our Fore-sail and Misen.

The 15th in the Evening our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a small lean Deer in four Quarters, which rejoiced us all, hoping we should have more of them to refresh our sick Men withal; they reported that they had wandered above twenty Miles, and had brought this Deer above twelve Miles, and that they had seen nine or ten more. The last Night they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods, and so it appeared, for they looked almost starved, nor could they recover themselves in three or four Days after; they saw no Sign of Savages nor of any ravenous wild Beasts, nor yet any Hope of Harbour.

The 19th my Lieutenant and five more desired they might try their Fortune in travelling about the Island, but they had far worse Luck than the others, although they endured all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, and returned comfortless and miserably disabled with the Cold. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their Company, *John Barton*, our Gunner's Mate, who being very weary, merely to save the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a Quarter of a Mile over, where when he was in the very Middle the Ice broke and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. Considering these Disasters, I resolved to fish no more with a golden Hook for fear I should weaken myself more with one Hunting than twenty such dear Deers could do me Good. Being now assured that there were no Savages upon the Island, nor yet about us on the other Islands on the Main, as far as we could discover, and that the cold Season was now in
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that Extremity that they could not come to us, if there were any, we comforted and refreshed ourselves by sleeping the more securely.

We changed our Island Garrison every Week, for other refreshing we were likely to have none till the Spring. From the 19th to the 20th it snowed and blowed so hard that the Boat could hardly venture on Shore, and but seldom land unless the Men waded in the thick congealed Water, carrying one another; we sensibly perceived withal, how we daily sunk into more Miseries. The Land was all deep covered with Snow, the Cold strengthened and the thick Snow Water increased, and what would become of us, our most merciful God and Preserver knew only. The 29th I observed an Eclipse of the Moon with what Care possible I could, both in the Trial of the Exactness of our Instruments, as also in the Observation. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

17. On the first of *November*, I cast up Accounts with the Steward concerning Victuals, the third Part of our Time being this Day out. I found him an honest Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was spent and what was still in the Hold remaining under his Hand. I would take no Excuse for Leakage or other Waste, unless he daily shewed it to me. Every Month I made a new Survey, and every six Months put what he spared by itself, which now was at least a Month's Provision of Bread, and a Fortnight's Pease, Fish, &c. The 3d Day the Boat endeavoured to get on Shore, but could not go through the congealed Water.

On the 4th they found a Place to get on Shore, and so once in two or three Days till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men on Shore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the House in one Night; other Provisions they had store. The Ice Beer being thawed in a Kettle was not good, and they broke the Ice of the Ponds to come at Water to drink. This Pond Water had a most loathsome Smell with it, so that doubting least it might be infectious I caused a Well to be sunk near the House; there we had very good Water, which tasted, as we flattered ourselves, like Milk. The 10th, having enough Boards for such a Purpose, I set the Carpenter to work to make a Boat which we might carry over the Ice, and make use of her wherever there was Water. At Noon I took the Latitude of this Island by two Quadrants; which I found to be 52 Degrees. I urged the Men to make Traps to catch Foxes; for we daily saw many; some of them were pied black and white, whereby I gathered that there were some black Foxes, whose Skins I told them were of great Value, and I promised that whoever could take one of them should have the Skin for his Reward; hereupon they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow, which was very deep, to place them in the Woods.

The 12th our House took Fire, but we soon quenched it; we were obliged to keep an extraordinary Fire Night and Day, and this Accident made me order a Watch to look to it continually, since if our House and Cloathing should be burnt we should be in a woeful Condition; I lay ashore till the 17th, all which Time our Miseries increased.

It snowed and froze extremely, at which Time we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, she appeared a Piece of Ice in the Fashion of a Ship, or a Ship resembling a Piece of Ice; the Snow was all frozen about her, and all her Fore-part firm Ice, and so she was on both Sides, also our Cables frozen in the Hawse. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I spent with tormenting Cogitations, and in the Day-Time I could not see any Hopes of saving the Ship. This I was assured of, that it was impossible to endure those Extremities long; every Day the Men must beat the Ice off the Cables, while some within, with the Carpenter's long calking Iron, digged the Ice out of the Hawfers: In which Work the Water would freeze on their Cloaths and Hands, and would so benumb them that they could hardly get into the Ship without being heaved in with a Rope. The 19th, our Gunner who, as you may remember, had his Leg cut off, languished irrecoverably, and now grew very weak, desiring that for the little Time

he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I ordered he should.

The 22d in the Morning he died, an honest and a strong hearted Man. He had a close boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, which was very close indeed, and as many Cloaths on him as was convenient, and a Pan of Coals and a Fire continually in his Cabin, notwithstanding which Warmth, his Plaisters would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head; we committed him, at a good Distance from the Ship, unto the Sea.

18. On the 23d the Ice increased extraordinarily, and the Snow lay in Flakes as it fell, much Ice also drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, when the Watch was set, a great Piece of Ice came athwart the Hawser, and four more followed after it, the least of them a Quarter of a Mile broad, which in the Dark very much astonished us, thinking it would carry us out of the Harbour upon the Shore's eastern Point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congealed two Inches thick, and we broke through it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible Stress, some time stopping the whole Ice. We shot off three Muskets, signifying to our Men ashore that we were in Distress; who answered us again, but could not help us. By ten o'Clock it was all passed, nevertheless we watched carefully, and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month.

In the Morning by break of Day I sent for our Men aboard, who shut up the House and arrived by ten, being forced to wade through the congealed Water, so that they received the Boat with Difficulty. There drove by the Ship many Pieces of Ice, tho' not so large as the former, but much thicker: One Piece came foul of the Cable and made the Ship drive. As soon as we were clear of it we joined our Strength together, and had up our easternmost Anchor; and now I resolved to bring the Ship aground, which I had delayed for the following Reasons. First, It was all stony Ground, some Stones lying dry three or four Foot above the Water, so that it was to be suspected that it was the like all round. Secondly, It ordinarily flowed but two Foot and a half here, and if she should bed deep in the Sands we could not ever come to dig her out again, for that she would not be dry by four or five Foot. Thirdly, it was a close Sand which might rise with the Surface, or so mount about her, that all our weak Powers could not heave it away the next Spring. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not rise so much in the Summer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tide's Way, which ran something quick here, and the Ice beside might drive and mount up upon her, and so overset her, and tear her, and carry away her Planks and Iron Work; and also that we should have nothing left to finish our Pinnacle with. Sixthly, If it blew a Storm at North-west or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards, and that Wind being off the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the Shore to the eastward Point, which was occasioned by a deep Overfall, besides she would beat extremely, and if she were put up by the Sea or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we should never heave her off again; for these Reasons we endured all, still hoping for some fortunate Accident: But now all our Designs we saw Foolishness, and that a great deal of Labour had been spent in vain by us. With the Flood we weighed our westernmost Anchor, perceiving God's Assistance manifestly, because it happened to be fine warm Weather, otherwise we had not been able to work.

The Wind was now South, which blew in upon the Shore, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve Feet Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in Shore-water, to draw her on Land at Command: Our Hope also was, that some Stones that were to the Westward of us would fend off some of the Ice; we then being about a Mile from the Shore. About ten o'Clock in the dark Night the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove some two Cables-length, and the Wind blowing

on the Shore, by two o'Clock she came aground and stopt much Ice, yet she lay well all Night, and we took some Rest.

The 25th the Wind shifted Easterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood came we encouraged one another, and drew home our Anchor by main Force, under great Pieces of Ice, our Endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore: But to our great Discomfort, when the Half-Tide was made, the Ship drove among the Ice to the Eastward, do what we could, and so she would on the Shore of Rocks. As I have said before, these two Days and this Day was very warm Weather, and it rained, which it had not yet but once done since we came hither, otherwise it had been impossible we could have wrought. Withal the Wind shifted also to the South, and at the very Instant blew a hard Puff, which so continued half an Hour. I caused the two Top-sails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoisted them up with two Ropes in all Haste, and we found the Ship ashore when she had not half a Cable's Length to drive on the rocky Sholes. In the Evening we broke way through the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in five Feet Water, to keep her to the Shore if possible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this Manner, and so starved at Sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine at Night the Wind came up at North-west, and blew a Storm. This Wind was off the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us long before we were afloat. There came in a great rolling Sea withal about the Point, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now we were left to the Mercy of the Sea on the Ground. By ten she began to roll in her Deck, and soon after began to beat against the Ground. We stood at the Capstang as many as could, others at the Pumps, for we thought that every fifth or sixth Blow would have flaved her to Pieces. We heaved to the uttermost of our Strength to keep her as near the Ground as we could.

By reason of this Wind it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up so high that it was doubtful if ever we got her off again. She continued thus beating till two o'Clock the next Morning, and then she settled again, whereupon we went to sleep, seeing the next Tide we expected again to be tormented.

19. The 26th in the Morning Tide our Ship did not float. After Prayers I called a Consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, the Mate's Carpenter and Boatswain, to whom I proposed, that now we were put to our last Shifts, and therefore they should tell me what they thought of it, *viz.* Whether it were not best to carry all our Provisions on Shore; and when the Wind should come Northerly, to draw her further off and sink her? After many Reasonings, they allowed of my Purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it; and so we fell to getting up of our Provisions: First, of our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dryfats, with a Hoghead of Beef, having much ado to get the Boats thro' the congealed Water. In the Evening the Wind came up at North-east and East, and filled the Bay full of Ice.

The 27th the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would so continue and freeze, that we should not be forced to sink our Ship. This Day we could land nothing. The 28th at Break of Day three of our Men went over the Ice unknown to me, and the Wind coming up at West drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and most part of the Bay also; and yet not so but the Boat could go ashore for any thing. I made the Carpenter fit a Place against all sudden Extremities, for that with the North-west or Northerly Wind I meant to effect our last Project. In the Run of her on the Starboard Side he cut away the Cieling and the Plank to the Sheathing some four or five Inches square, some four Feet high from the Keel of her, that so it might be bored out at an Instant. We brought our Bread which was remaining in the Bread-Room up into the great Cabin, and likewise all our Powder, setting much of our light dry Things betwixt Decks.

The 29th at five in the Morning the Wind came up at West-north-west, and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to shift from the West by the

North round about: So first I ordered the Cooper to go down into the Hold, and look to all our Casks; those that were full to mell in the Bungs of them, and those that were empty to get up, or if they could not be gotten up to flave them; then to coil all our Cables upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our spare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rising. By seven o'Clock it blew a Storm at North-west. The Ship was already bedded some two Feet in the Sand; and whilst that was a-flowing she must beat. This I before had in my Consideration, for I thought she was so far driven up that we should never get her off. Yet we had been so ferreted by her last Beating that I resolved to sink her right down, rather than run that Hazard. By nine she began to roll in her Deck with a most extraordinary great Sea, which I found to be occasioned by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits-end: Wherefore I went down into the Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bored a Hole in the Ship and let in the Water. Thus with all Speed we began to cut out other Places to bore through; but every Place was full of Nails. By Ten, notwithstanding the lower Tire was covered with Water, for all which she began so to beat in her Deck more and more, that we could not work nor stand to do any thing in her, nor would she sink so fast as we would have her, but continued beating double Blows, first abaft and then before, that it was wonderful how she could endure a Quarter of an Hour with it.

By Twelve her lower Tire rose, and that did so counterbeat on the Inside, that it bored the Bulk-Heads of the Bread-Room, Powder-Room and Fore-piece, all to Pieces. And when it came betwixt Decks, the Chests fled about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully, so that now we expected every Minute when the Ship would open and break to Pieces. At One she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which Way. Thus she continued beating till Three, and then the Sea came upon the upper Deck, and soon after she began to settle. In her we were fain to sink the most part of our Bedding and Cloaths, and the Chirurgeon's Chest. Our Men that were on Shore stood looking upon us, almost dead with Cold and Sorrow to see our Miseries and their own; we looked upon them again, and both upon each other with woeful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I ordered the Boat to be hawled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her, who expressed their faithful Affection to me, as loth to part from me. I told them that my Meaning was to go ashore with them, and thus lastly I forsook the Ship. We were fourteen poor Souls now in the Boat, and we imagined that we were leaped out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick with Snow, so that we thought assuredly it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double manned four Oars, appointing four more to sit ready with Oars; and so with the Help of God we got to the Shore, hawling up the Boat after.

One Thing was most strange in this thick Water, that there went a great swelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land we saluted our Fellows the best we could; at which Time they could not know us, nor we them, by our Habits and Voices, so frozen we were, Faces, Hair and Apparel. And here I mean to take Breath a-while, after all this long and unpleasant Relation of our miserable Endeavours, craving Leave first of all to speak a Word or two in general. The Winds since we came hither have been very variable and inconstant, and till within this Fortnight the Southerly Wind was the coldest. The Reason I conceive to be, that it blew from the main Land, which was all covered with Snow; and the North Winds came out of the great Bay, which hitherto was open; so that we were under a South Bank, that sheltered us so that we were not sensible of it.

20. After we had hawled up the Boat on the 29th of November, we went along the Beach-side in the Dark towards our House, where we made a good Fire, and with it and Bread and Water we comforted ourselves, beginning after that to reason one with another concerning our Ship. I required that every one should speak his Mind freely.

freely. The Carpenter especially was of Opinion, that she was foundered, and would never be serviceable. He alledged, that she had so beaten that it was not possible but that all her Joints were loose and Seams open; and that by Reason it flowed so little Water, and no Creek being near to bring her aground, he could not devise how he might come to mend it; moreover, her Rudder was lost, and he had no Iron-Work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up so high on the Sands that they thought we should never get her off again, and that they were assured she was already docked three Feet; others, that she lay in the Tide's Way, and that the Tides might tear her to Pieces off the Ground. Besides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice, which, when the Ice broke, would break them to Pieces, and then we should have no Anchors to bring us home withal, provided we got off the Ship, and that she proved found also. I comforted them the best I could to this Effect.

"My Masters and faithful Companions, be not dismayed for any of these Disasters, but let us put our whole Trust in God. It is he that giveth and he that taketh away; he throweth down with one Hand, and raiseth up with another. His Will be done. If it be our Fortunes to end our Days here, we are as near Heaven as in *England*, and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us so large a Time of Repentance, who, as it were, daily calls upon us to prepare our Souls for a better Life in Heaven. I make no doubt but he will be merciful unto us both here on Earth and in his blessed Kingdom. He doth not in the mean time deny that we may use all honest Means to save and prolong our natural Lives; and in my Judgment we are not so far past Hope of returning into our native Country, but that I see a fair Way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foundered, (which God forbid, I hope for the best) yet have those of our own Nation and others, when they have been put to those Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their lost Ship built a Pinnace, and returned to their Friends again. If it be objected that they have happened into better Climates, both for Temperateness of the Air, and for pacific and open Seas, and provided withal of abundance of fresh Victuals, yet there is nothing too hard for courageous Minds, which hitherto you have shewn, and I doubt not will still do to the uttermost of your Power."

They all protested to work to the utmost of their Strength, and that they would refuse nothing that I should order them to do to the utmost Hazard of their Lives. I thanked them all, and to the Carpenter for his cheerful Undertaking I promised to give him so much Plate presently as should be worth 10 *l.* and if so be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give him her freely, and 50 *l.* in Money over and above, and would moreover gratify all them that I should see industrious. Thus we resolved to build us a new Pinnace with the Timber we should get upon the Island, that so in the Spring, if we found the Ship not serviceable we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks; and so for this Night we settled ourselves close about the Fire, and took some Rest till Day-light.

The 30th, betimes in the Morning, I caused the Chirurgion to cut off my Hair short, and to shave away all the Hair of my Face, for it was become intolerable, and because it would be frozen so great with Icicles. The like did all the rest, and we fitted ourselves to work. The first Thing we were to do was to get our Cloaths and Provisions ashore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Master and a convenient Company with him were to go aboard and get Things out of the Hold. The Cockswain with his Gang were to go into the Boat, to bring and carry Things ashore. Myself with the rest to carry them half a Mile through the Snow, unto the Place where we intended to build a Store-house. As for the heavier Things, we proposed to lay them on the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at South-south-west, and the Water veered so low an Ebb that we thought we might get something out of the Hold. We launched out our Boat therefore, and with Oars got through the thick congealed Water. It froze extreme hard, and I stood

on the Shore with a troubled Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and then we were all lost Men: But by God's Assistance they got all safe to the Ship, and made a Fire there to signify their Arrival on board. They fell presently to Work, and got something out of the Hold upon the Decks, but Night coming on, they durst not venture to come on Shore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabin being almost starved.

21. The 1st of *December* was so cold that I went the same Way over the Ice to the Ship where the Boat had gone Yesterday. This Day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles five hundred of our Fish, and much of our Bedding and Cloaths, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice. The 2d was mild Weather, and some of the Men going over the Ice fell in, and very hardly recovered; so that this Day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back. I put them therefore to make us a Store-house on Shore. In the Evening the Wind came up at West, and the Ice broke and drove out of the Bay. It was very deep and large Ice, that we were afraid it would have spoiled the Ship. The 3d Day there were divers great Pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship and she stopt them, yet not so as we could go over them. We found a Way for the Boat, but when she was laden she drew four Feet Water, and could not come within a slight Shot of the Shore; the Men therefore must wade through the congealed Water, and carry Things out of the Boat upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice it was most lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and picked it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavoured to hoist her into the Ship, there being small Hopes that she could go to and again any more: But use what Means they could, she was so heavy that they could not hoist her in, but were forced to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship-side.

The 4th being *Sunday* we rested and performed the Sabbath-Duties of Christians. The 5th and 6th were extreme cold, and we made Bags of our Store-Shirts, and in them we carried our loose Bread over the Ice on Shore upon our Backs: We also digged our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand-spikes of Iron out of the Ice, and carried them ashore, which we dried by a great Fire. The 7th Day was so exceeding cold, that our Noses, Cheeks and Hands, did freeze as white as Paper. The 8th and 9th it was extremely cold, and it snowed much; yet we continued our Labour in carrying and rolling Things on Shore. In the Evening the Water raised the Ice very high, and it broke two Thawghts of our Boat, and broke in the Side of her, but for that Time we could not help it.

The 10th our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel and a Stern for our Pinnace, the rest wrought about our Provisions until the 13th Day, and that we spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel, and dig the Ice out of her, then we got her up; in doing which many of their Noses, Cheeks and Fingers, did freeze. The Cold now encreased most extremely. By the 19th we could get no more Things out of the Hold, but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other Things, which were all frozen in her. The 21st was so cold that we could not go out of the House. The 23d we went to get our Boat ashore, running her with our Oars, but by ten o' Clock there came such a thick Fog that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and we made what Haste we could to the Shore, which we had much ado to find without losing one another. At last we met all at the House, the most miserable and frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers the Cold had raised Blisters as big as Walnuts. This we imagined to come by Reason that they came too hastily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up, so that dig as deep as we would, we could come at no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholesome, either to drink or to dress Victuals: It made us so short-breath'd, that we were scarce able to speak.

All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a Piece of Wood, and we cut it with a Hatchet. Our House was all frozen

on the inside; and it froze hard within a Yard of the Fire-side. When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hill's side, which I then observing, I caused some Trees to be cut, for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three Fourths of a Mile from our House. I sent three of our Men which had been with me thither. Upon the 24th these wandering through the Snow, at last found the Place, and shoveling away the Snow they made Way to the very Head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the Year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We laboured very hard these three or four Days to get Wood to the House, which we found to be very troublesome, through the deep Snow.

22. We then settled our Bedding and Provisions, providing to keep Christmas-Day holy, which we solemnized in the joyfullest Manner we could. So likewise did we *St. John's Day*, upon which we named the Wood we did winter in, in Memory of that honourable Knight, Sir *John Winter*, *Winter's Forest*, and now, instead of a Christmas Tale, I will describe the House that we did live in, with those adjoining. When I first resolved to build a House, I chose the warmest, and convenientest Place, and the nearest the Ship withal. It was among a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a flight Shot from the Sea-side. True it is, that at that Time we could not dig into the Ground to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth, which had been the best Way, because we found Water digging within two Feet, and therefore that Project failed; it was a white light Sand, so that we could by no Means make up a Mud-Wall.

As for Stones there were none near us; besides we were all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for such a Purpose, and therefore we must do the best we could with such Materials as we had about us. The House was square about twenty Feet every Way, as much namely as our main Courfe could well cover. First we drove long Stakes into the Earth, round about which we wattled with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very close. This, our first Work, was six Feet high on both Sides, but at the Ends was almost up to the very Top. There we left two Holes for the Light to come in at, and the same Way the Smoak did vent out also. Moreover I caused, at both Ends, three Rows of Bush Trees to be stuck up, as close together as possible. Then, at a Distance from the House, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into Lengths of six Feet, with which we made a Pile on both Sides, six Feet thick, and six Feet high; but at both Ends ten Feet high, and six Feet thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next fastened a rough Tree aloft, over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our main Courfe, over them again; which lying thwartways over all, reached down to the very Ground on either Side; and this was the Fabric of the outside of it.

On the inside we made fast our Bonnet Sails round about, then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedstead Frames, about three Sides of the House, which Bedsteads we doubled one under another, the lowermost being a Foot from the Ground. These we first filled with Boughs, then we laid our spare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth in the Middle of the House, and on it made our Fire; some Boards we laid round our Hearth to stand upon, that the cold Damp should not strike up into us. With our waste Cloaths we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our small Sails. Our second House was not more than twenty Feet Distance from this, and made, for the Wattling, much after the same Manner, but it was less, and covered with our fore Courfe. It had no Piles on the South-side, but, in lieu of that, we piled up all our Chests on the inside; and, indeed, the Reflex of the Heat of the Fire against them did make it warmer than the Mansion-House. In this House we dressed our Victuals, and the subordinate Crew did refresh themselves

all Day in it. A third House, which was our Store-house, was twenty-nine Paces off from this, for fear of firing.

This House was only a rough Tree fastened aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered over with our new suit of Sails. On the Inside we had laid small Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, and so stored up our Bread and Fish in it, about two Feet from the Ground, the better to preserve them; the other things lay more carelessly. Long before Christmas our Mansion-House was covered thick over with Snow, almost to the very Roof of it; and so likewise was our second House, but our Store-house all over, by Reason we made no Fire in it.

Thus we seemed to live in a Heap and a Wilderness of Snow; for out of our Doors we could not go, but upon the Snow, in which we made us Paths Middle deep in some Places, and in one special Place the Length of ten Steps. To do this, we must shovel away the Snow first, and then, by treading, make it something hard under Foot. The Snow, in this Path, was a full Yard thick under us. And this was our best Gallery for our sick Men, and for my own ordinary Walking; and both Houses and Walks we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our Uses. On the 27th we got our Boat ashore, and fetched up some of our Provisions from the Beach-side, into the Store-house, and so by degrees did we with the rest of our Provisions, with Extremity of Cold and Labour, making Way with Shovels through the thick Snow, even from the Sea-side to our Store-house; and thus concluded we the old Year 1631.

23. The first of *January*, 1632, and for the most part all the Month, was extreme cold. The 6th I observed the Latitude with what Exactness I could, it being clear sunshiny Weather, which I found to be 51 Degrees 52 Minutes; this Difference is by Reason that there is a great Refraction. On the 21st I observed the Sun to rise like an Oval along the Horizon; I called three or four to see it, the better to confirm my Judgment; and we all agreed that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by Degrees, as it got up higher, it also recovered its roundness. The 30th and 31st there appeared, in the Beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament than ever I had before seen, by two Thirds; I could see the Clouds in Cancer full of small Stars. About ten o'clock the Moon rose, and then a Quarter of them were not to be seen. The Wind, for the most Part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold. The warmest of which Time we employed ourselves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnacle, and other things. In the Beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, so that we could see no Water any where. I hope it will not seem tedious to the Readers, if I here deliver my Opinion, how this Abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The Land that incircles this great Bay, which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shore-Bays and Guts, full of Islands and dry Sands, is, for the most Part, low and flat, and hath Sholes adjoining to it half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you must know that it flows half Tide, that is, from whence the Flood cometh, the Water returneth two Hours before it is high Water, or full Sea. It seldom rains after the Middle of *September*, but then falls Snow, and that Snow will not melt on the Land, or Sands. At low Water, when it snows, the Sands are all covered over, which the half Tide carries twice in four Hours into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every low Water the Sands are left clear, to gather more to the Increase of it.

Thus it daily gathers together in this Manner, till the latter End of *October*; and by that Time it brings the Sea to that Coldness, that as it snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes, without changing Colour; but with the Wind is wrought together, and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze upon the Surface of it, two or three Inches or more in one Night; which being carried with the half Tide, meets with some Obstacle, and

and then it crumples, and so runs upon itself, that in a few Hours it will be five or six Feet thick. The half Tide still flowing, carries it quite away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite Multiplication of Ice. And thus, by this storing of it up, the Cold gets the Predominancy in the Sea, which also furnishes the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands, that it cools it like itself. This may appear by our Experience; though in all this I freely submit myself to the more Learned.

Our Men found it more mortifying cold to wade through the Water in the Beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increasing; our Well, out of which we had Water in *December*, dried up in *July*; the Ground, at ten Feet deep, was frozen. The Quantity of Ice may very easily be made to appear by mathematical Demonstration; and yet I am not of the Opinion that the Bay freezes all over. For the 21st the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rise something in the Bay.

24. *February* 1632. The Cold was as extreme this Month as at any Time we had felt it this Year, and many of our Men complained of Infirmities; some of sore Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being loose; their Gums swollen with black rotten Flesh, which every Day was to be cut away; the Pain was so great, that they could not eat their ordinary Meat; others complained of Pains in their Heads and their Breasts; some of Weakness in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees; and others of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgion's Hands; and yet, nevertheless, they were forced to work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, notwithstanding most of them had no Shoes to put on. Their Shoes, upon their coming to the Fire out of the Snow, were burnt and scorched upon their Feet, and our Store-shoes were all sunk in the Ship. In this Necessity they made this shift to bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured, by that poor Help, the best they could, to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewise by this time fell sick, to our great Discomfort.

I practised some Observations by the rising and setting of the Sun; calculating the Time of his rising and setting, by very true running Glasses. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithstanding we still kept them by the Fire-side in a Chest, wrapped in Cloths, yet were they so frozen, that they could not go. My Observations by these Glasses, I compared with the Stars coming to the Meridian. By this means we found the Sun to rise twenty Minutes before it should; and in the Evening to remain twenty Minutes, or thereabouts, longer than it should; all this by Reason of the Refraction. Since now I have spoken so much of the Cold, I hope it will not be taken ill, if I, in a few Words, make it some Way appear to our Readers.

We made three Differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our House, in the Woods, and in the open Air, in our going to the Ship. For the last, it would be sometimes so extreme, that it was almost unendurable; no Cloaths were Proof against it; no Motion could resist it; it would so freeze the Hair on the Eyelids, that we could not see; and I verily believe that it would have stifled a Man in a very few Hours. We daily found, by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any Part of our Flesh that was bare, but it was not so mortifying as the other. Our House, on the outside, was covered two third Parts with Snow, and, on the inside, frozen and hung with Icicles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be covered with Hoar-Frost, which in this Habitation was not far from the Fire. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he watered his Meat, standing about a Yard from the Fire, and which he all Day plied with Snow Water; yet in the Night Season, whilst he slept but on watch, they would be firm frozen to the very Bottom. And therefore he was forced to water his Meat in a Brass Kettle, close adjoining to the Fire. And I have many times both seen and felt, by putting my Hand into it, that Side which was next the Fire very warm, and the other Side an Inch frozen.

The Chirurgion, who had hung his Bottles of Sirrups,

and other liquid things, as conveniently as he could, to preserve them, had them all frozen. Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in small Casks in the House, were all firm frozen. It may further, in general, be conceived, that in the Beginning of *June* the Sea was not broken up, and the Ground was yet frozen; and this we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men, in setting up the King's Standard, towards the latter End of *June*, and by our Well; in coming away in the Beginning of *July*, at which Time, upon the Land, for some other Reasons, it was very hot Weather.

25. *March* 1632. The first of this Month, being *St. David's Day*, we kept Holiday, and solemnised it in the Manner of the *ancient Britons*; praying for the Happiness of his Royal Highness, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Charles II.* The 15th one of our Men thought he had seen a Deer, whereupon he, with two or three more, desired that they might go to see if they could take it. I gave them leave, but they returned in the Evening so disabled with Cold, which rose up in Blisters under the Soles of their Feet, and upon their Legs, to the bigness of Walnuts, that they could not recover their former State, which was not very well, in a Fortnight after.

The 26th three others also desired to go out to try their Fortunes, but they returned worse disabled, and even almost stifled with the Cold. This Evening the Moon rose in a very long Oval along the Horizon. By the last of this Month the Carpenter had set up seventeen Ground Timbers, and thirty four Staddles, and, poor Man, he proceeded the best he could, though forced to be led to his Labour. In short, all this Month it was very cold, the Wind about the North-west, the Snow as deep as it was all this Winter. But to answer an Objection that might be made; you were in a Wood (some Men may say unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too, or otherwise we had all starved.

But I must tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood. And first I will make a Muster of the Tools we had. The Carpenter, in his Chest, had two Axes indeed, but one of them was spoiled in cutting down Wood to pile about our House before Christmas. When we first landed we had but two whole Hatchets; which, in a few Days, broke two Inches below the Sockets. I called for three of the Cooper's Hatchets. The Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's best Hatchet I caused to be locked up; the other two Hatchets to be new helved; and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets to be put into a cleft Piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope Yarn, as fast as might be, which was to be repaired every Day; and these were all the cutting Tools we had. Besides, the 6th of *February* the Carpenter had out his best Ax about something, and one of the Company, in his Absence, by his indiscreet handling of it, broke that too two Inches below the Socket; we were henceforward forced to use these Pieces of Tools the best we could. Wherefore I gave Orders that the Carpenter should have one of the Cooper's Hatchets, they that looked for Timber in the Woods to have the other; and they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two Pieces; and this was before Christmas.

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, stalked and waded sometimes on all fours through the Snow, and where they saw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they heaved away the Snow, and then saw if it would fit the Mould, and then they must make a Fire to it to thaw it, otherwise it could not be cut; then they cut it down and fit it to the Mould, and then with other Help get it home, a Mile through the Snow. Now, for our firing we could not burn green Wood, it would smoke so intolerably; nay, the Men would rather starve without in the Cold than sit by it; as for the dry Wood, that also was bad enough, for it was full of Turpentine, and would send forth such a thick Smoak that would make abundance of Soot, which would make us all look as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers.

Our Cloaths were quite burnt to Pieces about us, and, for the most part, we were without Shoes. But to

our Fuelers again: They must first, as the former, go up and down in the Snow till they saw a Tree standing, for the Snow covered those that were down-fallen; then they must hack it down with their Pieces of Hatchets, and then others must carry it home through the Snow. The Boys with Cutlasses must cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every Piece of Timber that he worked, must first be thawed in the Fire, and he must have a Fire by him or he could not work. And this was our continual Labour throughout the forementioned Cold, besides our tending upon the Sick, and other necessary Employments.

26. April 1632. The first of this Month being *Easter-day*, we solemnized it as religiously as God gave us Grace to do. Both this Day, and the two following Holidays were extreme cold; and now sitting all about the Fire, we reasoned and considered together about our Estate; we had five Men, whereof the Carpenter was one, not able to do any thing; the Boatswain and many more were very infirm and of all the rest we had but five that could eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Season of the Year came on apace, and the Cold very little abated. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardness, but the Carpenter grew worse and worse. The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of solid Ice; which was Weight sufficient to open the Seams of any new and found Vessel, especially one that had lain so long upon the Ground as she had done. In short, after many Disputes and laying open of our miserable and helpless Estates, I resolved upon this Course, that notwithstanding it was more Labour, and the Men weaker and weaker, yet with the first warm Weather we would begin to clear the Ship, that we might have the Time before us to think of some other Course: This being ordered, we looked to those Tools we had to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars on Shore, the rest were sunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too.

We fell to fitting of those Bars and four broken Shovels that we had, with which we intended, and afterwards we did, to dig the Ice out of her, and to lay the Ice on a Heap upon the larboard Bow, and so sink it down to the Ground, so fast that it should be a Barricado to us when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us to Pieces. The 6th was the deepest Snow we had had all this Year, which filled up all our Paths and Ways by which we were used to go to the Woods; this Snow was something moister and greater than any we had had this Year, for formerly it was as dry as Dust and as small Sand, and would drive like Dust with the Wind: The Weather continued with this Extremity till the 15th, at which Time the Spring was harder frozen than it had been all the Year before. I had often observed the Difference betwixt clear Weather and misty refracting Weather, in this manner, from a little Hill which was near adjoining our House; in the clear Weather when the Sun shone with all the Purity of Air, that I could not see a little Island which bore off us South-south-east four Leagues, but if the Weather was misty as aforesaid, then we could often see it from the lowest Place.

This little Island I had seen the last Year when I was on *Danby Island*. The 13th I took the Height of it by an Instrument standing near the Sea-side, which Island I take to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 Degrees high; this shews how great a Refraction here is; yet this may be noted by the Way, that I have seen the Land elevated by Reason of the reflected Air, and nevertheless the Sun hath risen perfect round. The 16th was the most comfortable sunshiny Day that came this Year, and I put some to clear off the Snow in the under Decks of the Ship, and to clean and dry the great Cabin, by making Fire in it, others I put to dig down through the Ice to come by our Anchor that was in Shore-water; which the 17th in the Afternoon we got up and carried aboard. The 18th I put them to dig through the Ice near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be; they digged down and came to Water, but no Hopes of finding it.

We had many Doubts that it might be fanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the last Year. Or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice

broke up and drove, there were little Hopes of it. The 19th we continued minding our Work aboard the Ship, and returned in the Evening to Supper ashore. This Day the Master and two others desired they might lie aboard, which I agreed to; for, indeed, they had lain very commodiously all the Winter, and with sick Bed-fellows, as I myself had done, every one in that kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing the miserable Groanings and Lamentations of the sick Men, all Night long, enduring, poor Souls, miserable Torments. By the 24th we had laboured so hard, that we came to the Sight of a Cask, and could likewise perceive that there was some Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thawed Water, because it froze very hard Night and Day aboard the Ship, and on the Land also. By the 23d in the Evening we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Cask, and found it full of very good Beer, which much rejoiced us all, especially the sick Men, notwithstanding it tasted a little of the bulged Water. By this we thought that the Holes we had cut to sink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th we went betimes in the Morning to work, but we found that the Water was risen above the Ice where we had left work, above two Foot, for the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning the Wind came about South, and blew hard, and, although we had little Reason for it, we yet expected a lower Veer of Water. I thereupon put them to work on the outside of the Ship, that we might come to the lower Hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shoots; with much Labour, by Night, we digged down through the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen, as it had been all the Winter; and, to our great Comforts, we found that on the inside the Water was ebbed within the Hole, and that on the outside it was ebbed a Foot lower. Whereupon I caused a Shot-board to be nailed upon it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other Way; to the other two Holes we had digged on the inside, and found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might resolve on some Course to save or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice was broken up; as for our Boat it was too little, and bulged besides that.

Our Carpenter was by this Time past Hopes, and therefore little Hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worst of all, we had not four Men able to travel through the Snow over the Ice, and in this miserable State were we at this present. The 25th we satisfied our longing, for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water rose by the Ship's-side, where we had digged down a Foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not rise within Board. This so encouraged us, that we fell lustily to digging, and to heave the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook, and some others, to thaw the Pumps, who, by continual pouring of hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning had cleared one of them, which we proving, found it delivered Water very sufficiently. Thus we fell to pumping, and having cleared two Feet Water, we left the other to a second Trial, continuing our Work thus in digging the Ice. By the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we also found to deliver Water very well. We found likewise that the Water did not rise any thing in the Hold.

The 29th it rained all Day long, a sure Sign to us that Winter was broken up. The 30th we were betimes aboard at Work, which Day, and the 31st, were very cold with Snow and Hail, which pinched our sick Men more than any Time this Year. This Evening being *May Eve*, we returned late from our Work to our House, and made a good Fire, and chose Ladies, and ceremoniously wore their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive ourselves by any Means.

27. At our coming from *England* we were stored with all sorts of Sea-provisions; as Beef, Pork, &c. but now, as we had little Hopes of recruiting, our Cook ordered it in this Manner: The Beef which was to serve on *Sunday Night* to Supper, he boiled on *Saturday Night* in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oatmeal, about

an Hour; then taking the Beef out, he boiled the rest to half the Quantity; and this we called *Pottage*, which we eat with Bread as hot as we could, and after this we had our Ordinary of Fish. *Sunday*, for Dinner we had Pork and Pease, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Pottage. In this Manner our *Tuesday's* Beef was boiled on the *Monday* Nights, and the *Thursday's* upon *Wednesdays*; and thus all the Week, except *Friday* Night, we had something warm in our Bellies every Supper; and surely this did us a great deal of Good: But soon after *Christmas* many of us fell sick, and had sore Mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fish, nor Pottage. Their Diet was only this; they would pound Bread in a Mortar to Meal, then fry it in a Frying-pan with a little Oil, and so eat it. Some would boil Pease to a soft Paste, and feed, as well as they could, upon that; for the most part of the Winter Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a Dozen Foxes, many of which would be dead in the Traps two or three Days oftentimes; and then, when the Blood was settled, they would be unwholesome; but if we took one alive, and he had not been long in the Trap, him we boiled and made Broth for the weakest sick Men; the Flesh of them being soft boiled they eat also. Some white Partridges we killed, but not worth mentioning.

We had three Sorts of sick Men; those that could not move, nor turn themselves in their Beds, who must be tended like Infants; others were, as it were crippled with Aches; and others that were something better; most had sore Mouths. You may now ask me, How these infirm Men could work? I will tell you: Our Surgeon, who was a diligent and sweet conditioned Man as ever I saw, would be up betimes in the Morning, and whilst he picked their Teeth, and cut away the Pieces of Flesh from their Gums, they would bathe their Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The Manner of it was thus; there was no Tree, Bud, or Herb but we made Trial of it; and this being first boiled in a Kettle, and then put in a small Tub and Basins, they put it under them, and covered them with Cloths upon it. This so molified the grieved Parts, that though, when they rose out of their Beds, they would be so crippled that they could scarce stand, yet after this was done half an Hour they would be able to go, (and go they must) to wade through the Snow to the Ship, and about other Business; by Night they would be as bad again, and then they must be bathed, anointed, and their Mouths dressed again before they went to Bed; and in this Diet, and in this Manner we went through our Miseries.

I was always afraid that we should be weakest in the Spring, and therefore I reserved a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this Time: Of this, by putting seven Parts of Water to one of Wine, we made some weak Beverage, which, by reason that the Wine had been froze and lost its Virtue, was little better than Water. The sicker Sort had a Pint of *Alicant* a Day by itself, and of such poor *Aqua Vitæ* too as we had, they had a Dram allowed them next their Hearts every Morning: And thus we made the best Use of what we had, according to the Seasons. *May* 1632, the 1st, we went aboard by-times, to heave out the Ice; the 2d, it did snow and blow, and was so cold that we were forced to keep house all Day. This unexpected Cold, at this time of the Year, did so vex our sick Men that they grew worse and worse; we could not now take them out of their Beds, but they would swoon, and we had much ado to keep Life in them.

On the 3d, those that were able, went on board betimes, to heave up the Ice; the Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and stood in Patches; and now there came some Cranes and Geese to it. The 4th, while the rest wrought on board, I and the Surgeon went with a Couple of Pieces, to see if we could kill any of those Fowls for our sick Men; but never did I see such Wild Fowl; they would not endure to see any thing move; wherefore we returned in two Hours, not being able to endure any longer stalking through the Snow and the wet Patches. I verily thought my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they so tormented me with aching. The 6th, *John Wardon*, the Master of my Ship's Chief

Mate, died, whom we buried in the Evening, in the most Christian-like manner, on the Top of a bare Hill of Land, which we called *Brandon-hill*. The Weather continued very cold, it freezing so hard in the Night that it would bear a Man. By the 9th we were come to, and got up, our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Butts of Beer and one of Cyder, which God had preserved for us; it had lain under Water all the Winter, yet we could not perceive it was any worse. God make us ever thankful for the great and seasonable Comfort it gave us.

The 10th it snowed, and blew so cold that we could not stir out of the House, yet nevertheless, by Day, the Snow vanished apace on the Land. The 11th we were on board betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th at Night we had cleaned out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewise our Store Shoes, which had lain soaked in the Water all the Winter, but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted ourselves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold; there stood a Butt of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the Upper-deck, and continued as yet all frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink again when the Ice broke up. We could find no Defect in her, and therefore we hoped that she was staunch; the Carpenter nevertheless argued to the contrary, alledging that now she lay on the Ground, in her Deck the Ice had filled her Defects, and the Ice was the thing that kept out the Water; but when she should come to labour in the Sea, she would certainly open, and indeed we could now see quite through her Seams betwixt Wind and Water; but that which troubled us most was, the Loss of her Rudder, and she now lay in the very Strength of the Tide, which whenever the Ice drove might tear her to Pieces; but we still hoped the best.

28. The 13th, being the *Sabbath-day*, we solemnized it, giving God Thanks for those Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather in the Day-time was pretty warm, but it froze by Night, yet now we could see some Land. The 14th we began a new sort of Work: The Boatwain, and a convenient Number, brought on Shore the rest of our Rigging, which was much spoiled by pecking it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting, I set the Cooper to fit our Cask, although, poor Man, he was very infirm; my Intent being to pass some Cables under the Ship, and so to buoy her up with those Casks, if we could not get her off otherwise; some others I ordered to go and see if they could kill some wild Fowl for our sick Men, who now grew worse and worse; but this is to be remembered, that we had no Shot but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and some old Pewter that we had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durst not use.

The 15th I manured a little Patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and sowed it with Pease, hoping to have some shortly to eat; for as yet we could see no green Thing to comfort us. The 18th our Carpenter *William Cole* died; a Man beloved of us all, as much for his innate Goodness, as for the present Necessity we had of a Man of his Quality: He had endured a long Sickness with Patience, and made a very godly End. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. *Wardon*, accompanied with as many as could go, for three more of our principal Men lay then expecting a good Hour. And now were we in the most miserable State that we were in all the Voyage. Before this extreme Weakness, he had brought the Pinnace to that pass, that she was ready to be bolted, &c. and to be joined to receive the Planks; so that we were not so discouraged by his Death, but that we hoped, ourselves, to finish her, if the Ship proved unserviceable. This Pinnace was twenty-seven Feet by the Keel; she had seventeen Ground-Timbers, thirty-four principal Staddles, and eight short Staddles: He had contrived her with a round Stern, to save Labour, and indeed she was a well-proportioned Vessel; her Burden was twelve or fourteen Tons.

In the Evening the Master of our Ship, after the Burial, returned aboard, and, looking about him, discovered some Part of our Gunner under the Gun-Room Ports. This Man we had committed to the Sea at a good Distance

tance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near six Months before. The 19th, in the Morning, I sent Men to dig him out. He was fast in the Ice, his Head downwards, and his Heels upwards, for he had but one Leg; and the Plaister was yet at the Wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out, and he was as free from Noisomness, as when we first committed him to the Sea. This Alteration had the Ice, and Water, and Time only wrought on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down, upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening we buried him by the others. This Day one *George Ugganes*, who could handle a Tool best of us all, had pretty well repaired our Boat, and so ended this mournful Week. The Snow was by this time pretty well wasted in the Wood; and we having a high Tree on the highest Place of the Island, which was called our Watch-Tree, from the Top of it might see into the Sea, but found no Appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whitsunday*, we sadly solemnized it, and had some Taste of the Wild-fowl, but not worth the writing. The 21st was the warmest sunshiny Day that came this Year. I sent two a-fowling; and myself, the Master, Chirurgion, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs. We went into the Woods to see what we could find; we wandered from the House eight Miles, and searched with all Diligence, but returned comfortless; not an Herb or Leaf eatable could we find. Our Fowlers had as bad Success. In the Woods we found the Snow partly melted away, so that it was passable. The Snow does not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and so make Land-Floods, as in *England*, but is exhaled by the Sun, and sucked full of Holes like the Honey-combs; so that the Sand whereon it lies will not be wetted. The like Observations we also made, that let it rain ever so much you shall see no Land-Floods after it. The 22d we went aboard the Ship, and found she had made so much Water that it was risen above the Ballast, which made us doubt again of her Soundness. We fell to pumping, and pumped her quite dry. And now by Day sometimes we have such hot Glooms that we cannot endure the Sun, and yet in the Night it freezes very hard. This Unnaturalness of the Season tormented our Men that they grew worse and worse daily.

The 23d our Boatswain, a careful Man, having been long sick, which he had heartily resisted, was taken with such a Pain in one of his Thighs, that we thought he would have died presently. He kept his Bed in great Extremity. And it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed he could rise no more. This made every Man to strive to keep up for Life.

The 24th was very warm Sunshine, and the Ice consumed by the Shore-side, and cracked all over the Bay with dreadful Noise. About three in the Afternoon we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship, whereupon I sent two with all Speed to the Master, with Order to beat out the Hole and to sink the Ship, as likewise to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed; and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon* pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and it came up with his Lance, who crying that he had found it, the rest came and got it upon the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the mean time the little Drift which the Ice had began to rise and mount into high Heaps against the shore Shores and Rocks, and likewise against the Heap of Ice which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little Harm to us; yet we were forced to cut away twenty Fathom of Cable which was frozen in the Ice. After an Hour the Ice settled again, not having any Vent outwards. This was a joyful Day to us all, and we gave God Thanks for the Hopes we had of it.

The 25th was a fine warm Day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove against the Ship and struck her soundly. The 26th I took the Chirurgion with me, and went again to the Wood, and to that Bay where last Year we had lost our Man *John Barton*, but we could find no Sign of him. The 28th it was pretty clear betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hoped the Ice would no more oppress us; wherefore I caused the lower Holes to be firmly stopped,

the Water then remaining three Feet above the Ballast. The 29th being Prince *Charles's* Birth-day, we kept Holiday, and displayed his Majesty's Colours both on Land and aboard, and named our Habitation *Charles-Town*, by Contraction *Charlton*, and the Island *Charlton Island*.

The 30th we launched our Boat, and had Intercourse sometimes between the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was new to us. The last Day of this Month we found some Vetches to appear out of the Ground, which I made our Men pick up and boil for our Sick. This Day we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails, and it being a very hot Day we dried our Fish in the Sun, and aired all our other Provisions. There was not a Man of us at present able to eat of our salt Provisions but myself and the Master. It may be remembered that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums nor Phlegmatic Diseases. All this Month the Wind was variable, but for the most part Northerly.

29. *June* 1682. The first four Days snowed and hailed, and blew very hard, and it was so cold that the Ponds of Water froze over, and the Water in our Cans was frozen even in the very House. Our Cloaths also that had been washed and hung out to dry did not thaw. All Day the 5th it continued blowing very hard on the broad Side of the Ship, which made her swag and wallow in her Dock, notwithstanding she was sunk, which shook her very much. The Ice withal drove against her, and gave her many fearful Blows. I resolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder, and when God sent us Water, notwithstanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us, to heave her further off. In the Afternoon we under-run our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay a-stern in deep Water, and so with some Difficulty got up our Anchor. This Cable had lain slack under Foot, and under the Ice all Winter, and we could never have a clear Slatcli from Ice to have it up before now. We found it not a Jot the worse. I put some to make Coal-rakes, that they might go into the Water and rake a Hole in the Sand to let down our Rudder. The 6th we went about to hang it; and our young lustiest Men took it by Turns to go into the Water and to rake away the Sand, but they were not able to endure the Cold half a Quarter of an Hour, it was so mortifying; and use what Comforts we could, it would make them swoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern-Post, but then we were forced to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugged the upper Holes aboard, and fell to pumping the Water out of her again.

The 7th we wrought about our Rudder, but were again forced to give over, and so put our Cables over board with Messengers unto them, the Anchor lying to that Pass that we might keep her right in the Dock when we had brought her light. By the 8th at Night we had pumped all the Water out of her, so that at high Water she would float in her Dock, tho' she were still docked in the Sand almost four Feet. This made us consider what was to be done. I resolved to heave out all the Ballast; for the Bottom of her being so soaked all the Winter, I hoped was so heavy that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that Way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Masts, and so with our Casks to buoy her off. The 9th betimes in the Morning we fell to work, we hoisted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a Raft of it, fastening it to our Shore-Anchor. The Beer and Cyder sunk presently to the Ground, which was nothing strange to us, for any Wood or Pipe-staves that had laid under the Ice all the Winter would also sink down as soon as ever it was hove over board.

This Day we heaved out ten Ton of Ballast; and here I am to remember God's Goodness towards us, in sending those forementioned green Vetches; for now our feeble sick Men, that could not for their Lives stir these two or three Months, could endure the Air, and walk about the House. Our other sick Men gathered Strength also: And it was wonderful to see how soon they were recovered. We use them in this manner twice a Day; we went to gather the

the Herb or Leaf of those Vetches as they first appeared out of the Ground, and then we washed and boiled them, and so with Oil and Vinegar that had been frozen we eat them. It was an excellent Sustenance and refreshing; the most part of us eat nothing else. We likewise bruised them, and took the Juice of them and mixed it with our Drink: We also eat them raw with our Bread.

The 11th was very warm Weather, and we hung our Rudder. The Tides now very much deceived us, for a Northerly Wind would very little raise the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship. The 13th I resolved to know the Latitude of this Place; so having examined the Instruments and practised about it this Fortnight, I found it to be 52 Degrees 3 Minutes. The 14th we had heaved out all the Ballast, and carried all our Yards and every thing else on Shore, so that we now had the Ship as light as possible it could be.

The 15th we did little but exercise ourselves. By this Time our Men that were most feeble grew strong and run about, the Flesh of their Gums being settled again, and their Teeth fastened so that they eat Beef with their Vetches. This Day I went to our Watch-Tree, but the Sea, for any thing I could perceive, was still firm frozen, and the Bay full of Ice, having no Way to vent it.

The 16th was wondrous hot, with some Thunder and Lightning, so that our Men went into the Ponds ashore to swim and cool themselves, yet the Water was very cool still. Here had lately appeared divers sorts of Flies, as Butter-flies, Butchers-flies, Horse-flies, and such an infinite Number of blood-thirsty Musketoës, that we were more tormented with them than ever we were with the hot Weather. Those I think lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here are likewise infinite numbers of Ants and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land, but we durst not eat of them: They looked speckled like Toads. By this Time there were neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be seen.

30. The 17th the Wind came Northerly, and we, expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes put out our small Cable astern out at the Gun-Room Port, but the Morning-Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks by Stones, &c. and thought that the Water flowed apace: Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come ashore, I took all that were able to do any thing with me aboard; and at high Water, although she wanted something to rise clear out of the Dock, yet we heaved with such Good-will, that we heaved her through the Sand into a Foot and an half deeper Water, and further we durst not bring her; for the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moved her we all went to Prayers, and gave God Thanks that he had given us our Ship again. The 18th we were up betimes, the Cooper and some with him to bring fresh Water, myself with others to gather Stones at low Water, which we piling up at low Water, the Cockswain and his Gang fetched them aboard, where the Master with the rest stowed them to the Offing, by which means we could the better come and stop the two upper Holes firmly: After which we fitted other convenient Places to make others to sink her, if Occasion were.

The 19th we were all up betimes to work as afore specified. These two Days our Ship did not float, and it was a very happy Hour which we got her off, for we never had such a high Tide all the Time we were here. In the Evening we went up to our Watch-Tree; and this was the first Time I could see open Water any way except that little by the Shore-side where we were. This put us in some Comfort that the Sea would shortly break up, which we knew must be so to the Northward, seeing that Way we were certain there were about two hundred Leagues of Sea. The 20th we laboured as formerly, the Wind at North-north-west. The Tide rose so high that our Ship floated, and we drew her off into a Foot and half deeper Water. Thus we did it by little and little, for the Ice was still wonderfully thick round about us.

The 22d there drove much Ice about us and within us, and brought home our Stern-Anchor at high Water.

Notwithstanding all the Ice we heaved our Ship further off, that so she might lye afloat at low Water. The next low Water we founded all about the Ship, and found it very sound Ground. We discovered Stones three Feet high above the Ground, and two of them within a Ship's-breadth of the Ship, whereby did more manifestly appear God's Mercy to us; for if when we found her on Shore she had struck one Blow against those Stones, it had bulged her. Many such Dangers were there in this Bay, which we now first perceived. In the Evening we towed off the Ship into the Place where she rode the last Year, and there moored her, steering the Ship Night and Day, Flood and Ebb, among the dispersed Ice that came athwart us.

The 23d we laboured in fetching the Provisions on board, which to do we were forced to wade to carry it to the Boat a full Bow-shot, and all by reason the Wind was Southerly. This Morning I took an Observation of the Moon's coming to the South, by a Meridian Line of a hundred and twenty Yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks beforehand.

The 24th I took another Observation of the Moon's coming to the Meridian. I had formerly cut down a very high Tree and made a Cross of it: To it I now fastened uppermost the King and Queen's Pictures drawn to the Life, and doubly wrapped in Lead, and so close that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both these I affixed his Majesty's Royal Title, *viz.* Charles the first, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, as also of Newfoundland, and of these Territories, and to the Westward as far as Nova Albion, and to the Northward to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, &c. On the Outside of the Lead I fastened a Shilling and a Sixpence of his Majesty's Coin; under that we fastened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead, and under that the Arms of the City of Bristol: And this being Midsummer-day, we raised it on the Top of the Bar-hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows, by this Ceremony taking Possession of these Territories for his Majesty's Use. The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us, so that the Ship now rode among it in such apparent Danger, that I thought verily we should have lost her.

We laboured Flood and Ebb with Poles and Oars to heave away and part the Ice, but it was God that protected and preserved us; for it was past any Man's Understanding how the Ship could endure it, or we by our Labour save her. In the Night the Wind shifted to the Westward, and blew the Ice from us, which gave us some Rest.

31. The 25th in the Morning the Boatswain with a convenient Crew began to rig the Ship, the rest fetching our Provision on board. About ten o'Clock when it was something dark, I took a Launce in my Hand, and one with me with a Musket, and went to our Watch-Tree to make a Fire on the most eminent Place of the Island, to see if it would be answered. Such Fires I have formerly made to have Knowledge if there were any Savages on the Main or the Islands about us. Had there been any, my Purpose was to have gone to them to get Intelligence of Christians, or some Ocean Seas thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree I laid down my Launce, and so did my Consort his Musket, whilst I climbed up to the Top of the Tree. I ordered him to put Fire to some low Tree thereabouts. He unadvisedly put Fire to some Trees that were to Windward, so that they and all the rest too, by reason it had been very hot Weather, being dry, took Fire like Flax and Hemp; and the Wind blowing towards me, I made haste down the Tree; but before I was half-way down the Fire took on the Bottom of it, and blazed so fiercely upward that I was forced to leap off the Tree and down a steep Hill, and in short with much ado escaped Burning. The Moss on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and it run most strangely, like a Train along the Earth. The Musket and Launce were both burnt. My Consort at last came to me, and was joyful to see me, for he thought verily I had been burnt: And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire encreasing and burning most furiously.

I slept but little all Night after, and at Break of Day ordered all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard

this Day. I went to the Hills to look to the Fire, where I saw it still burn both to Westward and Northward, leaving one upon the Hills to watch it. I came home immediately, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea-side, ready to be cast in if Occasion were, and to make haste to take down our Houses. About Noon the Wind shifted Northward, and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word that the Fire followed him at his Heels, like a train of Powder. There was no Occasion to bid us pull down, and carry all to the Sea-side. The Fire came towards us with a most terrible rattling Noise, bearing a full Mile in Breadth; and by that Time we had uncovered our Houses, and going to carry away our last things, the Fire was come to our Town, and seized it, and, in a Trice, burnt it down to the Ground. We lost nothing of any Value, for we had brought all into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Condition, would sit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, and there stay. The Wind shifted easterly, and the Fire ranged to the Westward, seeking what it might devour. This Night we lay together aboard the Ship, and gave God Thanks, who had been thus merciful unto us.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our things aboard, as likewise our Water, which we sawed off with the Ebb, and sent it to the Ship, with the Flood; we were forced to go about the Eastern Point for Drift-wood, for the Tools were all so spent, that we could cut none. Therefore about three Days before I had caused our Pinnacle to be sawed to pieces, and with that we stowed our Cask, intending to burn it at Low-water; and such other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard, I employed in fetching Stones; and we built three Tombs over our three dead Companions, filling them with Sand, in a decent and handsome Manner. The least Tomb had two Tons of Stones about it. The 30th we earnestly continued our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by eleven o'Clock at Night had made a pretty Ship, meaning to have finished our Business with the Week and Month, that we might the better solemnize the Sabbath ashore, and so take leave of our wintering Island.

The Wind had been variable a great while, and the Bay so clear of Ice, that we could not see a Piece of it, for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping that it may give Content to some Readers, I will relate the Manner of the breaking of it up. It is first to be noted, that it did not freeze naturally above six Feet, the rest is, by Accident; such is that Ice, that you may see here six Fathom thick; this we had manifest Proof of, by digging the Ice out of the Ship, and by digging to our Anchors before the Ice broke up.

32. In May, when the Heat increaseth, it thaws first on the Shore by the Shore-side, which when it hath done round about, then the Courses of the Tides, as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their rising and falling, do so shake the main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath got room for Motion, then runs one Piece of it upon another, and so bruises and grinds itself against the Sholes and Rocks, that a Ship may run through it. Besides this, much of it is thrust upon the Sholes, where it is consumed by the Heat of the Sun. The Season of this Climate is most unnatural; for in the Day-time it will be extreme hot, nay intolerable, by Reason it is a sandy Country. In the Night again it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tubs about, and in our Houses; and all this towards the latter End of June. The Musketoos, upon our coming away, were insupportable. We tore an old Flag in Pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in, but it was no Fortification against them; they would find ways and means to sting us, that our Faces were swollen out in Pimples, which would so itch and smart, that we must needs rub and scar them; and these Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had endured before.

July 1632. The 1st of this Month we were up betimes, and I caused our Ship to be adorned the best we could. Our Flag in the Poop, and the King's Colours in the Main-Top. I had provided a short Account of all the

Passages of our Voyage to this Day. I likewise wrote in what State we were in at present, and how I intended to prosecute this Discovery, both to the Westward and to the Southward, about this Island. This brief Discourse I had concluded, with a Request to any noble minded Traveller that should take it down, or come to the Notice of it; that if we should perish in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus, with our Arms, Drums, and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went ashore, and first we marched up to our eminent Cross, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayers, and then walked up and down till Dinner-time. After Dinner we walked up to the highest Hills, to see which way the Fire had wasted; we descried that it had consumed to the Westward sixteen Miles at least, and the whole Breadth of the Island. Near our Cross and Dead it could not come, by reason it was a bare Sand. After Evening Prayer I happened to walk along the Beach-side, where I found an Herb resembling Scurry-Grass; I had some gathered, which we boiled with our Meat to Supper.

It was most excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we went to seek for more of it, which we carried off to the Quantity of two Bushels, which did afterwards much refresh us; and now the Sun was set, and the Boat came ashore for us; whereupon we assembled ourselves together, and went up to take the last View of our Dead, and to look to their Tombs, and other things. So fastening my Brief, which was securely wrapped up in Lead to the Cross, we presently took Boat and departed, and never put Foot more on that Island. This Island, and all the rest, as likewise the Main, is a light white Sand, covered over with a white Moss, and full of Shrubs and low Bushes, excepting some bare Hills and other Patches: In these bare Places the Sand will drive with the Wind like Dust. It is very full of Trees, as Spruce and Juniper, but the biggest Tree I saw was but a Foot and a Half Diameter.

At our first coming hither we saw some Deer, and killed one, but never any since; Foxes all the Winter we saw many, and killed some Dozens of them; but they went all away in May; Bears we saw a few, but killed none; we saw some other little Beasts. In May there came some Fowl, as Ducks and Geese, of which we killed very few; white Partridges we saw, but in small Quantities, nor had we any Shot to shoot at them. Fish we could never see any in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fish on the Shore-side, excepting a few Cockle-Shells, and yet nothing in them neither.

33. Sunday being the 2d of July, 1632, we were up betimes, about stowing and fitting our Ship, and weighing our Anchors; which, when the last was a Trip, we went to Prayers, beseeching God to continue his Mercy to us, and rendering him Thanks for having thus restored us. Our Ship we found no Defect in. We had abundance of such Provisions as we brought out of England, and we were in indifferent Health, and gathered Strength daily. This being done, we weighed and came cheerfully to sail. The Wind at North-west, bad to get away, wherefore we stood over to *Danby Island*, to take in more Wood, and there to be ready to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind. I went ashore with the Boat, for some of the Company had told me they had seen some Stakes the last Year driven into the Ground, where we came ashore, whilst some gathered Wood. I went to the Place, where I found two Stakes drove into the Ground a Foot and a-half, and Fire-brands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pulled up the Stakes, which were about the thickness of my Arm, and they had been cut sharp at the Ends with a Hatchet, or some other good Iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the Head of it. They were distant about a Stones-throw from the Waterside. I could not conceive to what purpose they should be there set, unless it were for some Mark for Boats. This augmented my Desire to speak with the *Savages*, for, without doubt, they could have given us Notice of some Christians with whom they had Commerce.

About four in the Evening I returned with a Boat's Lading

Lading of Wood, and the Wind something favouring, we weighed with our Lead, seeking out a Channel amongst those dangerous Sholes. In the Evening the Wind opposing itself, we came to Anchor betwixt *Charlton Island*, and that Island we named the last Year, in memory of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Thomas Cary*, one of the Bed-chamber to the King, *Cary's Island*, where we rid all Night. On the 3d, at Break of Day, we weighed, with a bare Wind, and, founding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four Fathom Water. The Wind larging upon us, we stood away West by Noon; we saw all the Ice Southward of us, endeavouring therefore to compass about the Western Point of *Charlton Island*, and so to seek to the Southward, we found it all Sholes, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon we saw the Western Land, but all full of Ice; whereupon, as the Wind favoured us, we stood along it in Sight to the Northward.

The fourth was calm, but so very thick and foggy withal, that we could not see a Pistol-Shot about us; we knew not which Way to turn us. Now to avoid telling the same thing twenty times, we were continually till the 22d so pestered and tormented with Ice, that it would seem incredible to relate it; sometimes we were so blinded with Fog, that we could not see about us; and we did so strike against the Ice, that the Fore-part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to Pieces. Indeed we did hourly strike such unavoidable Blows, that we left the Hatches open, and twenty times in a Day the Men would run down into the Hold to see if she were bulged. Sometimes when we had made her fast in the Night to a great Piece of Ice, we should have such violent Storms, that our fastning would break, and then the Storm would beat us from Piece to Piece most dreadfully; other times we should be fast inclosed among great Ice as high as our Poop: This was made, as I have formerly said, by one Piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten Fathom Water; besides which the Lowermost would rise from underneath, and strike us under the Bulge with Pieces of five, six, nay of eight Tons, that many times we have pumped clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump suck. Among these several and hourly Dangers, I overheard the Men murmur, and say, That they were happy that I had buried, and that if they had a thousand Pounds they would give it, so they lay fairly by them; for we, say they, are destined to starve upon a piece of Ice. I was forced to suffer all this with Patience, and to comfort them again, when I had them in a better Humour.

34. The 22d, having been vexed with a Storm all Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in thirteen Fathom Water. About Noon it cleared, and we saw the Land, and at that Instant had a good Observation, whereby we knew it to be the Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Master stand in with it, and in the mean Time we fitted a Cross, and fastened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Bristol* to it. We came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in six Fathom Water, so we hoisted out our Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went ashore. Upon the most eminent Place we erected the Cross; and then seeking about we soon saw some Deer, and by and by more and more. We stole to them with the best Skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran clear away from them at Pleasure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied ourselves, but to no purpose, neither could we come to shoot at them. I saw, in all, about a Dozen old and young, very goodly Beasts. We took half a Dozen young Geese on the Pools, by wading into them; and so returned to our Boat, vexed that we had found a Place where there were Refreshments, and we could get none of them. Whereas we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Misdemeanours (for they would steal our Meat out of the sleeping Tubs) in Hopes they might hereafter do us some Service; and see-

ing they now did not, and that there were no Hopes they could hereafter, I caused them to be left ashore. They were a Dog and a Bitch, Buck Dogs, of a very good Breed. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which, perhaps, hereafter may come to Light.

I saw no Sign of any *Savages*, nor could we find any Herbs, or other Refreshments here. In the Evening, being returned aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at South, I caused the Master to weigh, and come to Sail, and to lose no Time, for we hoped for an open Sea to the North-west. This Cape has a very Shole Point that lies off it, which we endeavoured to compass. Sailing therefore upon shattered Ice, we came to very shole Water, four and five Fathom deep, and could not avoid it. At length, standing North, the Water deepened, but we came withal among great Pieces of Ice, which by reason of some open Water there were a pretty Sea. These hard Pieces of Ice made a most dreadful Noise. It proved a fair Moonshine Night, otherwise it had gone ill with us. We turned among this Ice, staying the Ship, sometimes within her Length of great Pieces as bad as Rocks; but by Reason we were often forced to bear up, we let fall an Anchor, and stood all on the Decks to watch the Ice, sheering off the Ship to and again to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep ourselves so clear, but many Pieces came foul of us. We broke two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handled by four Men, besides some other Damage. At Break of Day we weighed and fought all ways to clear ourselves of Ice, but it was impossible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular Day's Passage, since they were much alike to us. Our Endeavours were sometimes with our Sails, giving and receiving five hundred dreadful Blows in a Day.

Sometimes we stopped at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water, and so suffer the Ice to drive to Leeward. Other times we should be enclosed among it, and then it would so break and rise, and leap up under us, that we expected every Hour to be beaten to Pieces. Besides we had such Storms in the dark Nights, as would break our Moorings we had made fast to some pieces of Ice, for Security in the Night Season; and then we were beat most dangerously from Piece to Piece till Day-light, that we could see to make her fast again. I forbear to speak of the Fogs which we had daily, which froze our Rigging Day and Night; besides all which, we should come into most uncertain Depths, sometimes twenty Fathom, next Cast ten, next fifteen, then nine, rocky foul Ground; the great deep Ice withal, driving on these uncertain Depths, did so distract the Tides, and deceive us so much in our Account, that by the 30th we were driven back so far to the Eastward, and to the Southward of the Cape, that at five o'Clock in the Evening it bore North-west of us some three Leagues off, contrary to our Expectations.

With all these Mischiefs, our Ship now became very leaky, that we pumped every half Watch. Here I called a Consultation, and after considering all our Experience, we were of Opinion that it was impossible to get to the Northward, or to the Eastward, by Reason of the Ice; wherefore I resolved upon this Course; when the Wind blew South, it would blow the Ice off the South Shore, then we would seek to get to the Westward, betwixt it and the Shore. I must confess that this was a desperate Resolution, for all the Coast we knew to be shole and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; so that if the Wind should shift to the Northward, there would be, without God's Mercies, little Hopes of us. But here we must not stay, the Nights grew long, the Cold so increased, that betwixt the Pieces of Ice the Sea would be frozen. I caused the Ship to be fitted, and Places again prepared to sink her a second Time, if so be, we were put to Extremities. We presently put our Project in Execution (the Wind being at South) and got about the Sholes of the Cape, standing then into the Shoreward, to get betwixt it and the Ice. We came into four Fathom Water (very foul rocky Ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But still there was so much Ice betwixt us

and

and the Shore, that we were forced to bear up against it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive among it; the Wind increasing we endured a most dangerous dark Night of it.

In the Morning we fell to work to get the Ship again out of the Ice into some clear Water, which we saw West by South of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice to heave her with their Shoulders, whilst others stood aboard with their Poles; the rest stood to fill and spill the Sail. By nine in the Morning we had got into some clear Water, and stood West and by South into four Fathom Water, foul Ground; but being not able to weather some Rands of Ice which drove, we were forced to stand off again, and when the Evening grew dark to come to an Anchor. About Midnight there came a great Piece of Ice (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made her drive and drag her Anchor: This drove her into shoal Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground: We brought the Cable to Capstang, and heaved with such a Courage that we heaved home our Anchor from under it. Thus we endeavoured the best we could to keep ourselves in eight or ten Fathom Water. It then pleased God that the Wind blew along the Shore, otherwise it had gone far worse with us.

35. *August 1632.* The 1st of this Month, at break of Day, when we could see all about us, we were forced to struggle again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the Shore, by reason the Wind was opposite, to come to an Anchor; we let the Ice drive to leeward, hoping there was a clearing Sea to the westward: The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one Piece came foul of us, which touched our Sprit-sail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we soon cleared ourselves of it. Then we weighed, and stood in nearer to the Shore; but the Water shoaled, and there were so many thick Rands of Ice betwixt us and the Shore that there was no coming to an Anchor, so we turned betwixt the Ice, many Pieces of it being aground in shoal Water, and few Pieces distant one from the other a Cable's Length: This Day we saw two Sea Mawes on the Ice. The 2d in the Morning we were glad at break of Day, having most dangerously turned among the Ice, and endured many a Blow; we stood in again to the shoreward, to see if we could get some clear Water; for to the northward it was all impassable Ice: We stood into five and four Fathom, but still all impassable with Ice, so we stood off again into deeper Water; and in the Evening we were inclosed with extraordinary great Pieces; it was a very thick Fog withal, so that we made fast the Ship to a great flat Piece and went to sleep, after our extreme Pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th we were inclosed among very great Ice, and it blew such a Storm of Wind that we, endeavouring to get forward to the westward, struck such heavy Blows that made all the fore-part of the Ship crack again; then we gave over working, and let her alone among it, but then the Ice would break and rise under us, and that endangered us as bad as the former. Our Ship made now above a Ton of Water every Watch, which we pumped out before our other Labour. God e merciful unto us among all these Dangers.

The 5th at Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees, the Cape bearing off us South-east by East, twelve Leagues off, and this all we have got since the 22d of July; all Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind at West-north-west, and about Midnight our Hawser (by which we made fast to a Piece of Ice) broke, and we lost four Fathom of it. We beat all Night most fearfully, being tossed from Piece to Piece, because in the Dark we durst not venture our Men to go on the Ice, for fear of losing them. All the 6th the Storm continued, and drove us again quite with the Ice almost to the Cape. The 7th was the most comfortable Day we had since we came out of our Wintering-place. The Wind came up fair at East, and we got, although with our former Inconveniences and Dangers, nearer the Shore, and into some open Water, making good way to the Westward. Add to this that our Leak now stopped of

its own Accord, so that we pumped but little. We sailed all Night, keeping good Watch on the Fore-castle, bearing up from one and loosing from another. Thus we did the 8th also; but then the Wind shifting to the North-west, it drove the Ice on the Shore, and we came to an Anchor in eight Fathom Water. The main Ice we had some two Miles to windward of us; but the Set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 34 Minutes. In the Evening a Range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh, and stand in nearer the Shore into six Fathom, and there come to an Anchor. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship drove, and was quickly in five Fathom Water, wherefore we let fall our Sheet Anchor, and both held her; but what troubled us was, we expected every Minute that the main Ice would come upon us, then there would be no Hope but to run on Shore.

The 9th in the Morning we weighed our second Anchor, the Ice being within less than a Mile of us. About eight in the Morning a Point of it came foul of us, which we prevented by weighing, and came to Anchor in three Fathoms and a Half Water. The Wind continued North-north-west, which was in on the Shore. This Morning I caused all our empty Casks to be filled with Water, and the Ship to be left unpumped, and the Place looked to that we had prepared to sink her, for we were at present in as apparent Danger as any time this Voyage, and to our great Grief it was all full of foul rocky Ground. The Danger of this was, if we made fast to a Piece of Ice that drew deep Water, then as soon as it came to Ground on the Rocks it would break all to Pieces and betray us to our Destruction. About Noon there came foul of us the Point of a Range of Ice, which we resolved to endure the Extremity of with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving some open Water beyond it; thrusting therefore, and fending with our Poles, at last a great Piece of Ice came athwart our Hawser, and there was a brisk Sea among it: The Ship now fell upon it so violently that I expected every Blow she would beat out her Bows; at length she drove with it so that I thought the Cable had been broke; we brought it to Capstang to heave it in, but found that our Sheet Anchor was broke in the Middle of the Shank. We presently set our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that Way to edge in amongst the Ice off of this dangerous Shore. It pleased God to favour our Labour so, that by eight in the Evening we got off into seven Fathoms Water, and a dark Night coming on we made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. It blew all Night, but at Midnight the Wind came up at North, which was more on the Shore than before.

By break of Day, on the 10th, we were driven into four Fathom very foul Ground, so that the Lead fell off the Rocks three or four Foot, we set our Sails and used our utmost Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to haul her, others stood with Poles to thrust by Night. At Night we got off to eight Fathoms, and made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. If any Man should ask, Why we kept so near the Shore in this continual Danger? I answer, because in the Offing, the Ice was so extraordinary thick that we could make no Way through it; besides, when we were in that great thick Ice, and the Wind came up fair at South, or South-east, or East, we could not get out of it; therefore we chose to run this Adventure, and so prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's Assistance, and our extreme Labour.

36. The 11th in the Morning was a thick Fog, yet there sprung up a Gale of Wind at East, and we made in for the Shore. From the 11th to the 14th the Wind continued fair, and we made all the Sail we could Night and Day as the Ice would suffer us; we had the Shore in sight by Day on one Side, and the Ice within two Miles on the other; and we sailed among dispersed Pieces loosing from one, and bearing up for another. The 14th at Noon we were in Latitude 57 Degrees 55 Minutes. In the Evening we were embayed in Ice, and stood South-east to clear ourselves of it, but could not; but seeing from the Topmast-head clear Water over it, we put up to it.

But

But there arose a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were forced to fasten to a Piece of Ice expecting Day, and better Weather.

The 15th in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we would endeavour to get out of the Ice, and stood away West; but within two Hours the Water shoaled from forty to twenty-five Fathoms; whereby we knew that we had the Shoaling of the western Shore. Then we shaped our Course to the northward; the Fog continued so thick, that we could not see a Pistol-shot about us. We had not stood this Way two Hours, but we heard a Rut of Ice ahead of us, which made the most hideous Noise of any I had heard this Voyage. We hauled our Tacks aboard, and stood to the westward in this Day-darkness; hearing it sometimes, and seeing it sometimes, which was very large, deep, and high Ice above the Water; we weathered it all except some few Pieces, and got into open Water. About Sun-set there came a sudden Gust at North-north-west, and before we could handle our Sails it was with us, and put us into some Trouble; it dallied with us, by Gusts, till nine o'Clock; and then it fell into a most violent Storm. We considered where we might have the clearest Drift, and so took in all, and let her drive her Head to the shoreward. Before Midnight the Water shoaled on us unto fifteen Fathoms.

Then we turned her Head to the eastward, and set our main Course low-set, but as much as she could bear. The Water deepened but little, and we knew that we were on those rocky Sholes which we struck on the last Year; God be merciful unto us. Here was the first great breaking Sea we had this Year. The 16th, in the Morning, we were driven to a great Rand of Ice; to avoid which we set our Force and Course too, and stood to the shoreward in fifteen Fathom Water, and then about again. We stood in a Mile to the Ice, but there was a great swelling Sea in it, that it was not durable; so we stood out again. About three in the Afternoon the Storm broke up, and blew fair at North-west, which produced Good for us, for we had not Drift for four Hours, besides, it was but five Leagues betwixt the Sholes and the Ice: We set all our Sails, and endeavoured to weather the Ice, but in the Evening we were still pestered with it. By Midnight we knew not which Way to turn, nor what to do; so we took in all our Sails, and let her drive among it. The Ice beat us on every Side, for there went among it a very great full Sea. The 17th in the Morning, when we could see about us, we were in the Midst of it; but in the last Storm it was all broken to Pieces, as big as a Boat of three or four Ton, which gave us many a heavy Blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us among it, it had broken us all to Pieces without God's miraculous Preservation. We made sail, and endeavoured to clear ourselves of it to the northward, which, by eight in the Morning, we had done; we then went to Prayer, and gave God hearty Thanks, that had delivered us out of it; for we were hourly, for the Space of six Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never had any; that I have heard of, been for such a Space in such long Nights upon a foul Shore, tormented with Ice, as we have been.

At Noon we were in 58 Degrees 20 Minutes. Now, as touching the Dissolution of the Ice, we found that this Storm had torn and shattered this Rand of Ice which was on the Outside, although it must have a long time to work into the main Body of it. I have in *July*, and in the Beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship and cut it square, two Foot, and put it into the Boat where the Sun shone with a very strong Reflection about it, and notwithstanding the Warmth of the Ship, for we kept a good Fire, and all our Breathings and Motion, it would not melt in eight or ten Days. It was our Practice, when we should be two Days together fast to a Piece of Ice, to set Marks to it, to see how it consumed, but it yielded us small Hope of dissolving; we could not in that time perceive any Diminution by the sinking of it, or otherwise; nevertheless, I think that it is ruined by Storms, or consumed by Heat some Years, or else the Bay would be choked up; but I confess these Secrets of Nature are past my Comprehension. Being out

of it (but we yet saw it from off the Decks to the Eastward) I ordered the Master to steer away North and by East, keeping the Shoalings of the western Shore. The 18th at Noon we were in Latitude 53 Degrees 36 Minutes.

37. The 19th we continued our Course betwixt the North-north-east, and the North and by East, and by Noon were in Latitude 61 Degrees 7 Minutes, some twelve Leagues off the Shore: I ordered the Master to shape his Course North-east, to look into that Place betwixt *Cary's Swans-nest* and *Ne plus ultra*. The 20th we were in Latitude 61 Degrees 45 Minutes. This Day we saw some few Seals about the Ship. The 21st the Water shoaled so that it was concluded we were near Land; but about Noon the Wind came up at North-east, directly opposite; we loofed as near as we could, and as it larged we came to stand East, and East and by North. The 22d we fell with the Land to the Westward of *Cary's Swans-nest*, where we had forty Fathoms three Leagues off. We stood in within a League of the Shore into eighteen Fathoms, and seeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compassed about it, it being *Cary's Swans-nest*, which is in the Latitude of 52 Degrees. All the 23d we sailed North-east, and, for the most part, in Sight of Land.

The 24th at Noon, by Judgment, we were in Latitude 69 Degrees 30 Minutes, having sailed a North-east Course: All this Day was a very thick Fog, which about one o'Clock cleared a little, so that I expected to see the Land; some of our Men, better sighted, spied it about two Leagues off. I knew it could be none other than *Nottingham Island*, though it was something contrary to the Expectation of our best Mariners: We stood in to make it, it was the North-end of it, and it bore off us due East; I was soon assured of it, and I ordered the Master to shape his Course North-west and by North. Both he and others were unwilling, but without much ado submitted themselves: It was very foul, thick Weather. The Reasons of my Resolution were these: The Time of the Year was far spent, and the Winter came upon us, therefore I would make the shortest Way betwixt the Lands already discovered. If I found an open Sea, I had my Desire, and then I intended to proceed to the utmost of our Power.

If I met with Land, I should then finish the Discovery, it being not above fifteen Leagues from Land to Land, and not above ten Leagues from *Nottingham Island* to the Main of the North Shore, we made what sail we could, it blowing a very stiff Gale of Wind till eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Topsails, and stood under our two Courses and Bonnets; at nine it blew a violent Storm at South-south-east, so that we took in our Forefail, and let her drive North-west. All Night it continued an extraordinary Storm; that we heaved the Lead every half Watch; but the Ship drove so fast that she would be past the Lead before there were two Fathoms of Line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal. The 25th the Storm continued, and so perplexed us, that there were but few that could sleep or eat for twenty-four Hours. About six in the Afternoon the Storm began to abate, yet there blew a fresh Gale of Wind between the South and South-west; we stood West-north-west, and made a North-west Way; when suddenly the Sea became very smooth. We reasoned thereupon among ourselves, What might be the Cause of it? We all thought it to be a Leeward Tide, nothing doubting what we afterwards encountered; the Ship had a very quick Way in the smooth Water.

38. The 26th by two in the Morning we were suddenly got among the Ice, and it pleased God that the Moon at that Instant gave us so much Light that we could see a little about us. We would have stayed the Ship, but it was so thick to the Windward, and so near us that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected Accident, and I verily believe did not escape striking the Length of a Foot against the Ice, as hard as Rocks, two or three times, as the Ship now having Way after twelve Leagues a Watch. Then we stood close by the Wind to the Eastward, expecting Day that we might see about

us. We could from Top-mast Head see the Ice from the North-north-west, the North-west, and so round about by the South to the East; and some there was to the Leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, and the Sea as smooth as a Wall amongst it. This struck us all into a Damp, whereupon I called a Consultation of my Associates, namely, *Arthur Price*, Master; *William Clements*, Lieutenant; *John Whittered*, Master's Mate; *Nathaniel Bilson*, Chirurgeon; and *John Palmer*, Boat-swain; requiring them to advise and counsel me how to prosecute our Business to Effect. These went all together and reasoned amongst themselves, and then brought me their Opinions in Writing under their own Hands, *viz.* Our Advice is, that you repair homeward from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons:

First, That the Nights are long, and so extreme cold withal that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, The Season is now subject to stormy and gusty Weather, as witness the present, it having continued a Storm ever since the 24th, and yet doth continue no Weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudson's Straights* be so clear of Ice that it may be passable in convenient Time, Winter coming on apace, before we are frozen up, seeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea. Fourthly, We must have fair Weather to pass the Streight, for which we may stay a long Time, if we neglect the first Opportunity. Fifthly, Our Ship is so very leaky that in foul Weather we are forced to pump every Glass, which is great Labour. Moreover, we know her to be so bruised with Rocks and Blows of the Ice that she is no more to be adventured among it, but in saving our Lives homewards. Besides all this our Men grow very weak and sickly with extreme Labour. Sixthly, The Season of the Year is so far spent that we can expect no other Weather than we have had both lately and at present; that is to say, Snow and Fog freezing our Rigging, and making every thing so slippery that a Man can scarce stand, and all this with the Wind Southerly, which if it should come to the Northward then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and lastly, That the Ice lies all in thick Rands and Ranges in the very Way we should go, as you and all Men here may see; and therefore we conclude as aforesaid, that there is no Possibility of proceeding further: Wherefore we now counsel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage to return to our native Country, if we take Time and not tempt him too far by our Wilfulness.

Indeed most of these Difficulties were in view, and I could not reasonably oppose them, nor any Reason could I give for proceeding further; wherefore with a sorrowful Heart, God knows, I consented that the Helm should be borne up and a Course shaped for *England*, hoping that his Majesty would graciously consider our Endeavours, and pardon our Return. And although we have not discovered populous Kingdoms, and taken special Notice of their Magnificence, Power, Policy, &c. brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities, pried into Mysteries of their Trade and Traffic, nor made any great Fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I hoped that our Willingness in those desert Parts may be acceptable to our Readers.

When we bore up Helm we were in Latitude 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, at West-north-west and by North from *Nottingham-Island*. Some were of Opinion that we were farther to the Northward; but by reason it was my Judgment, I chose to set down the lesser Distance. The 27th the Wind came up at North-west, with which we could not have gone on with our Design. That Wind made no great swelling Sea. By Noon we were athwart of *Cape Charles*, so that we went in between that Cape and *Mill-Islands*. The last Night it snowed very much, and was very cold, so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered with Snow. And here it will not be amiss to consider the Reasons of it: When I was upon *Charles-Island* (our Wintering-place) and in *June* when the Snow was clearest off the Ground, I have in the Nights, and some of them following the hottest Days, observed whether there fell any Dew or no, but I could never perceive any, and from Moss and

Sand little I thought was to be expected. Now of what was exhaled from the snowy Ice and cold Sea could there probably be returned but the like again? Generally we continued on our Course blinded with Fog and dirty Weather, and that intermixed with Snow and Frost among dispersed Pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-mast Head. With great variety of Windfalls we were driven within three Leagues of both Shores; so that the last of this Month we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about fifteen Leagues over; the South Shore was much pestered with Ice.

September 1632. The 1st and 2d we endeavoured to get on our Way. The 3d in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we saw the South-End of the *Island Resolution*. These three Days and Nights had been extreme cold with Fog and Frost, insomuch that our Men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top and Sprit-sails. We have sailed through much mountainous Ice, far higher than the Top-mast Head, but this Day we sailed by the highest I ever yet saw, which is incredible indeed to be related. Now as the Wind comes Easterly, we feel another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion than she hath done with any that we ever observed to come out of the Westward. From the 3d to the 8th we had variety of Winds, and were got clear out of the Straights, but were now come into such a tumbling Sea, the Weather dirty and windy, and by Intervals calm again, that the Ship did so labour and roll that we thought verily she would have rolled her Masts by the Board. This made her so leaky that we were forced to pump every Glass; nay, her Seams so opened aloft that we lay all wet in her.

39. This was the last Day we saw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us we made all the Haste we could homeward, by the Way having endeavoured, observed, and experimented some Things in this our unfortunate Voyage. I perfected my Observations, which being afterwards commanded to publish, I here most submissively offer unto the judicious Reader. What hath been long ago fabled by some *Portuguese* that should have come this Way out of the South Sea, the mere Shadows of whose mistaken Relation have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity; these Hopes have stirred up from Time to Time the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom to research that merely imagined Passage. For my part I give no Credit to them at all, and as little to the vicious and abusive Wits of later *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who never speak of any Difficulties, as Shole-Water, Ice, nor Sight of Land, but as if they had been brought home in a Dream or Engine; and indeed their Discourses are found absurd; and the Maps by which some of them have practised to deceive the World mere Falsities, making Sea where there is known to be main Land, and Land where there is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, that by the Industry of our own Nation those northern Parts of *America* have been discovered to the Latitude of 80 Degrees or upwards; and it hath been so curiously done, the Labours of several Men being joined together, that the main Land may be seen and searched; and they have brought this supposed Passage to this Pass, that it must be to the North of 66 Degrees of Latitude, a cold Climate, pestered with Ice and other Inconveniencies, and where the *Spaniards* Dispositions and their weak Ships can hardly endure it: And withal it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudson's Straights* is but fifteen Leagues broad, and in the Middle not so much; and between *Salisbury Island* and the Main it is but eight Leagues. Then proceeding to the Northward toward the forementioned Latitude, it is but fifteen Leagues from Main to Main. This in Length is about a hundred and forty Leagues, as will more plainly appear by the Map, and infinitely pestered with Ice until *August*, and some Years not passable then; and I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice entirely. Now it is most probable there is no Passage for the following Reasons; First, There is a constant Tide, Flood and Ebb, setting in to *Hudson's Straights*, the Flood still coming from the Eastward, which, as it proceeds, correspondent to the Distance, it alters his Time of full Sea. This also entering into Bays and broken Ground, it becomes disturbed, and oversets with Half-Tides.

Tides. Secondly, Here are no small Fishes, as Cod, &c. and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen, nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horses, or other great Fish to be found on the Shore, nor any Drift-Wood.

Thirdly, we find the Ice in the Latitude 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, to be lying all over the Sea in Rands, and I am most certain that the Sholes, and Shole Bays, are the Mother of it. Had there been any Ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to Pieces, for so we found it coming through the Streight into the Sea, to the Eastward. Fourthly, The Ice seeks its Way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's Streight*; which I have often observed upon the Island of *Resolution*, and driving among the Ice in the Streight. Admit there were a Passage, yet it is known that it is narrow for one hundred and forty Leagues, and infinitely pestered with Ice, as every one has found who has gone that Way; comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando*, in *Japon*; and the Distance between *Japon* and the Western Part of *California*; with the Observations taken at *Charlton Island*, referring all to the Meridian of *London*; and then the Distance betwixt the Meridians of *Cape Charles*, and the Western Part of *California*, will be found to be about five hundred Leagues, in Latitude 66 Degrees, where yet the Meridians incline very much together. To this may be added, that near about *Cape Charles* the Variation is 29 Degrees to the West, which is a probable Argument that there is much Land to the Westward, and that this Streight must be very long, and that you have no Time to pass it, but in *August* and *September*; when the Nights are so long, and the Weather so cold, that it will not be bearable. Add to this, that neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure the Ice, and other Inconveniencies, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, one thousand Leagues is sooner sailed to the Southward, and about the *Cape de Bona Speranza*, where the Winds are constant, and that with Safety, than one hundred in these Seas, where you must daily run the Hazard of losing Ship and Lives. Add hereunto that Comfort for the Sick, or Refreshment for your Men, here is none to be had in these Quarters. Towards the latter End of *August*, and in *September*, the Weather grows tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small Hopes of performing your Voyage this Way. But let us, by way of Imagination, enlarge this Streight in this Latitude, and free it of Ice. Yet what Advantage in speedy Performance will be got by this Passage, if the Winds be withal considered, to *Japon*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia*? It may be the nearer Cut, but in Navigations the farthest Way about is well known, in fewer Days, to be performed, yea with lesser Pains, and more Safety of Ship and Goods. Again to the *East-Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greatest Commerce and Employment of Shipping, the other Way is as near.

What Benefit of Trade might have been obtained in those Northern Parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of? Holding that there is a great Difference betwixt those Parts, and the Northern Parts of *America*, whereas I am sure that there is none in any Place where I have been in all this Voyage.

40. "Before we proceed to the Account our Author gives us of his return home, it will be requisite to consider the Force of his Arguments against the Probability of finding any such Passage; because, if they were as conclusive as he imagined, they must absolutely prove that all future Attempts of this kind, are weak and rash in themselves, and will appear absolutely absurd and ridiculous in their Consequences. In this respect, however, we differ from him. And though we are very far from pretending, That Captain *James's* Temper might be so far sowered by Disappointment, as to mistake things difficult for things impracticable; yet we may have leave to say, that the want of Success in his Voyage, had some Influence on his Judgment; because it is very evident that he now treated as light and idle Fables, these *Portu-*

guese Relations, which he had formerly considered as carrying a great degree of Evidence; for otherwise one can hardly account for his taking up the Opinion of a North-west Passage, and that so strongly, as to offer his own Service for the Discovery of that Passage. Let us next then consider the Reasons by which he refutes the *Portuguese* Relations.

"He says, First, that they proceed from their Vanity; next, that they are inconsistent with Experience; and, Lastly, that their Maps and Charts are false and groundless, and therefore not to be trusted. With respect to the first, if what the *Portuguese* delivered, had been the pure Effects of a vain-glorious and boasting Temper, their Government would not have suppressed such Relations, but rather have taken Pains to discover their Falshood, which had been no difficult Task, and would have effectually answered their Purpose; for at this Time there was no Nation in the World so much concerned in Point of Interest, to discredit the Belief of a North-west Passage, as the *Portuguese*. If, therefore, the Pilot before-mentioned, published, as perhaps he did, an Account of his Passage through this Streight, out of Vanity; the Court need only have shewn that the Fact was false, as, if it had been so, was in their Power, and it had done their Business; whereas the calling in, and suppressing his Book, was a kind of Proof, that what he said was true. As to the Inconsistency of such Accounts, because they do not mention any Hardships sustained in the Voyage, or Troubles that they met with from Ice and Snow; we should be able to speak of them more clearly, if we had those Accounts, or if we were sure that Captain *James* had himself perused them at large any more than we.

"But supposing the thing as he states it, perhaps we shall not find any good Cause to conclude that they talked idly, and as if they came in an Engine, because they mentioned no such Difficulties. It is very possible, That Voyages between the same Places may be performed at very different times, and under very different Circumstances: As for Instance, the *Spaniards* sail from *Acapulco* to *Manilla*, in thirteen Weeks; but from *Manilla* to *Acapulco*, is commonly a Voyage of thirty Weeks; in sailing to *Cape Breton*, in the Summer Months, able Seamen steer one Course, but when they go later in the Year, they steer another; and by this Management they generally avoid any Difficulties in either Season.

"We do not know at what Season of the Year the *Portuguese* Pilot made his Voyage through the North-west Streight, but we know that he sailed in a pretty high Latitude; and as he tells us, had a fair Wind through the whole Passage; if so, there is nothing improbable in supposing that he reached the Streight in the same Time, that the *Spaniards* make the same Transit from the *West* to the *East Indies*, and then there is nothing strange in his reaching *Newfoundland* in sixteen Weeks, which will account for his arriving at *Lisbon* a Month sooner than the Fleet that came home by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and if he came through the North-west Streight in the Month of *August*, which is also very probable, he might not be much incommoded by the Ice.

"Besides, we know that Captain *Candishe* made the Tour of the Globe, in much less Time than any other Circumnavigator; and we find some Voyages round *Cape Horn*, much more easy and fortunate than others; so that if this *Portuguese* Pilot was remarkably lucky, the thing is very possible, and there is no Ground at all for denying the Fact, because hitherto no other Man has met with the same Success. As to false Charts and Maps, we are far from denying the Fact, but we know another Reason has been given for this, directly opposite to, and yet no less probable than, that assigned by Captain *James*, viz. that by these false Representations they may conceal this Passage from the Knowledge of Strangers, and discourage them from looking for it. This last Reason may be supported by Facts, because it is apparently against their Interest

“ to have such a Passage discovered, and because we
 “ have authentic Proofs that the *Spaniards* have actually
 “ taken all the Precautions in their Power, to guard
 “ against the *English* coming, by this North-west Passage,
 “ into the South Seas.

“ As to what he says of the Coasts being examined as
 “ far as the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and that all the
 “ Coasts of *America* had been searched, as far as 80 De-
 “ grees, by *Englishmen*, is only in Part agreeable to Fact;
 “ some great Navigators having, indeed, failed so far,
 “ and reported that they had examined the Coasts, but
 “ it has been since found that they had not done this, at
 “ least, very accurately; and that it was very possible,
 “ and very probable too, that the Streight lay to the
 “ Southward of 66 Degrees; neither is this a Matter yet
 “ cleared up, for other Sea Officers who have been sent
 “ upon this Expedition, have fallen into Captain *James's*
 “ Sentiments, and upon their Return have reported the
 “ Coasts thoroughly searched, and no Streight to be met
 “ with.

“ The thing, indeed, is natural enough; for when a
 “ Man has attempted the Discovery of this Passage, and
 “ failed, why should he not endeavour to console him-
 “ self, by pretending to have discovered that all former
 “ Hopes were in vain, and that in reality there is no such
 “ Passage to be found? By this he secures a Reversion of
 “ Fame, and exchanges one kind of Reputation for
 “ another; if he cannot be transmitted to Posterity as a
 “ fortunate Man, he may, at least, transmit the Me-
 “ mory of his Prudence, by which an Error long receiv-
 “ ed was detected. But if we should ever resolve to be
 “ satisfied, at all Events, of the Truth of the Fact, not-
 “ withstanding Disappointments at Sea, it must be by
 “ fixing Colonies upon *Hudson's Bay*, and offering a
 “ large Reward to any that should have Boldness enough
 “ to traverse the Countries behind the great Lakes, and
 “ bring us an Account of them, which would effec-
 “ tually clear up all our Doubts and Difficulties; which
 “ till this be done, or the Passage discovered by Sea,
 “ must remain still, and prove, as fatiguing to Poste-
 “ rity, as they have been to past and present Ages.

“ But let us now proceed to the rest of his Argu-
 “ ments. As to the Regularity of the Tides in *Hudson's*
 “ Bay, subsequent Discoveries shew plainly, that not
 “ only no Argument can be drawn from them against a
 “ Passage, but quite the contrary; for *Hudson's Streight*,
 “ at the Entrance, is only thirteen to fourteen Leagues
 “ wide, from the South-side to *Resolution Isle*; and a
 “ small Channel, some Leagues wide, to the Northward
 “ of that Island, in which is no great Current; it runs
 “ in the Entrance about five or six Miles an Hour, and
 “ rises about eighteen Feet at Spring-Tide. At *Cape*
 “ *Charles*, in the Middle of the Streight, it is about
 “ fifteen Leagues wide, and has there lost nigh half its
 “ Force. At *Cape Diggs*, the West End of the Streight,
 “ it is about twenty Leagues wide, and is still more
 “ diminished in its Height and Current; and when it
 “ enters the Bay at *Cary's Swans Nest*, it rises but six
 “ Feet. Now it is very reasonable it should be diminish-
 “ ed so; when it is considered what Space it has to fill
 “ in its Course so far, for there is a great Bay or Inlet
 “ on the South-west-side, within *Button's Isle*, and se-
 “ veral others betwixt *Cape Charles* and *Cape Diggs*, and
 “ great Inlets on the North-side; and the Streight be-
 “ ing one hundred and forty Leagues in Length before
 “ it reaches the Bay, it requires a great Current even to
 “ fill the Streight; when to these is added the Space it
 “ has to fill in the great Bays and Inlets above *Mill Isles*,
 “ by *Cape Comfort*, and *Westland's Portland*, it may be
 “ easily conceived to be almost spent, before it passes
 “ *Mansell's Isle* and *Cary's Swans Nest*.

“ How then is it possible that a Tide or Current, run-
 “ ning through so narrow a Passage, only five or six
 “ Miles an Hour, which is not above thirty Miles each
 “ Tide, should raise a high Tide, not only for one hun-
 “ dred and forty Leagues, besides all the Bays and In-
 “ lets on each Side the Streight, and above *Mill Isles*, but
 “ also fill a great Inland Sea, above eight hundred Miles
 “ long, and five hundred broad; and after it is expand-

“ ed in the Bay, and the Current lost, should be able
 “ to raise a Tide on the West and North-west Side of the
 “ Bay, from twelve to sixteen Feet, nay sometimes to
 “ twenty-two Feet? And if *Norton* and *Scroggs* are to
 “ be believed, even to five Fathom, and Occasion such
 “ rapid Currents, as at *Brook Cobham*, *Marble Island*,
 “ *Wager River*, &c. so as to run there from four to six
 “ and seven Miles an Hour, if only filled from *Hudson's*
 “ Streight; when at the same Time the Tide flowing
 “ through *Davis's Streights*, which are above forty
 “ Leagues wide up into *Baffin's Bay*, in Latitude seventy
 “ eight Degrees, does not there exceed five or six Feet
 “ any where. Since therefore no other inland Sea has any
 “ sensible Tide, and even the Tide in the South End of
 “ *Hudson's Bay*, does not rise above four Feet without a
 “ strong Wind at North; how can these high and rapid
 “ Tides beat the North-west Side, without a Communi-
 “ cation with some other Ocean than that which flows
 “ through *Hudson's Streight*? When it is also known
 “ that a North and North-west Wind raises a higher
 “ Tide on the West-side of the Bay at neap Tides, than
 “ an Easterly or South-west Wind does at Spring-Tides,
 “ which blows from our Ocean; does not that almost
 “ amount to a Demonstration, without further corobora-
 “ ting Proofs? And yet of these there want not many, as
 “ the Reader will see as we proceed in answering his
 “ Reasons.

“ His second Objection is, that no Fish, more especi-
 “ ally Whales, are to be met with in these Seas, or
 “ Drift-wood; whence he infers they have no Commu-
 “ nication with the Ocean Westward. This Objection
 “ is very just in itself, and well founded, neither can it
 “ be denied that it proves very strongly, that no such
 “ Passage was to be expected near *Charlton Island*; but
 “ when this is admitted and allowed as a negative Ar-
 “ gument, it follows that the contrary, *viz.* the seeing
 “ Fish, more especially large ones of the Whale kind, is
 “ an Indication of such an Opening, Passage or Streight,
 “ and a Proof that there is a Communication between
 “ the two Oceans in this Bay. But we know from all
 “ the later Voyages into this Bay, that on the North-
 “ west there are abundance of Whales, though it is true
 “ there are none in other Parts of the Bay; whence, ac-
 “ cording to Captain *James's* Method of Reasoning, it is
 “ plain such a Passage there is; and as from about sixty
 “ Degrees to that Inlet, which Captain *Middleton* called
 “ lately *Wager River*, those great Fish abound most, it
 “ is very rational, on the Principles laid down by both
 “ these great Seamen, to conclude that this Passage is
 “ somewhere thereabouts. Thus it plainly appears,
 “ that when duly weighed, this Objection extends no
 “ farther than to the Seas and Country about *Charlton*
 “ *Island*; and as it affords a Proof there is no Passage there,
 “ it also affords a Presumption that such a Passage there is
 “ on the North-west Side of the Bay; where, for many
 “ other Reasons, it was most likely to expect it.

“ His next Motive for concluding no Passage, is the
 “ Quantity of Ice, and its driving Eastward. But, in re-
 “ spect to this, granting him all he lays down, it proves
 “ nothing. For as to the vast Quantities of Ice formed
 “ in that Part of the Bay, where he navigated, no doubt,
 “ as he observes, it proceeded from Shore-water, and
 “ there is as little Doubt that this Ice passes out at the
 “ Streights; but this signifies but little, since the very
 “ same thing happens in regard to *Magellan's Streights*
 “ into the South Seas, where no stronger Signs are to be
 “ met with than here. I must, upon this Occasion, ob-
 “ serve, that if *Magellan's Streights* had not been disco-
 “ vered at once, there might have been as many, and as
 “ strong, Reasons given, why no such Passage should have
 “ been expected at the South Pole, as our Author, or any
 “ other Man, could alledge against this Passage by the
 “ North-west; which ought certainly to afford us a Cau-
 “ tion against too hasty Conclusions upon this Subject, let
 “ them be grounded on any Reasons or Authority what-
 “ ever. For though human Reason is sufficient to give
 “ us a just Sense of the Wisdom of the Creator, in dis-
 “ posing all Parts of the terraqueous Globe, yet we know
 “ by Experience, that Reason is not always capable of
 “ penetrating

penetrating the Disposition of the different Parts of the Globe, independent of Discoveries which frequently owe as much to Accident as to Reason: In regard to Authority, *Americus Vespucius*, who had the best Genius for Theory of any Man of his Time, and gave his Name to the new discovered Continent, not because he first found it, but because he first laid it down handsomely in a Map, and was mistaken in reference to the Southern Passage; therefore though we may allow Capt. *James* to be as great a Man, in doing which perhaps we pay him no great Compliment; yet this will give no great Sanction to his Authority; for he may as well be mistaken in the North, as the famous *Florentin* in the South: Besides, Disappointment gives a Bias to most Mens Opinion, and, Why may we not suppose something of this in both Cases? The Passage from the *North Seas* into the *South*, by the *Streights* before mentioned, and the Coast to the Northward in the same Latitudes, resembling, in all Respects, that to the Southward, being low broken Islands before a bold rocky Shore, suggests very naturally, that there is some such Passage there.

But after laying down these Reasons, Capt. *James* very plainly discovers how much they have operated upon his own Mind, and to how great a Degree he is satisfied no North-west Passage is to be found; he attacks the very Expediency of finding it, and seems to think it an Argument there is no such Passage, because he has wrought himself into a Notion that it would be of no great Consequence, if there was such a Passage. Why be it so: But there was no sort of Occasion for making his perilous Voyage into *Hudson's Bay*, to know this; he might have said all that he has said against the Expediency of enquiring any farther after the North-west Passage, without stirring from *Bristol*. It is therefore manifest, that his failing in his hoped-for Discovery changed his Mind, and induced him to see Things in a different Light, than he did before; because otherwise, those very Arguments which he urges at last against making any future Attempts on this Side were as strong, to have dissuaded his going. If before he went he never thought of, or regarded, these Arguments, he did not sufficiently weigh and examine the Nature of the Expedition in which he risked his Life, and on which he set his Reputation at Stake. But if he had (which is certainly much more probable) taken Pains to examine all these Reasons; then his very going, his wintering, and the Constancy he shewed in aiming at the Prosecution of the Discovery afterwards, visibly demonstrate those Reasons made no Impression on him then; if they had, he would have staid at home, and never have given the King, or the *Bristol* Adventurers, such Encouragement as was requisite for the fitting him out for that Voyage; but this we must own would be not much to the Purpose, if the Reasons he gives us were absolutely conclusive; for whether he bethought himself of them first or last, makes nothing for or against the Reasons themselves; but it so falls out that when maturely considered, they will be found to have very little or no Weight at all. As to the Narrowness, or Inconvenience, of the Streight, if there be one, that is mere Matter of Conjecture, so is the Length of it; the Hardships of the Voyage are now known to be very inconsiderable; and as to its being no shorter Rout to the *East-Indies* than by the *Cape of Good Hope*, no body ever said that it was. He acknowledges it is much nearer to the *South Seas*, to *Terra Borealis Incognita*, to *Japon* and *China*, which is all that is desired, and more than sufficient to recommend it.

It is clear enough, from the Whole of Capt. *James's* Account that he had a very indifferent Opinion of his Expedition, and considered it in no other Light than as tending to satisfy the *English* Nation, that it was to no sort of Purpose to venture any more Vessels into those Seas, and upon those Coasts, upon that or any other Design; for it is plain that he thought a more barren, a more inhospitable, and more worthless, Part of the World was not to be found; yet Ex-

perience has since shewn us, that as wild and waste as the Countries about *Hudson's Bay* were and are, yet they have been found to deserve both Notice and Keeping; and I dare say, have produced this Nation full as much, if not more, than the Colony of *Canada*; strictly and distinctly considered, ever did to the *French*; which is a Proof that no Man's Authority ought to be regarded where it tends to discourage a Nation from extending its Navigations or Discoveries. It is not intended by this, to lessen the Reputation of Capt. *James*, or that Esteem which his Work has very justly procured him from the very best Judges. There is no doubt, that he did what he could, and much more than most other Men could have done; and there is as little Reason to doubt, that he spoke what he thought, and what he spoke was upon good Grounds; but notwithstanding this, we see he was mistaken, and mistaken in many Respects. He doubtless conceived, that a more perilous Navigation could not be, and that it would be a very difficult Thing to send Ships into this Bay constantly without losing them; yet this is a Thing now so common, that there is nothing of Wonder in it; he apprehended that there must be always an infinite Difficulty in sailing amongst Mists and Ice, but we see from Capt. *Middleton's* Letters, that there is now very little in this, and that the Seamen and Officers used to the *Hudson's Bay* Trade, have so far overcome all Inconveniencies, that taking it with every Circumstance, there is, perhaps, no Navigation now used, so safe as this; and from the Account he has given us of his Wintering, we may very fairly infer, that he never so much as suspected that an *English* Factory would be settled in a higher Latitude than *Charlton Island*, and yet the Factory of *Fort Churchill* has subsisted for many Years. There is one Passage in his Voyage which shews his very great Sagacity; for by pulling up some Stakes in a desert Island, and perceiving they were cut by a sharp Instrument, he judged that the Savages must have had some Communication with Christians, in which he judged very right; but it was near half a Century after, before this Riddle could be explained, or any body could guess, that these Savages had those Hatchets from the *French*.

But to return to the North-west Passage. The Experience we have of these Countries has convinced us of many things, that to Captain *James*, without doubt, after his Return from this Expedition, would have appeared absurd and incredible. As for Instance, that the Continent West and North-west from *Charlton Island*, is inhabited by several Nations, and that the most Northern of these Nations are the best clad and the most civilized. Amongst these there is a Nation, distinguished by the Name of the *Mosemleek Indians*, who are not only a very rational People themselves, but who constantly affirm, and there is no Reason to suspect that they affirm a Falshood, there are large Towns, and a civilized People, to the North-west of them, who trade upon a large salt Lake, in Vessels twenty times as big as their Canoes; and what Nations may live beyond these, is, indeed, to us uncertain; but this is very certain, that if there be a North-west Passage they must inhabit the Coasts of it; and there never yet was a Country found inhabited, but it was found also that those Inhabitants might be traded with to Advantage. But this is not all, the opposite Coast must, very probably, be inhabited too, and it is very likely that the Streight that falls into the *South Seas*, may be under a Climate, milder, in many respects, than *Charlton Island* in the Summer. Upon the whole, therefore, all the Difficulties and Discouragements, which, from too strong a Sense of his own Disappointment, Captain *James* has conjured up, sink to nothing, when duly considered and compared with the Circumstances that later Discoveries have brought to light; so that there seems to be no Reason his Conjectures should have any Weight to deter us from prosecuting Attempts on this Side, even though they should still continue to prove, in several Instances, as they have hitherto done, abortive.

“ These Reflections may, to some Readers, appear long, but I hope to very few they will appear useless or unentertaining; for I will freely confess, that if I had not intended these Reflections, I would not have inserted this Voyage, though in all respects the best of its kind that ever was written. But the Excellency of *Ramusio's* Collection, is allowed to consist in his Remarks; and without Remarks, this Voyage, as well written as it is, might do a great deal of Mischief. Nay, I am persuaded did do a great deal of Mischief; for from the Time of his Return in 1632, to 1667, there never was any Voyage made into these Parts, nor probably ever would have been made, but for the Sagacity of Mr. *Montague*, our Embassador in *France*, afterwards Duke of *Montague*, and Father to the present Duke, both eminent Friends to the Commerce of this Nation. He it was that furnished us with the first Lights that revived our Correspondence to *Hudson's Bay*, to which Captain *Guillam* was sent in 1668, and we have been possessed of the Trade thither ever since. A Trade granted to private Persons, by a Charter in Trust for the public Benefit, which was to arise from their Endeavours to find a North-west Passage; which public Advantage they have neglected in the very same Proportion they have been studious after their own; a thing so very common with Companies, that they might certainly be acquitted, if Custom could be esteemed a just Excuse. Yet from their settling a Trade in these Parts, it has been found extremely advantageous, as drawing to their Factories *Indians* from very distant Countries, who bring them very rich Furs, but who declared also that a much larger Trade might be carried on, provided their Factories were more in Number, and fixed more conveniently; nay, they have brought down and sold, at some of the Settlements, Copper Oar, so very rich, that by barely beating it between two Stones, it has been reduced into Metal. But neither what they saw, nor what they heard, could tempt them to alter their Manner of proceeding; they judged, and no Question judged right, that as they were circumstanced, the Method they are in was the most beneficial that could be, and that by extending their Commerce they must open it, and so render it less beneficial.

“ All this was natural enough, and I do not repeat it here (for I know that I have touched it often before) out of any Spirit of Malice or Ill-will; for I really wish the *Hudson's Bay* as well as I do any Company; but only as it makes for my Purpose; which is to shew that notwithstanding Capt. *James* was a very honest Man, a very experienced Seaman, and one who very probably had no private Views; yet, in his Conclusions from this his perilous Expedition, he was absolutely wrong, and by his Authority gave Credit to many Falshoods, of which these Instances may suffice:

1. He thought the Hardships in navigating these Seas, and wintering on these Coasts, were invincible; but we know the contrary.
2. He judged the Country so barren as to furnish no Subsistence, and the Inhabitants so poor as to have nothing worth seeking; in both which Experience shews he was mistaken.
3. He firmly believed, that if any Streight was discovered more to the North than about the Place he wintered, it would be impassable, and its Coasts uninhabited; but we are satisfied this is groundless, from the many Openings discovered along the *Welcome*; and their being all in the Neighbourhood of very friendly and tractable *Indian* Nations.
4. He was clearly satisfied, that from what he had seen and discovered in his Voyage, there no longer remained any Hopes of finding such a North-west Passage through *Hudson's Bay*. But here too his Art failed him; for even Capt. *Middleton*, who I think his Equal as a Mariner, thought it highly probable, till very lately.
5. He does not appear, from what he has written, to have had any distinct Notion of what Part of the World he was in, or how the Countries lay round about him; but to the present Navigators all this is very clear and certain; we know that from *Canada* to *New Mexico*,

“ and probably even to *California*, is all one Continent, the West-side of which only remains undiscovered; and we further know, that all that has been hitherto found, agrees exactly with, and is every way conformable to, the Notions that have been entertained of such a North-west Passage, and even with all the traditional, and other kind of Accounts, that we have received of it. But having now made this Piece as useful as we can, without curtailing or interpolating it; let us return to Captain *James's* Conclusion; and having attended him through his long and dangerous Voyage, his cold and comfortless wintering, his difficult and wonderful Passage homewards, let us see him safe ashore, and so take our leaves.”

41. The 22d of *October* we arrived in the Road of *Bristol*, having been hindered and crossed with much contrary and tempestuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and haled on dry Ground, to look to her, it was there found, that all her cut Water were torn and beaten away, together with fourteen Feet of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruised, and much Timber cracked aboard, and under the Starboard bulged; sharp Rocks had cut through the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an Half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were besides; so that it was miraculous how this Vessel could bring us home again. Being all arrived we went to Church, and gave God Thanks for his Preservation of us amidst so many Dangers. I very well know that what I have here hastily written, will never discourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this so long-tried Action to absolute Effect; and it is likely withal, that there be some who have a better Understanding, and a surer Way of prosecuting it than myself have, to whose Designs I wish a happy Success.

And if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more celestial Observations, hydrographical Descriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation, it will be a most commendable Labour; for although I have spent some Years of my ripest Age, in procuring Intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travelled with diverse honourable and learned Personages of this Kingdom, for their Instructions; have bought up whatever I could find in Print or Manuscript, and what Maps or Papers soever conducive to this Business, that possibly I could procure; and have served voluntary besides, and spent some time in rendering a Relation since my coming home, and expended withal, of my own Money, in my afore said Endeavours, and in furnishing extraordinary Necessaries, above 200 *l.* in ready Money; yet I repent not, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, that I am able to give an Account, in some reasonable Way, of those Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well satisfied in.

Thus ends this Voyage, which, as I have hinted before, has been several times abridged, and more than once reprinted at large, but never, that I know of, complete, and as it stands in the original Edition of 1633; which is the Reason this Book has been so much valued. I have seen many Copies that concluded with Professor *Gellibrand's* Observations astronomical; but I never met with more than one Copy that had the Address to the University of *Cambridge*; which, though printed in a different Character, and in such a Manner as if it were a Piece by itself, yet is thus mentioned in the Title Page of this Book: *An Advice concerning the Philosophy of these late Discoveries*, by W. W. though the Discourse itself is subscribed X. Z. Who was the Author of it I cannot say; but whoever he was, it is plain that he had the Correction of Captain *James's* Work, and was himself, for those times, a Person of surprizing Knowledge and Freedom of Thought; and therefore I judged the preserving this little Piece, by reprinting it, would be highly agreeable to all true Lovers of Learning; and therefore it is here subjoined.

To the venerable ARTISTS, and younger STUDENTS in Divinity, in the famous University of *Cambridge*.

“ You Nobly-witted, and Ingeniously-studied, Academians,

demians, whose Excellency, in all kind of Learning, all foreign Universities do admire, and none attain unto. I here present you a Voyage to *Cholcos*, though not the *Golden Fleece* with it. The Search I mean, but not the finding, of that so much talked of, so often fought for, *North-west Passage*, and nearer Way into the *South Sea*. That wherein so much Time and Treasure hath been expended, so many brave Spirits employed, and yet none discovered. Perchance there is no such Passage to be found; and that the Spaniards, by the Gullery of their false Sea Cards, and the Fable of an old Greek Pilot, have but diverted our English and Dutch Seamen from the Golden Indies. This Plot of theirs has taken for these many Years, and it appears to be but a Plot; for that themselves never made use of this Passage. For mine own Part, I suppose that the *Philosopher's Stone* is in the *North-west Passage*. My Argument for it is, that there is so much Philosophy in the Way to it.

So much and such Variety, and that so various (I think) from what is received in the Schools, that it were well worth the Disquisition of an University (and I wish you the first Honour of it) either to find out how these Observations may be reduced to Aristotle's Philosophy, or whether they need any other Enquiry, and ought to be examined by some other Rules than Aristotle hath yet lit upon. This is my Purpose of inscribing it unto you. Of this one thing am I confident, That you are all so rational and ingenuous, as to prefer Truth before Authority; *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, but magis amica veritas*. Your Sciences then being liberal, your Studies I know have so far passed into your Manners, that your Minds are so too; and that such as have already profited beyond the Credulity required in a young Learner, and are themselves prompted to be Masters of the Arts, though they still reverence their old Greek Tutor, yet they will not suffer that of Pythagoras's School, so to domineer in Aristotle's, as to let an *ipse dixit* go away with it; much less allow it the Authority of a Mayor's Hammer, with one Knack to silence all Arguments.

Upon this Confidence, I, with all due Respects, here prefer two Propositions unto your discussing. The first this, *Whether these Rules of Aristotle's Philosophy be to be allowed so universal, that they hold all the World over*. The second this, *Whether they ought to be so magisterial as to prescribe against all other Examinations*. The first of these I shall but problematically propound unto you; but in the second, I hope a Man of my cloathing may be allowed the Freedom of being something more earnest.

But that I may not come with Prejudice to the making of these Motions, or be thought upon some Ignorance or Ambition to speak against the incomparable Aristotle, I shall desire all my fellow Academians to allow me so much Discretion, as to know, That he that shall in your Hearings, oppose your Aristotle, does like the Ship here spoken of, run against a Rock, endanger his own Bulge, and the staving of his Vessel. No, I so far honour the old Aristotle, that I will allow him to be Master and Moderator of the Schools; and that there is the same Respect due to him in the Schools, which, by Reason of long Custom, is due to one of the King's Ships in the narrow Seas. That in Acknowledgment of Sovereignty, every other Name ought to strike Sail to him. Aristotle (it must be confessed) hath made all Learning behold to him. No Man hath learned to confute him, but by him, and unless he hath plowed with his Heifer. He had the most incomparable Wit, and was the most logical and demonstrative Deliverer of himself, of all the Sons of Nature. One who best of all deserved to be called her principal Secretary: One who not only adorns a Library, but makes it *Qui habet Aristotelem, habet Bibliothecam*, is truer of him than of the great Comparer. This is my Opinion of him, and I wish him more studied.

'Tis not therefore the Name, or the Authority, of the great Aristotle, that my Propositions meddle with-

al; but whether his Propositions, gathered out of this Part of the World alone, could, like a royal Pass, or a Commission, carry a Man all the World over.

It must be confessed, that in respect to the Equinoctial, and the Latitude that Aristotle lived in, he was but a Northern Man, and it was his own Rule, that *nihil agit extra Sphaeram activitatis suae*, so then it would be put to Voices to consider, whether he that knew but those Northern Parts, and the Mediterranean Sea, could possibly make such Collections by what was there to be learned, as should be infallible in the Southern Hemisphere, and the two Indies. Plainly, those that are conversant in the Navigations and Books of Voyages into those Parts, have found so many Contrarieties to observe, that it was rather tedious than difficult to fill up a Note-Book with them.

The Ancients we know (as if they had measured the World by the Yard-Wand) restrained the Limits of Temperature and Habitation by the five Zones, without Consideration of any interloping or concurring Causes, which Experience hath now found out to have quite altered their Observations. I add, that a good Leisure and Diligence might observe how, in a contrary Part of the World, there be found clean contrary Causes and Effects unto these in this Part of the World. The South Wind there brings Cold, and Winter; and the North is the rainy Wind. How will the Thunder and Wind be made to agree with Aristotle's Distinction of a Meteor? In some Places of the Mountains Andes, by Peru, it thunders ever. The East Indies have their Monsoons, and their Steady Winds, constant for six Months together, and Who shall assign their Causes? Then the Doctrines of the Tides, nothing so uncertain which ebb and flow in some Places different, and in others contrary to the Moon and her Motions. This (as I remember) is Aristotle's Distinction of a Meteor; that it is an imperfect mixed Body generated out of an infirm and inconstant Concretion of Elements, which therefore cannot be durable. Now the Monsoons are both constant in their Continuance this Year; and in their Return next Year, most constantly keeping their Seasons half Year one Way and half another Way, for all Ages nothing more constant and durable, and therefore nothing like Aristotle's Meteor. And so for the Thunder upon the Andes; it is first perpetual; and secondly, not caused by a dry Exhalation (as Aristotle wills); but hanging over such Hills as are covered with Snow, and a perpetual Winter; witness the Thunder on the Alps also; yea, and that in the Middle of the Sea, five hundred Leagues from Shore, or any thing that is dry; nay, it frequently both snows and thunders upon the Andes at the same Instant; and in dry Places, that are hard by, scarce ever thundering.

But not to pass the Line for it: You see in this little Book how Charlton Island, which is no more northerly than your Cambridge, yet is so unsufferably cold that it is not habitable, and that there encounter so many different (at least so seeming) Occurrences of Nature, as were well worthy the Disquisition of a Philosopher. I could (in my small Reading) instance in many other Particulars, which I had rather should be found out by some industrious Searchers after Nature in the modern Relations of our Discoverers, than in this my short Proposition. 'Tis not to be doubted but that the careful reading of our Books of Voyages would more illustrate the History of Nature, and more conduce to the Improvement of Philosophy than any Thing that hath been lately thought upon. These Navigations have in part fulfilled that of the Prophet: *Many shall pass to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased*. This I suppose might be observed from this Study, That the great and infinite Creator hath so disposed and varied every thing, that it is impossible for Man's Reason and Observation to conclude him; and therefore though the vulgar and received Philosophy may give a Man a general Hint all the World over; yet no universal and unfailing Certainty.

This brings me to my second Proposition: That seeing God will not have his Works (no more than his Kingdom)

dom) to come by Observation, *Whether then ought any Human Dictates to be so magisterial as to prescribe against all other Imagination?*

"No Human Study more conduces to the setting forth of *God's* Glory, than the Contemplation of his great Works in *Philosophy*; for though a smattering Knowledge in *second Causes* works the Mind towards Atheism, yet a higher Speculation of them brings it about again to Religion. No Man I believe will think it fit for us to have a Pope in *Philosophy*, one that no body shall presume to censure; but all be bound to advance his Decretals above the holy Scripture. This is the Scandal that myself and divers good Men take at the undue Authority in some Heats pinned upon the *Stagerite*.

"I am sorry that the *Israelites* Dotage upon *Solomon's* *Philosophy*, should have caused the zealous *Hezekiah* to call in and suppress those invaluable *Physicks*, for fear, I suppose, lest their Credit should have as much derogated from the Authority of the holy Scriptures, as the brazen Serpent (which he destroyed about the same time) had done from Religion; none will believe that *Solomon's* *Philosophy* was contrary to the Scriptures, seeing the Scriptures commend *Solomon* for them. It was not *Hezekiah's* Fear therefore (or not only) lest there might have been a Competition between them, but a Neglect of one of them: He was zealous, lest the Scripture might have any Writing set upon by it, though not against it.

"Can Divines then be blamed for speaking, when they hear *Aristotle's* *Philosophy* to be solely magnified, and the Study of the Scripture *Philosophy* disrespected; or, that when 'tis confessed that such a Thing is true in Divinity, and yet the moderating the Point determine for *Philosophy*? Nay, to hear it called absurd and ridiculous to have Scripture urged at all in Point of *Philosophy*? No doubt there is *but whatsoever is false in Divinity is also false in Nature*, how much Shew of Truth soever it passes within *Philosophy*: *Philosophy* hath taken its Turn in the Schools, and the holy Texts, by the Schoolmen, have even been submitted unto *Aristotle's*; yea, to the great Corruption of Theology, as the Complaint is, hath this Man been so far advanced, that *Contra est Philosophus, & contra est Apostolus*, have familiarly passed up and down for equal Oppositions; so that it hath been a measuring Cast oftentimes, betwixt the Prophet and the Peripatetic; and by foul Play hath the Measure been made to stand the harder at the Peripatetic, for that the Prophet hath been forced to comply with him by a wrested Interpretation. Thus had St. Paul need give his Caveat unto Theology as well as unto Theologues; Beware lest any Man spoil you through *Philosophy*.

"All this were to no Purpose, unless the Text of God were excellent in this Kind, and embellished here and there with most admirable *Philosophy*; what incomparable rare Footsteps of it have we in the Books of *Genesis*, *Job*, and the *Psalms*? How noble a Study then were it, and how worthy the Leisure of some excellently learned Men to bestow some Time upon it? *Valesius* the Physician hath, in his *Sacra Philosophia*, done something in this Kind, who yet might have done better here and there for the Honour of the Scriptures. I am not so sottish, to believe that every Particular is to be drawn out of the Scriptures; 'tis none of my Dotage that; or that God, in Scripture, did intend every where the Accurateness of *Philosophy*, or stand to be so curious in Definitions and Discussions;

nor that nothing should be determined on till a Text confirmed it. But this perchance might profitably be thought upon; that where the Scriptures have any thing of this Kind, it should more reverently be esteemed; Collections out of scattered Places (as is done out of *Aristotle's*) made; these compared, and their Resultances observed. This surely would amount to more than is yet thought of; and in God's Name let Scholars be so bold with *Aristotle* as to examine him upon good Assurance by what is *Truth's Touchstone*: Received *Philosophy* is a most necessary Handmaid to the Scriptures; but let her not be set above her Lady; nor no Competition be made betwixt them.

"Something else remains to be thought of. That seeing the same God who gave *Aristotle* these good Parts, hath, in like Manner, raised up many excellent Spirits more; whether it were not injurious to what is done, and a Discouragement to what might be done, to have the Inventions, or Observations, of those excellent Wits, and great Industries, so abashed with *Aristotle's* Authority, that they can have no Credit in the World; for that his Dictates have pre-occupied all good Opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal to examine the first Cogitations of the old *Philosophy*, by the second Thoughts of our more modern Artists; for that the same Improvement may by this means accrue unto the *Physicks*, that hath advanced our *Geography*, our *Mathematics*, and our *Mechanics*; and let it not be thought so insolent to refuse *Aristotle's* Authority singly, where his Reason is not so concluding. Seeing other Men have taken the Boldness to do that before in several Kinds; some have perfected, and others controlled his *Ethics*, by the Scriptures, as *Scultetus Wallæus*, and some others. *Justin Martyr*, surnamed the Philosopher, hath purposely written *contra Dogmata Aristotelis*. *Basson* and *Gassendus* (two brave Men) have newly written point-blank against him, nor have they taken away all Liberty from those that are to follow them.

"And thus, with renewing my former Protestation for mine own Respect to *Aristotle*, I conclude my two Propositions; which I desire may receive a favourable Construction from all ingenuous, incapricious Scholars; I mean them out of Good-will to promote Learning; to encourage and countenance future Undertakings; and, in such a Case, a little too much saying may be thought not to have exceeded an honest Rhetorication; for I would not be thought too earnest in it. The Hint, for all this, I took from this Book, which in mine own, and some better, Judgments, is (to say no more) as well done, and enriched with as sure and useful Observations, as any in this kind. I was desired by the able Author, and some other Friends, to overlook the written Copy of it, and to amend the English here and there, in which I did not despair of doing something: For that in my younger Time, I had a little acquainted myself with the Language of the Sea, that which put me in the Head to inscribe it unto your Names (most excellent learned Academicians) was, for that the Place of this wintering was within a Minute or two of the Height of our Cambridge: Which my Prayer to God is, that your Studies may make famous.

"Yours,

"X. Z."

SECTION IV.

The late ATTEMPTS made for the DISCOVERY of a PASSAGE to the SOUTH SEAS, from Hudson's Bay; more particularly that of Captain CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop the Furnace.

Interpersed with original Papers.

1. *The Reasons why there have not hitherto been any great Discoveries made from Hudson's Bay, notwithstanding our Settlements in, and Trade thereto.*
2. *Captain Christopher Middleton's accurate and curious Account of the strange Effects of Cold; the Nature of Animals, and manner of living on the Coasts of Hudson's Bay.*
3. *Mr. Middleton enters into a Correspondence with Arthur Dobbs, Esq; for the Discovery of a North-west Passage.*
4. *Reasons assigned by him, to shew the Probability of finding such a Passage, which actually produced this Voyage.*
5. *An Account of the Undertaking, and of the Impediments thrown in the Way, to hinder Captain Middleton's going, or meeting with Success, in Case of attempting this Discovery.*
6. *Captain Middleton's Journal of his Voyage for Discovery, from his Departure to his Return.*
7. *The Point of Fact as to the Streight, by him called Wager River, more clearly stated, with Copies of original and amended Declarations.*
8. *An Account of Mr. Dobbs's Exceptions taken to the Relation given by Captain Middleton of his Discoveries, and Opinion grounded on them, that there is no Streight, or that it is not practicable.*
9. *Mr. Dobbs's Reasons why the River Wager ought rather to be considered as a Streight; Captain Middleton's Answer, and Replies, to them.*
10. *Captain Middleton's positive Proofs that this Opening is a fresh Water River, and not a Streight, communicating with any Ocean or Sea, except Hudson's Bay; with Refutations of those Proofs.*
11. *An Account of a late Act of Parliament, for encouraging the Discovery of a North-west Passage.*

IN the two foregoing Sections, we have given the Reader as full and as fair an Account as it was in our Power, of the Motives which induced the most knowing and able Persons, in the last Century, to suppose that a Passage might be found, through *Hudson's Bay*, into the *South Seas*; and how this Notion, after prevailing long, and being generally entertained, grew into Discredit, by the Miscarriage of Captain *James*, and by the Account he gave of the Nature and Causes of his Disappointment. We have also touched upon the Foundation of the *Hudson's Bay Company*; but having considered that Point more largely in another Place, we thought there was no Necessity for dwelling upon it here. In this Section we propose to speak of the late Expeditions made that Way, and particularly of Captain *Christopher Middleton's*, which has afforded Occasion to the Legislature to pass a Law for encouraging Attempts for this Discovery, which sooner or later there is great Reason to hope will be attended with Success.

One would have imagined, that after the Company was established, for carrying on the Trade to *Hudson's Bay*, with a View to the finding a North-west Passage, continual Attempts would have been made for that purpose, agreeable to the Petition upon which that Charter was granted, and to the Preamble of the Charter itself, which has been so often mentioned; but so far has this been from the Practice of the Company, that they have taken all Methods possible to prevent the Notion of a Passage being found that Way from reviving in the World, by preventing their Captains from publishing their Journals; and as by their Charter they have an exclusive Trade, if they do nothing in this Matter, it is impossible any body else should. There was, indeed, one Captain *Barlow* employed for this Purpose about twenty Years ago, but he was never heard of more; and whether he made the Passage, and never returned, or whether he was lost as the Company's Servants report, in the Latitude of 63 Degrees, is what we can give no Account of, at least with any Degree of Certainty. The Reader will hereafter find some Account of another Attempt, made by Mr. *John Scroggs*, which, though not attended with Success, was far from giving any Discouragement to future Endeavours of the same kind. But what gave Occasion to the last Attempts, was the Informations received from Captain *Middleton* before-mentioned.

This Gentleman had been for many Years in the Service of the *Hudson's Bay Company*, which gave him an Opportunity of making all the Enquiries necessary, and acquiring all the Lights possible, to direct him in an Affair of this Nature; and of his Capacity and Knowledge

in this respect, the Reader will find an ample Testimony in the following Extract of a Relation delivered by him, to the worthy Sir *Hans Sloane*, then President of the Royal Society; from whom he received the Prize Medal, which, by the Will of the late Sir *Godfrey Copley*, is annually bestowed by the said Society. A Relation equally curious in itself, and extremely suited to our Purpose; as it very fully shews how much better we are now qualified for making Discoveries in those frozen Climates, than in the Days of Captain *James*; and how far the Difficulties, which that Gentleman looked upon as insupportable, are in the present Age overcome. But this Paper has so much Merit, that it really needs no farther Introduction.

2. It is observed that the Hares, Rabbits, Foxes, Partridges, in September, and the beginning of October, changed their native Colours to a Snowy-white, and that for six Months in the severest Part of the Winter. I never saw any but what were white, except some Foxes of a different Sort, which were grizzled, and some half red half white.

That Lakes and standing Waters, which are not above ten or twelve Feet deep, are frozen to the Ground in Winter, and the Fish therein all perish.

Yet in Rivers near the Sea, and Lakes of a greater Depth than ten or twelve Feet, Fish are caught all the Winter, by cutting Holes through the Ice down to the Water, and therein putting Lines and Hooks. But if they are to be taken with Nets, they cut several Holes in a strait Line, the Length of the Net, and pass the Net with a Stick fastened to the Head-line from Hole to Hole, till it reaches the utmost Extent; and what Fish come to these Holes for Air, are thereby entangled in the Net; and these Fish, as soon as brought into the open Air, are instantly frozen as stiff as a Stock-fish. The Seamen likewise freshen their salt Provisions, by cutting a large Hole through the Ice in the Stream, or Tide of the River; which they do at the Beginning of the Winter, and keep it open all that Season. In this Hole they put their Salt-meat, and the Minute it is immersed under Water, it becomes pliable and soft, though before its Immersion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Venison, that are killed at the Beginning of the Winter, are preserved by the Frost for six or seven Months, entirely free from Putrefaction, and prove tolerable good eating; so likewise Geese, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the same time, and kept with their Feathers on, and Guts in, require no other Preservation but the Frost, to make them good wholesome eating, as long as the Winter continues. All kind of Fish are preserved in the like Manner.

In large Lakes and Rivers the Ice is sometimes broken by imprisoned Vapours, and the Rocks, Trees, Joists, and Rafters of our Buildings, are burst, with a Noise not less terrible than the firing off a great many Guns together. The Rocks which are split by the Frost, are heaved up in great Heaps, leaving large Cavities behind, which I take to be caused by imprisoned watery Vapours that require more room when frozen, than they occupy in their fluid State. Neither do I think it unaccountable, that the Frost should be able to tear up Rocks and Trees, and split the Beams of our Houses, when I consider the great Force and Elasticity thereof. If Beer or Water is left in Mugs, Cans, Bottles, nay, in Copper Pots, though they were put by our Bed-sides in a severe Night, they were surely split to Pieces before Morning, not being able to withstand the expansive Force of the inclosed Ice.

The Air is filled with innumerable Particles of Ice, very sharp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked Eye. I have several times tried this Winter, to make Observations of some celestial Bodies, particularly the Emerfions of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, with reflecting and refracting Telescopes; but the Metals and Glasses, by that Time I could fix them to the Object, were covered a quarter of an Inch thick with Ice, and thereby the Object rendered indistinct; so that it is not without great Difficulties that any Observations can be taken.

Bottles of Strong-Beer, Brandy, strong Brine, Spirits of Wine, set out in the open Air for three or four Hours, freeze to solid Ice. I have tried to get the Sun's Refraction here, to every Degree above the Horizon, with *Elton's* Quadrant, but to no Purpose, for the Spirits freeze almost as soon as brought into open Air.

The Frost is never out of the Ground, how deep we cannot be certain. We have dug down ten or twelve Feet, and found the Earth hard frozen in the two Summer Months; and what Moisture we find five or six Feet down, is white like Ice. The Waters, or Rivers, near the Sea, where the Current of the Tides flow strong, do not freeze above nine or ten Feet deep.

All the Water we use for Cooking, Brewing, &c. is melted Snow and Ice. No Spring is yet found free from freezing, though dug never so deep down. All Waters on Land are frozen fast by the Beginning of *October*, and continue so till the Middle of *May*.

The Walls of the House we live in are of Stone, two Feet thick; the Windows very small, with thick wooden Shutters, which are close shut eighteen Hours every Day in Winter.

There are Cellars under the House, wherein we put our Wines, Brandy, Strong-Beer, Butter, Cheese, &c. Four large Fires are made in great Stoves, built on purpose; every Day, as soon as the Wood is burnt down to a Coal, the Tops of the Chimnies are close stopt with an Iron Cover. This keeps the Heat within the House (though at the same Time the Smoak makes our Heads ach, and is very offensive and unwholesome.) Notwithstanding which, in four or five Hours after the Fire is out, the inside of the Walls of our House and Bed-Places will be two or three Inches thick with Ice, which is every Morning cut away with a Hatchet. Three or four times a Day we make Iron-Shot, of twenty-four Pounds weight, red hot, and hang them up in the Windows of our Apartments. I have a good Fire in my Room the major Part of the twenty-four Hours; yet all this will not preserve my Beer, Wine, Ink, &c. from freezing.

For our Winter-Dress we make use of three Pair of Socks, of coarse Blanketting, or Duffel for the Feet, with a Pair of Deer-Skin Shoes over them; two Pair of thick *English* Stockings, and a Pair of Cloth Stockings upon them; Breeches lined with Flannel; two or three *English* Jackets, and a Furr Coat, or rather Gown, over them; a large Beaver Cap, double, to come over the Face and Shoulders, and a Cloth of Blanketting under the Chin; with Yarn Gloves, and a large Pair of Beaver Mittens, hanging down from the Shoulder before, to put our Hands in, which reach up as high as our Elbows. Yet notwithstanding this warm Cloathing, almost every Day, some of the Men that stir abroad, if any Wind blows from the Northward, are dreadfully frozen. Some have their

Arms, Hands, and Face, blistered and frozen in a terrible Manner, the Skin coming off soon after they enter the warm House, and some have lost their Toes. Now their lying indoors for the Cure of these frozen Parts, brings on the Scurvy in a very lamentable Manner: Many have died of it, and few are free from that Distemper. I have procured them all the Help I could, from the Diet this Country affords in Winter; such as fresh Fish, Partridges, Broths, &c. and the Doctors have used their utmost Skill in vain; for I find nothing will prevent that Distemper from being mortal, but Exercise and stirring abroad.

Coronæ and *Parbelia*, commonly called *Halos* and *Mock-Suns*, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are seen once or twice a Week about the Sun, and once or twice a Month about the Moon, for four or five Months in the Winter; several *Coronæ* of different Diameters appearing at the same Time.

I have seen five or six Parallel *Coronæ* concentric with the Sun, several times in the Winter, being for the most Part very bright, and always attended with *Parbelia* or *Mock-Suns*. The *Parbelia* are always accompanied with *Coronæ*, if the Weather is clear, and continue for several Days together, from the Sun's rising to his setting. These Rings are of various Colours, and about 40 or 50 Degrees in Diameter.

The frequent Appearance of these *Phænomena*, in this frozen Clime, seems to confirm *Descartes's* Hypothesis, who supposes them to proceed from Ice suspended in the Air.

The *Aurora Borealis* is much oftner seen here than in *England*; seldom a Night passes in the Winter free from its Appearance; they shine with a surprizing Brightness, extinguishing all the Stars and Planets, and covering the whole Hemisphere. Their tremulous Motion from all Parts; their Beauty and Lustre are much the same as in the Northern Parts of *Scotland*, *Denmark*, &c.

The dreadful long Winters here, may almost be compared to the Polar Parts, where the Absence of the Sun continues for six Months; the Air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the Northerly Winds in Winter, and the cold Fogs and Mists obstructing the Sun's Beams in the short Summer we have here; for notwithstanding the Snow and Ice is then dissolved in the Lowlands and Plains, yet the Mountains are perpetually covered with Snow, and incredible large Bodies of Ice, continue in the adjacent Seas. If the Wind blows from the Southern Parts, the Air is tolerably warm, but insufferable cold when it comes from the Northward; and it seldom blows any otherwise, than between the North-east and the North-west, except in the two Summer Months, when we have for the major part light Gales, between the East and the North, and Calms. The Northerly Winds being so extremely cold, is owing to the Neighbourhood of high Mountains, whose Tops are perpetually covered with Snow, which exceedingly chills the Air passing over them. The Fogs and Mists that are brought here from the Polar Parts in Winter, appear visible to the naked Eye, in Icicles innumerable, as small as fine Hairs or Threads, and pointed as sharp as Needles. These Icicles lodge in our Cloaths, and if our Faces or Hands are uncovered, they presently raise Blisters as white as a Linnen Cloth, and as hard as Horn: Yet if we immediately turn our Backs to the Weather, and can bear our Hand out of the Mitten, and with it rub the blistered Part for a small Time, we sometimes bring the Skin to its former State, if not, we make the best of our Way to a Fire, and get warm Water, wherewith we bathe it, and thereby dissipate the Humours raised by the frozen Air, otherwise the Skin would be off in a short Time, with much hot ferous watery Matter, coming from under it along with the Skin; and this happens to some almost every time they go abroad, for five or six Months in the Winter; so extreme cold is the Air when the Wind blows any thing strong.

Now I have observed, that when it has been extreme hard Frost, by the Thermometer, and little or no Wind that Day, the Cold has not near so sensibly affected us, as when the Thermometer has shewed much less freezing, having a brisk Gale of Northerly Wind at the same Time. This Difference, perhaps, may be occasioned by those

those sharp-pointed Ificles before-mentioned, striking more forcibly on a windy Day than in calm Weather, thereby penetrating the naked Skin, or Parts but thinly covered, and cause an acute Sensation of Pain or Cold. And the same Reason, I think, will hold good in other Places; for should the Wind blow Northerly any thing hard for many Days together, in *England*, the Ificles that would be brought from the Polar Parts, by the Continuance of such a Wind, though imperceptible to the naked Eye, would more sensibly affect the naked Skin, or Parts but lightly covered, than when the Thermometer has shewn a greater degree of freezing, and there has been little or no Wind at the same Time.

It is not a little surprizing to many, that such extreme Cold should be felt in these Parts of *America*, more than in Places of the same Latitude, on the Coast of *Norway*; but the Difference I take to be occasioned by the Winds blowing constantly here, for seven Months in the twelve, between the North-east and North-west, and passing over a large Tract of Land, and exceeding high Mountains, &c. as before-mentioned. Whereas at *Drontheim* in *Norway*, as I observed some Years ago in wintering there, the Wind all the Winter comes from the North and North-north-west, and crosses a great Part of the Ocean, clear of those large Bodies of Ice we find here perpetually. At this Place we have constantly, every Year, nine Months Frost and Snow, and unsufferable Cold, from *October* to the Beginning of *May*. In the long Winter, as Air becomes less ponderous towards the polar Parts, and nearer to an Equilibrium, as it happens about one Day in a Week, we then have Calms and light Airs all round about the Compass continuing sometimes four and twenty Hours, and then back to its own Place again, in the same Manner as it happens every Night in the *West Indies*, near some of the Islands.

The Snow that falls here is as white and small as Dust, but never any Hail except at the Beginning and End of Winter: Almost every Full and Change of the Moon, very hard Gales from the North.

The constant Trade-Winds in these northern Parts, I think undoubtedly proceed from the same Principle which our learned Dr. *Haley* conceives to be the Cause of the Trade-Winds near the Equator; and their Variation. "Wind, says he, is most properly defined to be the "Stream or Current of the Air, and where such Current "is perpetual and fixed in its Course, it is necessary that "it proceed from a permanent and unintermitting Cause, "capable of producing a like constant Effect, and agree- "able to the known Properties of Air and Water, and "the Laws of Motion of fluid Bodies. Such an one is, "I conceive, the Action of the Sun's Beams upon Air "and Water, as he passes every Day over the Oceans, "considered together with the Nature of the Soil, and "Situation of the adjoining Continents: I say therefore, "first, that according to the Law of Statics; the Air "which is less rarefied and less ponderous, must have a "Motion towards those Parts thereof which are more "rarefied, and less ponderous, to bring it to an Equi- "brium," &c.

Now that the cold dense Air, by reason of its greater Gravity, continually passes from the solar Parts to the Equator, where Air is more rarefied, to preserve an Equilibrium, or Balance of the Atmosphere, I think is very evident from the Wind in those frozen Regions blowing from the North and North-west, from the Beginning of *October* until *May*; for we find that when the Sun, at the beginning of *June*, has warmed those Countries to the Northward, then the South-east, East, and variable Winds continue till *October* again; and I do not doubt but the Trade-Winds and hard Gales may be found in the Southern polar Parts, to blow towards the Equator when the Sun is in the Northern Signs, from the same Principle.

The Limit of these Winds from the polar Parts towards the Equator, is seldom known to reach beyond the 30th Degree of Latitude; and the nearer they approach to that Limit the shorter is the Continuance of these Winds. In *New England* it blows from the North near

four Months, in the Winter; at *Canada*, about five Months; at the *Danes Settlements* in *Streight Davis*, in the 63d Degree of Latitude, near seven Months; on the Coast of *Norway*, in 64 Degrees, not above five Months and a Half, by reason of blowing over a great Part of the Ocean, as was before mentioned; for these northerly Winds continue a longer, or shorter Space of Time, according to the Air's being more or less rarefied, which may very probably be altered several Degrees, by the Nature of the Soil, and the Situation of the adjoining Continents.

The vast Bodies of Ice we meet with in our Passage from *England* to *Hudson's Bay*, are very surprizing; not only as to the Number, but Magnitude. It is in truth unaccountable how they are formed of so great a Bulk, some of them being immersed a hundred Fathoms or more under the Surface of the Ocean, a fifth or sixth Part above, and three or four Miles in Circumference: Some hundreds of these we sometimes meet in our Voyage here, all in Sight at once if the Weather is clear; some of them are frequently seen on the Coasts and Banks of *Newfoundland* and *New England*, though much diminished.

When I have been becalmed in *Hudson's Streights*, for three or four Tides together, I have taken my Boat and lain close to the Sides of one of them, founded, and found a hundred Fathoms Water all round it. The Tide floweth here above four Fathoms, and I have observed upon a Body of Ice, the Tide to rise and fall that Difference; which was a Certainty of its being a-ground: Likewise, in a Harbour in the Island of *Resolution*, where I continued four Days, three of these Islands of Ice (as we call them) came a-ground; I founded along by the Sides of one of them quite round it, and found thirty-two Fathoms Water, and the Height above the Surface but ten Yards, another was twenty-eight Fathoms under, and the perpendicular Height but nine Yards above the Water.

I can in no other manner account for the Aggregation of such large Bodies of Ice; but that along the Coasts of *Streight Davis*, both Sides of *Baffin's Bay*, *Hudson's Streights*, *Anticosti* or *Labradore*, the Land is very high and bold, and a hundred Fathom and more close to the Shore. These Shores have many Inlets or Firths, the Cavities of which are full of Ice and Snow by the almost perpetual Winter there, and frozen to the Ground, increasing for four, five, or seven Years, till a kind of Deluge, or Land-flood, which commonly happens in that Space of Time throughout those Parts, breaks them loose and launches them into the Streights or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable Winds and Currents, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, rather increasing than diminishing in Bulk, being surrounded (except in four or five Points of the Compass) with smaller Ice for many hundred Leagues; and Land covered all the Year with Snow, the Weather being extreme cold for the most Part in those Summer Months. The smaller Ice that almost fills the Streights and Bays, and covers many Leagues out into the Ocean along the Coast, is from four to ten Fathoms thick; and chills the Air to that Degree that there is a constant Increase to the large Isles, by the Sea's washing against them, and the perpetual wet Fogs like small Rain, freezing as they settle upon the Ice; and their being so deeply immersed under Water, and such a small Part above, prevents the Wind's having much Power to move them; for though it blows from the North-west Quarter near nine Months in twelve, and consequently those Isles are driven towards a warmer Climate, yet the progressive Motion is so slow, that it must take up many Years before they can get five or six hundred Leagues to the Southward: I am of Opinion, some hundred Years are required; for they cannot, I think, dissolve, before they come between the 50th and 40th Degrees of Latitude; where the Heat of the Sun consuming the Upper-parts, they lighten, and waste in Time; yet there is a perpetual Supply from the Northern Parts, which will so continue as long as it pleases the Author of all Beings to keep Things in their present State.

Observations of the Longitude, Latitude, and the Declination of the Magnetic-Needle at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River.

	Hou.	Min.	Sec.
Having observed the apparent Time of an Emerfion of Jupiter's first Satellite at Fort Churchill, on Saturday the 20th of March laſt, 1741-2, at - - - - -	11	55	50
I find the ſame Emerfion happened at London, by Mr. Pound's Tables compared with ſome Emerfions actually obſerved in England, near the ſame Time, at - - - - -	18	15	10
Whence the horary Difference of Meridians, between Fort Churchill and London, comes out - - - - -	06	19	20
Which converted into Degrees of the Equator, gives for the Diſtance of the ſame Meridians - - - - -	94	50	00

Wherefore, ſince the Time at London was later in Denomination than that at Churchill, it follows that, according to this Obſervation, Churchill is 94 Degrees 50 Minutes in Longitude Weſt of London.

I took ſeveral other Obſervations, which agreed one with another to leſs than a Minute; but this I looked upon as the moſt diſtinct and beſt.

The Obſervation was made with a good fifteen Foot refracting Teſcope and a two Foot Reſlector of Gregory's Kind, having a good Watch of Mr. Graham's that I could depend upon; for I have frequent Opportunities of diſcovering how much its Variation amounted to, and conſtantly found its daily Deviation or Error to be fifteen Seconds too ſlow; by which Means it was as uſeful to me, for all Purpoſes, as if it had gone moſt conſtantly true, without any Change. This Watch I kept in my Pock in the Day, and in Bed in the Night, to preſerve it from the Severity of the Weather; for I obſerved that all other Watches were ſpoiled by the extreme Cold.

I have found, from repeated Obſervations, a Method of obtaining the true Time of the Day at Sea, by taking eight or ten Altitudes of the Sun or Stars, when near the prime Verticle, by Mr. Smith's or Mr. Hadley's Quadrant, which I have practiſed theſe three or four Years paſt, and never found, from the Calculations, that they differed one from another above ten or fifteen Seconds of Time. This Certainty of true Time at Sea, is of greater Uſe, in the Practice of Navigation, than may appear at firſt Sight; for you not only thereby get the Variation of the Compaſs, without the Help of Altitudes, but likewise the Variation of the Needle from the true Meridian every time the Sun or Star is ſeen to tranſit the ſame. Alſo, having the true Time of Day or Night, you may be ſure of the Meridian Altitude of the Sun or Star, if you get a Sight fifteen or twenty Minutes before or after it paſſes the Meridian; and the Latitude may be obtained to leſs than five Minutes; with ſeveral other Uſes in aſtronomical Obſervations, as the Refraction of the Atmosphere; and ſo allow for it by getting the Sun's apparent Riſing and Setting, which any-body is capable of doing; and from thence you will have the Refraction.

If we had ſuch a Teſcope contrived as Mr. Smith recommends to be uſed on Shipboard at Sea, now we can have an exact Knowledge of the true Time of the Day or Night, from the above Inſtruments, and a good Watch, we ſhould probably be able to obſerve the Eclipses of the firſt Satellite of Jupiter, or any other Phænomenon of the like Kind, and thereby find the Diſtance of Meridians or Longitude at Sea.

The Variation of the Magnetic-Needle, or Sea Compaſs, obſerved by me at Churchill in 1725 (as in N^o 393 of the *Philosophical Transactions*, for the Months of March and April, 1746) was at that Time North 21 Degrees weſterly; and this Winter I have carefully obſerved it, and find it no more than 17 Degrees; ſo that it has differed about one Degree in four Years; for in 1738 I obſerved it here, and found its Declination 18 Degrees weſterly. I have carefully obſerved, and

made proper Allowance for the Sun's Declination and Refraction, and find the Latitude here to be 58 Degrees 36 Minutes North; but in moſt Parts of the World where the Latitudes are fixed by Seamen, they are, for the moſt Part, falſely laid down, for want of having regard to the Variation of the Sun's Declination, which computed at a diſtant Meridian, when the Sun is near the Equator, may make a great Error in the Sun's riſing and ſetting, *Azimuths*, &c."

3. We cannot, after the Peruſal of this ingenious Diſcourſe, full of ſo much curious Matter, and containing ſuch pregnant Proofs of the Author's perfect Acquaintance with his Subject, doubt, that ſuch a Perſon ſhould be received with all the Marks of Eſteem and Confidence poſſible; by one who had formed a Deſign of reviving this ſo long neglected Diſcovery, by an Attempt through *Hudſon's Bay*. The Gentleman who had then, and ſtill has, this Matter at Heart, was *Arthur Dobbs* Eſq; a Man born to revive the old heroic Spirit, of turning all our Endeavours to the Service of the Public. This had led him to obſerve, that the ſureſt and moſt effectual Means of improving our naval Force, and extending our Navigation (things that have hitherto gone, and, indeed, muſt always go together) was to open ſome new Branches of Commerce, to which, as we ſhould thereby have a better Title, ſo by getting the Start of other Nations, we might be able to manage to greater Advantage.

He ſaw, likewise, that with whatever Expence this might be attended to the Public, it would not only repay the ſame abundantly, but would alſo be, at the Bottom, much leſs chargeable than in Appearance; for there is in this reſpect, ſuch a Difference between public and private Expence, as deſerves to be thoroughly examined; becauſe the comprehending of it is a thing of much greater Conſequence, than can, at firſt Sight, be eaſily conceived. For if private Men embark in any Undertaking which demands the Diſburſement of large Sums of Money, they can do it only with a View of Profit to themſelves; and conſequently if they are either miſtaken in their Deſign, or miſcarry in the Execution of it, they are real Sufferers in proportion to the Loſs with which ſuch an Attempt is attended; but the Caſe is very far from being the ſame, when Undertakings of the like Kind are managed by the Public; for then the Money diſburſed falls into the Hands of Individuals, and conſequently though the Attempt may be diſappointed, yet the real Loſs is little or nothing; becauſe thoſe who furniſh the public Expences receive the Money that is thus ſpent, and it is no more than a different kind of Circulation, which, in the End, comes to very near the ſame thing, as if the original Undertaking had coſt little or nothing.

On the other Hand, the Views of private Perſons tend to their particular Advantage; and though this turns to the general Good of the Society, yet this is in a very ſmall Proportion in Compariſon of what may be expected, and, indeed, muſt neceſſarily follow from Undertakings of ſuch a public Nature, when attended with Succeſs. An Inſtance will make this plain. The *Hudſon's Bay* Company has now ſubſiſted near fourſcore Years, within which ſpace of Time the Proprietors have been very large Gainers, but the Advantage to the Public has been very far from being great. They have exported our Manufactures, but in very ſmall Quantities; their Profit, upon ſuch Exportations, has been very conſiderable; but the Gain to the Public would have been much greater, if thoſe Exportations had been larger, though the Balance, in favour of the Company, would then have been leſs. They employ but a few Ships, and a ſmall Number of Seamen; their Factories are few and thin, all which may answer their Purpoſes very well; but 'tis plain they do not answer the national Purpoſe of enlarging our Navigation, and encreaſing our Seamen.

Yet this is not all; we ought to conſider the wide Difference between the Advantages accruing to the Public from the Trade of the Company, and the Advantages that would have accrued if a North-weſt Paſſage had been ſearched for and found; for if ever this ſhould be brought about, it is very clear, that for a great Part of this Time the Nation has loſt all that might have been acquired

acquired thereby. It may be answered that this is founded upon a Supposition only, to which I answer, that it is founded upon the same Supposition with their Charter; and therefore it was their Duty to look for it, which they have not done. But let us now see what Hopes Captain Middleton gave Mr. Dobbs of the finding such a Passage; and these we shall give in this Gentleman's own Words, which are as follow.

4. "In his Letter to me of October the 18th, 1739, he says I was this Year at *Churchill* Factory, where Mr. Norton is Governor; he was along with *Scroggs* in the Year 1722, and remembers very well, that when they came to an Anchor in the *Welcome*, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees, they had twelve Fathom at high Water, and but seven Fathom at low Water; and he seems confident, from a View that he took from a Promontary ashore, that there must be a clear Passage. The Land is very high, and falls off to the Southward of the West. This Year some of the Natives, who came down to treat at *Churchill*, and had never been before at any of our *English* Settlements, informed him that they frequently traded with *Europeans*, on the West Side of *America*, near the Latitude of *Churchill*, by their Account, which seems to confirm the two Seas must meet. I remain, &c. *Christopher Middleton*.

"In another of his Letters of the 21st of January, 1737, he says, That the Company think it their Interest, rather to prevent than forward new Discoveries in that Part of the World; and for that Reason they won't suffer any of our Journals to be made public. All the Intimation I am able to give is, that the Tides rise more with a North and a North-west Wind, at neap Tides, than ever the Spring-Tides do at *Churchill* or *Albany*, with a Southerly or Easterly Wind; and as there is little or no Tide between *Mansfield* and *Cary's Swans Nest*, nor any in the North, or North-west of *Mill Isles*, in that Bay, it must come from the *Welcome*, which cannot be far from some Western Ocean. Also in Mr. *John Scroggs's* Journal of 1722, he mentions, that in Latitude 64 Degrees 50 Minutes, the Tide ebbed five Fathoms, but gives no Account which way, or from whence, the Tide came, and they all agree that a great many Whales are seen in the *Welcome*. Whereas I don't remember to have seen any in other Parts of *Hudson's Bay*, and I have been in all Parts of it except the *Welcome*; all which are favourable Circumstances. I shall be glad, at all times, to contribute what I can to your Information, and beg you will believe me to be, Sir, &c. *Christopher Middleton*.

"In another of his Letters of November the 5th, 1737, he mentions the Company's having sent out two Sloops (at my Solicitation) upon the Discovery; they prosecuted their Voyage no farther than Latitude 62 Degrees 15 Minutes North, and returned without making any new or useful Discovery; so far as I can learn, they found a great many Islands, abundance of black Whales, but no very great Tides, the highest about two Fathoms, the Flood coming from the Northward.

"In his Extract from *Scroggs's* Journal, of the *Welcome*, he also says, that he had two Northern Indians aboard, who had been entertained in the Factory all the foregoing Winter, upon the Account of his Discovery; they gave us Information of a rich Copper Mine that lay near the Surface of the Earth, and said they could direct the Sloop or Ship to lay her Side to it, where she might land very soon. We had several Pieces of Copper brought to *Churchill*, and made it evident there is a Mine somewhere in that Country. These Indians sketched out the Lands with Charcoal, upon a Skin of Parchment, before they left the Factory, and as far as they went they found it agree very well.

"He afterwards says, when they returned, which was in a Month's Time, or thereabouts, I examined the Officers and Men; several had been my Scholars, in the Winter, to learn Navigation. They told me they

"saw nothing at those times they were ashore to hinder their going farther; for when they were eight or ten Miles from *Whale-bone Point*, which bore East-north-east from them, they saw an open Sea, and the Land stretched away to the Southward of the West. This they said to *Scroggs's* Face, as soon as they were got aboard our Ship at *Churchill*; though while they were under his Command they dissembled it, and said what he pleased to have them. From this, and all other Accounts, it appears there must be a Passage for the Tides, from the Western Ocean."

We need not at all wonder, that upon having such Lights as these, Mr. Dobbs resolved to proceed, and to make use of all his Interest at the Admiralty Board, to procure such Assistance, and such Encouragement, to Captain Middleton, as should appear requisite for carrying this Design into Execution. It is very evident that there was nothing precipitate, rash, or hasty, in this whole Proceeding; but Mr. Dobbs acted with all the Caution and Discretion, that in a Matter of so great Importance to the Public, and of so great Consequence to his own Character, it became him to do. He had advanced as far in this Enquiry, as it was possible for a Man to do, without going to *Hudson's Bay* in Person; and his Acquaintance with Captain Middleton seemed sufficient to supply that Defect; for he was allowed to be an excellent Seaman, and therefore a very proper Judge of the Probability, or Improbability, of such a Passage; he had considered that Point of his own Accord, and as we have seen before, had collected Reasons sufficient to determine him to believe it probable. He had been, not once, but twenty times, at *Hudson's Bay*, and consequently appeared one of the fittest Men living, to be intrusted with the Direction of this Discovery. Mr. Dobbs, therefore, acted with Wisdom and Prudence, as well as Honour and Gratitude, in recommending him to the Admiralty, as the most proper Person to be employed in an Expedition for the discovering a North-west Passage. All these Facts I have related as they appear to me, and with the Impartiality becoming an Historian. I have no personal Knowledge of either of these Gentlemen, and I never sought it, that I might not fall under any Prejudices, or Prepossessions. I report all things as fairly as I can, and if there be any Errors or Mistakes, they must proceed, not from any Fault in my Will, but in my Understanding. And with this I thought it necessary to acquaint the Reader, as well as that I am not at all a Party in this Dispute; and that my only Motive to meddle therewith, is for his Service.

5. It was natural for Mr. Dobbs to expect this Expedition should meet with some Checks and Discouragements, from those who were most capable of promoting it, I mean the *Hudson's Bay* Company; but it is certain that he did not expect near so much Trouble in this Affair, as he met with. Speaking of it after the Return of Captain Middleton, he throws all the Passages relating to this Matter together; and having first observed that this was an Undertaking the Company was by their Charter bound to promote, goes on in the following Manner:

"This, says he, they have not only neglected to do, but have concealed the Knowledge or Presumptions they had of it as much as possible; and have not only chicaned when applied to, but have actually, by Letter from their Governor, refused to look for it, when applied to upon that Account; and have also discouraged the Attempts of others, not only by concealing the Navigation into those Seas, by obliging their Captains, under a Penalty, not to make or publish any Charts or Journals of those Seas and Coasts, or Voyages thither, but also by putting all the Difficulties they durst, upon the King's Ships lately sent upon the Discovery; having claimed, and taken from Captain Middleton, an Indian Boy, whom he had brought to England, and having learned the *English* Tongue, would have proved a good Interpreter; and made his Clerk a Governor of one of their Factories, to induce him to leave him, and also sent away their Ships a Month earlier than usual, to lie in the *Orkneys*, lest he should have gotten any of the Sailors, who had been accustomed to, and acquainted with, the Navigation;

“ but even went farther, to tempt the Captain to quit
 “ the King’s Service, and not to attempt the Discovery;
 “ and offered him 5000 *l.* either to return into their Ser-
 “ vice, or look for it in *Davis’s Streight*, or *Baffin’s Bay*,
 “ and not to look for it in *Hudson’s Bay*, or at the *Welcome*.
 “ Alledging it would cost the Company so much to sup-
 “ port their Right against the Crown; and as he had
 “ been their Friend, and knew all their Concerns, it
 “ would be better to give him that Sum; than to give it
 “ to the Lawyers.

“ When they found him Proof against their Bribery,
 “ they then thought to distress him another Way, by
 “ writing to their Governor at *Churchill*, which was the
 “ most convenient Harbour for the King’s Ships to
 “ winter in, and was nearest to the Passage, not to re-
 “ ceive him into their Port. And afterwards, when the
 “ Company was applied to by the Lords of the Admi-
 “ ralty, to allow him to winter there, if it was necessary
 “ for him, and to give him what Assistance they could,
 “ in supplying his Wants, which they would thankfully
 “ repay the Company in *London*; after deliberating
 “ some Time upon an Answer, they wrote to the Lords
 “ of the Admiralty, that they had sent such a Letter as
 “ their Lordships desired, to their Governor at *Churchill*,
 “ and dispatched it by Post to their Ships at the *Orkneys*.
 “ This being no way satisfactory to Captain *Middleton*,
 “ who had been informed of their Letter to the Governor
 “ not to admit him, he applied for a Duplicate, to car-
 “ ry it with him, in case the other should miscarry, there
 “ being no settled Post to the *Orkneys*; upon which
 “ they gave him a Duplicate sealed up, and, upon Ap-
 “ plication, a Copy of it, to know what it contained,
 “ which was in these Words:

Hudson’s Bay House, London, May 15, 1741.

Mr. *James Isham*, and Council, at *Prince of Wales’s*
Fort, Churchill River.

GENTLEMEN,

“ Notwithstanding our Orders to you, if Captain
 “ *Middleton* (who is sent abroad in the Government’s Ser-
 “ vice, to discover a Passage North-west) should, by in-
 “ evitable Necessity, be brought into real Distress, and
 “ Danger of his Life, and Loss of his Ship; in such Case
 “ you are then to give him the best Assistance and Relief
 “ you can. We remain,

“ Your loving Friends,

“ *Bibye Lake*, Governor,
 “ *William Ederton*,
 “ *J. Winter*,
 “ *Atwell Lake*,
 “ *John Anthony Merle*,
 “ *John Merry*.

“ Upon so extraordinary a Discovery of the Inclina-
 “ tions of the Company, to baffle the Attempt of find-
 “ ing out the Passage, and to discourage Captain *Middle-*
 “ *ton* from prosecuting the Discovery; the Lords of the
 “ Admiralty thought it necessary to apply to the Lords
 “ of the Regency, that the Secretary of State might, by
 “ their Orders, write to the Company, to require that
 “ Assistance which they refused to the Admiralty, which
 “ was sent, and upon that the Company gave a Letter to
 “ the Captain, in a more humane and friendly Stile; but
 “ in Consequence of their Offer, it is plain that he stifled
 “ and disguised the Discovery of the Passage. By this it
 “ is evident that the Company believe there is a Passage,
 “ which they want to conceal; for otherwise it had been
 “ their Interest to have had the Attempt made, and if not
 “ found, there would have been an End put to the pro-
 “ secuting it any farther; and they might probably have
 “ enjoyed their Trade to the Bay, without its being co-
 “ veted or enquired into.”

When all Difficulties were overcome, and things so
 disposed that nothing was wanting to Captain *Middleton’s*
 pursuing his Voyage, but his Instructions from the Ad-

miralty, with respect to the Measures he was to pursue in
 his intended Discovery; these were very soon procured,
 and appear to have been drawn up with great Circum-
 spection, and the most perfect Knowledge of the Subject
 to which they relate, as the Reader cannot but allow,
 after the serious Perusal of them.

These Instructions ran thus: “ Whereas we have, in
 “ Obedience to his Majesty’s Commands, ordered the
 “ *Furnace Sloop*, whereof you are Commander, to be
 “ fitted out, in a proper Manner, to proceed on a Voy-
 “ age towards *Hudson’s Streight*, in order to attempt a
 “ Discovery of a Passage, that Way, into the Western
 “ *American Ocean*; and have appointed the *Discovery*
 “ *Pink*, *William Moor*, Master (who is hereby required,
 “ and directed to follow, your Orders) to attend you on
 “ the Service: You are hereby required and directed, so
 “ soon as the said Sloop and *Pink* are ready for the Sea,
 “ to fall down to the *Nore*; and when they have been
 “ paid what is due to their Companies, to proceed to
 “ *Leith*, and deliver the inclosed Packet to Captain *Hol-*
 “ *born*, Commander of his Majesty’s Ship the *Dolphin*;
 “ containing Orders for the said Captain to proceed, in
 “ Company with you, as far as the Islands of *Orkney*, for
 “ your better Security against the Privateers of the Ene-
 “ my, said to be cruising thereabout.

“ You are accordingly to proceed with the said Ship
 “ *Dolphin*, as far as the aforesaid Islands, and then to
 “ make the best of your Way with the Sloop and *Pink*,
 “ under your Command, towards *Hudson’s Streight*; and,
 “ after passing the same, to proceed to *Cary’s Swans Nest*,
 “ and then steer North-westerly, so as to fall in with the
 “ North-west Land, at *Sir Thomas Roe’s Welcome*, or *ne*
 “ *ultra*, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees North.

“ You are there to make the best Observations you
 “ can, of the Height, Direction, and Course of the
 “ Tides, bearing of the Lands, Depth and Soundings of
 “ the Sea and Sholes, with the Variations of the Needle.

“ When you come up with *Whalebone Point*, in 65
 “ Degrees, you are to try the best Passage in doubling
 “ that Land, whether to Westward or Eastward, in case
 “ it be an Island; and on which Side soever you meet
 “ the Tide and Flood, to direct your Course, so as to
 “ meet the Tide, whether North-westerly or South-
 “ westerly.

“ If after, in doubling that Cape, you find either a
 “ Streight or an open Sea, you are to keep on your
 “ Course, till meeting the Tide of Flood; and if it be
 “ so wide as to lose Sight of Land, then keep to the
 “ Larboard or *American Shore*, steering South-westerly,
 “ so as to take the Bearings of the Lands and Sound-
 “ ings, and observe whether there are any Inlets, Bays,
 “ or Rivers, to shelter the Ships in, in case bad Wea-
 “ ther, or contrary Winds, oblige you to take Harbour;
 “ and there make the best Plans you can of such Har-
 “ bours, and the Charts of the Coast.

“ You must make no stay any where, whilst Wind
 “ and Weather permits (except for making Observa-
 “ tions for your Safety in your return) until you get to
 “ the Southward of 60 Degrees North; and then, if you
 “ continue to find an open Sea, make more careful Ob-
 “ servations of the *American Coast* or Islands, and of
 “ the Head-lands, Bays, and Rivers, until you make
 “ the Latitude of 50 Degrees, or any more Southerly
 “ Latitude, in case you find it convenient to winter on
 “ the Western Side of *America*. But if you should find
 “ it more convenient to come into the Bay to winter, or
 “ can make your Passage home in Time, after making
 “ a Discovery of the Passage to the Western *American*
 “ *Ocean* (which is more eligible) in order to prosecute
 “ the Discovery to Advantage next Season; then you
 “ need proceed no farther Southerly than 50 or 60 De-
 “ grees Latitude, and make all proper Observations of
 “ the Tides, Bays, Head-lands, Sholes, and Rocks, on
 “ both Sides, if the Passage be narrow, on which ever
 “ Side the Wind and Weather permits you; with the
 “ Variation, or any other curious Observations you can
 “ make.

“ If you find any Inhabitants upon the Coast, or any
 “ populous Nation to the Southward, you are to endea-
 “ your,

" your, by all proper Means, to cultivate a Friendship
" and Alliance with them; presenting them with such
" Trifles as they value, and shewing them all possible
" Civility and Respect; but to take Caution, if
" they be numerous, not to let yourself be surpris'd;
" but to be constantly on your Guard against any
" Accidents.

" If you find it proper to winter on the other Side of
" the Passage, get to a warm Climate, not more
" northerly than 42 Degrees, in some safe Harbour that
" may be of Use in a future Settlement, and rather
" make an Island, if there be a good Harbour, which
" would be safer than on the Continent for an Infant
" Settlement.

" If your Place of wintering is within a proper Distance
" to be supplied by the Natives on the Continent, take
" proper Seeds of Fruit-Trees, Plants, Grain, and Pulse,
" and sow them in the Spring; or in case you find any
" civilized Nation who want such Kinds, you may pre-
" sent some to them, and make them sensible of their
" Use and Manner of Culture.

" In Places where you meet with Inhabitants, make
" Purchases with their Consent, and take Possession of
" convenient Situations in the Country, in the Name of
" his Majesty of Great Britain.

" But when there are no Inhabitants, you must take
" Possession by setting up proper Inscriptions as First
" Discoverers and Possessors.

" If in your Passage you meet with any Ships trading
" to the western Countries eastward of Japon, or any
" Japonese Ships, and you apprehend any Danger from
" them, either from their Force or Number, you are to
" proceed no farther in the Discovery, but are imme-
" diately to return, that Ships of sufficient Force may be
" sent out the next Season to begin a Trade, or to make
" a Settlement without any Apprehension of Disturbance
" from any powerful Nation on that Side, lest any Ac-
" cident should prevent your Return, and discourage any
" farther Attempts to be made for the future. If you
" should arrive at California without any Apprehension
" of Danger, and chuse to winter in 42 Degrees (where
" Caxton is said to have found a civilized Nation and a
" good Harbour) or more southerly, then endeavour to
" meet Capt. Anson in the Month of December, before
" the Arrival of the Manilla Ship at the Cape St. Lucas,
" the southern Cape of California, and leave a Copy of
" your Journal with him, lest any Accident should
" happen to you upon your Return, and so the Discovery
" be lost, and it might prevent Ships being sent out to
" your Relief in case of Shipwreck.

" But forasmuch as in an Undertaking of this Nature,
" several Emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and
" therefore not so particularly to be provided for by In-
" structions before-hand, you are in such Case to pro-
" ceed as upon Advice with your Officers you shall
" judge may be most advantageous to the Service on
" which you are employed.

" When you return home, you are to proceed into
" the River Thames, and send our Secretary an Account
" of your Arrival, and Proceedings, for our Inform-
" ation. Given under our Hands the 20th of May,
" 1741.

" Charles Wager,
" Thomas Frankland.
" Glenorchy.

" To Capt. Middleton, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop
" the Furnace, Deptford.

" By Command of their Lordships.

" Thomas Corbett.

" By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord
" High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

" You are hereby directed, during the Course of your
" intended Voyage, not to give any Disturbance or Mo-
" lestation to any of the Ships or Sloops employed in the
" Service of the Hudson's Bay Company; but to give
" them all Protection and Assistance that lies in your

" Power, whenever any Opportunity offers of your be-
" ing serviceable to them. Given under our Hands the
" 29th Day of May, 1741.

" Charles Wager,
" Vere Beauclerk,
" Glenorchy.

" By Command of their Lordships.

" Thomas Corbett."

We may plainly see from these Instructions, that no-
thing was wanting on the Part of the Admiralty to fur-
ther this important Discovery, but that however Captain
Middleton was left sufficiently at his Liberty, as indeed it
was very reasonable he should, to prosecute whatever Me-
thods his own Circumstances and the Situation of Things
should suggest to him for the Furtherance of the Design
when he came to be engaged in the Execution of it, and
which it was impossible to foresee and provide for before
that time. It is plain also, that all due Care was taken of
the Hudson's Bay Company, in that they had not the least
Reason to complain that this Expedition made by the
King's Ships, within the Limits of their Charter, could
in any Degree turn to their Prejudice. But it is now time
to see what Effects a Scheme executed with so much
Judgment and Deliberation produced, and this will be
best seen from an Extract of the Captain's own Journal
which we shall give the Reader; and shall then furnish
him with some other Lights, in order to shew why
the want of Success in this Undertaking did not entirely
destroy all Thoughts of finding such a Passage as Captain
Middleton sought-for through Hudson's Bay.

An Abstract of Captain Christopher Middleton's
Journal.

6. I sailed from Churchill the 1st Day of July, and con-
tinued sailing with a fair Wind till the 3d, when we saw
an Island, the two Extremities bearing North by East,
and East by North, lying in the Latitude of 63 Degrees
North, and Longitude from Churchill 3 Degrees 40 Minutes
East; which I took to be the same which Fox named
Brook Cobham. On the 5th Day I saw a Head-Land on
the North-side of the Welcome, bearing North-west by
North, seven or eight Leagues distant, in the Latitude
of 83 Degrees 20 Minutes, and Longitude from Churchill
4 Degrees. Here I tried the Tides several times, and
found close in with the Land the Tide to run two Miles
an Hour from the North by East, which I took to be the
Flood; and by the Slacks, from several Trials, I found
that a West, or West by North Moon, made high Water,
having a Full Moon that Day. On the 8th Day I saw
the North-side of the Welcome, with much Ice in Shore:
I tried the Tide, and found it set East north-east, two
Fathoms. On the 9th, continuing my Course, and sail-
ing through much Ice, I was obliged at length to grapple
to a large Piece, the Tender did the same, to keep off
from Shore, the Wind blowing us right upon it: I tried
the Tide frequently, and could discover neither Flood
nor Ebb by my Current-Log: Here we were fast jammed
up in Ice, being totally surrounded for many Miles, and
the Wind setting it right upon us: It was all Ice for ten
Leagues to windward, and we were in great Danger of
being forced ashore; but it happily falling calm after we
had lain in this Condition two or three Days, the Pieces
of Ice separated, or made small Openings; we being then
within two Miles of the Shore, and with no small Diffi-
culty hauled the Ship from one Place to another, till we
got amongst what we call Sailing Ice, that is, where there
are such Intervals of Water as a Ship, by several Traverfes,
may get forward towards the intended Course. In this
Manner we continued till we saw a fair Cape or Head-
land to the northward of the Whalebone Point, in the
Latitude of 65 Degrees 10 Minutes; Longitude from
Churchill 8 Degrees 54 Minutes East; and this I named,
after my worthy Friend, Cape Dobbs.

I had very good Soundings between the two Shores of
the Welcome, having forty-six, forty-eight, and forty-nine
Fathoms Water. At the same time that I saw Cape Dobbs
I saw a fair Opening bearing North by West, which, ac-
cording

ording to my Instructions, I stood in for, among the failing Ice; it was just Flood when we entered it, the Tide running strong; which, by Observations afterwards I found to run five or six Miles an Hour. I run over some Rocks on the North-side of it very luckily, being just high Water, and anchored in about thirty-four Fathoms; but so soon as the Tide of Ebb was made, it ran so strong, and such Quantities and Bodies of Ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to steer the Ship all the time, and keep all Hands upon their Guard with Ice-poles, to shove off the Ice; notwithstanding which we brought our Anchor home, and taking hold again, one of the Arms of the Anchor was broke off.

The next Day I sent my Lieutenant in the Boat, to seek out some securer Place for the Ships, it being impossible to keep afloat where we were. Some *Uskimay* Savages came off to us; I used them civilly, made them Presents, and dismissed them. As soon as I got the Ships secured, I employed all my Officers and Boats, having myself no little Share in the Labour, in trying the Tides, and discovering the Course and Nature of this Opening; and after repeated Trials, for three Weeks successively, I found the Flood constantly to come from the Eastward; and that it was a large River we had got into, but so full of Ice there was no steering the Vessel with any Probability of Safety, while the Ice was driving up and down with the strong Tides.

Here I lay not a little impatient to get out, went several times in my Boat towards the Mouth of the River, and from a Hill that over-looked Part of the *Welcome*, saw that Place full of Ice, so that I found there was no Time lost by our being in Security; however, I sent my Lieutenant and Master, in the eight-oared Boat, to look out for a Harbour near the Entrance of the River, but they found none; and it was no small Miracle they got on Board again, for they were so jammed up with Ice, which driving the strong Tides, would inevitably have stove the Boat to Pieces, and all must have perished, had it not been for an Opening in a large Piece of Ice, into which they got the Boat, and with it drove out of the River's Mouth; but when the Tides slackened, the Ice opened as usual, and they rowed over to the North Shore, so got in with the Flood. I several Times sent the *Indians* ashore to see if they knew any thing of the Land, but they were quite ignorant of it. In this vexatious Condition I continued three Weeks, resolving to get out the first Opportunity the River was any thing clear of Ice, and make what Discoveries I could by meeting the Flood-tide. This River, of which by frequent Tryals of the Lands, Soundings, Tides, &c. I was able to take a Draught, I named the *River Wager*, after the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wager*.

On the 3d of *August* the River, for the first Time, was a little clear of Ice; and accordingly, in Pursuance of our Discovery, on the 5th by Noon I got into the Latitude 66 Degrees 14 Minutes; we had then got into a new Streight, much pestered with Ice, and on the North-side of which we saw a Cape or Head-land bearing North; we had deep Water, and very strong Tides within four or five Leagues of it; I named this Head-land *Cape Hope*, as it gave us all great Joy, and Hopes of its being the extreme North Part of *America*. Seeing little or no Land to the Northward of it, we turned or worked round it the same Night, and got five or six Leagues to the North by West, before we could perceive any otherwise than a fair Opening; but about Noon the 6th Day, having got into the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, found we were embayed, and, by two in the Afternoon, could not go above three Leagues further; and having tried the Tides all the Forenoon every two Hours 'till two o'Clock in the Afternoon, found neither Ebb nor Flood, yet deep Waters. From this it was concluded, that we had overshoot the Streight on the North-east Shore, from whence the Flood came; and as there was no Proceeding above three or four Leagues further, it was agreed upon by all, to turn back and search narrowly for a Streight or Opening, near where we found the strong Tides.

On the 7th, after we were confirmed the Flood came in at the North-east from the East by South, I went on

Shore in the Boat, and found it flowed fifteen Feet three Days after the Full, and a West by South Moon made high Water. I travelled twelve or fifteen Miles, from Hill to Hill, in Land, 'till I came to a very high Mountain, from whence I saw a Streight or Opening the Flood came in at, and, the Mountain I stood on being pretty near the Middle of this Streight, I could see both Ends of it, the Whole being about eighteen or twenty Leagues long, and six or seven broad, and very high Land on both Sides; but it was all frozen fast from Side to Side, and no Appearance of its clearing this Year, and near the 67th Degree of Latitude, and no anchoring the Ships, being very deep Water close to the Shore, and much large Ice driving with the Ebb and Flood, and but little Room if thick Weather should happen, which we continually expected in those Parts, it was agreed upon in Council to make the best of our Way out of this dangerous narrow Streight, and to make Observations between the 64th and 62d Degrees of Latitude. The frozen Streight I take to run towards which *Bylot* named *Cape Comfort*, and the Bay where *Fox* had named a Place *Lord Weston's Portland*; it is in the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, and 12 Degrees 49 Minutes East from *Churchill*.

Pursuant to this Resolution we bore away, and tried the Tides on the other Side the *Welcome*, founding and observing close in Shore, but met with little Encouragement. On the 11th of *August* I once more saw the Island of *Brook Cobham*, and continued trying the Tides; and still finding the Flood come from the Eastward, and by coasting along the *Welcome* was certain of its being the main Land, though there are several small Islands and deep Bays, and saw several black Whales of the right Whalebone Kind, I worked off and on by *Brook Cobham*, sent the Northern *Indians* on Shore upon the Island, who, at their Return, gave me to understand, it was not far from their Country, and desired I would let them go Home, being tired of the Sea. I kept them with Assurances that I would act according to my Promise, and finding no Probability of a Passage, in two or three Days after I gave them a small Boat, well fitted with Sails and Oars, the Use of which they had been taught, and loaded it with Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Hatches, and every thing desirable to them; they took their Leave of me, and I sent another Boat for Water, which accompanied them on Shore, the Southern *Indian* being with them.

The Southern *Indian*, who was Linguist for the Northern ones, returned with the Boat; being used to the *English* Customs at the Factory, and desirous of seeing *England*, being a willing handy Man, I brought him with me; and the same Evening, which was the 15th of *August*, I bore away for *England*, thinking to have tried the Tide at *Cary's Swans Nest*, but could not fetch it. On the 20th I saw *Mansells Isle*, on the 21st *Cape Diggs* was in Sight; on the 26th made *Cape Resolution*, and arrived at *Carriston*, in *Pomona*, one of the Islands of *Orkney*. Most of my Men being so very much afflicted with the Scurvy, and otherwise sick and distempered, that I was obliged to leave Part of them behind me, and only wait to impress Hands to carry the Ship safe to *London*.

This Account appeared very clear and very satisfactory, even to Mr. *Dobbs* for some Time; but upon re-considering the Motives which induced him to believe there was such a Passage, the Accounts given him by Captain *Middleton* formerly, and what he delivered upon this Subject in his Journal, he began to suspect that Things were not so clear as they seemed to be, but that somewhere or other there was a Mistake; yet without charging Captain *Middleton* with any Breach of Duty, or so much as suspecting a Design in him to conceal any Part of his Discovery.

7. By Degrees, however, the Scene began to change. Mr. *Dobbs* came into an Opinion, that the Opening to which Captain *Middleton* had given the Name of the *River Wager*, was, in Reality, the Streight he was sent to discover. He suggested this to that Gentleman, who adhered to his former Opinion, that it was a River and no Streight, that it was fresh Water and not salt, and that the Whales which were seen in it, came through the frozen Streight

Streight from the Eastward. But while Mr. *Dobbs* and Captain *Middleton* were disputing this Matter in Letters, a new Affair broke out, which made a great Noise; for some of the Officers who had served under Captain *Middleton* declared positively, that in their Judgment there was a Passage, and that the Captain's Journal was calculated to conceal it. This produced a long Controversy, attended with many personal Reflections on both Sides, into which it is not my Business, nor have I any Inclination, to enter; but shall content myself with giving the Reader what I take to be the most material Part of Mr. *Dobbs's* Charge, as it shews upon what Grounds he believed the River *Wager* to be a Streight, and the Methods which, in his Opinion, Captain *Middleton* had taken to conceal its being thought so; and this I shall give in Mr. *Dobbs's* own Words, that I may not seem prepossessed in Favour of one Side, or prejudiced against the other.

8. "In Captain *Middleton's* going out, says Mr. *Dobbs*, he saw much Ice from Latitude 63 Degrees 35 Minutes to *Cape Dobbs*, as well as to *Deer Sound* in *Wager River*, and in the Streight and Bay near *Cape Hope* this Year; but none was seen in the *Welcome* by *Button*, *Fox*, and *Scroggs*, the several Years they were there at the same Season, though *Button* and *Scroggs* were as high up as *Whalebone Point*, in Latitude 65 Degrees, and *Fox* saw as far from Latitude 64 Degrees 10 Minutes, without seeing any Ice in the Sea, or Snow upon the Land, but saw great Numbers of small Fish leaping, as well as many Whales near *Brook Cobham*. Captain *Middleton* had, during his whole Voyage out from *Churchill* and back again to *Brook Cobham*, very fine Weather, without any Storm, or Frost, or Snow, the Winds for the most Part blowing from the Eastern Quarter, so that he had no Pretence upon his Return to avoid searching the West-side of the *Welcome*. It was these Easterly Winds that Year which carried so much Ice into the *Welcome* from the South-east as well as from the Bay and Streight near *Cape Hope*, all which was forced by the rapid Tide into *Wager River*; and it appears from the Journal, that it was these Winds which caused so great a Quantity of Ice in the River as far as *Deer Sound*, and not from the breaking out of the Ice above in a Fresh-water River as he gave out; and he would have made the Flowing-in of the Tide so far from the South-eastward, to have been a Confirmation of it; whereas, by what he has mentioned in his Journal, it is by all Circumstances a Salt-water Streight or Passage; for the Increase of its Wideness from seven Miles at its Entrance to eight Leagues, and of its Depth from fourteen to eighty Fathoms, the Boldness, Height, and Craggedness of the Coast, without Tree or Shrub, and without any Snow or Ice in the Valleys or Hills, are all Symptoms of its being a Salt-water Passage; but the Number of Whales and other Fish seen above in the Streight, at least twenty Leagues up the River, when none were seen below, or in the *Welcome* or Streight, and Bay above *Cape Hope*, is a Demonstration they did not come under the Ice into *Wager River* from the Eastward, and there being none ever seen in the Bay or Streights of *Hudson*, but by broken Lands on the North-west Coast, it is next to a Certainty that they came from the *Western Ocean* to that Place; for it is contrary to Reason and Fact, to suppose that Whales and other Sea-fish should go up a Fresh-water River, as he affirms it to be; but it was very natural for the Whales to be there, if they come in from the *Western Ocean*, which was not so liable to be frozen as an Inland Bay, for they would push their Way through the Streights and broken Lands, until they were prevented by the Ice, which the Easterly Winds drove into the Streight from the *Welcome* along with the Flood; and this was jammed in among the Islands in the Passage, and appeared to be firm Ice, as it also appeared from the Hills to be so below them to the Mouth of the River.

"This also easily accounts for the Number of Whales seen from *Whalebone Point* to *Brook Cobham*, and even to *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, where many are caught by the *Eskimaux Indians*, when none

"are seen in the other Parts of the Bay, or in the Streights; for if there be a Communication between the *Western Ocean* and the Bay in this Place, the Presumption is, that it is not by one Passage, but that it may be all a broken Land, interspersed with Islands, as the Islands of *Terra del Fuego* are at the Streights of *Magellan*, which is almost a parallel Instance; and therefore this Streight of *Wager* may not be the only Inlet into the Bay, but from *Whalecove* unto that River may be all broken Lands, with several Sounds among the Islands which are mentioned by *Scroggs* and *Fox*, and cannot be controverted from this Journal; so that the Whales might get to that Part of the Bay sooner, as there was no Ice there to obstruct their Passage, when there was much Ice in the *Welcome* and East Entrance of *Wager Streight*, which prevented these Whales getting any farther than *Deer Sound*. This, I think, makes it highly probable, that there is a better and easier Passage Southward of *Cape Dobbs* betwixt that and *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, where there is no Ice to obstruct the Passage from the Middle of *June* to *October*; and if the Trade was once opened, this might be discovered by any Ships who would go there to fish for Whales, or would trade with the Natives for Fin or Oil, who might follow them into Inlets, through which they come into the Bay; and this may be done without wintering in the Bay; for they may return any Time in *September* or *October*, safe from any Obstruction from the Ice."

The only seeming Objection to this, and which gave a Hand to Captain *Middleton* to represent *Wager Streight* as a Fresh-water River was, the Tide flowing into it from the Eastward, when if it had been a Streight, he imagined he might have met a Tide of Flood from the Westward, and therefore represented it as if the Ice was but breaking up in the River after he had entered it. But since this is a Streight, and not an immediate Communication with the *Western Ocean*, he could not expect to meet the Western Tide 'till he had got half Way through the Streight; for each Tide flows up its own End of the Streight, and meet in the Middle. This is not only founded upon Reason, but upon Fact, in the only parallel Instance we know, that is, in the *Magellanic Streight*; though, by Appearance, this Streight is a greater and bolder Streight than the other.

The Tide at the North-east Entrance of *Magellan Streight* flows from the Eastward, and rises four Fathoms before it comes to the first Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathom deep; after a League or two it increases to six or seven Leagues wide, to the second, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep. Within the second Narrow it increaseth again to five or six Leagues wide, and the Tide still flows from the Eastward, and rises about ten Feet. In the middle Channel, about thirty Leagues within the Streight, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide, and from thence to the Middle of the Streight it lessens to two Leagues wide, and about a hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide still flows from the Eastward for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Streight, the Current of the Tide is not above an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide rises nine Feet. Near *Cape Quad*, beyond the Middle of the Streight, it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather less, sometimes not four Miles wide, from whence it gradually widens to the West Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide: So that *Wager Streight* is much larger so far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues; it being by the Account, as mentioned in the Journal, six or seven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which, if there be no other, is a noble Passage. But there is a great Probability of there being a better and safer Passage to the Southward of *Whalebone Point*, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.

Thus, says Mr. *Dobbs*, from the former Accounts, and what has been divulged by Captain *Middleton* in his Journal, there seems to be strong Presumptions of a Passage. But after shewing what he has concealed, and falsified in his Journal,

nal, and his whole Conduct from his going to *Churchill*, until his Return to *England*, and even since his Return, it will appear plainly that he intended to serve the Company at the Public Expence, and contrived every Thing so as to stifle the Discovery, and to prevent others from undertaking it for the future, so as to secure the Favour of the Company, and the Reward he said they promised him before he began the Voyage.

As to his Declarations and Conduct during the Voyage, it appears by undeniable Evidence, that he declared, in Presence of some of his Officers, to the Company's Governor at *Churchill*, that he should be able to make that Voyage, and none on board him should know whether there was a Passage or not, and he would be a better Friend to the Company than ever.

The Lieutenant finding one of the Men at the Factory, who very well understood the Northern *Indian* Language, and would have been of great Use upon the Discovery, offered to take him with him at his own Risque, saying, he would answer it when he came back, it being for the Good of the Service they were upon; but the Captain would not allow of it, for fear of disobliging the Company. The Captain in going Northward from *Churchill*, never once went ashore, nor sent his Boat to look out for any Inlet, or try the Tide, having only once tried the Current at Sea in Latitude 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, where he found a very rapid Tide, although he found much Ice to the Northward, and had Time enough before he entered the Ice, to try all the Coast, but stood off to the Eastward, until he passed *Cape Dobbs*, and though he then found an Opening North-westward, he only went in with a View to shelter his Ships, but not to look out for a Passage; and therefore, when he went in, got to the North-east Side out of the Tide instead of out of the South-west Side, where he ought to have gone, if he had pushed for a Passage; and though he lay there three Weeks, he never but once went cross to the Western Shore, and that only one Day or two before he quitted the River, pretending he could not do it for the Ice; and even this he does not mention in his Journal, although he found there an excellent Cove for sheltering his Ships. He once pretended to cross the Streight from *Deer Sound*, where he had no Ice to prevent him; but after going two Leagues he returned and said, it was too far, and he had tasted the Water, which was fresh, asking the Boat-men if it was not so, which they contradicted, saying only, it was not very salt. When the Lieutenant went up to *Deer Sound*, he discovered from a Mountain an Opening South-westward, upon the other Shore, ten Leagues distant betwixt a high and low Headland, and also observed the Ice there, when it was a Quarter Flood at *Wager River*, move down the River against that Tide. Upon his mentioning this to the Captain, he was laughed at, who asked him, From whence that Tide could come? and no farther Enquiry was made into it.

Afterwards, when from the Numbers of Whales, and Breadth and Depth of the River, it was given out among the Ship's Company, that they believed it was a Streight and no River, he rated several of them for pretending to say so against his Opinion, saying, his Clerk was a double-tongued Rascal; that he would cane the Lieutenant, broomstick the Master, and lash any others who should concern themselves about the Voyage, and threatened that if any kept private Journals, he would break up their Boxes, and take them from them; and though he allowed his Clerk to take the Bearings of the Land, and Prospects in other Parts of the Voyage, yet, when in the *Wager River* and at the *Welcome*, he forbid him from taking any. This happened when the Lieutenant and Master were down the River to look out for a Cove for the Ships, when they should sail out of the River. When they returned, he, imagining that Rumour would turn out to his Prejudice, in case no farther Enquiry was made about its being a Streight or River, said they might go up and try the Tide, and see if there was any other Way out into the *Welcome*, which was into the Bay, not into the *Western Ocean*; but by his Warrant limitted them to go to *Deer Sound*, or thereabouts, which was only where he had been himself before, and ordered

them to come back with the utmost Dispatch the Nature of the Service would allow. This was the 28th of July. When they were gone he said, he supposed the Lieutenant would bring back some romantic Account of a Streight or a Passage, but for his Part he would not take the Ships a Foot farther; and accordingly before their Return unmoored, and was preparing to warp out of the Cove, which he did the Morning after they returned. The Lieutenant, upon his Return, gave the following Report under his Hand, viz. July 27, 1742, I was ordered with the Master to take the six-oared Boat, and to go up *Savage Sound* as high as *Deer Sound*, and try the Tides. I found that, the Flood there comes from the River *Wager*. It flowed there ten Feet Water.

We then sailed from *Deer Sound* from the high bluff Land on the West-side of the River *Wager*. The Course from the Islands off the North-side of *Deer Sound* is North-West, and North-West by North. By Compass Variation allowed West by North. We founded all the Way over, and had no Ground with a Line of sixty-eight Fathom to the high bluff Land. We then ran up a Branch of the main River, and founded and found fifty Fathom one third, over that Branch; there were several Islands in it founded about a League off an Island on the North Side, and found thirty Fathom Water, in running between the Islands and the supposed Main, which was on the West-side of that Branch; the Freshes suddenly turned against us, the Boat altering the Land very much before, founded, and had no Ground at sixty-eight Fathom; as we run up it we founded near a small Island, and had twenty nine Fathom. We steered West North-west, between the Islands and the West Land, by Compass (West by South) there being several Islands in the *Fair Way*, and no Ground in the Middle of the Channel at sixty eight Fathom. We went about fifteen Leagues above *Deer Sound*, and saw a Fresh or Run of Water coming against us; and the Wind being fair, I was afraid of staying any longer, for fear of hindring the Ships from going to Sea; there is a great Probability of an Opening on the West-side, by the coming in of the Whales; but I could not go higher up to try it, for the above-mentioned Reasons.

We went to the Top of a high mountainous Land, from whence we saw a great Run or Fall of Water between the West Land and the Islands. It was very narrow, and, seemingly, not a Mile broad; and at the same Time saw a fair Channel or Streight to the Northwards of the Islands, with Land on both Sides, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*, running away to the Westward, with many bluff Points and broken Lands; in coming down we saw several very large black Whales, playing about the Boat and ashore.

August 1.
1742.

John Rankin.

This being a strong Proof of an open Channel or Streight going to the Southward of a West, the Captain thought it too flagrant, and therefore there being some little Variation between his Account and the Master's, made them cook up the following Report between them, which both were to sign; which being not so particular, did not appear so strong for the Passage. It run in these Words:

Pursuant to an Order from Captain *Christopher Middleton*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Furnace*, bearing date the 27th of July, 1742, We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, took the *Furnace's* Six-oared Boat, and went from *Savage Sound*, where his Majesty's Ships, *Furnace* and *Discovery*, then lay; and on the 28th, at one in the Morning, arrived at *Deer Sound*, where we tried the Tide, and found the Flood came into that Place from the River *Wager*, and rose at that Time ten Feet. At six o'Clock the same Morning we left *Deer Sound* (where we put the two Northern *Indians* ashore to kill some Deer) and sailed for a high bluff Land, on the North-west Side of the River *Wager*. Our Course from the Islands on the North Side of *Deer Sound*, to the high bluff Land, was North-west

west by North, by Compass. We sounded frequently, and had no Ground with a Line of sixty-eight Fathom, all the Way over. When we were a-breadth of the high bluff Land, we steered West-north-west keeping the Mid-Channel, and still found no Ground at sixty-eight Fathom, excepting some Islands that lay in the fair Way, about one third over the River, and thirty Fathom within a League of one of them. This Course we kept until we got about fifteen Leagues from *Deer Sound*; but finding the Tide or Fresh against us, and the Wind coming fair, we were afraid of staying any longer, for fear of hindring the Ships from going to Sea. However, we came to a Grapnel with the Boat, and went up a high mountainous Land, where we had a fair View of the River, from whence we saw a great Run or Fall of Water, between the supposed main Land, and the aforesaid Island, very narrow seemingly, not a Mile broad, about a League from where the Boat lay. But to the Northward we discovered a large Collection of Waters, in which were many Islands, and high mountainous Lands on both Sides of it; the West-side of it having many bluff Points and broken Lands. In our Return towards the Ships, and not far from *Deer Sound*, we saw several large black Whales, of the Whale-bone kind, some of which came very near the Boat; so that upon the whole, we think there may be some other Passage into the Sea, from the River *Wager*, besides that which his Majesty's Ships, *Furnace* and *Discovery*, came in at; and imagine there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, somewhere on the East-side thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. Given under our Hands this 1st Day of *August*, 1742.

John Rankin.
Robert Wilson.

It may be easily seen with what View the Report was altered, the most material Points being changed; for when they got beyond the North-west Bluff, instead of saying that the Current or fresh Water suddenly turned against them; it is here said, being against them, the first being a Tide, the other a Stream. Again, instead of mentioning a fair Channel or Streight over the Islands, running between the high Lands to the Westward, it is here altered to a large Collection of Water to the Northward, in which were several Islands with high Land on each Side of it; the West-side having bluff Points and broken Lands, without determining the Course of the Streight to the Westward. And instead of saying there was a great Probability of an Opening on the West-side, by the coming in of the Whales, it is here altered to, Upon the whole, we think there may be some other Passage into the Sea, from the River *Wager*, besides that which his Majesty's Ships came in at, without determining it to the Westward, as in the other; but on the contrary, to make it seem otherwise, they say, and imagine, there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, somewhere on the East-side thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. This Change seems wholly calculated with a View to leave it undetermined, that the Captain might have it in his Power to say, that the Opening was to the Northward or Eastward, from *Baffin's Bay*, and pretend that the Whales came from thence. But both the Lieutenant and Master have since confirmed that the Streight beyond the Islands, was four or five Leagues wide, free from Ice, and its Course ran West South-west; and the Master having seen further than the Lieutenant, from the Top of a Mountain, where he killed two Deer, was for going further; but the Lieutenant, his Provisions being spent, and he having exceeded his Orders by fifteen Leagues at least (for he computed it twenty Leagues, but the Captain would not allow it to be so far) and had also out-staid his Time, he was afraid he should be put in Arrest, if he proceeded farther, and durst not proceed. However, he took a Bottle of Water filled there at the Shore, and two Bottles filled further down the Streight Eastward. And the Captain, when he came aboard, owned that the Bottle of Water, taken up at the Western End of the Streight, near the Current or Fall of Water, was the saltest, which

the Master said was as salt as any he had tasted in those Seas, which was also confirmed by others who had tasted it aboard. The Lieutenant is now convinced that it was a Tide or Ripling, which came from the West South-west, which stopped the Way of the Boat, and made them come to a Grapnel, and that it was the Tide of Flood; for it was then flowing Water, and flowed six Feet when he was ashore. But the Captain, under pretence it was brackish, would not pursue the Discovery of that South-Western Streight or Passage, but immediately warped out of the Cove; and on the 4th of *August*, the best Month in the Year to perfect the Discovery, he sailed out of the River to make the Discovery North-eastward, the quite contrary Course he should have taken, according to his Instructions. Nor did he call a Council to warrant him for quitting the Discovery; though on all Emergencies, or where it was likely to turn out to Advantage in promoting the Discovery, he was directed to call one, and act for the best of the Service he went upon; but quitted the Passage without Advice, by his own Authority and Pleasure; pretending all the while he was in the Passage, to regret that he could not get out off the River for the Ice in it and the *Welcome*, in order to prosecute the Discovery. After this, in order to have an Excuse, and to pretend that he had followed his Instructions, which was to proceed, without loss of Time, to *Whalebone Point*, and there to endeavour to meet the Tide of Flood, on either Side of that Point he found the best Passage, in case it were an Island, whether the Flood came from the North-west or South-west; and if he found, after doubling the Cape, either a Streight or open Sea, to pursue his Course, still meeting the Tide of Flood; though this limited him to meet the Tide, if it came from any Part to the Westward, yet he finding the Tide did not meet him, but followed him into *Wager River*; and having taken no Pains to know how the Flood was at the West End of the Streight, beyond *Deer Sound*, despising the Lieutenant's first Report, which mentioned a Tide from the West South-west meeting them; thought if he could find a Tide, or have a Probability to account for a Tide's coming from the North Eastwards into *Wager River*, he might then say he followed his Instructions in meeting the Tide, although it came from the North-east; and accordingly, without allowing any Boat to go ashore to try the Tide, until he himself landed at *Frigid*, at what he calls the *Frozen Streight*, he, in his Journal from his own Observations of the Current, always affirms the Tide of Flood came from the North-east, by *Cape Hope* or *Wager River*; and affirms, that at *Cape Frigid* a West-by-south Moon made high Water, and that it flowed from the South Eastward, through a frozen Streight, from four to seven Leagues wide; and accordingly he has laid it down so in his new Chart, since his Return, and pointed all the Darts in it; shewing the Course of the Flood through the *Frozen Streight*, up into *Wager River*, and as far as *Brook Cobham*, along the *Welcome*, where he pretends the South Eastern Tide meets it.

9. Now I shall plainly make it appear from Reason, and from the Observations of experienced Men aboard him, his own Officers, and from his Caution in preventing any aboard him from knowing the Time, Current, and Height of the Tide, by his making his Observations only aboard, and regulating and minuting them down only in his Log-Book and Journal, only as he thought proper; that there was no such Tide from the North-east, and that he must have known that there is no such Tide; but endeavoured to conceal the true Tide from his People aboard. I shall also shew that the Tide of Flood came the contrary Way from the South Westward, near *Brook Cobham*, and so went up Part of *Wager River*. I shall also shew there was no such *Frozen Streight* as he has laid down in his Chart, but the whole is falsely laid down, and the only Streight there was round the Island he stood upon, which was but three Leagues wide, and full of smaller Islands, which Streight went round the Island from North by the East, and came out again by the South and West, between the Island he was on, and the low Beach of *Cape Hope*;

Hope; so that to make out the Point, that he had so far followed his Instructions in meeting the Tide of Flood, he has manifestly and falsely imposed upon the Public in his Chart, by making a Streight and Tide where there was none.

To shew that he has given a false Account of this Tide and frozen Streight I must observe, That when he sent down the Lieutenant and Master to look out for a Cove at the Mouth of *Wager River*, they were inclosed in the Ice, and drew up the Boat upon a large Piece of Ice, which was carried by the Tide of Ebb to the South-eastward, close by the Shore, about *Cape Dobbs*; and when the Tide slack'd they rowed over with the Flood to the North Shore, to get into the Eddy out of the Current, and next Day went up the River. Again, When the Ship sailed up the River they were becalmed, and were afraid of being forced up again by the Return of the Flood; upon which they towed with their Boats ahead, and plied with the Ship's Oars with all their Force to the North-eastward to get out of the way of the Tide of Flood; but if the Flood had come from the North-east, they would have been just in the way of the Tide of Flood, and to have avoided it they ought to have steered their Course South-east, to *Cape Dobbs*; so that both the Accounts tally, that the Flood came from the South-west round *Cape Dobbs*. At half an Hour after two, on the 6th of *August*, he ordered the Lieutenant ashore at the low Beach, to try the Tide, being then four Miles from the Shore; at three he made the Signal for him to come on aboard before he got to the Shore; but he was so near as to report, That the Tide had fallen two Feet; so that he seemed to repent his having sent him to try the Tide, lest he should find a contrary Tide to what he gave out. Tho' the Lieutenant, when he got aboard, told him it was ebbing Water, and that the Ebb went to the South-westward, yet he minuted it down in his Log-Book, and printed it so in his *Defence*, that it was flowing Water, and the Flood came from Eastward; but in his *Journal* he says, it had ebb'd two Feet, and the Flood came from the Eastward.

The Captain's Clerk, Gunner, and Carpenter, went ashore at *Cape Frigid* the 8th of *August*, about ten in the Morning; and after going fifteen Miles into the Country returned to the Boat about seven at Night, when he found it was low Water, and rose fifteen Feet, which being three Days and a half after the Full Moon, a West-south-west Moon made low Water, and consequently a North-north-west Moon made high Water; and having ascertained that a West by North Moon made high Water in *Wager River*, the Tide at *Cape Frigid* being five Points later, could not raise that Tide; for the Tide, the further it flows, is always the later in flowing; and therefore the Tide in *Wager River*, being at least three Hours sooner than at *Cape Frigid*, it could not possibly be caused by any Tide from thence, nor could the Tide near *Brook Cobham*, where a West Moon made high Water, be caused from that Tide for the same Reason, it being above four Hours sooner than the Tide at *Cape Frigid*.

It appears also, that there was no Tide or Current in the Bay above *Cape Hope*; and the Gunner, who was ashore with the Captain, went with the Carpenter two or three Miles farther than the Captain and Clerk, even to the very Shore of what he called the *Frozen Streight*, and consequently knew it better than the Captain. He says it was an Island they were upon, and the Streight was only an Arm of the Sea that surrounded the Island, and detached it from the low Beach; that it was not above three Leagues wide on the East side, and full of Islands; that the Ice was frozen fast from Side to Side; so that it is impossible so great a Quantity of Water could pass through that Passage if it had a Communication with *Hudson's Streights* by *Cape Comfort*, as would fill so large a Bay as that above *Cape Hope* (the Streight from *Cape Hope* to *Wager River*) all that River for thirty or forty Leagues, which was from four to twelve Leagues wide, and the whole Coast of the *Welcome* to *Brook Cobham* above sixty Leagues, and that from a Streight which was but three Leagues wide, and had many Islands in it; so that the Streight, exclusive of the Islands, was not

probably four Miles wide. Besides, had so much Water flowed from that Streight, as he has laid down in his Chart, it must have caused a very rapid Current in the Bay above *Cape Hope*, it being in the direct Course of the Tide. The Captain of the *Discovery* also, in his Answer allows, that the Opening of the Streight he saw, which was betwixt *Cape Frigid* and the *Low Beach* was not above three Miles wide, and no such Tide flowed there as in *Wager River*, although it was so narrow in that Place.

This also accounts for that Arm of the Sea's being frozen which surrounded the Island, because there was no Tide or Current there to break it up. It also appears from the Lieutenant who was left on board to command when the Captain went ashore, that, at eleven o'Clock, after the Captain left the Ship, a strong Current forced him to northward, which must have been the Flood, as it was not high Water until one o'Clock. And it appears also the same from the Men who were left with the Boat; for upon the Captain's Return to the Boat he asked them which way the Flood set, and they said to the Northward; which he contradicted, and said, they were mistaken, for it could not be so. So that from all these Facts, as well as from Reason, it appears, that the Tide of Flood came from the South-westward to that Place and the River *Wager*; and that the Tide and Streight which he has laid down in his Chart, and published in his Journal, is false, and an Imposition upon the Public, and only calculated to serve his Purpose of concealing the Passage, by endeavouring to make out that no Tide came from the Westward, but all through *Hudson's Streight* and *Baffin's Bay*; and that *Wager* was a fresh Water River, and that the Whales seen there came all in through that frozen Streight from *Baffin's Bay* or *Cumberland's Inlet*, he having allowed that none came in through *Hudson's Streight*, or round *Cary's Swans Nest*.

But as a further Confirmation of this South-western Tide, and that it came from the western Ocean, it appears that, after the Captain had neglected looking into the Bays and Inlets in the West side of the *Welcome*, from *Cape Dobbs* to *Marble Island* (although it had been ordered in Council) in these Words, "It was agreed upon " to make the best of our Way out of this cold, dangerous " and narrow Streight, and to make further Observations " between the Latitude of 64 and 62 Degrees on the " North-side of the *Welcome*, having seen large Openings, " broken Land, and Islands, with strong Tides; but " had not an Opportunity of trying from whence the " Flood came, in our Passage hither. Given under our " Hands this 7th of *August*, 1742.

" *Chr. Middleton.*

" *J. Rankin.*

" *Rob. Wilson.*

" *Geo. Axx.*

" *J. Hodgton.*

" *W. Moor*, Master of the *Discovery*."

When he came to *Marble Island*, which he called *Brook Cobham*, having called another Island so upon his going northward, the same *Fox* had called so before, on the 12th, at three in the Morning, he sent the Lieutenant ashore to try the Tide, and to look out for a Place of Safety, to water the Ships before they returned to *England*. The Island was seven Leagues long and three over in the broadest Place. It lay East by South, and West by North, the true bearing Variation allowed, and about three Leagues from what they called the *Western Main*. The Lieutenant on the South-side found an excellent Cove safe from all Winds, with a small Island lying cross the Entrance: He sounded without and within the Cove, and found two and a half Fathom in the Entrance at low Water, and deep and safe lying within it; whilst he was sounding, taking a Draught of the Cove, and upon the Island taking a View of an Opening, he observed on the West Main the *Indians* killed a Deer and a white Bear; and about eight at Night, as they were taking off the Bear-Skin, a strong Tide of Flood came from the North-west by the Compass, and had almost carried the Bear away; which proves that the Tide of Flood came from the Westward. This I shall give

give in his own Words, as he minuted it down at *Marble Island* at the same Time it happened, annexed to the rough Draught he made of the Cove, viz.

This is the Cove upon *Brook Cobham* or *Marble Island*; it was almost dark; my Men were taking the Skin off the Bear they had killed in the Water.

The Tide came suddenly from West-north-west, round the North-west-end of the Island, upon us, and flowed so fast that we had almost lost the Bear; we were forced to throw it into the Boat, our Men up to the Middle in Water, by the sudden Flowing of the Tide; as all the Men can prove.

I am very certain that there is a great Probability of a Passage or Streight leading to some Western Ocean, from the above Reason; for I did observe an Opening to the Westward of *Marble Island*, and desired I might go there: But he told me it did not signify much to go thither; but if I had a Mind to go to *Marble Island* for Water, I might. So I did not come near the Opening I perceived to the Westward; it was almost calm all the Day we lay there.

August 12,
1742.

John Rankin.

After the Lieutenant returned aboard, the Master was sent ashore; upon his Return, he told him, the Tides rose there very high, and wanted to go ashore again, to observe them, which he refused, under Pretence he had staid too long ashore before. It appears from the Journal, that by the Marks on the Shore, it sometimes rose there twenty-two Feet.

It is allowed also, that a North-westerly Wind, at *Churchill*, always raised the Tides higher at Neap Tides, than a South-easterly Wind did at Spring Tides.

The two Northern *Indians*, who were aboard Captain *Middleton*, were very intelligent Men; and the other *Indian* being a very bad Interpreter for them, Mr. *Thompson* the Surgeon, who could speak some of the Southern *Indian* Tongue, was endeavouring to learn their Language, and to teach them *English*; and was making out a Vocabulary of their Language, which the Captain observing, threatened to use him ill, or crop him, in case he had any Correspondence with them; so that he was obliged to meet them in private; and for that Reason could not know so much from them, as he otherwise would; but from the best Account he could get from them, they told him, that the Copper Mine, which they generally went to once in two Years, was not far from the Coast where they were, between Latitude 62 Degrees and 64 Degrees; that it was upon an Arm of the Sea, the Water being salt; that they were five Days in passing it in their Canoes; that it was so deep, that if they cut a Deer's Skin into Thongs, it would not reach the Bottom; that the Streight went towards the Sun almost at Noon, and that there were many large black Fish in it, spouting up Water. *Lovegrove*, one of the Factory Men at *Churchill*, who had been often at *Whalecove*, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, in the Company's Sloop, trading for Whale-Fin with the Natives, also told them, that the Coast there was all a broken Land and Islands; and that upon his going upon one of these Islands, he saw an open Sea Westward of it. *Wilson* also, who has been Master of the Sloop which goes to *Whalecove*, for several Years, told, at *Churchill*, that he had the Curiosity to pass in through those Islands, near the *Whalecove*, and found the Opening enlarge itself South-west, and became so wide, that he could see no Land on either Side. Yet though the Captain might have known this, and much more, which he had from *Norton* and *Scroggs's* Crew, as well as Accounts from the *Indians* before this Voyage to the same Purpose, he never once made an Essay to land upon the Western Coast, or to look out for a Western Tide or Inlet.

What was still as unpardonable as neglecting the Discovery, was his putting the two Northern *Indians* ashore, at *Marble Island*, against their Inclinations, when they were desirous to come to *England*, in a very bad Boat he got at *Churchill*, which they did not know how to manage in an Island three Leagues from the supposed

Main; the *Eskimaux Indians*, their Enemies living upon that Coast, and some hundred Miles distance from their own Country, infomuch that one of them, who was about forty Years old, when he parted with Mr. *Thompson* the Surgeon, with Tears, told him, he did not know what would become of them. He told them, he was very much concerned at it, but since it was the Captain's Pleasure, it must be complied with.

The Captain gave them some Provisions, Ammunition, Hatchets, and Toys; but leaving them in a desolate Island, with a bad Boat among their Enemies, at so great a Distance from their own Country, was unpardonable; when by a Day or two sailing to the Southward, he could have landed them in a Country they knew, where they had no Enemies to be afraid of. The Excuse he made for not bringing them to *England* was, That upon his Return his Friends might be out of the Admiralty, and as he had no Orders to take them home, they would be left a Charge upon him; and when they learned to speak *English*, they would be talking of the Copper Mine and Passage, and would put the Public to the Expence of sending out more Ships in quest of it. And this, no doubt, was the true Reason for that Piece of Cruelty; for he thought if they came to *England*, he should not be able to conceal the Passage.

It is, however, to be observed, that Captain *Middleton*, being an excellent Seaman, has very vigorously defended himself against all these Objections and Imputations; and has offered many plausible Arguments to destroy the most weighty of those Reasons alledged by Mr. *Dobbs*, to prove, that what he calls a River, ought to be accounted a Streight. Thus, in answer to what Mr. *Dobbs* says of its increasing in Breadth and Depth the farther they advanced, Captain *Middleton* observes, that this happens frequently in Rivers, more especially on the *Swedish* and *Norwegian* Coasts; where, though they are narrow, and have no great Depth at their Entrance, perhaps, but ten or twelve Fathoms, yet they afterwards grow wider, and discover no Ground with Lines of two or three hundred Fathoms.

All this may be, and yet this Inlet may be a Streight and not a River; for though there may be Rivers with these Properties, yet Experience shews us that they belong also to Streights; and though the Argument, urged by Mr. *Dobbs*, must be allowed not to be conclusive, if what the Captain says be true, yet it still has great Weight, taking it in Conjunction with the other Reasons offered; because if it is a Streight, we should naturally expect to find things so; and therefore their being found so, still argues this to be a Streight, till some positive Reason can be shewn that it is not so. In short, what Mr. *Dobbs* says amounts to no more than that probably it may be a Streight; and what the Captain answers, allowing it to be true, proves no more than that possibly it may be a River; not that it is so.

As to the Height of the neighbouring Lands, the Captain says, that the Lands about the *Swedish* and *Norwegian* Rivers, are as high as any he saw about the River *Wager*. But allowing this also, it is not at all conclusive. If the Lands had been low, it would have been very improbable that this should be a Streight; but as it is on all Hands allowed that they are high, it is very probable it may be so; the Proof makes one Way as strong as the other, but then it depends entirely on the Strength of the Captain's Memory; and it would have been stronger in his Favour, if he had mentioned the particular Rivers, on the Banks of which he had seen as high Lands, as he owns to be on this.

As to the want of Trees and Shrubs, Captain *Middleton* says, that all who have travelled the Country between the Latitude 58 and 66 Degrees 30 Minutes by Land, agree, that higher than 61 Degrees they saw neither Tree nor Shrub, but only Moss, even among fresh Rivers and Lakes. This again is only a general Assertion, and does not at all prove that it is not a Streight; perhaps, however, Trees and Shrubs might be shewn to grow on the Banks of Rivers in a more Northerly Latitude, at least some Travellers tell us so; but the thing is not very material either Way; but if there had

been Trees or Shrubs, they would have been esteemed Proofs of its being a River; and therefore, among the Arguments of its not being so, there was no Impropriety in mentioning the Want of Trees and Shrubs on all the Lands near it.

As to the black Whales, Seals, and Sea-Horses, seen at twenty Leagues above the Entrance, the Captain gives a very large Return. He says it does not appear, from any Journals, Reports, or Answers, that one Whale was seen higher than *Deer Sound*, which is but fifteen Leagues up; whereas the Westward is above thirty Leagues; or that one Sea-Horse or Seal was seen in any Part of the River; but that several were seen just without the Mouth of the River, in the *Welcome*, is attested by the Log-Book, and by the Affidavits of *Towns*, *Van So-beric*, and *Grant*; and Captain *Middleton* has traded for Whalebone in all Parts of the Bay and Streights where the *Eskimaux* frequent, which could not be if the Whales, from whence they get it, were not killed there; because in ten or twelve Days after they are dead, the Bone all drops from their Mouths; all which amounts, together, to almost a Demonstration, that the Whales, both in the Bay, and *Wager River*, come from the North-east; which is also somewhat confirmed from the great Number of *Indian Store Houses*, of Oil, Fin, and Blubber, not above eight Leagues upon the North-east Coast of the River; whereas their proper Habitations are on the Main, on the other Side the River. Moreover if these Whales come out of any Sea from the Westward, they would have been seen in plenty the higher they had gone up, which was not so. However, Conclusions drawn from Whales being seen in any Place, are, at the best, but very precarious.

In Reply to this, it is necessary to take Notice of a Fact which seems directly opposite to the Account given in Captain *Middleton's* Answer. Mr. *Rankin*, in his Report, has the following Passage: "We went above fifteen Leagues above *Deer Sound*, and saw a Fresh or Run of Water coming against us; and the Wind being fair, I was afraid of staying any longer, for fear of hindering the Ships from going to Sea. There is a great Probability of an Opening on the West Side, by the coming in of the Whales; but I could not go higher up to try it, for the above-mentioned Reasons." In the amended Report this Passage is entirely left out; for as to what is said therein, I mean in the amended Report, signed by *Rankin* and *Wilson*, of their seeing large black Whales in their Return from the Ships, not far from *Deer Sound*; this is also contained in the original Report, wherein Mr. *Rankin* says, *In coming down we saw several very large black Whales playing about the Boat, and ashore*; so that nothing can be plainer, than that the Meaning of *Rankin*, was to distinguish between those Whales, the Sight of which induced him to believe there was an Opening to the West, and the black Whales that he saw in returning to the Ships. And why the former Whales were left out in the amended Report, is a Matter that deserves Consideration; but it is very plain, that as it stood in the original Report, it is irreconcilable to the Captain's Answer; and therefore he was in the right to guard against it, by saying, *However, Conclusions drawn from Whales being seen in any Place, are at the best but very precarious*. It may be so; but it is very evident that Mr. *Rankin* concluded from thence, that there was an Opening to the West; and those who incline to believe him, will conclude so still, though, as the Captain says, that Conclusion be but precarious. And yet their other Conclusion of their coming in from their *Frozen Strait* must be allowed to be altogether as precarious.

As to the last Reason assigned by Mr. *Dobbs*, viz. from broken Lands North-westwards, and a vast Collection of Waters, full of Islands on the South-west-side, this Answer is given by Captain *Middleton*, viz. It is most likely that these watery Places, seen at a Distance, are the same Sort of Lakes of melted Snow from the Mountains, as were every where seen from the Eminences they ascended in that Country, to over-spread the Vallies; but be that as it will, there was no coming nigh them for the Rapidity of the Water-falls, that hindered the Boat from

going higher up then she did, and the immense Quantities of Ice along the South-west Shore.

This Answer is plainly conjectural, and Captain *Middleton* only offers a Supposition to refute what others had affirmed to be a Fact; for Mr. *Dobbs* tells us, that when the Lieutenant and another Person were examined before the Lords of the Admiralty, they positively affirmed that they had seen a fair open Channel, with Lands on each Side, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*. It likewise appears, that the Lieutenant was pressed to go up this Channel; and the Reason he gave for not complying with this Request, was, that he had already exceeded his Orders in extent of Time, and of the Discovery, which he had prosecuted farther than he was directed to do; and therefore declined what was proposed from an Apprehension of being punished upon his Return, if he had complied with it.

10. But we are now to come to those Arguments, which have been produced by Captain *Middleton* in the Affirmative, and in Proof of his Assertion that this is no Strait, but a Fresh-water River. In the first Place, he says, that he conceives it can have no Communication with the Sea Westward, because the Tide of Flood comes in at its Mouth Eastward. To this Mr. *Dobbs* replies, that it was to be considered as a Strait, like the *Magellan*, and therefore he was not to look for the contrary Tide, till they were in the Middle of the Strait. In Confirmation of this, Mr. *Dobbs* farther observes, the Tide at the North-east Entrance of *Magellan Strait* flows from the Eastward, and rises four Fathom before it comes to the first Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathom deep; after a League or two it increases to six or seven Leagues wide to the second Narrow, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep; within the second Narrow it increases again to five or six Leagues wide, and the Tide still flows from the Eastward, and rises about ten Feet. In the Middle Channel, about thirty Leagues within the Strait, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide; and from thence to the Middle of the Strait, it is lessened to two Leagues wide, and about one hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide still flows from the Eastwards for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Strait, the Current of the Tide is not above half an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide rises nine Feet near *Cape Quad*; beyond the Middle of the Strait it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather less; sometimes not four Miles wide; from whence it gradually widens to the West Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide, so that *Wager Strait* is much larger; for so far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues, it being by the Account as mentioned in the Journal six or seven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which if there be no other, is a noble Passage; but there is a great Probability of there being a better and safer Passage to the Southward of *Whalebone Point*, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.

The second Reason offered by Captain *Middleton* is, because of the gradual Declension in the rising of the Tides, which flowed eighteen Feet at the Entrance, but thirteen at *Deer Sound*; and the highest the Boat could go for Water-falls, was no more than five or six Feet. But whoever considers what is before replied to the Argument, drawn from the Tides coming in from the Eastward, will very easily see, that allowing all the Captain says to be true, this is very far from being conclusive; since it appears to agree well enough with what happens in the Strait of *Magellan*; and, besides all this, Mr. *Dobbs* says, that in the Captain's Journal, the Tide at *Savage Sound* is said to have rose but twelve Feet six Inches, instead of fifteen, and at the same Time it rose ten Feet in *Deer Sound*. He likewise says, that when they were behind the *West Bluff*, they did not stay a Tide, and could only conjecture how much it flowed; nor did they observe in their Report, whether the Eastern or Western Current was Ebb or Flood; though upon Recollection, the Lieutenant was positive it was the Tide of Flood from the Westward, which brought the Boat to a Grap-

a Grapnel, it having flowed six Feet immediately after he anchored the Boat.

The third Reason assigned seems the strongest of all; for the Captain therein asserts, that the Water was found to be so fresh in the Mid-Channel, above *Deer Sound*, that the Men freely drank it, along-side the Boat, instead of Beer; and the higher they went they found it the fresher. But it has been before observed, that the Lieutenant, in his Expedition, filled a Bottle of Water at the Shore, and two Bottles farther down to the Eastward; and that the Captain, when he came aboard, owned, that the Water, taken up at the West-end, near the Fall of Water, was the saltest; and the Master said, that it was as salt as any he tasted in those Seas, which was confirmed by all those who tasted it aboard. It is also affirmed, that when the Captain caused the Water to be taken up, which he says was fresh, the Crew did not come entirely into his Opinion, but only said that it was not very salt.

The Captain urges next, that no Whales were seen there; but at the Entrance of the River, and at *Deer Sound*; this being an Argument that they came not from any Sea to the westward, but entered by some Inlet from the North-east. We have already taken notice, that the Lieutenant contradicts this in his original Report, by asserting positively that the Whales came from the West.

And Mr. *Dobbs*, in answer to this very Argument of Capt. *Middleton's*, expresses himself thus: "The next Falstiy he would have imposed upon me was, That the Whales came in certainly at the East Entrance of *Wager River*, for he saw several in the *Welcome* and *Cape Dobbs*, before they came in and after they went out, which none of them saw but himself. And the Journal expressly says, when they came up with the Ice, "Hitherto have been seen no Whales, except one white Whale as big as a Grampus, and five or six Seals: And both Log-Book and Journal are entirely silent about any when they came out, until they came near *Brook Cobham*. When I taxed the Captain with this, all he could say was, he heard one or two blow; yet in the Log-Book which he has printed, he says he heard two or three blow in that Watch, though nothing of it is entered in the Original large Log-Book, nor was any seen by any other Person on board the *Furnace*; nor did Capt. *More*, in the *Discovery*, see any, though two on board him took upon them to swear, they saw or heard two or three blow."

Another Reason made use of by Capt. *Middleton* is, because Travellers which have gone from *Churchill* by Land, as high as the *Arctic Circle*, affirm, that they met with neither salt Water, River, nor Sea, in any Part of their Journey. This Argument would also be very conclusive if the Fact was absolutely certain; but if it was, it is not easy to conceive why Capt. *Middleton*, by his Letters to Mr. *Dobbs*, written before the undertaking of this last Expedition, should give him any Hopes of Success in such an Undertaking; for had he known and considered the Force of this Argument at that Time, in its full Extent, he must have seen that it proved any such Passage as he went in Search of, if not impossible, at least impracticable, and therefore not worth the seeking. When the Reader reflects upon the Observations made in the very last Article upon the Conduct and Sentiments of Capt. *James*, after his Return from *Charlton Island*, he will probably see good Grounds to believe, that Disappointment operates very powerfully upon some Mens Understandings, and engages them to treat as Vulgar Errors what themselves formerly esteemed undoubted Truths, either from an Over-weening Fondness for their own Abilities, or from an envious Desire to put that out of the Thoughts of others, which by Accident was put out of their own Power.

It was however natural enough for Mr. *Dobbs*, after examining this Matter attentively, to wish that all the Doubts about it might be removed by a subsequent Expe-

dition, and one would have thought that this Scheme must have been also satisfactory to Captain *Christopher Middleton* and the *Hudson's Bay Company*; because being so firmly persuaded as they seem to be, that no such Passage can ever be found from *Hudson's Bay* into the *West Ocean*, they should have been willing to have had this Truth, as they esteem it, so fairly and fully made out as to leave no Grounds, or, if possible, no Colour, of Suspicion about it, as this would have entirely justified that Gentleman's Conduct, and have saved the Company all future Trouble.

But it does not appear that this actually was the Case; on the contrary, such Objections were started, and so many Difficulties suggested, as quite overthrew all Hopes of obtaining such Assistance from the Admiralty as they had before; but the Spirit of the Nation being awakened, the Opinion of there being such a Passage gaining Ground, and the Desire of finding it increasing daily, produced an Application to Parliament in 1744, when, after mature Deliberation, a Law passed upon that Subject, in Consequence of which another Expedition has been set on foot.

The Preamble of this Act takes Notice, that as the discovering another West Passage through *Hudson's Streight* to the Western *American Ocean*, would be of great Benefit and Advantage to this Kingdom, and that it would be of great Encouragement to the Adventurers to attempt the same, if a public Reward was given to such Persons as should make a perfect Discovery of the said Passage, it is therefore Enacted, that if any Ships or Vessels belonging to his Majesty's Subjects shall find out, and sail through any Passage by Sea, between *Hudson's Bay* and the *Western Ocean of America*, the Owners of such Ships or Vessels shall be intitled to receive as a Reward for such Discovery, the Sum of *Twenty Thousand Pounds*. The following Persons are, by the said Act, appointed Commissioners for examining the Claims that may be made under it; viz. the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, the Lord Chamberlain, the first Commissioner of the Treasury, the first Commissioner of the Admiralty, the principal Secretaries of State, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the first Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and the Admirals of the Red, White, and Blue Squadrons for the Time being; and these Commissioners are empowered to examine the Claimants Witneffes upon Oath; and the Certificate of the Majority of them (of which the first Commissioner of the Admiralty shall be one) under their Hands and Seals given, shall intitle the Person or Persons, having such Certificate, to receive of the Lord High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury, the said Sum of *Twenty Thousand Pounds*, after the said Discovery shall be completed, and the Certificate thereof produced as aforesaid. As a farther Encouragement, and to promote the executing of, and finding out, such Passage, It is further Enacted, That all Persons, Subjects of his Majesty, residing in any Place where the said Adventurers may come, in the Prosecution of this Discovery, shall give the said Adventurers all Assistance; and Persons, Subjects, as aforesaid, shall no Way obstruct, molest, or refuse the said Adventurers reasonable Succour in any Distress they may fall into in the prosecuting this Discovery. A Proviso is added, that nothing in this Act shall extend to prejudice the Estate, Rights or Privileges of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England*, trading into *Hudson's Bay*.

Such is the History of the Design for penetrating into the *Western Ocean*, by a Passage to the North-west; such have been the Steps taken for putting it in Execution; such the Disappointments with which Expeditions of this Sort have been attended; and such, finally, the Provision made by the Legislature, that whoever shall be at the Expence and Hazard of this Discovery for the public Service, shall receive a public Reward.

SECTION V.

A succinct Account of the Grounds upon which a NORTH-EAST PASSAGE into the Sea of Japon has been expected and sought for. The Attempts of the English and Dutch on that Side, with the Reasons why all Thoughts of a Passage that Way have been for many Years given up.

Collected from *Dutch* as well as *English* Authors.

1. *A View of the Advantages proposed from the Discovery of a North-east Passage, and of the principal Reasons which have induced skilful Geographers, and able Seamen, to believe that such a Passage might be found.*
2. *The Attempts made by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain Stephen Burroughs, Captain Arthur Pett, and Captain Charles Jackman, for the Discovery of that Passage, without Effect.*
3. *An Account of three Voyages made by the famous Dutch Pilot, William Barentz, for that Purpose, and with no better Success; the Reasons that induced Barentz to die in the Perswasion that such a Passage might still be found; and the Motives upon which the Hopes of discovering this Passage were revived, after all Thoughts of it had, for a long Time, been laid aside.*
4. *A short Account of Captain Wood's Voyage, in Search of that Passage, by the Direction of King Charles II. and his Mis-carriage.*
5. *The Reasons published by him, after his Disappointment, to prove the finding such a Passage impossible, or at least impracticable.*
6. *The Discoveries made by the Russians in their Asiatic Dominions, and more particularly their late important Discovery, that there is a very easy Passage that Way to North America.*
7. *The Conclusion of this Subject, with some free Thoughts thereupon, tending to prove, that if we are disappointed in all Attempts of finding either a North-west or North-east Passage, it will amount to a Demonstration that there is a clear Passage by the North, in or near the Pole.*

1. **T**HE Advantages proposed by the Discovery of a Passage to the North-east, may be reduced to three. The first is, That it would save a great deal of Time; for, whereas we are now obliged to go round by the Cape of *Good Hope*, or, which is still a longer Navigation, by the Streights of *Magellan*, we might then pass by the Coast of *Muscovy*, and *Great Tartary*, into the Sea of *Japon*, in little more than three Months. The second turns on the Wholesomeness of the Voyage, which, according to the Methods now in Use, consumes abundance of Seamen; but by this means would become as healthy as any Navigation can be, and be performed with very little Hazard. In the third Place, there is good Reason to hope that it would change the very Nature of the *East India* Trade, by bringing the Balance over to the Side of *Europe*; whereas in the Way we now carry it on, it is morally certain, that if the *West Indies* had not been discovered, the *East India* Trade must have eat up and destroyed us, I mean the People of *Europe* in general; for whatever there may be gained by us, or by the *Dutch*, it is an uncontroverted Point, that immense Sums in Silver are annually sent from *Europe* to balance the Accounts of our Traders with those in the *East Indies*; but if a Passage should be found to this Country by the North-east, we might then hope to gain as much by cloathing the Inhabitants of the Northern Countries as would balance our Commerce with those in other Parts. We are next to examine the Reasons why such a Passage has been expected and sought for; and this may be likewise reduced under three Heads. The First is grounded on the Disposition of the terraqueous Globe, which seems to require a perfect Circulation of that great Body of Water which is intermixed with the Earth; and as we find this Conjecture verified towards the South Pole, it makes the Argument so much the stronger with respect to the North. The Second arises from Observation, which affords Variety of Instances, in Confirmation of the same Notion. We will mention one or two: All the Wood that is thrown on the Coasts of *Greenland*, *Nova Zembla*, *Lapland*, and other Northern Countries is worm-eaten; which is a Proof that this Wood came from a warmer Climate; since it is certain that Ships are not worm-eaten in the Northern Seas. There is likewise a Kind of *Molucca* Bean thrown almost by every Tide upon the Northern Coasts, which is with great Probability believed to be the

Product of the Eastern Climes; and, what still more strongly corroborates this Manner of Reasoning, some *Dutch* Seamen, who were shipwrecked at *Corea*, observed a Harpoon in the Head of a Whale cast upon that Coast, which must therefore have come thither from the Northern Seas. Lastly, there are some Facts which, if they could be depended upon, would put this Matter out of Dispute, since they relate to Ships which have actually passed this Way, or at least have discovered an open Sea through which they might have passed; but as this cannot be verified by proper Vouchers, they ought to be considered only as Reports, and as such I lay no great Strefs upon them.

2. The first who attempted the actual Discovery of such a Passage to the North-east, was Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553. He advanced as far as 72 Degrees North Latitude; but finding himself blocked up by the Ice, he retired, as well as he could, into the Mouth of the River *Arzina*, in *Lapland*; where he and all his Company were frozen to Death, and were the next Year found in that Condition. This did not discourage Captain *Stephen Burroughs*, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, from pursuing this Discovery; on which he failed in 1556, and having doubled the *North Cape*, entered the Streights of *Weygatz*, between the South of *Nova Zembla*, and the Country of the *Samoeds*, believing the Gulph, on the East of that Streight, to be a free and open Sea, in which Opinion he returned to *England*. This occasioned a third Voyage, by the Direction of that glorious Queen, who, in 1580, sent Captain *Arthur Pett*, and Captain *Charles Jackman*, to perfect this Discovery. They entered the Streight, but found themselves so embarrassed among the Ice, that after long struggling, with much Difficulty, they got out again, and resolved to return home; but meeting with very bad Weather, they were separated, and Captain *Pett* was never heard of afterwards, which gave a Check to all farther Thoughts of searching for a North-east Passage, by our Countrymen.

3. But the *Dutch*, who were extremely sensible of the Benefits that might result from such a Discovery, and being withal very emulous of the *English* Glory, resolved to try what might be done in this Respect; and with this View they sent the famous *William Barentz* thither, in 1594, who passed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and having examined

examined the Gulph into which they open, abandoned the Design, after having observed that the Water was fresh, which had not been taken notice of before. He thought, however, that something might still be done, though not that Way, and therefore undertook a second and a third Voyage to *Nova Zembla*, in Hopes of succeeding better. In 1596, which was his last Voyage, he and his Crew wintered in that Country, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees. After having lost their Vessel, they got off the next Spring in their two Shallops, designing for *Cola* in *Lapland*, where they safely arrived; but *Barentz* died in the Passage. He remained to the last Moment in the Sentiments he entertained after his first Voyage, and declared if he had lived, he would have made another Voyage, from a thorough Persuasion, that notwithstanding all he had suffered, there was a free and open Sea between *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*.

The best Accounts we have of this Undertaking, and of the Extremities of *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Nova Zembla*, *Weygatz*, the Mouth of the River *Oby*, the Coast of *Tartary* at the Mouth of that River, and of the *White Sea*, are in the Works of the famous *Linschooten*, who made this Voyage at the same time with *Barentz*. Our great Navigator *Henry Hudson* had some Thoughts of discovering the Passage, and actually made a Voyage for that Purpose in 1610; but the Fate of *Barentz*, and the unpromising Appearance of the Frozen Coasts, obliged him to abandon very soon so troublesome an Expedition. In 1653 the King of *Denmark* fitted out three Ships for the finding the North-east Passage, and directed the making an exact Chart of their Discoveries: These Ships passed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and in the Bay beyond them found some of the Inhabitants of *Nova Zembla* in their Canoes; which were the most brutal and intolerable Savages that were ever seen: Their Garments were made of the Skins of Penguins, Pelicans, and other large Birds, with their Feathers on: They lived upon raw Fish, and had the utmost Abhorrence of more civilized Nations; which was not by any Means to be softened by Presents or kind Usage. This made the *Danes* soon weary of so inhospitable a Coast, and so put an End to the Expedition, which brought such a Discredit on the North-east Passage as prevented any farther Attempts for near twenty Years. At last, after the *Royal Society* was founded here, by which Means Subjects of this sort came to be more known and more freely examined, the Hopes of finding a North-east Passage was again renewed, and several Papers were written, to shew both the Utility of such a Passage, and that the finding of it was practicable.

The first that revived, at least with any Degree of Vigour, the Notion of discovering a Passage to the North-east, after that Scheme had lain so long under Discredit, was a Company of Merchants in *Holland*, who fitted out a Ship for the Discovery; which, upon its Return, brought an Account, That they had sailed to the Height of between 70 and 80 Degrees, and had discovered a fair open Sea, without any Ice to the Eastward of *Nova Zembla*, which seemed so plain and so perfect a Proof of the Probability of a safe Navigation on that Side, that the Merchants concerned in that Undertaking applied to the States for a Charter, that might secure to them the Advantages that might result from this new-found Passage. But the *East India* Company having Notice of this Application, and foreseeing how far it might affect their Trade, instantly petitioned the States on their Side, setting forth the great Services they had done the Republic, the Nature of the Charters which had been granted to them, and the Consequences that must attend the bestowing on this new Company, the Privileges that they demanded. The States had Regard to their Representations, and refused the Charter applied for. The Merchants, upon this, applied to the King of *Denmark*, and having obtained his Licence, an Expedition was made for Discovery; but by reason of a Mutiny on board the Ship, it came to nothing. A large Account of all these Transactions was printed in the *Memoirs* of our *Royal Society*, in the Year 1675, but without any Date; one, however, I have with much Difficulty recovered, which is the Voyage wherein the *Dutch* Merchants were successful, and which I find was in 1670.

The same Person that gave me this Date acquainted me, that at the Time this Application was made to the States, it was asserted that there was no Difficulty in sailing North about *Greenland*; that several *Dutch* Ships had actually done it, and that the Merchants being required to verify this Fact, they desired that the Journals of the *Greenland* Squadron in 1655, might be produced; in seven of which there was Notice taken of a Ship, which that Year had sailed as high as the Latitude of 89, within one Degree of the Pole; and three Journals of that Ship being produced, they all agreed as to an Observation taken by the Master, *August* the 1st, 1655, in 88 Degrees 56 Minutes; and it was farther set forth in those Journals, that the Sea was entirely clear of Ice, and was a hollow rowling Sea, like that of the *Bay of Biscay*.

4. Soon after the publishing the Accounts before-mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Capt. *John Wood*, an experienced Seaman, who had accompanied Sir *John Narborough* in his Voyage through the Streights of *Magellan*, offered his Service to attempt the Discovery of the North-east Passage; which was accepted, and the eight following Persons, viz. *Thomas Duke of York*, Lord *Berkley*, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Sir *John Bankes*, Mr. *Samuel Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Duvey*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*, at their own proper Charge, bought a Pink called the *Prosperous*, of the Burden of one hundred and twenty Tons, fitted her to Sea, with Men, Ammunition, Provision, and Merchandize, which was such as was reasonably proposed to vend on the Coast of *Tartaria*, or at *Japon*, if a Passage had been found. The Command of this Vessel was given to Captain *William Flawes*, and a new Ship of the King's called the *Speedwell*, manned and victualled at the King's Expence, was given to Captain *Wood*, who had the Conduct of the Expedition.

They sailed from the Buoy at the *Nore*, *May* the 28th, 1676, but the Voyage was very unfortunate; for the *Speedwell* was shipwrecked on the Coast of *Nova Zembla*, and Captain *Wood*, and his People, returned aboard the *Prosperous*, which put an End to all Thoughts of Expeditions of this Nature; for Captain *Wood*, like other disappointed Commanders, changed his Opinion upon his Return, and undertook to prove that it was impossible to find any Passage to the North-east. There is nothing very remarkable, either in his Journal, or in that of Captain *Flawes*; but his Relation of his Shipwreck, of the Country of *Nova Zembla*, and his Reasons for changing his Sentiments, are, in themselves, very curious, and therefore deserve the Reader's Notice.

5. "After giving both these Journals, says he, meaning his own, and that of Captain *Flawes*, I intend to shew my Conceptions of the said Voyage, and a true Relation of our Miscarriage, with some Observations made in the said Voyage. The first was, the following the Opinion of *William Barentz*, that was to steer directly North-east from the *North Cape*, and so fall in the Middle-way, between *Greenland* and *Nova Zembla*; so having made the Land to the Westward of the *North Cape*, the 19th Day of *June*, I steered away North-east by Compass, which was not so much by the true Course, because of the Variation that is there Westerly; and the 22d Day at Noon we saw the main Body of Ice, being in the Latitude 76 Degrees, and about sixty Leagues to the Eastward of *Greenland*. At the first seeing of Ice, I did imagine it had been the Ice that joined to *Greenland*, and that if I went more Easterly there might be a free Sea; so I ran close by the Ice, it lying away East-south-east, and West-north-west; and every League or less that we ran, we met with a Cape of Ice; so when we were about that we could see no Ice to the Northward; so standing in North-east sometimes two Glasses, that is one Hour, we could see more Ice ahead, and then we were forced to go out the same Way we came in, and thus I continued coasting the Ice, sometimes in Hopes of a clear Sea, and then again disheartened by seeing more Ice, till at last I had no Hopes at all; which was when I saw the Land of *Nova Zembla* and the Ice join to it. So here the Opinion of *William Barentz* was confuted, and the rest of the *Dutch* Relations, which

“ certainly are all forged, abusive, Pamphlets, as also the
“ Relations of our own Countrymen.

“ But certainly if Men did really consider the many
“ inevitable Dangers and Mischiefs that come upon the
“ broaching of such Untruths, they would never do it ;
“ for I do now verily believe, that if there be no Land
“ to the Northward of the Latitude of 80 Degrees, that
“ the Sea that is there is all frozen, and always continueth
“ so ; for I, that could get no farther than 76 Degrees,
“ found it so frozen without Intermission, and some of
“ the Ice that we saw, that was on the main Body, if it
“ had been conveyed 10 Degrees more Southward,
“ would have taken some Centuries of Years to thaw it ;
“ for the loose Ice that lay about the Edges of the main
“ Body, was not more than a Foot thick, in some Pieces,
“ above the Superficies of the Water, and the rest of the
“ Cake that was sunk, was more than 18 Feet below ;
“ so I conclude that those vast Mountains that were on the
“ main Body, were all ashore, as of Necessity they must
“ if they hold the same Proportion ; and considering the
“ Shallowness of the Water, which I found all along the
“ Ice, which in the Mid-way, between the two Lands,
“ I found to be no more than ten Fathom, was doubt-
“ less a Sign that to the Northward is Land, and that
“ the main Body of Ice, that lyeth clustered about the
“ Shore, may be twenty Leagues or more ; and that
“ *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* are the same Continent ;
“ for if there had been any Passage, there would have
“ been some Current, which I could never, or very hard-
“ ly, find to be any ; and the little there was run East-
“ south-east along the Ice, which is nothing else but a
“ small Tide, which rises some eight Feet. Thus the
“ Ice having been an Obstacle in our Way, as also the
“ Cause of my coming so far to the Eastward, which, be-
“ fore I never intended, I will come to the Misfortune
“ that happened to us in the Loss of our Ship, which was
“ thus : Being long amongst the Ice, the 29th Day of
“ *June*, in the Morning, we had like to have been in-
“ closed in it ; it proving likewise foggy Weather, I
“ stood out to the Southward, thinking to lie there till
“ fairer Weather, or to spend some Time to the South-
“ ward, and then come to the Ice again, to see if there
“ might be any Alteration in it, as to its Removal,
“ either to the East, West, North, or South ; but all
“ this Day it proved foggy dirty Weather, the Wind
“ being at West, so we lay South-south-west with the
“ Stern, and by our Judgment and Reckoning, the West-
“ ermost Land of *Nova Zembla* bore from us East-south-
“ east, that was four Points under our Lee-Bow ; but
“ such was our Misfortune, that it proved not so ; for
“ about ten o’Clock, Captain *Flawes*, being upon our
“ Weather Quarter, fired a Gun, and bore to me, and
“ called out that there was Ice ahead ; then I looked
“ out ahead, saw something white just under the Bow,
“ which presently I perceived to be a Breach and no Ice ;
“ now if I had staid with the Ship, Captain *Flawes* be-
“ ing to the Windward, I should have been aboard of
“ him, and then certainly we had been both lost ; so I
“ was forced to bear up with Hope that I might get
“ clear of it ; but the Ship being a great while wearing
“ struck on the Rock, her Head lying to Seaward, which
“ if it had not, but that the Broad-side had been to the
“ Sea, we had all perished, without God’s great Mercy.

“ Captain *Flawes*, in the mean Time (being a shorter
“ Ship) wore round, and came close under our Stern,
“ and with great Providence escaped and stood off to
“ Sea ; here we lay beating on the Rock in a most cruel
“ Manner, for the Space of three or four Hours, using
“ all possible Means to save her, but all in vain ; for it
“ blew so hard, that it was impossible to carry out an
“ Anchor, capable of doing us any Service ; though
“ we had an Opportunity to carry out a small Anchor,
“ and Warp to haul another out by, which signified but
“ little ; the Ship all this while lay, and at the End of
“ four or five Hours we saw Land close under our Stern,
“ to the great Amazement of us all, which before
“ we could not see for foggy Weather ; so I commanded
“ the Men to get out our Boat before our Mast came by
“ the Board ; which was done. I sent the Boatswain

“ toward the Shore in the Pinnace, to see if there was
“ any Possibility of landing, which I much feared, be-
“ cause the Sea ran so high. In half an Hour he returned
“ with this Answer : That it was impossible to save a
“ Man the Sea ran so high ; and the Snow being in high
“ Cliffs on Shore it was inaccessible, which was but bad
“ Tidings ; so then it was high time to think on the
“ Safety of our Souls, and we all went together to
“ Prayers, to beseech God to have Mercy on us ; for here
“ nothing but inevitable Ruin appeared before our Eyes.
“ After Prayers were done it proved a little clearer
“ Weather, and I, looking over the Stern, saw a small
“ Beach directly with the Stern of the Ship, where I thought
“ there might be some Possibility of landing ; so I sent the
“ Pinnace again with some Men, to be landed ; but they
“ durst not venture on Shore : so I sent the Longboat
“ with some twenty Men, to land, who attempted it,
“ and got safe on Shore ; so they in the Pinnace seeing
“ that followed them and their Men likewise, and both
“ returned on board again. Now the Men on the Shore
“ sent to me to desire some Fire-arms and Ammunition ;
“ for there were many Bears on Shore : So I caused to
“ be put into the Pinnace two Barrels of Powder that we
“ had saved dry, before the Ship was bulged, and some
“ small Arms and Provisions, with my own Papers and
“ Money ; but as she put off from the Ship-side a Sea
“ overfet her, so that all was lost, with the Life of one
“ Man, by Name *John Bosman*, being Cooper’s Mate,
“ and several others, taken up for dead. The Longboat
“ being then on Shore to land more Men ; and they
“ hearing us call from a-board (when, as then, we could
“ not see the Shore) they came on board, and saved the
“ Men ; but the Pinnace was all broken to Pieces, which
“ was no small Grief to us ; so the Lugboat being on
“ board, and the Sea running prodigious high, the
“ Boatswain, and some others, would compel me and the
“ Lieutenant to leave the Ship ; saying, It was impossible
“ for the Boat to live any longer in that Sea ; and that
“ they had rather be drowned than I ; but desiring me
“ when I came ashore (if it was possible) to send the
“ Boat again for them ; so I being half way on Shore,
“ the Ship overfet, so I made all the haste possible to
“ land the Men I had in the Boat ; and, having landed
“ them, I went off to the Ship again, to save those poor
“ Men that had been so kind to me ; and, with great
“ Hazard, I got with the Boat to the Quarter of the
“ Ship, and they came down the Ladder into the Boat,
“ only one Man who was left for dead, which was one
“ that had been cast away in the Pinnace, whose Name
“ was *Alexander Frazer*, a very pretty Sailor ; so I re-
“ turned to the Shore, and got safe to Land, though
“ very wet and cold ; so we hauled up the Boat on
“ Shore, and went up the Land about a Flight-
“ Shot, where our Men were making a Fire, and a
“ Tent with Canvas and Oars, which we had saved
“ for that Purpose ; so we lay all that Night very cold,
“ wet, and weary.

“ The next Morning, the Man that was left on board
“ recovered, and got unto the Mizen-top, for that Mast
“ was left standing when we came away, the others we
“ had cut all down. The Ship laboured, and beat vio-
“ lently, but it blew so hard, and the Sea ran so high,
“ that it was impossible to save him ; so the Weather
“ continuing blowing, with extreme Fogs, and with
“ Frost and Snow, and all the ill-compacted Weather
“ that could be imagined together ; we built more Tents
“ to preserve ourselves, and the Ship breaking in
“ Pieces came all ashore to the same Place where
“ we landed, which served for Shelter and Firing ; be-
“ sides, there came to us some Hogsheads of Flower,
“ good Store, which was no small Comfort in our great
“ Extremity ; and we lay betwixt Hope and Despair,
“ hoping for fair Weather, that Capt. *Flawes* might find
“ us, which was impossible that ever he should, if it
“ continued foggy ; some despairing of his being safe ;
“ but that he might be lost as well as me.

“ But supposing we were never to see him again, I was
“ resolved to try the utmost to save as many as I could
“ in the Longboat ; in order thereunto we raised her two
“ Feet

“ Feet higher, and laid a Deck upon her, to keep the
 “ Sea out as much as possible; and with this Boat and
 “ thirty Men (for she would carry no more) I intended
 “ to row and sail to *Russia*; but the Crew, being not satisf-
 “ fied who should be the Men, began to be very
 “ unruly in their Minds and Behaviour, every one
 “ having as much Reason to save himself as another,
 “ some holding Consultation to save the Boat, and all
 “ to run the like Fortune; but here Brandy was our
 “ best Friend, for it kept them always foxed; so that in
 “ all their Designs I could prevent them. Some were of
 “ the Mind to go by Land; but that I knew was impos-
 “ sible for any Man; neither had we Provisions or
 “ Ammunition to defend ourselves from the wild Beasts;
 “ and if it had been passable, that is, any going on
 “ the Ground for Bogs, they would have met with
 “ Rivers, that they knew not whither to go; so there
 “ being no Probability of going by Land, nor for any
 “ to attempt going by Boat with forty Men, leaving the
 “ rest to be destroyed, I will submit to the Consideration
 “ of any, whether we were not in a very miserable Condi-
 “ tion, without the Intervention of divine Providence. To
 “ write my Thoughts I had at that time, to save as ma-
 “ ny Men as I could, it is not pertinent at all to the Dis-
 “ course, since it cannot but be tragical.

“ The Weather continued still very bad, with Fogs
 “ Snow, Rain, and Frost, till the ninth Day of our be-
 “ ing on Shore, which was the 8th Day of *July*, when,
 “ in the Morning it cleared up; and to our great Joy
 “ one of the Sailors cried out, *A Sail*; which proved
 “ Capt. *Flawes*, as reasonably may be imagined; so we
 “ set Fire to our Town, that he might see where we
 “ were, which he presently saw, so came, and sent his
 “ Boat to us; but before I went off I wrote a brief Re-
 “ lation of the Intention of the Voyage, with the Ac-
 “ cidents that had befallen us, and put it into a Glass
 “ Bottle, and left it in the Fortification I had there built.
 “ So by twelve o’Clock we all got safe on board, but left
 “ all on Shore that we had saved from the Ship, for we
 “ much feared it should prove foggy Weather again.
 “ Now I intend to give a brief Description of the Land,
 “ and the Observations I made there.

“ *Nova Zembla* is so called by the *Russians*, which
 “ signifies *New Land*, in their Language. To prove either
 “ that it is an Island, or whether it joineth to the Continent
 “ of *Tartaria*, would be a very hard Task, nor is it cer-
 “ tainly known to any; for by Circumstances I think it
 “ impossible to prove; and by Experience, the Search
 “ thereof is so impossible that it will hardly be tried;
 “ but let it be either, I think the Matter is not much,
 “ since it is the most miserable Country that lieth on the
 “ Foundation of the Earth; a Country, most part of it
 “ covered perpetually with Snow; and that which is bare,
 “ is not to be walked on, being like Bogs; upon
 “ whose Superficies grows a Kind of Moss which
 “ beareth a small blue-and-yellow Flower; and this is
 “ all the Product of the Earth of this Country. Under
 “ the Superficies of the Earth, about two Feet deep, after
 “ we had dug so low, we came to a firm Body of Ice;
 “ which, as I think, was never heard of before; so
 “ those Men that did imagine, if they were forced to
 “ winter to the Northward, to dig Caves in the Earth
 “ to preserve themselves from Cold, would find here
 “ but very bad Lodging. The Snow lieth here contrary
 “ to what it doth in any other Country; for in all other
 “ Climates the Snow melteth soonest away near the Sea-
 “ side, but here in some Places it rises as high as either
 “ of the Forelands in *Kent*.

“ The Sea has washed underneath the Snow a prodigi-
 “ ous way, and the Snow from the Western Sea, upon
 “ the high Ridge, over-hanging, is most fearful to be-
 “ hold, and up from the Water-side, upon the first
 “ Ridge of Hills, the Snow was melted, till you came
 “ to the next Ridge, which are mountainous, and they
 “ all the way up are covered with Snow, which I believe
 “ hath lain there ever since the Creation; but after we
 “ had ascended this, which in some Places was almost
 “ perpendicular, we came to the Top of all the Moun-
 “ tains, as we supposed, for we could not see far, for we
 “ could hardly see one or the other, the Fog was so thick,

“ and remained so all the Time we were in the Country;
 “ but on the Top of the Hills we found it bare from
 “ Snow, and indifferent good walking. The Beasts that I
 “ found in the Country were only Bears. I continued on the
 “ Top of those Hills some two Hours, and went as far as
 “ was convenient, that we might find the Way back again.
 “ Here I found the Track of many large Deer; also we
 “ found an Horn or Branches of Deer. Besides Deer, there
 “ are abundance of large white Bears, and some Foxes,
 “ and a little Creature much like a Coney, but not so big
 “ as a Rat; and some few little Birds like Larks; and
 “ these are all the Beasts or Fowls we found in the Coun-
 “ try. Every quarter of a Mile there runneth down from
 “ the Hills, into the Sea, a small Rivulet of very good
 “ Water, which is melted from Snow. Upon the Hills
 “ we found abundance of Slate-Stone, which made it
 “ good walking; but at the Sea-side, where the Rivulet
 “ came down, we found very good black Marble, with
 “ white Veins in it.

“ The Point where we lost our Ship I called *Speedill*;
 “ the high Hills I called *King Charles’s Snow Hills*; and
 “ the next Point to the Southward, which is the Wester-
 “ most Point of *Nova Zembla*, I named *James’s Fore-*
 “ *land*, and the Point to the Northward, *York Point*.
 “ *Speedill* lieth in the Latitude of 74 Degrees 30 Mi-
 “ nutes North, and in the Longitude, East from the Ci-
 “ ty of *London*, 63 Degrees; the Variation of the Com-
 “ pass is 13 Degrees West, and it is full Sea at the South-
 “ west Moon. The Tide riseth eight Feet, and setteth
 “ directly upon the Shore, which is a certain Sign that
 “ there is no Passage to the Northward. The Sea
 “ Water, about the Ice and Land, is very salt, and
 “ much saltier than any I ever tasted, and a great deal
 “ heavier, and I may certainly say, the clearest in the
 “ World; for I could see the Ground very plain in
 “ eighty Fathom, which is four hundred and eighty Feet,
 “ there being few Steeples so high as that was deep,
 “ and I could see the Shells at the Bottom very plain.”

Upon this Account, and these Reflections, I have only
 a few of these Observations to make. In the first Place,
 it is owned by Captain *Wood*, that he did not sail so high
 as the *Dutch* did by 4 Degrees; in this he says he was
 hindered by Ice, and no doubt he might be so; but his
 Conclusions from thence, that it is impossible to proceed
 higher that Way, and that the Accounts we have of those
 who have proceeded farther, are to be regarded as ficti-
 tious, is very wild and extravagant; for that it is pos-
 sible to sail to the South of *Greenland* is notorious, and
 that there may be a Channel between this broken Land
 and *Nova Zembla*, is more than probable; but that this
 Channel may be very difficult to find, may be free from
 Ice but for a small Part of the Year, and that in some
 hard Winters it may not be free at all, is very possible.

In the next Place, I must take notice, that notwith-
 standing we see it laid down, that searching higher than
 sixty-four Degrees on the North-west-side is to no pur-
 pose; because if a Passage could be found in a higher
 Latitude, it would be impracticable on the Score of Ice
 and Cold, yet we see that a Passage has been sought
 on the North-east-side; and as a Company of *Dutch* Mer-
 chants affirm, without any Reason for affirming it if it
 was not true, that such a Passage has been found into a
 Sea free from Ice; his shews that Opinions ought not
 to be too hastily taken up, which limit the Intelligence
 and Power of Mankind; and that we should not be over-
 ready to listen to such Doctrines in Geography or Navi-
 gation, as are evidently dictated by Disappointment.

My last Observation is, that on the North-east, as well
 as on the North-west, there appear to be broken Lands,
 which, if we consider the Nature of things, seem to indi-
 cate a Passage; and that such a Passage on either Side is
 worth seeking, by the Inhabitants in the Northern Part of
 the World, will appear plainly to any Man who considers
 the Nearness of that Passage, in Comparison of the
 Streight of *Magellan*; and therefore we need not at all
 wonder, that from Time to Time new Attempts are
 made, notwithstanding repeated Disappointments. I must
 confess, that with respect to us, a North-west Passage de-
 serves the Preference, because of our Possessions in *Hud-*
son’s Bay, which would enable us the better to secure it;
 and

and therefore I confess it appears to me highly reasonable, that if a Reward of 20000 *l.* shall be found, not to produce the desired Effect, it should be enlarged to 100000 *l.* for this plain Reason, that the Benefit of this Passage, when found, would result to the Public; and the Reward for finding it, however large, as it would be paid to our own Subjects, ought not to be esteemed either a Burden or a Loss to the Public.

6. The Situation of the Dominions of *Russia* is so favourable for Discoveries on this Side, that it may be justly wondered we have not long ago had a clear and certain Relation from the Subjects of that Empire, in Reference to their Commerce with the Nations inhabiting the Northern Parts of *Asia*; but partly from our Want of Correspondence formerly with the *Russian* Court, partly from the great Ignorance of the People inhabiting the Northern Provinces of that Empire, and partly from the frequent Revolutions to which their Government has been always subject; so it has fallen out, that till within this last Century we have never had any considerable Informations from thence; and even now we are very far from having such clear and distinct Accounts, as are necessary to resolve this great Question, whether there is, or is not, a Passage to the North-east?

Thus much, however, is pretty clear, that the Straights of *Weygatz*, as they were called, do not open into the Sea of *Tartary*, or the *Northern Ocean*, but into a Gulph which is bounded on the North-east by a high mountainous Country, by which it is joined to the Continent; neither have we any absolute or positive Account, that the Sea, to the North of *Nova Zembla*, is navigable or free from Ice. But in the Reign of *Peter the Great*, and since his Time, vast Discoveries have been made to the Eastward, and through that Sea, into which Ships must necessarily come, if a North-east Passage could be found. The River *Lena* falls into the *Northern Ocean* very near, if not under, the *Polar Circle*; and from thence the Continent extends two hundred Leagues to the Mouth of the River *Kebuma*, all which is subject to the *Russians*.

Beyond this River lies the Country of the *Tychaltski*, a very barbarous and warlike People, who possess a Country one hundred and twenty Leagues in Extent, from West to East, and is the utmost Bounds of *Asia* on that Side. This Country, which reaches as far North as 66 Degrees, is also the Extremity of that great Peninsula, to which the *Russians* have given the Name of *Kamschatka*; the West-side of which is, in a good Measure, under their Power, and some Settlements they have on the East. The Southern Extremity of this Peninsula, is that Country so well known to the World, by the Name of the Land of *Jedzo*, directly over against *Japon*; so that this great Peninsula has the Ocean on the North and on the East, the Sea of *Japon* on the South, a Gulph of its own Name, which divides it from *Corea*, *Chinese Tartary*, and the Dominions of *Russia*, to the West; it extends from the Latitude of 39 to 66 Degrees, and contains 15 Degrees of Longitude, or thereabouts.

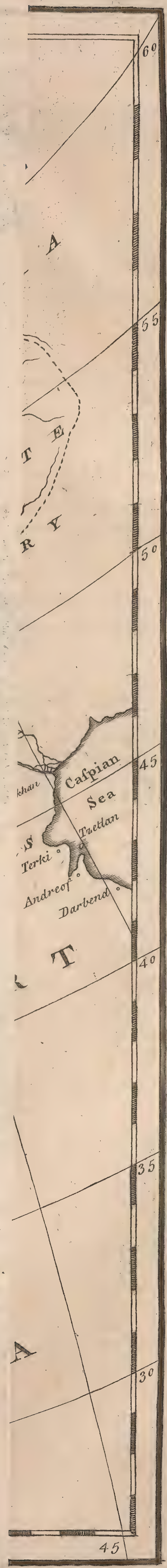
On the East-side of this Country lies a very large Island, called *Puchochotki*, extending from the Latitude of 59 to 63 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are tributary to the *Russians*. To the South of this lies another large Island, from 51 to 55 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are a very warlike People, hitherto unsubdued, and with whom the *Russians* trade for Castors, and other rich Furs. It is from this Island that one Mr. *Stoller*, a famous Botanist, sailed last Year upon Discoveries, and is said to have found but a very short Passage to the Coasts of *North America*. The Reader will easily apprehend this, if he pleaseth to consider what we have heretofore delivered, of the Situation of the Countries on this Side, from the Frontiers of the *Russian* Dominions, to *California*; for, without doubt, in the Accounts we have from *Peterburgh* of this Matter, they can mean no more by *North America*, than that Mr. *Stoller* had discovered Islands to the Eastward of those with which the *Russians* were hitherto acquainted; but whether these belong strictly to *America* or not, is a Question, that, till we are better acquainted with the Nature of this Discovery, cannot be resolved. The Reason I have mentioned it is, because it affords a clear and certain Proof, that if we could pass to

the North-east of *Nova Zembla*, we should find a short and easy Way to *Japon* and *China*; notwithstanding all that has been before asserted by Captain *Wood*, who, from his own Account, appears not to have failed far enough to the North, to be able to contradict, with any tolerable degree of Assurance, the Truth of what was asserted by the *Dutch* Navigators, upon the Faith of actual Discoveries; for he was shipwrecked in the Latitude of 74 Degrees, and they past to the North of *Nova Zembla*, in the Latitude of 80 Degrees; and if they could have perfected that Discovery, there is no doubt but that, by this Time, all the Trade of *China* and *Japon* had been carried on that Way; for it appears clearly, from the *Russian* Accounts, that those *Dutch* Navigators were actually advanced into that Part of the *Northern Ocean*, which washes the Coast of *Kamschatka*, and consequently had no great Impediments to hinder them in their Passage to *Japon*, and from thence to *China*.

7. We will conclude this Section, with observing, that from the Nature of the Tides in *Hudson's Bay*, on the Coast of *Greenland*, and in other Parts of the North Seas, it is apparent that some Way or other they have a Communication with the Ocean, for otherwise it is simply impossible they should rise so high as they do; and therefore if after all our Endeavours no Passage should be found to the North-west or North-east, we may rest satisfied, that this Communication is from the North; and that by passing round *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, we might enter what is called the *Tartarian Sea*, or that Part of the Ocean which washes the Northern and Eastern Extremities of *Asia*. This might always have been discovered by dint of reasoning, since the Figure of the Globe, and the Disposition of the several Parts of it, have been tolerably known; but in Proportion as the true Figure of the Earth has been found out, by the Skill and Labour of Mathematicians; and as their Accounts of this Matter have been justified by Experiments, this has grown clearer and clearer; so that at present there can remain few or no Doubts about it, in the Minds of those who are competent Judges of the Subject.

It seems therefore to be a Point of the greatest Importance to make the best and speediest Use of the several Lights we have received that is possible, in order to obtain a Share, at least, in the vast Advantages that must necessarily accrue from the being able to extend our Navigation through any of these Passages. We have certainly, in this Respect, as great or greater Opportunities than any of our Neighbours; and there seems to be, at present, such a Spirit in the trading Part of our People, as would dispose them to be at any Expence that should be necessary to carry Attempts of this Nature into Execution. There is, likewise, another Motive to excite our Industry in this Respect, which is the Incertainty of our being able to secure any Advantages we might desire from a Trade through *Russia*, which we are told, of late, is become more and more precarious. But if we could once perfect this Design, of penetrating into the East by a new Passage, we should not only be less dependent upon the Courtesy of that Government, but likewise have it in our Power to make it more dependent upon us, in case we should be able to fix a considerable Settlement on any Island in those Parts.

There is no doubt but abundance of Objections may be raised to a Scheme of this Nature, which at present would be very difficult to answer, because we must proceed on both Sides, merely upon Supposition; but if the Discovery was once made, the Case would be altered, and the Advantages flowing from it would encourage us to take such Measures, as by the Help of our great maritime Power, which can never be better employed than in supporting the Commerce of the Nation, might secure to us the Trade of these *New Indies*. If any thing delivered in this Performance, either now or at any Distance of Time, shall fortunately lead to promote or facilitate such a Discovery, it would fully answer the Ends of its Author; and if not, he must be content with the Satisfaction of having offered all that occurred to him upon a Subject, which he thought might be improved to the Benefit of his Country.



A
NEW and ACCURATE MAP
of
EUROPE
Drawn from the best
Authorities, assisted by
the most approved Modern
Charts & Maps,
and adjusted by
Astronomical Observations.
By Eman. Bowen,
Geographer to His Majesty.

English Miles
60 120 180 240 300





CHAPTER II.

Comprehending such VOYAGES and TRAVELS, as relate to the Northern Parts of *Europe*, and such of the Countries adjacent, as are subject to any of the *European Powers*.


SECTION I.

A VOYAGE to the NORTH, containing an Account of the SEA COASTS and MINES of Norway, the Danish, Swedish, and Muscovite Laplands; Borandia, Siberia, Samojedia, Zembla, and Iceland; with some very curious Remarks on the Norwegians, Laplanders, Russians, Poles, Circassians, Cossacks, and other Nations.

Extracted from the Journal of a Gentleman employed by the North-Sea Company at *Copenhagen*; and from the Memoirs of a *French Gentleman*, who, after serving many Years in the Armies of *Russia*, was at last banished into *Siberia*.

1. *Introduction to this Section; an Account of the Author; the Occasion of his Voyage; his Arrival in Norway; and Observations made by him on the Country; its Produce and Inhabitants.* 2. *His Arrival at Berghen; Journey from thence to the Copper and Silver Mines; with other curious and entertaining Particulars.* 3. *He prosecutes his Voyage from Drontheim; the Practice of the Laplanders in selling Winds; and the Nature of that Imposture detected.* 4. *He is driven by a Storm on the Coast of Danish Lapland; an Account of that Country; its Produce and Inhabitants; their great Poverty, and their Willingness to exercise Hospitality so far as is in their Power.* 5. *The Author's Journey, from the Danish to the Muscovite Lapland; a Description of the Sledges, Reindeer, and other Singularities of those Parts.* 6. *The Prosecution of this Subject; an Account of the Kilops, the most brutal and savage of any of the Lapland Nations; and the Author's Arrival at Kola, the Capital of the Muscovite Lapland.* 7. *His Departure from Kola, and his Adventures in his Return; with a Description of the Manner in which the Laplanders travel in their Snow-Shoes.* 8. *A Description of the Coasts of Borandia; the Manner of his first Interview with the People of that Country; the Motives which induced him to think of making a Journey from thence by Land, to Siberia.* 9. *The Manner in which he and his Companions travelled to Vitzora; their Reception by a Russian Governor; Trade with him for Furs; and obtain his Leave and Assistance for continuing their intended Journey.* 10. *They proceed from thence to Petzora, trade by the Way, and are kindly treated by the Inhabitants.* 11. *The Author enters Siberia; Description of that Country; Manner in which those People live, who are exiled; his Conference with a French Gentleman banished thither, who made him a Present of his Memoirs.* 12. *An Account from those Memoirs, of the Manners, Customs, and Vices of the Russians; their Religion, Contempt for Learning, and Obstinacy in adhering to their own Sentiments.* 13. *The secret History of a Russian Princess, who, by a malicious Contrivance, was hindered from espousing the Czar Alexis, Father to the late Peter I. and other Particulars.* 14. *Of the Dignity of the Patriarchs of Russia; the strange Superstition of the People; the Manner of their punishing Heretics, and other things worthy of Notice.* 15. *Of the Circassians and Cossacks; of the Laws of Russia; of the Russian Letters; Manner of writing; and a Character of the then reigning Emperor.* 16. *The Rise and Progress of the Russian Empire; the History of John Basilowitz; and a remarkable Story of the English Ambassador, Sir Jerom Bowes, with other Events during his Reign.* 17. *The Derivation of the Word Czar; the Style of the Russian Emperor; and an Account of his Family and Court.* 18. *Of the Czar's Revenues; the Empress's Court; and the Manner in which Ladies of Quality travel in that Country.* 19. *Of the Nature of the Punishments in Russia; Manner of inflicting them; with various other Particulars.* 20. *Some Account of the Poles; the strange Diseases to which they are subject; and a Comparison between the Polish and Russian Language.* 21. *The State of the Russian Empire at that time; the principal Favourites and Ministers; with some very curious and remarkable Passages relating to the Politics of that Court.* 22. *Of the Commodities and Trade of Russia; and of the Methods used by the Dutch to recommend their own Wares, and prejudice those of the English.* 23. *A large Description of Siberia; the Manners of the Inhabitants, and those who live amongst them; with an Account of the Produce of that Country.* 24. *This Subject continued; and a Description of the Fruits, strange Beasts, Birds, &c.* 25. *A short Account of Tartary, and some of its Inhabitants, particularly the Calmucs, &c.* 26. *The History of the Author's Travels resumed; his Arrival at Papinogorod; and his Journey thence into Samojeda; Description of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 27. *He prosecutes his Travels to Zembla; Account of that Country, its Inhabitants, and the Fishery upon its Coasts.* 28. *This Subject farther prosecuted;*

cuted; the Fierceness of the Bears; strange Birds there, and other Circumstances. 29. Of the Author's Arrival in Greenland; an Account of the Herring Fishery, and his Voyage thence to Iceland. 30. A Description of that Island, and its Inhabitants, with various other Particulars. 31. The Author's safe Return to Copenhagen; the Rarities presented to the King of Denmark; and his Majesty's Satisfaction with the Account given him of this Voyage. 32. The Author's Remarks, on the erroneous Accounts formerly published of the Countries through which he travelled. 33. Some farther Observations upon the Facts delivered in this Section.

HE following Voyage, though written just a Century ago, has, notwithstanding, a great Variety of Circumstances, which ought effectually to recommend it: As for Instance, it relates to Countries that have been very little visited since; and therefore what is written about them here may be considered as new, though penned at such a Distance. The Author appears plainly to have been a Man of great Curiosity; one great End of his Travelling being to inform himself; to which his principal Motive was the Desire he had of informing others. He was remarkably fortunate in the Opportunities that offered themselves for this Purpose; and he was no less diligent and assiduous in improving these Opportunities to the utmost. The Accounts he gives us are equally candid and circumstantial; he shews much Willingness to acquaint us with what he saw, and with his Notions upon every Subject; he has added to his own Performance, that of another Person; who had the same Occasions to make himself acquainted with the interior of the Country, that he had to examine the Sea-Coast; he tells us very fairly how he came by these Memoirs; so that we have all the Reason in the World to be satisfied with his Conduct, and to think ourselves obliged for the Care and Circumspection he has used. There is no doubt, that many things will occur in the Perusal of this Section, which critical Readers may see just Cause to dislike; but we cannot expect that Men, who, like our Author, are driven all the World over for a Subsistence, should have the same Qualifications with those who spend all their Days at Ease, and in the quiet Pursuit of Learning, in a regular Method. We must take Mankind as they are, and judge of their Writings according to their Capacities; making such Allowances as are reasonable, and as we should expect if we were in their Places. These Travels follow very naturally, and may serve as a proper Supplement, in many respects, to what is laid down in the former Chapter; and having thus shewn the Nature of this Performance, and why we give it a Place here, let us proceed next in the Words of our Author:

About the Year 1647, *Frederic the III^d. King of Denmark*, being desirous to advance and increase the Trade of his Kingdom, established two Companies of Merchants at *Copenhagen*, his capital City; the one was an *Iceland Company*, and the other was a Company of Traders to the North. The latter, having observed that the Trade to *Norway* was very beneficial, obliged all that were concerned in that Company to sign a Petition to his *Danish Majesty*, in *February 1653*, representing that a great Profit would arise to his Subjects, by encouraging that Trade more, and enabling them to enlarge it, by making further Discoveries to the North, whence several rich Merchandizes might be imported. His Majesty listened to their Request, granted it, and allowed them to extend their Commerce as far Northward as they should think fit; upon which they fitted out several Ships, to make a Voyage to *Norway* and the North. It happened I was at *Copenhagen* when one of the Northern Fleets was outward bound; and understanding the King had commanded the Undertakers of this Enterprize to make all possible Discoveries of the Countries to which they came, and to bring back the most rare Curiosities that they could find, I took a Fancy to the Voyage; one of the Company being my Friend, I went to him, desired him to recommend me to his Partners, as a Person qualified to go Surgeon of one of the Ships. It was not difficult for him to succeed in procuring that Employment; the Company entertained me, and I entered into their Service.

All our Merchandize, Provisions, and Necessaries, be-

ing aboard, we embarked in the Beginning of *April*, 1670, weighed Anchor, and set sail with two Ships in our Company, and fair Wind and Weather, from the Port of *Copenhagen*. We had a fresh Gale at South-east, till we arrived at *Kat-Gat*, a Streight which divides the *German Ocean* from the *Baltic Sea*. It is a very dangerous Passage, full of Rocks, and is forty Leagues in Length, from *Elsenore* to *Schagerhort*. When we came over against *Mailstrand*, a little City and Sea Port about thirty Leagues from *Copenhagen*, the Wind turned Northward, drove us back ten Leagues, and forced us to make some Port on the Coast. The first we came at we put into, and that was *Schalot*, a Creek; where we cast Anchor, and rode safe under the Castle, which looked rather like a heap of Ruins, than a Place that was inhabited: 'Tis famous only for its Promontory; well known to Mariners who use the *Baltic*. We staid there near three Days; on the fourth, an Hour before Sun-rising, the Wind shifted again to the East, so we weighed Anchor to proceed on our Voyage. We had not been at Sea above four Hours before the Wind varied to the North-east, and blew so stiff a Gale, that we were obliged to leave the Coast of *Gottenburgh*, on which Shore we were then, and to steer directly over to that of *Jutland*. The Sands being frequent and shallow in those Parts, we were obliged to be almost always casting our Lead. As we sailed along this Coast, a Gust of Wind drove us to a Place where there were but three Fathom and a half Water; and we should certainly have run aground, had not our Pilot, who was a very dextrous Seaman, immediately tacked; when, getting the Advantage of the Wind, in half an Hour we founded, and had fifteen Fathom Water.

By the Help of a side Wind, we held on our Way for near two Leagues from the Sands; here we found ourselves in an Eddy, where we were as steady as if we had been at an Anchor. We presently furled all our Sails except the Top-Mast, endeavouring to keep ourselves out of it; but all our Endeavours would have been in vain, had not the Wind varied a Point or two to the South-east. We then loosed our Sails, got through it, the Wind blowing fresh, and sailed towards the Coast of *Babus*; we continued our Course several Days and Nights; and about eight o'Clock one Morning discovered the Promontory of *Christian Sand*, in *Norway*. The Village that gives Name to the Mountain is small, the Port, however, is commodious. We did not stay long there, for the next Day we arrived at *Christiana*, or *Oslo*, the capital City of one of the five Governments of that Kingdom. As soon as we were got into Port, we went ashore to deliver our Letters to the Company's Agents; who received us with Joy, for the good News we brought them, of the King's giving Encouragement to the *Norway Company*, to make their Discoveries, and enlarge their Trade in the North. One of these Agents hearing I was a Stranger, and had been recommended to his Principals, by one of their Society, and not the least considerable Merchant among them, was very civil to me, shewed me all that was worth seeing, and told me all that was worth knowing, relating to the Place at which we arrived. He also commanded a Servant of his, who spoke *French* tolerably well, to go with me into the Country three or four Leagues, that I might see more of it. Early next Morning we took Horse, and rode to *Wistby*, a large Village, nine Miles from *Christiana*, which stands between two Mountains; the Houses are very low, and of Wood, without Iron-work or Windows. There is a sort of Lattice on the Top of the Houses, to admit the Light, and they are all covered with Turf.

The Reader is desired to take notice, that this is not *Wistby*,

Wisby, the Capital City of *Gothland*, where the Marine Laws were made, which are so famous. The *Norwegian* Peasants are simple, and very hospitable: They are all Fishermen; their only Trade is in Herrings, Cod, Stock-fish, and other Fish fresh salted or dried: They are Slaves to the Nobility. The *Norwegian* Women are very handsome, though they are red-haired; they love Strangers, and are good Housewives: They spin, and make Cloth for their Families; they look after the Cattle, of which there are great Numbers of all Kinds, as in *France*. There is also Plenty of Game in this Country; as Elks, Stags, Roe-bucks, Boars, Goats, Rabbits, Hares; all Sorts of wild Fowl, Otters, Linxes, and wild Cats of divers Colours. All *Norway* is a mountainous Country, and consequently Bread-Corn will not grow there in any Quantity; but the Inhabitants are abundantly supplied from other Parts, by their Commerce, and what they want of Corn-Ground, is made up in Pastures and Woods. As we were returning towards *Christiana*, we met a Gentleman of the Neighbourhood, followed by two Servants and some Dogs, going a Hunting: He knew the Man that was with me, and asked him if he would divert himself with an Elk-Chace, bidding him ask the same Question of me. We had Time enough upon our Hands, so we readily accepted his Proposal. After we had rid about a Mile we met his Huntsman, some other of his Servants, and ten or twelve Boors, who led us three Miles further, to a Wood full of Bushes; when we came to the Entrance of it we alighted, and gave our Horses to one of his Domestics.

The Chace had been prepared the Day before by the Gentleman's Vassals, or rather Subjects; for the Nobility of *Norway* are Sovereigns under the King, in their own Territories. We were scarce forty Yards within the Wood, before we perceived an Elk running towards us; but before we could fire a Piece he dropped. I asked of my Guide and Interpreter, how the Beast came to fall down dead in that manner? He answered, It was the Nature of that Animal to be taken thus with a kind of Falling-Sickness, which often seized him in the Beginning of the Chace. I did not stand to reflect whether his Fears might not contribute to his Distemper. I seemed to doubt the Truth of it, and thought it to be an Accident which did not often happen; my Guide assured me to the contrary, adding, that from this Disease they were called *Elks*, or miserable Creatures. The Beast is as big as a great Horse, his Body like a Stag's, but larger and longer; his Legs are long, his Feet broad and cloven, his Antlers great, hairy, and broad, like a Fallow-Deer's, but not so well furnished with Horns as a Stag. Had he not dropped as he did, I believe it would have been hard for us to have brought him down, as I perceived soon after when we had rouzed another, which we chased above two Hours before we could catch him; and we had never caught him had he not dropped down dead, as the other did. He killed three of the Gentleman's best Dogs with his Fore-feet; the Gentleman was extremely sorry for the Loss of them, and would hunt no more. He sent to a Farm of his a Mile off for a Cart, to carry the Game we had caught to his Castle; we accompanied him thither at his Request: It was built like the rest in that Country, after an odd manner; stood four Miles from *Wisby*, and he treated us there very splendidly.

My Guide telling the Lord of the Castle that I was a *Frenchman*, employed by the *Norway* Company at *Copenhagen*, he made me a Present of the two hinder Left-legs of the two Elks we had killed, or rather seen die of themselves; giving me to understand it was no small Favour, those Legs being an infallible Cure of the Falling-Sickness. I replied by my Interpreter, I wondered, since the Foot of an Elk had so much Virtue in it, why the Animal that carried it always about with him, did not cure himself. The Gentleman reflecting on what I had said, laughed out aloud, and told me I was in the right; for that he had given it to several Persons afflicted with the same Disease, and it did not cure them; wherefore he had a long time suspected that the pretended Virtue of the Elk's Foot was a vulgar Mistake; of which, he said, he did no more doubt than that the eating of the Flesh of the Beast infected People with their Distemper. He gave me many

Instances of the bad Effects eating Elks Flesh had on Human Bodies. I answered, the Nails of these unhappy Persons would be a more sovereign Cure in an Epilepsy, than those of an Elk.

The Gentleman obliged us to lodge with him that Night; and early the next Morning, after we had made a good Breakfast, we took our Leaves of him and returned to *Christiana*, where we staid four or five Days; and having received further Orders and Directions from the Company's Agents there, embarked, weighed Anchor, and made the best of our Way for *Bergben*. We had a fresh Gale at North-east till we arrived at *Strafanger*, where we were on a sudden becalmed; and having nothing else to employ ourselves about, we fell all to fishing; there is abundance of all Sorts of Fish on the Coasts of *Norway*; we got such Store by our Fishing that we were forced to keep *Lent* a long while after, being unwilling to throw the Fish overboard: The Calm lasted five Days. On the 6th, towards Evening, it blew up a brisk Gale South-east, by which in a few Days we reached the Port whither we were bound to unload the Merchandize we had taken in for that Place.

2. We anchored in the Port of *Bergben*, one of the finest in *Europe*; and when our Cargo was unladen, I went to see the City, which is as large as *Abbeville*; it is divided into the high and low Town; the one built on Rocks, the other on the Sea-Shore. It is full of Merchants, and was formerly an Archbishopric, which was abolished upon the Reformation of Religion in the King of *Denmark's* Territories. The Episcopal Palace was given to the *Hanse-Towns*, the principal of which are *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, and *Bremen*, for the antient Merchants to live in; and the greatest Part of the Houses were turned into Warehouses, from whence they are called *Cloisters*, and the Merchants *Monks*, though they do not wear a Cowl, nor observe the Rules of any Order. This Place, in the Popish Times, belonged to a Convent adjoining to the Episcopal Palace; and when it was granted to the Merchants, trading to and from the *Hanse-Towns*, the King obliged them to keep up the Form of a religious House so far, that no-body should marry who lived in it.

He that will have a Wife must leave the Cloister, and live elsewhere; however, he may deal and correspond with his Brethren, whose principal Trade is in Herrings, Cod, and Stock-fish, Commodities that go off in great Quantities, in *Muscovy*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and other Parts of *Europe*. As soon as we had discharged the Cargo we had to deliver at *Bergben*, we set sail for *Drontheim* with a South-westerly Wind; we were to unlade above half our Lading there; it was consigned to the Surveyor of the Copper and Silver Mines, for the Use of the Workmen and Miners whom he employed in that Service, and consisted in a Supply of Bread and Beer. We were scarce half way thither when the Wind blew so stiff, that in fifteen or sixteen Hours we found ourselves over-against *Stora*, where it ceased on a sudden, and the Storm was followed by a Calm, the most uneasy Thing in the World to Mariners. We were obliged to return to our former Diversions, and so spend the Time, that we could not tell how to pass away better, in fishing. We took such a prodigious Quantity of Klip Fish, that we were forced to salt and barrel a great Part of them up; and they were very serviceable to us in the Course of our Voyage. Klip Fish are a Sort of Cod, bigger than those of *Newfoundland*; they never leave the Rocks, lying always upon or under them, from whence they are called *Klip Fish* in *Germany*, which signifies *Rock Fish*.

The Calm held several Days, and then the Wind blew a fresh Gale West-south-west, which was fair for us, and in three Days we arrived at *Drontheim*. When we came ashore we delivered our Letters to the Surveyor-General of the Mines. By these Letters the Surveyor was ordered to unlade our Ships as fast as possible, that we might pursue our Voyage. He told us he could not go to work until the Officers who were to receive the Provisions came back from the Mines, whither they were gone about those Works: We pressed him to hasten our Discharge, and he

he offered to send a Messenger on purpose to fetch an Officer to unlade us. I desired Leave of our Master to accompany the Messenger, which having obtained, the next Day by times in the Morning the Surveyor's Man and I mounted on Horseback, and departed for the Mines. When we came to *Steckby* we were obliged to put up, the Night coming on, and we had a long Wood to go through, wherein were Boars, Wolves, and Linxes, in great Numbers, very dangerous for Passengers to encounter.

The Road was so rocky, that we could reach no farther in a whole Day, though that Town was scarce eighteen Miles from *Drontheim*. The next Morning, before Sun-rise, we left *Steckby*, and proceeded towards the Mines, where we arrived just as it was Night, and lodged at the Forges; we were entertained by the People who had the Charge of the Mines, according to the Custom of the Country, with Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy.

Our Host believed we would not think ourselves welcome unless we were made drunk, and therefore plied us so fast with Bumpers that there was no avoiding a Debauch. I met with an Officer there who spoke *French*, having waited upon a *Norwegian* Gentleman in *France*. I told him that I came out of Curiosity to see the Mines, and I begged him to let me enter them; he promised I should do it on the Morrow; and after two Hours drinking and talking, he permitted me to go to bed. The next Day as soon as it was light, the Messenger that came with me to the Mines posted for *Drontheim* with one of the Officers who were to receive the Provisions we brought for the Mines. I was left at the House of a Master-Miner, who went to *Drontheim* the next Day, and I was glad of the Opportunity of his Company, by which Means I had a whole Day to spare to visit the Mines and Miners. When I rose I went to the Officer that spoke *French*, and he had provided a Breakfast for me and the Master Miner, my Landlord, whom he desired to shew me the Way down into the Mines, that I might see them work. When we had breakfasted, and it is observable that the *Norwegians* are much given to Drinking and Good-cheer, we went fifty or sixty Paces from the Forges, which are on a high Mountain; there we came to the Mouth of one of the Mines; over which was erected a Machine like a Crane, turned by two Men in two great Wheels, to draw up Pieces of the Mine, as Masons draw Free-stones out of the Quarries near *Paris*, or Pot-ter's their Clay, in many Places in *France*. The Master-Miner and I were put into a wooden Tub, and our Hands into Iron Bands fastened to it: Thus we descended into the Mine above fifty Fathom deep.

When we got to the Bottom of it, it looked like *Pluto's* Kingdom; there was nothing to be seen allround but frightful Caverns, flaming Fire, and Creatures more like Devils than Men: They were clothed with black leathern Jackets, each having a Camail, such as our Priests in *France* wear in Winter; a Piece of patched Leather about the Head of each Miner, a little above the Nose, and hangs down to his Breast like a Muffler; they have all Aprons of the same. The Miners are constantly and differently employed; some use the Chissel, some the Hatchet, to knock out the Copper Stones; others look after the Veins of Copper, or sound, to try if they can discover any Water-place, which sometimes is hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and breaking forth on a sudden drowns them all that don't take care. The Master-Miner who descended with me into the Mine, perceiving I was afraid, and that I was taken with a cold Fit, rung a Bell; which was to give Notice to the People above, that they should draw us up again; accordingly we got up with the same Ease that we went down. I was very glad to breathe the serene Air, free from the unwholsome Damps of these subterranean Dwellings. I had seen enough to satisfy my Curiosity, and could I with Safety have staid longer, there was little more to be seen.

We went to the Officer's House, who could discourse with me in my own Language, and were entertained very handsomely and generously by him; his travelling having rendered him more polite than his Brethren at the Mines; after Dinner he ordered Horses to be got ready, to ride

to the Silver Mines. The Officer, the Master-Miner, and myself, went thither; where we waited on the Surveyor of the Works, who made us heartily welcome, presented each of us with a great Glass full of Brandy, drank off one of the same Size to shew us the Way, and then gave us the second Course in the *Norwegian* Collation, Beer and Tobacco. When we had smoaked and drank as much as the Surveyor thought fit, he conducted us to the Forges, a Mile off his House; at which, as in the Copper Mines, there are several Workmen always employed. Some break the Stones, others wash them, others melt and refine the Ore, and others coin the Money for the King of *Denmark*. These Mines turn both very well to account, and are not the least Part of his *Danish* Majesty's Revenue. From the Forges we went to the Mine that was next to it; 'twas on a high Mountain; the Master Miner and I were let down, as at his own Mine, and I saw nothing there which I had not seen before in that of Copper. These Miners are clothed like the others; and their Work and Habitations seemed much the same. They, both the one and the other, leave off working in the Mines in the Winter; Spring, Summer, and Autumn, being the only Time of their Business. They work in the Spring and Fall three Hours in the Forenoon, and three after Dinner; in the Summer, four Hours in the Morning, and five after Dinner; the rest of their Time they spend in Mirth and Feasting. They delight much in dancing, and have their Hautboys, Violins, and other Instruments, for that Purpose.

When I returned to the Copper Forges, I found the People at their Sports, and was not a little pleased to see the Variety of their Humours and Pastimes. For three Months, in the dead of the Winter, they don't work at all; nevertheless they receive their full Pay, at the rate of a Crown a Day. Having seen all that was to be seen at the Silver Mines, the Surveyor took us home with him, gave us such another Collation as we had before, and a good Supper after it. When we had all of us sufficiently refreshed ourselves, we went to Bed; and the next Morning the Master-Miner and I took our leaves of the Surveyor, who had provided a plentiful Breakfast against we got up; and rode from his House to the Copper Mines, where I thanked the Officer, that spoke *French*, for his Civilities; and the Master-Miner, and myself, set out for *Drontheim*. Night overtook us by the Time we were got eight Miles from the Mines, which put us on a Necessity of taking up our Quarters at a Boor's House, in the next Village we came to. The Peasant knew my Companion, and thought himself highly honoured in such a Guest: He therefore did his utmost to treat us to our liking.

He provided two Pheasants, and a Hare he had lately killed, for our Supper; that Game being free for the Boors in those Parts, they are seldom unfurnished with it. Before we sat down he brought us his Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy, made of Malt Spirits. After Supper we all of us fell to smoaking like Dragons, and drank Brandy and Beer almost all Night, which was the most beastly one I ever saw in my Life; but 'tis the Custom of the Country; and both the Gentry and People, by Conversation and Merriment, mean only Lewdness and Debauchery. The Peasant perceiving the Master-Miner was quite drunk, was so rejoiced at it, that he soon became in as bad a Condition himself. We had all now had our Dose, and some clean Straw was brought and spread in the Middle of the Chamber, to serve us instead of Beds. We lay down together and slept till Morning. The Sun was up before the Master-Miner and the Boor waked. I ordered, as well as I could, our Horses to be got ready; resolving, if possible, to get to *Drontheim* that Day. I made the Boor's Sons guess at my meaning by Signs. Our Horses were saddled, and then I waked my Companion and his Host. They were no sooner up, than we must again fall to eating and drinking; that Work done we mounted on Horseback, took our Leaves of the Peasant, and made the best of our Way to *Drontheim*; where we arrived before it was dark.

3. Two Days after I thus returned to *Drontheim*, all our Cargo was unladen, and we had taken aboard the

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A Miner of Drontheim

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Danish Laplanders

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A Kilop Laplander drawn by a Reindeer

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St. Nicholas & Deacon

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A Muscovite Laplander Hunting

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A Gentleman & Gentlewoman of Papinogorod

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A Samoied Man & Woman

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An Idol in Nova Zembla - worshipped by the Inhabitants of that Country.

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A Zemblian with his Boat on his Back & Spear in his hand

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Natives of Nova Zembla dress'd in Penguin Skins.

Provisions the Surveyor General of the Mines was to furnish us with; the Wind setting fair we embarked, and a few Hours after set sail to continue our Voyage to the North. The Wind held fair several Days, till we were under the Arctic Polar Circle, where we were becalmed on the Coast; some of our Crew were so superstitious, as to give Credit to the common Tradition, that the Inhabitants of the Country, under that Circle, as well as those that dwell on the Coasts of *Finland*, are Wind Merchants, and can raise and sell a Gale when they please: Certain it is they are almost all of them Wizards, and, as Children of the Prince of the Air, pretend to dispose of the Winds as their proper Merchandize. We were impatient of lying on that Coast, and that Impatience put us upon trying any Means, however improbable to succeed, rather than stay there any longer. The Captain of our Ship was for trading with the Wizards; accordingly he sent his Long-boat ashore with his Mate, to traffic with these Traders, and purchase a Wind of them, the Commodity we stood most in need on at that Time. Though I believed nothing of the Matter, I had the Curiosity to accompany him. We landed at the first Village we came to, applied ourselves to the chief Necromancer, told him what we wanted, and asked if he could furnish us with a Wind that would last till we arrived at *Mourmanskincre*. The Mate could speak enough of his Language to understand him, and to be understood. The Conjuror gravely replied, No; his Power extended no farther than the Promontory of *Rouxella*. We had a great Way thither, and if we reached so far, we thought we might easily make the North Cape; so the Mate desired him to go aboard with us, and drive a Bargain with our Captain. The Wizard consented to the Proposal, took three of his Comrades with him, leapt into a small Fisher-Boat, and went aboard our Ship.

Our Captain and he soon agreed upon the Price; he was to give him ten Kronen, about five or six and thirty Shillings in *English* Money, and a Pound of Tobacco; for which the Wizard was to furnish a fair Wind as far as *Rouxella*. When the Bargain was made, and the Money paid, the Wizard tied a Woollen Rag to the Corner of our Foremast; 'twas about half a Yard long and a Nail broad; it had three Knots; and this was all our Captain had for his ten Kronen. When the Necromancer had done this Feat, he returned in his Boat to the Village with his Companions. The Captain of our Ship, according to the Instructions he had received from the Conjuror, untied the first Knot in the Rag, and immediately the Wind struck up West-south-west a brisk Gale, and drove us, and the other Ship in our Company, thirty Leagues beyond *Maelstrom*, without giving our Captain any Occasion to untie the second Knot; and this Accident confirmed our Crew in their diabolical Superstition. This *Maelstrom* is the greatest Eddy or Whirlpool in the *Norwegian* Sea; in which many Vessels that approached too near it have perished. For this Reason, such as are acquainted with those Coasts, keep out to Sea eight or ten Leagues to avoid it, and the Rocks that lie off *Ostaford*, opposite to *Maelstrom*. There are several such Eddies, five, six, and seven Leagues from the Shore; and this Danger obliges all Pilots to keep far out to Sea.

The Wind beginning to shift a little, and inclining to the North, our Captain untied the second Knot, which kept it in its old Corner, till we made the Promontory of *Rouxella*. When we had passed it, the Needle of our Compass turned back half an Inch, by which some fancied that there was Loadstone in the Mountain; and had not we had a very dextrous Pilot, we should certainly have lost our Course. Knowing that the other Ships in our Company were in the same Trouble as ourselves, our Pilot shut up his Compass, and hung out a Flag on his Foremast Top, as a Signal for the other Ships to follow us; he was very well acquainted with the Coasts and Course, having often piloted the *Dutch* Ships trading that Way; in which he had no other Helps than his Sea Charts. We were two Days and two Nights in this dangerous Condition, having nothing to depend on but the Pilot's Experience. On the third Day, being far

distant from the Mountains of *Rouxella*, the Needle of our Compass pointed again to its Object; from whence we concluded that we drew near the North Cape; where the Wind failing us, our Captain untied the third Knot, at which there arose a North-north-east Wind, so furious, that we thought the Heavens would fall down upon us; and that God would justly punish us with Destruction, for dealing with infernal Artists, and not trusting to his Providence; we could bear no sail during the Tempest; our Ship drove at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, which tost us so violently, that we expected every Minute to go to the Bottom.

The Reader will, doubtless, wonder at these strange and extraordinary Passages, in regard to the Witchcraft of these Northern People; and therefore it is necessary to inform him, that their Witchcraft, like most other sorts of Witchcraft, is downright Fraud and Imposture. They have in these Countries many deep Caverns, and subterraneous Grottoes; by their Observations in which, they are able to judge of the Variation of Winds for several Days to come; and they take care to start so many Difficulties in making their Bargains, that they are sure never to come to a Conclusion till the Signs appear, by which they are morally certain that those Winds will blow which they pretend to sell. In the present Case it is evident, that the pretended Conjuror made a very prudent Observation before he made his Bargain with the Captain; which was, that his Power extended only to a certain Cape; but the Truth of the Matter was, that he very well knew, by Experience, that Cape was the Limit of his Observations, and that he should risque his Credit if he presumed to exceed his Bounds. The People in *Iceland* are the most famous of any for carrying on this Trade of felling of Winds; and they sell them with less Limitation, because living in an Island, they are more able to judge of the Variation of Winds in all the Seas round about them; and therefore it is from the Accounts given by sensible People who have lived in that Island, and who have taken Pains to enquire into this Matter, that we are able to give so good an Account of it. This Sort of Knowledge is kept in the Hands of a few People, who thereby awe their Neighbours, and cheat Foreigners. All this may be very naturally expected in a barbarous Country, where Learning and Religion are at a very low Ebb; and I believe it will be generally found, that in Proportion as People are little acquainted with the Word and Works of God, they are most apt to pretend to converse with the Devil; and this seems to be confirmed by the declining of such Notions, wherever the Lights of Reason and the Gospel prevail.

4. Though we were not above ten or twelve Leagues from the Coast of the *Danish* Lapland, yet we did not imagine the Storm would throw us upon it; we feared the Winds so much, we did not think of Land; and when we thought ourselves secure from the Rocks, we were almost driven upon one, by a sudden Blast thirty Leagues above the Cape, and four from Shore; every Man fell upon his Knees, and begged Pardon of God, believing we should, at that very Instant, be dashed to pieces; I confess I never was so afraid in my Life, and I believe all the Crew was in as great Consternation as myself; when by good Luck, or rather through divine Mercy, the extraordinary Force and Agitation of the Waves prevented our striking, and drove us a Musket Shot from the Rock. Our Ship having received no Damage, only by a little slight Touch on the Skirt of the Rock, sprung a Leak a little above the Keel, and two or three Planks were somewhat bulged in the Bottom of the Ship's Hold; the Water entered, and we were obliged to pump incessantly. On the fourth Day the Wind fell; however we could not heartily rejoice for our Safety, having lost Sight of our Friends in the other Vessels, who, we feared, were at the Bottom by this Time. Notwithstanding we continued our Course with a favourable Gale; we had several Feet Water in our Hold, and had much ado to live. The Wind was pretty fair, wherefore we resolved to make the first Port, to stop our Leaks and refit.

But the Coasts of the Sea, all over the North, are so full of Rocks, that the Ports and Creeks are inaccessible; and we were forced to sail on two Days longer, before we could find any Place for our Purpose; the next Morning we arrived on the Coast of *Wardbus*, the chief Town of the Government of *Danish Lapland*; where the King of *Denmark* has a Castle garrisoned by two Companies of Soldiers. Here is also a Collector to receive the Duties imposed on Foreigners trading to, or from, *Archangel*, on the *White Sea*; this Officer suffered us to pass without examining us, believing, by our Colours and the Guns we gave him to salute the Castle, that our Ship was a *Dane*. We then sailed to *Varanger*, and cast Anchor half a League from the Town. We presently put our Long-boat by our Ship's Side, to carry some of the Crew ashore; no body aboard had any Knowledge of the Place, which seemed to us to be very wild; wherefore our Captain took eight Men well armed with him, and resolved to see whether there was any Conveniencies for us there to refit, or any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. In less than half an Hour we arrived at *Varanger*, a populous Town, and a convenient Port; but so little frequented, that the Inhabitants were amazed to see us. Whether their Astonishment proceeded from the Sight of Men armed, or of Men less barbarous than themselves, I shall not pretend to determine.

But our Captain addressed himself to those who seemed to have most Authority among them; demanding if they would permit us to enter their Port, and assist us to refit our Ship, and were disposed to trade with us. They gave him little Encouragement for Traffic; but understanding we were Merchants, who were going to catch *Walrus*, they offered us their Assistance to refit our Ship, which we thankfully received. Having observed the Commodiousness of the Harbour, we returned to our Ship, weighed Anchor, and entered the Port; where we discharged our Ballast, which was only Sand, to serve for Counterpoise to some bundles of Tobacco, and Bales of Cloth, which were the Cargo we were to trade with. When the Ship was unladen, we secured the Goods in a House near the Shore, that was locked up; and the Captain and Supercargo ordered a Watch to be set over it. To gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants of the Country, who, as I have said, were *Laplanders*, subject to the King of *Denmark*, we gave them some Rolls of Tobacco, a more grateful Present to them than Gold. To retaliate our Kindness, they treated us with the best they had, some dry Fish, that serves instead of Bread; some Venison, not very extraordinary, being the Flesh of Rain-Deer, an Animal that is often to be met with in *Lapland*, *Borandia*, *Samojedia* and *Siberia*. They brought us Bear's Flesh, and the Flesh of other wild Beasts which we had no Knowledge of; also fresh Fish, boiled without Salt; the Sauce to this Dish, is either the Oil of other Fish, or a sour Drink; which is one of the best of Liquors in their Opinion. We could none of us bear them Company at this Repast; their Ragouts were not to our liking, so we sent for Provisions from aboard, and endeavoured to be as merry as we could in such a Place, and among such Barbarians. Salt-Beef and Bisket was our choicest Dish; we offered some of it to the *Laplanders*, but when they had tasted it, our Food seemed as unfavoury to them, as theirs did to us.

Our Beer was more acceptable; they drank of it freely, and were pleased with the Brandy we gave them; yet their own sour Drink they had more Gouft to, than either our Brandy or Beer. It consists of an Infusion of Juniper Berries, and of a Grain like Lentils, the Name of which I have forgot: It grows there in abundance, as Juniper Trees do. I never saw any thing so like that Grain as Lentils; and our Botanists have made no mention of it in any of our Discoveries; they make Brandy with the same Grain; it has the like Effect as ours that is drawn off of Grapes; and their common Drink is as strong as our common Wine, and serves for the same Uses.

Those *Laplanders* are *Lutherans*, and have Priests to instruct them; they are said, however, to deal still with the Devil; almost all of them are Wizards, and so superstitious, that if they meet a Beast in the Way, whose Ap-

pearance is reckoned ominous, they return home, and do not stir out all that Day; and when they go a fishing, if they have but one Fish in the first Draught, they take it for an ill Augury, pack up their Nets, and leave Work for that Time. Both Men and Women are low of Stature, yet strong and active: Their Faces broad and flat; they are flat nosed; their Complexions swarthy, like the rest of the People in the North; their Eyes are like a Hog's, and their Eyelids are almost all like those that are bleary-eyed. They are stupid, brutal, and lascivious, especially the Women, who prostitute themselves to all Comers, if they can do it unknown to their Husbands. The Womens Cloaths are made either of coarse Cloth or Rain-Deer Skins, with the Hair outward; their Stockings are of the same; their Shoes of Fish Skins, the Scales hanging on them; they have no Straps, and resemble somewhat the wooden Shoes worn by the Poor in *France*. Their Coifs are like the *Norwegian* Womens; their Hair is twisted up in two Rolls, one hangs down on one Shoulder, and the other on t'other. They wear a Cornet Coif on their Heads, made of coarse Canvas; all their Linnen is of the same Fineness; some of them wear a Sort of Ruff eight Fingers broad, which they tie behind as the Gypsies do in other Countries.

As for the Men they are cloathed in Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair outwards; their Coats are short, and come down but half way to their Thighs, like a Waistcoat; their Breeches and Stockings are of the same, the Hair always outwards. On these they wear a Sort of Boots, made of Fish Skin, which though rough and coarse, are stitched so neatly, that the Seams are not to be seen. Some of them wear no Boots at all, but Stockings, like the Women; their Bonnets are round like a Seaman's Cap; they are always made of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair still outwards, and edged with a Band of a Fox's Skin, some white, some grey. These *Laplanders* Lodgings are like those of the Boors about *Christiana*.

They have no Light but what enters by a Hole at the Top of the Hut. They don't make use of Beds to lie on, any more than the other *Laplanders*, the *Borandians*, *Samojedians*, *Siberians*, *Zemblians*, *Islanders*, or the rest of the Northern Nations. The whole Family of a *Danish Laplander*, Master, Mistress, Children, Men and Maids, lie down altogether very familiarly, on Bear-Skins spread in the Middle of the Room; and when they rise in the Morning the Bear-Skins are taken up, and laid by till they are wanted again at Night. In each House there is a great black Cat, which is highly valued by them; the *Laplanders* talk to it as if it was a reasonable Creature; every Night they go out of their Huts with it, to consult it alone; and it will follow like a Dog, either in Fishing or Hunting. Though this Animal looks like a Cat in Appearance, yet if I had a little more Superstition, I should have believed it to have been a familiar Spirit.

5. We unloaded our Ship the next Day after our Arrival at *Varanger*; the Inhabitants helped us to haul her ashore, that we might refit her; the Captain found her much more damaged than he expected, and desired the *Laplanders* to provide him Timber proper for the Carpenters use; they readily answered his Request, and went to a neighbouring Mountain to fell some for him. Our Supercargo, as he found the Ship would be some time refitting, thought it would not be improper to take a Journey into the Country, to try there whether any Trade could be had; to this Purpose he picked out myself and two more of the Ship's Company, to accompany him. Early the next Morning, being the 12th of *May*, we set out for our Journey, taking with us some Tobacco and Cloth to trade with; and Bisket, and salt-Beef, and Pork, to eat. We desired three of the Inhabitants of *Varanger* to go along with us, as well to shew us the Way, as to help to carry our Goods and Provisions to the next Village. The *Laplanders* were willing enough to serve us; so we followed them through the Woods, and Mountains, and Valleys, without meeting any living Creature, till towards four o'Clock in the Afternoon, when we perceived two white Bears of an excessive bigness, coming, as we Strangers thought, to devour us.

Our

Our Guides perceiving the Terror we were in, bid us not be afraid, for we need only have our Arms ready to defend ourselves, in case they approached too near us; which we did, cocking and priming our Pieces, and hacking our Flints. Whether or no the Bears were frightened at the Fire we struck out of the Flints, or with the Smell of the Powder, I shall not undertake to decide; but they presently fled away from us so fast, that in a Moment they were out of Sight. An Hour before Night, as we descended a Mountain, we espied a Dozen Houses at the Foot of it; they were at a great Distance one from another. Somewhat farther off we saw a Herd of Beasts like Stags, which our Guides told us were Rain-Deer. When we came to the Village, the *Laplanders* that travelled with us conducted us to a Hut, where, being very weary, we were glad to rest ourselves, for we had a long Journey in very bad Way, with Luggage on our Backs, that incumbered and tired us. We gave a Piece of a Roll of Tobacco to our Host, who received it with Joy, assuring us he had not had so valuable a Present in nine Months before; to make us Amends he brought out his Brandy Bottle, some Rain-Deers Flesh dressed without salting, and some dried Fish; which we gave to our Guides, and supped ourselves with the Victuals we brought with us; when we had made an End of our Supper we went to our Repose, and lay down on Bears-Skins, after the Country Fashion. When we rose in the Morning, we asked our Host if he had nothing to barter with us for Cloth and Tobacco; he replied he had some Wolf, Fox, and white Squirrel Skins, and his Neighbours had some of the same Commodities, and would gladly truck with us. We bid him, by our Interpreters, bring out his Skins; and if he had any Cloaths made of Rain-Deer Skins, we would deal with him for four Suits, which we wanted to keep us warm; accordingly, he brought forth his Merchandize, and we bought it of him, paying him Part in Tobacco, and Part in Cloth. We trucked also with his Neighbours, as long as they had any thing to offer us worthy our buying; and when we had drained that Market, we prayed the Host to lend us some Rain-Deers, to carry us farther up the Country; and he was very willing to help us to the utmost of his Power.

The Tobacco we gave him having gained his Friendship intirely, he took down a Horn that hung up in his Cottage, went out and blew it to call the Rain-Deer to him. Immediately fourteen or fifteen of those Animals came running towards the Hut: He put six of them to six Sledges, each Sledge made somewhat like a Gondola; it was placed on four Posts joined together by other cross Posts nailed to them, and this was fastened to two Posts two Feet longer than the Sledge that run on the Ground. We put our Merchandize in one Sledge, each of us had one for himself, and the other we assigned to one of our Guides, who understood the Language of the *Muscovite Laplander*, and that of the *Kilops*; him we took with us; the other two Inhabitants of *Varanger* we dismissed, having paid them in Tobacco for their Trouble. We put on our *Lapland* Cloaths, and lay down each of us in his Sledge covered with a Bear-Skin; at the Back of the Sledge there were two Girts made of Rain-Deer Skin Leather, in which we thrust our Arms up to the Shoulders, to keep ourselves steady; and we had each a Stick with a strong Ferrel to it, to support the Sledge if it should be likely to overturn by Stumps of Trees, or Stones lying in the Way. When we were ready to set out, our Host muttered some Words in the Ear of the Rain-Deer; I enquired afterwards of our Guide, what he meant by it. He said, it was to tell them whither they should carry us; so silly are these barbarous Wretches.

Custom had made that muttering so familiar to the Beasts that drew us, that when our Host had gone to all six, they ran away with us so swiftly, that we thought we were drawn by so many Devils; they continued their Pace over Hills and Dales, without keeping the beaten Road all Day long, till seven o'Clock in the Evening, when they brought us to a large Village situate between two Mountains, near a great Lake; here they stopped short at the fourth House in the Place, which though large

was very ordinary and clownish. They beat the Ground with their Feet; and the Man hearing a Noise, came forth with his Servants, to take us out of the Sledges, and unharnessed our Cattle, and one of them brought out a little Juniper Can, full of Brandy, of which he gave each of us a Brimmer, out of a Bowl made also of Juniper Wood. This was to put us in heart; for our Guide had informed him that we were afraid of our Lives, being drawn away so swiftly by these Animals in Sledges, which was a Way of Travelling we were not used to. The Horns of these Beasts, both Male and Female, are somewhat higher than the Stags, but more crooked, hairy, and not so well furnished with Sprouts as a Stag's are; they are of the same Colour as Stags, and not much bigger; their Feet are cloven like theirs, but as big as Hoofs of Oxen: They live upon Moss, which grows every where in those Parts: The Females yield Milk like Cows; the *Laplanders* make Butter and Cheese of it, and both are very good. Their Harness is a Collar of Rain-Deer Leather, by which they are fastened to the two Shafts of the Sledge, not much unlike our Horses to a Coach; thus they draw it with incredible Speed directly to the Place whither you are to go, without being guided by him who rides in it.

6. When we got out of our Sledges, we were conducted by our Host into his Hut, which, like the rest of the Cottages in the Place, was very little, low, and covered with the Bark of Trees, the Light entering in at a Hole at the Top of it, as we have elsewhere observed. These *Laplanders* were cloathed in a manner little differing from those of *Varanger*; their Apparel was of the same Make and Materials, but longer; their Coats were of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair turned outwards. The Women were dressed in Garments of the same Skin, their Hair twisted as the Womens of *Varanger*; on their Heads they wore a high Bonnet instead of a Coif, which was made of the same Skins with their Cloaths, and the Hair still outwards.

We gave our Host an End of Tobacco about two Inches long, with which he was mightily pleased, and thanked us heartily for it: We gave an End not quite so long to each of the Inhabitants of the Place, to make them our Friends, and to secure us the better against any Attempts of these *Barbarians*, who were more brutal than those we last deal with. We supped on the Provisions we brought with us, and our Guides eat some of our Hosts salt Fish, and fresh Rain-Deer Venison. We asked him how many Leagues we had come that Day? he answered, about thirty, and that we were in the Territories of *Mourmanfkeimore*. The Inhabitants talked a Language quite different from those at *Varanger*; but our Guide had been often in the Country, and understood them, and was understood by them. After Supper we lay down on Bear-Skins to take our Rest, as we had done the Night before, having first bartered away our *Lapland* Habits with our Host for others that were longer, and a Parcel of Tobacco for a hundred grey Squirrels, a Fur very much esteemed in *Denmark*, and other Parts of *Europe*. The next Day, being the 14th of May, we told our Host, by our Interpreter, that we desired him to provide Sledges to go farther into the Country; this he did accordingly. The other Inhabitants of the Village came to help us forward in our Journey, bringing Brandy with them to drink to us at parting. They put six Rain-Deer to six Sledges, in one of them we stowed our Merchandize and Provisions; and our Host having performed the Ceremony of muttering in the Ears of the Beasts, we were drawn along with the same Swiftness as before. We came to no Place that was inhabited till about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and then we arrived at a Village, wherein were eight Cottages, built on a high Mountain by a Woodside, where our Cattle stopped; by which we guessed that there were some Inhabitants; but seeing no-body come to us, we baited our Rain-Deer with Moss, which grew there plentifully, and refreshed ourselves with salt Beef and Bisket; our Interpreter regaled himself upon some Rain-Deer, Venison, and dried Fish: All of us making merry with the Brandy we had given us in the last Village. We staid in this Place near an Hour

then our Guide, who understood the Way of making Rain-Deers go as well as the other *Laplanders* did, endeavoured to get them forward; but he had much-ado to effect it.

This Place being their usual Stage, he was forced to perform several mysterious and ridiculous Ceremonies; he went alone into the Wood, and coming out again, muttered some Words in the Ears of these Animals, which whether they understood or not, had little Effect upon them, for they did not stir. He did so four or five times, and then he began to proceed, though not so swiftly as before. We asked him the Reason why we saw no body in the Village? He replied, 'twas a very common thing in that Country; these Dwellings belong to the *Kilops*, a Nation of *Laplanders* more wild than the others; who often change their Habitations; fly from Strangers, and subsist only by what they get by hunting. Continuing our Journey, we descended the Mountain; about nine o'Clock we spied four *Kilops* not far off, returning from hunting, in Sledges drawn by Rain-Deer; to avoid us they turned aside out of our Way, and took another. In less than half an Hour we entered a long Wood, in which we heard terrible howlings and cryings, but saw nothing; when we got through the Wood, we had another Mountain to descend, at the Bottom of which we perceived there was a Village; our Cattle carried us to it, and stopped and beat the Ground at what Cottage they pleased. Our usual Present of Tobacco, purchased us our usual Welcome of the Master of the House; we made a good Supper on our Provisions, as our Guide did on his, and down we lay, according to Custom, to take our rest on Bear Skins; which, though homely, was a welcome Repose to our wearied Limbs, sufficiently jogged in the Sledges.

In the Morning we rose as early as the Host, and demanded of our Interpreter how many Leagues we had travelled the Day before? He replied, at least, forty. But he must be out, either in his reckoning, or the Leagues must not be so long as they are generally calculated to be; for forty of their Leagues make one hundred and sixty of those between *Paris* and *Lyons*; each *Lapland* League being as long as a *German*: Let a Man be ever so well mounted, he cannot ride on Horse-back above five a Day. Our Guide also informed us that we were in the *Muscovite Lapland*; we bid him ask the Inhabitants of the Village, whom we had presented with Tobacco, and been treated by them with Brandy, whether they had any Commodities to truck with us for Tobacco and Cloth? We had some Rolls of the former left, and most of our Bales of the latter. Tobacco being by much the better Commodity, the *Laplanders* replied, they had some Furs, we asked to see them, and they brought them out to shew us: They were white Fox Skins, black and grey Fox Skins, grey Squirrels, and Sables, though not of so fine a Colour as those of *Borandia*, *Samojedia*, and *Siberia*. These Merchandizes were what we wanted, so we soon struck a Bargain, and paid the Inhabitants in Cloth and Tobacco. When our Market was over, we fell to drinking with them; they were not quite so brutal as the other *Laplanders* we had dealt with, but they were very rude and indecent in Conversation, doing things before us that Decency will not permit me to name. It growing late, and we designing to proceed yet further, to dispose of the few Rolls of Tobacco we had left; we prayed our Host, by our Interpreter, to furnish us with Sledges and fresh Rain-Deer.

He harnessed and prepared as many as we had Occasion for; we mounted our Sledges and departed at one o'Clock; we ran with our former Speed, through different and unbeaten Paths, till six, without meeting with one Habitation; half an Hour after we were descending a Hill, we spied two Huts under a Rock, a little out of the Way; our Guide told us that two *Kilops* lived there, who, as soon as they saw us, fled with their Wives and Families. We travelled two Hours longer, and came to no House, or any thing like a dwelling Place; till at last we discovered a great Village on the Side of a Hill, and on the Banks of a River; here we arrived at

eleven o'Clock at Night, and went to the Cottage for a Lodging, whither our Cattle were pleased to conduct us. It happened to be in the Middle of the Village; the Master of the House received us very kindly, made a Fire in the Middle of his Hut, gave us Brandy, dried Fish, and Rain-Deer-Venison salted, at which we were a little surprized, having not met with any in our Travels hitherto, who made use of Salt as these did; he also gave us Milk and Salt-Butter, very good, and it would have been better, had we had any Bread to eat with it; but we had consumed our Store, and should have been very much put to it, had we not met with so good Entertainment here. Our Guide would not taste a bit of Salt-Meat, so he was obliged to live on the fresh Venison he brought with him. Having supped plentifully, we lay down on Bear Skins, and slept till Morning; we rose early the next Day, took our Leave of our Host, and there being no trading in that Village, passed the River to proceed to *Kola*, on the other Side of that Stream, which is as big as the *Seine*.

We came to another Village, and went to the most likely House to hire Sledges and Rain-Deer, to carry us to *Kola*, for we could get none in the Place where we lodged; here we furnished ourselves, and about Noon arrived at *Kola*, a little City, or rather a great Town; built among Mountains, on the Side of a River, near ten Leagues from the North Sea. To the East of it are large Forests and Desarts; *Mourmanskeimore* to the West, and prodigious high Mountains to the South. The Houses are very low, built of Wood, and handsomely covered with Fish-bones: On the Top of them the Light enters in at a Hole, as in other Places in *Lapland*. There is but one Street in it, and that no fine one. The Inhabitants, like the other *Muscovites*, are severe, suspicious, and so jealous, that they lock up their Wives, that Strangers may not see them. Our Host took all our Cloth off our Hands, for which he gave us, in Exchange, two Lynx-Skins, spotted like a Leopard's, three Dozen of white Fox-Skins, half a Dozen of *Wyetfras*, an Animal which somewhat resembles a Badger, but its Hair is longer and rougher; his Colour is a blackish red, and his Tail like a Fox's; we had also some Ermines of him. There were some Ells of Cloth above what we were to give him, for which he obliged himself to supply us with Provisions for our Journey back to *Varanger*, and to help us to Sledges, as far as the River we lately passed; he treated us as well as he could, and we supped, and slept as we had done elsewhere.

7. The next Morning, as we were preparing to depart, our Host, having provided Bisket, Ginger, Bread, and Rain-Deer-Venison salted and dried, as also a Barrel of Brandy, to serve us in our Return; before we had quite packed up our Furs in Bales, his Neighbours understanding we had still a few Rolls of Tobacco left, came to ask if we would truck them for more Skins? We replied, with all our Hearts; so they fetched them, being a Dozen of Ermines, two white Foxes Skins, and four Lynxes, not so good as those we had of our Host. The Bargain made, we took their Furs, and gave them the residue of our Cargo of Tobacco, except seven or eight Rolls, which we reserved for our own Use, and to pay for the Hire of our Rain-Deer and Sledges in our Way back. Tobacco is more necessary than Money, to those who travel in that wild and unfrequented Country; the *Laplanders* valuing an End of Tobacco as long as ones Finger, more than a Crown Piece. The Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, have laid several Taxes upon it; and there are Officers settled in their frontier Towns, to collect their Imposts upon it. When we had done our Business, according to the Custom of the Place, we must drink with our Chapman; our Entertainment every where was Brandy, and it held till two o'Clock in the Afternoon. We then intreated our Host to get the Sledges, we had hired of him, ready; which he did in one Minute. We stored our Merchandize in one of them, got into the other ourselves, drank a full Glass at parting with our Dealers, bid them adieu, and set out for the Village on the other Side of the River we passed

passed the Day before. Our Rain-Deer, to our Apprehension, ran faster than any we had hired in our Journey to *Kola*.

We arrived at the first Village by seven o' Clock; we passed the River and came to the second; where we put up at our old Landlord's, who received us with Joy, hoping that we had still an End of Tobacco left, to give him for the Hire of some Rain-Deer and Sledges. He presently gave each of us a Cup of Brandy, for they toils it off there as we do Beer in the South; and asked us if we would have the Rain-Deer put to the Sledges? We replied, we had rather rest ourselves till Morning, for there was no Village besides in some scores of Miles from this. He filled out another Cup, which when we had drank, he offered to take us with him to the Funeral of one of his Neighbours, who had been dead about four Hours. We were very glad of the Opportunity of seeing their Ceremonies on this Occasion, hearing much talk of them. We accompanied him to the House of the Deceased; we saw his Corpse taken from the Bear-Skins, on which it lay, and removed by six of his most intimate Friends, into a wooden Coffin, being first wrapped in Linnen, his Face and Hands only bare. In one Hand they put a Purse with Money in it, to pay the Fee of the Porter at Paradise Gate, and in the other a Pafs, signed by a Priest, to be given to *St. Peter*, as a Certificate that he was a good Christian, and ought to be admitted into Heaven. They also put into his Coffin a Barrel of Brandy, some dried Fish, and Rain-Deer-Venison, to serve him to eat and drink on the Road, having a long Journey to take. They then lighted some Fir-Tree Roots, piled up to a convenient Distance from the Coffin, wept and howled plentifully, making strange Gestures, and turning themselves in a thousand different Postures, to shew the Extravagance of their real and affected Sorrow. When this Noise and Gesticulation was over, they marched round the Corpse several times in Procession, asking the dead Man why he died? if he was angry with his Wife? if he wanted any thing? if he was hungry or a-dry? if he had lost his Game at hunting? or had bad Luck at fishing? or had not Cloaths to his Mind? Then they fell a howling again, and stamping like so many Madmen. One of their Priests, who assisted at the Solemnity, every now and then sprinkled some Holy-water on the Corpse; the same did the Mourners. I forgot to inform the Reader, that having an extraordinary Veneration for *St. Nicholas*, they, as well as the *Muscovites*, are *Nicholatians* by Religion, and always place the Image of that Saint near the Bodies of their Dead, instead of a Crucifix. This Saint is not the same for whom we celebrate a Festival in *France*; but *Nicholas*, one of the seven Deacons, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*. His Image is dressed up by them in a Pilgrim's Habit, in a long Robe, with a Camail hanging down over his Shoulders, a broad Girdle about his Middle, and a Staff in his Hand.

The Noise they made having almost deafened us, and being weary with looking on their barbarous Rites, we left the Cottage of the Defunct, to go to our Host's, where we found only our Hostess at Home. She had made a Sally out of the Place to which her Husband had confined her, on our Arrival; as soon as she saw us, supposing he was with us, she would have retired to her Corner; but our Guide and Interpreter, giving her to understand the good Man was at the Funeral, and would not come home presently, she stayed and viewed us all round, one after another, looked very kindly on us, drew her Seat near us, and shewed us a Bonnet of her own embroidering, done very curiously with Tinsel Threads. The Work of all the *Muscovite Laplanders*, is to make Cloaths for themselves, their Husbands, and their Children. The Edges of them are all embroidered with Tinsel Thread. They draw them between their Teeth, as fine as the Wire-drawers do their Gold and Silver Threads with their drawing Iron. They work with a good Grace. They are handsome, well shaped, and good humoured, and, if they did not very well know how jealous their Husbands are of them, and fear their Resentments, they would willingly prostitute themselves to Strangers; for which Reason they

are shut up when any come among them. While our Host was busied about the Funeral, we pulled out some of our Provisions, and gave our Landlady some of every Sort to taste. She liked all, but especially the Gingerbread; she drank two or three Glasses of Brandy, and then withdrew to the Place of Confinement, fearing her Husband might surprize her with us, which would have raised his Jealousy to such a Degree, that he certainly would have used her very indifferently. When our Landlord came home, he obliged us to take a Cup or two more with him, to smoak a Pipe, and sup together; for us he brought forth the Victuals he had in the House, which he thought would be most grateful to our Taste, as Salt-Butter, which we eat with Bread; our Guide would not touch it, and for him the Man of the House got some Bear's Flesh, which he broiled on the Coals, and some dried Fish.

All the Cottages in this Village were like the others we had observed elsewhere, built of Wood, and covered with Turf; but they were handsomer and better set off than any we had seen in the Country; being both within and without adorned with Works of Fish-bones, curiously inlaid. We made as good a Supper as we could, and, according to Custom, lay down with the Family on Bear's Skins; our Landlady only was missing, and she was to do Penance by herself in a Corner, till we were gone. In the Morning early, on the 18th of *May*, our Host provided our Rain-Deer and Sledges. We stowed our Bales, seated ourselves, and away went our Rain-Deer, running as fast as those we hired at *Kola*. In two Hours they carried us six Leagues, where, passing between two Hills, we spied a *Laplander* going a Hunting; he came up towards us, sliding on the Snow, which, in that Country, does not melt till Midsummer, as fast as we rid in our Sledges; his Skates were made of the Bark of a certain Tree; they were seven Feet and a half long, only four Fingers broad, and flat at Bottom; he was dressed like the other *Laplanders*, in a Garment made of Rain-Deer-Skin, with the Hair outwards; his Cap, his Gloves, his Coat, his Breeches, and Boots, were embroidered with Tinsel; he had a Girt of Rain-Deer-Skin about his Waist, a Dart in one Hand, and a Bow in the other, a large Quiver hanging at his Back, and a black Cat followed him. He kept Company with us about half a League; we parted at the Foot of the next Mountain; we descended it, and he struck off another Way. We continued our Rout three Days, stopping at the same Places where we lay in our Journey outwards; and, meeting with no new Adventures, our Entertainment, our way of Travelling, and every thing was the same as before.

About nine o'Clock at Night, on the 21st of *May*, we arrived safe at *Varanger*, having received many Services, and no Wrong, throughout the whole Country of *Danish Lapland*; for though the Inhabitants are poor and ignorant, they are, however, faithful, and given to no Manner of Theft or Fraud. Their Honesty is their greatest, if not their only, Virtue. They are so dextrous in throwing a Dart, that they will put a Crown Piece, thirty Paces off, and strike through it; as for the Bow, they are so skilful, that they will shoot their Game in what Part they please. They don't much care to go to the Wars; and whenever the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, or the *Czar of Muscovy*, have Occasion for Soldiers, for fear of being forced to serve, they leave their Dwellings, and fly to the Woods. They have plenty of Fowl, as Geese, Ducks, Pullets, and other Sorts. They feed them not with Juniper Berries, but with another Grain, of which they make their Drink; and when that is scarce, or for Variety, they give them Fish to eat. The greatest Part of the wild Beasts in *Lapland* are white, as Bears, Wolves, Foxes, and Hares; and even their Crows are so white, that they may be compared to the Swan, having nothing black about them, but their Bills and Feet.

The Fish they dry to eat instead of Bread, is very broad, and two or three Ells long, without Bones, and, excepting the Fat, has a very good Taste; it is firm and substantial, and they call it *Raff*. As for other Fish they

eat boiled, they have all Sorts among them. Their Utensils, within Doors, are made of Copper or Wood; and though they eat no Salt, and in general hate it, yet they boil all their Meat in Sea-Water, if they are near enough to get it conveniently. They have a kind of Dogs a Foot long, and four Inches high; their Hair is an Inch long, of a yellowish white Colour, rough, and standing up like a Hog's Bristles. They have curled Tails, strait Ears like a Wolf; Head and Snout like a Rat; are very fit to catch Mice, which they watch like our Cats; and when they have caught them, eat them; for this Reason the *Laplanders* value them at an high Rate, though they are very ugly. There is also a Sort of wild Bird in *Lapland* of a grey pearl Colour, as big as a Sheep; his Head is like a Cat's, his Eyes red and sparkling, his Claws and Beak like an Eagle's, with which he will take up Hares, and other small Game.

8. Our Captain began to caulk the Ship the same Day we returned to the Port. In two or three Days after, it was in a Condition to put to Sea, and we loaded our Ballast. In the mean Time we treated the Inhabitants with Tobacco and Brandy, to keep them in good Humour; for our Crew fancied, that if we did not bribe them to be our Friends, they might, in revenge, raise contrary Winds by their Conjurations. They were very good to us in the Opinion of our Mariners; for five Days after, being the 26th of *May*, there sprung up a Wind the most favourable for us in the Compass, to carry us out of the little Sea of *Varanger*; wherefore we weighed anchor, and sailed at seven o'Clock in the Morning. The Wind shifting afterwards from one Quarter to another, we were obliged to cast Anchor under the Shore, over against the Island of *Wardbus*. The Captain of the Castle spying us, and knowing who we were, came to us in a Shallop; when he was aboard we entertained him as well as we could, and he returned to the Castle very well satisfied with his Reception. The next Day the Wind settling to a Point, we kept out to Sea, and held our Course North-north-east, with all our Sails loose. In three Days Sail we were got into a Climate where was no Night; we never lost Sight of the Sun there, it always setting on one Side or the other of us, before us, or behind us.

On the last Day of *May* we spied the Mountains called *Spitzbergen*; at which Time a North Wind blew so violently, that we could not keep to Sea, and were forced to leave them to the North-north-west, and steer our Course East-south-east, endeavouring to make the Shore, that we might lie under it, and be sheltered from the Weather. We continued our Course three Days longer, very much incommoded by the Ice; which being broken, and tossed by the Tempest, beat against our Ship's Stern and Sides, so furiously, that we expected every Minute to founder. On the 4th of *June* we spied some high Mountains to the East; we steered that Way to make them, and shelter ourselves under a Promontory; but the Wind blowing fresher and fresher, and still North, we were obliged to tack about towards the Coasts of *Borandia*. We arrived at a Bay, and entered it in a few Hours. The Haven was very commodious; we lay there safe from all Weather, in twelve or thirteen Fathom Water. We had scarce cast Anchor before we spied two Ships in the Bay, about a Musket Shot of us. We perceived they were two of our Company, from whom we were separated, in the Storm that drove us into *Varanger*. We were extremely glad to meet with them, fired three Guns, and hung out our Flag in the Stern, as a Signal of our Arrival. They rejoiced as much to see us safe; for we reciprocally believed, that they and we were gone to the Bottom. They answered our Guns by twice as many, hung out all their Flags and Pendants. We did the like, wishing for an Opportunity to throw out our Long-boat and go aboard; but the Wind blew so stiff we durst not attempt it till four and twenty Hours after. They were as impatient as we, to know how we escaped in the Storm, in which we were separated from them; and as soon as the Wind slackened, a Boat came off from each of them to board us. We embraced one another with extraordi-

nary Affection and Joy, as People that had found Friends whom they thought had been buried in the Deep.

They told us how the Storm drove them on the Coast of *Juborskt*, near an Island, where they could not anchor because of the Rocks, which they discovered by sounding. They had scarce three Fathom Water, and were forced to tack about immediately, for fear of running upon them. By the Favour of a Point of Wind North-north-east, they continued their Course, keeping to Sea as well as they could, though with much Difficulty. In three Days time they reached the Bay, where we met them, and anchored under the Promontories of *Borandia*, eight or nine Leagues from the Island called *Kildomovia*. We told them, in our Turn, what Perils we had run, and that we were forced to enter the Sea of *Varanger*, and to anchor there to refit our Ship, or we should not have been able to have performed our Voyage. We informed them also of our Supercargo's and my Journey into, and through, all *Lapland*, both *Danish*, *Swedish*, and *Muscovite*; and of our Traffic and Adventures. The Account we gave them of our Trade, encouraged them to go ashore, and try if they could find any body there to trade with them. We held a Council, and resolved, that a Captain, a Supercargo, two Accountants, who understood both the Language of the *North* and the *Russian*; twenty Seamen out of all our Crews, and myself, well armed, should land, taking with us several Days Provisions.

Pursuant to this Resolution two Long-boats were got ready, we went into them, and sailed to Shore; where we landed and ascended a Hill, to see if we could discover any Habitations; but seeing none, we marched to a neighbouring Mountain, half a League from thence; where we spied five or six Persons, at two or three Leagues Distance, among Bushes of Thorns and Briars; they came towards us till they perceived us advancing, then they turned their Backs, and fled away so fast, that we lost Sight of them in an Instant. However, we followed their Tracks so diligently, imagining it would lead us to some Village, that in two Hours March, as we descended a Mountain, we saw some Huts in the Vale below, and advanced towards them, and saw thirty or forty Men, armed with Darts and Arrows, prepared to receive and give us Battle; for the Inhabitants seeing us come in so strong a Body, took us for Enemies. We halted a while, and consulted what we had best to do, whether we should retreat to our Ships, or attack them. They were wild and bold, and nothing was to be got by defeating them, which inclined us to retire; but one of our Accountants offered to go up to them by himself, and let them know that we were Friends and Merchants who came to trade with them, if they had any Commodity to truck with us for ours. All the Company approved of this Proposal.

He approached nearer to them, carrying two Rolls of Tobacco, and a little Barrel of Brandy; when he was so near that he might hear what they said, one of them, who seemed to be their Captain, asked him, in the *Muscovite* Language, who we were, and what we would have? The Man replied, we were Merchants and Friends, and desired nothing but their Friendship, and to trade with them, if they had any thing to sell us that was for our Purpose. They immediately abated of their Fury, seemed very well disposed to deal with us, and made Signs to the Man to come up to them. He returned the Signal to us, and we joined Companies, to our mutual Satisfaction. When we came near them, I was amazed to see them much shorter than the *Laplanders*; their Eyes were little, the white of them inclined to a reddish Yellow; their Faces flat and broad; their Heads great; their Noses flat; their Legs thick, and their Complexion swarthy; their Cloaths were a Jerkin that reached down to their Knees, a strait Pair of Breeches, a Cap and Stockings, all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair turned outwards; their Shoes were made of the Bark of Trees. Their Huts were all built and covered with Fish-Bones, very low and oval; their Light entering only at the Door, which was made like the Mouth of an Oven.

They

They subsist by hunting and fishing, eat all their Meat roasted, without Salt, and use undried Fish instead of Bread; they drink Water after they have infused some Juniper Berries in it, without boiling or any other Preparation; they put the Berries and the Water into a Tub together, and let it stand till the Berries rot there, which gives the Water an agreeable Taste, at least in a Country where there is nothing better to be got. The *Borandian* Women are as ugly as the Men; they are dressed alike, and go as well as them a fishing and hunting. They have no Notion of Religion, and live like Beasts. We bartered away all the Tobacco and Brandy we brought with us, for Fox-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and a few Ermines; they had a great many more Skins of all Sorts, and would fain have trucked with us for Brandy and Tobacco. We told them we had enough of both Commodities on board; if they would go with us we would be sure to give them all possible Satisfaction. They agreed to it, took up their Skins, and carried them to the Shore, where they stood admiring our Ships. We made a Signal to them to send us off Boats to fetch our Chapmen; each Ship sent us two. I went in one of them, with the Supercargo, the Accountant that treated with the *Borandians*, the *Borandians* with whom he first treated, and another of them, who understood the *Muscovite* Language, having been in *Muscovy*; the other *Borandians* stood on the Sea-shore. When they came on board, our Captain understanding what sort of Persons they were, how wild and brutal; to tame them a little, and render them serviceable to us, gave each of them an End of Tobacco about an Inch long, which they took with Joy; he also filled out a Brimmer of Brandy to each; and I never saw so many of the *Borandians* so much transported as they were at this Entertainment.

They brought some Furs with them, which we bought for Tobacco and Brandy. We demanded of them if there was any Conveniency of travelling in their Country to trade with the Inhabitants. They told us there was; but that we must expect nothing but Furs. We replied that was the Commodity we wanted. They answered, we might have what we would of that Kind, for Tobacco, Brandy, and Money; and, if we pleased, might trade as far as *Siberia*, whither they would conduct us. We hired them to be our Guides forwards and backwards, and to furnish us with what Conveniences the Country afforded in our Journey, for two Rolls of Tobacco and two Quarts of Brandy, promising them further Rewards in case the Trade turned to Account, and they assisted us in it. They said that we must pay for our Rain-Deer and Sledges, and as for other Things, they would take care to provide what we should think necessary. Our Captain made the Bargain with them, gave them another Brimmer of Brandy and sent them ashore, to prepare what was proper for our Journey. They got Things ready in an Instant, and made such a Report of our Kindness to them aboard, and our Generosity, that their Countrymen were very much our Friends; two Boats Crew went ashore, and our Supercargo with them, to truck with the other *Borandians*, Brandy and Tobacco for Furs. They were unwilling at first to come on board our Ships; but afterwards, when we were better acquainted, they came freely, if they had any Opportunity. We bought their Furs of them, treated them with Brandy; and in return they invited us by several Signs to their Habitations.

9. In seven or eight Hours we had provided ourselves for our Journey, and our two *Borandians* had brought down six Sledges, drawn by six Rain-Deer, to the Water-side. We asked them why they did not bring more? They answered, there were no more to be had in those Parts. Observing that these Rain-Deer were larger than the Rain-Deer of *Lapland*, we demanded if they were also stronger? They replied, Yes; and that one of their Rain-Deer would draw two Men, whereas those of *Lapland* could draw but one. There was Convenience in the *Borandian* Sledges for two Men to sit. Upon this our Captain called a Council of all the Officers, and it was agreed, That our Supercargo, the two Accountants that could speak the *Russian* Language, myself, and a Seaman out of each Ship, should go with the two *Borandians*, to

trade. One of the Sledges we loaded with Tobacco, Brandy, Gold, Silver, and Copper, to the Value of three or four thousand Pounds. Our Supercargo and myself rode together in one of these Sledges; one Accountant and a *Borandian* in another; the other Accountant and the other *Borandian* in a third; two Seamen in the fourth, the other Seaman in the fifth; and he riding by himself we stowed some Barrels of Brandy and Tobacco in his Sledge; the sixth carried our Provisions and other Merchandize. We sat one at one End of the Sledge and the other at the other, facing each other. The Rain-Deer ran away with us as fast as those of *Lapland*. In eight Hours time they drew us twenty Leagues over Hills and Dales, through Woods and Valleys; and we met no-body in our Way. At the Village we baited our Rain-Deer with Moss, and ourselves with Bisket and Beef; our *Borandians* eat dried Fish dipped in Fish-oil, for they would not touch our salt Meat, and did not love our Bisket. They drank at a neighbouring Fountain, and then cheered themselves with a Glass of Brandy; we did the like: And being refreshed mounted our Sledges, set our Rain-Deer a going, and travelled three Hours longer; when we perceived a large Village at the Foot of a Mountain. The Huts were better built, and closer together, and thither we hasted to take up our Lodging that Night: We were obliged to divide our Company, for one Cottage would not hold us all. We met with the same Reception from our Hosts as we had in *Lapland*; we gratified them with an End of Tobacco and a Cup of Brandy. Our Guides took Care of our Rain-Deer, and we lay down to rest on Bear-Skins: I distinguish one Part of the Day from the other by Day and Night, though really there was no Night at all; but I do it to make myself the better understood by the Reader. We slept six or seven Hours, then rose to see if we could trade with the Inhabitants of the Village: Our Guides informed them what our Business was there, and that we would barter our Commodities for theirs. They presently produced some Wolf-Skins, white Fox-Skins, two dozen of Ermines, three hundred grey Squirrels, and seven Pair of Sables. They did not care to deal for Tobacco so much as the *Laplanders* did, nor as the *Borandians* dwelling on the Coasts; they were not such good Fellows; Hunting was their only Diversion and Employment. In the Summer they eat their Meat fresh boiled, or broiled on the Coals: in Winter they eat it dried, providing enough in Summer to last them the whole Season; their manner of drying it is thus: They cut it out in Pieces, spread it on the Tops of their Houses, and leave it in the Sun. Their Huts are flat at Top, covered with Branches of Trees and Turf; they are very low, having no Place but the Door for the Light to enter at; the Doors of their Huts are like the Mouth of an Oven. These *Borandians*, as our Guides told us, change their Dwellings from time to time, like the *Kilops*; they, like Beasts, live without any Knowledge of Religion; they are stupid and ugly; their Shoes are made of the Bark of a Tree; their Stockings, Breeches, Caps, Coats, which come down below the Calf of their Legs, and are tied round their Waist with a Girdle four Inches broad, are all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outward.

One cannot distinguish the Women from the Men but by their Hair, which is twisted, and hangs down on their Shoulders; they are as dextrous at hunting as the Men, and only carry a Stick, sharp at one End, in their Hands; it is of a tough Wood, and serves them for a defensive Weapon; the Strings of their Bows are made only of the Paring of a Tree; they hang a Quiver at their Backs, and a Stone that will cut like a Razor at their Girdles. We bought the Furs the Inhabitants had to sell for Money and Copper, and ordered our Rain-Deer to be put to the Sledges, mounted them, and having drank each a good Glass of Brandy, which may be called *Liquor of Life*, in the North, we proceeded on our Journey. We ran eight or nine Hours before we came to any Habitation: At last our Guides spied three or four Huts, and turned our Rain-Deer up to them. We found no-body in them; however, thither we went and refreshed ourselves on our own Provisions, while our Cattle baited on the Moss, which grew there

there in abundance. We rested three Hours, and then mounted again, to proceed on our Journey : We went fifteen Hours before we came to any Dwelling, or saw any human Creature ; when we had been so long on our way we espied three Hunters riding before us : We overtook them under a Hill. One of them was dressed in a long Robe, after the *Muscovite* Fashion, tied round his Waist with a Girdle four Inches broad. It was all Bear-Skin, Hair outwards, and as white as Snow, the Edges black as a Coal. His Cap was like a Seaman's, made of black Fox-Skin. His Breeches and Stockings were of Rain-Deer-Skin. His Shoes of Fish-Skin, somewhat like those we saw at *Varanger*. The two others were dressed as we were ; their Robes were of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outwards. They had each a dozen of Furs at their Backs, Bear-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and white Fox-Skins, some Ermines, and very fine Sables ; the Bears Tails hanging still to the Skin. The first of them carried only a dozen of white Crows and seven Sables hanging at his Girdles. When we came up near enough, one of our Guides stopt to talk with him. He lighted out of his Sledge, and the other went into it. While our Accountant rode with him, we admired to see our *Borandian* leave us, and this Man supply his room. Our Supercargo could not tell what to make of it. The Hunter travelled with us for above an Hour, and we had as bad Luck as before in this uninhabited Country. We met with neither House nor Man. At last we drew near the Brow of a high Mountain. We perceived the Sea at a Distance, and at the Foot of the Mountain several Houses built close together, which looked like a little Town. Thither our Rain-Deer carried us. We alighted to repose our wearied Limbs at that Man's Door who had taken our Guide's Place in one of our Sledges. We found he was a Man of Authority in the Place by Office, and desired of the Inhabitants to serve us as his Friends.

The Name of the Village was *Vitzora* ; the People that belonged to it, as soon as they saw that Person in our Company, ran to help us out of the Sledges, and to unharness our Rain-Deer. He bartered all his Skins with us for Tobacco and Brandy, except his Bear-Skins, which we did not care to buy, and his Sables, which he would not sell ; indeed, he durst not. The Great Duke of *Muscovy*, in whose Territories we were, and whom his Subjects call *Czar*, reserves that Commodity for himself. Those who sell it without Licence from him, in any Part of his Dominions, are severely punished. He appoints certain Officers to take those Furs of such as have them. Those Officers have Ware-houses in several Places of his Empire, and only they trade in that Merchandize. If any one else sells a Sable-Skin, it is by Stealth and in secret, and those that buy it must be careful how it is seen ; for if the Officers we have mentioned, or the Governors of Places that Strangers go through, find any Sable-Skin, or Skins among their Goods which were not bought of the proper Officer, all their Merchandize will be seized, and condemned. Having dealt with the *Borandian* Gentleman, if any of that Country deserve the Name, for all the Furs he had by him that were to be sold, he sent two of his Servants about the Village to tell the Inhabitants, That if they would bring us their Skins to his House, they might have Brandy and Tobacco for them, as their Master had already had for his. The *Borandians* of *Vitzora* were glad to hear of so good a Market ; they brought us all their Furs immediately, and we gave them Tobacco and Brandy in Exchange for them. We bought in this Place fifteen hundred Skins of all sorts ; and our Cargo being too great for a Sledge, we desired our Landlord to do us the Favour to lend us a Bark, which he had, and some of his Servants to go in it with one of our Seamen, who was a good Sailor, and one we could trust to carry our Goods a-ship-board. Our Ship, it is true, lay above an hundred Leagues off ; but the Sailor and the *Borandian's* Servants, who were used to the Coasts, could easily manage that small Vessel, and convey our Merchandize to our Companions on the Coast of *Borandia*. The Gentleman agreed to lend us the Bark at such a Price, and his Servants to help our Sailor.

We paid him in Tobacco and Brandy, as current as ready Cash at *Vitzora*.

The Bark was built in the Form of a Gondola, broad in the Middle, and sharp at each End. It was all of Wood. There was in it no Iron or Nails. It had a Fir-Tree Mast in the Middle, and a square Piece of coarse Cloth, the Thread of it wove of the Rind of a Tree, tied to the Mast to serve for a Sail. The Cordage was of the same Make as the Sail. The two Anchors were of Wood, and very heavy. The Cables that held them were made also of Ropes of the same kind as the other Cordage. He lent us two of his Servants to assist our Sailor : And when they were about to put to Sea, he shewed them privately thirty Pair of Sable-Skins, which we bought with Ready Money, clapped them aboard, and sent them away. We were glad we had got them so ; for otherwise he would not have sold them to us ; the Bark being ready to sail was a fair Temptation ; and seeing there was no Likelihood of the Officers searching, he let us have them. The Vessel was now put off immediately, and there was no Officer near to examine it. It was a dangerous Risk, had there been any Searchers at hand, for himself would have been corporally punished, and he and all his Family sent Slaves into *Siberia*. Our Seaman and the two *Borandians* set sail with our Merchandize ; and our Supercargo and Accountants fell to drinking with the *Borandian* Gentleman. While they were making a Debauch, I went about the Town with our other two Seamen. I was pleased with its Situation between two Mountains, each of them almost a League high. All the Houses were built and covered with Fish Bones very artificially ; the Crannies were every where stopped up with Moss as fast as a Ship new caulked ; and above all, Turf was laid handsomely in some Places that were most exposed to the Wind, which had no Passage into the Houses, except at the Doors, which were like Ovens Mouths, as in other Places in *Borandia*. At the Top of the Houses where were Lattices or Windows for the Light to enter, I saw abundance of Women and Children at work, some making Fishing Nets of the Rind of Trees ; others were making of Sails, which looked like fine Mats ; others using their Hatchets ; others Knives. Their Needles were of Fish Bones. All of them are ugly, dwarfish, flat-nosed and swarthy.

10. When we returned to our Lodgings, we consulted with our Supercargo and Accountants, what we had best to do ; our Commodities were not half disposed of, and we were in a Country that was full of Furs ; the farther we went, the Plenty was the greater, and consequently the Markets the more encouraging. We had a great deal of Cash, and our Commissions being as large as our Captains, who were to go whither they thought fit, for the Service of the Company ; we resolved to proceed as long as we found the Trade to be good. We sent our Guides back with the Rain-Deer, and Letters to our Captains, to acquaint them with our Intentions, and give them an Account of our Success. We then hired a Bark to carry us to *Petzora*, the Capital City of a Principality of the same Name, on the North Coast of the *Muscovite* Sea. Our Landlord got us a small Vessel and two Men. We embarked on board it with our Cargo, and by the help of an Easterly Wind, coasted along Shore till we arrived at *Petzora*. We got there in fifteen Hours.

The City is not very big, it is situated on the Coast, and gives Name to the Sea as well as the Province about it. We went to wait on the Governor at the Castle. He assumes that Title, tho' in reality he is no more than a Collector of Customs. Indeed all the *Czar's* Governors are such sort of Persons, for there are few Noblemen or Gentlemen in *Muscovy*. They are all uncivil and jealous ; Qualities that are incompatible with Nobility. This Governor was a *Muscovite* ; he was dress'd after the Fashion of his Country, in a Robe of Violet-coloured Cloth, with a Mixture of Red. He gave us some excellent Methaglin, which went down very pleasantly, and was as racy as Sack ; after that we had Brandy and Gingerbread, the common Collation in *Muscovy*. Knowing he had

had the Charge of the Czar's Sables, we asked him if he would sell us some? He answered, he would, enquiring how many we wanted? We answer'd, all he had, if he would let us have them a Pennyworth. He then carried us to the Warehouse, where there were five Zimmers, each Zimmer fifty Pair; among which there were two Zimmers of the finest I ever saw, as black as Jet; for which we paid him five hundred Ducats; and we had the other three Zimmers for eight hundred Crowns, or four hundred Ducats. We bought all the Skins he had; they were sealed with the Czar's Arms. After we had paid him his Money, he would treat us again at the Castle.

He ordered two Boats presently to get some fresh Fish for us; he killed a young Rain-Deer, and roasted some Wild-fowl that his Servants had brought in. We had a noble Entertainment of Fish, and Fowl, and young Rain-Deer Venison, which is good Meat; we drank Brandy and Metheglin eight Hours together; and the Fumes had got up into my Head sooner, had I not every now and then eat a *Muscovite* Bisket, the best Bread in the World. The Governor and his Guests at last began to be top-heavy; and we all lay down to rest on white Bear-Skins, for he had no Beds to lodge us in. We slept six or seven Hours, and then rose. Our Host presented each at our Uprising with a Brimmer of Brandy.

We then went about the Town to try if there was any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. The Governor ordered one of his Under-Officers to accompany us; and we bought of several People two thousand grey Squirrels, four Dozen of Ermines, five hundred Fox-Skins, the greatest Part of them as white as Snow, six score of white Wolf-Skins, two hundred Martens of a greyish Colour. All of them cost four hundred Ducats. We obliged them to take half in Copper, because it incumbered us, and half in Cash. We went back to the Castle, whither we sent our Merchandize, and where we packed it up in Bales. The packing Cloth was made of the same sort of Stuff as the Sails of the Bark sent to the Ships. Our Goods being thus taken care of, we resolved that one of our Accountants should return with them to our Ships. To that end we entreated our Host the Governor to furnish us with a Bark, which he did; and we hired three *Borandians* to assist the Accountant in his Voyage; the Governor passing his Word for them that they should be trusty and do us no wrong. For the Hire of the Bark and the *Borandians* Wages, we paid him ten Ducats more, and presented the *Borandians* with some Ends of Tobacco. The Governor engaged to satisfy them farther for their Trouble when they came back.

Our Accountant embarking, set sail, the Wind East-south-east, and we fell to drinking again with our Host the Governor. The Gentleman who had entertained us at *Vitzora*, accompanied us to *Petzora*, and drank so hard, that I could not imagine where he found Stowage for so much Brandy and Metheglin as he swallowed. We continued rippling four Hours together, and then lay down, according to Custom, on Bear-Skins to repose ourselves. As soon as we awoke, our Supercargo desired the Governor of *Petzora* to hire us some Rain-Deer, to carry us into *Siberia*, a Province which some Geographers place in *Europe*, and others in *Asia*. He furnished us with seven Rain-Deer and seven Sledges; one for our Supercargo, one for our other Accountant, one for myself, two for our two Seamen, one for our Guide, and the other to load our Tobacco and Brandy. The Provisions he supplied us with, were to last till we arrived at *Papinowgorod*, another City in the Province of *Petzora*, on the the Borders of *Siberia*. Our Factor took what Money he had left with him; and the seven Rain-Deer being put to the seven Sledges, the Governor ordered another to be got ready for one of his Domestics, whom he commanded to wait upon us seven Leagues of our way to a Village, where we were to change our Rain-Deer, and give them to the Governor's Servant to carry back. For all which he was to have four Ducats. He would not let us go till we had drank five or six Glasses of Brandy at parting.

We gave both him and our Host of *Vitzora* hearty Thanks for their kind Entertainment, and then got into

our Sledges. The Ways were very difficult to pass. We had no beaten Road, and were four Hours before we could see any living Creature; at last we met four white Bears, of an excessive Bigness; they crossed our Way, and seeing us, fled into a Wood. Two Hours after we came to a Village, consisting of seven or eight Cottages; there was no body in them, the Inhabitants being all gone a Hunting. We alighted out of our Sledges to bait a little on the Provisions we brought with us. While we were eating, five or six Men, with their Wives and Children, returned from hunting, which it seems had been very lucky to them, for they brought in with them six Bear-Skins, four Wolf-Skins, a couple of Ermines, and eight Sables. The People of the Place were surprized to see us there, and would have fled from us, had not the Governor of *Petzora*'s Servant assured them we were Friends and Merchants, bound for *Papinowgorod*. When they understood we were Traders, they came up to us, and viewed us narrowly. They wondered to see so many Strangers in a Place so unfrequented. They were astonished at our Way of Dress, our Looks and Shape, as also at our Language, so different from theirs, and so unintelligible to them; however, we dealt with them, by the Assistance of our Interpreter; we bought all the Skins that they dared to sell us; and they lent us Rain-Deer and Sledges, to carry us as far as the Mouth of the River *Papinowgorod*.

11. When we parted from them, we left the Course of the River *Petzora*, and proceeded to that of *Papinowgorod*, the Ways were almost unpassable, yet, with much Difficulty and Fatigue, our Rain-Deer drew us over Mountains and Valleys, through Woods and Forests, for three Hours before we met with Man, Woman, or Habitation. When we had travelled so long, and approached near a thick Wood, we espied five Men in white Bear-Skin Robes, after the *Muscovite* Fashion; each of them had a Fuzee on his Shoulder, a Pouch on one Side, and a Knife and Sheath on the other, like the *Borandian* Huntsmen. They seemed to make up towards us, for which Reason our Guide, who understood the Management of Rain-Deer, immediately stopped them; and by that Time the five Men were advanced so near us, that we could hear them; one of them perceiving that we were Strangers, bid us Good-morrow in the *German* Language, wishing they were as free as we were. Our Supercargo, who was a Native of the *Lower Saxony*, hearing him talk his own Tongue, asked him what Countryman he was? The Man answered him to his Satisfaction; and, entering into a longer Conversation, they recollected things in their Minds, by which they understood that they had formerly been intimately acquainted. Our Supercargo alighted out of his Sledge, embraced him, and demanded how he came there? The Man replied, he was one of those whom the Grand King, or Czar, had lately banished for hunting Sables.

This is a Crime that is punished with Banishment, and that in *Muscovy* is equivalent to the Gallies in *France*. Some are banished for ten Years, some for six, some for three, some for more, and some for less; after which they have their Liberty to go where they please. The more I looked on one of the five Men, the more I thought I had seen him before, and alighted out of my Sledge to satisfy my Curiosity. As soon as I was on the Ground, the Man who remembered me better than I did him, ran to me and embraced me; sighing, asked me, in the *French* Tongue, whence I came, and whither I went? I was somewhat surprized at it, because I could not yet call to mind who he was; his Habit had strangely altered him; his Beard was long, and his Head bald; besides, he was so fallen away, he was nothing but Skin and Bones. Seeing I could not recollect where I had known him, he told me his Name, and that he had drank very often with me at *Stockholm*. I then remembered that, indeed, he was the Man to whom I had been very much obliged, for the many Civilities I had received from him in *Sweden*: He was a Gentleman by Birth, a *Lorrainer*, and was Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of *Muscovite* Horse. He would fain have persuaded me to go with him to *Moscow*, promising to procure me an

honourable and profitable Place, in the Service of the Czar, but I did not think fit to accept of his Proposal.

The fine Appearance he made at that Time, the Respect that every one paid him, as well on Account of his Estate, for he was rich; as for the Place he enjoyed, and the Character he bore, of a Man of Courage and Honour, and the miserable Condition I now saw him in, made me sigh; when I embraced him again with extraordinary Affection and Tendernefs, asking him what was the Occasion of his Disgrace? He answered, the Czar suspected he had not been so zealous in his Service as he might have been, and for that Reason only banished him to *Siberia* for three Years; that he was to endure Miseries which are not to be expressed, besides the Dangers to which all banished Persons are exposed in hunting wild Beasts for their Subsistence; as likewise Hunger, and the Rigour of the Season, which they were forced to suffer, and none durst relieve them. He said they were almost every Day attacked by wild Beasts, which they met in Herds, seeking for Pasture; and that they had often much ado to defend themselves: And further, if they did not each of them catch such a Number of Sables, as they were condemned to furnish the Czar's Officers with, they were each of them lashed with a Whip made of Leathern Thongs, thick and hard, on their naked Backs, and sometimes all over their whole Bodies, till they were all in a gore Blood.

Our Supercargo's Acquaintance told him the same Story, so did the other three, who spoke the *German* and *French* Tongues tolerably well. One of them had been Receiver-General of the Czar's Revenues, in one of his Provinces; the second had been a Major General, and the third a Man of Note. They all deplored their Misfortune, assuring us, that when the Time of their Banishment was out, they would get far enough from the Czar's Power. We were extremely touched with the Relation of their miserable Condition. We set down on the Moss, took out the best Provision we had, and desired them to take Part of it. We offered them our Help to make their Escapes, but they told us it was impracticable; for that they were known to all the Governors of the Forts and Places through which they and we must necessarily pass: And in case they should be taken, all our, and their, Lives must pay for their Attempt to get off. That Death would certainly be our Punishment, and theirs; and the most cruel Death, which boundless Power, and northern Barbarity, could inflict. This increased our Concern for those poor unfortunate Gentlemen; we all wept heartily at the sad Sight of what they suffered, and the Idea of what they were still to suffer.

We could not think of parting presently with Persons in their disconsolate State. We had seen them when Fortune smiled on them, at least some of them; we had been their Friends, and we thought it had been cruel to leave them, without endeavouring to render a Day or two, of the dismal Time they were to pass, pleasant to them; the Society of such as they had formerly had a Friendship for, would contribute towards easing them a little of the Load of Grief that hung at their Hearts. We told them what we wished, and that we were loth to part so soon; our Trade was not in so much haste, considering the two large Parcels of Goods we had already sent to our Vessels, as to hinder us spending a Day or two with Men in their Circumstances, whom we equally loved and esteemed. The meeting them in such a Place, and in so sad a Condition, had something romantic in it; and as much as we were Merchants, we had more of Heroes than to fly from our Friends in Adversity, without taking a few Days to condole with them, and endeavour to alleviate their Sorrows.

Besides these Considerations, I had another. My Design, in the Beginning of my Voyage, was more to make Observations on the North Parts of the World, than to reap any Benefit by it. I had formerly made more beneficial Voyages to the *Indies* and *Africa*, than any thing I could propose to myself by Travelling into the North. But having seen these two Parts of the World, I had a Curiosity to visit that in which I was

now trading, and to inform myself of the Manners and Customs of a People less known to us than the *Indians* in the East and West, though they are at a greater Distance from us. I knew the Gentleman of *Lorrain* to be a sensible Man, who had lived a long Time in *Muscovy*, under the State of the Empire, and the Court of the Czar, as well as any Man; and intending to communicate my own Observations to the World, I thought I could not better secure the Reader's Satisfaction, than by giving him his, which would make my Account of the North complete; wherefore I resolved to stay a Day or two with him, and his poor Brethren in Adversity, and learn of him what he could inform me of, as to the more noted and more populous Part of *Muscovy*; the City of *Moscow*, and the Czar's Court. Our Business obliged us to keep as near the Coast as possible; and the Countries that lay near the Sea came within my own Knowledge; but the Inland Provinces were out of our Way, and we had no Pretence to visit them; my Companions travelling for Profit, and not for Pleasure. Our unhappy Friends rejoiced mightily at our offering to spend some Hours with them.

To encourage us, they told us they had built themselves five little Huts in the Wood, which they came out of, where each of them retired when he chose to be alone; that there was room enough to entertain us all; and if we would be so kind as to go thither with them, they should be infinitely obliged to us. They knew our Business, and we should not lose our Time; all the Skins they had were at our Service, except the Sables, which they were forced to reserve for the Czar; but they were little to be valued, in respect to the Joy they should have in our Company. They said, the very Remembrance of the happy Hours they spent with us, in their profound Solitude, would make many future Months glide on the more sweetly. Our Supercargo and I consented to stay with them, out of respect, as the rest of our Company did out of Hopes of Profit, hearing them offer to give us their Furs. The banished Men told us we must travel some scores of Leagues before we could meet with a Market for our Commodities. We readily agreed to the Proposals they made us. When we had refreshed ourselves on our own Provisions, we ordered our Guide to unharness the Rain-Deer, and convey our Goods into the Huts the Gentlemen had built to defend them from the Weather. Their Necessity made them ingenious, and nothing could be better contrived, either for Pleasure or Convenience, in so wretched a Place.

They were built of Fir, higher than any we had seen in our Travels; there were two or three Rooms in each of them, and Lattices to let in the Light at the Side. They were each shaded by a Tuft of Trees, and paved with broad Fish-bones, so artificially, that they looked as if the Floors were inlaid with Ivory. They had digged a Trench round them, and palisaded the Circumference of the Ground, on which they were built, with strong Posts, which were joined together with cross Sticks of strong Wood, and on the Top were Spikes of Fish-bones. By this means, when the Gate, that was the Entrance into it, was shut, they were safe against the Insults of wild Beasts, and as secure as in a fortified Place. They had all Sorts of hunting and fishing Tackle, Store of Metheglin, Bisket, and salted Rain-Deer-Venison. The *Lorrainer* was a temperate Man, but the others loved drinking; so they and my Companions fell to it. I always abhorred the Debauches we were forced to make in the North, and was very glad I had an Excuse to avoid tippling now.

My Friend and I withdrew to converse together, and the Company perceiving we were old Acquaintance, permitted us to do so. We retired into his Hut, and left the rest with the *Saxon* in his; where they drank away Sorrow at that Time; and after six or seven Hours spent over Brandy and Tobacco, they all lay down on Bear-Skins to take their Rest. The *Lorrainer* and I, in the mean Time, entered into a Discourse on his own Adventures. He told me how he intended to return home, after his Time of Exile was expired, and how I might hear of him

in *France*. Our Conversation was tender and pleasant; it ran partly on our former Acquaintance, and partly on the Wildness of the Country, and the Barbarity of the Inhabitants; upon which I took occasion to desire him to communicate to me the Observations he had made of the Court, Country, and Customs of *Muscovy*; telling him I intended to publish my Voyage to the North; and wanted only some Account of the inland Provinces, to render it, in some Measure, perfect.

He replied, he was loth to spend any of the little Time we had to be together, on so general a Subject: But if I thought his Reflections and Remarks would be of any Use to me, he would give me the Memoirs he had collected when he came first into *Muscovy*, for his private Satisfaction. He could not recommend them to me as things that did not require to be carefully digested and methodized: But he assured me the Observations were as just and entertaining as any he had been able to make since, in fifteen or sixteen Years Residence in that Country.

He then went to a Chest he had in a Corner of an inner Room, and took out about twenty Sheets of Paper, containing the Substance of what I insert in the following Pages, relating to the Manners and Policy of the *Russians*; as also the Account I give of *Siberia*, which I took entirely from his Memoirs. I would fain have excused myself, and not accepted his Present, believing he could finish his Work, and make it useful to the Public, with more Success than I could: But he obliged me to take the Memoirs, saying, The things in it were now so common to him, that he needed no Remembrances; and his Sufferings had given him such a Disgust to the Country, that he should never more have any Curiosity concerning it, or desire to let the World know any thing of it. And as to these Memoirs, though probably they might be of Service to me, they could not be so to him: In a Word, he obliged me to take them with me, and I resolved to add them to my own, when I returned to *France*, and should put the Journal of my Voyage into order for the Press. I have not published above half the Observations the *Lorrain* Gentleman gave me: However, they are the most useful and diverting of them, and what I doubt not the Reader will be pleased with. The Person that made them being a Person of good Sense, and very curious in his Reflections on Places and Persons; he mingled several Passages of the *Muscovite* History with his Memoirs, which he took from their own Books; for he understood their Language as well as the Natives; spoke it and wrote it as well as their best Scholars; who, indeed, are not the most learned or elegant Persons in *Europe*: For Learning is held in Contempt by almost all the *Russians*; their Clergy being as brutal and illiterate as their Laity. When my Friend and I had tired ourselves with talking, we lay down as usual, on Bear-Skins, and slept sound till the next Morning.

We rose early, and at the Desire of the five banished Gentlemen, took each of us, our Guide excepted, a Fuzee in our Hands, which they lent us; and we went with them into the Woods, to their Walks, to see if their Game were caught in the Snares we had laid for them. We killed among us ten or twelve white Foxes, and half a Dozen grey Martens; we met with none of the larger Game; and both the Gentlemen and we were loth to spend any more Time about it, for we intended to proceed on our Journey when we had dined; so we returned to their Huts, brought forth our Provisions, the same did our Hosts, and refreshed ourselves, as well as could be expected in so wretched a Place. After we had drank plentifully, the Gentleman forced us to take seven Bear-Skins, ten white Fox-Skins, two Pair of Ermines, and eight Wolf-Skins; they would not have any Money for them, and it was with Difficulty that we could persuade them to accept of some Brandy, Tobacco, and Cloth, to the Value of their Furs. We were so grateful to them for their Civilities to us, that we took care our Commodities should be rather worth more than less than theirs. Having eat and drank sufficiently, we took our Leaves of them, embracing them heartily, and wished

them Patience to endure their Sufferings, and a happy Deliverance out of them, and saluting them all round, wept reciprocally at parting. Our Rain-Deer and Sledges being got ready we mounted, and bid them all adieu; the like did the Gentlemen to us. Our Rain-Deer, at our Guide's Signal, ran away with us; and the unfortunate Exiles went to their Huts.

12. The Territories of the Czar or Emperor of *Russia* are so little known, that we have few Descriptions of them worth reading, which proceeds from the little Commerce there is between his Dominions and other Parts of *Europe*, and indeed between some of his Provinces with the rest; his Country is the largest in *Europe*, besides what he possesses in *Asia*, but most of it is thinly peopled; and being uninhabited in many Places, it is consequently unfrequented. By this Means Travellers never give themselves the Trouble of going far beyond the Coast, or the Province of *Moscow*; and the Czar's Subjects are so illiterate they can give no Account of Things, for they are so ignorant that they know as little of their own Country as those that were never in it. I found very few Observations on the geographical Part of *Muscovy* among my Friend's Papers; but several Remarks on the Customs and Religion of the *Muscovites*, with which I believe the Reader will be diverted; for they were made by one who had more Opportunities of informing himself than ever any other Man had before him.

Every body that travels into *Muscovy*, with a Design to satisfy their Curiosity, about the Manners and Polity, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of the *Muscovites*, will meet with many Difficulties that they will hardly have Patience to surmount: The People of *Russia* are naturally jealous, and mistrustful; they have no Knowledge of the World, and but very little in any kind of Affairs either Spiritual or Temporal; wherefore they suspect all that make any Enquiries into the State of their Government or Religion, and yet know not why or for what. Printing was brought into *Muscovy* in the Year 1560, and the Czar then reigning erected a College for teaching Grammar, and the *Latin* Tongue; but it came to nothing in a few Years. The Priests, the most ignorant, illiterate Creatures that ever assumed that Office, ruined it, for fear it might in Time ruin them: These Priests are only Laics of good Lives and Conversation, who are for that Reason chosen into the Priesthood. The Occasion of the *Muscovites* embracing the Christian Religion, was from the Prayers of a Priest of *Chioff*, who praying to Almighty God for the Duke, who was dangerously ill, his Prayers were heard, and that Prince miraculously recovered to his Health. Their Liturgy is taken from that of the *Greeks* in the *Sclavonian* Language, the Knowledge of which is as rare among them as that of the *Latin* among the Roman Catholics. They imitate the *Greeks* in the Manner of building their Churches.

They have Pictures in them, and formerly had Images richly adorned with Jewels, and other costly Ornaments; but this is not suffered now, all Sorts of Sculptures being forbidden; and they looked upon the Worship rendered them by the Papists to be Idolatry. They don't kneel at their Prayers, but prostrate themselves on the Ground. On the Eve of certain Feasts celebrated among them, they spend the whole Night at Church in their Devotions. They often throw themselves on the Floor, sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross, and beat their Heads against the Ground. Amidst the several Parts of their Services, there are Intervals in which they discourse of their temporal Affairs. The Emperor seldom misses assisting at the Public Worship; he is generally attended by the whole Court: He dispatches Business at Church, and if any of the Courtiers are not present he severely reprimands them.

On *Whitsunday* their Churches are filled with Maple Boughs, which the *Russians* mistake for Sycamore. Whenever they prostrate themselves, they verily believe the Holy Ghost descends on those Boughs, as Manna fell on the Leaves of Oak in the Desert. Musical Instruments are not used in Churches; the last Patriarch abolished that Custom. Their Prayers, which are performed three

Hours

Hours after Sun-rising, are called *Obedni*; those that are made after Sun-setting are called *Vackerny*; and those an Hour after Midnight, *Zaoutrinys*.

Their *Obedni*, or Morning Prayer is: *Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving Kindness, and blot out my Transgression, according to thy Greatness, and Multitude of thy Bounties.*

Their *Vackerny*, or Evening Prayer is: *O Lord! bear my Prayer when I call upon thee, and let my Cry come unto thee.*

Their *Zaoutrinys*, or Prayer an Hour after Midnight is: *We put our Trust in Christ, our Saviour; and all our Hope is in him.*

They repeat the *Miserere*, which they call *Hospody Pomelee*, a hundred times over, and the Priest who can repeat it ofteneft in a Breath is reckoned the best Man; five or six of them will read aloud together; one a Chapter, the other a Psalm, the third a Prayer, and the rest so many other different Things, with Noise and Confusion inexpressible. Every Priest is called *Pope*, or Father; as *Pope John*, or *Pope Peter*; every Bishop is stiled a *Metropolitan*, and the Chief-Priest, *Proto-Pope*: the Parish-Priests are commonly cloathed in red Vestments, some wear green and others blue, according to their several Fancies; the Form of their Garments is distinguished from that of Laymen, by two little Pieces of Stuff sewed on each Breast.

They wear a red Leather Cap on their bald Pates, and that is all the Difference between their Dress and the Laity; the Hair of their Heads and Beards is never shaved, only the Crown of their Heads, which is always shorn; they must have Wives, but, according to the Apostle St. Paul's Rule, no Priest is allowed to have any more than one during his whole Life: Thus their Priesthood depends on their Wives, and when they die it ceases; for which Reason they marry young, that they may have a Benefice early, and use their Wives better than other Men. Their Wives Garments are distinguished like the Husbands, by two little Pieces of Stuff sewed on each Breast. Their Manner of Baptism is much like that of the Roman Catholics, except that they always dip the Children they baptize quite under the Water. The Custom of buying Foreigners, on Purpose to oblige them to turn Christians, which was very much practised by them formerly, is now out of Use. When any Man, either Protestant or Papist, renounces his own Religion to embrace the *Russian*, he must renounce his first Baptism, his Father and Mother; and spit three times over his Shoulder. Some antient Inhabitants of the Country have observed, that of two hundred *English*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch*, who have made Profession of the *Russian* Religion, hardly one died a natural Death.

The greatest Part of the Marriages in *Muscovy* are brought about by third Persons, and without much Solemnity. Five or six of the young Woman's Friends who is to be married, examine her stark naked before she is further engaged, to see if she has any bodily Infirmity; and if they find any, they do what they can to cure it: As for the young Man, he never sees her, perhaps till he meets her in the Chamber where the Marriage is to be consummated. The Nuptial Ceremonies are not very great, a few Persons of both Sexes wait on the Bride about three o'Clock in the Afternoon to Church. When the Priest has done his Office, the Panama, or Sexton, throws Hops on her, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as that Plant; another Officer of the Church, cloathed in Goat-Skin, the Wool outwards, accompanies her Home, praying all the Way, that she may have as many Children as there are Hairs on his Habit. Young Men lead the Bridegroom home, and old Women the Bride, who is veiled so that nothing of her Person is to be seen. The Parish Priest carries the Cross before her to her Husband's House.

The new married Couple sit down at the Table together; sometimes they have Bread and Salt laid before them; but they don't eat a Bit. In the mean time, a Chorus of Boys and Girls sing an *Epithalamium*, or Wedding Song, so lewd and impudent, that it is a Shame to repeat it. When this Ceremony is over, an old

Woman and a Priest conducts the Bride and Bridegroom to their Chamber, where the old Woman advises the Bride to be loving and obedient to her Husband, and the Bridegroom to be kind to his Wife; the Bridegroom in one of his Buskins has a Whip, and in the other a Jewel, or Purse of Money; he commands the Bride to pull them off, and if it happens she lights upon that Buskin first where the Jewel or Purse of Money is, he gives it to her, which is looked on as a happy Omen for the Wife; but it is reckoned unlucky for her to pull off that Buskin first in which the Whip is; and the Bridegroom gives her a Lash with it to punish her for it, as a Token of the Treatment she is like to meet with. When this is done, they are shut up in a Chamber for two Hours; then the old Woman goes in and examines if the Signs of Virginity are apparent, and in such Case she ties up her Hair in Tresses that before hung loose about her Shoulders, and goes to her Parents to demand the *Albricia*, or Marriage-Portion.

13. To keep the Chambers warm in *Russia*, they are covered with Earth two Feet deep; but when a Couple is newly married the Earth is taken away from the Place where the Marriage is consummated; for Earth being an Image of Mortality the *Muscovites* think it is not proper for the Man or Woman to have it in their Thoughts at that Time. The Children of the *Russians*, young Men or Maids, dare not refuse Husbands or Wives proposed to them by their Parents; nor those that depend on any great Man, those designed for them by their Superiors. *Boaris Juanowitz Moriso*, the second Person in the Empire, having resolved to marry one of his Friends to a rich Widow, a *Dutch* Woman born, who had embraced the *Russian* Religion, the Widow went to *Boaris's* Wife, Sister to the Empress, threw herself at her Feet, and prayed her to prevail with her Husband not to put such a Constraint upon her Inclination, nor oblige her to break a Vow she had made never to marry again. All her Prayers and Tears were ineffectual. *Boaris's* Wife replied, What would you *Bescheat*; as much as to say, dishonour my Husband so far as to refuse one that he offers you, and make him worse than his Word to his Friend.

The Manner of the *Russians* using their Wives is very severe and inhumane, though it is much less so now than formerly: Four or five Years after my Friend came to *Muscovy*, a Tradesman in *Moscow*, after having beaten his Wife unmercifully, forced her to put on a Smock dipped in Brandy, to which he set fire and burnt her to Death. What is more strange even than his Barbarity is, that no-body prosecuted him for his Wife's Murder. It seems there is no Law in *Russia* to punish a Man for killing his Wife if it was in Correction. Some of these *Barbarians* tie up their Wives by the Hair of the Head, strip them stark naked, and whip them till they are almost dead: It is true, they never chastise them so severely unless it be for Adultery or Drunkenness, and indeed it is very seldom now that they deal so by them at all. The Fathers of young Women who are married, now take the necessary Precautions to prevent their Daughters being so ill used; they oblige their Husbands to Marriage Articles to treat them according to their Quality, to maintain them with good Victuals and good Drink; not to whip them, nor scratch, nor kick them.

That Woman who kills her Husband is buried alive all but her Head, and so left to expire in that miserable Condition. There is seldom any Marriage celebrated in *Muscovy*, especially among Persons of Rank, without some conjuring, and using Charms: The Friars and Nuns are accused as the most guilty of this wicked Practice, which, it is said, they study in their Solitude. My Friend writes, that he has seen a Man come out of the Wedding-chamber like a mad Man, tearing his Hair and crying, he was undone and bewitched. The Cure in these Cases is to apply to some, commonly called, *white Magicians*, who for a small Matter of Money dissolves the Charm, and unties the Knot that others had tied. This Man was so served, so distempered, and so cured, as my Papers report; but Credulity perhaps infects even Strangers in *Russia*. The *Muscovite* Canon forbids any Man

Man to have conjugal Commerce with his Wife, three Days in the Week, as *Monday, Wednesday, and Friday*. Those who break this Law, must bathe themselves before they enter the Church Door. No Man is admitted into the Church that has had two Wives; every such Person must stay in the Porch; and he who marries a third Time, is excommunicated.

If a Woman is barren, a Man may do what he can to persuade her to retire into a Convent willingly, and if she will not, he may beat her till she gives her Consent to it. It is reported that the last Empress would have been shut up in a Monastery, had she not at last brought forth the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, who was born nine Years ago, on the 2d of *June, 1661*. The Empress had several Daughters, but that would not have excused her, unless she had had a Son and Heir. When the Czar of *Muscovy* is willing to marry, there are several young and beautiful Ladies presented to him, out of which he generally chuses one to be his Wife.

The last Czar on this Occasion made Choice of a young Lady who was not at all liked by *Boaris Juanowitz*, the reigning Favourite and Minister. This Lord would fain have had his Master accept of a Wife of his chusing, and endeavoured to set him against the Lady he had himself chosen. He proposed to him the Daughter of *Eliab Danelowitz*, a Man of obscure Birth, who had got into some Credit, by Means of a good Estate left him by his Uncle, one *Gramatin*, Secretary of the Ambassador's Office. The young Gentlewoman's Name was *Mary*, she was not extraordinary handsome, but witty and cunning, modest and devout, at least in Appearance. *Boaris* thought if she was advanced to the Emperor's Bed, by his Procurement, she would be governed by him; and his Favour with the Czar made his Hopes the more probable. He intended to marry the younger Sister himself, to strengthen his Interest by that Alliance. The Proposal he made to the Emperor, was not, at first, approved of. He was very much troubled at it, but thought it would be his safest Way to dissemble his Discontent; and knowing the Emperor's Inclination for the young Lady he had chosen was too powerful for him to resist openly, and that it might, perhaps, irritate him, if he discovered his Aversion for the Match; he resolved to break it off by Treachery, to prevent any Suspicion of his Designs. He bribed the Women that were, according to Custom, to present her with the Crown, and they tied the young Lady's Hair so hard, that she fell down into a Swoon; the Women gave out that she had the falling Sickness; her Father, who brought her, was seized, accused of Treason, whipt, and banished into *Siberia*.

The Gentlewoman, when she came to herself, found she was a vast Distance from the Throne, to which a few Minutes before she was so near: However, she valued herself so much on the Emperor's Choice of her, that she would never afterwards marry, though several beneficial Matches were offered her. She was not troubled with the falling Sickness any more. The Ring and a Pocket Handkerchief which the Czar gave her, she always kept as Tokens of her Preference in his Favour, though of so short Duration. When the Emperor understood it was only an Accident occasioned by the tying her Hair too strait, he was very much troubled at it, and assigned her a considerable Pension to make amends for the Loss of a Crown, and the ill Usage her Father had suffered on her Account. *Boaris* prevailed with him to marry *Danelowitz's* Daughter, to which he was the rather induced, because he was afraid of being bewitched if he refused; and the Favourite married *Anne* the *Czarina's* Sister, as he intended to do, if the Czar consented to marry *Mary* the eldest Sister.

Though he got several Advantages by this Marriage, he lost one that was more valuable than all the rest, which was his Quiet. He was old and jealous. His Wife handsome and young. They quarrelled in a short Time; and he caused Mr. *William Barnsley*, an *Englishman* of *Worcestershire*, to be banished to *Siberia*, because he suspected that he was too familiar with her. *Barnsley* lived twenty Years in Exile, and afterwards was recalled;

he turned from the Protestant Religion to the *Russian*, married a great Fortune, and lived at *Moscow* in Splendour. *Eliab*, the Emperor's Father-in-law, durst not say that the Empress was his Daughter, nor any of the Family, that they were related to her, even not her Uncle, *John Paolowitz Martischa*, who was preferred to several Posts, one after another. When the *Czarowitz*, or Prince Royal, is fifteen Years old, he is carried to the Market Place, and shewn on Mens Shoulders, that he may be known; thereby to prevent any Imposture, there having been many Cheats imposed on the *Muscovites* for real Princes. Till he arrives at that Age nobody sees him, but those who are intrusted with his Education, and some of the Chief of his Domestics.

Even the ordinary Sort of People, in *Muscovy*, hide their Children from every body, but their intimate Friends, and nearest Relations; they having a Superstition among them, that Strangers have certain Looks that are unlucky. Their Children are strong and robust; they never suck above a Month, or two Months at the most; after which they give them a Horn, or a Sort of Silver Cup, made like a Horn, with a dry Dug of a Cow tied to the End of it, for them to suck.

At two Years old they make them observe Fasts, which are very strict. They have four general ones in a Year. In Lent they fast three Days in a Week; *Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays*. On which Days they don't so much as eat Fish, living on Cabbage, Cucumbers, and Rye-bread. They then drink nothing but *Quassi*, a Sort of Beverage, weaker than Small-beer. They won't drink after a Man who has eat Flesh; and when they are sick, they will take no Physic in the Compound, of which there is either *Cor Cervi*, or *Pil. Lepor*; so scrupulous are they in the Observation of their Fasts.

Their usual Penances are, to bend their Bodies crooked; to strike their Heads against an Image; sometimes to eat nothing but Bread, Salt, and Cucumbers, and to drink only fair Water. They never eat any thing that they call *Pagano*, i. e. impure; as Horse-flesh, Hares, Rabbits, Elks, or Mares-milk, Asses-milk, &c. in which they observe the Mosaic Law in some Measure. The Emperor's Magazines being burnt lately, no less than six thousand Fitches of Bacon were burnt with them. By which we may see there is some Difference between their Religion, and that of the Tartars, who abhor all Manner of Swine's Flesh. Veal is reckoned impure, yet Lamb is not. Venice Treacle is also not allowed by them, because there is Viper's Flesh in the Composition of it; nor will they eat any thing, if there is the least Musk, Civet, or Castor Flesh in it; though the Barbarians feed on it in the North very frequently. Sugar, and Sugarcandy, are *Scarmunas*, i. e. forbidden on Fast Days; and a Knife that has cut Flesh, must not be used for twenty-four Hours after.

The Regularity that the *Muscovites* observe in their Fasts is of great Advantage to them; they would not, without it, have Meat enough to serve their Occasions; because they are forced all the Winter long to shut up their Cattle in Houses, for five or six Months together; and the Peasants, who are perfect Slaves, don't much care to trouble themselves about encreasing their Stock of Cattle, for fear their Lord should come and take them away from them, which is very common for them to do.

14. The Patriarch is Chief of all the Ecclesiastics. The Person who executes that Office at present left the Court two or three Years ago, on some Disgust he took at the Ministers. It was said he began to make Innovations, and that he did not love Pictures; to which the *Muscovites* have a great deal of Respect. The patriarchal See has been ever since vacant. But the Metropolitan, or Bishop, or rather Coadjutor, performs all the Duties of this Office. And the Czar dares not fill the patriarchal Chair, so long as the abdicated Prelate lives; so highly is his Person revered in *Russia*. Of all the *Muscovite* Ceremonies, that of *Palm Sunday* is the most extraordinary. A hundred Men are ordered to clean the Streets, for the magnificent Procession.

The Emperor marches afoot, richly dressed in Cloth of Gold; the Train of his Robe born up by Princes, and

all the Court waiting on him. The first that goes before him, is the Officer that carries his Handkerchief, lying on another embroidered all over, which hangs on his Arm. The Servants of his Household going before him. In this order they proceed to the Church, called *Jerusalem*, but they stop by the Way, at a Place built of Free-Stone, in the Manner of a Platform, where he says his Prayers, bends his Body almost double, turning towards the East; and then he enters the Church of *Jerusalem*, which is not far off. He stays there an Hour, and then returns back to his Palace; holding on his Arm the Bridle of the Patriarch's Horse, caparisoned with white Linnen, on which the Prelate rides aside, carrying a Cross in his Hand, and giving his Benediction to the People. The Reins of his Bridle are three Ells long, supported by three Gentlemen; marching behind the Emperor. Instead of a Mitre, the Patriarch wears, at that Time, a flat Cap on his Head, adorned with Diamonds and Gold Loops, edged round with Ermines. A Band of young Men carry several pieces of Stuff, of three or four Ells long, before him; some red, some blue, some green, some yellow, and some of other Colours. The *Metropolitans*, the *Protopopes*, and the *Popes*, have all of them Chasubles, or a Sort of Caps used by the Popish Priests, when they say Mass. The Gentlemen and Lawyers have Boughs of Willow; instead of Branches of Palm, in their Hands.

The Czar's Guards, who are pretty numerous, prostrate themselves flat on the Ground, and a triumphal Arch is born along with a Tree on it, from which several Boys, in the Machine, strive to reach the Apples. When the Ceremony is over, the Patriarch sends the Emperor a Purse, with a hundred Rubles in it. The Bells in the Church, called *Jerusalem*, are said to be the biggest in the World. There is one of them that weighs thirty Ton; and when it is rung, it almost deafens all that stand near it. The Czar delights mightily in hearing them. There is a Niche in the Church, where the Patriarch stands to give the People his Blessing; after which he says these Words: *Go and eat nothing these three Days*. As for him himself he lies prostrate on the Ground all Night, and continues in Prayer till *Easter Day*. The Gentleman of *Lorrain*, from whose Memoirs this Account is taken, told me a Story of an Accident that happened to an *English* Merchant's Servant on this Occasion.

The Servant was a *Russian* by Birth, but born far in the Country; and having never seen such a Ceremony before, when he went to Church, he came back so very melancholy, that his Master took notice of it, and asked him the Reason of it: The *Russian* told him the Orders that were given by the Patriarch, that no-body should eat any thing in three Days Time, and was afraid, in the mean Time, that he should die of Hunger. He fasted two or three Days, and was ready to eat himself, not being used to such Penance: However, he held out, and then swore he would never go to Church to hear the Patriarch's Blessing again. On *Easter Day* the *Muscovite* Men and Women salute one another with a Kiss, give a red Egg, and cry, *Christos vas Chreshch, God blefs you*.

In *Easter Week* all the Emperor's Gentlemen and Domestics kiss the Patriarch's Hand, and he presents them with red Eggs, or those that are gilt. Those of the highest Quality have three; those of the Middle Rank two; and those of the lowest one. The Patriarch's Palace joins to that of the Emperor's; but it is built of Stone, and, for its Largeness, is very stately; but else it is a mean Building. The greatest Sign of Joy in the *Russians*, on their Festivals, is their drinking; and their most solemn Days are those in which they make the most Debauches. It is no great Shame among them, for Men, Women, Priests, and Lawyers, to be seen reeling in the Streets. When the Women of Quality have a merry meeting together, she who makes the Entertainment, sends to all of them, the next Day, to know how they got home, and how they past the Night? The common Answer to this Compliment is, I thank your Mistress for our good Cheer, I was so

merry last Night, I can't tell how I found our House out.

The Burials of the *Russians* are very particular. As soon as a Man has given up the Ghost, all the Windows in the Chamber, in which he died, are set open. A Basin of Holy Water is brought for him to bathe his Soul in; a Piece of Bread is put on the Crown of his Head, that he may not die of Hunger, in the long Journey he has to take. They put a Pair of black Shoes on his Feet; some Copeaks, or Pieces of Money in his Mouth; and, in his Hand, a Certificate, signed by the Metropolitane of the Place, to inform *St. Nicholas* of his Life and Conversation. When that is done his Body is carried to Church, where it is kept a very little while before it is interred. The Wife of the Deceased is obliged to shew an inconsolable Affliction, and to hire other Women to mourn with her. The most pompous Funerals are those at which a great Number of these mercenary Mourners assist.

These Women have several mournful Questions which they ask of the Deceased, in a dismal Tone, as, *Ah my Dear! why have you left us? did not your Wife do every thing you would have her? did she not take Care of your House? did she not bring you several pretty Children? did you want any thing?* Or else they ask him, *Why did you die? had you not a handsome Wife, lovely Children, and as much Brandy as you could drink?* For it seems Brandy is so divine a Liquor with them, they fancy it will make them immortal. When a Man dies without having confessed himself, or received the extreme Unction, he must not have Christian Burial.

Such as have been killed, or are starved to Death with Cold, are removed to a Place, where the *Zemsky pre-caus* is; there they lie exposed for three or four Days; those that own them in that Time are permitted to bury them, or else they are sent to *Boske*, or *Bogzi Dome*, that is, the House of God; where, in a vaulted Cave, may sometimes be seen three or four hundred Carcases at a Time, which the Priests bury, one after another, in *St. John's* Church-yard. They read a Psalm over their Graves every Day for a Month after they are buried; during all that Time the Dirt is not thrown in upon them, but their Graves are covered with a thick Mat, to keep out the Rain. All the *Carnival* Time the *Muscovites* abandon themselves to all Manner of Debauchery, and drink so excessively the last Week before Lent, that one would think they ought to drink no more as long as they lived. There is a Sort of Brandy drank among them, so strong, and so subtle, that it will take Fire in their Mouths; from whence I have been told, that sometimes Flame will issue out, and the Country People fancy it would kill them presently, if they had not Milk ready at Hand to extinguish it. Many of them, after a Debauch, in the Time of *Carnival*, going home, fall down on the Snow, and would freeze to Death, if others, somewhat more sober, did not meet with them.

It is a very melancholy Sight, at that Time, to see ten or twelve dead Men drawn along on a Sledge, one having a Shoulder eaten off by Dogs, another his Face, and some nothing but Bones left. There seldom passes a *Carnival* without two or three hundred such terrible Accidents. If a *Russian* finds any one of his Acquaintance in Danger of Death, he will not assist him to get out of it; because if he dies in his Hands, he must pass Examination by the Judge of the *Zemsky pre-caus*, who always takes Care to make him pay severely before he acquits him.

The *Muscovite* Images, while they had any, were like the ancient *Greeks*, only they were more ugly and coarse. My Friend asking them, *Why they represented their Gods under such deformed Figures?* they replied, *Their Gods were not proud*. When the Painting of any Images was worn out, it was carried to a Place, called *Goas Market*, where those that bought it had another given them in Exchange, for which they paid some Money. If the Man who made the Image was not satisfied with it, he gave the Persons that would exchange the Image a Push on the Back, which was a Token that he did

not

not like the Sun, and the Persons gave him more, till he was content. This Traffic was carried on without any Words, to save Decencies, for they would not have it thought they sold their Gods. It was a great Crime for any one to say he bought an Image; he only called it exchanging. Those Images that were done with were thrown into the River, with a Piece of Silver. Those that flung them in, making the Sign of the Cross, and saying, *Prosti*; in *English*, *Adieu Brother*; or else, *Prosti Grandi*, that is, *God be with you my Brother*. When there happens a Fire any where, the first Care of the Inhabitants was to save their Images; and if by Chance they were burnt, they did not say they were burnt, but vanished on high. When a Church is burnt, they do not call it burning, but ascending; as that, *Such a Church is ascended*. They give to their *Nicholas's*, so their Images were named, because, generally, they were that of *St. Nicholas*, their most precious Treasures. A Woman who had dressed up her *Nicholas* very rich with Pearls and Diamonds, being fallen to decay, went to Church to beg him to lend her something, representing the Necessity she was in.

The *Nicholas* made her never a Word of Answer. She took his Silence for Consent, and presumed upon it to take away a Ruby or two. The Priests watching her narrowly, saw her take it off, seized her, and carried her before a Magistrate, who condemned the poor Woman to have both her Hands cut off; which Sentence was executed accordingly. As for the Images that were in private Houses, they put Jewels upon them, and took them away as they thought fit; and when they were frightened in their Affairs, they sometimes strip them to their very Shirts. When one is convicted of Heresy, he is put upon the Top of a low House, whence he is to be thrown down headlong into a Fire, and there consumed to Ashes. The Rules of the *Muscovite* Monks and Nuns are not very strict. The Monks are great dealers in Wheat, Barley, Hops, Horses, and every thing they can get a Penny by. The Nuns take a great deal of Liberty; they go out of their Nunneries when they please, visit their Friends, and commonly live with more Licence than becomes their Sex, as well as their Profession.

The *Russian* Music is very bad, notwithstanding they have several Schools where their Children are taught to sing and play upon musical Instruments, with Care and severe Discipline. They borrowed their Notes, either from the *Greeks* or *Sclavonians*; their Gamot is not at all varied; instead of *Sol fa la*, they sing, *Ga ga ge*. Their Cadences are the most extravagant of any in the World; and nothing can be more ridiculous, or rather monstrous, than their awkward Imitation of the *Italian Recitativo*. The last Patriarch having forbidden the making musical Instruments, and it being thought by some of the *Russian* Ministers, that the Use of them was prejudicial to the good of the State; they have very few Instruments, of any Sort, left among them: However, they still reserve the Bag-pipe, which is in great Reputation there. They have some Violins, the Bellies of which are made like a Lute; but they can't play above four or five Notes upon them.

Eliab, the Emperor's Father-in-law, being sent Ambassador to the *Hague*, the *Dutch*, who were willing to gain his good Graces, prepared an Entertainment for him; at which their best Musicians, and best Voices, performed their utmost to divert him. Some Gentlemen, asking him, *How he liked the Music and Singing?* he answered, *Very well; for the Beggars in his Country asked Alms after the same Manner*; meaning the Beggars there always sing when they beg, as they really do in *Muscovy*. The warlike Music of the *Muscovites*, is the Kettle Drum, whose dull Sound agrees with the melancholy Genius of the Nation. They have some Trumpets which they sound very ill, and hunting Horns made of Brass. I have seen some Anthems of theirs set by the Patriarch of one of their Choirs, for so the chief Musician is called. The *Russians* do not know how to dance; they imagine it does not suit well with their Gravity. Their chief Dancers are their *Tartarian* and

Polish Slaves, whom they call in to divert them at their Debauches with rude Dances.

15. The *Circassians* inhabit Part of *Tartary*. They are barbarous in their Manners, and swarthy in their Complexions. The *Circassian* Women are fat, and extremely given to drinking; they sometimes get drunk at a Feast, before they set down to Table; grow sober with eating; get drunk a second Time, as soon as their Meal is over; and a second Time grow sober, either with dancing, or some other Exercise. They are all, in general, so much in Love with dancing, that he who has not a Fiddle in his House, is looked upon as a very pitiful Fellow. Their Government is entirely an Anarchy. The People, in an Insurrection they made, destroyed all the Nobility; and they are now governed by Chiefs or Colonels, chosen among themselves, with whom the Vulgar are as familiar as they please. Though their Religion is the same, they don't like the *Russians*, forbid all the Strangers to enter their Church-doors; on the contrary, they are open to all Nations, and they receive every body with all possible Demonstrations of Good-nature and Hospitality.

Their Soldiers are called *Cossacs*, in the Language of the Country; from whence some Persons have imagined, that the *Cossacs* are a Nation of themselves, whereas they are only the Militia of the *Circassians*. The Soil of *Russia* is not so fruitful and warm as that of *Circassia*. Witchcraft is very common among them, and the Women of the highest Rank, study what they esteem so. The Government of *Muscovy* is an absolute Monarchy. There are several Courts of Justice, called *Precauces*; and the Judgments they pronounce are decisive. The *Russians* have few written Laws; and their Judges, when not biassed with Bribes, which have more Power over them than Right and Precedents, govern themselves in all Causes by Custom. Their Clerks write always kneeling, notwithstanding they have Tables before them. They leave a great Space between each Line, to waste Paper, of which prodigious Quantities are consumed amongst them, and thus pick their Clients Pockets. *Podiack* is a Name given to the Clerks, or Secretaries of their Courts; and their principal is called *Diack*.

All their Business at Law runs in the Nature of Petitions. They are rolled up in Rolls. The Advocate presents them to the Judge, over whom there is commonly a Boyar set, to observe his Actions, and to interpose his superior Authority, when he thinks fit. If the Boyar sits in Person, all Petitions are presented to him, who gives it to the Secretary, if he does not incline to return an Answer presently; and the Secretary will not put him in Mind of it, unless the Advocate bribes him. They have two and forty Characters in their Alphabet, and most of them *Greek*.

The Czar now reigning, *Anno* 1670, was born in the Year 1630. He descended, by his Mother's Side, from *John Basilowitz*, and had an elder Brother that died young, who was a Prince of great Hopes, only he shewed too much Inclination to Cruelty. He took Delight in plucking out Pidgeon's Eyes, calling them Rebels and Traitors, and sometimes to pull off their Heads; saying, they had betrayed his Father, and himself, and deserved to be so used. The present Czar is six Feet high; his Mien is lofty and majestic; he is fat, and of a sanguine Complexion. His Hair is of a light-brown Colour; he never shaves his Beard. When he is angry he is very cruel, but otherwise good-natured. Being one Day pressed very hard by the Officers of his Army to condemn a Deserter, he answered, *It was not reasonable to do it, for God hath not given Courage alike to all Men*. He loves his Wife tenderly, and is given to no Manner of Debauchery; he is very kind to his Children and Sisters. He has an excellent Memory; is very devout; and never misses to go to Morning and Evening Prayer. If he is not well, he has divine Service performed in his Bed-chamber; but if his Health permits him, he constantly goes to Chapel at Prayer Hours, to be present at the public Worship.

In general Faſts he always aſſiſts at the Midnight Devotions, and ſtands upright two or three Hours together; on ſome Occaſions proſtrates himſelf to the Ground a thouſand times; and on others more ſolemn, fifteen hundred times: He never makes any ſet Meal during the general Faſts, except on *Sundays, Tueſdays, and Saturdays*; on the other Days he eats only a Bit of brown Bread and Salt, ſome Cucumbers and pickled Muſhrooms, and drinks only a little ſmall Beer; in Lent he never eats Fiſh above twice; he obſerves an exact Faſt for the ſeven Weeks; during which time he lives on Eggs and Milk; beſides the great Faſts, and ſome little ones particular to the *Ruſſians*, every *Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday*, throughout the Year, he wont touch a Bit of any thing that comes from Fleſh Meat; ſo that of the twelve Months he faſts eight: In public Proceſſions he walks with his Head bare in dry Weather. Though he is thus a great Bigot to his own Religion, nevertheleſs he will not ſuffer his Subjects, when they die, to bequeath large Legacies to his Church; nay, in time of War, and ſometimes under the Pretence of Borrowing, he takes away the Church Plate, and never returns it; if he did not ſo, his Revenues would not answer his Expence, the Church being in Poſſeſſion of two Thirds of the Riches of his Empire.

There is an Hoſpital for old Men in his Palace, in which ſome have lived to be one hundred and twenty Years old; he takes a Pleaſure in viſiting them, and talking with them of Events that happened in the Reigns of his Anceſtors. On *Good Friday*, at Night, he viſits all the Priſons, pays ſome of the Priſoners Debts, pardons ſome Criminals according to their ſeveral Deſerts, or the Smallneſs of their Offences, and gives Alms to all that are in Want. All the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in the Empire are in his Gift; but he was ſo angry with the laſt Patriarch, that he would not nominate another to ſucceed him; wherefore he ordered, that the Pretenders to the Patriarchate ſhould caſt Lots; which Cuſtom is ſince abrogated. In ſhort, the Emperor has a great many good Qualities, and was it not that he has abundance of ill Counſellors about him, who turn him from the good Way he would otherwiſe chuſe to walk in, he might be reckoned amongſt the greateſt and wiſeſt Princes of his Age.

His Father's Inclinations tended to Peace, his own to War; he has had ſeveral Quarrels with the *Tartars, Swedes, and Poles*; by which his Dominions have been ſo impoveriſhed and depopulated, in ten Years time, that they will not recover their Loſs in forty, nor be in the flouriſhing Condition they were in at his coming to the Crown. The laſt Plague in *Muſcovy* carried off, in ſix Years time, ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Men, Women, and Children: The Cham of *Tartary*, in four or five Years, led above four hundred thouſand into Captivity, who never will return to *Muſcovy* more; and three hundred thouſand at leaſt were killed in the Wars. The beſt Lands in *Ruſſia* are worn out, and the worſt cannot be cultivated for want of Labourers. Thoſe who ſail up the *Volga*, all the Way meet with ſix Women to one Man. The Price of all Commodities are riſen to ſix times the Value before thoſe Troubles; and Copper Money, which formerly uſed to paſs current among them, is now in no Credit, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* reſuſing to take it in all Payments.

16. The *Ruſſians* were freed from the Slavery of the *Tartars* in the Year 1479, by John Duke of *Volodimir*, who at firſt had only the Sovereignty of that Duchy; but at laſt he extended his Conqueſts, ſeized the City of *Moscow*, the Capital of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and expelled the *Tartars* out of his Territories. His Succeſſor, John Baſilowitz rendered the *Ruſſian* Name, which had for ſeveral Ages been the Contempt of the North, formidable to their Neighbours. He was cruel, and therefore was called *the Tyrant*, however, that Cruelty was exerciſed moſtly on the Enemies of his Empire, whom he ſubdued, and made way for its future Growth. He was brave, but of a very whimſical Humour: One Day he went to his Diack, or Secretary of State, and preſented him with a Petition drawn up in form in his own Name, and addreſſed to the Diack; wherein he prayed him to

furniſh him, by ſuch a Time, with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men; which would extremely oblige him, and engage him to mind him always in his Prayers.

The Diack, who knew his Humour, received the Petition, and ſaid it ſhould be answered. He raiſed the Men with extreme Diligence; and it was with this Army he conquered *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Siberia*. The *Muſcovites* loved him for his Valour and Familiarity with them. He affected to be as kind to the Populace as he was ſevere to the *Boyars*; he always held a Stick in his Hand, with an Iron-ſpike in it, the Point of which was very ſharp; and often, as he talked with them, he would prick them in the Legs. If they endured the Pain with Conſtancy, he ever after took them into his Favour, and ever after had a great Eſteem for them. Complaint being made to him, that a *Wayvod*, or the Governor of a Province, had received the Preſent of a Goofe full of Ducats, he ſent for him to Court, making as if he knew nothing of the Bribe: When he came there, he took him to a Place where Criminals were commonly executed, and commanded the Hangman to cut off his Arms and Legs, and at every Blow he aſked him, *how he liked Goofe-Fleſh?*

Hearing the Inhabitants of *Bologda* cheated their Customers by ſhort Meaſure, he ſent Orders to his Officers there to get them a certain Yard or Meaſure, to ſee whether it was ſo long as it ſhould be, and finding it fall ſhort of the lawful Length, he fined them ſeverely. Some *Engliſh* and *Scots* Men laughing at ſome of his Freaks, he commanded they ſhould be brought before him ſtripped naked, and in that Condition he forced them to pick up five or ſix Buſhels of Peaſe one by one, which he had thrown about his Chamber on Purpoſe. When they had done he let them go, having firſt made them drink, and admoniſhed them not to laugh at him another time: He ordered a Perſon of the Province of *Caſſan*, whoſe Name was *Plebafve*, or Baldpate, to be ſent for: His Secretary miſtook him; for inſtead of writing to the *Wayvod* of the Province to ſend up *Plebafve*, he wrote for one hundred and fifty baldpated Men. The *Wayvod* could find but fourſcore, which he ſent to the Secretary with a Letter of Excuse, that he could not complete the Number he required of him. The Emperor reading the Letter was amazed at it, and could not imagine what he meant by ſo many Baldpates. At laſt the Secretary's Oversight was found out, and the Czar was ſo far from being angry at it, that he made them drink; and ſo diſmiſſed them.

He had ſuch an Eſteem and Friendſhip for *Q. Elizabeth*, that he took hold of all Opportunities to ſhew it. It was thought by ſome Perſons of thoſe Times, who pretended to be very good Politicians, that he deſired to marry her, though we ſuppoſe they had very little Grounds for their Conjectures; nor was it likely, that the greateſt and moſt polite Princeſs of *Europe*, would marry a *Barbarian*; however it was ſaid, when his Affairs were in a bad Condition, and he was obliged to fly with his Treasures to *Wologda*, which City he fortified, that he deſigned to make his Escape to *England*, in caſe he had been forced to quit *Muſcovy*, of which he was not without Fear, in a Tumult of the People, and an Incurſion of the *Tartars*; but he triumphed over all his Enemies. It was this Prince who ordered a foreign Embaſſador's Hat to be nailed to his Head, for daring to wear it in his Preſence. Notwithſtanding which Sir *Jeremy Bows*, the Queen of *England*'s Embaſſador coming to *Moscow* ſoon after, not only put on his Hat before him, but cocked it boldly: The Emperor aſked him, *if he had not heard how another Embaſſador had been uſed for the like, or leſs Preſumption?* Sir *Jeremy* replied, *Yes, Sir; but I am the Embaſſador of Queen Elizabeth of England, who neither takes off her Bonnet, nor ſtands bare-headed to any Prince whatſoever: Her Perſon I repreſent, and ſhe will revenge to the utmoſt whatever Affront is put on her Miniſters.* Upon this the Emperor turned about to his Courtiers, and ſaid: *Here's a brave Man for you, that dares talk and act thus for the Honour and Intereſt of his Miſtreſs: Which of you would do as much for me?*

Sir *Jeremy Bows* was envied by the *Boyars* on this Account,

Account, and those of them who had the Czar's Ear most, persuaded him to give the Knight a wild Horse to back, hoping he would break his Neck in attempting it. *Bowes* undertook the Task, and managed the Beast with such Address, that he mounted him, rode him, and so tired him, that he lay down under him, lost his Mettle, and did not long survive the Experiment. After which the Czar highly honoured Sir *Jeremy*, and gave him several particular Marks of his Esteem.

John Basflowitz making a Progress through several Provinces of his Empire, divers *Boyars*, and some other Persons, presented him with such Gifts as they thought would be most acceptable to him. Among the rest, a Shoe-maker consulted with his Wife what Present he should make his Majesty; a Pair of *Lopkies*, or Shoes, she thought was too little by itself, and she advised him to root up a great Turnip they had in the Garden, and carry it with the *Lopkies* to the Czar. The Emperor was so well pleased with the Present, that he ordered all his Attendants to buy Shoes of him, and to give him for them, twice as much as they were worth: He bought a Pair of them for himself. By this Means the Shoemaker got into a Condition to drive a better Trade, and growing rich in a short time left off his Shop. His Children, who inherited his Estate, became Gentlemen, and are known to this Day by the Name of the *Loposkies*. There is a Tree near the Place where the House stood, which, when any one comes by, he throws off his old Shoes, in Remembrance of the Shoemaker: A Gentleman who understood how well it had fared with this honest Man, thought if he presented the Emperor with something considerable he might have a proportionable Recompence; so he gave him a very fine Horse; and the Czar, in return, made him a Present of the Turnip the Shoemaker had given him.

This Emperor disguising himself one Day, rambled into the Country near *Moscow*; and coming to a Village enquired at it for a Lodging: Every body refused to take him in, except a poor Man whose Wife was crying-out, and was delivered in the Presence of the Emperor. He returned to *Moscow* early the next Morning; promising his Landlord to bring him some God-fathers and Godmothers the next Day: He was as good as his Word; he went to his House attended by his whole Court, made him several rich Presents, and set fire to all the Houses in the Village, except his, only warning the Inhabitants to be more charitable for the future, telling them that the best Way to teach them how to treat Strangers hereafter was, for them to experience themselves how pleasant it was to be driven to Necessity and lie out in the Air in Winter.

He often took delight in associating himself with Robbers. He advised them once to rob the Emperor's Treasury, assuring them he knew how it was to be done: How? says one of the Thieves, giving him a Box on the Ear, You Rascal, you, Would you rob the Emperor, who is so good and generous a Prince. Had we not better fall upon one of the rich *Boyars*, who cheat and plunder him every Day? The Czar was so well pleased with his Answer, that he changed Caps with him, and bad him meet him the next Day at *Duretz*, a Place by which he used to go frequently; he told the Thief they would be very merry, and drink a Cup of Brandy and Metheglin together. The Robber came at the Time appointed; the Czar seeing him, called him to him, and advised him to change his Course of Life; gave him a Place at Court; and made use of him to discover and punish the other Rogues of his Gang.

17. The Word *Czar* is so like that of *Cesar*, that it is apparently derived from it, and signifies *Emperor* in the *Muscovite* Tongue: The *Russians* say it means a Title above a King: They called *David Czar*, and the other King of *Europe*, *Kyrlos*, which seems to come from *Carolus Quintus*, whose History they have among them. The Name of the Czar now reigning is *Alexis Michaelowitz Romanow*, i. e. *Alexis* the Son of *Michael* the Roman. He has several Titles; those in the Great-Seal run thus: We *Alexis Michaelowitz*, by the Grace of God, Great

Lord, Czar, Duke of *Great, Little, and White Russia*, Sovereign of *Moscow, Kiovia, Uladomir, and Novogorod*, &c. Czar of *Casan*, Czar of *Astracan*, Czar of *Siberia*, Lord of *Plascow*, Great Duke of *Smolensko, Tweresko, Ugosko, Perinsko, Vealsko, Bolgariko*; Lord and Great Duke of *Novogorod*, of the Provinces of *Charnigora, Resan, Rostore, Yaraslave, Belouzer, Odouria, Obderia, and Condinea*; Lord of all the Countries lying to the North; Lord of the Land of *Taveria*, of all the Duchies of *Cartileran, of Grenzintan*, and of several other Countries and Sovereignties East, West, and North, which we inherit of our Lord and Monarchs our Predecessors, our Father and Grandfather.

The Czar's Arms are the same with the *German Emperor's*, viz. a *Spread Eagle*; but the *Russian Spread Eagle* has a *St. George* on Horseback on its Breast, and a Mitre with a Crown on it between the two Heads. Some Persons pretend *John Basflowitz* added the *George* to his Coat, on Account of the Order of the *Garter*, which he received from Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*. The Czar never marries a Woman out of his own Dominions; he chuses one to his Liking, generally among the Nobility, sometimes among the Gentry and Commonality: *Eliab*, the Emperor's Father-in-law, kept a Tavern twenty Years ago, and his Daughter, the Empress, sold Mushrooms in the Market. As soon as the Czar's Wife is dead, all her Family lose their Credit, and all their Hopes die with her. The Emperor never shews himself to his People but on certain Days of public rejoicing: When he appears it is always with Pomp; he is very magnificently dressed, his Robes glittering with Gold and Jewels; and his Attendants are numerous, all of them handsomely apparelled: It is very seldom that he dines in public; when he does, his Nobles dine in his Presence; his Guards are posted all round his Palace; they stand like so many Statues, not daring to stir or speak, for fear of making a Noise. One would think, by the profound Silence that is always there, that the Place was a Desert; no-body enters the Inner-court, but his Domestic, and some Lords, whose Offices require their personal Attendance in the imperial Palace.

He is very sober, drinks little or nothing, and sometimes puts Oil of Cinnamon or Cinnamon-water into his small Beer, to make it the more pleasant; for Cinnamon-water is as much used by Persons of Quality, in *Russia*, as Rose-water is elsewhere. The Smell of Ambergrease, or Musk, is not much valued by them; they have a Drink called *Brague*, which he commonly drinks; it is what in *England* is called *Oat-Ale*. His Bread is all made of Rye, which the *Russians* imagine to be more nourishing than Wheat. When he has a Mind to treat his Domestic, he commands them to sit round about him, and plies them with a Sort of strong Water double and treble distilled. Those that are not used to it are apt to be very sick with it. He will often put a little Opium in it, and takes Pleasure in making them drunk. At each Meal he sends a Dish from his Table to his Favourites. On *Easter-day* all the Courtiers, and the Nobility and Gentry in and about *Moscow*, wait upon him, kiss his Hands, and he gives them Eggs. He never paid a Visit to any one of his Subjects except his Governor, and he being sick he went once to see him.

When he goes out of Town, the eastern Gate of the outer Wall is shut, and so remains till he comes back again; he generally goes out at that Gate, unless upon an extraordinary Occasion, as happened a few Years ago, when the Wall fell down on that Side, and so he was forced to go another Way: He lies in his Shirt and Drawers, under a rich Quilt made of Marten-Skins; he has but one Sheet under or over him. His greatest Recreation is in Hunting Fallow-Deer; he does not mind killing of them, provided he can but hunt them down: He loves Fowling, has three hundred Faulconers, and the best Ger-Faulcons in the World; they are brought out of *Siberia*. He hunts wild Ducks with them. The Son of the Emperor is called *Czarowitz*, and so are all his Children. When the Empress is brought to-bed, the People, to shew their Joy, present the Czar with something or other; which he commonly returns. If he likes any Present,

and keeps it, he pays a great deal more for it than it is worth.

18. As the Czar's Dominions are very large, so likewise are his Revenues. In the first Place, he is Master of the Estates and Goods of all his Subjects. No Heir can enter upon his Father's Lands, on his Death, without the Emperor's Consent; to obtain which, he must present a Petition to a Court erected for that Purpose, to give Possession to the Children of such as die, and have made their Wills; and to seize the Estates of such as die intestate, or without Heirs, or are convicted of any Crime, by which their Estates become forfeited to the Czar. Secondly, His Customs on all Goods exported, or imported, are very considerable. Thirdly, The Cabucks, or Shops where Brandy is sold, as also those of Strong-beer, belong to him, and he lets them at what Rent he pleases. Some pay one thousand Pistoles, and others two thousand, a Year, according to their Abilities and Trade. Fourthly, His Baths and Stoves bring him in a good deal; because the *Muscovites*, both Men, Women, and Children, are obliged to bathe often, out of a Principle of Religion. When the Water of the Bath is too hot, they throw cold Water upon those that are in it. And some of them, before they enter the Stove-Chamber, rowl themselves in Snow. Fifthly, The Emperor is the chief Merchant in his Territories. Sixthly, The Trade of *Siberia*, in Marten and Sable-Skins raises prodigious Sums; those that are sent to get them, are either Slaves or Criminals. In short, there is a Tax almost upon every thing in *Russia*; that on the *Caviare* of *Asracan* only, of which I shall say more hereafter, is enough to maintain the Expence of his House. All that hold Lands immediately of the Emperor, are obliged to furnish him with Provisions. He ingrosses all the Merchandize that is brought to *Moscow*, by the *Greeks* and *Persians*. He sends vast Quantities of Furs to *Archangel*; as also Pot-ashes, Hemp, and Flax, which he barter for Silk, Sables, Velvets, and Cloths of Gold, Satin, broad Cloth and Damask; which Commodities he wants most, because he makes all his Presents of those things. All the Servants of his Household, have each a Portion of Meal, Oats, Honey, Fish, Nut-Oil, Beer, and Metheglin, delivered out to them.

The *Strelficks* and *Lanlarics*, who are regular Troops, have nothing but Corn and dried Fish, of which the Czar has very large Stores; they have very little Money given them, because they trade and have great Privileges allowed them. The imperial Palace is very large, and all built of Stone and Brick, except the Czar's Winter-Lodgings, which are three Stories high; these are built with Timber, because boarded Floors are reckoned, with them, more wholesome in cold Weather, than others; filthy Damps being apt to ascend from the Vaults of those Stoves, where the Walls are Stone. The whole Palace is encompassed with a Brick-Wall, in the Circuit of which there are fourscore Churches and Chapels, the greatest Part of which have Cupolas and gilt Crosses upon them. The Princes and prime Ministers have also their Palaces within this Wall; as, *Jacob*, a *Circassian* Prince; *Boaris Juanowitz Morolos*, who was the Emperor's Governor, during his Minority; *Knez Alexis*, Master of the Fur-Office; *Trebotzky*, General of the Czar's Army; *Eliab Danelowitz*, the Empress's Father; *Knez Juan Vassilowitz*, a Prince of the Blood, and others of the first Rank. There, are five Monasteries, two or three Nunneries, the greatest Part of the Precauces or Courts of Justice, and the Magazine of Arms and Ammunition for War. The Tower called *Velichy*, stands by itself; it is built of Brick and Free-stone; *John Bassilowitz* began it, and his Successor finished it, as it is at this Day; there is a very fine gilt Cupola upon it, and a Ring of Bells in it; it is as high as *St. Mark's* Tower at *Venice*.

The Czar, as well as other Princes, has his Ministers of State, but they are not so much respected as in other Places. The Gentlemen of his Bedchamber never enter it; they wait two or three Rooms off, and further when he is at Dinner. The City of *Moscow* takes up a great

deal of Ground; it is encompassed with three Walls, besides that about the imperial Palace. The first, and that which is nearest the Heart of the Town, is of red Brick; the next to it is of white, and the third of Earth, supported by Planks and Boards of Fir; it is fifteen or sixteen Miles about, and was built in four Days, on Report of the Approach of the Cham of *Crim Tartary*. Since the Czar's Journeys that he has lately made to *Poland*, where he saw the Manners and Houses of the *Polish* Princes and great Lords, his Court is grown a little more magnificent; his Apartments are hung with Tapestries, very rich and beautiful; and he has several Country Houses and Palaces. There is no Prince in the World has more Jewels than he; it is true, most of them have Flaws in them, but the *Russians* don't mind that, provided they are large.

All the Difference between the Czar's Cloaths, and those of his Nobles, is, that the Emperor's is a little richer; it is the same with the Empress, and other Women of Quality; her Head-dress is only a little higher than that of other Ladies, and her Shift-Sleeves a little longer. They are about six or seven Ells in Length; and her Gown, and the Gowns of her Ladies of Honour, are made like our Judges. The Empress generally travels in a Chariot, and by Night, attended by most of her Ladies of Honour, her Women of the Bedchamber, her Embroiderers, and all her Women Attendants, that are necessary to her Person. Lately they rid on Horse-back, very much a Custom, mightily used formerly amongst them, but was a long Time disused upon the bringing in of Chariots into *Russia*. The present Empress has revived it: She and her Train ride as Men do, astride, when they hunt; which is very rarely: They then wear a white Hat on their Head, and a Skain of Silk about their Necks. Men or Women, rich or poor, dress after one Manner. There is but one Language, and one Religion, throughout all that vast Empire. They differ from all other Nations, even in the least Actions, and are no more like the other Northern Kingdoms, than they are to the Southern or Western.

19. They wear their Shirts above their Drawers, tied round about their Middles, a little above the Navel. They believe a Girdle makes them strong, and that if they did not wear one, they should be unlucky. When they spit, one would think they sneeze. Their Language and their Accent are quite different from other People's. They whistle with their Teeth, and not with their Lips. They shake their Heads, when they shew a Sign of Admiration. It is a great Sin in them, as they fancy, not to wash their Hands after making Water. Even in their necessary Occasions, they do not do like other Men; they make no use of Paper, but have little Spatula's of Tin, well smoothed, to supply the Place of other Conveniencies used elsewhere. As the Hands of our Clocks turn round, in theirs, the Hours turn about the Hand. They imagine it a very sinful thing, for a *Muscovite* to lie with an *English* or *Dutch* Woman; but they believe a *Russian* Woman may lie with any Strangers, without committing a Crime worth taking notice of, because the Children she has by them, are born and bred up in the *Russian* Religion.

They love Rye better than Wheat, for the Reason I have already mentioned; and stale Fish better than fresh. They count their thousand by so many four-scores and tens, and not by so many hundreds. The first of *September* is their New-Years-Day. Their *Æra* from the Creation amounts to seven thousand and sixty odd Years. They are very credulous, and any thing will go down with them, let it be never so incredible; things that are probable and reasonable, do not find so easy Belief among them. When they kiss a Woman they do it on the right Cheek. Lands that have not been above twenty Years in a Family, fall to the younger Children, proportionably with the eldest. When they sow, they thrust the Needle in with the Fore-finger. They eat Carrots without scraping, and Pease without shelling. They don't gather them as we do, but tear them up Roots and all, and so sell them in the Market. To say that a Man has an inconstant Wife, they say he lies on a Bank of

of Sand. A Man's bare Word that has got a Beard, is more valued among them, than an Oath of one that has none.

Their finest Pieces of Painting are not better than what is commonly done on *Dutch* Chimneys with red Oker and *Spanish* white. They are as careful to keep their Teeth black, as we are to whiten ours; they have an Art of painting them, as also their Eye-balls. They reckon long Eyes, and little Foreheads, handsome. The *Russian* Women hide Part of theirs in their Coifs. Little Feet, and a slender Shape, are Deformity with them. They do their utmost to grow fat; for which purpose they eat excessively, and will lie in Bed whole Days together; that they may increase in Bulk, by much eating and much sleeping. Brandy, which one would imagine should rather waste than plump them, is thought to be a great Fatner by them. There is so much Confusion in the Ways of Proceeding of the *Russian* Judicature, that it is almost impossible to give a clear Account of it.

There is a *Precauce*, or Court of Justice, in each Province, in which a *Boyar*, or Lord, presides, to represent the Emperor's Person. He has under him a Chancellor, a *Dyack*, or Secretary; several Sub-secretaries and Clerks. If a Plaintiff brings a Suit before the Judge, and he is not corrupted by the Defendant, the former is almost sure to carry the Cause; for that it is supposed the Right commonly lies on his Side. Criminals are seldom condemned to Death in *Russia*; they are severely whipt; and, besides, there is a Sort of Punishment worse than Death. A Murder may be bought off with Money. If one Man kills another, and no-body prosecutes him, the Magistracy takes no Notice of it. If there be a thousand Witnesses against a Man accused of a Capital Crime, he cannot be convicted, unless he confesses himself. It is true, to extort that Confession from him, he is exposed to the most cruel Torture that can be inflicted on the Body of Man. They first give him the Strapado. If he confesses nothing he is whipt, and the Hangman does it so terribly, that he can kill the Criminal with six or seven Lashes. Sometimes they pierce his Sides with red hot Irons, or else they slit his Bones, salt them, and put them, hanging to his Body, on the Fire to broil. If he says nothing still, they cure him as well as they can; and twenty Days after, if he survives the Torment, they renew it again. Sometimes they will half flea them, and if they endure all with Resolution, which rarely happens, they pour boiling Lead, Drop by Drop, on the Crown of his Head, close shaven, which is the last Trial of his Constancy.

The Punishment of Coiners, is to melt some of the Metal of which their false Money was made, and force them to swallow it. A young Man shooting an Owl in the Court of the imperial Palace, had his left Leg and his right Hand cut off; because some of the Shot glanced into the Emperor's Chamber. If a Conspiracy against the Government be detected, the Conspirators are severely tortured; after which they are sent to *Siberia*, and are either suffered to starve to Death with Cold on the Way; or else have their Eyes plucked out, or their Ears cut off; and are left in that dismal Province fifteen hundred Miles from *Moscow*. It is but lately that the *Russians* have hanged their Criminals; the Reason why they would not permit any such Execution before, was out of a foolish Fancy, that when the Man was strangled, his Soul departed downwards, and that defiled it. The Criminal ties the Rope about his own Neck, and flings himself off from the Ladder, when the Executioner bids him. The Hangman's Place is hereditary, and he is careful to instruct his Children in his Trade; which, however, is not so reputable as in some Parts of *France*, where the Executioner pretends to be a Gentleman by his Office. The common People in *Muscovy* are very ignorant, and much given to Idolatry. Those that live in the Northern Provinces, about *Archangel*, *Cola*, &c. know no other God but *St. Nicholas*, who, they believe, governs the World. They affirm he sailed upon a Mill-Stone, from *Italy* to a Place near *Archangel*, now called *St. Nicholas's* Port; and if a *Russian* seemed but to suspect the Truth of this Story, he would be in no small Danger of his Life. They

celebrate the Festivals of their own Saints with more Devotion than those of the Apostles. *St. Nicholas*, they say, is *Nasba Bradt*, i. e. one of their Brethren, who, being of their own Country, has more Kindness for them than either *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*, who never knew them. Those who have made Inroads on other Nations, or plundered Strangers, think they expiate all their Offences, by building a Church, furnishing it with a good Ring of Bells, and Store of *St. Nicholas's*, adorned and set off with Jewels. The greatest Part of the *Russians* are rude and barbarous, except some of them, who are civilized by their Commerce with Foreigners, or who have travelled to *Poland* and seen that Court.

20. The *Poles* are less barbarous than the *Muscovites*. Some of them improve their Minds by Study; and Arts with the *Russians*, Enemies to the Sciences, are never encouraged. The Gentlemen of *Poland* are at Liberty to travel wherever they please. The *Muscovites* cannot go out of their own Country without Leave of the Emperor, which is not easily obtained. However, with all those Advantages, the *Poles* are not so refined a People as other Nations. They are proud, insolent, self-conceited, and have high Opinions of themselves, and their own Country, which they fancy excels all others. They are whimsical in their Drefs, vain, prodigal, and very ostentatious. Their Horses are fine, and their Furniture magnificent. They affect this, because it is what is most seen. They are civil to Strangers, and entertain them very handsomely, for two or three Days, till they have seen all they have to shew them, and have made them drunk for four or five times. They drink harder than the *Russians*, and are so quarrelsome over their Liquor, that there is scarce a Gentleman, in the whole Kingdom, but one time or other has been wounded in a Debauch. Their Laws are barbarous to the last Degree. Murder is only punished by a pecuniary Mulct.

They pay no more than four or five Crowns for killing a Clown; the Price rising higher according to the Distinction of the Person murdered. Their Kings are, in Truth, but Shadows of Monarchs. *Henry III.* was King of *Poland* before he reigned in *France*. He had Reason to be weary of their Crown, and would not, by any Persuasions they made use of, be prevailed upon to keep it. A thing of the highest Consequence, when debated in their general Diet, may be stopped by one Senator's Vote, who has Power to protest against it, without giving his Reasons for it. The Ceremony is, he sets his Hand to his Scymitar, and that signifies he is ready to oppose that Proposition, in dispute, to Death; which damns it for that Session; and though, perhaps, the next Day the protesting Senator changes his Opinion, yet he cannot revoke his Protestation. The Pox is very common and dangerous in *Poland*.

The *Muscovites* got it of the *Polish* Women, at the Time they conquered *Vilna*, and some other Towns and Provinces on the Frontiers of *Poland*; before which Expedition the *Russians* did not know what that Disease was. The Scurf, or Plica, is still more common than the Pox. The Cause of it is, that most of their Springs are poisoned by Mines of Arsenic, very frequent in those Parts; by which it is almost impossible to travel thither and not have it. When once it gets into a Family, it goes round it, no-body escapes the Infection. It is the filthiest and loathsomest Distemper in the World. A Man cannot look upon some *Polanders*, who have it in Extremity, without turning his Stomach. Besides that, the Symptoms of this Distemper are terrible to the Eyes, the Stench of it is abominable; there is no old Wound or Ulcer smells so intolerably. I have seen some Monks, whose Heads have been all over Scurf, and their Hair clotted together, than which there can be nothing more beastly and shocking to the Sight; nevertheless it is taken no Notice of in *Poland*; the *Poles*, thinking it a Sign of Health; and Gentlemen being most troubled with it, it is also taken for a Token of their Quality. Those Horses that have it, whose Manes are matted, and whole Tails are glewed together with it, are esteemed the more bold, and the most fit for Service; and if never so little of this Scurf is cut off, the Beasts die, or run mad, immediately, or else

else fall lame or blind. It is said the *Poles* were the first who brought up the Fashion of powdering Hair to hide their Plica, which is the more probable, as Starch is the Manufacture of *Poland*. They are more faithful in observing their Treaties than the *Russians*, the Latter making no Scruple to break the most solemn Alliances, when it is for their Interests: And yet in their private Negotiations, the *Muscovites* are very exact in making good what they swear to, and careful how they take a false Oath, or indeed how they take any.

The *Polish* and *Russian* Languages differ one from the other, as the *English* does from the *Scots*. The *Polish* Tongue passes for the more copious and polite; and yet the Pronunciation is not softer, nor the Orthography less rude than the *Russian* Language. In some of their Words there are six Consonants for one Vowel; they can hardly speak without sputtering in the Faces of those to whom they speak. They are stately in their Salutations, and do not bow so low, as the *Russians*. The *Tartars* salute their Superiors by embracing their Knees. The Common People salute one another, by putting the Fore-finger on the Mouth of the Person saluted, and shaking the Head a little. The Manner of the *Circassians* in this Case, is odder still; they ask the Man whom they would salute, if his Servants, his Cows, his Sheep, his Horses, his Goats, his Hogs, his Cocks, his Hens, and his Turkeys, are all safe and well.

21. I shall not pretend to write a complete History of the House of *Romanzow* now reigning in *Muscovy*, what is said here historically, being a sort of Digression; but believing the Reader will be diverted with a short Account of the present Czar's Family, I thought fit to give it, and some other entertaining Occurrences which I met in the Memoirs so often mentioned before. It would be too tedious to give, as the Gentleman who wrote them has done, a long Etymology of the Word *Czar*, and how the first *Romanzow* was advanced to the Title, or how *Basilowitz*, having reduced all the petty Dukes that had Sovereignities in *Muscovy*, erected a Monarchy on their Ruins. *John Basilowitz*, his Son, followed his Steps, was successful, and subdued the Kings of *Casan*, *Astracan*, and *Siberia*. To write all these Events, would make a long History of itself, *Basilowitz* reigning many Years. And though he was the greatest Tyrant in the Word, he was also one of the most happy Monarchs, if Victory alone can make a Prince happy.

The Czar *Michael*, Father to the present Czar (Anno 1670) was a very merciful, religious and good Prince, courteous to Strangers, and one who delighted in maintaining a friendly Correspondence with all Christian Potentates. Count *Wolmer*, the last King of *Denmark*'s natural Son, would have married his Daughter, but the Clergy of *Russia* opposed it, saying, *Wolmer* was a Heretic, and therefore the Princess could not lawfully marry him. The *Danish* Prince resenting that the *Russian* Priests should oppose his Match, challenged them to dispute with his Chaplains, whose Religion was the truest, his or theirs. The *Russians* refused his Challenge. The Czar was highly enraged against them for it, demanding, *what Sort of Faith they professed, that they could not defend it by Reason and Argument*: Some Days after, as he was going to Bed, he was taken with a Vomiting, and died the next Morning, not without Suspicion of being poisoned, the Priests apprehending he would make Innovations in their Religion. The Czarina or Empress, did not long survive him, and Count *Wolmer* thereupon gave over all Thoughts of the Marriage.

This Emperor often recommended to his Son *Alexis Michaelowitz* to follow the Advice of *Boaris Juanowitz* his Governor. There is an odd Story of the Fate of this *Boaris*'s Father, being a Widower, and the Emperor *Basilowitz*'s Favourite. He desired him to bestow one of his Concubines upon him in Marriage. *Basilowitz* granted his Request, without naming any of them in particular. The Favourite having a Licence at large, took the handsomest of them all. At which *Basilowitz* fell into a violent Passion; and hearing they were retired together to one of his Stove-Chambers or Hummums, to enjoy themselves with the greater Liberty, as they thought they

might lawfully do, having the Emperor and the Priest's Consent; the Czar commanded a Bear to be let loose upon them; which was done; and the two Lovers were immediately devoured by him. *Boaris* and *Cleab*, the unhappy Favourite's two Sons, were bred up with the Emperor *Michael*: And *Boaris* gained such an Influence over him, by a long Familiarity, that he governed all things as he thought fit, and was more absolute than his Master. He lessened the Czar's Officers; and those he kept in their Posts were glad to serve for half Pay; even the very Ambassador's Pensions were retrenched: He imposed new Taxes, and sent those Dukes, who having been Sovereigns formerly were most dangerous, to distant Governments, as to *Pripnin*, to *Bolgorod*, to *Coratbin*, and to *Casan*: In short, he was so severe in his Ministry, that the Nobility hated him as much as they envied him; and he, despising their Intrigues to depose him from his exalted Station of chief Favourite and Minister, depressed them to raise his own Creatures.

The People murmured at the new Impositions; there was an Insurrection upon it; they required Justice, and that the Emperor should deliver *Boaris* over to them to be made an Example on for his Mal-Administration. The Czar was surprized at their Demands, not expecting any such Insolence from his Slaves, for so his Favourite had represented all his Subjects. He endeavoured to mollify those of them who were most outrageous. And to gain time, and save his Favourite's Life, he swore he would banish him from Court for ever. This Compliance appeased them; *Boaris* was ordered to retire, and the Nobility were restored to the Czar's Favour, which they managed as little to the People's Satisfaction as *Boaris* had done, who being a cunning Statesman, observed their Discontents, and improved them to his Advantage, by encouraging the Clamour against the Nobility, who oppressed the People so much, that those who were lately most for banishing the Favourite, were now hottest for recalling him. They found it no difficult Matter to succeed in their Enterprize; the Czar, on their Petition, did readily what they would have him do; sent for *Boaris* to Court: And he was afterwards very kind to those that had been instrumental in his Restoration. Ever after, he caressed the People on all Occasions, and favoured them to the utmost of his Power: He undertook to protect all Foreigners, and was equally beloved by Natives and Strangers. He died about sixteen Years since, *i. e.* in 1650, in a very old Age, beloved by his Prince, and regretted by his People. He had the Character of an able Politician, whose Councils were successful. He died lamented by every body but the ancient Nobility, whose ambitious Designs he always thwarted.

It was he that made *Eliab Danelowitz* General of the Czar's Army; who, before he had a Fit of the Apoplexy, was reckoned a Man of great Worth and Capacity. He was bold, daring, and vigilant: His Memory was so good, that he knew every one's Business in all the Employments Civil and Military. He could distinctly tell the several Quarters of an Army of fourscore thousand Men: He could tell the Names and Characters of all his Officers; but the Accident that happened, as we have already said, weakened him extremely both in Body and Mind: And his Memory is now so bad, that he hardly remembers those Persons with whom he was most familiar. He was Treasurer, and held five or six more great Offices, which he managed with equal Skill and Success. 'Tis true, he plundered a great deal, and the Emperor, who feared more than he loved him, winked at it more willingly, because whatever *Eliab* scrap'd up, would fall to him in right of his Wife, *Eliab*'s Daughter. Nevertheless, after the Death of *Danelowitz*'s Wife, observing that he was too kind to some *Tartarian* and *Polish* Women, he ordered him either to marry or leave the Court. On which Occasion, I cannot help remarking, that Marriages are in high Esteem in *Russia*, either out of Policy to encourage what helps to people the Country, or to prevent the *Russians* abandoning themselves to Boys and Beasts, to which they are not a little inclined; nor is that Crime punished with Death there, as in other Countries.

It is called *Ne Misheay*, and it got that Name by this Means: A young Rascal which was surprized committing an abominable Action with a Cow, cryed out to the Person that spied him, *Ne Misheay, Do not disturb me.* This was done about eight Years ago; and ever since, that horrid Sin has been so called.

Eliab's Misfortune would have been regretted more, had not *Nashokin* succeeded him in the Administration of Public Affairs: This Lord is one of the wisest Ministers in *Europe*; he is a Man of Temper and Integrity; he is indefatigable in the Discharge of his Offices committed to his Management, and a hearty Asserter of monarchical Government; he is Chancellor of the Office of Embassadors, and Governor of *Russia Minor*; and has several other Employments, which his Predecessor *Eliab* held before him. It was *Nashokin* that concluded the Peace with *Poland*, very honourable to his Master. He also formed the *Swedish* Alliance, and erected the Silk Manufacture throughout all *Russia*; and by his Means *Russia* is made the Mart of the Silk Trade; most of that Commodity either from *Persia* or the *Indies* being brought thither, and sent from thence into other Parts of *Europe*; but this Commerce did not last long.

His next Work was to reform the Emperor's Household, and the Laws of the Empire. He contrived it so, that no Suit should be long depending; and every Governor of a Province, assisted by his Council, had a Power given him of Life or Death. Before that Order, Criminals of all sorts were brought to *Moscow* to be tried, which was very troublesome and inconvenient for the Czar. The last Summer a *Jew*, who had turned *Turk*, and was Interpreter to the *Persian* Merchants, accused *Nashokin* on their Behalf, before the Emperor, for doing them some Injustice in the Precauce, or Court of Embassadors, of which he was Chancellor: The Emperor answered, That *Nashokin* had the Management of all Affairs relating to Trade; that he referred them to him; and if he was unjustly accused, their Interpreter should pay dear for it. The Czar was as good as his Word; the Accusation being found to be groundless; and the Renegado *Jew* had thirty Lashes with a Whip, which threw him into a miserable Condition. *Nashokin* has often told my Author, That it was the Czar's Interest to keep up a friendly Correspondence with the King of *England*, more than with any other Prince in *Christendom*; and it will not be improper in this Place to mention something relating to him. Some *English* Merchants petitioned *Nashokin*, that they might land some Goods which were on board the Ships lately arrived from *England*:

"He told them, he had a Paper printed, giving an Account of the Plague in *London*; that probably this Merchandize might come out of Houses that were infected, and they knew very well a Spark might set a whole City on Fire; that he thought their way of publishing their Infirmities was very strange; adding, that if the poor and miserable expose their Misery and Poverty, it is to excite Compassion, and get something by it; but the *English*, spread it about every where, that the Plague laid their Country waste, and gave the World a fair Warning not to have any thing to do with them; as Lanthorns or Light-houses near the Coasts warn the Pilots not to come near them for fear of being shipwrecked." He said one Day, "He wondered any Princes should send Letters of Recommendation in Favour of their Subjects, demanding Justice in their Behalf, as if the Czar did not know how to deal justly by Strangers as well as by his own Subjects. Sure such must be very cheap in *Denmark*, continued he, because I receive more from thence than from any other Kingdom. I do not know what they might cost in *England*, but I am very well satisfied they are all to no Purpose. The *Muscovites* do not govern themselves like the *English*, by the Custom of their Countries; and if the *Russian* Dress becomes them, theirs will never become the *Russians*." Being once discoursing on the Affairs of *England*, and particularly on the Succours sent by the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* to the *Dutch* against the King of *England*, he declared, "He could not penetrate into the Politics of those Monarchs, who in other

"things were discreet, in doing so preposterous an Action; that in his Opinion, the best thing for them had been to have joined with the King of *England*, and other Princes of *Europe*, to form an Alliance for the rooting up all Republics, which are good for nothing, but to serve for an Asylum to Rebels and Heretics."

There have lately been a great many *Jews* admitted into the Czar's Court, by means of a *Jewish* Surgeon, who pretends to be a *Lutheran*. He was bred up in *Poland*, and advanced himself in the Court of *Muscovy*, by furnishing *Bogdan Matfeig*, high Steward of the Emperor's Household, with *Polish* Girls, of whom he is very fond. This Minister was the Companion of the Czar's Youth, and has insinuated himself so far into his good Graces, that for some Time he has been the reigning Favourite, and managed all the Concerns of the Household as he pleased. His Wife observing his Intrigues, and understanding that he met *Polish* Girls, and other handsome young Women, Slaves, as well as those that were free, was so jealous of him, that her Ill-humour became insupportable to him, and he poisoned her to get rid of it. The People murmured at the Murder, and the Czar commanded *Matfeig*, either to quit his Post or marry, and leave his Mistresses. It is said he intended to take one of his Concubines to be his Wife. He cannot agree with *Nashokin*, and does not love the *English*, because the *Dutch* have drawn him to their Interest by rich Presents.

22. The Czar has lately built a Work-house, about a League from *Moscow*, where the Poor are employed in Manufactures of Hemp and Flax. The House is beautiful, large, and so well contrived, that all the Beggars in his Empire may be employed there; for whose Maintainance the Emperor has settled Lands upon it, to a considerable Value. The *Czaritza*, or *Czarina*, manages the Woman's Work, and employs them for her own Benefit. The Czar is every Day busy in contriving the Increase of Manufactures, how to invent new ones, or improve the old. His Workmen cost little or nothing for their Subsistence; he rather gets than loses by them; So that he saves his Revenues arising by the Cabacks, the Bagnio's, and Stove-Chambers, Pitch, Hemp, Flax, Honey, Wax, Caviare, Sturgeons, and the salted and dried Fish that comes from *Astracan*, *Casan*, the Lake of *Belsire*, and several other Lakes and Rivers in his Dominions, particularly in *Siberia*, where there are abundance of them, and yield plentifully.

The Czar goes every Year, about the End of *May*, to a Country House about three Miles from *Moscow*, called *Obrasanksky*, or the Transfiguration, to which it is dedicated in Obedience to what is said by the *Evangelist St. Luke*, Chap. ix. 13. *Master, it is good for us to be here, let us make three Tabernacles, one for thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias, &c.* The Emperor ordered several magnificent Tents to be set up; his own was of Cloth of Gold, lined with Sables; that of the *Czarina* of Cloth of Silver, lined with Ermine; and those of the Princes and chief Lords, of other Stuff, and other Linings, according to their several Ranks. The Czar, and *Czarina's* Tents, those of their Children, ten in Number, and their five Sisters, were round; in the Middle stands one which serves for a Church, and, all together, make one of the finest Sight in the World. Guards are posted round about them, at a Musket-shot Distance.

There are Pallisadoes placed to keep off the People. None durst pass beyond these Bounds; for the Czar will not suffer his Recreations to be prophaned by vulgar Eyes. When the Emperor goes into the Country for his Pleasure, no Man is permitted to present any Petition unto him. A Captain of *White Russia*, when *Peter Sel-ticoro*, Governor of the Province, refused his Pay for above three Years, not knowing how to have Justice, thought his best Way was to address himself immediately to the Emperor. He came up to him where he was in the Country, and approaching too near his Coach to give him his Petition, the Czar mistrusting he had some ill Design, perhaps that it was to assassinate him, thrust him to the Heart, with a Cane that had an Iron Spike at the End of it. He fell down dead on the Spot,

and the Emperor ordering him to be searched, to see what Arms he had about him; there was nothing to be found but the Petition. The Emperor having read it, snote his Breast, and appeared mightily concerned that he had murdered an innocent Person, saying, "His Blood shall lie at *Selticoro's* Door, who was the real Cause of his Death." He sent for him, and not being satisfied with giving him a severe Reprimand, banished him the Court, turned him out of all his Places, which he gave to *Nashokin*, with an Express command to enquire out *Selticoro's* Misdemeanours.

This Accident happened not long ago, and yet is not much talked of. For it is Death to tell what is said or done in the Czar's Court. The Author going once to view the Workhouse, built for those that were to manufacture Hemp and Flax, just as it was finished; and asking the Workmen, what Use it was designed for, not one of them durst make any Answer, though they knew what was the Design well enough? All that he could get out of them was, *That God and the Czar only knew*. The Czar used every Night to visit the Chancellor's Registers, to examine what Decrees had past, and what Causes were depending. Such poor Gentlemen as have nothing to maintain them, but what he gives them, are his Spies, of whom he has many in all Places. In his Armies, at all wedding Feasts, in all Embassadors Houses, in all public or private Assemblies, they tell him what they hear or see, and he governs himself accordingly. The Czar's Children are served by other Children, who are bred up with them, and are well educated in all Sorts of Knowledge, suitable to their Birth.

Trade is now very low in *Muscovy*; two fifths of all the Inhabitants having perished in the late War; besides the new Impositions laid on all Merchandize, the Custom-house Officers take away Merchants Goods by Force, and compel them to sell them for Copper Money, which has sunk the Price of several Commodities, and raised others as much, and put a Stop to the Currency of Commerce in general. Several great Traders were undone by it; some of them fell so in Despair upon it, that they hanged themselves; and others spent what they had, in Cabacks and Brandy-shops, to drive away Care; which not being used to before, their Debaucheries soon put an End to their Lives. *English* Cloth is not so good a Commodity in *Russia*, as that of *Holland*; and though the Latter shrinks above a sixteenth Part when 'tis wet, yet the *Russians* prefer it to the former, because they are of Opinion that it is only new Cloth which shrinks. The *English* are to blame to give way to their Fancy, and to carry on a Trade with them, which the *Hollanders* manage so much more to their Interest; their ordinary Cloth and Trifles turning to better Account than the best Commodity the *English* can bring them, by the wrong Judgment of the *Russians*. If the Trade for Silks to *Persia* and the *Indies* should increase, the *English* will find it a hard Matter to recover their former Privileges and Immunities in *Russia*; for the *Russians* are grown sharper, and corrupted by the *Dutch* corresponding so long with them. They are more numerous in *Muscovy*, and richer than the *English*. They spare for nothing to ruin the Trade of *England* in *Russia*, and succeed in it more than some imagine. They bribe the Nobility, by Presents, to defend and protect them, and render the *English* contemptible and ridiculous, by scandalous Libels and abusive Pictures.

They looked upon the *English*, a few Years ago, as a lost and undone People. They are such perfect Slaves, that they have a mean Opinion of all those who are free. The *Dutch* would fare no better, did not they pay dearly for the Friendship of the Favourites and Ministers in *Muscovy*. They represent the *English* Nation by a Lion without a Tail, with three Crowns on his Head, turned upside down, or by Mastiffs, with their Ears and Tails cut off. These foolish droll Pieces were done at a Time when they had no Reason to speak very well of the *English*, who had begun a War with them for the least Provocation in the World. The only Way for the *English* to recover their Reputation and Trade in *Russia*, and to lessen the Credit and Commerce of the *Dutch*, would

be for them to suffer no-body to deal there, but such as could trade with ready Money, and not upon Trust, as their Merchants have done for this twenty Years; and to send an Embassy to the Czar, to inform him of the flourishing Condition of the *English* Dominions; of their Strength, Greatness, Revenues, and their Colonies in both the *Indies*; to shew him Maps of all their Territories over the whole Earth, and Plans of their Forts and Cities. They ought also to undeceive *Affanasty Nashokin*, to whom their Nation has been vilely misrepresented by the *Hollanders*, and to present *Cogden Matseig* with some Curiosities that he loves. The first would make it a Point of Policy to encourage them, when he understood the true Nature of the Case; and the other would procure them the Emperor's Favour, of which he is always sure. The Author's Arguments on this Subject are of no Weight now; the Figure the *English* Nation has made abroad since the Revolution, needs no Embassy to found its Fame. The Ends of the Earth have heard of it with Wonder, and the Czar, as the Queen of *Sheba* did to *Jerusalem*, came in Person to be a Witness of its Glory.

23. *Siberia* is a large Province, the greatest Part of which is *Terra Incognita*, which reaches to the Walls of *Cathay*. Besides what Account of it I had from the Gentleman of *Lorrain*, I met with several Persons in my Travels in these Parts, who had been over a great Part of *Siberia*, and on whose Relations I can depend. One of them in particular, had travelled so far, that he traded with the *Chinese*; and the other, who was more ignorant, though not less faithful, assured me that he went so far, that he saw a Sea with Ships, and Men aboard them, who wore no Hair but on their upper Lips, who were richly dressed, and covered all over with Gold and Jewels. Their Garments being quite different from those of the *Russians*, by the Description he gave of them, in all Probability, they must be *Chinese* Merchants; for the Sea could be no other than that of the *Kaimochites*, on the North-east Part of *Great Tartary*, or that of the Gulph of *Nankin* in *China*. The latter brought some *Chay* and *Bourdian* out of *Siberia* with him. The former is what we call *Tea*, the latter, *Anisum Indicum Stellatum*, a physical Drug.

The *Chinese* Merchants have taught those of *Siberia* to drink the *Chay* with Sugar as we do; and they take it to be an excellent Remedy for all such as are troubled with any Disease of the Lungs, with Hypochondriacal Flatus's, and ill Disposition of Stomach. They bring it to them in Papers, containing each a Pound, the Weight and Name being written on each Paper, in *Chinese* Characters. Those that would travel through *Siberia*, are six Years on their Journey, occasioned by the extraordinary Heat and Cold of the Climate, which obliges them to lodge all the Winter in certain Places, and all the Summer in others. *Tumbut*, or as others say, *Siber*, is the Capital of this vast Province; here the chief Wayvod, or Viceroy, resides. Furs, Marten-Skins especially, which are to be had nowhere else, are the principal Commodities of this Country. They eat dried Fish instead of Bread, which is not to be seen in all the Province, unless the Traveller carries it along with him. There is plenty of all Manner of Fish in their Lakes and Rivers, in which they abound. They feed their Dogs with it, and even their Cows in cold Weather, which is excessive in *Siberia*, by which means their Milk, generally speaking, has a fishy Taste.

There is abundance of Filbert-trees of a prodigious Bigness, and the Kernel of the Nut is of a Size answerable to that of the Tree that bears it. They go a hunting in Troops, for six or seven Weeks together, covered over with three or four Skins, and drawn along in a Sledge, by thirty or forty huge Dogs. They lie in the open Fields all Night, in the midst of Winter; but they make good Fires about them to warm themselves, and broil their Fish. Their Dogs are very expert in finding out Martens; and when they have found them, they never miss taking them. When once the *Siberians* have shot them, which they do with a Cuss, so dextrously, that they always wound them in the Nose, that they may not prejudice the Skin. Besides, if they do not hit them in that Part, it is rare that they catch them;

them; for it is a robust Animal, and will escape them, sometimes, though he be shot quite through the Body. The River *Ob* runs through this Province; it is very broad, and falls into the *Mare Glaciale*; it is stored with Sturgeons and Belugas. The latter is a Fish, twelve or fifteen Feet long, resembles a Sturgeon, but is not so pleasant, tasted when it is salted, as the former. The Meat is whiter than Veal, and as delicious as Marrow, while it is fresh.

The *Volga* is stored with that Fish, and with Sturgeon, most of all the Rivers in the North. When the Flood comes down the Mountains, by the melting of the Snow, and the Stream grows the more rapid, these Fish swallow great Stones to make them the heavier, that they may stem the Torrent the better. They throw them up again when the Waters abate, and the Current is not so strong. It is out of the soft Roes of these Beluga's and Sturgeons, mingled together, that the People of *Astracan* make Caviare, in this Manner: They put their Roes in a heap of Salt, and when they have fermented a little, they squeeze them, and barrel them up. There are some who will not squeeze them at all. That Caviare is the most delicious, but will not keep so long as the other. The Turks make it with the Eggs of the Sturgeon, which are black and clammy. This the *Russians* call *Fekra*. There is another Sort, which is nothing but the Roe of a Beluga. The *Armenians*, who I believe first made Caviare, do it after another Manner. They begin with cleaning the Roe, and throwing away all that is useless in them, then salt and lay them on crooked Planks, that the fat oily Parts may be drained off; after which they pack them up in Barrels, and beat them down till they are hard. The Beluga has one hundred and fifty Roes, and two hundred weight of Eggs, which the *Armenians* call *Arminsko Fekra*.

The Northern Part of *Siberia* is called *Samojedia*, or *Tasambeida*, which signifies Canibals or Men-eaters, because the Inhabitants are said to eat all the Prisoners they take in War. They live in round Tents, covered with Mats and Stags-Skins. They make their Fires in the Middle, and lie about them. There is but one Hole to a Tent, besides the Door, and that is on the Top, to let out the Smoak. In Summer-time they remove to the Banks of Rivers, for the Conveniency of fishing. They live altogether upon Fish, which they often eat raw. In Summer they dry it, to keep for their Winter store. Young Dogs are accounted one of their nicest Dishes. Their Customs, Language, and Religion, are entirely barbarous. They worship the Sun and Moon. Both Men and Women are dressed in Cloaths made of Stags-Skins, the Hair outwards, which they fancy is the warmest Way of wearing it. The Men have no Beards. The Women are abominably ugly, and so hard-favoured, that they can scarce be distinguished from the Men, the one being often taken for the other by Strangers. Yet as deformed as they are, they do well enough for the Canibals, who like them better than those we think handsome. The Riches of the *Samojedas* consist in Stags. There are some of them so tame, that they graze in Troops, stand still to be harnessed, and draw Sledges fourscore Miles a Day, so incredible swift are those Creatures.

Before the Inhabitants go a hunting of Stags, they consult a Priest, who tells them the Place where they shall find their Game; and it is rare that they are out in their Guesses. Young Girls are a considerable Part of their Father's Wealth; they are never seen till they are betrothed in Marriage, and that is frequently done when they are six or seven Years old; for at that Age, somebody or other will buy them for a certain Number of Stags, that they may be sure to have their Maidenheads. Husbands are there so jealous of their Wives, that they lock them up closer than they do in *Italy*; and when they go a hunting, they have a Device to secure them from making them Cuckolds in their Absence. The Emperor does not think these People worthy of living under his Government; they are liable to no Imposts; what they pay is voluntary, and generally is in Stags; which from Time to Time they deliver to the Czar's Officers on the Frontiers. No-body understands their

Language, nor their Laws, which they execute with great Severity. When they sell a Stag to a Foreigner, they preserve the Entrails and eat them, even the filthiest Part of them, after they have squeezed out the Excrement. Those who understand Magic, are the most honourable Persons among them. They are very dextrous in that fallacious Art, and exercise it very commonly towards Strangers; but they dare not play the *Russians* any Tricks for fear of being severely punished. An *English* Merchant inviting some of them to Dinner, one of them got so drunk that he could not stand, speak, nor sit; and his Drunkenness continued so, till an old Woman touched his Forehead, and muttered some Words in his Ear; after which, if we may give Credit to Eye-witnesses, from whom I had it, he grew as sober as ever he was in his Life.

24. In the South Part of *Siberia* there is a Forest, or, as called by them, a *Step* about six or seven hundred Wrefts long, where there are few Rivers; and yet the Soil is extremely fertile. One may ride there several Days Journey in vast Fields full of Cherry-Trees not above two or three Feet high; not that they won't grow taller, but they were hindered by the Negligence of Travellers, who having made Fires in the Middle of the Fields, go their ways without thinking of putting of them out, and the Grass of the Forest being very long and very dry, catches Fire, and burns up every thing that lies in its way. It is no uncommon thing to see a Fire burn for thirty or forty Wrefts together, and pursue Travellers so nimbly that often they have not time to save themselves. These Cherry-Trees bear red Cherries fair to look to, but four. The Fruit of some of these Trees that have been transplanted has been very good. I have talked with several Persons who have seen Tulips, red Roses, Roses like Damask-Roses, Asparagus larger and finer than ours, Onions, Marjoram, Thyme, Succory, Sage, Endive or white Succory, and other Flowers, Herbs, and Roots in the Forest, which we with a great deal of Care raise in our Gardens. The Turnip is very frequently met with there; they have good Carrots and Parsnips in *Samojedia*, and the Merchants of other Nations export a great deal of Nitre and Sal-Gemet from thence. Elks are larger there than any where else. There is a little Animal called *Zouricks*, and another whose Name is *Perivoshicks*, which are pretty Creatures.

The *Zourick* is something shaped like a Badger, but different in the Face; his Skin is of an agreeable Colour; it is black, sleek, and spotted a little, and his Legs short, his Back almost a Foot long; they live like Coneys in Burrows under Ground. The *Russians* tell a great many Stories of the Wars of these Animals, one with another, of their Dexterity in taking Prisoners, and sending the Enemy away into Captivity; that they force their Slaves to fetch in Hay and Oats for them to lay up against Winter: It is said their Burrows are very clean, neat, and artfully contrived; and if one of them dies the others carry out his Body and bury it elsewhere. Colonel *Crawford's* Regiment quartering near the Place where they are to be found, these Creatures met one Day, to a prodigious Number, and made such a frightful Noise as terrified the Soldiers and their Horses so much that they ran away from their Pasture near the Place ten Miles, without stopping. The *Perivoshicks* Skin is brown inclining to yellow, being a Mixture of white and black: The *Russians* make Coats of them, but they are not much valued because the Fur is not long, nor the Skin warm. I have heard, they take a great deal of Pleasure to carry Squirrels and Ermines from one Side of the River to the other, on their Backs; from whence they derive their Name *Perivoshicks*, i. e. to carry a Thing from Place to Place. Several Persons have assured me, that the Squirrels in *Siberia*, when they can get nothing to eat on one Side the Water, will pass over to the other on a little Piece of Wood, and make use of their Tails instead of a Sail. If the Wind sets fair, they get over sometimes; but if it changes they are infallibly drowned. There are many more Reports as extravagant, which have been averred to be true, relating to *Siberia*; but I will not impose farther on the Faith of the Reader.

There

There is a Bird in the Neighbourhood of *Casan* and *Astracan*, about the Bigness of a Woodcock, whose Beak and Legs are like a Snipe's, and his Neck like a Cock's both for Feathers and Size: They fight like the Game-Cocks in *England*; they stand on their Guard when they put their Beaks to the Ground, and when they can do it to Advantage they leap at the Enemy with Vigour, and attack him as violently as the *English* Cocks of the Game do. They are better to eat than Quails. Sometimes one may catch this Bird near *Archangel*; where is also to be found a Bird as big as a Blackbird resembling a Hawk; like him he flies after little Birds, takes them, pulls them, cleanses them, and then eats them. There is another Sort of Fowl as tall as a Swan, which is brought from *Astracan*; his Body and Feet resembles those of a Swan, his Neck is short, thick, and so wide, that he will swallow a Fish six Inches broad.

Some Travellers make mention of a Plant in those Parts called the *Lamb*; which destroys all the Herbs that grow near it, and then dies; but as this Quality agrees very ill with its Name of a Lamb, so the Story is accounted fabulous by Persons of Judgment. This deserves to be more particularly considered, and therefore we shall take the Liberty of adding somewhat to the Author's Remarks upon this Subject: This vegetative Animal is called *Borometz*, or *Barannetz*; the latter is the true Name, the Word *Baran* signifying, in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, a Sheep, and the Word *netz* being a Diminutive makes it signifies a little Sheep or Lamb: The Baron *de Heberstein* describes it thus: He says, That it is of the Figure of a Lamb, grows to be very large, with a very soft Down, and destroys all the Grass round it. We have Relations of the same Kind in other Travels, which are to the full as strong, and some of them are pretended to come from Eye-Witnesses. We shall perhaps have Occasion hereafter to mention some of these Accounts in speaking of the Countries to which they belong; but at present it may be sufficient to clear up this Wonder, with which so many Naturalists have been puzzled, and some very ingenious and well-meaning Travellers abused.

The Truth then of the Matter is this: Some People in these Countries, for the Sake of Gain, have had Recourse to a most wicked and barbarous Practice: They have opened their Sheep when at the very Point of Yeanning, and then taking out the Lamb they flea it, cleanse the Wool; and while the Skin is wet extend it gently, and on all Sides, as fast as they are able to stretch it upon the Grass; and then, by the Assistance of Dew and sour Milk, with which they sprinkle it as it grows dry, bleach it in the Sun-shine till it is as white as Snow itself. By these Contrivances they obtain a Lamb-skin wonderfully thin, smooth and soft, and extremely fit for lining the under Garments of the Great and Wealthy. But as in all *Mohammedan* Countries, they look upon the Skins of Beasts as an impure kind of Cloathing, and therefore abstain from them on the Score of Religion, the People who take all this Pains have been forced to invent this Story of a vegetative Lamb, a Kind of Plant-Animal. And Travellers seeing the Skins, and hearing the Tale roundly affirmed, have suffered themselves to be so far imposed upon as to lend their Authorities to impose this Cheat upon Mankind, than which, without doubt, there never was a greater or more groundless; which is the Reason that we have taken the Pains to expose it; as we shall not fail to do whatever occurs of the like kind in any of the Voyages or Travels that we publish; for Credulity and Incredulity are alike dangerous, and without a cautious and judicious Enquiry not easy to be distinguished. As in the present Case it would be equally wrong to believe, that no such Skins as Travellers speak of were ever seen or met with, as on the other hand it would be to swallow the whole Story upon the Credit of such Skins having been seen.

25. The City of *Crim*, from whence the Prince of *Tartary* is stiled the Grand Cham of *Crim*, the Capital of his Empire, is situated on the *Tartarian* Sea, built of Stone and Brick, and encompassed with strong Walls. The *Tartars* are tributary to the *Turks*; and it is not long

since that the Czar of *Muscovy* paid the Cham of *Tartary* Homage, as being obliged by Oath to feed his Horse with Oats out of his Cap. The City of *Moscow* also paid the *Tartarian* a Tribute of ten thousand Coats made of Stags-Skins. The *Muscovites* have for ten Years past refused paying it, alledging, that the *Tartars* made void the Treaty by Inroads into *Russia*, and Robberies on their Borders. Indeed they are very troublesome Neighbours; if they are routed they vanish in a Moment, and disperse; notwithstanding which they meet again at Night at the Place of Rendezvous, and the next Day renew their Incursions with as much Violence as ever: They will march fourscore Miles a Day, in which time they change Horses thrice, each of them having three or four Horses. If any one of their Cattle dies, either of Fatigue or Sickness, they cut the Flesh out in Pieces and distribute it amongst their Comrades, who eat it with as much Appetite as we do Beef or Mutton; they often devour it raw, but their common Way of cooking it is to put it between the Saddle and the Back of the Horse, on which the *Tartar* rides, and that soddens the Flesh enough for them to feast upon.

Those Horses that are in the Fields are very difficult to be caught, because it is almost impossible to take them from their Company. If a *Tartar* falls sick, they give him Mares-Milk, and the Blood of a Horse, whose Veins they open on purpose. The reason why they eat no Bread nor Salt, is that they believe Bread to be coarse Feeding, which renders such as eat it heavy and unactive; and that Salt is bad for the Eyes. It is certain their Sight is better than any Peoples in the World; they can see forty or fifty Miles when the Prospect will admit it, and can discern a single Man at the same Distance where the *Russians* could not discern a Troop of *Tartars*. They are excellent Horsemen; they ride with a loose Rein; lift themselves up in their Stirrups, and shoot backwards on their Enemies that pursue them. The *Colmuck Tartars*, among whom *Tamerlane* was born, have a large Extent of Territory: They dwell in Tents, and live in their Pastures: They are bigger and more swarthy than the *Crim Tartars*, and are not at all like them in the Face: Some Part of their Country is subject to the Emperor of *Russia*: Their Women are as fit for War, and accustomed to it as well as their Men: Lately an Army of them defeated the *Crim Tartars*, who had carried away some of their Children into Captivity.

The *Crim Tartars* are flat-nosed; their Eyes are little and sunk into their Heads; their Foreheads are narrow; their Shoulders low and broad; they are middle-sized; as to their Shapes and their Make, they are every way so singular, that it is easy to discover a *Tartar* at first Sight among an hundred other Men. They flat the Noses of their Children as soon as they are born, thinking it to be a Piece of Folly to let their Noses stand in their Light: They are all *Mohammedans*; they laugh at the Worship the *Muscovites* pay their *St. Nicholas*; and maintain that they had better adore the Sun, who is a glorious Body, the Life and Light of the World, than fall down before wooden Images. "See, say they, what your Gods come to. When the Painting is worn out, you throw them into the River with a Coptack or two, and a little Bit of Olibanus; thus they sail down the *Volga* to the *Caspian Sea*; there we take them up, dry them, and burn them to roast our Horse-flesh by the Fire. Are not they very fine Gods that serve us instead of Fag-gots, and that cannot resist those that destroy them?" Before I have done with my Relation of *Russia*, I will say a Word or two of several sorts of Mushrooms that grow there and no where else in that Form. There are seven which are most remarkable in their Figures and Qualities. The sort called *Rizbiees*, are a little black and red, and spring up in a Night in the Marshes. The *Smitzskies* or Honey Mushrooms, which *Gerrard* calls *Fungi farinosi*, reckoning them among Poisons, are excellent, and very dear in *Russia*; it is the most delicate Dish that is brought to the Tables of Persons of the highest Quality; they put it in Soups and Pies. They come up before the other sorts in *April* and *May*.

The *Gribbeys* are of a brown Colour, or rather of a black Yellow; the Tail of one is like a Pilaster, and swells

swells out in the Middle; they come up before the *Somtzskies*. The *Volnitzies* are brown and black, mixed with red, and grow sharp at top. The *Grouzhdys* are the biggest sort of all of them, as hollow as a Honey-comb, and whiter than a Tulip when they are dead: Before they are boiled they are full of Juice, so tart and bitter, that it will blister the Mouth of those that taste it. I thought I should have died after I had put a little of it within my Lips. The *Mastamicks* are so called from *Masta*, which signifies Butter, Oil, Sewet, or any thing that is fat and oily. *Masta Conova* is Milk or Butter. *Denavanna masta* is Oil of Olives, or rather the Oil of a Tree; for *Denavanna* is in *English* a Tree. There are so many sorts of Mushrooms besides, and so many of those I have mentioned, that I have been told, a thousand Waggon Loads a Year are brought to *Moscow*: The Poor live upon them, and the Rich make them a second Course. Almost all the *Russian* Mushrooms are good to eat, and there are very few of those kinds which the Botanists call venomous. But to return to our Voyage.

26. We took our Leaves of these unhappy Exiles with reciprocal Tears, and mounting our Sledges, travelled on three Hours before we met with any Habitation: We then discovered five or six Huts together, in which were about a dozen Persons: We asked by our Interpreter, if they had any thing to truck for our Money or Brandy? They brought us out what Skins they had, and we dealt with them for them. We followed the Course of the River *Petzora*, which gives the Name to the Town; and near the Banks of it came to small Villages pretty often; in some of which we found Inhabitants, in some others none. Where we met with any body to trade with us, we bought their Furs with Money of some, but more with Brandy. They would not part with their Sables for fear of being detected by the Governor of *Papinogorod*, whither we were going, who always searches whatever Merchandize is brought thither, to see if there are no Sables among it. We crossed the Mountains which divide *Borandia* from *Siberia*. That was one of the worst Journeys we had in all our Undertaking; those Mountains being difficult to pass, and so barren, that no Creature, Man or Beast, can live upon them: Besides, they are almost always covered with Snow; and towards the Ascent and Descent, there are such vast Numbers of Bears and white Wolves, that we were afraid of our Lives, expecting every Minute when they would have fallen upon us; though, perhaps, we needed not to have been in so much Fear, for those Animals were, probably, as much terrified at us, as we at them.

They fled before us, some on one hand, and some on the other, mistaking us by the glittering of our Arms to be Hunters, and not Merchants. We were twelve Hours in crossing the Mountains, and our Cattle had much ado to draw us over them. At last we reached the Descent, and arrived in a Village in *Siberia*, where the Inhabitants were all cloathed in Bears-Skins, with the Hair outwards, having Linnen Shirts on and close Buskins, by which we perceived we were come among People that were not so barbarous as those we had parted from: They, in Effect, received us more civilly, asked whence we came, and whither we were going. We eat and drank together of the best we and they had; ours was Rice-cake and Brandy; theirs, dried Wolfs and Bears Flesh, Ginger-bread and Spirits. We bought all their Furs, except their Sables, with ready Money.

We rested in their Houses, which were built after the manner of the *Laplanders*. We slept on Bears-Skins, after having drank each of us a Cup of Brandy. When we awaked, we got upon our Sledges, and travelled without any further Delay for about twenty hours together, till we came to *Papinogorod*. The Governor of the Place, hearing of our Arrival, ordered us to come to his Castle to examine for what, and from whence, we came. We waited upon him as we were commanded, and entered the Castle; he saluted us in a very friendly manner; and our Accountant, who understood the *Muscovite* Language, gave a satisfactory Answer to all the Questions he demanded of him. When he knew that we were *Danes*, and Dealers, whose Business it was to buy Furs, he entertained us as handsomely as he could; and to shew us

that he had a great Kindness for, and Confidence in, us, he sent for his Wife to come and see us; which she did, bringing in one Hand a Bottle of Brandy, and in the other a Silver Cup, according to the *Muscovite* Fashion; as also a Plate of Ginger-bread, which a Maid brought after her. We saluted her, as is the Custom of the Country, by bowing our Heads. She presently untied the Knot of her Smock-Sleeve, and let it fall to the Ground: Our Supercargo presently took it up, and kissed it; and our Accountant did the like, and so did I; then she furled it up again with the left hand; and taking the Bottle and Cup, which she had set down to pay this Ceremony, gave to each of us a Brimmer of Brandy, and a Piece of Ginger-bread, herself standing at the End of the Table, by the Side of her Husband. She then returned to her own Chamber, and the Governor afterwards regaled us with good Cheer.

When we had done Supper, we were conducted to our Lodgings prepared for us in the Castle, and, considering the Country, lay in very good Beds. We slept about seven Hours, and then rose; which the Governor having Notice of by one of his Servants, he got up, and came to see us, and brought also a Bottle of Brandy with him; one of his Domestics held another in his Hand, and filled us out a great Cup for our Morning's Draught. We each of us drank one; after that, we fell to Business. The Governor demanded if we would buy his Skins? our Supercargo said he would, if he liked them, and could agree on the Price. His Furs were extraordinary well chosen, and though they were the dearest we met with in all our Travels, yet they were the best worth our Money. Having seen them bought and paid for them, he ordered one of his Men to call in some of the Inhabitants who had Skins to dispose of; but he would not suffer them to sell one single Skin till he had driven his Bargain. While our Supercargo was dealing with the Governor and his Neighbours, I walked up and down the Town.

It is situated in a very fine commodious Place, in a little Plain, the Country about it fruitful, surrounded with high Mountains, and near it runs a large River, well stocked with Fish; the Houses are built very poorly, they are low, and the Walls are of Wood or Mud, caulked between the Beams with Moss. The Town is paved with Pieces of Timber laid close together. The People of Fashion in *Papinogorod* are dressed in Breeches and Stockings of Cloth, and a long Robe over them of the same, which comes down to their Toes. Their Sleeves are made as close as possible, some of one Colour, some another: Their Shoes are like the *Polanders*, they are rather Boots than Shoes, buttoned a-top, and the Leather is dyed, some of it blue, some red, and some yellow: Upon their Heads they wear Cloth-Caps, lined and bordered, some with black Fox-Skin Fur, some with Ermines, and some with Sables. As for the Women, they are beautiful, fair, and fat; their Hairs are of a light Chestnut Colour, and their Mien gallant for *Muscovites*; their Robe or Upper-Garment, like the Mens, comes down to the Toes; it is also made of Cloth, either red, blue, or Violet Colour; the Shape of it resembles our long Wastecoats; it is lined with white Fox-Skin or Sable; they have long Sleeves pinned to it, for they cannot put their Arms into them, because their Smock-Sleeves are of such a prodigious length; some of them are five Ells long; they are made of fine Calico, and plaited up from their Wrists to their Shoulders; their Head-dress is an oval Cap, their Hair hangs a long way down their Backs; their Shoes are made of *Russia* Leather, and they have a Girdle of Pearl, pretty large, round their Waists. Those that are Natives of *Siberia*, differ as to their manner or way of Living from the *Samojedas*, *Borandians*, and other Natives of the *North*. All the *Muscovites* are *Nicholations* by Religion.

They are grave, robust, swift, and dextrous at shooting with the Cross-Bow. There are no Pettyfoggers in *Russia*; no Villains who rob the Poor, under Pretence of recovering their Right; who ruin the Fatherless by feigned Attempts to save their Inheritance, and enrich their own Families with the Spoils of their Neighbours. The *Muscovite* Law is all Equity, and all Courts of Justice are Courts of Chancery; but there is such Care taken to expedite

Causes, that there is no Occasion of Complaint given, as in some Countries more polite. False Witnesses are severely punished, so are Traitors and Robbers; and the Friends of the Deceased prosecute Murderers. The *Russians*, especially in *Siberia*, are ignorant, self-interested, Drunkards, churlish, and so jealous, that their Wives are almost always locked up in their Chambers; nor dare they to stir out when they are more at Liberty, unless they are commanded by their Husbands: They are afraid to shew the least kind Look or Action to Strangers; and if their Husbands do not beat them, it is so customary to do it, that they believe they do not love them. When we had bought up all the Furs we liked at *Papinogorod*, consisting of white Wolf-Skins, white Fox-Skins, black of the same, Lynxes, and Sables (for some we had of the Governor by Stealth) Ermines and grey Squirrels, we packed up; and with what we bought at *Petzora*, had enough to load one Sledge, and almost half another. We had still some Tobacco, and about five thousand Ducats left; wherefore our Supercargo resolved to go farther to get more Furs, and to return to our Ships through *Samojeda*.

Our Brandy falling short, we bought the best the Governor, our Host, had, and bargained with him for Provisions sufficient to last twelve Days, and for Rain-Deer to carry us to our Journey's End. When we had quite done dealing, and paid our Money, we must have a drunken Bout at parting; without which, there is no getting away from a House in *Russia*. We eat and drank for ten Hours together, and then lay down to rest eight more, when we got up and harnessed our Rain-Deer, baled and loaded our Merchandize and Provisions, we mounted our Sledges, took our Leaves of our Host, and departed. We ran seventeen Hours; and all the way we went bought up what Furs we could light on of the *Siberians*. We then crossed the *Riphaean* Mountains in six Hours more, after which we entered *Samojeda*, a desolate mountainous Country, full of Juniper Trees, Pine Trees, and Firs. It abounds in Moss as well as Snow, Wolves, Bears, and Foxes, all white, we met every Moment, to our no small Terror. When we ascended the Mountain *Stolpboen*, out of which rises the River of *Borsagatz*, we came to eight or nine Houses, where we stopt, as well to bait our Cattle as to rest ourselves. We trucked with the Inhabitants Brandy for white and black Wolf and Fox-Skins, Castor and Otter-Skins; they had several Dozen of Ermines, which they would not sell us upon any Terms, notwithstanding our *Borandian* Guide assured them with a thousand Protestations, that there was no manner of Danger, we being Traders that were going to our Ships, and could not be searched before we got to the Coasts, because we were not to pass through any Place where there were any Officers to search for prohibited Goods. They would not hearken to us till we had drank them all down; and when the Liquor was gotten up into their Heads, they grew bold, brought out their Sables, and sold us the best and most that we picked up in our whole Journey.

We staid to rest ourselves in one of the chief Huts of the Village; the Master of the House, his Wife, and Children, lay all together, without Distinction, and we among them, on Bear-Skins. After we had slept four or five Hours, I awoke at a Noise our Host made to raise his Family. They all rose and went out; I had the Curiosity to observe them; I followed them at a little Distance, and perceived they all fell down on their Knees behind the Cottage, lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven to adore the Sun, whom they believe to be God. The *Samojedas* are shorter and thicker than either the *Laplanders* or *Borandians*; their Heads are big, their Faces flat, as also their Noses; they have scarce any Hair at all, and are as swarthy as the Ground itself; their Dress is a round Cap, furred like a Lamb-Skin, a Pair of Breeches, and a white Bear-Skin Coat that comes down no farther than their Knees; they wear about their Middle a Girdle four Inches broad; their Shoes and Stockings are made of the same sort of Skin, with the Hair outwards; under their Shoes they wear a sort of Skates two-foot long, made like a Gondola, with which they slide prodigiously fast on the Snow, that lies almost always on the Moun-

tains; instead of a Cloak, they hang a Bears-Skin with black Hair upon it over their Shoulders, the Feet dangling down at the four Corners; it hangs more on the left Side than on the right, to leave their Hands at Liberty for the Management of their Bows. Upon this Skin they tie their Quivers.

The *Samojedian* Women are uglier than the Men; they will endure a great deal of Hardship, and take care to breed up their Children well in the handling of their Bows; at which they teach them to be very dextrous; they are dressed like Men, only their Upper-Garment is a little longer; their Caps are the same with the Mens; and all the Difference in their Head-dress is, that the Women have a Lock of Hair twisted, which hangs down on their Shoulders; at the End there is a Knot of Ribbons made of the Rind of a Tree, and that reaches down to their Heels. This is all their Finery; they hunt as well as the Men, and are armed with Bows and Arrows, as they are; the Husbands are true to their Wives, and the Wives to their Husbands. If any one among them is found guilty of Adultery, either Man or Woman, the Criminal is immediately stoned to death.

27. Having traversed *Samojeda*, bartered all our Wares, and loaded ourselves with Skins, we returned, and met with no Adventures worth remarking. We made what haste we could, and reached the Coasts of *Borandia*. In twelve Days after our Departure from *Papinogorod*, our Ships rendezvoused at a Place on that Shore, where we had appointed them to meet us. We loaded all our Merchandize aboard them, paid off our *Borandian* Guide, and embarked. We weighed Anchor two Hours after, and sailed with a fair Wind for *Zembla*, where we arrived the next Day in the Afternoon. We cast Anchor in a convenient Place, near which we spied, upon the Shore, a Company of about thirty Persons, with Quivers at their Backs; on their Knees, worshipping the Sun that was then setting. Our Master and Supercargo consulted together, what Course they should take to come at the Speech of them. They thought them to be more wild than any they had yet seen, and that it would be difficult to get them to deal with us. They resolved to send out three Long-boats, with ten Men, well armed, in each, to defend themselves in case they were attacked. I was commanded to make one among them. We rowed to Shore; when we came about a quarter of a Mile off Land, all the Savages, who were still on their Knees, got up, let fly at us; after which they ran away, like so many Stags before Hunters. They shot at us when we were at too great a Distance from them to receive any Hurt by their Arrows.

We landed, and pursued them to the Place whither we thought they were fled, in Hopes that we might be able to catch one or two of them, which, however, was not to be done. We lost Sight of them, and could not tell which Way they were gone; yet we followed them till we came near some Mountains covered with Snow. We advanced farther into the Country, where, on a small Hillock, we perceived a Piece of Wood cut out in the Figure of a Man, but very wretchedly. Before it were two *Zemblians* on their Knees, their Arms lying by them. They were worshipping this Idol, as the others on the Shore were adoring the Sun. They fled from us, and it growing Night, we did not care to pursue them very far; they ran into a Fir-wood, and we thought it would be in vain to go after them. We therefore concluded our best Way was to return to our Ships, and make a Report of what we had seen and done. This Idol is called *Fetizo*; one of our Masters had been there before, and seemed to believe that the Devil entered the Idol sometimes, and from it pronounced his infernal Oracles.

Seven or eight Hours after I was got aboard again, I was taken with a violent Pain in my Head, and a Vomiting, which lasted three Hours; after that I had a sore Throat, insomuch that I could scarce swallow any thing. The Glands were swoln to a high Degree. I felt a great Ebullition of Blood, and an Itching over all my Body; my Gums swelled, and bled mightily; my Teeth shook; and I was so faint, that I could scarce keep upon my Legs. I lost my Stomach, and eat nothing; became

became extreme weak, and had a Fever almost always upon me. My Breath was short and offensive. I was very dry, and to quench my Thirst I often drank Water and Vinegar. Perceiving my Distemper continued the two following Days, and considering that it was caused partly by excessive Cold, and partly by eating salt Meats, which had inflamed my pituitous Glands in such a Manner, that my Phlegm had infected my other Humours, instead of Oxycrate, or Water and Vinegar, I resolved to take some Brandy and Syrup of Liquorish, of which I drank a Spoonful every Hour. I eat no salt Fish, all my Food was fresh. I gargled my Mouth sometimes with Brandy, and sometimes with Vinegar, to strengthen my Gums, and rubbed my Teeth with *Mel Rosat*. The greatest Part of our Ship's Crew was taken with the same Disease as well as myself. I prescribed the same Remedy; and in fifteen Day's Time I cured them and myself too. Our other Ship's Crew were as much troubled with it as our own; their Surgeons did whatever their Art suggested to them, by way of bleeding and purging to cure them; but those Remedies rather increased than helped the Disease; two of their Sailors died of it, and one of their Accountants was likely to die of it, as also several other Mariners, upon which I was sent for to a Consultation. I advised them to do as I had done, and to give over purging and bleeding, which are mortal in that Case.

It was observed, in a very hard Winter, in *France*, that in this Distemper, which some took for the Plague, and was occasioned by the Rigour of the Season, that several Persons, died immediately upon bleeding, which is of no Use in Cacochemical Distempers. Bleeding and purging in such Cases, are good for nothing but to weaken the Sight, to injure the Nerves, to consume the radical Moisture, to diminish the natural Heat; and, in short, to dislodge Mens Souls from their Bodies, sooner than they ought to go; and to fill the Church-yards. However, I would not be understood to speak against bleeding; in some Distempers it is good, as in all hot and plethoric Cases, provided it is not used above twice or thrice. Being once at *Algiers*, several of our Crew were taken with this Disease, which I call the Scurvy; their Glands were so swollen, that one would have thought that they had had a Piece of Flesh in their Throats. They had the same Symptoms as I had on the Coasts of *Zembla*; their Phlegm was sharp and corrosive, it affected their other Humours, and especially the Mass of Blood, as the Pox does, which is a Species of it; and I was forced to deal with my Patients as if they had really been poxed, not with Mercury, which by its cold, moist, and venomous Quality, exasperates the Humours of the Body, and infects the Ventricles of the Brain, instead of cleansing them, causing a Flux at the Mouth, by which, without Danger, one may cure the Itch, but not the Pox; the latter being caused by a cold, moist, venomous Humour, opposite to the Nature of Mercury; and this the Mercurialists cannot deny.

This Scurvy, with which sea-faring Men are so troubled, proceeds from gross Vapours which come from the bad Water they drink, the bad Bread, and the bad Victuals they eat; the melancholy, close, and foul Air which they breathe: And the Infection of Scorbuticks is only to be remedied by Cordials. I could not forbear making this Reflection, which, as it relates to the Distempers incident to such as go the Northern Voyage, I hope it will meet with a favourable Reception.

We staid sixteen Days on that Part of the Coast of *Zembla*, where we at first cast Anchor; where our Crews were all cured, except three or four, who were on the mending hand. Our Masters seeing there was a fair and fresh Gale, resolved to sail to *Weygatz* to fish for Walrus, the Fish by us called a *Sea Horse*. We sailed about six Leagues, then cruised up and down for the Convenience of our fishing. We kept near Shore, and put out our Long-boats, and sent our Harponiers and Fishers in them, eight in each, without reckoning the Rowers. We were three Days a fishing, without catching any thing; at last we spied two large Fish approaching us; one of them had a Horn in his Forehead, that was of

a good Length; our Fishers prepared to seize him; they came within a Stone's Cast of him; our Harponiers threw their Harping-Irons at him, some on one Side, and some on the other, letting loose the Ropes by which they were fastened, and then they got off as nimbly as they could, for fear of the Monster. When our Harponiers and Fishers saw that the Harping-Irons stuck in the Fish, they made towards our Ship's Sides, being sure they had him fast, because he swam above Water, which is a Sign of his Weakness; they drew him nearer and nearer, by the Ropes that were fastened to the Harping-Irons. The Monster endured all without struggling; he had lost so much Blood, he had no Strength left.

The Fishers doing their Office, cut off his Head, which we kept, and flung the Body into the Sea, it being neither good to eat, nor for Oil. People fish for the Sea-Horse, purely for the sake of his Teeth, which are as good as Ivory, and somewhat in a Pound dearer, being whiter than Elephants Teeth, and not so apt to turn yellow as Ivory is. The Horn of the Sea-Horse we took, was ten Feet long, very heavy, winding, and as big as a Man's Arm near the Shoulder; very small and sharp a-top, growing bigger and bigger downwards to the Root. One of our Boats coming too close to the other Fish, thinking to make sure of him, the Monster, as soon as he felt the Iron in his Sides, struck his Tail against the Boat with such Violence, in struggling to free himself, that he over-set the Boat; and the other Boats were so far off, that before they could get thither to take up the Men, two of them were drowned; for whose Deaths we were troubled, the Prize being by no means a Recompence to us for the Loss. The Fish was taken and his Head cut off, as the other was. I saw it had no Horn, but, to make amends, his Teeth were whiter and larger than that of the former.

We cruised up and down four Days before we spied any more Fish, wherefore it was resolved to change our Station. As we were preparing to depart, we saw four of the same Fish, which seemed to be bigger than those we had caught; so we furled our Sails, and made our Harponiers go out in our Long-boats, with the other Fellows that were employed in the Fishery. We took three of them; one escaped us; that which our Fishers brought aboard the Ship I belonged to, had no Horn; neither had the other two any. Twelve Hours after we discovered five Fish more. Our Harponiers and Fishermen got presently into their Boats, to endeavour to take them, especially one of them, which had a Horn in his Head. But though the Fellows did whatever Men could do to catch them, three of them made their Escapes; among which was the horned Fish; and the other two were taken, and had their Heads cut off. Two Hours after we spied three more; our Fishers went out after them; they took one, whose Head was brought aboard us, and was so big, that each of his great Teeth weighed twenty-nine Pounds.

Two Days after we saw seven or eight more of these Fish, and a horned one among them. We put out all our Boats, and our Fishers were so fortunate as to catch five of them, of which one was the horned Fish; it was our Lot to have him; his Horn was like that of the first Fish we caught, but not so heavy or so large, it being scarce seven Feet long. We staid there five Days longer, and seeing nothing all that while, took Advantage of a North-north-east Wind, which sprung up, and sailed towards *Weygatz*, in Hopes to pass those Streights. We kept our Course pretty well for thirty-six Leagues, but then we could go no farther, because of the huge Pieces of Ice that opposed our Passage, and the Mountains of Ice covered with Snow, called *Pater Nosters*, which lie at the Mouth of the *Mare glaciale* (the frozen Sea) and the great Sea of *Tartary*. If a Ship could pass through those dreadful Streights, a Passage to the *East-Indies* would not be above a Quarter so long as it is now, through the *Atlantic Ocean*. For this Reason the Strait is called *Weygatz*, as much as to say, in *English*, a Place one cannot pass through.

28. We came to an Anchor in those Streights, near the

the Shore, on the Eastern Coast of *Zembla*; one of our Seamen landing there, and going about his necessary Occasions, a Bear came behind him, and struck him down with his Paw, and would have certainly destroyed him, had we not perceived it. We immediately fired a Fuzee, and by good Fortune shot him dead, otherwise the poor Sailor would not so easily have got out of his Clutches; he was not so soon eased of his Fears, and the rest of his Comrades were so terrified by his Example, that they durst not venture ashore. A little while after there came three Bears to our Ship-Sides, and strove to come aboard. We cut off the Paws of one of them, with our Hatchets, and shot the other with a Musket. While we were dispatching these two, the third mounted the Side of our Ship, and entered it; a Sailor who stood near him, cried out as if he were about to be devoured; and well he might, for the Bear was at his Heels. We all took up Oars and Pieces of Timber, with which we knocked him down, others shot at him, and two more that were swimming towards us, and killed them. We thought this Destruction would hinder any more from coming towards us, but we were mistaken; for four or five Hours afterwards we discovered eight or ten more upon the Ice, and taking the Water they swam towards us, which obliged us to handle our Arms, and fire at them. We aimed so well that not one of them escaped us. More and more still approaching from the high Mountains, as if they had declared War with us, we resolved to retreat before such a terrible Enemy.

We weighed Anchor, and returned to the Place where we first anchored, on the Western Shore of *Zembla*. After fifteen Hours sail, we got out of the Streight, by favour of an Easterly Wind. We had much ado to avoid running against Rocks of Ice that lay in our Way. At the Mouth of the Streight there is an Island which looks very green, covered with Fir and Juniper-Trees. Some of our Crew went ashore, and saw a sort of Birds there so big they could hardly fly. They came and told us what they had seen; upon which I desired Leave to go ashore, with about forty Men detached from the Crews, to hunt those Birds, and make Discoveries. We killed about sixty of them, some we shot, and some we knocked down with Clubs; their Carcasses were carried aboard with us. The Master of our Ship, called these Birds *Penguins*. They are not much higher than Swans, but a great deal bigger. They are sharp-beaked, of a brown Colour; their Feet are webbed like those of a Goose, and at their Gullet there hangs something like a Bag, about a Foot long; it begins just under their Beaks, and comes down to their Breast, widening as it lengthens; it is not unlike an Urinal, only it is bigger. In this Bag they put their Victuals, and take it out of it when they have a Mind to eat. We were forced to skin them before we could eat them; their Skin being very tough, and we had much ado to pull them and dress them. The Flesh was extraordinary good, it tastes like that of wild Duck, only it is fatter. We eat heartily of it, and had not had such a Feast in all our Voyage. We staid at Anchor off of the Island, where we caught the Penguins two Days, and then a South-east Wind springing up, we weighed again, and held on our Course North-north-west; in a few Hours we got out of the Streight, then the Wind varied, and we coasted it along to a high Cape, where we arrived in about thirty Hours. That Cape is not far from the Place where we saw the *Zemblians* adoring the Sun.

His *Danish* Majesty having commanded our Captains and Officers to bring off some *Zemblians*, if they could possibly, that he might learn of them what was the Growth and Riches of their Country, they dropped Anchor, and resolved to do the utmost to obey the King's Command. As soon as we were ready, some of us went ashore, in our Long-boats, to see what we could discover; there were thirty Persons in all, of whom I made one. We had scarce got over the Ship's Side before we discovered a *Zemblian* in his Canoe, about half a League off Land; who, seeing us make towards him, rowed so nimbly, that it was impossible for us to get up with him; as soon as he set foot ashore, he took up

his Canoe and ran away with it on his Shoulder, so swiftly, that we perceived it would be a difficult Matter for us to overtake him. He held his Dart in his Hand all the while, and yet did not seem to be incumbered in his Flight. We landed, and pursued him towards a Hill which we saw him mount, but he was nimbler than we, and it was in vain for us to follow him, when we had once lost Sight of him. We therefore gave over all Thoughts of taking him, and returned to our Ships, very sorry that we had missed our Prize. As we were sailing back to our Ships we saw two *Zemblians* in a Canoe out at Sea, they spying us rowed toward the Promontories and Rocks, on the Coasts, to hide themselves; but we took to our Oars so briskly, that we came up with them as they were rowing, with all their Might, towards a Rock. We surrounded them, being in four Boats; and when they found they could not escape us, they set up a hideous Howling, the most horrid Noise that ever I heard in my Life. We carried the Men aboard with us, towed the Canoe along, having fastened it to one of our Boats. It was like a Gondola in Form, fifteen or sixteen Feet in Length, and two and an half in Breadth. It was made of the Rib-bones of Fish, very artificially; the Sides were of Fish-Skins sewed together, it all looked like a huge Purse, from one End of the Canoe to the other; the Bottom was of the same Materials with the Sides. The *Zemblians* are shut up in it as high as their Waistes; a drop of Water cannot get into it; and they expose themselves in the foulest Weather, without Fear of foundering. We perceived one of the *Zemblians* we had taken was a Man, and the other a Woman. We made all the friendly Signs we could to them, and caressed them, to find out where their Habitations were, but we could learn nothing.

Upon this thirty of us landed again, took several Days Provisions with us, and went in two Troops, well armed, at about an hundred Yards Distance one from another, to try if we could meet with any more of the Inhabitants. We hid ourselves in Caverns under the Rocks, posting Sentinels near Trees, in open Places, proper for discovering, if any of the *Zemblians* came that Way; where we intended to seize them, and force them to shew us their Habitations. We were two Days before we could hear of any thing to our Purpose; at last our Sentinels gave us Notice that they spied two coming down a Hill, towards the Sea-side. Six of our Company staid in the Cavern; five more, and myself, removed to one a little farther off; and a quarter of an Hour after, these two *Zemblians* passed by our Caverns without perceiving us; one of our Companions shot off a Fuzee, to give Notice to those in the other Cavern, that they were hemmed in between us and them; when they came near their Cavern, they sallied out, and we did the like from ours. The *Savages* being thus trapped, saw it was in vain to fly, so we easily took them. Their Garments were of Penguins-Skins, the Feathers outwards; they had each a Pair of strait Breeches on, which came down no farther than their Knees; a Wastecoath of the same; the Sleeves no longer than to the Elbows. The rest of their Arms was naked; their Wastecoats were picked before and behind; their Caps were in the Form of a Sugar-loaf; their Stockings of the Skin of a Sea-Calf, the Hair outwards. Though their Dress was the same, yet we soon perceived which was the Man, and which the Woman. The Man seemed to be about twenty-four Years of Age, his Face like the rest of those *Savages*, was very broad, his Complexion swarthy, his Nose flat; he had neither Beard on his Chin, or Hair on his Head. At his Back hung a Quiver full of Arrows, and on his Shoulder he carried an Axe; in his other Hand he held a Bow. The Woman was about twenty Years old, her Hair hung down on each Shoulder, twisted in two Locks. She had blew Streaks on her Chin, and four or five on her Forehead; her Ears and Nostrils had Holes bored in them, in which some blue Stones, or Rings of Fish-bone, were hung. Those in her Ears were as big as a Filberd, and those in her Nose as a Pea. She held a Dart in her Hand.

We tried all the Ways we could think of to oblige them

them to shew us where they dwelt, but they would not give us the least Token to direct us; they were as stubborn as those we had taken in the Canoe, and we were forced to carry them on board without making any further Discoveries: When we brought them to their Fellow-Prisoners, we perceived they knew one another, though their Garments were quite different: Those we took in the Canoe being dressed in Sea-Calf Skin Cloaths; and these in *Penguins* Skins. The Hair of the Sea-Calf Skin was put outwards; the Waistcoats of these *Zemblians* were made of two Skins joined together, the Tails dangling, the one before and the other behind, almost as low as their Knees; their Drawers were very strait: The oldest was about fifty Years of Age; he had a round Beard of a Chestnut Colour; he had no Hair on his Head. The Woman that was with him, seemed to be about thirty Years old; her Ears and Nose were bored, as the other Woman's were, and blue Stones hung in them; her Hair was twisted, and dangled like the Country Woman's: They were both extreme ugly, and the Man and Woman shorter and squatter, than either the *Laplanders*, *Samojeds*, *Borandians*, or *Siberians*: They had squeaking Voices, and stinking Breaths, which latter was caused by eating of Flesh without Salt, or Fish dipped in Fish-Oil. They drank nothing but Water. We could never make them eat any Bread, salt Meat, or Fish, nor drink any Beer; they sipped Brandy now-and-then, but hated the Smell of Tobacco: Their Needles, the Points of their Darts and Arrows, and all their other Instruments were made of Fish-bones: The Wood-work of their Bows and Darts was very heavy, of a red-brown Colour; that of their Arrows is much lighter and whiter. When they go, they waddle along like a Duck, and are the most despicable Creatures I ever saw of the Race of Men.

29. The Summer Season being very far advanced, for it was now the latter End of *August*, and the Days growing shorter, we having half an Hour's more Night than we had; the Cold also increasing, and all our Companions longing to see their own Country again, we weighed Anchor, the Wind at North-north-east, and held our Course South-west. We sailed before the Wind several Hours, and then veered to the South-south-east, which obliged us to make our Way northward, to endeavour to reach some Shore. We coasted along with a South-south-east Gale till we came to *Greenland*, where the Wind shifted again to West-south-west, and forced us to drop Anchor near a Fleet of *French* and *Dutch* Ships that were come thither a fishing; the Whale-fishery being the Trade of that Place. The Ships did not lie far off Shore, for the Whale, as well as the Sea-horse, is caught near Land; they are taken after the same manner as we took the Sea-horses, and when they are caught they are cut to Pieces, and the Grease taken out of them; which is put into an huge Kettle, and melted to Oil; near some Huts which the Fishermen built for their Conveniency along the Sea Shore. It was very well for our *Zemblians*, that we came where there was some Whale-oil to be had: They had lost their Stomachs, and could eat nothing for want of it; they could get nothing down unless it was soaked in that Oil; and all our Store was out.

I saw a Whale dressed that had no less than three hundred and fifty Pound-weight of Bone in her fit for Bodice-makers, besides the Oil that came out of her Grease. We staid but two Days in *Greenland*. The Wind springing up North-easterly we weighed Anchor, and proceeded on our Voyage homewards. We had a fair Gale all that Day and the following Night till five o'Clock the next Morning, when we saw three Suns in the Heavens one above the other; these Meteors were so like the Sun in Brightness that we could not distinguish the one from the other; we also perceived foul Weather gathering from the southward, and soon after we were overtaken by a violent Storm, which obliged us to furl most of our Sails, and fire a Gun, for a Signal to our Company of the Danger we were in, thereby warning them to do as we had done. We gave ourselves over for lost, and entirely submitted to the Will of Heaven; three Hours after it blew terribly South-south-east; it thundered with louder Claps than ever I heard it before.

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The Sea was so rough, and our Ship so tossed that we could only carry our Mizzen-sail; the Yard lowered almost to the Ship's Deck; two Sailors were forced to tug at the Oar with Ropes, we having much to do to manage the Ship. We sailed thus all that Day, and the next Night the Wind continuing as stiff as at first, our Captain commanded one of the Men to get upon the Main-top, to see if he could spy Land, and discover whereabouts we were: The Sailor looking round him, cried out he saw a great Fire; our Master said it was *Mount Hæcla* in *Iceland*, a Mountain that burns like *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*. The Weather being still foul, we resolved to make Land as fast as we could, though we had nothing to do there; we were afraid to keep out to Sea, our Ships having suffered much by the Storm. We arrived near the Shore about Night, and as we lay by, heard dreadful Noises at Land; they were like the Fire of several Cannons, after which we saw Flames issue out of *Mount Hæcla* in abundance. We found so many Rocks on the Coast of this Isle, and the Sea was so rough, that we did not care to venture nearer the Land than a League; but our Pilot assuring us he understood the Coasts well, we made into *Cape Heri*, where by the Skill and Care of the Pilot we anchored in Safety. One of our Company broke her Beakhead against a Rock, and had like to have split; the other received no more Damage than we did. We immediately went ashore; our Master, Supercargo, myself, and fifteen of our Crew, the Master and Merchants of the other Ships accompanying us.

We landed at a Village called *Heri*, and hence we went to *Kirkebar*, a little City or large Town of *Iceland*, where we met eight or nine *Danish* Merchants; who were surprized to see us there. They entertained us very cordially, and told us, that the Day before the whole Island shook so violently that they thought they should be all swallowed up. They gave us good Wine, good Bread, and good fresh Meat. There is Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle in this Island, which abounds in rich Pastures; and the Beasts that feed on them delight so much in *Caitophe* Herb, that the Inhabitants are forced to stint them to such a Measure, or they would eat till they burst; which they would certainly do if they were suffered to eat their Fill, as in other Countries.

30. Our Captain, Supercargo, and the others of our Company, gave the chief Merchant at *Kirkebar* an Intimation, that they would fain see what was to be seen in the Island that was rare. The Merchant presently ordered Horses to be got ready for all of us that were willing to go far into the Country: I said I would make one, and we mounted eight in all; the rest, not having so much Curiosity as we, chose rather to stay and drink at this Merchant's. The Merchant sent one of his Servants and two Islanders along with us, to be our Guides, and furnished us with a Horse-load of Provisions. We travelled two Days together in Bye-ways very difficult to pass, rugged, and unfrequented: At last we came near *Mount Hæcla*; five Miles off it we found the Ground strewn with Ashes and Pumice-stones; over which we passed, by the Foot of the Mountain. The Weather was very serene and calm, and we saw neither Fire nor Flames come out of the Mountain: Upon this we resolved to go up to the Top; but our Guides informed us that, if we went farther, we should be apt to fall into Pits of fiery Fumes, and it was impossible to pull us out. Thus all our Company except myself declared against proceeding. I told them if they would stay for me, I would go up myself: They promised they would; so I alighted, and prepared to ascend the Mountain. One of the *Danish* Merchants whom we met at *Kirkebar*, and who accompanied us out of Curiosity, said he would go along with me.

We gave our Horses to our Guides, who staid behind with the others who came out with us: We footed it over Ashes and Pumice-stones, and sometimes we were up to the Calves of our Legs in Ashes, and yet we still went forward, as we resolved to reach the Top of *Hæcla*. We had not gone far before we espied a Flight of Crows and Vultures, that had their Nests in the Top of the Mountain: We ascended half a League, and then felt the Ground

Ground shake under us; we also heard such a terrible Noise in the Bowels of the Earth, that it seemed as if it would burst open: At the same time there appeared, on all Sides, Chinks; out of which there issued bluish Flames, which smelt like the Stench of burning Brimstone. This Sight made us turn back, for fear of being consumed to Ashes by them. We had scarce got down thirty Yards, before a black, smoky Cloud ascended out of the Mountain, so that it darkened the Light of the Sun, and covered us so that we could not see one another; our Fears grew upon us every Step we took; for behind us came Flames of Fire, Showers of Ashes, and Pumice-stones, which fell as thick as Hail; and this dreadful Storm was attended with horrible Noises, which made us cry out in a frightful Manner, fancying that the infernal Furies were coming out of the Mountain to devour us; besides, we expected every Moment that the Earth should open, and swallow us up, which added Wings to our Flight, and we ran as fast as we could, to escape the Danger, to which our idle and ridiculous Curiosity had exposed us.

Fear made us so nimble, that in a Quarter of an Hour we descended so much of the Mountain as we were a full Hour in ascending. When our Companions perceived us come down so fast upon them, they burst out a laughing at us, and their Laughter grew louder when they saw us in such a Pickle, as black as if we had been plunged in Soot; but their Mirth abated as soon as we came nearer them and dropped down dead, for so they thought us, we being neither able to stir nor speak. They rubbed our Temples, Nostrils, and Hands with Vinegar, and did what they could to bring us to our Senses again: It was not long before we came to ourselves; they gave us a good Cup of Canary; and when we recovered Strength, we told them what had happened to us; and they rejoiced that we came off so well. We all left the Foot of the Mountain, to go to see two Fountains ten or twelve Miles off; the one is always boiling, and the other always so cold that it turned every Thing that was put into it to Iron. About a hundred Yards off the Foot of the Mountain we found a Pumice-Stone as big as a Wine-Hogshead, which had lately been cast out of *Hæcla*. Our Guides seeing that we were astonished at the Bigness of the Stone, said, they had seen several much bigger than that, which ten Men could not stir; and that instead of Flames, Ashes, and Pumice-Stones, there sometimes issued out Floods of Water, as out of Spouts; sometimes nothing but Flames, sometimes nothing but Ashes, and sometimes nothing but Stones. After three Hours riding we drew near to the Fountains; they are about thirty Yards Distance from each other: We came to the cold one first, and put in a little Cane I had in my Hand, when I took it out again I was surprized to see the End of it which had touched the Bottom, metamorphosed into Iron, and weighing as heavy as that Metal.

From thence we went to the boiling Fountain. At ten Yards Distance from it we saw a Parcel of Animals as big as Ducks, most of them red, which were frisking about and playing together. We stood looking on them awhile, pleased with the Novelty of the Sight; when we came nearer to the Place we saw nothing, and when we were gone they appeared playing and frisking, as before. They do so when they see no-body, but if any body appears they plunge down to the Bottom of the Fountain, which, as our Guides informed us, is sixty Fathoms deep. From the boiling Fountain we travelled towards the Seaside, and arriving within half a League of it, we heard Noises like the Voices of Persons complaining. Our ignorant Guides, Natives of the County, would fain have persuaded us that these Noises were the Lamentations of the Damned whom the Devil tormented, and that when he had roasted them in the Flames of *Hæcla*, he cooled them in the Ice of the Coasts. Though we did not give much Credit to this *Iceland* Tradition, we resolved to see those Seas of Ice which bound that Part of the Island and no other. When we arrived at the Coast, I found that those imaginary Complaints were occasioned only by the Agitation of the Wind and Water, the Ice beating against it, and the Ice against the Rocks. This Ice, say

our Guides, comes on their Coasts in *June*, and goes away the fifteenth of *September*.

It was the thirteenth when we were there; and having seen all that was worth seeing, we returned to *Kirkebar*, where we arrived three Days after; we staid a few Hours in Town, and then went aboard; where we found the Governor of the Isle accompanied by the Bishop of *Sceltbolt*, who came to see our Ships, and discourse with us, understanding we had been at *Zembla*. The Islanders for the most part dwell in Caverns cut out of Rocks, the rest live in Huts built after the Manner of those in *Lapland*, some with Fish-bones, and others with Wood covered with Turf: They and their Cattle lie under the same Roof: They are all ugly, both Men and Women; they are swarthy, and dressed like the *Norwegians*; their Shifts and Smocks are made of Packing-Cloth, or Sarplier; and some few wear Coats made of Sea-Calf-Skins, with the Hair outward. They live very plainly, as do all the Nations of the North; they lie on Hay or Straw in their Cloaths with Skins upon them, and make but one Bed for the whole Family. All their Work is fishing; they are nasty and brutal; they are almost all of them Wizards or Witches. They worship the Devil by the Name of *Kobald*: It is said he often appears to them under a human Figure. They have also a Sort of Household God or Idol cut out of a Piece of Wood with a Knife, very hideous to look on, which they adore privately, and hide for fear of the *Lutheran* Priests, who teach them as they can, the Christian Faith, and endeavour to deliver them from the Bondage of Satan: But these *Barbarians* were fonder of their diabolical Idol, and more constant to him than some Christians to the Profession of their most holy Religion. Though the Fields in *Iceland* look fair, and there is Plenty of Pasture, no Wheat grows there, nor any other Grain fit to make Bread with; the Cold is so extreme it kills the Seed, or green Corn, by a North-east Wind; which is very violent in those Parts.

31. Three Days after our Return from our Journey to *Mount Hæcla*, and that we were a Ship-board, we took the Opportunity of a North Wind which stood fair for us, weighed Anchor and set sail, holding our Course South-south-east. We sailed before the Wind several Days, and then it blowing a very stiff Gale, it drove us on the Coast of *Norway*, where we made the Promontory of *Talso*, a little City built on an Eminence four Leagues from the Sea, there is a fine Castle in it; and we rejoiced that we were so near Land, hoping that we should soon see an End of our Voyage. We coasted along Shore about twelve Hours, and then the Wind changed with the Moon, which obliged us to keep out to Sea, for fear of being driven back; notwithstanding our Caution, it blew so hard that we were forced to drive before the Wind forty Leagues backward.

Then the Weather grew a little more calm; soon after that, we had not Wind enough in our Sails to stir us. Nothing is so tedious to a Sailor as a Calm, especially upon a long Voyage, when he has been out a considerable Time, and is impatient to reach home; a Storm would be more welcome to him: He cannot tell how to employ his Time, all his Thoughts run upon his Country, made dearer to him by many Months Absence; and his Impatience to see it, torments him more under the Delay of a Calm, than the Fear of Shipwreck in a Tempest. In about two Hours we had a Water-Cloud to the South-west; our Mariners were presently struck with a dreadful Consternation, apprehending it would fall upon us. We were obliged to furl all our Sails, and lower our Yards down a Port, fearing it would pour upon us; but it did not come nearer than two Leagues; we saw it fall at about that Distance. These Clouds are in Form like a black Column or Pillar, which appears in the Heavens over the Sea; and if by Chance they fall on Ships, they sink them to the Bottom, with the Flood of Water, which pours down from them like Cataracts, especially if it chance to fall perpendicularly. The Wind springing North-north-east, we proceeded on our Voyage, so happily, that in ten Days Time we arrived at *Copenhagen*; where, having saluted the Castle, we dropped Anchor, put out our Boat, and went to Shore.

When

When we entered the City, his Majesty being informed that we had brought some *Zemblians* with us, he commanded us to bring them to Court; which we did, every body gazing at them as if they had been born in another World. The King himself admired the Oddness of their Drefs, and the Strangeness of their Figures. He ordered the Steward of his Household to give Directions that they might be carefully kept and provided for, and be taught the *Danish* Language, hoping he might then get something out of them, relating to their Country, that would be beneficial to his own. He commanded us to give him an Account of the several Places we had been at; of the Manners of the People, and their Way of living. We gave his Majesty full Satisfaction in all his Demands, and went then to wait upon our Owners, to inform them what Markets we had met with, and what Returns we had brought them home; which proved mightily to their Advantage and Content. Our Ships were ordered up to *Christian Haven*, to be unladen, which was done in two Days time. One of the chief Merchants of the Company trading to the North, presented the King in the Name of the rest, with the two Sea Horns, which we brought home with us. He received them as Rarities, that were of inestimable Price, believing they were really Unicorns-Horns, of which abundance of Authors have written, and pretended there is a great Virtue in them. The King commanded they should be deposited in the Treasury Chamber, and promised to grant the Company, in return, as many Privileges as it was in the Power of his Prerogative to bestow on them. The Merchant who presented the Horns, was rewarded with a Chain of Gold, with his Majesty's Picture hanging to it; and had a Licence to trade, Custom-free, for a certain Term of Years.

32. As I have mentioned the Unicorn, whose Horn is so much spoken of, and valued for the Virtues that are attributed to it, I shall take this Occasion to speak my Thoughts of this Matter, after I have given the Reader an Account of the Sentiments of others. It is very difficult to decide what Creature it is which is properly the Unicorn. There are several Animals, called by the *Greeks*, *Monoceros*, and by the *Latins*, *Unicornu*. Among the four-footed Beasts, several wild Asses, and wild Bulls, particularly the Bull of *Florida*. Among Serpents, it is the horned Asp, and the red Salamander. Among Fish, the Sea-horse, and many more, whose Names are unknown to *Europeans*. There are some Fowl, and even some Insects, that have been thought to be Unicorns; such as the *Flemish* and *English* Beetle, both which are frequently mentioned by Naturalists; and besides these, other Animals of different kinds in the *Indies* have been, by some, fancied to be the Creature, called by the *Latins*, *Unicornu*. Some Authors will have it to be a Land-beast; others a Water-Animal; and some again an amphibious Creature, that lives either on Land or in Water.

Pliny says, the Unicorn is like a Bull, speckled with white Spots; her Hoof hard, and closed like a Horse's. *Munster* writes, that it resembles a Colt of three Years old, of the Colour of a Weazel; her Head like a Stag's; her Legs and Feet little, and her Horn growing out in the Middle of her Forehead, about two Cubits long. *Marco Paulo*, the *Venetian*, says, she resembles an Elephant, only she is something less; that her Colour is the same, and also her Shape or Form, excepting her Tail, which is like a Bull's; and her Head like a Hog's, but so heavy, that she cannot hold it up; this evidently is the *Rinoceros*. *Philostorgius* writes, that her Head is like a Dragon's; that in the Midst of her Forehead, her Horn grows out of an indifferent Size, resembling that of a Snail; that she has a Beard like a Goat; a long Neck; her Feet like those of a Lion, and the rest of her Body much like that of a Stag, excepting her Skin, which is like a Snake's. *Heliodorus* adds, that she is so nimble a Beast, the Hunters can never come at her. *Louis Paris* will have it, that sometimes she is taken, and that her Food, afterwards, is Pease, Lentils, and Beans; that she is not much bigger than a large Greyhound, but is not of so slender a make; her Skin, in Colour, like a

Castor's, only sleek; her Neck small, but long; and her Feet cloven, like a Stag's; her Tail short; her Muzzle like a Cow's; her Eyes great; her Ears little; and between them grows her Horn, about a Foot long.

Thevet affirms, that the Unicorn is as big as a Bull-Calf six Months old, that her Legs and Feet resemble those of an Ass; her Ears like a Rain-Deer's, and that her Horn grows up strait on the Top of her Head. *Louis de Bartheme* imagines the Unicorn is like a Bay Horse, cloven footed; and that her Horn grows in the middle of her Forehead. Some say, that the *Rinoceros* is the Unicorn; *Kircher*, that it is the Sea-Horse, which he also calls *Lamia*; wherein he is very much mistaken; for the *Lamia* is another Sort of Fish, called by the *English* *Rahen*, of which the Inhabitants of *Martinico*, *Guardaloupe*, *St. Christophers*, and the other *American* Islands, stand in great fear; for they are in danger of being devoured by them, as often as they bathe in the Sea.

Authors differ widely about the Size and Shape of this Horn. *Albertus* says, that at the Bottom, or Root, it is as broad as one's Hand; that from thence it rises taper to a Point, and that it is ten Foot long. *Munster* will have it only three Cubits in length, which is only four Feet and a half. *Marco Paulo* shortens it to less than two Foot. *Paradis* reduces it to a Foot and a half. *Nicolaus Venetus* brings it down to a Foot: And the famous *Jerom Cardan* will have it the length but of three Inches. We find as great or greater Differences as to Colour. *Pliny* is very clear that the Unicorn's Horn is black. *Solinus* says it is of a purple Colour. *Paradis* says it is red, or of a reddish yellow. *Albertus Magnus* thinks it may be like a Stag's Horn: But other Writers are very positive that it is much whiter than any Ivory. We are likewise assured, by some, that it is quite strait and smooth; others persuade us, that it is finely wreathed, and shines as if it was polished; neither are there Authorities wanting to prove, that some are very finely spotted with brown and black, but they do not tell us where. When I reflect on the several Opinions of those who have written of the Unicorn, and how they differ from one another, I sometimes believe that each of them spoke after his own Invention, to raise the Admiration of the Reader.

As for the imaginary Virtues of the Unicorn's Horn, they are consequently fictitious; but supposing that what has been pretended to be the true Horn was really such, I will venture to affirm, there is no more Virtue in it than in that of a Stag, a Goat, or Elephant's Tooth, which is made use of to stop the spitting of Blood and a Bloody-flux, which is done by the astringent Quality of these Horns, and that cannot so properly be called a Virtue as a Malignity. The Unicorn's Horn, or what has been said to be so, has neither Smell nor Taste, and of course can have nothing in it of such cordial Virtue as is pretended.

Since my Voyage to the North I have looked over several Charts drawn by the most celebrated Geographers, and I wonder to see they placed *Zembla* no farther to the East-north-east of *Lapland*. It is more to the Northward than they make it. They are also in the wrong to divide it from the Continent, and to place it twelve hundred Leagues from *Greenland*, as many of them do; for indeed it is contiguous with it. The Coasts of *Greenland* join to those of *Zembla*; and were it not for the prodigious Snows that fall there, and the Rigour of the Season, which render the Place uninhabitable, one might easily go from *Greenland* to *Zembla* by Land, and from *Zembla* passing the *Pater Nosters*, a Ridge of vast Mountains, enter *Samojeda*, and thence either into the *Great Tartary* or *Muscovy*.

I admired also, that they did not make the Streights, called *Weygatz*, above ten *French* Leagues long; whereas they are five and thirty *German* Leagues in length. They shew by their Charts that Ships may by that Streight enter the great Sea of *Tartary*; which, whatever they pretend to, is not to be done. Some have said, that in the Days of Prince *Maurice* a Ship passed the Streights of *Weygatz*, and sailed into the *Tartarian* Sea, which is a plain

plain Falsity, as I shall make appear. This Streight, as I have said, is bounded by the *Pater Noster* Mountains, the least of which is half a League high; and it is agreed, on all Hands, that they are of Ice which never melts. I am of the same Opinion, having been in the Streights near those Mountains in the Dog-Days, the hottest Season of the whole Year, and was as cold then as ever I was in *France* in the coldest Winter; which Season lasts there all the Year.

33. The many curious Particulars contained in these Voyages and Travels may very well atone for some Deficiencies and Mistakes in them. It appears from hence, that there are no Countries in the World through which Men travel with more Expedition than in those frozen Climates, where one would imagine that Men could scarce travel at all; and this induces one to wonder, that they have not been more thoroughly and effectually examined, especially considering with how great Ease this might be done, if the Court of *Russia* interested itself in the Matter. Our Author appears to be a Man of great Sincerity, and relates every thing he saw distinctly; and at the same time tells us his Sentiments of the Matter. The Account he has given us of *Russia* is prior in Point of Time to the Reign of *Peter the Great*; who, in some measure, changed the Nature of his Subjects: But, however, as this has been done very slowly, there is good reason to believe, that with respect to the Bulk of the People in the distant Provinces of the *Russian* Empire, they are not much altered from what they were. It is not easy to guess what part of *Circassia* he means, when he speaks of the Inhabitants of it in the manner he does; and for my own Part, I am apt to think he calls the People of the *Ukrain*, *Circassians*; and my Reason for thinking so is, that both in their Language and in that of the *Poles*, the Word *Cossack* signifies a regular Soldier, a Man trained to War, and in constant Pay. It is very true, that we now consider the *Cossacks* as a Nation, and not as a Militia; and this with Propriety enough, because the *Poles* having given that Country to their Soldiers, they still retain the Name of *Cossacks*. Though they are no longer regular Troops.

By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that it was breaking through their military Tenures, and endeavouring to make these People pay a rack Rent for their Lands, that induced them to rebel against the *Poles*, and to put themselves under the Protection of the Czar. His Account of *Siberia* is very entertaining and curious, and the *Tinquises* he speaks of are the Inhabitants of the very Extremity of *Asia*, towards the Sea of *Japon*, a very brave, though a very barbarous Nation, with whom the *Muscovites* have been long at War, but whom hitherto they could never subdue. The manner in which the Exiles live in that dreadful Country, is also very well and very truly described. The Mines that have been since discovered there, have indeed furnished another and

more laborious kind of Employment. But the shooting wild Beasts and collecting their Furs, still continues to be the principal Business of the unhappy Persons who are banished thither; and these are not only Men of as great Rank as any this Gentleman mentions, but some also of much superior Quality; such as Prince *Menzicoff*, the Duke of *Courland*, the High Chancellor *Osterman*, whom we remember sent into those Desarts as Victims of State rather than Criminals.

The Account he gives us of *Nova Zembla* is very curious and circumstantial; and what he says about the Errors in the Maps published before his time may be very just, but we have had better since that. I cannot, by any Means agree, that this Country is contiguous with that of *Spitzbergen* or *Greenland*, though it may be true, that it extends itself farther to the North than is generally imagined: Neither do I think that the Seas beyond this Country, are always choaked up with Ice; but if a Passage is to be sought this way, my Opinion is, that instead of searching the Coasts of *Zembla*, the shorter and better Method would be to make the South Point of *Greenland*, and then to steer North-east, into as high a Latitude as should be judged convenient; Experience having shewn that the Weather is not more rigorous, or the Ice more troublesome, the farther People sail towards the Pole.

What he says concerning Unicorns and their Horns, seems rather calculated to display his Learning than for any other Purpose; since it is now universally agreed, that the Horns which are shewn in *Europe* under this Title are the very Horns he speaks of, and are taken from the Heads of Fish called Sea-Unicorns; but which, in reality, are a kind of Sword-Fish. The Shape of their Body is like a Seal, but the under Fins and the Tail resemble those of a Whale. They swim in Shoals, and generally carry their Horns out of Water, but then they swim so swiftly, that they are very seldom taken; there is another kind of Sword-Fish, which may be also stiled a Unicorn, but is generally called a Saw-Fish, because the Bone is filled with Teeth or Pegs from the Root to the Top. It was formerly thought that these Horns had great Virtue; but Experience has shewn, that they are of no farther Use in Physic than as Absorbents; and in this respect Oyster-shells or Crabs-eyes do as well. There is one Observation more that may be made on this Section worth Notice, and that is, the Possibility of making such Voyages for Discovery, they bearing their own Expences, as this plainly did; and a great deal of public Spirit there would be in sending a Ship or two now and then to trade in this way, which sooner or later, would produce us more Advantages than we are able to foresee: Of this, at least, we are certain, that by Voyages of this kind we established a Trade to *Archangel*, which was the Foundation of our *Russia* Company; but it is now time to proceed to Countries better known, and into Climates more agreeable than those of which hitherto we have been speaking.

SECTION II.

A succinct and impartial Account of the Kingdom of SWEDEN, with respect to its Climate, Soil and Produce ; as also of the Temper, Genius, Customs, Policy, Form of Government, Force, and Trade of its Inhabitants.

Collected from the Writings of an *English* Minister residing there.

1. *A short but necessary Introduction to the subsequent Section.* 2. *A clear and comprehensive View of the Kingdom of Sweden and Duchy of Finland ; the Soil, Climate, Woods, Lake, Rivers, Produce, Birds, Beasts and Fish found therein.* 3. *An Account of the Mines in Sweden, their Value, Methods of working them ; as also of the Weather and Seasons of the Year in Sweden.* 4. *A more particular Account of the several Provinces and Cities of this Kingdom, especially that of Stockholm.* 5. *A distinct and copious Detail of the Courts of Justice, Laws, and Domestic Government, as administered in the Time of Charles XI.* 6. *The Temper, Genius, Manners, Customs and way of living of the People in that Country.* 7. *A succinct View of the Ecclesiastical State of Sweden ; the Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Deaneries, Parochial Benefices, Number and Maintenance of the Clergy.* 8. *The Constitution, Government and Revenues of the Kingdom.* 9. *A curious and circumstantial Relation of the Military Establishment and Force of the Kingdom of Sweden, the only Country in which a large standing Army is kept up, without any Danger to the Liberties of the People.* 10. *Of their Trade more particularly with England, its Advantages and Disadvantages, and some particular Grievances to which Merchants are subject in that Country.* 11. *A few additional Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section, and on the Alterations which have since happened in the Government of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants.*

1. **T**HE short Stay that Travellers make in Countries through which they pass, very seldom affords them an Opportunity of looking into the Temper, Genius and Customs, much less into the Religion, Laws and Government of the People with whom they converse ; which is the Reason that in most Books of Travels there are a kind of Blanks left for these important Passages ; or if they are filled up, it is done at random, according to the good or bad Impressions of the Author, received from the particular Usage he met with, or from hearsay : So that if either our Traveller has a bad Taste, or has the ill Luck to keep indifferent Company ; we, who are his Readers, are sure to feel the Effects of it, and to have all Things imposed upon us, under the fair and specious Pretence of a clear and candid Relation of the naked Truth.

But to prevent the bad Effects of this, and to provide against both Evils ; that is to say, the want of those Informations, which a judicious Peruser would be most desirous of finding ; and to secure him from meeting with hasty or false Representations in their Stead, we have thought it our Duty in respect of the northern Kingdoms ; the Constitutions of which are best worth our Knowledge, and yet are very superficially treated in most Books of Travels, to have recourse to Authors of known Veracity and Experience, who have had Leisure and Opportunity to consider the Subjects of which they wrote, and a sincere Intention to treat them as they ought to be treated. By this means the Defects will be supplied which occur in the subsequent Travels ; and the Reader will be enabled to judge, with critical Exactness, of the Truth or Falsity of the Remarks and Observations those Writers make ; a farther Advantage, because these Countries lie at too great a Distance to be frequently visited, and yet near enough for us to be considerably affected by whatever Revolutions happen in them, with respect either to their Systems of Politics or Government. We will begin with *Sweden*, a Country always famous for the Bravery of its Inhabitants, and perhaps by a natural Consequence, no less famous for its Conquests Abroad and Changes at Home, than which no Nation of its natural Force has either atchieved or suffered greater.

The following Remarks were made by a Minister of our own, who resided there on the Part of King *William* in the Reign of *Charles XI.* a Man in all Respects qualified for his Ministry in that Country, as having a solid Understanding, great Uprightness of Heart, and a hearty

Desire to serve both Nations. In order to this, he thought no Method so proper, as that of inquiring strictly, and forming an impartial Notion of the Manners, Laws and Policy of the People amongst whom he resided. It was with this View that he undertook the composing that Work, the most curious and useful Parts of which we have digested into this Section ; and as the Nation, to whom it relates, are very steady in their Tempers, and are not much affected in their Customs by their Commerce with other Nations ; it is like to preserve its Character for Truth, as long as they preserve theirs as a People. Thus much by way of Introduction ; let us now proceed to this worthy Person's Account, for the most part in his own Words.

2. The Kingdom of *Sweden* and Dukedom of *Finland* have the *Baltic Sea* on the South, the unpassable Mountains of *Norway* on the West, *Lapland* on the North, and *Muscovy* on the East ; being extended from 56 to 69 Degrees of northern Latitude, and from 32 to 55 Degrees in Longitude, and consequently are more than twice as big as the Kingdom of *France* ; but the Abatements that must be made for several Seas and many great Lakes, some whereof are above eighty *English* Miles long and twenty broad ; as also for Rocks, Woods, Heaths, and Morasses that cover much of these Countries, will reduce the habitable Part to a very small Portion comparatively to the Extent of the Whole. The Soil, in Places capable of cultivating, is tolerably fruitful ; though seldom above half a Foot deep, and therefore more easily ploughed, as it frequently is by one Maid and an Ox, and is generally best where there is least of it, that is, in the little Spaces betwixt the Rocks ; and frequently the barren Lands are enriched with Ashes of Trees growing on the Places, which are burnt, and the Seeds baked amongst the Ashes produce a plentiful Crop without further Cultivation.

This Practice is so antient, that their Writers derive the Name of *Sweden* from a Word in their Language that expresses it ; but the Danger of destroying the Woods has of late occasioned some Laws to limit that Custom. If the Inhabitants were industrious above what Necessity forces them to, they might at least have Corn sufficient of their own ; but as Things are managed, they cannot subsist without great Importations of all sorts of Grain from the Country of *Leifland*, and other Parts of *Germany* adjacent to the *Baltic Sea*. And notwithstanding these Supplies, the poorest Sort, in many Places remote from Traffic, are forced to grind the Bark of Trees to mix with their Corn, and make Bread, of which they have not always plenty.

The Cattle, as in all other northern Countries, are generally of a very small Size; neither can the Breed be bettered by bringing in larger from Abroad, which soon degenerate; because in Summer the Grass is less nourishing than in the Places from whence they come, and in Winter they are half starved for want of Fodder of all Kinds, which often falls so very short that they are forced to unthatch their Houses, to keep a Part of their Cattle alive. Their Sheep bear a very coarse Wool, only fit to make cloathing for the Peasants. The Horses, especially the finest, though small, are hardy, vigorous, strong, sure-footed, and nimble Trotters; which is of great Use to them, because of the Length of their Winters, and their Fitness for Sleds, which is the only Carriage in that Season; and the Soldiers pretend, that in War they are not only able to resist, but to break a Body of the best *German* Horse. Of wild Beasts, which are very plentiful in those Parts, Elks, Deer, and Hares, are hunted for their Flesh; as also together with Wolves, Foxes, wild Cats, &c. for their Furs and Hides.

They hunt with less Ceremony than elsewhere is used, taking all Advantages to shoot their Game, at which they are generally dextrous: Parks there are but few, and meanly stocked, the Charge of feeding Deer all Winter exceeding the Profit, and abating the Pleasure of them. There are no Rabbits in these Countries but what are brought in for Curiosity, and kept tame. In Winter Foxes and Squirrels somewhat change Colour, and become greyish; but Hares turn white as Snow. Fowl, both wild and tame, are very plentiful, and good in their Kind, except Sea-Fowl, which feed and taste of Fish; the most common are the Orras and Keders, the former of the Bigness of a Hen, the other of a Turkey: As also Partridges, and a Bird somewhat resembling them, called *Yerpers*. There are taken in Winter great Numbers of small Birds, as Thrushes, Blackbirds, and Sydensewans, the last of the Bigness of Fieldfares, but better Meat; supposed to come from *Lapland* or yet farther North, and have their Name from the Beautifullness of their Feathers, some of which are tipped at the Point with Scarlet: Pigeons there are, those of the Woods very scarce, because of the Hawks; and of the House Pigeons none but what are kept tame, because their Food is scarce, and the Danger of the Hawks very great if they go abroad. Eagles, Hawks, and other rapacious Fowl, abound most in the northern and desert Parts, whither Nature seems to call them, as may be gathered from a Story credibly related of a large Hawk shot some Years ago in the northern Parts of *Finland*, which had on one Leg a small Piece of Gold with this Inscription *Je suis au Roy*, on the other, one of Silver, with these Words, *Duc de Chevereuse me garde*.

The chiefest Lakes in *Sweden* are, the *Vetter*, the *Wenner*, and *Waster*; the first in *Ostrogothia*, remarkable for its foretelling of Storms by a continual thundering Noise the Day before in that Quarter whence they arise; as also for sudden breaking of the Ice on it, which sometimes surprises Travellers, and in half an Hour becomes navigable; for its great Depth, in some Places above three Hundred Fathom, though no Part of the *Baltic Sea* exceeds fifty; it supplies the *Motala*, which runs through *Norcopingb*, where it has a Fall of about 30 Foot; and some Winters is so choaked up with Ice, that for many Hours no Water passes. The second is in *Westrogothia*, from which issues the River *Elve*, that falling down a Rock near sixty Foot, passes by *Gottenburgh*. The third empties itself near *Stockholm*, furnishing one Side of the Town with fresh Water, as the Sea does the other with salt. There are abundance of other Lakes, whereof many, like Ponds, have no Vents, and are called *In-Seas*; are not ill stored with Variety of Fish; Salmon, Pike, Tench, Perch, Eels, and many other Sorts unknown elsewhere, of which the most plentiful is the Streamling, a Fish less than a Pilcher, taken in great Quantities, and salted in Barrels, and distributed over all the Country.

Besides the North Bottom or Bay that separates *Sweden* and *Finland*, abounds with Seals, of which a considerable Quantity of Train-Oil is made and exported; and in the Lakes in *Finland* are vast Quantities of Pikes, which be-

ing taken are salted, dried, and sold at very cheap Rates. These Lakes are of great Use for the Conveyance of Carriages, both in Summer by Boats, and by Sleds in Winter; and among them, and on the Sea-Coasts, are almost innumerable Islands of different Sizes; whereof there are, in *Sweden*, above six thousand that are inhabited; the rest are either bare Rocks, or covered with Wood; *Gotland*, *Oland*, and *Aland*, are Isles of large Extent, one being sixty Miles long, and the other two little less: Their Woods and vast Forests, overspread much of the Country, and are for the most part of Pines, Fir, Beech, Birch, Alder, Juniper, and some Oak, especially in the Province of *Bleking*, the Trees growing in most Places so close together, and lying to rot where they fall, that the Woods are scarce passable: These afford a plentiful and cheap Firing, and being generally very strait and tall are easily convertible into Timber fit for all Uses. In the Parts near the Mines, the Woods are much destroyed; but that Want is so well supplied from distant Places, by the Convenience of Rivers and Winter Carriages, that they have Charcoal above six times as cheap as in *England*, though indeed from the manner of making, it is not so good.

3. Of Mines in *Sweden*: There is one of Silver, into which Workmen are let down in Baskets to the first Floor, which is one hundred and fifty Fathoms under Ground. The Roof there is as high as a Church, supported by vast Arches of Ore. The next Descent is by Ladders and Baskets to the lowest Mine, above forty Fathoms, where they now work. They have no Records so antient as the first Discovery either of this, or the Copper Mines, which must needs have been the Work of many Ages. The Ore seldom yields above four *per Cent*. and requires great Pains to refine it. They are also at the Charge of a Water-mill to drain the Mine, and have the Benefit of another that draws up the Ore. It yearly produces about twenty thousand Crowns of fine Silver, of which the King has the Pre-emption, paying only one fourth less than the real Value.

The Copper Mine is about eighty Fathom deep, of great Extent, but subject to Damage by the Falling in of the Roof; yet that is sometimes recompensed by the Abundance of Ore that the ruined Pillars yield, though most commonly the Loss in that Case is very great: The Occasion of which Falls is attributed to the throwing the Earth and Stones brought out upon the Ground over the Mine, by which the Pillars become overcharged, and give way; and the Reason of this is said to be, that the Profit arising to those that are concerned is so little that they are not able to carry it off as they ought; and unless the King abates a considerable Part of the Profit arising to the Crown from this Mine, it is believed it will, in a few Years, be at a Stand, especially if the Designs of making Copper, that are on foot elsewhere should take any tolerable Effect.

The Copper yearly made out of this Mine amounts to the Value of about two hundred thousand Pounds, of which the King has a fourth Part, not by way of Pre-emption, but in Kind; besides that, upon the Remainder he has a Custom of twenty-five *per Cent*. when it is exported unwrought. Lately a Gentleman of *Italy* came to *Sweden*, with Proposals to make Copper a shorter and cheaper Way than has hitherto been practised, as to make that in four Days which before required three Weeks, and with one fifth Part of the Charge, and with fewer Hands. The Bargain was made, and his Reward agreed to be a hundred thousand Crowns; and the first Proof he made succeeded to Admiration: But when he came to work in earnest, and had got his new-invented Ovens made to his Mind, the Miners, as he complained, picked out the very worst Ore, and were otherwise so envious and untractable that he failed of Success, and lost his Reward, and not without Difficulty obtained Leave to buy Ore, and practise his Invention at his own Charge, as he now does. Iron Mines and Forges are in great Numbers, especially towards the mountainous Parts, where they have the Convenience of Waterfalls to turn their Mills. From these, besides supplying the Country, there is yearly exported Iron, to the Value of near three hundred thousand Pounds; but of late Years the Number of those Forges has been so much increased, that

that each endeavouring to undersell others, the Price has been much lowered; and since the Prohibition of Foreign Manufactures, in exchanging of which Iron was plentifully taken off, it is grown so cheap that it is found necessary to lessen the Number of Forges. Neither has that Contrivance had the Effect intended; but, on the contrary, many more are like to fall of themselves, because they cannot work but to Loss, in which Case many Thousands of poor People whose Livelihoods depend upon these Forges and Mines will be reduced to a starving Condition.

The Seasons of the Year, though regular in themselves, do not altogether answer those of other Climates. As a *French* Ambassador observed, who, in raillery said, there were in *Sweden* only nine Months Winter, and all the rest was Summer; for as Winter commonly begins very soon, so Summer immediately succeeds it, and leaves little or no Space to be called Spring. The Productions of the Earth, therefore ought to be, as they are, more speedy in their Growth than in other Parts. The reason of which seems to be, that the Oil and Sulphur in the Earth (as it appears by the Trees and Minerals it produces) being bound up all the Winter, are then of a sudden actuated by the Heat of a warm Sun, which almost continually shines, and thereby makes amends for its short Stay, and brings to Maturity the Fruits proper for the Climate; yet withal, its Heat is so intense, that it often sets the Woods on Fire, which sometimes spreads itself many Leagues, and can scarce be stopt, till it comes at some Lake or very large Plain. In the Summer-season the Fields are clothed with Variety of Flowers, and the whole Country overspread with Strawberries, Raspberries, Currants, and the like, which grow upon every Rock.

In their Gardens Melons are brought to good Perfection in dry Years, but Apricocks, Peaches, and other Wall-Fruits are almost as rare as Oranges. They have Cherries of several Sorts, and some tolerably good; which cannot be said of their Apples, Pears and Plumbs, that are neither common nor well tasted. All Kinds of Roots are in Plenty, and contribute much to the Nourishment of the poor People. The Sun at highest is above the Horizon of *Stockholm*, eighteen Hours and an half, and for some Weeks makes a continual Day. In Winter the Days are proportionably shorter: The Sun being up but five Hours and an half, which Defect is so well supplied as to Lights by the Moon, and the Whiteness of the Snow, and the Clearness of the Sky, that travelling by Night is as usual as by Day, and Journeys begun in the Evening are as frequent as in the Morning. The want of the Sun's Heat is repaired by Stoves within Doors, and warm Furs abroad. Instead of which, the meaner Sort use Sheep-skins, and other the like Defences, and are generally better provided with Cloathing befitting their Condition, and the Climate they live in, than the common People of any Part of *Europe*; though, where any Neglect or Failure happens it usually proves fatal, and occasions the Loss of Noses, or other Members, and sometimes the Loss of Life; unless the usual Remedy to expel the Frost, when it has seized any Part, be early applied, which is to remain in the Cold, and rub the Part afflicted with the Snow 'till the Blood return to it again.

4. This Country is divided into twenty-five Provinces; each of which is governed by an Officer called *Landshofding*, whose Authority comprehends that of Lord Lieutenant and Sheriff together, except where there is a general Governor, as in *Finland* or upon the Borders of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to whom the Governor of each Province is subordinate, and has thereby a more restrained Authority. These Officers are placed by the King, and take an Oath to keep the Province for his Majesty and his Heirs, to govern according to the Laws of *Sweden*, and such Instructions as they shall receive from his Majesty, and to quit the Province whenever he shall call them thence. To them and their subordinate Officers (who are all of the King's chusing) the Execution of judicial Sentences, the Collection of the King's Revenues, the Care of Forests, Parks, and other Crown Lands, &c. is committed.

Of Cities, those of *Stockholm*, *Gottenburgh*, *Calmar*, and two or three more may deserve that Name; the other Corporations, which, in all, make not an hundred, scarce exceed some Villages in *England*. They are all governed by Burgomasters and Counsellors, chosen by the King out of their own Body, or at least such as are of the Quality of Burghers; no Gentleman accepting of those Employments. Their Offices and Salaries are for Life, or rather during their good Behaviour. The Privilege of Cities are derived from the King, and for the most Part are owing to the Wisdom of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Author of their best and most regular Constitutions at Home, and as well as of their Glory Abroad.

The City of *Stockholm* lies in 59 Deg. 20 Min. N. Lat. and about 41 Longitude. About three hundred Years ago it was only a bare Island with two or three Cottages for Fishers; but upon the building of a Castle there, to stop the Inroads of the *Russians*, and the Translation of the Court thither, it grew, by Degrees, to surpass the other more antient Cities, and is at present the Metropolis of this Kingdom, and supposed to be as populous as *Bristol*. The Castle here, which is covered with Copper, is a Place of no Strength or Beauty, but of great Use, being a spacious Building, that besides entertaining the Court, furnishes Room for most of the great Offices; the national Court of Justice, Colleges of War, Chancery, Treasury, Reduction, Liquidation, Commerce, Execution; as also an Armory, Chapel, Library, Archives, &c. It lodges very few of the inferior Officers and Servants of the Court; they, together with the Foot-Guards, being quartered upon the Burghers at their Landlord's Charge, for Lodging, Fire and Candle. In this City there are seven large Churches built of Brick and covered with Copper, besides two more now in building, and three or four wooden Chapels. The Palace of the Nobility, which is the Place of their Assembly at the Convention of Estates, and the Depository of their Privileges, Titles, and such other Records as concern their Body, is a very stately Pile; as is also the Bank, built at the City's Charge; which, together with several magnificent Houses of the Nobility are covered with Copper, and make a handsome Prospect. Most of the Burghers Houses are built of Brick, except in the Suburbs, where they are of Wood, and therefore exposed to the Danger of Fire; which commonly, when it gets to a head, destroys all before it in the Quarter where it happens: To repair which Misfortune they sometimes send the Dimensions of the House they intend to *Finland*; where the Walls and several Separations are built of Pieces of Timber laid one upon another, and joined at the Corners, and afterwards marked, taken down, and sent by Water to *Stockholm*, there to be set up and finished; and when they are kept in good Repair will last thirty or forty Years, and are warmer, cleaner, and more healthful than those of either Brick or Stone.

To prevent the Danger of Fire the City is divided into twelve Wards; and in each of these is a Master and four Assistants, who upon Notice of any Fire are immediately to repair to it, as also all Porters and Labourers, and to range themselves under the Master of their respective Wards. There is also a Fire-Watch by Night, who walk about only for that Purpose; and in each Church-Steeple Watch is kept, and a Bell tolled upon the first Appearance of any Fire. The Government of this City is in the Hands of the great Stadtholder, who is also a Privy Counsellor. He sits once a Week in the Town-house, and presides also in the College-house of *Execution*, assisted by an under Stadtholder and the Bailiff of the Castle. Next to him are the four Burgomasters, one for Justice, another for Trade, the third for the Policy of the City, and the fourth has the Inspection over all public and private Buildings, and determines such Cases as arise on that Account. With them the Counsellors of the City always sit and give their Votes, the Majority of which concludes. Their Number is uncertain, but usually about twenty, most Merchants and Shopkeepers, or such as have served the King in some inferior Employments; and besides their Salary they have an Immunity from such

such Impositions as are laid on the Inhabitants to support the Government of the City, which pays all its Officers and Servants, and maintains a Guard of 300 Men, and defrays the Charge of all public Buildings and Repairs.

To support this Expence, besides a Duty belonging to the City upon Goods imported and exported (which is above four *per Cent.* of the Customs paid the King, and amounts to about four thousand Pounds *per Ann.*) the Magistrates impose a yearly Tax on the Burghers, in which they are assisted by a Common Council of forty-eight (which chuses its own Members every Spring) to proportion the Payments for the ensuing Year. On the richer Traders they usually impose forty, fifty or sixty Pounds Sterling; and upon others of a meaner Condition, as Shoemakers, Taylors, &c. five or six Pounds, and no Housekeeper less than fifteen Shillings, besides quartering the Guards, inferior Officers, and Servants of the Court with other less Charges, which all together would be thought a great Burthen, even in richer Countries; neither is it otherwise esteemed by the Inhabitants of this City, who can scarce be kept in Heart, by the Privileges they enjoy, as well in Customs as the Trade of the Place which must needs pass through their Hands. The Natives of other Parts of the Kingdom as well as Foreigners being obliged to deal only with the Burghers, except those of the Gentry that make Iron, who have a Privilege to sell it immediately to Strangers. This City is in a manner the Staple of *Sweden*, to which most of the Goods of their own Growth, *viz.* Iron, Copper, Wire, Pitch, Tar, Masts, Deals, &c. are brought to be exported. The greatest Part of the Commodities imported from Abroad come to this Port, where there is a Haven capable of receiving a thousand Ships, and has a Bridge or Key near an *English* Mile long, to which the greater Vessels may lie with their Broadfides. The only Inconvenience is, that it is ten Miles from the Sea, and the River very crooked, and no Tides.

5. The Laws of *Sweden* were antiently as various as the Provinces were numerous; each of which had Statutes and Customs peculiar to itself, enacted, as Occasion required by the Laghman or Governor of the Province; who was chosen by the People, and invested with great Authority, especially while the King was elective; his Suffrage concluding the Province he governed. This Variety was necessarily attended with great Confusion; for Remedy whereof, about fourscore Years ago one Body of Laws was compiled for the Direction of the whole Kingdom: Yet this Collection is but an imperfect Piece, and the Laws so few, and conceived in such general Terms, that in most Cases they need the Assistance of the Civil Law; and after all, the final Determination depends much upon the Inclinations of the Bench; which in a poor Country, where Salaries are small, is often filled with such as are of weak Parts, and subject to Corruption on very small Temptations.

The Effects of this would be more visible, if each superior Court did not keep a Check upon the Lower, and the King's Court of Revision over-awe them all; to which all Civil Causes, exceeding the Sum of seventy Pounds, are appealable; and very few end before they have been brought thither. In this Court the President of the Chancery and two or three other Privy Counsellors also sit, so does the Chancellor of the Court (an Officer next in Degree to the Privy Counsellor) who is President of the under Revision, where he and two Secretaries put Business into a Method fit to be brought before the King. The Courts of Justice inferior to this are of three Degrees; of the lowest Degree, or first Instance, there is one in each Corporation (besides *Stockholm*, in which there are three) as also in each District or Territory, whereof every Province contains several, some above twenty. In the former (Cities) an Alderman or Counsellor presides, and has some of his Brethren for Assistants; in the latter the Governor of the Territory with a standing Jury; his Courts being ambulatory are usually near or upon the Spot where the Fact or Trespass was committed. In these Courts Examinations are taken, and Matters not exceeding forty Shillings are determined, the rest transmitted to the next superior Court; of which

in every Corporation the President thereof retains the Name of Laghman, without other Authority than that of a Judge. From these all Causes of Blood must be transmitted to the respective national Courts, where they are determined without farther Appeal; and thither also all Civil Actions, not exceeding twenty Pounds, may be appealed.

Of these national Courts there are three, one for the Kingdom of *Sweden*, held at *Stockholm*, another for the Kingdom of *Gothia*, kept at *Jencopingh*, and a Third for the Dukedom of *Finland*; in each of these a Privy Counsellor is President, and above half the Assessors are to be Gentlemen. All these Courts sit continually, or at most have but short Vacations, and not being pestered with too much Formality, give Causes a speedy Dispatch, unless they be retarded by some underhand Engagements. Actions relating to the Sea are tried in the ordinary Courts, according to their Sea Laws founded upon those antient Ones of *Wisby* in *Gothland*, which have formerly been as famous in the *Baltic Sea* as the Laws of *Rhodes* and *Oleron* in other Places. The Court of Admiralty has not any peculiar Jurisdiction in the Administration of these Laws, but only in such Matters as directly concern the King's Fleet, and in some Places that belong immediately to the Admiralty.

For Causes Ecclesiastical there is a Consistory in each Diocese, of which the respective Bishop is President; where Causes of Bastardy, Contracts of Marriage, and other Causes of that Nature are tried, and Church Censures of Penance, Divorce, &c. inflicted. These Courts have no Power to administer an Oath, nor to inflict any corporal Punishment; from them there lies an Appeal to the respective national Court; and in some Cases to the King, as is in all other Matters.

For Matters relating to the Mines, besides inferior Courts and Officers settled in the respective Parts of the Country, a general Court, called the College of the Mines, sits at *Stockholm*, of which most commonly the President of the Treasury is Chief, with a Vice-President and other Assessors. The Laws, in this Regard, are more strict and particular than in other Matters, and for the most Part Justice is very carefully administered. The Power of executing all judicial Sentences is lodged in the Governors of Provinces, the Stadtholders of *Stockholm*, and other Places, and from them derived to inferior Officers, who are accountable to the national Courts, whither they may be convented and punished upon plain Proof of Default; but the Proof being difficult, and Ministers of Justice apt to favour one another, they take great Liberty to delay Execution, or to arbitrate and put their own Sense upon Sentences; so that their Part of Justice is administered the worst of all others, and has an Influence not only at Home, but lessens the Credit of the *Swedish* Subjects Abroad, against whom Justice cannot be obtained without great Difficulty.

The ordinary Charges of Law Suits are no where more moderate than in *Sweden*; the greatest Burthen arising from a late Constitution, that all Declarations, Acts and Sentences must be written upon sealed Paper, of different Prices, from Two-pence to Seven Shillings a Sheet, according to the Quality of the Cause; the Benefit of which accrues to the King, and is computed to bring in about 3000 *l.* a Year. Other Charges are very few, every Man being permitted (in criminal Actions compelled) to plead his own Cause. Accordingly the Practice of the Law is below a Gentleman, and rather the Refuge than the Choice of meaner Persons, who are very few in Number, and for the most Part very poor. The Custom of a Jury of twelve Men is so antient in *Sweden*, that their Writers pretend it had its Original among them, and was thence derived to other Nations; but at present it is disused every where, except only in the lower Courts in the Country, and there the Jurymen are for Life, and have Salaries. They have this peculiar to themselves; that among them there must be an unanimous Concurrence to determine a Cause, which in other Courts is done by a Majority of Voices. Titles to Estates are rendered more secure, and less subject to Conteſts, by the Registers that are kept of all Sales and Alienations, as well as of other Engagements of them,

the Purchaser running the Hazard of having an after-Bargain take Place of his. If he omit the recording of his Transaction in the proper Court in criminal Matters where the Fact is not very evident, or where the Judges are not very favourable, the Defendant is admitted to purge himself by Oath, to which is oftentimes added the Oath of six or twelve Men, who are all Vouchers of his Integrity. Treason, Murder, double Adulteries, Burning of Houses, Witchcraft, and the like heinous Crimes, are punished with Death, which is executed by hanging of Men, and beheading of Women. To which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in Chains, is sometimes added, according to the Nature of the Crime. Criminals of the Nobility and Gentry are generally shot to Death.

The Punishment of Stealing is of late, instead of Death, changed into a perpetual Slavery; the guilty Party being condemned to work all his Life for the King in making Fortifications or other Drudgery, and always has a Collar of Iron about his Neck, with a Bow coming over his Head, to which a Bell is fastened, that rings as he goes along. Duels between Gentlemen, if the one Party be killed, are punished by the Survivor's Death, and a Note of Infamy upon the Memory of both; if neither be killed, they are both condemned to a Prison with Bread and Water for two Years; to which is added, a Fine of one thousand Crowns, or one Year's Imprisonment, and two thousand Crowns. Reparation of Honour, in Case of an Affront, is referred to the respective national Courts, where Recantation and public begging of Pardon is usually inflicted. Estates, as well acquired as inherited, descend to the Children in equal Portions, of which a Son has two and a Daughter one; nor is it in the Power of the Parents to alter this Proportion, without the Intervention of a Judicial Sentence. In Case of their Childrens Disobedience only, they may bequeath a tenth of their acquired Possessions to such Child or other as they will favour: Where an Estate descends incumbered with Debts, the Heir usually takes two or three Months Time, as the Law allows, to search into the Condition of the Deceased's Estate, and then either accepts the Inheritance or leaves it to the Law, which in that Case administers.

6. The Nature of the Climate, which is very healthful and dry, as well as sharp, disposes the Natives to a very vigorous Constitution; and that confirmed by a hardy Education, coarse Fare, and hard Lodging, qualifies them to endure whatever uneasy Circumstance befalls them, better than those that are born in a milder Climate, and more indulgently bred. But, on the other Side, it seems as if the Severity of the Clime does, in a manner, cramp the Faculties of their Minds, which seldom are found endued with any eminent Pregnancy of Wit; yet, by Industry, Experience and Travelling, not a few of them arrive at a mature and solid Judgment, being led by their Genius to serious Things, in which such as have Patience to go through with the Studies they apply themselves to become excellent, and merit the Title of great and able Men: But this seems not to be the Talent of this Nation, for they are more apt to sit down with superficial Acquisitions than to pursue their Studies to the utmost Extent.

These Dispositions of Body and Mind, qualify them more for a Life of Labour and Fatigue, than of Art and Curiosity; and the Effect of it is visible in all Orders of Men amongst them. The Nobility mostly apply themselves to a Military Life, in which they are more distinguished for Courage, and enduring Hardships, than for Stratagems and Intrigues. They that are employed in the Administration of Civil Affairs, though they are indeed laborious and indefatigable in their Business, yet they seldom raise their Speculations above what the Necessity of their Employments require, their Abilities proceeding not so much from Study as Experience in the Course of Business.

In Point of Learning, they, like their Neighbours the Germans, are more given to transcribe and make Collections, than to digest their own Thoughts; and commonly proportion their Studies to their Occasions. In

Matters of Trade they rather undergo the Drudgery, than dive into the Mystery either of Commerce or Manufactures, in which they generally set up for Masters before half taught; so that in all such Things as require Ingenuity, Neatness, or Dexterity, they are forced to be served by Strangers. Their common Soldiers are allowed to endure Cold and Hunger, long Marches, and hard Labour, to Admiration; but they learn their Duty very slowly, and are serviceable more by Obedience to command, and standing their Ground, than by any great Forwardness to attack their Enemy; or Address, in executing their Orders; and so their Peasants are tolerably laborious when Need compels them, but have little Regard to Neatness in their Work, and are hardly brought to quit their old slow Methods for such new Inventions as are more dextrous and easy. The Dispositions peculiar to the several Degrees of these People are: That the Nobility and Gentry are naturally Men of Courage and of a warlike Temper; have a graceful Deportment, incline to value themselves at a high Rate, and make the best Appearance they can, that they may gain the Respect of others; and are therefore more excessive in the Number of their Attendants, sumptuous Buildings, and rich Apparel, than in the Plentifulness of their Tables, or other less observed Occasions. They never descend to any Employments in the Church. The Practice of Law, or Physic, or the Exercise of any Trade; and though to gain Experience in maritime Affairs they submit to the lowest Offices in other Counties; yet, at home, there is but one Example known of a Gentleman that accepted the Command of a Merchant Ship.

The Clergy are but moderately learned, and little acquainted with Disputes about Religion, as having no Adversaries to oppose. They affect Gravity and long Beards, are esteemed for their Hospitality, and have great Authority among the common People. The Burghers are not intelligent in Trade, nor able to do their Business without Credit from abroad; inclined to impose upon those they can over-reach, rather than follow their Calling in a fair Way. The Peasants, when sober, are more obsequious and respectful; but Drink makes them mad, and ungovernable: Most of them live in a very poor Condition, and are taught by Necessity to practise several Arts in a rude Manner, as the making their Shoes, Cloaths, &c. and the several Instruments of Husbandry, and other Necessaries, they cannot spare Money to buy. And to keep them to this, as also to favour the Cities, it is not permitted for more than one Taylor, or other Artisan, to dwell in the same Parish, though it be never so large, as many of them are above twenty Miles in Compass. In general, it may be said of the whole Nation, that they are a People very religious in their Way, and Frequenters of the Church, eminently loyal and affected to Monarchy; grave even to Formality, sober more out of Necessity than Temperance; apt to entertain Suspicions, and envy each other as well as Strangers; more inclined to pilfering, and such secret Frauds, than to open Violence, or robbing on Highways; Crimes as rarely committed in this, as in any Country whatever.

7. The Christian Faith was received in Sweden about the Beginning of the ninth Century, and in Finland about three hundred Years after; and first preached, or at least first established, by English Divines, of whom the chiefest was St. Sigisfrid; who, as their Histories relate, quitted the Archbishopric of York to become the Apostle of the Goths. With him three of his Nephews that he brought were martyred by the Heathen Goths; so also was St. Eskill and other English by the Swedes: And about the Year 1150, St. Henry, an English Bishop, accompanied St. Erick, King of Sweden, in his Expedition into Finland, which the King conquered, and the Bishop converted. He also was martyred by the Infidels, and lies buried at Abo, the Metropolis of that Country. The Reformation there, as in Denmark and Norway, began soon after the neighbouring Parts of Germany had embraced Luther's Tenets, and was established according to his Platform. The Tyranny of King Christiern the Second, gave an Opportunity to Gustavus, the Founder of the present Royal Family, to alter Religion,

and advance himself to the Regal Dignity, which till that Time was elective, but was made hereditary to his Family, in which it has since continued.

As the *Lutheran* Religion has also been, never but once, disturbed from Abroad, and since that Disturbance never distracted at Home with Non-conformity; so it becomes the Business of their Preachers rather to persuade the Practice of Piety than oppose the Doctrine of others, or defend their own. The Church is governed by an Archbishop, and ten Bishops, whose Studies are confined to their own Employments, being never called to Council but at the Assembly of the States, nor troubled with the Administration of secular Affairs. Their Revenues are very moderate. The Archbishopric of *Upsall* is not worth 400 *l.* a Year, and their Bishoprics are in Proportion. Under them are seven or eight Superintendants, who have all the Power of Bishops. And over each ten Churches is a Provost or rural Dean, with some Authority over the inferior Clergy, of whom the Total may be computed by the Number of Churches, which in *Sweden* and *Finland* are about two thousand; to which the Addition of Chaplains and Curates will increase the Clergy to near two thousand five hundred Persons. They are all the Sons of Peasants or Burghers, and can therefore content themselves with their small Income, which, besides more inconsiderable Dues, arise from Glebe Lands, and one third of the Tithes, of which the other two Thirds are annexed to the Crown, to be employed in pious Uses: However, the Clergy have generally wherewithal to exercise Hospitality, and are the constant Refuge of poor Travellers, especially Strangers, who go from Priest to Priest, as elsewhere from Constable to Constable.

The Clergy of each Diocese, upon the Death of their Bishops, propose three Persons to the King, who chuses one of them, or some other to succeed in that Office, which is also practised in the Choice of Superintendants. In the Choice of an Archbishop all the Chapters vote, but the Determination is in the King's Breast. His Majesty hath also the Patronage of most Churches; some few being in the Disposal of the Nobility. Many of their Churches are adorned with Variety of Sculptures, Painting, Gilding, &c. all of them are kept clean and in good Repair, furnished as well in the Country as City, with rich Altar-cloths, Copes, and other Vestments. For the regular Government of the Church, it has been found necessary to cause the antient Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons to be revised by a Committee of the several Bodies, and the Estates having spent some Years in that matter, at last presented the King with a new System of Church Laws, wherein his Majesty having caused such Alterations to be made as he thought fit, approved, and published them. By this means, the Church-Affairs of *Sweden* have been so well and so effectually regulated, that in a long Course of Years they have gone on peaceably and quietly, beyond any thing of the same Nature in any other Country, if we except *Denmark*; which, as it resembles *Sweden*, in the Nature of its Church Government, so the like Consequences have followed there.

8. As to the Government and Revenue of *Sweden* they are like those of other Places, subject to so many and so great Changes that one would imagine our Author's Account should, at this Distance of Time, be almost out of Date; but there is one Advantage attends whatever has the Appearance of a Parliament, which is, that how much soever it may sink and be depressed by Fraud, or Force, under certain Conjunctions, it has nevertheless Strength to rise again, in more favourable Seasons, and even to recover all that it has lost. In our Author's time the States of *Sweden* were but Instruments of the King's Authority, and only met to sanctify such Acts of Power as the Crown did not care to take upon itself. At this Day things have quite changed their Face; the Kings of *Sweden* have wholly lost their absolute Power, which remains where it ought to remain, in the Representatives of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of the Kingdom. The usual Time of assembling the States is once in three Years, or oftner, if Affairs require it. The Letters for calling them together are sent to the Go-

vernors of Provinces, who thereupon write to each Nobleman and Gentleman, and to the Bishops, who cause the same to be published in all Churches.

The Body of the Nobility and Gentry are represented by one in each Family, of which there are about a thousand in *Sweden*, and with them the Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and one Captain of each Regiment sit and vote. For the Clergy, besides the Bishops and Superintendants in each rural Deanery, or ten Parishes, one is chosen and maintained at the Charge of his Electors. These make a Body of about five hundred. The Representatives of the Burghers are chosen by the Magistrates and Common Council of each Corporation, of which *Stockholm* sends four, others two, and some one; who make about one hundred and fifty. The Peasants of each District choose one of their own Quality to appear for them, whose Charges they bear; and give him Instructions, in such Matters, as they think need Redress; they are about two hundred and fifty. The first Meeting, when at *Stockholm*, is in a large Room in the Castle, called *The Hall of the Kingdom*; where his Majesty being seated on the Throne, and the Privy Counsellors sitting at some Distance, the President of the Chancery makes them a Compliment in the King's Name, and then a Secretary reads the King's Proposals to them; in which they are acquainted with the State of Affairs since their Recess, and the present Occasion of their Advice and Assistance. To which, first the Marshal of the Nobility, who is chosen by the King, returns an Answer, and kisses the King's Hand, and after him the Archbishop in the Name of the Clergy; the first Burgomaster of *Stockholm* in the Name of the Burghers; and one of the Peasants for his Brethren. They then separate into four different Houses, and chuse a Secret Committee, composed of an equal Number of each Body, who receive from the King's Ministers such further Informations of his Majesty's Pleasure, as are not thought fit to be communicated in Public; and thereupon prepare such Matters as are to be proposed to the several Bodies. In each House Matters are concluded by Majority of Voices, and if one or more of these Bodies differ in Opinion from the rest, they are either brought over by Persuasions, or the Point remains unconcluded.

When the Affairs proposed by the King are finished, they then insinuate their Grievances. Each Body severally. To which the King returns such Answers as he thinks fit; and to each Member of the three inferior Bodies an authentic Copy is delivered, as well of the general Conclusion made by the whole States, as of the King's Answer to the Grievances of his respective Body, which he carries Home to his Electors.

The standing Revenues of *Sweden* arise from Crown Lands, Customs, Poll-Money, Tithes, Copper and Silver Mines, Proceedings at Law, and other less considerable Particulars, which are calculated in all to near a Million a Year; of which the Lands make above one Third, and the Customs almost a Fourth. The Poll-Money is paid only by the Peasants, each of which above Sixteen and under Sixty pays above twelve Pounds a Year. In the Treasury-Chamber a President, with four Chancellors, and other Officers, sit and act as a Court of Justice, in such Matters as relate to the King's Revenue, or rather that of the State.

As for the Administration of the Government, at the Time when the Dyet is not sitting, it is invested in the King, assisted by the Senate, without whose Consent he cannot legally do any thing of great Importance. As to the Number of Senators; we know, by Experience, that the States of the Kingdom think themselves at Liberty to augment or diminish it at Pleasure; but, at present, it is fixed to fourteen. These Senators are not only at Liberty to give their Sentiments upon all Affairs that are brought before them, but are intrusted also with the entire Management of public Concerns, in case of the Indisposition or Absence of the Prince. A Senator presides in each of the great Courts of Justice in the Kingdom, and are usually placed at the Head of all particular Commissions, Civil and Military. Their Salaries, as Senators, amount to about three hundred Pounds a Year; but their being generally possessed of the most beneficial

beneficial Employments, enables them sufficiently to support their Dignity with becoming Magnificence.

The King is not at Liberty to fill up the Number, upon a Vacancy, but must wait till the Dyet assembles; when the Secret Committee proposes to his Majesty the Names of three Persons for each Vacancy, one of which he appoints. The Order of Peasants was formerly excluded from the Secret Committee, which they thought very hard, and made frequent Struggles in order to gain Admittance; in which, till within these few Years, they were always unsuccessful. But the last War with *Russia* enabled them to carry their Point, and to gain Entrance for their Deputies; the other Orders, however, attempted to exclude them again in the present Dyet, but miscarried; so that in all Probability they will be constantly admitted for the future.

9. The Conquests made by *Sweden* in the last Age, were not so much owing to its native Strength, as to the foreign Assistance of *Germans, French, English*, and especially *Scots*, of whom they have used great Numbers in all their Wars with *Muscovy, Poland, Germany, and Denmark*; and by them the Art of War and Military Discipline has been by Degrees introduced into this Nation, that in former Times had only the Advantage of Courage and Numbers: For though the original Constitution of the Country, and its Division into Hundreds and other large Portions, that still retain Military Names, seems to have been the Work of Armies, and the frequent Expeditions of the *Goths*, and other Inhabitants, of those Parts, shew that in all Ages they were addicted to War and Violence, yet it was in a tumultuous manner, their Infantry always consisting of unexperienced Peasants raised for the Occasion, and disbanded as soon as it was over.

The Feudal Laws indeed provided for a competent Number of Cavalry; all Estates of the Nobility and Gentry being held by Knights-Service: And while the Kingdom was elective, the Kings were bound to maintain some Horse out of the Revenue of the Crown. But this Establishment had been in a great measure corrupted, and the Kingdom so shattered by domestic Broils, that it made a very inconsiderable Figure, and was little known in *Europe* till the Crown became hereditary, and the Interest of the Royal Family consisted in the Strength and Prosperity of the Nation. Since that Time the standing Forces of the Kingdom have been augmented, yet not so effectually established as its Necessities required; for it generally happened that the Nobility and Gentry were so backward in fitting out their Horse, and the Levies of Foot not being to be made without the Consent of the Peasants in the Assembly of the States, it was so hardly obtained, that the Regiments were very thin, and Recruits extreme difficult; nor were the Officers Salaries so punctually paid as to enable them to be in Readiness on all Occasions.

To remedy these Inconveniences, *Charles* the XIth, on whom the States had conferred an absolute Power to put the Militia into such a Method as he should think fit, made such Regulations in all the Particulars relating to this Matter, as were required to bring it to Perfection. The new Injunctions he made about the Cavalry that the Nobility and Gentry furnished, are so exact, that it is not in their Power to put either the Men or the Horse, that are once listed, to other Employments than what are there specified; but must have them in a continual Readiness whenever they are called upon, with such Arms and Equipage as his Majesty hath directed; in default of which, severe Penalties are inflicted, and the Estates they hold by that Service, subject to Confiscation.

For the Infantry the King has taken the like Care; and whereas formerly Levies could not be made but by Consent of the States, and that but by small Parcels at a time, and with such Disturbance, that on these Occasions it was usual for half the Peasants to run into the Woods and other hiding Places, to escape being Soldiers: This has been remedied by the King's Commissioners, who have distributed the Infantry of each Province proportionably to the Number of Farms, each of which of the Value of above sixty or seventy Pounds a Year (not being appropriated to the Officers or other peculiar Services) is

charged with one Foot Soldier, who receives from the Farmer, Diet, Lodging, ordinary Cloths, and about twenty Shillings a Year in Money; or else a little wooden House is built for him at the Farmer's Charge, who must also furnish him with as much Hay as will keep a Cow in Winter, and Pasture in Summer, and plough and sow for him such a Parcel of Ground as will afford him Bread: They that are married generally accept this latter Condition. The unmarried Soldiers usually lodge with the Farmer; but are not bound to do him any Service without Wages. When they have once taken the Farmer's Money, and are listed into the King's Service, they can never quit it so long as they are able to serve; and if they desert are punished with Death.

The first Institution of this Method was very burdensome to the Peasants, who were at great Charge to hire their Men, which cost fourteen, and sometimes twenty Pounds apiece; and the same whenever their Soldiers died. This in peaceable Times will not be so chargeable as it is in Times of War, when Men are unwilling to serve, and Recruits more frequently needed. As all the common Soldiers are thus provided for at the Country's Expence, so all Officers both of Horse and Foot, are maintained by the King, who hath appointed so much of the Lands lately reunited, or formerly belonging to the Crown, to that Purpose: So that every Officer hath a convenient House and competent Portion of Land to live upon, situate in that part of the Country where the Regiment he belongs to is quartered; as also the Rent of so many other Farms as make up his Pay eighteen Pounds, though it be somewhat less than formerly; yet, being punctually paid either in Money, Corn, or other Commodities, they find it more profitable than when they were to solicit for it at the Treasury: A Colonel of Foot has of these Lands the yearly Rent of about three hundred Pounds, and the rest proportionably; which amounts to about two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year for all the Officers of one Foot Regiment; and there being in *Sweden, Finland, and Leifland*, twenty Regiments of Foot under this Establishment, the Maintenance of all the Officers belonging to them costs the King about fifty thousand Pounds a Year. What Charge the Cloathing of the common Soldiers once in two or three Years, their Arms and other Necessaries may put the King to, cannot be so easily computed.

The Officers of Horse are provided for after the same manner, with such larger Allowance as is requisite: There are fifteen Regiments of Horse thus established, and the Maintenance of their Officers is computed to be about eighty thousand Pounds a Year; all which arises from the Rents of Crown-Lands, as do also the Wages of Civil Officers in the Country, who have Farms annexed to their Employments in the same Manner as the Militia. The Laws the King has made for maintaining this Constitution are very exact, and provide with great Caution, that neither the Peasants shall be oppressed, nor the Lands and Houses ruined; to which End all such Lands are yearly visited, and the Possessor compelled to make such Repairs as are found needful: And as every Officer upon his first coming to such an Estate, subscribes an Inventory of it, so upon Advancement he cannot take Possession of another Charge till he hath put the Estate into as good a Condition as he found it; and in Case of Death, his Heirs cannot inherit till that be done.

In Times of Peace, all Trespasses committed by the Soldiery fall ordinarily under the Cognizance of a Civil Magistrate, who has the same Authority over them, as over the rest of the King's Subjects, except when they are encamped, or in Garrison, or any way under flying Colours; in all which Cases, as also in Matters that relate solely to their Profession, their Officers have Jurisdiction over them, without whose Leave a private Soldier is not permitted to lodge out of his Quarters, or be out a Day from the Parish he belongs to.

The inferior Officers cannot be absent from their Charge but by the Colonel's Permission; nor Captains, nor those above them, without the King's Leave; and the good Effect of the Officers constant Residence upon their respective Charges, appears in the quiet and peaceable Behaviour

haviour of the Soldiers, who have not hitherto broke out into any Enormities, nor given the common People any great Occasion of Complaint. To keep them in Discipline, each Company meets, and is exercised once a Month, and every Regiment once or twice a Year; at which time only they wear the King's Cloaths, which, at their Return, are carefully laid up in the Churches. For their Government in Time of War, the King hath lately caused the Articles of War to be reviewed and printed, together with a new Establishment of Courts Martial, and Instructions for the Auditors, Governors, and other Officers concerned in the Ministration of Justice; and for his Majesty's Information on all Occasions, a Book hath been lately made, specifying the Names of every Military Officer in the King's Army, the Time when they first came into the Service, and by what Steps they have risen; by which Means, at one View, his Majesty knows the Merit and Service of any Officer. The whole Body of the King of Sweden's Forces, according to the best and most exact Accounts are as follow:

*The established Militia in Sweden, Finland, and
Liefland or Livonia, are*

	Men
Cavalry, fifteen Regiments, is - - - - -	17,000
Infantry, twenty-eight Regiments, is - - - - -	35,000
Foot-Guards, one Regiment, is - - - - -	2,000
Forces in <i>Pomoren</i> and <i>Bremen</i> , six Regim. (now lost)	6,000
In all fifty Regiments, is - - - - -	60,000

10. Sweden has in all Times furnished Europe with those Commodities it abounds with, yet either the Warlike Temper, Idleness, or Ignorance of the Inhabitants formerly, kept them from being much concerned in Trade, and gave Strangers the Management and Advantage of it; which for a long time the Hanse-Towns situate on the *Baltic* Sea monopolized, till the seven Provinces of the *Netherlands* were erected into a Republic, and became Sharers with them. Before that Time very little Iron was made in Sweden; but the Ore being run into Pigs, was carried into *Dantzick*, and other Parts of *Prussia*, and there forged into Bars; for which Reason the Country Smiths, in *England*, call foreign Iron *Dantzick* or *Spruce* Iron. This Nation owes the greatest Improvements it has made in Trade, to the Art and Industry of some ingenious Mechanics that the Cruelty of the Duke of *Alva* drove into those Parts. Their Success invited great Numbers of reformed *Walloons* to transplant themselves thither, whose Language and Religion remain in the Places they settled in; where they erected Forges and other Conveniencies for making of Iron Guns, Wire, and all other Manufactures of Copper, Brass, and Iron; which for the most part are still carried on by their Posterity.

The *Swedish* Navigation was very inconsiderable till Queen *Christiana*, at the Conclusion of the Wars in 1644, obtained from *Denmark* a Freedom from Customs for all Ships and Goods belonging to *Swedish* Subjects in their Passage through the *Sound*, and established in her own Dominions that Difference in Customs that still subsists between *Swedish* and foreign Ships, and is in Proportion of four, five, six; the first called Whole Free; the second, Half; and the last, Unfree: So that where a Whole Free *Swedish* Ship pays four hundred Crowns, Half Free pays five hundred, and a foreign Vessel six hundred. But as great as this Advantage was it had but little Effect, till the *English* Act of Navigation bridled the *Hollanders*, and opened the Intercourse between *England* and *Sweden*. Since that Time, their Commerce has been much augmented as well as ours, that Way; and Goods transported by both, or either Party, according to the various Junctures of Affairs.

When *Sweden* has been engaged in a War, the *English* Ships have had the whole Employ; but in Times of Peace, the Advantage is so great on the *Swedish* Side, and Merchants so much encouraged by Freedom in Customs to employ their Ships, that *English* Bottoms cannot be used in that Trade, but while *Sweden* is unprovided with a Number of Ships sufficient for the Trans-

portation of their own Commodities. The chief Commodities of *Sweden* are Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Masts, Deals, and wooden Ware, to the Value of about seven hundred thousand Pounds a Year. In Return of which they receive from Abroad, Salt, Wines, and Brandy, Cloths, Shifts, Tobacco, Sugar, Spices, Paper, Linnen, and several other Sorts of Goods; which are supposed commonly to balance their Importations, and sometimes exceed them. Their Trade to *Portugal* for Salt is accounted most necessary, as without great Quantities of which they cannot subsist. That with *England* is more beneficial, because it takes off almost half their own Commodities, and brings in near two thirds of Money for one of Goods. The worst is their *French* Trade, as it rather supplies their Vanities than their Necessities, and gives little or no Vent to the Commodities of the Country.

The general Direction of their Trade belongs to the College of Commerce; which consists of the President of the Treasury, and four Counsellors, who hear Causes of that Nature, and redress any Disorders that happen. The Bank at *Stockholm* is of great Benefit to Trade, as well in regard that the King's Customs for that City are paid in there; as also that the Merchants ordinarily make Payments to each other by Bills drawn upon it, which eases them of a great deal of Trouble in transporting their Money from Place to Place, that would otherwise be very difficult and chargeable. The Management of the Trade of *Sweden* has always been in the Hands of Strangers, most of the Natives wanting either Capacity or Application, and all of them Stocks to drive it: For without Credit from Abroad, they are not able to keep their Iron Works going; and therefore at the beginning of Winter they usually made Contracts with the *English*, and other Foreigners, who then advance considerable Sums, and receive Iron in Summer.

Were it not for this Necessity foreign Merchants would have but little Encouragement, or scarce Permission, to live and trade amongst them; and even, as the Case stands, the Treatment of them is as rigorous as in any Country, occasioned chiefly by the Burghers; who cannot, with any Patience, see a Stranger live amongst them. This is the less sensible to the *Dutch* and others, who some become Burghers, and the rest by their near way of Living are less subject to Envy; but is more especially the Case of the *English* Merchants, who find it not their Interest to become Burghers, and usually live somewhat too high. The Interest of *England* in the Trade of *Sweden*, may be computed by the Necessaries to us, and the Vent of ours there: Their Copper, Iron, Tar, Pitch, Masts, &c. cannot be had elsewhere, except from *America*, whence it has been supposed such Supplies were furnished; and, if so, this Consideration ought in reason to have an Influence on the *Swedish* Councils, and engage them to make the *English* Trade with them as easy as possible, that the Merchants be not driven upon new Designs. As to our Importations thither, it has already been said that they scarce amount to one third of what we export from thence, and consist chiefly of Cloth, Stuffs, and other woollen Manufactures, of which there have been formerly vended yearly there, to the Value of about fifty thousand Pounds. Besides those, Tobacco, *Newcastle* Coals, Pewter, Lead, Tin, Fruits, and Sugar, with several other of our Commodities, are sold at the Market; as also good Quantities of Herrings from *Scotland*, with other of their Wares: That in all, we are supposed to vend Goods to about one hundred thousand Pounds a Year. If any more than Half be paid for it is looked on as very extraordinary.

But the making of Cloth in *Sweden* to supply the Army, &c. which has been formerly endeavoured without Success, being now encouraged and assisted by the Public, and undertaken, has of late, and does now, prove a great Hindrance to the Vent of our Cloth there. And to favour this Undertaking, *English* Cloth now (unless it be such finer Cloths as cannot be made there) is clogged with such excessive Duties as render the Importation impracticable. These Undertakers have got Workmen from *Germany*, and some from *England*; and besides the *German* Wool they use, they receive great Quantities from *Scotland*.

Scotland, (supposed to be purchased out of *England*) without which they cannot work; yet, as at present, the *English* Trade in *Sweden* is of the Importance above-mentioned, notwithstanding the Abatements aforesaid. It is, however, considerable, and will be so while their Commodities continue to be necessary, and those that are concerned in it will deserve, as they need, Protection and Encouragement.

The last Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations, expired several Years ago, and that of an older, neither suits the present State of Things, nor has been thought by the *Swedes* to subsist; tho' now, for their own Interest, they insist upon the contrary: Accordingly their Treatment of the *English* only, in reference to their own Convenience; and as the Subject of former Complaint still remains, so new Burdens are frequently imposed upon them. Sometimes they have demanded of Merchants that were leaving the Country, a sixth Part of their Estates they had got in it, and arrested their Effects upon that Account. And besides others, that more directly concerns their Trade, the quartering of Soldiers, and paying of Contributions, have been enacted for some Years, and sometimes the *English* are forced to submit to it. In the Year 1687, they petitioned the King, for Redress of these Impositions, which were then very high; upon some above fifty Pounds, upon others forty, thirty, &c. Besides that, such of them as kept House had Soldiers quartered upon them, some three, six, or eight. In answer to their Petition, a Placart was published, declaring, that they should be exempt from these Payments, but withal, that no foreign Merchant should continue to trade in *Sweden* above two Months in a Year, unless he would become a Burgher.

In pursuance of which Resolution, their Warehouses were shut up for some time, and the *Swedes* seem resolved to proceed to Extremity, but have not put that Resolution generally in Execution, though they seem to wait for an Opportunity, and now and then they try it upon particular Persons, to see how foreign Princes will take it. The Law that exacts the third Part of such foreign Merchants Estates as die in *Sweden*, has not in effect been so beneficial to the *Swedes*, as frightful to the Merchants, who for that and other Reasons, never think of marrying and settling there so long as their Affairs are in good Order, and they in a Condition to return home with a competent Estate, and Credit too; from which Account *England* seems to be less concerned to endeavour the Repeal of that Law, it being more useful to have

Sweden a Nursery for young Merchants, than a Place of Settlement for those that have got Estates.

11. These Observations and Remarks upon the Kingdom of *Sweden* were written about fifty Years ago, and yet I judged it proper to insert them here with very few Alterations; and this the rather, because having taken some Pains to make myself Master of the Subject, I have been from thence led to judge, that it is not easy to obtain any thing relating thereto more perfect in its kind. The Judgment of its Author shines through the whole Piece, and shews that he was a very sensible, intelligent, and capable Person; one who understood both Mankind and Government perfectly well, who had many more Opportunities to make, as well as much more Leisure to digest, his Inquiries than ordinary Travellers can be presumed to have, and therefore his Accounts are more to be depended on, and his Reflections deserve greater Regard than those that occur in common Books of Travels.

It must be allowed that great Alterations have happened in *Sweden* since his Time. Upon the Death of the late King *Charles XII.* the *Swedish* Nation very wisely laid hold of that Opportunity to recover their ancient Constitution, to restrain the Power of the Crown within just Bounds, to restore that of the States, and of the Senate; and they have made the best Use that could be of this Alteration, by electing a Prince of the Royal Family to be the Successor of the present King, and making the Crown hereditary in his Family; but in such a Manner as is consistent with their Freedom. They have likewise taken very just and prudent Precautions for preserving, increasing, and extending the Commerce of their Country, which, though at present less considerable than it formerly was, is, however, in such Circumstances as seem to promise the Recovery of its former interior Strength, which must be attended sooner or later with the Restoration of its ancient Grandeur, since both Reason and Experience teach us, that when due Care is taken for securing the Peace, the Freedom, and Prosperity of any People at home, they certainly become respected by their Neighbours, and consequently as considerable abroad, as it is consistent with their own Interest and those of their Neighbours that they should be. After thus presenting the Reader with a fair Idea of the State and Condition of *Sweden*, it is requisite that we should proceed to that of the next northern Crown, of which we shall speak as clearly and as succinctly as may be, without adhering to any particular Author, that we may take in a great Variety of Observations, and bring these within the narrower Compass.

SECTION III.

The present State of the Dominions of the Crown of DENMARK, and of its Subjects, in respect to their Manners, Customs, Laws, Forces, Revenues, Commodities, and Commerce; with occasional Observations and Remarks.

Collected from the Writings of Mr. *Molesworth*, and other Authors of Credit.

1. An Introduction, shewing the Nature and Importance of this Section; and the Authorities upon which it is founded.
2. The Climate of the several Parts of the Danish Dominions, the Seas by which they are bounded, and the Nature of the Toll which the Danes exact in the Sound.
3. The Soil and Produce of the several Countries and Islands belonging to the Crown of Denmark.
4. Of the Commodities and Commerce of this Country.
5. Of the Forces of the Danes by Sea and Land.
6. Of the King's Revenues, and the Manner of Living and the Amount of them.
7. The Temper, Genius, Manners and Customs of the Danes.
8. The Laws in this Country, with respect to Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Commercial Affairs.
9. The present State of Religion, and of their Clergy; with other Matters of the like Nature.
10. The Nature of the Tenures in Denmark, and the Manner in which Estates are held there; with other Particulars relative to that Subject.
11. Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section; with some Conjectures as to the future State of this Country and its Inhabitants.

1. **T**HERE is scarce any Country in *Europe*, or at least in the North, with which we ought to be better acquainted than with *Denmark*, considering that the Inhabitants of it were once Masters of a great Part of this Island, that our Princes have frequently intermarried with the Families of the *Danish* Kings, and that we have still as great Connection with this Kingdom and Court as with any of the Northern Powers. But notwithstanding this it so happens that we are very far from being generally well informed as to this Nation and its Concerns. It is true that Mr. *Molesworth*, who resided at *Copenhagen* in the Reign of the late King *William*, has written a valuable and much esteemed Treatise upon this Subject; in which he very fully explains the Causes of, and the Manner in which, that great Revolution happened, whereby the Kings of *Denmark* from being elective and limited became hereditary and absolute in 1660. And by the Way it may not be amiss to observe, that this is the only legal absolute Monarchy, perhaps, in the World; the King being declared so by the States of the Kingdom, who had that Power by the Constitution.

It is indeed true that there was a Force put upon the Nobility; but it was a Force put upon them by the People, who knew that they made a very bad Use of the Authority they enjoyed in virtue of their old Constitution; and therefore made it their Choice to live under an absolute King, rather than under a tyrannical Aristocracy. We may learn, from hence, several Things worthy of our Observation; and, among them, these: That when, in a mixed or limited Government, any Part of it gains such a Superiority over the rest as is destructive of the End of such a Government, which is the Good of the Whole, it cannot long subsist; but must infallibly be dissolved, either by the Usurpers of such Power being in a Condition to preserve it, or by the joining of the oppressed Parts of the Government, as in this Case, to raise up another Power capable of controlling such an Usurpation. That as a Democracy, or popular State, is, of all others, soonest corrupted; so an Aristocracy, or Government by a few, is, when corrupted, the least to be borne, especially in States which have a visible Head; and that, in such Revolutions, the Change is seldom, if ever, from a tyrannical to a mixed Government; but from one despotic Power to another. But though the Book before-mentioned states those Points very clearly, and, for the Time in which it was written, is certainly as good a one as can be wished; yet it is now, in some Measure, out of Date: And, therefore, in order to have a tolerable Idea of the present State of this Country, we must have recourse to other and later Observations.

The Dominions of the Crown of *Denmark* consist of the great Kingdom of *Norway*, of which some Account has been given in the former Section, and therefore we shall say but little of it here; of the Peninsula of *Jutland*, which, from the Frontiers of *Germany* to its utmost northern Bounds, is about two hundred and seventy Miles in Length, and of different Breadths; of the Duchy of *Holstein*, which the King of *Denmark* holds jointly with the Duke of that Title; of the *Danish* Islands, the Chief of which are *Zealand*, *Funen*, and *Iceland*; and of several Countries in *Germany*, such as *Oldenbourg*, *Delmenhorst*, and other Places, partly the hereditary Dominions of the Royal Family, and partly obtained by Conquest. We may easily discern, from hence, that this Crown must always have a considerable Share in the general System of Things in *Europe*, as well as in the particular Distribution of Power in the North; and consequently, though its Dominions lie a little out of the way, and we do not very frequently hear of the Effects either of the Power or Policy of the Kings of *Denmark*, yet the Nature of their Dominions, and the Temper of their Subjects, is very well worth the knowing. For such is the Nature of Things in this World, and such the constant Fluctuation of Interest and Power, that we can never rely, with any Certainty, on the present System; nor can we easily foresee what Turns or Changes may happen, so as to judge, with any Degree of Accuracy, which of the Powers, at present great, shall decline; or which of those, that are now low, shall rise, and become considerable, unless we look into their respective Conditions narrowly, and thereby gain some tolerable Notion of the

Chances they have of changing their present Situations, either for the better or the worse. After shewing, as we have done, the Use and Importance of the present Section, let us now proceed to the proper Business of it, with as much Clearness and Brevity as possible.

2. The Air of *Denmark* is not good, especially near *Copenhagen*, which is supposed to proceed from its low Situation, and the frequent Fogs there. The Air of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* is better than that in the northern Parts, and the Country more desirable upon many Accounts, as will appear hereafter. The same Observations are made as to the Seasons in *Denmark* as in *Sweden*, viz. That the Year is divided into Winter and Summer; that they have no Spring, and very seldom any Autumn; but they proceed immediately from an extreme Cold to an Extremity of Heat; and, in the latter-end of the Year, from violent hot Weather to an Extremity of Cold. During the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, the Heat is more intense than in *England*, and the Nights not near so cool as with us, though they are so many Degrees to the Northward; nor do they enjoy a clear Sunshine during those Heats, but thick Vapours all the time between them and the Sun: And indeed it is a general Observation, that the Heaven is much brighter and more serene far within the Continent, than it is near the Sea-coast; nor is the Air less clear and pleasant at Sea, a great Distance from Land, than it is in the Middle of the Continent. But this Observation holds more true within the Tropics, than it does either in the Northern or the Southern Latitudes. The Air of *Norway* is excessive cold; but especially within the Polar Circle, which is inhabited by the *Laplanders*. The more Southerly Part of the Country differs but little from *Sweden*, from which it is separated only by the *Doffrine* Hills.

The Seas bordering on the *Danish* Dominions are the *German* Ocean, the *Baltic*, in which is that famous Streight or Passage into the *East-Sea*, called the *Ore Sound*, or generally the *Sound* of the *Baltic*. It hath been observed, that there are no Tides in it, and that its Waters are fresher than the Ocean, supposed to be occasioned by the Rivers that run into it. The *Sound* is about four Miles over, having the Island of *Zealand* on the West, and the Continent of *Schonen* on the East. In the narrowest Part of the Streight, on *Zealand*, or *Denmark* Side, stands the Town of *Elseneur*, and the strong Castle of *Cronenbourg*, before which there is a tolerable Road for Shipping. On the Side of *Schonen*, in the Possession of the *Swedes*, is the Town of *Helsingbourg*, and a small Battery of Guns, which serve only to salute the Ships which pass by it. Between those two Places sail all the Shipping bound to the *Baltic*. The *Danes*, however, only receive the Toll of all Merchantmen who pass by it; though the *Swedes* are Masters of the opposite Shore, by virtue of the Treaty concluded when they yielded up *Schonen* to them. But the *Swedes* themselves were exempted from paying any Duties, till the last Peace in the Year 1721, when the Affairs of the *Swedes* were in a very desperate Condition, and then they condescended to pay a Toll to *Denmark*, as other Nations did, on their passing the *Sound*.

This Duty is supposed to have arisen from the mutual Consent of the Merchants trading to the East Country, who at first contributed a small Sum towards maintaining of Light-houses on the Coast for their own Security; and thereupon this Passage of the *Sound* came to be more used than that of either *Belt* to the Westward of the Isle of *Zealand*, which, in other Respects, seem as commodious as this. From some such Beginnings the *Danes* proceeded to demand large Sums, and that as their undoubted Right, being Masters of both Shores. The Emperor *Charles V.*, in behalf of his Subjects of the seventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries*, came to an Agreement with the *Danes*, That every Ship of two hundred Tons and under, passing the *Sound*, should pay two Rix Nobles going and coming from the *Baltic*; and every Ship above that Burden, three Nobles; which Agreement remained in force until the United Provinces set up for independent States; after which the *Danes* obliged the *Dutch* to pay extravagant Rates.

But the *Hollanders* and *Lubeckers* opposing these Exactions

actions about the Year 1600, obliged the *Danes* to accept of more moderate Duties. The first solemn Treaty the *Dutch* made with the *Danes* concerning this Toll was in the Year 1647, wherein they agreed to pay about twenty-five Pounds for every Ship of two hundred Tons passing the Streights for forty Years, at the Expiration of which, the first Agreement with the Emperor was to be in force. And the *English*, in their Treaties with *Denmark*, agreed to pay Toll as the *Dutch* and other Nations in friendship with them did. As to the free States of *England* and *Holland*, they ask no Permission of the *Danes* to pass the *Sound*; for the Castles on the Shores are at too great a Distance to prevent it, and, if they had not a Squadron of Men of War ready to compel the Merchant to pay the Toll, he might pass by unhurt. Besides, the Passage called the *Great Belt*, between the Islands of *Zealand* and *Funen* is much wider; and that of the *Lesser Belt*, between *Funen* and the Continent of *Jutland* is not at all impracticable.

3. The Nature of the Soil, in Dominions so far extended, and so much disjointed, as those of *Denmark* are, must be various. The Island of *Zealand*, wherein the capital City of *Copenhagen* stands, produces no Corn, but Rye, of which most of their Bread is made. Of this they have enough for the Subsistence of the Inhabitants, but not to export. There is not much Meadow or Pasture Ground in the Island; but what they have is short and sweet. One fourth Part of the Country is Forest, and reserved for the King's Game, such as Stags, wild Boars, &c. which no Subject dares meddle with, though he finds whole Herds of them devouring his Corn, and the Farmers are generally great Sufferers by them. In a wet Season they have the greatest Plenty of Grain in *Zealand*. Their Cattle are small, and lean in the Winter, kept within Doors for seven or eight Months of the Year, and fed with Grains, Roots, Weeds, and such Stuff as their Owners can provide; but, in Summer, when there is Grass to be had, their Beef is pretty good. Near *Copenhagen* the Sea is not stored with Fish, which is supposed to proceed from the Water not being so salt as that in other Seas. The Island of *Funen* produces Corn and Wood sufficient for the Natives, and they have Cattle for their Use; but it affords nothing for Exportation, except a few Horses. *Laland* is a plentiful Island, and produces all Sorts of Corn in Abundance, particularly Wheat, with which it supplies *Copenhagen*, and all other Parts of *Denmark*, in small Quantities; for Wheat is a great Rarity among them.

The Islands of *Falstria*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, are reckoned tolerably fruitful; *Arroe* and *Alsen* produce Anniseeds, which they mix with their Bread, and use it in seasoning their Meat. *Jutland* hath Corn enough for the Natives, and abounds in Cattle. The Horses and Hogs of this Country are reckoned very good, and black Cattle are transported lean from hence to *Holland*, where they grow fat in a short time, of which the *Dutch* make a considerable Profit. The Country of *Sleswick* hath a sufficient quantity of Corn, Cattle, and Horses, with which they furnish their Neighbours. *Holstein* is a pleasant, fruitful Country, said to resemble *England* in its Variety of Hills, Woods, Rivers, Meadows, and Corn Fields. *Stormar* and *Ditmarch* lie down near the *Elb*, being a rich Soil, compared to *Holland* for Fertility and Improvement of its Lands, which are sometimes overflowed, however, by the neighbouring Ocean. *Oldenbourg* also is a flat Country, much exposed to Inundations; but abounds in Cattle, and hath a Breed of Horses esteemed for being of a white or cream Colour; tho' they have generally tender Feet, and last but a little while. *Delmenhorst* is a more hilly Country than *Oldenbourg*, and pretty well wooded. *Norway* and *Lapland* having been largely described in the first Section of this Chapter, there is no Need of dwelling upon them here.

The Islands of *Iceland*, *Fero*, and *Schetland* are almost as barren as *Norway*; Corn will scarce grow in any of them; but they abound in Cattle. The Natives of *Iceland* feed on the Flesh of Bears, Wolves, and Foxes, and Bread made of dried Fish beat to Powder. They barter their dried Fish, Tallow, and Sulphur for such other Commodities as they want. There are not, either

in the Islands of *Iceland* or *Fero*; any Trees, except Juniper-shrubs, Birch, and Willows; but they have Roots, and other Garden-stuff, which, with their Fish, are their greatest Support. They have good Pasture, and a tolerable Breed of Black Cattle, small-sized Horses, and some Flocks of Sheep, and almost all manner of Roots and Herbs which grow in other Kitchen-gardens; and are pretty well stocked with Fish and Fowl. But the Cold is very severe in all these Islands, and their Winter is dark, as may easily be gathered from their Situation.

4. As to the Manufactures of *Denmark* and *Norway*, there are none, except that of Iron; which is not very considerable. *Holstein* and *Sleswick* seem to be extremely well situated for foreign Trade, lying both upon the *Baltic* and the Ocean; but reap little Advantage from their Situation at present. *Hamburg* on one Side, and *Lubeck* on the other, which border upon *Holstein*, are indeed Towns of great Trade, and the *Dane* sometimes pretends to the Sovereignty of *Hamburg*; but, by the Countenance of the neighbouring Powers, that City hath hitherto preserved her Liberties. *Jutland* and *Holstein* export nothing but Horses and Cattle. From *Norway*, indeed, there are great Quantities of Fir-timber, for Masts, Yards, and Planks exported, with Pitch, Tar, Stock-fish, Oil, and Iron, for which they receive ready Money chiefly of the *English*; but, of the *French*, Wine, Brandy, Alamodes, and other Trifles.

The *Danes* have some inconsiderable Factories in the *West-Indies*, and on the Coast of *Guinea*; and in the *East-Indies*, they are Masters of the City and Fort of *Tranguebar*, one of the most considerable Towns on the East-side of the Continent; and from hence are sent home, some Years, two or three Ships. The *Dutch* have, for many Years, been endeavouring to undermine the *Danes* in the *East-Indies*, and make themselves Masters of the Town of *Tranguebar*, inciting the Natives to lay siege to it; and the *Danes* were in great Danger of losing it about five-and-twenty Years ago; but were generously supported by Mr. Pitt, the Governor of *Fort St. George*, as we have shewn at large in our former Volume. The *Danes* are reckoned to have more Shipping than the *Swedes*, the Reason whereof may be, that *Norway* furnishes a considerable Number of hardy Seamen, who are used to those boisterous Seas; and the *Dutch* also maintain great Numbers of *Norwegians* in their Fleets, where they live better than on their own barren Coasts, which makes these People apply themselves more to the Sea-service than any other Subjects of *Denmark*; and there is always a considerable Number of them ready to man the royal Navy: Which brings us to enquire into the Strength and Forces of the *Danes* by Sea and Land.

5. We cannot enter upon this Head without making the same Reflections that Mr. Moleworth does. It is certain that the levying Taxes here is not more grievous to the People, than the Reason for which they are levied; the Maintenance of a great standing Army. The People are made Contributors to their own Misery, and their Purfes drained in order to maintain their Slavery. The *French* King has taught the Princes of *Europe* that pernicious Secret of making one Part of the People bridle and scourge the other; which, in time, must needs end in a general Desolation. The King of *Denmark* hath even endeavoured to exceed his Original, in raising more Men than his Country will maintain; and, at present, the Northern and German Princes estimate their Wealth not by the Fertility or Extent of their Territory, by the Trade or Industry of the People, but by the Numbers of Horse and Foot in their Service; for the Subsistence of which, after they have eaten up their own Subjects, they make use of an hundred cruel and unjust Pretences to ruin and encroach on their Neighbours; and, when they cannot accomplish such Projects, foment Quarrels among other Princes, that they may have an Opportunity of letting out their Troops for Hire; and have found the Art of receiving Pay, without interesting themselves in the Quarrel; which hath been the constant Practice of the *Danes*, and some neighbouring Princes, for many Years past. Those Practices, however, have been very pernicious to *Denmark*.

Nor have the *Danes* succeeded in any of their Attempts against

against the City of *Hamburg*; but, in the last War, taking Advantage of the Distress the *Swedes* were reduced to by a potent Confederacy, the *Dane* made himself Master of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which he afterwards conveyed to the Sovereign of *Hanover*; and seized also on the late Duke of *Holstein's* Territories, in his Minority, which he still keeps. It is computed that *Denmark*, *Holstein*, and *Oldenbourg* maintain five thousand four hundred and fifty Horse, fifteen hundred Dragoons, and seventeen thousand Foot. *Norway* maintains twelve hundred and thirty-six Horse and Dragoons, and fourteen thousand three hundred Foot, making in all a Body of near forty thousand Men. The Foot-Soldiers, both Officers and private Men, are generally Foreigners, of all Countries, *Poles*, *Germans*, *Swedes*, *Scots*, &c. There are more Reasons than one for not employing too many of the Natives; but the principal, lest they should shew too much Affection to their own Country, and not so readily obey the arbitrary Commands of their Princes. Officers of Horse receive no more Pay, in time of Peace, than those of the Foot. The Horse are usually Natives, and maintained every one by a Free-holder or Farmer, who is obliged to provide him and his Horse Meat, and six Shillings a Month in Money, half of which the Colonel takes towards his Mounting; and in *Holstein* they have something better Pay than in *Denmark*. In *Norway* little Money is expended in paying the Forces; the private Soldiers being quartered by the Boors, and, which is an heavy Burthen, subsisted by them.

For the Sea-Service three thousand Mariners are constantly maintained at *Copenhagen*, as well in Peace as War; having a weekly Allowance of Salt, Flesh, Stock-Fish, or Meal, Grout, &c. for themselves and their Families, and about eighty Rix-Dollars a Year in Money. And there are several Streets of little Houses, or Barracks, near the Walls where they live, and where their Wives and Children reside while they are at Sea. Their Business, in time of Peace, is to work in the King's Yards and Docks, which are over-against the Palace in *Copenhagen*, where they take it by Turns to serve in all laborious Works relating to the Shipping; and once a Year it is usual to equip a small Squadron of Men of War, and sail with them two or three Months for exercising the Sailors. All the Officers in the Fleet are in constant Pay, as well in Peace as War; and the *Danes* compute, that they can rig out thirty Sail of Men of War and upwards at a very short Warning.

6. The King's Revenues arise from the Duties paid by his own Subjects, the Customs paid by Foreigners, the Crown Lands, Fines, and Confiscations. The Taxes paid by his Subjects are either fixed or variable; that is, the Prince, in some Cases, chuses to follow a certain Rule, established by himself; which, he may, however alter, if he sees fit, and in others he frequently varies. Of the first Sort are the Duties of Import and Export, and the Excise commonly called Consumption laid upon every thing that is eat or drank in the Kingdom. There are also Duties paid for Marriage Licences, Duties on Stamp-Paper; on which all Bargains, Contracts, Proceedings at Law, &c. are written; some of these Duties amounting to several Rix-Dollars *per* Sheet. Duties are also laid upon Brewing and Malt, and Corn that is ground on Mills. These Duties are certain, or seldom altered. The uncertain Duties are the Taxes on Land, which are not assessed by the Acre, but according to the annual Value of the Farm. Poll-Money imposed upon every one according to the personal Estate he is supposed to have, which is sometimes levied twice a Year. Money levied for erecting or repairing the Fortifications.

An occasional Tax, raised only when a Daughter of *Denmark* is to be married, whose Portion is usually an hundred thousand Crowns. A Tax laid upon every Tradesman for the Liberty of exercising his Calling, and the Gain he is supposed to make by it, who is obliged also to quarter Soldiers. The Ground-Rents, in all Cities and Towns, which the King taxes, according to the Value of the House or the Ability of the Possessor. In *Holstein* the Lands are taxed according to the Ploughs, each Plough paying a certain Sum every Month. Not many Years

since an Estimate was made of all the Houses in the Cities and Towns in the King's Dominions; and all the Lands were measured, that the Crown might the better understand their Value; and the Ground-Tax, in the Cities and Towns, was assessed at Four *per Cent.* of the whole Value the Ground was rated at, if it was to be purchased; and the like Proportion was observed towards others, in regard to their Houses and Professions. The most moderate Assessment of their Poll-Tax is according to the following Proportion, *viz.* A Citizen worth eight or ten thousand Rix-Dollars pays four Rix-Dollars for himself, four for his Wife, two for every Child, and one for each Servant, and for every Horse a Rix-Dollar. An Alehouse-keeper pays one Rix-Dollar for himself, another for his Wife, twenty-four Stivers for every Child, and sixteen for every Servant. The Fortification Tax is usually high. A Merchant worth six or eight thousand Rix-Dollars, hath sometimes paid sixty-eight Dollars, an ordinary Citizen Eight or Ten, and others in Proportion.

A late Writer hath computed the Revenues of the Crown of *Denmark*, as follows: The Toll of the Sound at 65,000 Rix-Dollars *per Ann.* The rest of the Toll of *Denmark* farmed at 165,000 Rix-Dollars. The Consumption or Excise of *Copenhagen*, farmed at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The Consumption of the rest of *Denmark* at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The smaller Taxes of *Denmark* at 100,000 Rix-Dollars. Poll-Tax, Fortification-Tax, Ground-Rents and Land-Tax, at 100,000 Rix-Dollars. The whole Revenue of *Norway* at 700,000 Rix-Dollars. The Crown-Lands, Confiscations, &c. at 200,000 Rix-Dollars. The Revenue of *Iceland* farmed at 27,000 Rix-Dollars. *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenborst* 8000 Rix-Dollars; and the Toll upon the *Wefer* 5000 Rix-Dollars: So that the whole Revenue of *Denmark* amounts to 2,622,000 Rix-Dollars *per Ann.* But as the Gentleman, who makes this Calculation, observes, that the Poll-Tax and Fortification-Tax are never raised the same Year; we must, upon that Account, deduct 400,000 Rix-Dollars out of the Sum total, and the whole Revenue will then amount to two Millions two hundred twenty-two thousand Rix-Dollars, or about five hundred thousand Pounds of our Money, which in that part of the World will go near as far as three Times the Sum with us, considering the Cheapness of Provision and Labour in *Denmark* and *Norway*.

7. As to the Persons of the *Danes* they are generally tall, and strong limbed; their Complexion good; their Hair fair, yellow, or red; and as few of the Men wear Wigs, they take a great deal of Pains in curling their yellow Locks; neither Men nor Women are ashamed of red Hair, or endeavour to change the Colour. They have bad Shapes, and their Mien is not to be admired. When we see the *Danish* Women sitting in a Coach or Chair, some of them appear exquisitely beautiful; but if they rise and attempt to walk they spoil all. Both Ladies and Gentlemen in Summer affect to imitate the *French* Dress; but in Winter wrap themselves up in Furs or Wool, like the rest of the Northern People. They are neat in their Linnen, changing it often, and affect too much Magnificence. It is observed that *Denmark* seldom produces a great Genius; they are not good at Invention or Imitation, and are neither deeply learned, nor exquisite Mechanics. Polite Learning they are perfect Strangers to, and few Books are found amongst them, except those of controversial Religion.

Mr. *Molesworth*, in summing up their Character, says, he never knew a Country where the Minds of People were more upon a Level. As we find none of extraordinary Parts or Qualifications, or excellent in particular Studies or Arts, so we see no Enthusiasts, Madmen, natural Fools, or whimsical People; but a certain Equality of Understanding reigns among them; every one plods on in the ordinary Track of Common-sense, without deviating to the right or left. The common People, however, in general, write and read, and their Clergy usually talk Latin, but not in the greatest Purity. The Vices the Gentry are most addicted to, are Gluttony and Drunkenness. When they sit down to eat and drink, they never know when to rise, but the Debauch sometimes

times continues whole Days and Nights. The first Thing a Friend is presented with at his coming into the House is a Dram of Brandy; and they are no sooner set down to Dinner, but every Man and Woman hath also a Glass set by their Plate, and on the proposing a Health take off their Glasses together, and by that means make a quick Dispatch. The Women indeed retire after Dinner; but the Men sit it out 'till they have lost (which is not soon done) their little Sense.

The Liquors drank by People of Condition are Rhenish-Wines, Cherry-Brandy, and all Sorts of French-Wines. The Men are fond of them, and the fair Sex do not refuse them. The poor People indulge in bad Beer and Spirits extracted from Malt or Barley. Nor do the *Norwegians* who can afford it come behind the *Danes*; 'tis the Custom of the Country; and both among the Gentry and common People, Lewdness and Intemperance pass for Wit and ingenious Conversation. As to their Eating, the Tables of People of Condition are covered with a Variety of Dishes; but the Flesh, except Beef and Veal, is generally lean and ill tasted; their tame Fowls and wild Ducks are scarce eatable. There are no fallow Deer, Woodcocks, Pheasants or Rabbits; and red Deer are the King's Game, and not to be purchased. Their Hares and their Bacon are excellent, as are their fresh-water Fish, particularly the Carp, Perch, and Craw-fish; but Sea-fish is scarce and ill tasted; and in general their Cookery is not agreeable to an *English* Palate. The common People in Town and Country live upon coarse Rye Bread, lean Salt Fish, Stock-Fish, Roots, and very bad Cheese, seldom tasting fresh Fish, and hardly ever Flesh. As to the Character of the common People, they are poor, and mean-spirited, far from the warlike Temper of their Ancestors, inclined to cheating, and intolerably jealous and suspicious that others have a Design upon them; which may be observed to be the Case of most Men of limited Understandings. In our Age, says *Puffendorf*, the *Danes* have lost much of their ancient Glory, because the present Nobility and Gentry are rather for enjoying their Revenues in Ease and Luxury, than for undergoing the Fatigues of War; and the Commonality have followed their Example.

The *Norwegians* undergo all kinds of Hardships with more Courage and Vigour, to which they are inured by the Climate they live in; but the *Danes*, ever since they have been Masters of *Norway*, have endeavoured to depress and keep that People under, by taking from them all the Opportunities of exerting themselves; and there are now very few of the ancient Nobility left in *Norway*. The *Danes* travel either in Waggons, on Horseback, or in Sledges; and there is an Officer who regulates the Prices of Carriage, and punishes those who extort more than their Due. If any Gentleman can procure a Warrant from the Court, when he is about to undertake a Journey, the Peasants or Farmers are obliged to furnish him with Horses and Carriage, in every Country, through which he passes, without being allowed any thing, as they do for the King and Court whenever they travel. The *Danes* have their Playhouse for their Diversion; they take their Pleasure also in their Sleds upon the Ice in Winter. But downright Drinking is their favourite Recreation; the most serious Affairs submit to this, the great Business of the Day and Night. Nor do the *Danes* indulge more in Eating and Drinking than in their Lodging; for as there is no Place where there is greater Plenty of good Feather-beds, they lay one under, another over them, all the Winter Season. But Lodgings for Strangers are procured with Difficulty in private Houses, and in Public-Houses they are obliged to eat and sleep, in common, no Man being allowed a Room to himself, except his Quality be very high indeed.

8. The King of *Denmark* is the great Interpreter of his Laws, and can change them at Pleasure. He is the supreme Judge and President of the High Court of Justice, when he pleases to sit there, which is not often: However, whether present or absent, the Advocates always address themselves to the King. The Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility, and Gentry, are commonly tried in this High Court; and the Superintendants, or Bishops, have

the same Privilege, if charged with Heresy, or any other notorious Crime. Where any Person calumniates the Government, or the Administration, he is declared infamous, and his Goods confiscated; but if such Discourses tend to a Sedition, they are to be punished with the utmost Severity. As to those who endeavour to defame a Magistrate, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, or injure the Reputation of a Person of Honour, by Writing, or otherwise, they are to pay eighty Rix-Dollars to the Party grieved, and a Fine of three Marks to the Crown; and in Default of Payment are condemned to the Pillory, and to carry Stones for the Repair of the Fortifications and public Buildings. If any Person refuses to take up Arms, and serve the Government, either by Sea or Land, in Case of an Invasion, when he is summoned to attend the Royal Standard, he is to be declared infamous, and to forfeit his Estate.

A Person guilty of Theft is not only sentenced to be whipped, and to hard Labour in the public Works, but to restore double the Value of the Goods stolen to the Owner. Coining is punished with the Loss of Life and Honour, and Confiscation of the Estate of the Offender, and the same Punishment is inflicted on him who removes an ancient Landmark. He who counterfeits the Hand and Seal of another, or forges a Writing, is sentenced to have his Head cut off; his Goods confiscated and declared infamous. The Torture is seldom used in *Denmark*, but in Cases of High Treason; and then only upon Persons already convicted of the same Crime, in order to make them discover their Accomplices. Duels, and even the challenging another to fight is punished with the Loss of Life and Estate, and Seconds, who do not endeavour to prevent it, are punished in like manner. He who is killed in a Duel is not suffered to be buried in consecrated Ground; whoever reflects upon another for refusing a Challenge, is punishable, and declared infamous by a *Danish* Law. In Cases of Shipwrecks, the *Danish* Subjects are required to give all imaginable Assistance to those in Distress, and to preserve the Goods for the Owner's Use.

The Ships which guard the Coasts are directed to save what Effects they can, for which they have a moderate Reward; and the Owners are permitted to sell them in the Country, or embark them on board other Vessels. If a Ship or Goods be driven on the Coast, and no body appears to claim them, the King's Officers, or the Lord of the Manor takes care to preserve them; or if they are perishable Goods they sell them to the best Advantage, and restore them to the Owner; but if they are not reclaimed within a Year and a Day, they become the Property of the King, or the Lord of the Place. If the Master of any Ship finds Goods floating on the Sea, he is to take Care of, and deliver them to the next Magistrate, who must keep them a Year and a Day, to see if any one can claim them; and if no body owns them they belong to the King, and if any conceal or embezzle such wrecked Goods, he is to be punished as a Felon, and the Law is much the same where a Person finds Goods or Cattle upon the Road; for he is obliged to publish them in the Court of the District, and can have no Property in the Goods till a Year and a Day be past, where no body comes in to reclaim them.

There being but one University in *Denmark*, a Divinity Reader is appointed to reside in every Cathedral, to expound the Scriptures to the People; and these Divinity Readers, as well as the Masters of Colleges, are examined by the Professors of the Royal Academy of *Copenhagen* before they are admitted to officiate; private Schools are expressly prohibited by the Laws of *Denmark*, and none allowed but those established by public Authority in the Cities and great Towns; and they have two or three Masters belonging to each School, who have taken their Degree of Masters of Art at least, as well as the Rector. The first Master, or Rector, is chosen by the Superintendent, or Bishop, having passed an Examination before him and the Minister of the Parish. The Under-Masters are appointed by the Rector, with the Approbation of the Minister of the Place. The lesser Schools, where only Writing and Accompts are taught, are appointed by the

Magistrate ; the Teacher having been first examined by the Priest of the Parish, who is also to take Care that they are instructed in the *Lutheran* Doctrine.

No Person is at Liberty to send a Tutor to travel with his Son, who hath not been first examined by the Superintendant of the Diocese, and found to be Orthodox in Religion ; and the same is required where one takes a Tutor into his House, who also ought to be a Student of the University of *Copenhagen*. As no other Method of Teaching is allowed, than that prescribed by the Government ; so no other Books may be read, but such as are approved by Authority, which are composed by the Professors of their University. The Importation of Books is also prohibited, especially those which treat of any other Sort of Religion, than that established amongst them. No other Calendars or Almanacks are allowed to be published than those made by the Order of the Rector and Senate of the University, on Pain of Confiscation of Goods ; they are prohibited also, to insert in them Predictions relating to War, Plague, or Famine, or any other Calamities.

9. The Clergy of this Kingdom are divided into three Classes, *viz.* Super-intendants or Bishops, Intendants, which some compare to our Arch-deacons, and Curates or Parish Priests. The Super-intendant is obliged to visit his Diocese once every Year, and to lie in the Person's House, when he comes to any Place ; who is to entertain him, Servants and four Horses, *gratis*. The Super-intendants are consecrated by the Bishop or Super-intendant of *Zealand*, assisted by five or six Priests ; but are all nominated by the King. The Peasants, who pay Tithes of all their Corn, Cattle, Poultry, and Bees, pay one Third thereof to the Crown, another to the Bishop and other Uses of the Church, and the remaining Third to their Parish Clerk. But of Grass and Fruits which grow spontaneously no Tithes are paid ; there are some other Dues also payable to the Clergy by the Peasants, for Confession, Burials, Marriages, &c.

The Super-intendant holds a kind of Synod twice a Year, consisting of the Intendants in his Diocese, where the Governor of the Province presides for the King. The Overseers are chosen by the Parish Priests of each County or District, in Conjunction with the Super-intendant ; and he is obliged to visit all the Parishes under his Inspection once a Year, at least, and hath a Power of censuring the Lives and Conversations of the Priests in their respective Divisions. They see that the Churches are kept in repair, and that their Revenues are not alienated or misapplied. No Person can be admitted into Priests Orders until he hath a Cure provided for him. He must have a Certificate also from the Divinity-Professor of the University, concerning the Progress he hath made in his Studies, and his Qualifications for the Pulpit ; and if he do not come immediately from the University, he must have them from the Overseer and Parish Priest, where he resides ; and if the Superintendant approves of the Clerk, he is instituted and inducted as with us. But their Law requires, that none be admitted into Priests Orders who are under five and twenty Years of Age ; and the giving any Money, or Consideration, either for Orders or the Presentment to a Living, is forbidden. And they are obliged to perform Divine Service according to the established Form or Ritual, observed at *St. Mary's* in *Copenhagen*.

They are obliged to pray for the King and Magistracy, and for the Propagation of the Gospel ; and are prohibited to admit any to the Sacrament, who have not first been at Confession. But the Penitent, it is said, need not give an Account of every particular Sin. A general Confession, according to the Order the Commands stand in, intitles him to Absolution. The Priest is also forbid to take any Money, which the *Lutheran* Ministers frequently do notwithstanding. The Priest may not divulge the Confession of any one, where it is particular ; unless in Cases of High Treason, or for the Prevention of some great Mischief by such Discovery, on Pain of Deprivation ; and in this Case the Name of the Penitent ought to be concealed as long as possible. The *Danes* look upon all who have any Service appointed them in

the Church as Ecclesiastics ; and they are accordingly taken from among the Students, whether they be Clerks, Sextons, or Singingmen, and wholly depend on the Priest or Curate of the Parish. The Lands of every Person convicted of turning Papist are forfeited to the next Heir, unless he disposes of them before he changes his Religion, and such Apostate is banished the *Danish* Dominions. Whoever hath received his Education from the Jesuits is disabled to have any Employment, Ecclesiastical or Civil, and Popish Priests are prohibited to enter the *Danish* Dominions, on Pain of Death ; nor is their Law less severe against those they denominate Heretics. *Jews* are forbid to come into the Kingdom without a Royal Licence ; and whosoever discovers a *Jew* is entitled to a Reward of fifty Crowns. Their Laws also are pretty severe against Gypsies and Fortune-tellers, who pretend to foretell future Events, and to be acquainted with the Stars ; Banishment being the Pain of the first Offence, and the second Capital. Blasphemers of God and Religion are sentenced, first, to have their Tongues cut out, and afterwards to lose their Heads ; and if a Priest or Ecclesiastic is guilty of profaning the Name of God ; or of any other notorious Vice, his Punishment is heavier than that of a Layman.

Their Laws concerning Marriage, require that the Consent of the Relations be had as well as the Woman's. And if she marries without the Consent of the Guardian, he shall receive the Profit of her Fortune during his Life ; but if a Guardian neglect to marry his Ward till she is past eighteen Years of Age, the Magistrate is impowered to relieve her. Their Marriages are dissolvable, and a Divorce may be obtained in *Denmark* for Adultery ; on a voluntary and malicious Elopement ; and for Impotence ; but in case of Adultery the Crime must be well proved by Witnesses, or Circumstances, the Confession of the offending Party not being sufficient, since many have falsely accused themselves, in order to obtain a Separation : The *Danish* Law also requires, that the Party who brings the Accusation be innocent ; for otherwise no Divorce can be obtained ; unless it appear, that the ill Usage of the Husband hath occasioned the Wife to offend ; and if the Husband, after he has discovered his Wife to be guilty of Adultery, shall cohabit with her afterwards, a Separation will not be granted. Where a Woman is divorced for Adultery, she may marry again after three Years are elapsed, with a Royal Licence, provided she has lived chastly during that Time ; but she may not marry, or reside within the same Town, or District, where her former Husband lived ; and the like where the former Husband is divorced for Adultery, committed by him ; but the innocent Party is at Liberty to marry so soon as the Sentence of Divorce is pronounced. What they term a malicious Elopement, is where one of the Parties absents him, or her self, from his, or her Spouse, by the Space of three Years ; but if the Party deserted hath cohabited with another in the mean time, a Divorce cannot be obtained on this Account.

10. A Man is not to sell or alienate his Lands before he is five and twenty Years of Age, without the Consent of his nearest Relation ; and a Woman, whether she be Maid or Widow, can never part with her Lands, but must leave them to descend as the Law directs. An uninterrupted Possession of twenty Years is held to make a good Title, and they are not permitted to run farther back in a Tryal of the Right. All Obligations also, and personal Debts are held to be void if not renewed within twenty Years ; for Notes, and Bills of Exchange, are of equal Force with an Obligation ; but the Law allows eight Days for all kinds of Payments to be made beyond the Time prefixed, and if that Time be elapsed four and twenty Hours, the Creditor may protest it, and have Processes thereon against the Original Debtor or Acceptor. No Person is obliged to pay any Money lost at Gaming.

The Tenure of Villainage still prevails in many Parts of *Denmark* ; and their Vassals, or Tenants, who hold by this base Tenure, are purchased, and descend with the Lands they live upon, like Fish in the Waters, or Deer in a Park ; nor can these Peasants leave the Lands they belong to, and retire elsewhere ; if they do, the Lord of the

the Soil may reclaim them, with their Goods; nor can any Town or Place receive them, unless they produce a Licence from their Lord, and a Certificate from the Minister of the Parish where they last inhabited: And if a Peasant of this Class endeavours to conceal himself, his Lord may seize him, and put him in Prison, or remove him to any other Tenement or Farm, by way of Punishment. And if the Wife of one of these Peasants be brought to-bed on the Lands of another Lord, the Child shall, however, belong to the Lord where the Father lives. Although the Lord has a Power to enfranchise his Peasant, or sell him with the Land, yet he cannot sell him singly or separate from the Manor or Estate. The Children of the Ecclesiastics of the Peasants Race are free, and so are all Students in the liberal Arts.

A Peasant cannot have the Freedom of any Town till he is first enfranchised by the Lord; but if he hath resided ten Years in any City unreclaimed, and becomes a Tradesman, or Artificer, or applies himself to the Sea, he is free. A Peasant also who hath lived twenty Years in a foreign Village out of the Lord's Land, thereby procures his Freedom; or if he goes into the Army and obtains a Commission, this gives him his Freedom. As to Game Laws, every Freeholder may hunt, and fish in his own Grounds; and the Nobility and Gentry have the Privilege of hunting in common or waste Grounds within ten Miles of their Seats, except in the King's Parks; and they may fish in Lakes and Ponds which are not the King's; but if any Lord hunt, shoot, or fish, in any Place belonging to his Majesty, he forfeits for every Stag one thousand Rix-Dollars, for a fallow Deer eight hundred, for a Hare four hundred; and for every Swan, Goose, Duck, Partridge, or other Fowl two hundred. And whoever is convicted of hunting in another's Lands, forfeits an hundred Ounces of Silver for every Offence.

The People in this Country being pretty much addicted to drinking, all Business is prohibited to be transacted in Taverns, and the sitting in public Houses very much discouraged; if they will drink, it must be at home: And the Reason of it is supposed to be, lest the People in their Cups should be too free with the Government. It is observed also, that the Subjects usually endeavour to imitate the Court: If it happens to be a sober Reign, the People are less given to Excess; and where they have luxurious Princes and Ministers, the lower Part of Mankind do not fail to follow the lewd Example their Superiors set them; which is also practised in other Places. If any Person sends his Effects or Money out of the Kingdom, to be lodged in foreign Banks, the King claims a sixth Part, and he is obliged to pay a tenth to the Magistrates of the Town, or the Lord of the Soil where he resides; even foreign Merchants have been obliged to submit to these Exactions in their returning home, notwithstanding their respective Sovereigns have insisted upon an Exemption.

11. The great Alteration that has happened in *Denmark*, from the changing the Monarchy from elective to hereditary, and from being the most limited, into the most absolute of any in *Europe*, has had a very strong Effect upon all Ranks and Degrees of People in that Country; and may be said, in some measure, to have made a total Change in their Temper, and in the Nation. The Nobility of *Denmark* who were formerly as remarkable for their military Virtues as any in *Europe*, are now very seldom mentioned; and those of *Norway* are in a manner extinguished. The *Danes* have a better Army it is true, than they had formerly, but it is an Army entirely in the Disposition of the King, and not, as before, sufficient to make any great Conquests. The naval Force of *Denmark* is more considerable; but yet it does not appear capable of striking any great Terror into its Neighbours; whence we may conclude, and that too very justly, that the Crown of *Denmark* is far from being so formidable as it was in former Times; yet, with respect to its own Security, it seems to be as well or better provided than ever; for whereas the *Swedes* in the last Age, were more than once on the very Point of destroying this Kingdom, there is not now the least Danger either of their under-

taking or effecting any such Design; because the Neighbours of *Denmark*, and the maritime Powers are bound, both by their Treaties and their Interests, to support this Crown if it should be attacked. It is indeed true, that if the House of *Holstein* should succeed to the full and peaceable Possession of the *Russian* Dominions, *Denmark* might be in great Danger from thence, as well on Account of the superior Forces of that Empire, as because the House of *Holstein* have very considerable Claims upon *Denmark*, which are hitherto unadjusted. But on the other Side, it is to be considered, that as yet that Succession has not taken place, and that in all probability it will be found more for the Interest of the *Russian* Empire to adjust those Disputes amicably, before that Succession takes place, than to run the Hazard of a War about them; which might, and indeed must, be attended with many dangerous Consequences, considering how many Powers are interested in the Support of *Denmark*, even with Regard to these very Claims of the House of *Holstein* upon her.

According therefore to the best Maxims of Policy, we may very fairly conclude, that in case the Kings of *Denmark* act with the same Prudence and Caution that they have done for many Years past, they will be in a Condition to preserve what they at present enjoy, and be also at Liberty to promote and improve the domestic Prosperity of their Subjects. By this I mean, their Application to Manufactures and Commerce, which have been greatly encouraged of late Years, and this Encouragement has been likewise attended with all the Success they could reasonably expect. We have shewn, in speaking of *Groenland*, that the Subjects of *Denmark* have established considerable Colonies there, and are in Possession of a very beneficial Trade upon those Coasts. We may say the same thing with respect to *Iceland*, the Trade of which is entirely in their Possession, and that of *Norway* also is much improved and extended: But besides all this, as we have shewn in a former Volume, an *East-India* Company has been long settled at *Copenhagen*, and is now in a flourishing Condition. We are also to observe, that within these few Years the *Danes* have opened a Trade to the *Mediterranean*; and as the present Monarch seems to follow closely the Examples of his Predecessors, in avoiding as much as possible entering in any Degree into the Troubles and Disputes that for several Years have kept *Europe* in a Flame, with a View not only to preserve the Quiet of his Subjects, but to cultivate also the Arts of Peace; we have Reason therefore to conclude, that in the Space of a few Years, the good Effects of this wise Conduct will appear, and the People become much richer than formerly. It is also very likely, that when these happy Consequences of a growing and flourishing Trade become more conspicuous, the Government will find it expedient and even necessary, to relax some of those severe Laws which are most likely to bear hard upon Persons engaged in Traffic; for without such Indulgences it is impossible that the Schemes the *Danish* Monarchs seem of late to have so much at heart, should be ever brought to perfection.

We may add to all this, that the Benefits immediately resulting to the Crown from the Increase of the Commerce and Navigation of its Subjects, will so fully compensate for such Diminutions of Power, that it is impossible any just and good Prince, or any wise and able Ministry should doubt, as to the Propriety of such reasonable and moderate Changes. By these Methods the interior Strength of the Kingdom will be daily augmenting; the Shipping, and consequently the naval Force, of *Denmark* continually increasing, and though these Advantages may be slow in their Nature, yet they are at the same time so very certain, and of such high Importance, that I make no Scruple of affirming they will, if steadily prosecuted, change the whole Face of Affairs in this Country; and before the Close of the present Century, restore the antient Lustre of the Crown of *Denmark*, and perhaps raise its Sovereigns to a higher Rank, than hitherto they have ever held amongst the *European* Powers.

SECTION IV.

A comprehensive Account of the Kingdom of POLAND, the Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and Commerce of that Country, together with the Laws, Customs, Manners, Form of Government, and Genius of the Inhabitants; the Privileges of their Nobility, and Power of their Kings.

Collected chiefly from the Writings of Dr. Bernard Conner, who resided in that Kingdom in Quality of Physician to King John Sobieski.

1. *The Situation, Extent, and Limits of the Polish Dominions, including the grand Duchy of Lithuania and that Part of Prussia which belongs to Poland.*
2. *The Soil, Climate, Produce, Commodities, &c. of the Country.*
3. *The Nature of its Domestic Trade and Foreign Commerce, and the Reason why the latter is so inconsiderable.*
4. *An Account of the Dyet of Poland, the Persons who compose it, and the Reason why Poland is called a Republic.*
5. *The legal Powers, Prerogative, and State of the King of Poland.*
6. *A farther Account of the same Subject, and of the Revenues of this Monarch; from whence it appears that he is far from being so weak, or so restrained, as is generally imagined.*
7. *The Rights, Immunities, Privileges, extensive Power and Authority of the Nobility or Gentry of Poland; with the Reason of their declining Titles; and particular Instances of the vast Power and large Estates of some of the Grandees of Poland.*
8. *An Account of the Condition of the Peasants, and of the Services they owe their Lords; with Remarks on the Patience and Submission of those unhappy People.*
9. *The natural Temper, Disposition, Customs, Manner of Living, &c. of the Polish Nobility and Commons.*
10. *This Subject continued, particularly with regard to the Ladies, and some Remarks on the Ceremonies at Marriages, Funerals, and other such like Occasions.*
11. *Of the State of Learning and the Sciences in this Kingdom; and of the Diseases common in Poland.*
12. *A succinct History of the Changes that have happened in the Government of Poland, and in the Power and Succession of their Kings.*
13. *Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

1. **T**HE great Kingdom of Poland next demands our Consideration, as being naturally, both with respect to the Situation and Produce of the Country, and the Force of the Inhabitants, none of the least considerable; though it is very far from being the best known in Europe. It is thought to extend in Length from East to West, about seven hundred Miles; and in Breadth, from North to South, about six hundred. On the North it has Livonia and other Provinces of the Muscovite Empire. On the East it is also bounded by the Russian Dominions and Lesser Tartary. On the South by Moldavia, Transylvania, and Hungary; and on the West by Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia. By this Description, it appears, that the Inhabitants of Poland, have, for their Neighbours the Russians, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians, and other Subjects of the House of Austria, and those of the King of Prussia. The Air of this Country is in general temperate and healthful, but exceeding serene, and more settled both in Winter and Summer, than in those Countries, which border on the Ocean. The only Sea which washes any Part of Poland is the Baltic, which lies to the Northward of it; but it is well watered, however, by Lakes and Rivers.

Their Lakes lie chiefly in the Greater Poland, Cujavia, and the Territory of Lublin; and both Lakes and Rivers abound with Fish. Their principal Rivers are the Weiscl, or Vistula, which rises in the Crapatch or Carpathian Mountains, which divide Hungary from Poland; its Courses are partly to the Eastward, but generally it runs from South to North, watering many great Cities, particularly Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw, Thorn, Marienburgh, and Dantzick, after which it discharges itself into the Baltic Sea. The Warta or Varta, which rises in the Lesser Poland, and running towards the North-west, passes by Kalisch, Posen, and several other great Towns, after which it falls into Oder. The Nieper or Boristhenes, which dividing the Dominions of Muscovy from those of Poland, in several Places, falls at length into the Black Sea, near Oczakow. The Neister or Tyra, which rises in Red Russia, and running to the South-east through Podolia, passes on to Bender in Turkey, and falls into the Black Sea, about sixty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of the Danube.

The Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland,

and falls into the Baltic near Riga. The Bog which rises from a Lake in Podolia, and bending its Course to the South-east, unites its Waters with the Nieper, a little before that River falls into the Black Sea. Near the Mouth of these two united Rivers stands the Fortrefs of Kassicarmen, which the late Czar of Muscovy took from the Turks; and by that means, is opened a Communication with the Black Sea; but he was obliged to restore this Place as well as Asoph to the Grand Seignior, upon the Defeat he met with on the Banks of the Pruth. Niemen or Russe rises in the Palatinate of Novogrodeck, and taking its Course to the North-west passes by Grodno, and at length falls into the Baltic.

2. The Dominions of Poland are usually divided into eight large Provinces, viz. Proper Poland, the great Dukedom of Lithuania, Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, Warsawia, or Mussovia, Polackia and Polesia, Red or Little Russia, Podolia, and Volhinia, and the Ukrain. The Soil for the most Part is champain and open; but towards the Borders of Hungary mountainous and woody; so that the Places furthest distant from Hungary are most fruitful. There is only one great Mountain in the Middle of Lesser Poland, called Mons Calvus. It has a Monastery on the Top; famous, as they pretend, for the real Cross of CHRIST; what other Hills one meets with here, are rather rising Grounds than Mountains; the Eastern Parts of the Kingdom are full of Woods, Forests, Lakes, Marshes, and Rivers, which afford a delightful Prospect to that open Country; almost all of it, is said to have been overgrown with Wood, but now being cultivated by the Inhabitants is very fertile, and produces every where all kind of Fruit, Corn, and Herbs. A great Part of the Corn made use of in Holland comes from this Country by way of Denmark.

They have a good Breed of Horses, so that their Cavalry is numerous, and well mounted. Their Pastures are good, and feed a great many Cattle, which they export to foreign Countries; the Forests abound with wild Beasts, and also with Bees, that afford vast Quantities of Honey and Wax. They have also abundance of Flax and Hemp, and Vines in many Places, whose Grapes are grateful to the Taste, especially if the Summer and Harvest be favourable; but the Wine is generally very sharp when drawn off. In the Mountain there are Mines of Lead,

Lead, Silver, Copper, and Iron, with other kinds of Minerals, as Quicksilver at *Tustan* in *Red Russia*, and Vitriol near *Biecz* in the Palatinate of *Cracovia*; but the most considerable of all are the Salt Mines at *Bochnia* and *Velisca* in *Lesser Poland*, which are the chief Riches of the Country. They work in those Mines as we do in our Coal-Pits; the Salt is generally of a bluish Colour, but some of it white and transparent, like Crystal; when it is new dug it has a brackish Taste, but when exposed to the Air becomes brittle, and more sweet; they have also some Veins of *Sal Gemmae*. The Woods are well stored with Hares, Coneys, Squirrels, Deer, Foxes, Bears, Wolves, and Boars. The *Masovian* Forests have Plenty of Elks, wild Asses, Buffaloes, and Bisonets, which in Shape and Horns resemble an Ox; have Mains like Horses, Beards on their lower Jaws, Tongues rough like a File, and very hard, a Bunch on their Backs, and their Hair smells like Musk. They are incredible strong; the *Polish* Nobility hunt them, and esteem their Flesh when powdered a great Dainty. The *Urus*, called by the *Polanders* *Thur*, is a kind of wild Ox; bigger, stronger, and swifter than the tame; he has a short black Beard, a Bush of Hair upon his Forehead, and Horns very wide and large: *Pliny* says, the *Romans* made Lanthorns of them. The Elk, called by the *Poles* *Los*, by the *Germans* *Elland*, which signifies miserable, because of the Falling-Sickness, is about the Size of a large Horse, bodied like a Stag, but broader, its Legs longer, and its Feet cloven and large; their Hoofs are reckoned a Specific against the Falling-Sickness.

In the Deserts near the *Nieper*, there is a Sort of wild Sheep, called *Solback*, shaped like a Goat, but with shorter Legs, and Horns growing straiter up. They are exceeding swift, and leap very high. They have a Sort of wild Horses in the *Ukrain*, called by them *Dzikie-konil*, which their Nobles eat for a great Rarity. In *Lithuania* and *Muscovy* there is a voracious unserviceable Beast not found elsewhere, called *Rossomoko*, with the Body and Tail of a Wolf, and the Face of a Cat; it feeds on dead Carcasses, and eats till its Belly is swelled to the utmost Stretch, then it squeezes itself betwixt two Trees, forces the Load from its Stomach, and returns to its Prey, devouring and disgorging successively till all is consumed.

3. The western Parts of this Kingdom produce a great deal of Corn, of all Sorts, which is exported from *Dantzick*; as also Honey, Wax, Amber, Hides, tanned Leather, *Muscovite* and *Polish* Furs, Oak, Wainscot, Masts, Planks, Fir, Deal, Pitch, Tallow, Salt, Hops, Hemp, Flax, Salt-petre, Pot-ashes, Opium, *Prussian* Wool, for coarse Manufactures; Vitriol, Lapis Lazuli, Vermilion, Brasses, Lead, Iron, Copper, Glass, and Earthen-ware, Oxen, Sheep, Hogs, &c. to different Parts of *Europe*. They import Stuffs, Silk, and Worsted; *English* Cloths, Tapestry, Jewels, Sables, Salt-Fish, Tin, Steel, Martens, &c. Iron-ware, *Rhenish*, *French*, *Spanish*, and *Hungarian* Wines, Spirits, Aqua Vitæ, Brandy, Spice, of which they make great Consumption. They might be much richer, if they were industrious and frugal, and applied themselves to Manufactures; but the *Poles* are little inclined to either; for the Gentry are absolutely forbid to follow Trade, of any Kind, on Pain of forfeiting their Honour; and the Commonality commonly want Funds, so that all the Trade there is chiefly carried on by foreign Merchants; besides, such of the *Poles* as have any Fortunes, spend too much of their Revenues in costly Habits and Luxury, to be able to undertake any considerable Traffic. Nor have they any good Ports, except *Dantzick*, which is not enough to improve the Trade of so large a Country. It is to this want of Commerce with other Nations, that the *Poles* owe most of their Defects in their Government; for if they were once convinced of them, there is not a Nation in *Europe* more capable of correcting them, as we may gather from a very familiar Instance: One of their Monarchs being in *Germany*, and not having it in his Power to converse with Strangers in *Latin*; he was so sensible of the Defect, that upon his Return to *Poland*, he

caused a Grammar-School to be erected in every Town throughout the Kingdom; so that now there is not a Country in *Europe* where *Latin* is so generally understood as it is here.

4. From the Time of *Lechus*, the Kings of *Poland* have been elected to the Crown in a regular Descent, though not by an hereditary Title. They have really been absolute, and their Will went for Law; for they made Peace and War when they pleased, levied Troops as they thought fit, punished or pardoned at Pleasure; and all the Administration, either of public or private Affairs, was so wholly lodged in the King's Hands, that the *Poles* themselves say, That *Sigismund II.* the last King of the *Jagellon* Family, was, to the full, as absolute as either the King of *France* or *Denmark* is now. Whilst the Kings of *Poland* thus maintained a supreme Power over their Subjects, they exceedingly enlarged their Dominions, were feared Abroad and beloved at Home, commanded numerous Armies, executed Enterprizes speedily, and were always sure of Success; and this, because, they did not then, as now, depend upon the lingering and tedious Conclusions of a turbulent Dyet. But the Family of *Jagello* being once extinct by the Death of *Sigismund II.* who had resigned his Kingdom to the Senate and *Polish* Gentry, and given them full Power and Authority, to dispose thereof as they thought fit; the Crown of *Poland* was declared once more elective; to the End, that all the Princes of *Christendom*, who had due Merits and Qualifications, might have a Right to aspire thereunto.

This has given Occasion to most of the Princes of *Europe* ever since to court the *Polish* Nobility, either to get the Election determined in their own Favour, or else to have some of their Friends advanced to that great Dignity; but this commonly, with regard to their own private Interests, rather than out of any Respect to the Person they desired to promote. The Gentry of *Poland* therefore observing, that several Princes always aspired to their Crown; and considering that none of them had more Right than the rest, and that it lay altogether in their own Power to choose whom they pleased, resolved unanimously to elect none but such as could condescend, nay swear, to observe the Terms and Conditions they proposed. By this means, the *Poles* have clipped and limited the antient Power of their Kings, and have reduced them to the Bounds we now find them, that is, barely to a third Part of the Dyet. For the *Poles* knew that no Prince would be so imprudent as to scruple submitting to any Conditions, to become Master of so considerable a Kingdom, to which he had no Right, either by Birth or any other Claim; and more especially, since these Conditions are neither rigorous nor dishonourable, but such as are consistent enough with the regal Character he is to be invested with.

Thus the *Polish* Gentry, of an absolute monarchical Government, have in time made a perfect Republic, consisting of three Orders. The King, Senate, and Nobility. The *Polish* Nation is divided into two Sorts of People. The Nobility, Gentry, or Free-born Subjects, who are hardly a tenth Part of the Kingdom; and their Vassals, who are no better than Slaves; for they have no Benefit of the Laws, can buy no Estates, nor enjoy any Property; and this, because, some Ages since, the common People revolting against their Lords, and having driven them out of the Nation, the Gentry came with a foreign Power, and reduced them to greater Subjection than before, in which they have been kept ever since: So that the Government of *Poland*, at present, comprehends only the King and the Nobility. By a Gentleman, or Nobleman of *Poland*, is understood, a Person, who himself, or his Family, has Possessions in Land, for they never intermarry with the common People. All the Gentry, from the King's Sons to those that are Masters of an Acre, are equally noble, both by their Birth and the Constitution of the Kingdom; for nobody is born either a Palatine, Senator, or Lord, but their Titles are always annexed to Employments, which the King gives to Persons advanced in Age, and recommended by their Merit.

The Dyet of *Poland* is composed of two Houses; the House of Senators, answerable to our House of Lords; and the House of Nuncios, not unlike our House of Commons; the Senators are the Bishops, Palatinates, *Castellans*, and the ten great Officers of the Crown; in all about one hundred and forty-two. In the Upper-house the Senators sit, not by any Writ of Summons, or Letters Patent, as in *England*; but only by Virtue of the great Preferments in the King's Gift, which they enjoy for Life; so that the King constitutes the whole Upper-house, but the Lower, are the Representatives of the Gentry, elected by them alone in their respective Provinces, without the Concurrence of the common People, who have no Privilege in their Election; insomuch that nine Parts in ten of the People in *Poland* are excluded from any Share in the Government.

The grand Dyet of *Poland* is nothing else but the King, Senators, and Deputies, assembled in any Part of the Kingdom his Majesty commands. Without this great Assembly of the States, the King can neither make nor repeal Laws, declare War, conclude a Peace, make Alliance with any foreign Prince, raise Troops, impose Taxes, or coin Money; in a Word, determine no Matter of any Importance, without the unanimous Concurrence of this Parliament, which they style the free States of *Poland*. Several Motives have inclined the *Poles* to establish this Kind of mixt Government; which they take to be a just Temperament, of whatever is to be found most excellent in the several Monarchies, Aristocracies, and Democracies that have been in the World. It has however appeared from Experience, that their Endeavours in this respect have not been very successful, since there is hardly a Constitution in the World, or at least in *Europe*, that answers the Ends of Government worse than theirs; which is very often the Case where People aim at such a Degree of Perfection as is not to be attained in human Affairs.

5. The Republic is divided into two States, the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Lithuania*; both which are but as one Body, having the same King, the same Dyet, the same Laws, the same Privileges, the same Religion, and, as the natural Result of all these, the same Interest: These two States are so very well united, that a King cannot be elected, a Law made, or any thing of consequence done, without the mutual Consent of both. The *Poles* are too proud to agree to despotic Power: And therefore those pernicious Maxims of Tyrants, *Si lubet licet, oderint dum metuant*, and the like, would be but ill received among People that have all along secured their Liberties by their Valour. As for the Kings of *Poland*, they may rest in Security in the Bosom of their Country, either without or within their Dominions, since they have always their Subjects for their Guards, through indispensable Inclinations; for what contributes chiefly to the Happiness of these Princes, is the loyal Obedience and voluntary Obedience paid to them even by those that are at liberty to do the contrary.

Monsieur de *Polignac*, the French Embassador, used to say at *Warsaw*, That he thought a King of *Poland* more happy in his Person and Condition than a King of *France*; nevertheless, this Authority of the King of *Poland* is so limited by the Laws of the Land, that it does not exact more from the Nobles or Gentry than they think he deserves; for though their Behaviour be generally observant, yet do they tacitly seem to call in question his Power. The *Polish* Nobility make no Difference between the King's Right and those of the Senate and Deputies, affirming that since three Members compose but one Body, they ought equally to share in the same. The small Authority therefore of their Kings, and the Impossibility of their acting, have exposed *Poland* to the Insults of their Neighbours, and the Rage of their own People; as may be seen in the Civil Wars of the *Cossacks*, and the Treachery and Sedition of the Confederates; which could never have arrived at so great a Height if the King had had sufficient Power to suppress them. Also the great Marshal of the Crown, *Luberskin*, would never have had the Boldness to have opposed King *Casimir's* Designs so openly, and to have formed so many Factions against the Court, had he

not had Assurance of remaining unpunished. We have divers Instances of the *Poles* Love for their Kings, and particularly their long enforcing the Right of *Sigismund III.* to the Kingdom of *Sweden* in an obstinate War, which they revived several times; as likewise the supporting afterwards the Pretences of *Uladislaus VII.* to *Muscovy*; to omit divers others of a more antient Date.

This Respect of theirs obliges them to come and spend their Estates at Court, to augment their Prince's Grandeur by their Prodigality and Magnificence. This appears by a Mistake made by a King of *Bohemia*, at the Interview between him and *Casimir the Great*, at *Glogau* (which Place the former had demanded to bound the Limits of *Silesia*) when he saluted a private Gentleman, splendidly cloathed, for the King of *Poland*: The Inclination of the *Poles* towards honouring their Prince is so strong, that all they are able, even to the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, they are willing to lavish in his Service, without expecting any greater Recompence than the Glory of waiting on his Majesty's Person. A King of *Poland*, when he is just, liberal, and religious; one, who observes the Laws and Constitutions, and, in a word, who has no other Interest but the Good and Safety of his Subjects, is as much respected, and as faithfully obeyed in times of Peace and War, as most Princes in *Europe*. As to what relates to War, no Monarch has greater Advantages; for he is neither at the Trouble of raising Forces, or Expence in maintaining them; his Business being only to convene the Dyet, and they do all these Things. After War declared, he can continue the same either by himself or his Generals, can regulate his Troops, and see his Army paid out of the Treasury of the Republic; he has great Reason to hope for Success in his Expeditions, because he not having undertaken them on his own Account, those that engaged him will infallibly support him in them, and the rather, by reason that what was done was done with their Consent. This has proved the Cause of almost never failing Success to the *Polish* Army till of late Days, when the King and his Subjects have not been in so good Intelligence with each other as formerly.

6. When the King is in the Army he has the supreme Authority, gives battle when he pleases, and besieges Towns as he thinks fit, and commands absolutely all the Gentry to follow him into the Field on Horseback at ever so little Warning. At Home he has the Nomination of all ecclesiastical Benefices, and of all secular Employments, as well Military as Civil, through the whole Extent of his Dominions, with a great Number of royal Demesnes; which together with the State Dignities, he confers on those that have deserved them. He can bestow as considerable Preferments as any Prince in *Europe*, and oblige and raise the Fortunes of whom he pleases. He has a Right in naming Cardinals as well as other Roman Catholic Kings. He can send and receive Embassadors privately, in Matters relating to himself; but as to what concerns the Republic, the Senate must have their Share in it. He can call, prorogue, and dissolve the Dyet at pleasure: In a word, the *Poles* term him the Protector of their Laws and Privileges, the chief Distributer of Honours, the Head of their Republic, and supreme General of their Forces.

The *Poles* attend his Person uncovered. The chief Senators generally serve him at Table; first tasting of the Cup before they present him with it. His Subjects never sit before him, nor cover their Heads any where but in the Dyet, and there too the Senators are only allowed that Liberty, for the Deputies stand behind with their furred Caps in their Hands. All Sorts of Gold, Silver, or Brass Coin, are stamped with his Image. All Justice is administered in his Name; and at Church they pray for the King and Royal Family. When he is crowned, the Dyet allows him a Pension of about 140,000 *l.* per Ann. which, together with his Patrimonial Estate, maintains him a very splendid Court. He has his *Polish*, *German*, and *Hungarian* Guards, and has the same Officers of his Household, as other Kings have. While the Queen-Dowager lives, the Queen-Consort maintains her Court at the King's Charge. But after the Queen Dowager's Death, or Marriage, or the King's Death, she has a Revenue

venue assigned for that Purpose, over and above the Pension, which the Dyet settles upon the King and Queen; which, in that cheap Country, serves to maintain them as high as our Kings live here.

The King of *Poland* has great Incomes of his own; for the *Poles* never care to elect a poor Prince, for fear his Children may come to be a Charge to them after his Death. He gets besides vast Sums of Money for Nominations to Employments; which the late King did not scruple to sell, though directly contrary to the Constitutions of the Kingdom; nay, the Ecclesiastical Benefices, which are very considerable, are also put under Contribution by some cunning Artifice or other; thus the Promotion of the Bishop of *Cracow*, whose Bishopric is worth eight thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, which will go further than twenty thousand Pounds in *England*; was, in the Reign of King *John Sobieski* procured, by laying a Wager with the Queen of fifty thousand Crowns, that he did not obtain that Preferment, which as soon as the King knew he bestowed upon him, and so the Queen won her Wager. The Crown Revenues arise from Customs and Excises, from Part of the Duties of the Port of *Dantzick*, from the heavy Tax laid upon the *Jews*, and from the Salt Mines, which all together bring in rather more than less than three hundred thousand Pounds of our Money annually. But the King's Power in bestowing Preferments does not extend to Foreigners; neither can he take away any Post that he bestows, or lessen its Revenues or Privileges. His eldest Son has the Title of Prince of *Poland* while his Father lives, but he loses it upon the Accession of a new King, and is stiled Prince, by the Name of his Family; and such Precautions are taken, that it is very difficult for a King of *Poland* to make the Crown hereditary in his own Family.

7. We come now to speak of the Nobility of *Poland*, which comprehends all the Gentry in that Country, and even all those whom in *England* we stile only Freeholders. Of these every Gentleman or Nobleman has his Coat of Arms granted by the Republic; but then he, or some of his Family, must have an Estate in Land. They are capable of the greatest Offices in the Kingdom, and may buy Lands where they please, and have a Right to be elected King, if their Credit and Interest can procure it. Every Gentleman is a sovereign Prince in his own Lands, and has Power of Life and Death over his Tenants, who have no Laws nor Privileges to protect them. They dare not leave his Lands to go to others, on Pain of Death, unless he sells them; and if he do his Tenants pass with his Lands. But if their Lords ravish their Wives, or Daughters, the Tenants may leave his Service.

If one Lord kills another's Servant he is not punished for it, but only obliged to give him another in his room, or as much Money as will buy one, and to maintain the Family of him that is killed. If he kills one of his own Slaves he only pays a Fine; nay, if one Gentleman kills another, he cannot be apprehended or imprisoned, unless convicted by a Court of Justice, which gives him Time enough to escape, and when condemned he cannot be executed without the King's Consent. No Soldiers can be quartered upon the Gentry; if any Officer does it, the Dyet either sentences him to die, or declares him infamous. The Houses of the Nobility are Sanctuaries, so that no Delinquent can be taken there by force, though he has been arrested. If a Nobleman will swear that his Goods were not bought, but are the Product of his Lands, he may send them any where out of the Kingdom, and without Custom; and after he has sworn, his Certificate suffices, to exempt the Purchaser from the Duty. In *Prussia* the Nobles are not only free from Customs, but likewise all other Inhabitants by the *Magna Charta* of *Culm*. The *Polish* Noblemen have also the Privilege of Pre-emption. All the Gentry of *Poland* are equal by Birth, and therefore they don't value Titles of Honour; but think that of a noble *Pole*, or Gentleman of *Poland*, the greatest they can have. Neither the King nor the Republic bestow the Title of Prince, which belongs only to the Sons of the Royal Family; for though some are made Princes of the Empire, and as such enjoy

the Title of Prince; they have no Precedency upon that Account. Nor have they any Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, Viscounts, or Barons, but what have foreign Titles, which the rest generally despise; for they do not value any borrowed Character, or external Denomination; but say, that it is intrinsic Worth and Service done to their Country, that deserves Preferment. King *Sigismund III.* established an Order of Knighthood of the immaculate Conception, created several Knights, and allowed them Privileges and Superiority above others, but they were so much undervalued and despised by the rest of the Gentlemen, that the Order (in spite of the royal Protection) soon came to nothing.

Those great Privileges make the *Polish* Gentry powerful; many of them have large Territories, with a despotic Power over their Tenants, whom they call their Subjects; some of them have Estates of five, some fifteen, some twenty, and some thirty Leagues in extent. But the poor Gentry have their Votes in the Dyet as well the richest. Some of them are hereditary Sovereigns of Cities, with which the King has nothing to do. *Lubomirski* possesses above four thousand Towns and Villages; some of them can raise five, six, eight, and ten thousand Men, and maintain them at their own Charge. The Gentry of Note have Horse and Foot Guards, which keep Centry Night and Day at their Gates. They make an extraordinary Figure when they come to the Dyet; some of them have five thousand Guards, some had formerly ten thousand. They esteem themselves, especially the Senators, above any Prince in *Germany*, and want nothing of sovereign Power, but the Liberty of coining Money, which is reserved to the Republic. Foreign Embassadors are obliged to make a great Figure here, otherwise the Gentry despise them. When great Men have Suits at Law, the Dyet, or other Tribunals decide them; yet the Execution of the Sentence must be left to the longest Sword; for the Justice of the Kingdom is commonly too weak for the Grandees. Sometimes they raise five or six thousand Men of a Side, plunder and burn one another's Cities, and besiege Castles and Forts; for they think it below them to submit to the Sentence of Judges without a Field Battle; yet formerly, their Noblemen were little better than Slaves. *Cromercus* says, that they were obliged to keep the King's Dog. The first Rise is ascribed to the Privileges granted by *Boleslaus the Chaste* to the Clergy, and afterwards when *Poland* was harassed by Civil Wars; the Gentry obtained many Privileges from their Kings, which they have since taken Care to get augmented at every new Election.

The most flourishing Families in *Poland* are those of *Radzivil*, which has the Title of Prince; the Dukes of *Wisniowec* and *Zbaraw*, one of which Family was elected King of *Poland* in 1664; the Prince of *Lubomirsky*, whose Family are Princes of the Empire; the Princes of *Czartorisky*; the Princes of *Sapieta*, great Governors of *Lithuania*, the Family of *Lezeinski*; the Family of *Jablenowski*; the Family of *Priemski*; and that of *Lipski*. Those that are not noble by Birth, may be created Noblemen. This was formerly at the King's Pleasure, but of late is at the Disposal of the Senate or Dyet. All the little Dyets of the Republic must give their Consent; and this must afterwards be approved by the great Dyet, before they have their Patent. A *Jew* is made a Gentleman by marrying a Christian, and by signaling himself in the Wars; but the King must propose it, and the Dyet approve it. The new made Nobility are liable to several Impositions and Inconveniencies, from which others are exempted; if any one be a Magistrate in *Cracow* or *Vilna*, he and his Posterity are noble. Nobility is forfeited here three Ways; by some heinous Crime; for Instance, when a Nobleman permits one that is ignoble to usurp his Coat of Arms; by exercising any Trade or Merchandize; sometimes Posterity are restored, when Parents have quitted their Title through Poverty, and by bearing Office in any City that is not privileged. All the Nobility love to make a Shew, and to be splendidly clad.

They formerly delighted in foreign Fashions; when they had Wars against the *Muscovites* they followed theirs,

theirs, and when with the *Turks* they took up their Habits. Their present Garb is a Vest, that reaches to the Middle of their Legs, with a long Robe lined with Fur, and tied about their Middle with a Sash, little Boots, with Iron Heels, Fur Caps, and a Sabre by their Side. When they ride they have a short Cloak, like an *Irish* Mantle, furred within and without. The better Sort have rich Furs from *Muscovy*, but the poorer Gentry content themselves with the Skins of Tygers, Leopards, Panthers, and a kind of grey Furs. The finest of their Fur-suits cost above a thousand Crowns, are worn only at Dyers, and descend from Father to Son. Some of the *Polish* Gentry imitate the *French* Fashion, and wear Linnen, Lace, Perukes, and Swords. The ordinary Sort of Gentry put Chaff into their Boots. Some of their Nobles have fifty Suits of Cloaths, all as rich as possible, and they love to have their Servants as well apparelled almost as themselves.

8. As to the Peasants they are born Slaves, have no Notion of Liberty, but live well satisfied without it; in *Courland* they are as subject to their Landlords as in *Poland*, and in both Countries almost adore them. They love their Landlords, fight for them, and all they have is absolutely at their Devotion. When they debauch their Wives, or Daughters, those poor Wretches do not think their Women the worse, or that they themselves are dishonoured by it. They have scarce any Religion, but like Brutes, work on *Sundays* for their own Subsistence, being obliged to work three or four Days in a Week for their Masters, without Meat or Wages. Each of them earns his Master, at least, ten Pounds *per Annum*. They have no Property, nor can they be made free, except they go into some Convent, and are ordained Priests, or their Masters ravish their Wives, or Daughters. When a Lord lets any Ground to a Peasant, he orders his other Peasants, at their Charge, to build him a House, to give him a Cow, Hens, Geese, and as much Rye as will keep him a Year. A Slave cannot send his Son to the University without Liberty from his Lord. They reap their Master's Corn, and have rigid Task-masters over them, who punish them severely, if they do not do as much as is required of them. Their Masters commonly boast of their Clemency, and say, that though they have an absolute Power over them, they seldom make use of it any more than other Christians do over their Horses and Dogs.

Doctor *Connor* informs us, he asked some *Polish* Noblemen, why they so inhumanly treated and undervalued their Boors; who answered, that formerly all the Boors revolted from their Landlords, and conspired to extirpate them, and murdered so many, that the rest were obliged to hide themselves, or to leave the Kingdom. But, at last, the Gentry getting together from all Parts, and being assisted by their Neighbours, quelled the Peasants, who intended to have set up a Commonwealth of their own, and brought them to such Extremities, that ever since they have been contented to live like Slaves. In Winter they wear a Sheep-skin with the Wool inwards, and in Summer a close-bodied Coat of coarse Stuff, of a Colour much like our Chimney-sweepers, with sorry Caps; their Boots are the Rinds of Trees wrapped about their Legs, with the thicker Parts to guard the Soles of their Feet against the Stones; they cut their Hair close, like Monks, and shave all from their Faces but a large Whisker. They walk gravely with a Pole-Axe in their Hand, and a Sabre by their Side, which they never put off till they go to Bed; it hangs by a Strap of Leather, to which there is fastened a Handkerchief, Knife, and Sheath, and a small Stone to whet their Knives.

In *Lithuania* the Boors Shoes are of the Barks of Trees, and their Stockings of thinner Bark, which they wrap about the Calves of their Legs. Before they enter any Town, they always take care to put on fresh Shoes; they also wear a Sort of ash-coloured Habit, with Sleeves, woven all of a Piece. The Boors here are more miserable than in *Poland*; for Gentlemen commonly go into Boors Houses, though not their own, take all they have, and beat and wound them, because they are not

able to bribe such as have Power to do them Justice. The *Prussian* Gentry are not so gaudy in their Habits as those of the more southern Parts of *Poland*; their Peasants differ also in Habits from those of *Poland*, and wear sometimes long strait Coats of Leather.

9. The *Poles* never live above Stairs, and their Apartments are not united; the Kitchen is on one Side, the Stable on another, the Dwelling-house on the Third, and the Gate in the Front. Their Houses are for most part of Wood, but they have some of Brick and Stone. Their Rooms are generally hung with Tapestry, or Arras, but towards *Tartary* they keep no extraordinary Furniture, because of the Incursions of that barbarous People. They content themselves with a few small Beds, with Taffaty Curtains; and if any one lodge at their Houses they must carry their Bedding with them. The Moveables of the Peasants are a few earthen and wooden Dishes, a hard Bed, and a wretched Coverlid; their Children are not allowed Beds till they marry, but lie upon Boards by the Fire; they have no Chimnies, but little Holes in the Tops of their Houses. The Peasants Children go naked till they are four or five Years old, and frequently eat in the same Trough with the Pigs. They crawl on their Hands and Feet till they are strong enough to walk, and when they are dirty the Mother washes them in cold Water, which makes them exceeding hardy.

The Peasants of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*, build their Houses round, narrow, and open at top to let out the Smoke and Stink; they are generally covered with Boards, Straws, Bark of Trees, and live with the Family and Cattle under the same Roof. The *Polish* Gentry have seldom any Gardens or Orchards, though their Country be very proper for it, and might, by making Cyder and Perry, save a great deal of Corn which they consume in Beer. Their ordinary Meat is Beef and Veal; for they leave the Mutton to their Servants. They have Store of grey but no red Partridges; many Hares, but no Rabbits, than which they say they would rather eat Cats; but they breed white Rabbits for the sake of their Furs; they have many Roebucks, but few Stags; Plenty of wild Oxen, wild Boars, Hogs, Poultry, Pidgeons, &c. There are many Heathcocks and Pheasants in *Lithuania*, and Bustards in *Prussia*. The *Baltic* Sea has scarce any Fish; but that Defect is supplied by great Plenty of fresh Water Fish, from Lakes and Rivers. The *Poles* have a peculiar Way of preserving Cabbage; they chop it small, put it into a Tub between Lays of Salt, press it very hard, and afterwards pour warm Water upon it, which makes it ferment and serves them for Pickle: This they preserve all Winter, and sometimes the whole Year; though it smells strong even at a Distance, yet they think it a great Rarity.

Their usual Drink is Beer, which in *Prussia* is made only of Malt; but in the rest of *Poland*, of Wheat ground small and boiled with Hops. Sometimes they mix it with Oats and Spelt, a Kind of Wheat which grows in *Italy* and *Flanders*; in *Lithuania*, *Russia*, and *Ukraine*, they make both a red and a white Liquor with Honey, which they call Mead; at *Warsaw* they mix it with Spice, and Juice of Cherries and Blackberries. The *Lithuanians* and *Poles* have Wine from *Hungary*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*; that of *Hungary* exceeds *Spanish* Wine in Strength, is brought to *Cracow* over the *Carpathian* Mountains in large Casks drawn by Oxen, and sold at twenty Shillings the *Polish* Pot, which is about three Quarts; the *Italian* Wine is also brought over Land, and on that Account is dearer than the other. In the Morning, both Men and Women generally drink Ginger, Yolks of Eggs, and Sugar, boiled in Beer; they are immoderate Lovers of rusty Bacon and Pease; they eat all manner of Mushrooms, and preserve them for Pickles; they eat great Quantities of Poppy-seed, drink the Milk of them, and make it into several Dishes and Sauces; they make likewise abundance of Oil of the Seeds of Hemp and Flax, which they eat on Fastdays; they use Spice to that Excess, that some great Men spend twenty-five hundred Pounds *per Annum* in that single Commodity: They use Spice and Pickles in all their Sauces, which differ much from ours; some of them are yellow, made with Saffron; others white, made with Cream, some grey, made of Onions;

Onions, and others black, made of the Juice of Plumbs. They have Choice of all Sorts of Pot-herbs, and some that were found nowhere else; they have also Sweetmeats of several Kinds, and make much Use of Pistachio Nuts.

They generally eat a great deal of Meat to a little Bread, though they have Plenty of Corn, especially Rye, which is much better than in other Countries. They are great Admirers of Roots, have a Dish called Crakat, made of coarse Flower of Wheat, Barley, Millet, or Oats, and sometimes of a small Grain they call Manna; on Flesh-days they eat it with Milk and Butter, and on Fast-days with Oil. When the Boors want Bread, they make it of Acorns dried and ground. Near the Mountains of *Hungary* there are wild Goats, which they admire as very good Meat: They also make a Dish of Beavers-Tails; Bears-Paws pickled they reckon a great Dainty. When they kill Elks, they do not gut them for fourteen or fifteen Days, and in Winter, not in a Month. When the Grandees come to the Dyet, they bring them in their Skins and Guts, and hang them at their Windows by five or six at a time, till they grow rank, then they roast some, and dress others like Beef A-la-mode; and none but great Men have this Dish at their Tables. The *Poles* are generally courteous and hospitable to Strangers, invite them to their Houses, converse with them freely, and endeavour to imitate them. The Slavery of their Boors is so much the more tolerable to them, because they seldom want Victuals and Drink; they have generally three or four Sorts of Things at a Meal, one Dish of Pease with sliced Bacon, another of Crakat, and two more of several Sorts of strengthening Roots, which they have in great Plenty in *Lithuania*; their Bread is coarse and black, made of Rye, smutty Wheat and Barley, all ground together.

They have abundance of Flesh, Fish and Fowl; and Cattle, or Poultry, they think they cannot keep in Winter, they kill in Harvest. They are good Marks-Men, and maintain their Families, in a great measure, by Fowling. Every House has four or five Hand-mills to grind their Corn. The Peasants of *Samogitia* are not so laborious as those of *Lithuania*, and consequently have not such Plenty; instead of Bread they eat a Sort of Turnips as big as one's Head, which grow of themselves, without Cultivation. They quench many red hot Stones one after another, in their Beer, Metheglin, and Mead, after they have boiled it a whole Night, in order to make their Bellies soluble; this Liquor they put in Vessels made of the Barks of Trees. They reward the stoutest Drinkers at Feasts with a Shirt, Handkerchief, Frock, or the like. They live longer here than in *Lithuania*, and many of them reach a hundred and twenty Years. Formerly the *Prussians* dwelt in Waggon or Huts made of Boughs, and the Peasants are not yet much improved in Architecture, for they generally live in Hovels built of Stakes, Roof and all, twisted over with Rods, without any Covering; their Furniture is not much better, for the old *Prussians* slept on the Ground, or on the Skins of Beasts, and these lie upon the Straw: They are content with spare Diet, and more addicted to Sloth than Gluttony, yet, like the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* they drink hard, especially at Feasts; their former Drink was Water, or Mares Milk mixed sometimes with Blood; but now it is Mead and Beer. Their ordinary Food is Fish; they knew not the Use of Roots till the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order came among them; but now the Peasants make them their chief Dainties.

When the Gentry make a Feast, they never supply their Guests with Spoons, Knives, or Forks; they must bring them with them: They have a broad Piece of starched Linnen sewed round, the Table-cloth, for Napkins; the Reason they give for it is, to prevent their Servants stealing. Their Servants have their Meat reached them by their Masters, which they eat behind their Backs: They bring twice as much Wine as their Masters need, and drink the Remainder themselves; they seize on what is left after Dinner, and their Ladies each of them carry a Napkin for dried Sweat-meats or Fruits. Their Feasts are made by Friends and Neighbours by Turns; Brimmers are much in use among the *Poles*; they will scarce excuse a Man

except he pledges them. This Vice reigns equally in Feasts and Taverns; and Saints-days are not excepted out of their Drunkards Calendar. These Disorders are tolerated because of the great Excise they bring to the State. The Master of the Feast is esteemed a Niggard that does not allow his Guests as much as will fuddle them.

The Inns in this Country are long Stables built up with Boards, and covered with Straw, without Furniture or Windows; there is a Chamber at one End, but none can lodge there; because of Flies, Fleas, and noisome Smells; so that Strangers chuse rather to lodge among the Horses, where there is also an intolerable Smell of rotten Cabbages, which these People keep always by them. Travellers are obliged to carry Provisions with them; and when Foreigners want, they apply themselves to the Lord of the Village, who forthwith supplies them. *Poland* being for most part a champaign Country, a Calash and two Horses will rid a good deal of Ground there in a Day. Travellers ought to take more than ordinary Care as they pass Bridges in this Country, because they are generally very bad, and seldom repaired. When they go a hunting for Bears they catch those of the biggest Size with Nets, and when they have hampered him, all the Hunters ride about him, and having pinned down his Head and his Feet with great wooden Forks, they bind him so about with strong hempen Cords that he is not able to stir; then they rowl him into a great wooden Chest; the Knots of the Cords are so contrived, that with one pull they may be untied. The Bear is kept thus, till they have a mind to hunt him, and then they let him out at a Trap-door made on Purpose.

They surround wild Bulls with a great Number of Horsemen, when each of them rides up and darts an Arrow at him; upon this the Ox pursues his Enemy, then another darts him behind, and as he turns about to pursue him, they dart him so by turns, till the Beast being tired with pursuing so many Assailants, falls down, and is easily taken or killed. They have another way of hunting, by making the Boors fell a great Number of Trees; each Hunter secures his Post assigned him, at which they throw Darts, and as the Bull runs towards his Enemy, the Hunters from behind give him his Death's Wound; but if he breaks through the Inclosure, the next Hunter holds out a Piece of red Cloth, against which the Beast having an Antipathy, he immediately leaves that Person and runs at another, who being provided for him, commonly kills him.

10. The *Polish* Ladies are generally very modest, and not very apt to abuse the great Liberty allowed them. They seldom stir out of Doors without a Coach and Six to Church, or to visit a near Neighbour, and are always attended by a great Number of Servants. When they go abroad at Night, they have twenty-four or more Flambeaux carried before their Coach. Their Train is borne up by He or She-Dwarfs; and they have always an old Woman to attend them, whom they call Governante, and an old Gentleman for their Usher. Notwithstanding all these Honours, they are entirely managed by their Husbands, and dispose of no Money without his leave. When they want any thing they must ask him for it, kneeling, embrace his Knees, and call him their Benefactor: But some few Trifles are allowed them of Course. The Fashion of the Womens Cloaths comes nearer to that of the Men than in most other Countries. They formerly wore Garlands on their Heads, composed of Gold, Jewels, Flowers, Silk, and the like; but now they wear Silk Caps, lined with Fur, like the Men; in King *John III's* Time they imitated the *French* Mode, because the Queen was of that Nation.

The Peasants Daughters are so extremely reserved, that they will draw a Knife at any Man that offers to kiss them; besides, their Mothers have a watchful Eye over them, and make them wear little Bells before and behind, to give Notice where they are, and what they are doing; but these Precautions do not always secure them. The Countrywomen are habited as in other Countries; but their Petticoats are very short; those in *Red Russia* go generally in Summer with an Apron before them that reaches lower than ordinary. The

wedding Feasts of the Gentry last commonly three Days. If a Lady marry any of her Waiting-Maids, she costs her almost as much as one of her Daughters. On the second Day all the Guests present the Bride with something new, which makes a good Part of her Portion. The Princess of *Poland*, when married to the Elector of *Bavaria*, had above one hundred thousand Crowns presented her.

Among the Boors a Maid never marries till she be twenty-four or thirty Years of Age, and has wrought, with her own Hands, several Baskets full of Cloths, of different Sorts; which, at the time of her Espousals, she is to distribute among the Guests that her Husband brings with him. She must also have served her Mother for a certain time. The same Right is observed with respect to their Sons; it is also observable, that those employed to make up the Match, always enquire more strictly into the Manners and Behaviour of the Persons, than as to their Stock of Corn and Cattle. Their Godfathers and Godmothers are always accounted Relations, though they be nothing a-kin, and they cannot marry such Kindred without a Dispensation from the Bishop.

The Burials of those of Quality are celebrated with such Pomp and Magnificence that they are more like Triumphs. The Corpse is carried in a Hearse, or Chariot, with six Horses, all covered with black; the Coffin has a large black Velvet Pall over it, with a Cross of red Sattin in the Middle, and six long black Silk Tassels, supported by as many of the deceased domestic Servants in close Mourning; several Priests, Monks, and others, march before the Hearse; each of which carries a white Wax Torch in his Hand. Immediately before the Hearse come three Men on Horseback, who carry the Arms of the Deceased; one his Sword, another his Lance, and a third his Dart. After the Burial Service is over, those who carry the Armour enter the Church on Horseback, and riding furiously to the Coffin, break the Arms of the Deceased upon it, after which the Body is interred. Then there is a Feast, where the Lay-Guests not only drink to excess, but likewise force the Clergy to follow their Example. When the King dies he is laid on a Bed of State; and a certain Number of Senators, Ecclesiastical and Temporal, are appointed to attend his Corpse. The Republic defrays the Expences out of the Revenues of the Crown. The deceased Queen has the same Ceremonies and Honours allowed her. When Women of Quality mourn they wear a coarse black Stuff, and their Linnen is not much finer than Canvas; and the greater their Quality their mourning Weeds are the coarser. All Senators, Deputies, and others, that appear at the Diet for electing the new King must be in black.

11. The Language of the *Poles* is the *Sclavonian*; but there are so many different Dialects of it spoken in the several Parts of this Kingdom, that one Part of the People scarce understand the other; they all agree, however, in multiplying Consonants; and if they did not sound more Vowels when they speak, than are contained in the Words they write, it would be impossible to utter them. The *Latin* is almost as universally spoken as the *Sclavonian*, there being a School in every Village for the teaching it; and the Girls learn it in the Nunneries. Their Terms of Art are chiefly *German*, and indeed there are whole Towns and Villages in *Prussia* which are of *German* Extract, and still speak the *German* or *High Dutch* Tongue. The *Armenian*, *Persian*, and *Tartarian* Languages, are also spoken upon their Frontiers; and the *Jews* have introduced the *Hebrew* in some Places; but with all these Languages, it is observed, that their Learning is but superficial.

As to their Divines, their Learning, it is said, consists in adapting *Aristotle's* Logic and Metaphysics to their School-Divinity; and they value themselves more on being versed in the Signification of logical Terms, than in the Nature of the Things they reason about. They enquire but little into Church-History, or the Practice of the Primitive Times, but seem to have an implicit Faith, and to be entirely governed by the Decisions of the Church of *Rome*; nor will they suffer any

Person to enquire into the Reasonableness of their Tenets.

There are few native *Poles* that study Physic. The Physicians are generally *Germans*, *French*, or *Italians*. An illiterate Quack of this Kingdom, Doctor *Connor* mentions, however, who lived in a Wood about six Miles from *Warsaw*, undertook to cure the Venereal Disease in seven or eight Days by Bathing and Sweating. In the Water the Bath was made of, he boiled several Plants, which the Man made a Secret of; but the Doctor says, as well as he could discover, the chief of them were Hellebore, Aster, and the Capillus Veneris or Maiden-hair. That he bathed his Patients in a hot Decoction of these Herbs for four Days together, and made them drink of it while they were in the Bath frequently; that for four Days afterwards he laid them over the Tub to receive the hot Steams, covering them with Blankets, and making them drink of the Decoction as before. And thus by sweating, bathing, and drinking, he was assured he had done many wonderful Cures in venereal Cases; and for the whole Cure demanded but two Rix-Dollars, which is less than ten Shillings *English*. They seldom use Salivation in this Country, though venereal Distempers are very common.

The Disease peculiar to the *Poles*, is that called the Plica, in which the Hair of the Head is matted together, and grows so long, that it sometimes reaches down to the Middle, covering their Backs, but generally it hangs in twisted Ropes; others have their Hair only matted close to their Heads, without growing to any length; and the Hair will be thus intangled and matted together in one Night's time, though never so much Care is taken to prevent it; if the Hair be cut off it occasions a Dimness in the Sight, and sometimes a total Blindness; it also occasions Pain in the Head and Limbs, and Pustules to come out all over the Body; the Foreigners that have been infected with this Disease, relate, that they have cut off their Hair without any Inconveniency attending it. The Bishop of *Posen* acquainted Doctor *Connor* that he was afflicted with this Distemper in his Youth, and that cutting off his Hair, unknown to his Friends, he felt a thousand racking Pains, which left him as his Hair grew again, but then the Distemper returned. He observed also, that on the cutting off his Hair he could sensibly perceive a volatile Matter pass in great Abundance through the Tubes of his Hair, which twisted and contracted the Locks, that when he put a Cap on his Head, it occasioned an intolerable Pain and Heat, which he supposed proceeded from the Pressure, by which the Humours were repelled, and forced back upon the Head. As to other Diseases, it seems, the *Poles* are very little troubled with them. The Scurvy, or malignant Fevers, and Pleurisies, are seldom of such ill Consequence in *Poland* as in other Countries.

By the Laws of *Poland* the Estate of the Father is equally divided among his Children, except any of them go into a Monastery, and then their Parts are equally divided among the rest; and the young Children here, as in other *Popish* Countries, are encouraged by their Parents to take the Vow upon them, that their Estates may be preserved entire to the eldest Son, which would otherwise dwindle away to nothing, where there happens to be a numerous Issue.

12. We are so apt to be biased in our Sentiments, by what happens in our own Times, and as it were under our own Eyes, that we can scarce bring ourselves to think things ever were otherwise than as we now perceive them. But it is certain, that as restless and turbulent as the *Poles* now are, they were formerly of a different Disposition, and very much attached to the Persons and Families of their Princes: Thus for several Ages they obeyed the Family of *Piastus*, who was raised to the Throne by his Merit; and upon the Death of *Lewis*, King of *Poland* and *Hungary*, the last Male-Heir of his Family, they chose his Daughter, and resolved to bestow their Crown upon her Husband, who was *Jagello*, Duke of *Lithuania*, who took upon him the Name of *Uladislaus*, by whose Posterity they were governed till

till the Death of *Sigismund II*, who was the last of that Family, and died in 1574, when they chose *Henry de Bourbon*, afterwards *Henry III*, of *France*, for their King; upon a Promise, that he would marry the Princess *Anne*, Sister to their late Monarch.

When he abdicated they made choice of *Stephen Batori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, who actually married the Princess before-mentioned, but had no Issue by her. Upon his Death in 1586, they made choice of *Sigismund de Vasa*, Prince of *Sweden*, because he was the Nephew of *Sigismund II*, and consequently by the Mother's Side of the Race of their antient Kings. The last of his Race was *Casimir*, who abdicated the Government and retired to *France*; and in 1670 they chose *Michael Wiesnowiski*, whose Successor was *John Sobieski*; upon whose Decease in 1696, the *Poles*, contrary to their usual Custom, rejected his Family, and made choice of *Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, the Father of the present King *Augustus III*. The Factions that have long reigned in *Poland*, have hindered these last Monarchs from making that Figure in *Europe*, which their Predecessors had done; but it does not follow, from hence, that the *Poles* will always continue uneasy and discontented.

On the contrary, they seem now to have a just Sense of the ill Consequences of their Divisions; and are endeavouring to put an End to them by deciding as fast as possible the Quarrels amongst their Grandees, which is the surest way of restoring the public Tranquility: And whenever this shall be effectually brought about, there is no Question to be made, that the antient Glory of the *Polish* Nation will revive; for they are still possessed of very large Territories, capable of great Improvements, and are very able to raise a Force sufficient to defend themselves against the Incroachments of any of their Neighbours, and even to render themselves as formidable as any of the northern Powers. It is indeed true, that in their last Election they were awed by the *Russians*; but this did not so much proceed from the superior Power of that Empire, as from the want of Union among the *Poles*; and perhaps before their Throne again becomes vacant, they may be in a Condition to repair their past Errors, and to make a free Choice of some Prince, capable of governing them, according to their Constitution, and thereby extinguishing those Feuds and Jealousies, which have rendered them so inconsiderable since the Days of *John Sobieski*, the last of their Monarchs under whom they made any Figure; and whose Covetousness, which proceeded from the Desire of fixing the Crown in his Family, was the chief Reason that Design of his did not take Place.

The unfortunate *Stanislaus Leszinski* who still wears the Title of King of *Poland*, was endowed with all the Qualities requisite to make his People happy, brave, generous, pious, just, and affable to all Ranks of People; he was only unhappy in being the Instrument of *Sweden* first, and afterwards of *France*; which rendered him very justly suspected to a great Part of his Countrymen; so that we may reckon it an Happiness to *Poland* that he has no Male Issue, and that his Daughter, the *French* Queen, has but one Son; since this might otherwise prove a new Source of Trouble, not to this Country only, but to all

its Neighbours; for though in Time of Peace *Poland* has been little regarded, yet the Disturbances there have proved more than once the Cause of Wars in many other Parts of *Europe*.

13. We will close this Section with observing, that nothing shews more clearly the Folly of that kind of modern Policy, which consists in weakening and distressing our Neighbours, than the present State of *Poland*. This Country, as well by its Situation as from the natural Genius and Disposition of its Inhabitants, is the proper Bulwark of Christendom against the *Turks*, whom they have resisted with as much Success, and over whom they have gained greater Victories, than almost any other Nation. If we consider them in this Light, it is very easy to see that it can never be the true and natural Interest either of the House of *Austria*, or of the *Russians*, to promote Troubles in this Kingdom, because the more powerful and formidable the *Poles* were, the less able the *Turks* would be to alarm either of these Potentates. The Grand Signior indeed has shewn a true Spirit of Policy, in never attempting to disturb this Nation even in its lowest Circumstances; but contented himself with the Security that he reaps from their Confusions; since, if he had ever attacked *Poland*, it would probably have put an End to them; and though at first he might have made great Conquests, yet when the Spirit of the Nation was once roused, he would have been quickly driven out of them, as he knew, from the Experience of former Times.

If the *Poles* could once so settle their Affairs as to have time to consider the Advantages that might result to their Country by the extending their Commerce, it is not at all impossible they should succeed therein, though they have neglected it so long. I have been led to this Remark by the Knowledge I have of a Project that was formed by the late King *Augustus*, for opening a Trade with *Asia* by the Help of the *Crim Tartars*, and transporting the Commodities that are brought from the *Black Sea* by the *Niester* and the *Bog*. He had other great Views with Regard to *Russia*, and though at present they seem to have died with him, the Time may come when they shall revive again, and be carried into Execution by some *Polish* Monarch, either of his or some other Family.

That Luxury and Wantonness, which are the natural Effects of Plenty, as that generally springs from Trade, commonly produce such a Spirit of Idleness and Profusion, as is inconsistent with the Preservation of Manufactures and Commerce; and this occasions those Changes in these Blessings, which appear absolutely unaccountable to the unthinking Part of Mankind. The Country of *Poland* abounds with natural Commodities, if the Inhabitants knew how to make use of them; and with a numerous and laborious Race of People, who would soon become rich if they were properly employed. We have reason to expect therefore, that some time or other, awakened by their own Necessities, or provoked by the Example of their Neighbours, they will think of improving their Lands, working up their Commodities, and vending them in different Parts of *Europe*; which, whenever they do, will infallibly make them a rich and happy Nation.

SECTION V.

A short Account of the UKRAIN, and of its Inhabitants the COSSACKS.

Collected from the Writings of Mr. Beauplan, and others.

1. *An Account of the Etymology of the Name and Origin of the People called Cossacks, with the regular Detail of their History to the Time of their being dispersed, and obliged to put themselves under the Protection of the Muscovites, Turks, and Tartars.*
2. *A short Description of the Ukrain, and of the principal Places therein; the Nature and Extent of the Country, and the Manner in which it was settled, and inhabited by the Cossacks, while they acknowledged themselves Subjects to the Crown of Poland.*
3. *The Temper and Genius of the People; their singular Customs, and odd Way of Living; as also of the Rarities and Remarkables in their Country.*
4. *The Manner of their making War both by Sea and Land, the Terror spread by them through the whole Turkish Empire, and even through Constantinople itself, and the dextrous Method they use for marching through a flat Country, in Sight of superior Bodies of Horse.*
5. *Of the present State and Condition of the Cossacks; with Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

According to some Authors, the Word *Cossack*, in the Russian Tongue, signifies Free-booter or Banditti; others derive it from *Cosa*, signifying a Goat, because of their Nimbleness. Some say, that *Cosa*, in the Slavonian Language, signifies a Scythe, their ordinary Weapon. They are thought to have come first from the Islands of the *Boristhenes*, near the Mouth of that River, and were called *Zaporowski*, or *Zaporienteses*, from the *Porowis*, or Cataracts and Rocks in the *Nieper*. The Turks usually call them *Russians*. They dwell in a Part of Red Russia in Poland, and in *Basserabia*, betwixt the Rivers *Boristhenes* and the *Niester*. They are terrible to the Turks, because of their Invasions by the way of the *Black Sea*. In 1548, in the Time of *Sigismund I*, King of Poland, these *Cossacks* were only Volunteers of the Frontiers of Russia, *Volbinia*, *Podolia*, and the other Provinces of Poland. Who assembled together partly to defend themselves from the *Tartars*, by securing the Passes of the *Nieper*, and attacking them, as they returned with their Prey; and partly to rob upon the *Black Sea*, where getting rich Booty, they drew more into their Association. Sometimes they made Descents upon *Natolia*, and plundered the great Towns, as *Trebisond* and *Sinope*; at other Times they have advanced within two Miles of *Constantinople*, and brought off Booty and Prisoners.

At first they were about six thousand, under *Eustachius Doscovitus*, their General; but their Numbers were quickly increased by their Neighbours, because of the Gain they made by their Piracies, Part of which they laid up in their Magazine, and the rest they brought Home to their Houses. About the End of the Season, these Adventurers separate, and agree upon the Time and Place of Rendezvous next Spring in the Isles and Rocks of the *Nieper*, whence they return to their Piracy. *Stephen Batori*, King of Poland, who began his Reign in 1576, considering the Service that might be made of those Thieves, for guarding the Country and Frontiers against the Inroads of the *Tartars*, formed them into a regular Body; and they served him as Foot-Soldiers; for the Polish Army consists chiefly of Horse. He gave them the Town and Territories of *Tetchtimorow*, about eighty Miles in length, in the Palatinate of *Kiow*, upon the *Boristhenes*; which Town they made their Magazine, and the Residence of their Governor-General, whom they named, and gave him Power to chuse Subalterns. *Stephen Batori* also joined two thousand Horse to this *Cossack* Infantry, to whose Maintenance he assigned the fourth Part of his Royal Revenues, whence they are called *Quartani*. These Forces so well secured the Frontier, that the Country beyond *Breslaw*, *Bar*, and *Kiow*, betwixt the *Niester* and *Nieper* was re-peopled, the Towns rebuilt, and Colonies planted there from the neighbouring Places.

The *Cossacks* being thus brought into good Discipline, did considerable Service to the Crown of Poland, but have since done the Republic much Mischief by their frequent Rebellions; for the *Cossacks* knowing their own

Strength, and of what Importance they were to the *Poles*, began to set up for themselves, and would not obey the Orders of their Superiors, and acknowledge the Power of the *Poles* over them. Their first Rebellion was in 1587, under their General *John Podkowa*, who was taken, and his Head struck off. In 1596, *Sigismund III*, upon the Complaints and Threats of the Grand Signior, forbade them to pillage any more upon the *Black Sea*. They obeyed his Orders for a while, but then turned their Force against Russia and Lithuania, under the Command of their General *Nalevackio*; and having had some Advantages over the Polish Army, commanded by General *Zolskiowski*, they looked upon themselves as invincible; yet that noble Warrior found means to block them up so close, that he forced them to deliver him their General, who was beheaded.

In 1637 was laid the Ground of a new War with the *Cossacks*, their Numbers being greatly increased by the Multitude of Boors, who frequently went over to them, to share their Privileges. Some great Men in Poland who had got Estates in the Places appointed for the Quarters of the *Cossacks*, were of Opinion, that their Revenues would be considerably increased, if the Liberties of the *Cossacks* were abridged. Whereupon they advised the King to restrain them, and began to use the same Severity to the *Cossacks* as to the Polish Boors, who are obliged to work three Days in a Week with Man and Horse for their Lords, and to pay so much Corn, Poultry, &c. to carry Home their Master's Wood, to pay him so much Money, and the Tenth of their Possessions. The Polish Lords being absolute at Home, and not punished for killing their Slaves, they represented, That the *Cossacks* deprived them of all Advantages they could expect from their Lands in the *Ukrain*; for when the Boors were disobliged they went to them. Therefore they resolved to build a Fort at *Kudac*, at a Point where the River *Zivamer* falls into the *Nieper* or *Boristhenes*, and therefore very convenient to bridle the *Cossacks*; who understanding the Design, cut in Pieces two hundred Men, that guarded the Building; but being attacked by the Polish General *Potoski*, and divided among themselves; they were routed at *Korsun*, and forced to deliver up their General, and four more of their chief Officers, who were put to Death at *Warsaw*, though *Potoski* had promised them their Lives. After this, all their former Privileges were taken from them, with their Fortrefs *Tetchtimorow*, and in their Stead a new Body of Militia was settled there. This enraged the *Cossacks*, who again tried their Fortune with *Potoski*, but were worsted, though they fought with great Bravery. Then they fortified themselves upon the River *Mareza*, beyond the *Boristhenes*. After this, the *Poles* having lost so many Men, by endeavouring to suppress them, they were forced to promise that their ancient Privileges should be restored, and that their Militia of six thousand Men, should be re-established under a General appointed by

by the King. The *Cossacks* returned to their Homes, and laying down their Arms upon the Faith of their Treaty, were killed or plundered by the *Polish* Soldiers, and another Militia set up, excluding the true *Cossacks*, and among other oppressive Methods the *Poles* took from them some of their *Greek Churches*.

But the *Tartars* afterwards ruining a great Part of the *Ukrain*, convinced the *Poles* of the Necessity of restoring the *Cossacks*. *Uladislaus IV.* making War upon the *Tartars*, was very careful to see it done, and gave them for their General *Theodore Chimielski*, and granted him a Privilege to build some Mills; but a *Polish* Gentleman, named *Jarinski*, burnt them, ravished his Wife, and afterwards killed both her and her Son. The *Cossacks* were also provoked by their Landlords, who farmed out their Lands to the *Jews*, who monopolized all the Trade of the Country, and got so much Power that they would not suffer them to marry, or baptize, but upon their own Terms. *Theodore* and his *Cossacks* obtaining no Redress, or Satisfaction, for those Injuries, raised an Army of above twenty thousand Men, burnt, plundered, and ravaged the Country, and did what Mischief they could to the *Polish* Nobility. Upon which the Senators desired the King to march against them; who answered, that they ought not to have burnt their Mills. King *John Casimir* favoured them underhand, and designed to make use of them for the Conquest of *Crim Tartary*, at which the *Poles*, being dissatisfied, levied an Army of fifty thousand Men, whom the *Cossacks* defeated, killed ten thousand upon the Spot, and took the City of *Kiow*. To revenge this Affront, the *Poles* summoned the seventh Man throughout the Kingdom, and marched against the *Cossacks*, without the Consent of the King, and were again defeated by them.

But while *Chimielski* was celebrating the Nuptials of his Son, with the Daughter of the Prince of *Walachia*, at *Kiow*, the *Poles* surprized the *Cossacks*, plundered the City, and took the *Grecian* Patriarch Prisoner. The *Cossacks* sent to the King to know whether this had been done by his Authority? He answered, no; and that it was done by the Nobility out of Revenge. Upon this *Chimielski* called in the *Crim Tartar* with one hundred thousand Horse, against whom the King went in Person, at the Head of the Nobility, and totally routed them, though they were three to one stronger than the *Poles*. *Chimielski* gathered up the Remains of his scattered Army, and continually harrassed the Country, so that the King was obliged to make an Agreement with them; but the Nobility were discontented at it, and alledged, the King had granted too much: This Peace was made in 1649. *Chimielski* fearing the *Poles* would not observe that Treaty, made an Alliance with the Grand Signior and the Prince of *Moldavia*, and at a Dyet he proposed such Terms as shewed he intended to make himself an absolute Prince, under the Protection of the *Turks*.

Thus a new War broke out in 1651, when the *Cossacks*, and their Confederates, besieged *Smolensko*, took it next Year, and ravaged *Lithuania*; they took *Wilna*, and some other Cities, where they committed great Barbarities: It was chiefly owing to them that the *Muscovites* got Possession of the Provinces of *Smolensko* and *Siberia*, and the greatest Part of the Palatinate of *Kiowia*, which were confirmed to them by the Treaty of *Oliva*, in 1666. They have since those Days suffered many Changes of Fortune, as well as Diminution in Numbers; but at this time however they are tolerably free, some under the Protection of the *Turk*, others under the *Poles*; but the greatest Part of them own themselves Subjects to *Russia*. After giving their History, which is singular enough, and very well deserves the Reader's Attention, we will next consider the Country in which they live, and which from the Flatness of it, has been supposed, not without great Probability, to have been left partly by the Sea, and partly by the great Rivers that run through it, in the same manner as the Antients report of *Lower Egypt*, and as we know that Tract of Country was certainly left, which is called *Marshland*, in the County of *Norfolk*.

2. The Word *Ukrain* signifies a frontier Country, and lies betwixt 48 and 52 Degrees of North Latitude, the

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Niester is their western, and the *Nieper* their eastern, Boundary. According to some Authors *Kiow* is the chief Town, and belongs to the *Muscovites*, being taken from the *Poles* in 1633, by the Confederate Army of the *Muscovites* and *Cossacks*. This City gives Name to the Palatinate of *Kiow*, which had Princes of its own till it was reduced to a Province by *Casimir III.*, who began his Reign in the Year 1333. The Ruins of the Walls shew it to have been eight Miles in Compass: Here are to be seen still the Ruins of many Arches, high Walls, Churches, and the Sepulchres of many Kings, with *Greek* Inscriptions. The Church of *St. Sophia*, whose Walls are lined with Mosaic Work; and that of *St. Michael*, remarkable for its gilded Roof, are still in a tolerable Condition.

Betwixt this Town and the *Nieper* lies *New Kiow* along the Banks of the *Nieper*, which has about six thousand Inhabitants. The *Papists* have four Churches, and the *Greeks* ten, with a sort of an University. The second Town of note is *Perejlaw*, on the East-side of the *Nieper*, upon the River *Trubicz*, which falls into the *Nieper* two Miles below it: It lies ten *German* Leagues South-east from *Kiow*; is a strong Town, and contains six thousand Families. Here the *Cossacks* have a Regiment, and another at *Kaniow*, a little lower on the East-bank of the *Nieper*: On the same side is *Cirkacse*, the Center of all their Retreats; which was burnt by the *Polanders* in 1637.

On the same Side lies *Krilow*, and below that *Cremierczow*, the lowest Town upon the River, all the Country below it being desert. Further down the River there are many Isles, most of them uninhabited, because overflowed in the Spring; but much frequented by Fishermen. Several other Rivers increase the *Nieper* at *Romonow*, but chiefly *Samar*, which supplies the Country not only with Fish, but with other Commodities, as Honey, Wax, Venison, and especially Timber: The *Cossacks* call this River the *Holy River*: In the Spring they catch Sturgeons and Herring here.

A little below this, the *Poles* in 1635, built a Fort at *Kuda*, which is the first of the *Porouki*, *Constantinow* on the River *Sliez*, which runs into the *Nieper*. *Porowi* or *Porouki*, in the *Russian* Language, signifies a Rock: Of these there are thirteen Chains that cross the *Nieper*, and render the Navigation from the *Ukrain* to the *Black Sea* impracticable; so that though the *Ukrain* be fruitful in Corn, yet the Inhabitants not being able to export it, suffer much of it to lie untilld. Of these Rocks, some are under Water, some above, as big as Houses, very near to one another, and stop the Course of the River; so that when it is low they make Cataracts sometimes of fifteen Feet high; but in the Spring, when the melted Snow swells the River, all the Rocks are covered with Water, except the Seventh, which still hinders the River from being navigable; near the lowest *Porouki* the River is not above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and therefore is the best Passage for the *Tartars*.

Below, there lies *Tomakouka*, the Place where the *Cossacks* rendezvous, but their principal Retreat is below the *Czertomelick*, upon an Island surrounded with a vast Number of small ones; some of them dry, and others overflowed in the Spring; some of them are Morasses, but all of them covered over with Reeds and Canes as big as Pikes, which hides the Passages between the Islands, and makes it a Labyrinth, known only to the *Cossacks*, who call it *Scarbniza-Woyskowa*, or the Treasury of the Army. Here they lay up their Money and Ordnance: The *Turks* have lost many Gallies among these Islands, which not being able to disentangle themselves, fell into the Hands of the *Cossacks*. From these *Porouki* the *Cossacks* are called *Zaperouski*, which is, the great Body of the Nation; and none can be listed among their Number, till he has passed in his little Boat all the *Porouki's*, and from thence, by the Mouth of the *Nieper*, to the *Black Sea*.

The River there is three Miles broad; yet both the *Cossacks*, and others, pass it in this manner: They furnish themselves with flat-bottom Boats, at the Stern of which they fasten cross Poles of a good Length, to which they tie the Heads of their Horses, as many on the one Side as on the other, to balance them; and putting their Baggage in the Boat, they row over, their Horses swimming after them.

The *Ukrain* is a very fertile Country, though the third Part of it is scarcely cultivated; it produces such a vast Quantity of Grain of all Sorts, that the Inhabitants are at a Loss how to consume it; they cannot export any of it, because their Rivers are not navigable. They abound in Honey, Wax, Wood, Cattle, Fowl, and Fish. *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, supply them with Wine; they also make good Beer, and *Aqua Vitæ*, out of their Corn; they have much Mead; the Salt-pits near *Cracow* furnish them with Salt; they have also some out of the Country of *Pokutia*, on the Borders of *Moldavia* and *Transylvania*, where there are Salt-springs: Their Houses are of Wood, and their Fortifications of Earth and Wood, which they account better against Cannon, than Brick Walls; but they are soon set on Fire.

The Rivers of note here are the *Boristhenes* or *Nieper*, the *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Neister*, the common Border betwixt them and *Wallachia*, the *Dezna*, the *Ross*, the *Horin*, the *Stouez*, and the *Ster*, near which was fought the last Battle between the *Poles* and *Cossacks*, in 1651; which obliged the *Cossacks* to seek Protection among the *Muscovites* and *Turks*. The Language of the *Cossacks* is a Dialect of the *Polish* Tongue, as the *Polish* is of the *Sclavonian*; but that of the *Cossacks* is much more smooth, and full of Diminutives, which makes it very agreeable.

3. The common People are of the *Greek Church*: Their Worship is the same with that of the *Russians*; their Metropolitan resides at *Kiow*, is consecrated by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and subject to him; the whole almost of their Religion consists in Feasts and Holy-days; but the greater Part of the Gentry are Papists, and a few Protestants. It is very common in this Country for Maids to woo the Men; if a young Woman be in love with a young Man, she is not ashamed to go to his Father's House, and reveal her Passion in the most tender Expressions, and promises all Obedience if he please to accept of her in Marriage: If she be rejected by the young Man because he is too young, or not disposed to marry, or the like, she tells him that she is resolved never to go out of the House till he consent, and accordingly takes up her Lodgings there: To force her out, would be to provoke all her Kindred; nor would the Church suffer them to use any Violence to her without inflicting heavy Penance, and branding the House with Infamy; so that after two or three Weeks the Parents, or the young Man himself, being moved with the Constancy of the Woman, accommodate Matters as well as they can, and make up the Match.

Their Manners are like those of Soldiers, not solicitous for what is to come, but spend freely what they have among their Companions, and leave Futurity to shift for itself; they are very inconstant, mutinous, and pursue their present Advantage rather than their Faith and Promise; they are great Drinkers, but by reason of their Labour and Hardships, they have so much Health that Physicians are of little Use among them: They are of a good Stature, strong, nimble, great Lovers of Liberty, uneasy under any Yoke, and indefatigable: They are much given to fishing and hunting. None know better the way of preparing Saltpetre, and making Gunpowder, their Country abounds with it, and several Parts of *Europe* are furnished from thence. This Territory was almost a Desert till improved by the Industry of the *Cossacks*, and other Colonies; the many Rivers which run through it add much to its Fruitfulness.

They have some Animals peculiar to their Country, such as a Beast called *Bobac*, not unlike a *Guiney Pig*; it makes Holes in the Earth, which it enters in *October*, and never comes abroad till *April*; within these Holes there are many little Apartments for their Provisions, Lodgings, and Dead; eight or nine Herds of those Beasts live together in such Caves. They are easily tamed, and are very diverting. When they go out for Provisions, they place a Sentinel, who as soon as he spies any Body gives a Signal, and they all run to their Caves. The *Jounaky* is a Kind of Goat, remarkable for his beautiful Fur, resembling Sattin, and a white Skin and smooth Horns; he has no Horn in his Nose, as some report, but as he

feeds goes backwards. They have many wild Horses, of no Value but for their Flesh, which they sell in their Markets, and think it better than Beef or Veal: When those Horses come to be old, their Hoofs, never pared, so contract their Feet that they cannot go; in Summer they are mightily incommoded with Flies and Grasshoppers, in such vast Numbers, that they form a Cloud of five or six Leagues long, and three or four broad, darken the Air in the clearest Day, and destroy all the Corn they light on in less than two Hours time.

4. When they rendezvous upon the Islands of *Scarb-niza-Waskowa*, the first thing they do is to chuse their General for that Expedition; and to make their Boats, which they call *Colna*, of about sixty Foot long, twelve Foot deep, and as many wide. They are built very light, one Plank pinned on the Edge of another, and widening upwards. They have a Stern at each End, and about twelve or fifteen Oars of a Side. They have no Deck; but to prevent their Sinking, though full of Water, they compass them round with a Border of Reeds, as big as a Barrel, tied together, and fastened to their Boats with Ropes; they have a sorry Mast and Sail, but seldom use them, except in very fair Weather. Their Provision is a Ton of Bisket, which they take out of the Bung as they use it; a Barrel of boiled Millet, and another of Paste, made with Water, which they eat with their Millet; every Boat carries about sixty Persons; every Man having two Guns, and each Boat five or six Falconets or small Pieces of Cannon. They set out about the Beginning of *June*, and return about the first of *August*.

They wait for a dark Night, that they may pass undiscovered by the *Turks* Gallies, which lie at *Oczakow* to intercept them. With these Boats they cruize over all the *Black Sea*. If they spy a Galley, they keep at a Distance till Night, observe the Course of the Vessel, and when it is dark come up and board it; they take out all the Cannon, Money, and Merchandize, and then sink the Ship, because they have neither Skill nor Opportunity to use it. No sooner have the *Turks* Intelligence that the *Cossacks* are at Sea but the Alarm is taken immediately, which reaches quickly to *Constantinople*; from thence Couriers are dispatched to the Coasts of *Natolia*, *Romelia*, and *Bulgaria*, to bid them be upon their Guard; but the *Cossacks* are generally too nimble for them, and are forty Hours on the Coasts before them. If a Galley spy them in the Day-time (which is very uncommon; for their Vessels are not above two Foot and a half above Water) they avoid fighting, by rowing away from her, or retiring to Shallows among Reeds, where the Gallies cannot follow them.

This was their way of living till the Grand Signior obliged *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, to prohibit those Piracies. It was bad Policy in the *Poles* to let them chuse their own General; for this General being absolutely their own Creature, is forced to comply with their Methods. They handle their Guns very dextrously, and have Scythes set long-ways upon Poles, with which they fight very fiercely, and at the same time skilfully; so that regular Troops are often beat by them. They are very indifferent Horsemen, but excellent Soldiers on Foot. They are inured to all manner of Fatigues and Hardships, obedient to their Commanders, active, and dextrous in intrenching themselves, not only in the ordinary way, but also by making a Fence of their Baggage Waggons, which cover them as they march. These moving Intrenchments are absolutely necessary for them, when they march without Horse in open Plains in the Deserts of the *Tartars*, against whom they are forced to stand wherever they meet them. There have been several Instances, that one thousand *Cossack* Foot marching betwixt their Chariots and Waggons, have, in a Plain, repulsed five or six thousand *Tartars* on Horseback. Their Horses, though swift, are but weak, and stopped by the least Barricade. But, however, this way of marching, in the midst of their Baggage and Ammunition Waggons, would scarcely be practicable in any other Country but *Poland* and the Deserts of *Tartary*, which lie upon a level.

5. It is easy, from these Accounts, to form a just Notion of the original and ancient State of the *Cossacks*; but some farther Explanations will be necessary, in order to have a just Idea of the Condition of this People at this Day. We will begin with what is requisite to be said of their Country. In its utmost Extent, it may be considered as three hundred Miles long, and in some Places above a hundred broad; but then this comprehends the Territory, inhabited by all the *Cossacks*; for they are, at present, distinguished into various Nations. When we reflect on the Manners of the *Muscovites*, *Poles*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and remember that their Dominions border upon each other, we shall very easily conceive, that the Frontiers could not afford very safe or pleasant Habitations, and shall not be surprized to hear that they were desert. Hence it was, that this otherwise large and considerable Tract of Country, came to be stiled *the Ukrain*, which, in our Language, properly signifies *the Marches*. The People who first settled on the Rocks in the *Nieper* were Vagabonds from all Countries, who built their Huts in the most inaccessible Places, and were from thence called *Cossacks* or *Goats*, because, like them, they dwelt out of reach.

But, by Degrees, as these People became numerous, they began to plant and improve their Country, which is naturally one of the richest and finest in *Europe*; but from its very Situation, so liable to be ransacked and eat up, whenever any Wars break out among the neighbouring Nations, which are none of them polite, or well governed, that we cannot expect it should ever be brought into any tolerable Condition. Besides, the *Cossacks*, like the Buccaneers in *America*, were Planters only by Accident; they looked upon living at Home as a Hardship, unless in the Time they wanted Winter-Quarters; for their proper Business was War, and they grew rich, not by Industry but Plunder. They were from hence regarded as Barbarians, and in that Sense very justly; because, to live by spoiling others is the highest Barbarity; inasmuch as it is that Sort of Life most repugnant to Reason and the Laws of Nature. But there is another Signification of the Word *barbarous*, which implies Stupidity and Ignorance; and this cannot, with any Degree of Justice, be charged upon the *Cossacks*, who have made as great Improvements in the Art of War as any Nation in the World. It is very true, that with respect to us, and our manner of making War, these very Improvements appear barbarous, but that is for want of Consideration in us; for, if we reflect upon the Situation of their Affairs, and on the Contrivances made use of by the *Cossacks* for their own Security, we cannot but perceive the greatest Ingenuity in them; and I think a little Time will not be ill bestowed to set this matter in a clear Light.

It has been before laid down that War was their Business; and this was of two Kinds, defensive by Land, and offensive by Sea. In respect to the former, the Country round about them was flat, and the Enemies they had to deal with were *Poles* and *Tartars*, who brought great Bodies of Horse into the Field; to oppose these with inferior Bodies of light-armed Foot, the *Cossacks* invented the *Tabor*, or Waggon, in these they carried their Baggage, Ammunition, and Provisions upon a March; and when they encamped, they took Care to have a River in Front, and a Morass in the Rear; covering their Flanks with an Intrenchment of Waggon; and by the Help of this Discipline, they have defeated Troops, that would have appeared terrible, even to the most regular Armies; nay, to such a Degree, they carried this Art of fortifying with Waggon, that Field-Marshal *Munich*, who was an Officer of great Skill and Experience, thought fit to adopt their Method in his last War against the *Turks*; and that with such Success, as enabled him to come off with Honour and Victory, when attacked by the most numerous Armies the *Ottoman* Power could bring into the Field. This shewed great Skill and military Prudence in that Officer, who also brought several Regiments of *Cossacks* into the *Russian* Service: I will not say as regular, but I may say as settled and established Troops, and they have been

found very serviceable. We must, however, distinguish between the *Cossacks* in the Pay of *Russia* and the *Cossacks* under the Protection of *Russia*; the former are a Body of Troops of between ten and twelve thousand Men, that may be marched any where, as Occasion shall require; but the latter are a great People, capable of bringing fifty or sixty thousand Men into the Field, for the Service of the *Russians*, against the *Turks* or *Tartars*, but as soon as the War is over they will expect to return Home.

In their offensive Wars, which, as we have shewn, the *Cossacks* carry on by Sea, the Invention of their Boats is admirable; for, in the first Place, they are very light, so that they may be transported from Rock to Rock with great Ease. In the next Place, they are capacious, so as to hold a great Number of Men, which gives them such a Power in boarding and attacking Places on the Sea Coasts, as it is hardly possible to resist. Their Method of Building without Keels, and Sheathing with Reeds, defends them from sinking, even if full of Water. Besides this, it makes their Boats, when filled with Men, lie so deep in the Water, that they are not to be seen at any great Distance, and yet they go at a prodigious Rate, so as to be in no Danger, when pursued by any kind of Shipping in use among the *Turks*.

If indeed we take these Bark Boats out of the Water, and consider them independent of the *Cossacks*, who use them, and of the Uses they make of them, they will appear very poor and despicable Things, and we may say the same of their Waggon; but notwithstanding this, when all Circumstances are duly weighed, when we remember that these People are poor, weak, and defenceless, in Comparison of their Neighbours, have very few Fortresses, and those composed only of Wood and Earth; and that notwithstanding these Advantages, they have made a Shift to cover their Country so well, and defended themselves so obstinately, as to make the *Poles* and *Tartars* weary of their Wars with them; we must allow them some Merit, with respect to military Skill; on the other Hand, when we call to mind, that they have no Trade, no Vessels, no Ports to receive them, if they had any; no Yards, little Timber, no Docks, Carpenters, or Seamen, we cannot help owning that the naval Exploits of such People, are in a great Measure astonishing.

Their Government is entirely military, insomuch that in Time of Peace they have hardly any Magistrates or Laws; but when the Nation, by whom they are protected (and at present some of them are under the *Poles*, some under the *Turks*, but the far greatest Part of them under the *Russians*) propose they should rise and take the Field; the first Step is to give them leave to elect a General, who in their Language is called HETMAN or HATMAN, which some modern Writers have mistaken for a proper Name; whereas, in reality, it is the Stile of Office, and answers to that of *Imperator* amongst the ancient *Romans*; and he has the absolute Command so long as the War continues; neither is it easy to depose him afterwards; for in this, as well as in all other Countries, Power has in it something so pleasing, that no small Difficulty is found in reducing him, who has been once a Prince to the Rank of a private Man.

In the Histories of the Wars in the North, from the Beginning of the present Century to the Death of *Peter the Great*, Emperor of *Russia*, the HATMAN of the *Cossacks* is often mentioned, and some of them made a great Figure; but of late, and indeed in all Times of Peace, we hear of no such Person; but when the Circumstances of Things shall alter (and nobody knows how soon this may happen) it is very probable we shall hear of them again; as the *Croats*, *Pandours*, and *Talpatches*, with many other barbarous Nations, lay hid in their Dens and Marshes, till the present War called them Abroad, and shewed more civilized Nations the dreadful Appearance of these terrible Militia. But it is right to enquire after, and have some tolerable Knowledge, even of the most obscure Nations, that when those Accidents, which are always in the Womb

of

of Time, bring them upon the Stage; we may not be amazed at their Names, or in Doubt about their Force.

It was the Praise of *Ulysses*, the wisest Man in his Day in *Greece*, That he had seen and was acquainted with the Laws and Customs, the Manners and Modes, of different Places and People. And this was a great Commendation, worthy the Pen and Pains of the immortal *Homer*, who has justly celebrated the Labours and Travels of that excellent Man: But it is the Felicity of modern Times, that every Man may be an *Ulysses* in his Closet; may sail over the Ocean in his Elbow-chair, and travel all the World over in his Study. Neither is this a Flight of Oratory, a lively or extravagant Picture; but a plain, certain, and undeniable Truth: Books and Maps will do the Work effectually; and a small Degree of Application, and that only for a few Months, will enable us to acquire more real and useful Knowledge than it was possible for any of the Ancients to become Master of in the Course of his Life; and therefore if we do not excel them, is not more their Glory than our Fault: *He who has never travelled*, say the *Turks*; *he who has never read*, may we say, *thinks all the World like his Father's House*; that is, has such narrow and confined Notions, as are unworthy of the human Mind, and subject him to Wonder and Amaze, the most shameful Marks of Ignorance and Folly, upon every new Event; for to him all Changes are strange, and every Incident, because unlooked for, is surprizing.

It was proper to throw together these Reflections at the Close of this Section, because it is the last in which we shall have Occasion to treat this Subject; for we are now to look Abroad into more civilized Countries, where every thing has a softer Air, and the Inhabitants are learned and polite. It is true, that the visiting Countries, like these, seems to be most expedient for modern Travellers, who are sent abroad to acquire a genteel Manner and a correct Taste; but for such as travel at home, though it is certainly more delightful and entertaining, to read the Descriptions of fair and fruitful Countries, thoroughly planted and carefully cultivated, abounding with rich Cities, great Towns, and pleasant Villages, adorned in all Quarters with elegant Structures, and affording every where pleasing Objects to the wandering Eye of the inquisitive Beholders, yet to those whose Studies tend to higher Purposes, this will seem no more than an Amusement; for to them the Variation of Power, the Change of Circumstances, the rising and falling of Nations in the Balance of sound Policy, seems to be the great, if not the only rational, End of such Enquiries. An Instance will render my Meaning in this Respect perfectly clear. The Beauties of *Italy* are very far from declining, her Artists are as famous as ever, and her *Virtuosi* more so; but it unluckily falls out, that while the *Italians* grow more polite, they sink more and more in their Power. There was a Time when the *Italian* Liberty was talked of, and before that there was a Time when it existed, but now the Discourse of it is as little heard as the Thing itself is seen. The great Topic now, is the Balance of Power; which is no other than a Contrivance to render Slavery lighter, or at least make it appear so, by dividing it into several Hands. The Expedient is necessary and therefore proper enough, since a foreign Yoke cannot be thrown off, or the antient Freedom of the *Italian* States restored. But this is not the Case in the North, and amongst Nations of whom most People are content to know but little: It is to combat these Notions that we venture upon these Remarks, in order to inspire our Countrymen with an Inclination to examine into Matters of more real Importance, and which will very soon, perhaps while the present Generation subsists, more nearly concern us.

The Power of *Russia* is not yet of fifty Years standing; but, in that time, it has made a prodigious Progress; and, at this Day, appears with formidable Greatness. From being insulted by the *Poles*, trampled on by the *Swedes*, and over-run by the *Tartars*, it has not only

grown strong enough to keep all these Nations in awe, but has likewise made considerable Conquests upon *Persia*, given a Check to the *Turkish* Power, alarmed the *Chinese* Empire, and spread the Terror of its Arms among the *Japoneze*, who have scarce heard the Names of other *European* Powers. It is worth while, therefore, to enquire into the State and Forces of this Empire, and to learn something of that Policy, by which thirty Millions of People are kept in Subjection. We shall take a proper time to examine this. It is indeed true, that the Power of *Sweden* is very much decreased, but we cannot say the same thing of their Trade. They have lately opened a Passage to the *East-Indies*; and their Dyets are very intent upon promoting every Branch of their Commerce; nor is there any Reason to suspect, that their Pains will be thrown away. The same Spirit exerts itself, with at least equal Vigour, in *Denmark*; and when once the present War is over, and the Power of *Prussia* thoroughly established by a general Peace, I dare prophesy, that some Attempts, of the same Kind, will be made on that Side. By Methods like these, the whole Face of the North will be changed, Industry and Navigation will become the Business of People that heretofore knew nothing of either, and in the Space of a few Years, that Emulation which appears so strongly among those Princes, must necessarily produce great Effects. All the old Ports in the North will be opened and improved, and new will be heard of, that at present want Names. Every Creek will be rendered advantageous, and every fishing Town will become a Place of Trade; new Commodities will be raised, new Manufactures set on Foot, and new Schemes formed, to render these beneficial to the Subjects of these States, under whose Protection they rise.

I do not pretend to say, that such Changes, or Alterations, will prove detrimental to *Great-Britain*; I hope they will not. I am far from suggesting, that they should become Grounds to us of Jealousy, or Envy; but what I aim at, is to prove, that they are Objects that demand our Attention. While Designs, like these, are in their Infancy, they may be bent, and turned, by a superior maritime Power, to its Advantage. We may perhaps be Gainers by the Variation, that will be occasioned thereby in the State of Commercial Affairs, and the Rise of these new trading Countries may be made very profitable to our own: But, in order to this, their Views must be considered in time, and must be considered with great Coolness and Deliberation; that we not attempt to oppose what may turn to our Interest, or to be drawn in to promote Projects beneficial to others and detrimental to ourselves. These are Motives, that should incline us, to look very circumspectly into the Condition of the North. We gained a great Part of the Trade we have at present, by doing this, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and we lost a Part of our Trade, by that Negligence; which, among other mischievous Consequences, attended our fatal Civil War. It imports us now to provide against any new Misfortunes of the same Kind; which can be only done by a provident Application to our own Interests, and using, in due Time, the most effectual Means to prevent the Current of Trade from running too strongly into the North; a thing that must be attended with extraordinary Consequences, which it will be for the Reputation of our Governors to foresee; and in respect of which it is their Duty to provide. That these Hints may prove some way useful to so great and salutary a Purpose, and prevent that Spirit from being extinguished here, which begins to be so conspicuous amongst our Neighbours, is the sole View of their Author; who, since he can be no otherwise useful to his Country, thinks it incumbent upon him to express his good Will towards it, by furnishing Remarks worthy the Notice of those, who have more in their Power, and to whom he most ardently wishes Prudence, Diligence, and Success.


CHAPTER III.

Comprehending TRAVELS through the middle Parts of *Europe*, particularly, the *United Provinces*, the *Austrian Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and the Territories of the Republick of *Genoa*.

SECTION I.

The TRAVELS of Mr. MAXIMILIAN MISSON, through Part of Holland, the Spanish Low Countries, Germany, Tyrol, and the Bishoprick of Trent, in his Way to Italy, containing a distinct Account of whatever appear'd to him remarkable in the Places through which he pass'd; together with Political, Historical, and Critical Remarks upon Persons and Things, as he has Occasion to mention them.

1. *A short Introduction, containing some Account of the Author, the Occasion of his Travels, the Nature and Design of his Work, the several Editions it has gone through, and what is to be expected from this Abridgment.*
2. *A Description of the Country of Holland, the Neatness of the Cities and great Towns, the Conveniences of Travelling, together with some Account of the two great Cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.*
3. *A Prosecution of the same Subject, including a Description of the Town of Delft, the celebrated Village of the Hague, the University of Leyden and its Curiosities, and the Town of Haerlem.*
4. *A more particular Description of the great City of Amsterdam, the publick and private Buildings there; an Account of an Order of Nuns called Beguines, and other Things worthy of Observation.*
5. *The Author's Journey from Amsterdam to Utrecht, Description of the Places upon the Road, and Remarks on the Harmony which subsists in Germany between Persons of different Religions.*
6. *A circumstantial Description of the great City of Cologne, the Capital of the Archbishoprick and Electorate of that Name, the publick Edifices therein, with some judicious Remarks upon popish Superstition.*
7. *The Author's Passage on the Rhine from Cologne to Mentz, Description of the Country and Villages on both Sides that River, with a Correction of a vulgar Mistake about the Tomb of Drusus at Mentz.*
8. *His Passage on the Maine from Mentz to Franckfort, Description of this City; a very curious Account of the Golden Bull, the Original of which is kept there, and other Particulars.*
9. *His Journey from Franckfort to Worms; a large Account of the last mentioned Place, as also of Frankendal, Manheim, and Heidelberg.*
10. *His Passage from the last mentioned City, through a very pleasant and agreeable Country, to Nurembergh; a Description of that Place, and of the Diadem of Charlemagne kept there; of a Book printed by Faustus in 1446, and another in 1449; with some Remarks on the Invention of Gunpowder, and other Curiosities.*
11. *A Description of Ingolstadt, Neubourgh, and a very particular Account of the Imperial City of Augsbourgh, the publick Edifices therein, the Dress, Customs and Manners of its Inhabitants.*
12. *An Account of the Country of Bavaria; of the Capital City of Munich, the Electoral Palace there, and other Curiosities.*
13. *A Description of the Country of Tyrol, of the City of Inspruch, of the House there the Porch of which is said to be covered with Gold, the Country Palace of the Archdukes at Amras.*
14. *A View of the remaining Part of the Country of Tyrol, and of the Bishoprick of Trent, with a Description of the City of that Name, and of whatever is therein remarkable.*
15. *Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

1.  HERE are very few Books of Travels, that have maintained their Credit so well as these of which we propose in this and the following Sections to give a succinct Abridgment. Mr. Misson was a Gentleman of great Reading and general Knowledge, which recommended him to the Favour and Protection of the old Duke of Ormond, who committed to his Care his Grandson, the present Earl of Arran. He travelled also with several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, which gave him an Opportunity of examining very attentively, the Places through which he pass'd, and of which he has given us

a Description. His Work was originally small to what it now appears, but as it was very well received, he reviewed it more than once, and made large Additions from Time to Time to the several Editions of it that were printed in *French*; all of which are preserved in the last *English* Translation, in which we find a Multitude of Passages corrected, or render'd more clear and explicit, than in any of the former, and therefore we have taken Care, in reviewing this Abridgment, to compare it therewith, so as to render it as compleat as it is possible, as well as to free it from the numerous Mistakes that had crept into the former Extract of it published by Dr. Harris.

The Author divided his Work in the Original into Letters, which are dated from several Places; but to render it more agreeable to the Form of this Work, we have digested it in the same Manner with the other Parts of it; which, we flatter ourselves, will render it more easy and intelligible to our Readers. The great Number of Inscriptions, literary Dissertations, historical and critical Discussions, with which the Author, from time to time, augmented his original Performance, swelled it to four Volumes; and though many of these are very curious and useful, yet as they did not suit either the Design of our Work, or the Bounds within which we are obliged to confine it, we have contracted them as far as it was necessary, to bring the whole into a reasonable Compass, with as little Prejudice as might be to the Sentiments of the Author.

It is requisite farther to observe, that these Travels were made in 1687, and 1688; so that the Reader will make the proper Allowances for the Alterations that have happened, in respect both to Persons and Things since that Time. The Rout he took has been esteemed, by the ablest Judges, one of the best, for making what is called the *Grand Tour*, in order to give young Travellers a View of the most remarkable Parts of *Europe*, and the Method he has taken in describing the Countries and Cities through which he passed, has been looked upon as equally instructive and entertaining; so that hitherto nothing of the same Kind has appeared, either so extensive in its Design, or so well executed in the several Parts of it. Our Author was a very zealous as well as learned Protestant, and he has left us great Marks of both in this Performance, which stirred up some Persons abroad to criticise various Passages in his Travels; but he was, generally speaking, so much in the Right, and in the Discourses before-mentioned, which may be still found in the last *English* Translation of his Book, he has defended himself so well, that his Adversaries have had no great Occasion to triumph. These Particulars, which were necessary for the Reader's Satisfaction, being dispatch'd, there is no Necessity for enlarging any farther this Introduction, and therefore we shall proceed, as near as may be, in the Author's own Words, after putting the Reader in Mind, that the Plainness and Familiarity of the Style is such as may be expected, and has been always allowed to Epistolary Writings.

2. *Holland* being a flat Country, like a continued Meadow, as we approach'd the Shore, the Pinacles of the Steeples and the Trees appear'd as rising out of the Water. The whole Country is cut into Canals and Ditches with incredible Labour, without which the Grounds would be so soak'd with Water, as would render it not habitable; whereas now, by the Industry of its Inhabitants, it is the richest and best peopled in the World, in Proportion to its Extent: Some make their Number amount to Two millions five hundred thousand Souls, in the single Province of *Holland*; some account only Two millions in all the Seven Provinces.

The Cities of *Holland* are generally very neat and beautiful, their Inhabitants sparing no Pains or Cost for that Purpose, as appears by their constantly washing them; and having the Insides of their Houses curiously painted; and their Windows, generally of Glass, as clear as Crystal: Their Cleanliness extends even to their Shops and Stables, which are kept neater here, than the best Apartments are in some Countries. Their Streets are so clean, that you see the Women walk almost constantly in Slippers; and the Canals being on both Sides planted with Trees, afford a most delightful shady Passage through all the chief Streets of the Cities, and of some of the Towns and Villages also. They reckon in the United Provinces one City (*Amsterdam*) of the first Rank, about twenty of the second, upwards of thirty of the third, two hundred large Towns, and eight hundred Villages. But to return to their Canals.

These are very convenient for travelling, which is generally perform'd in large Boats cover'd against the Injuries of the Air, and drawn by Horses, which go off and bring you to your Journey's End exactly at certain

Hours; they serve for the Transportation of Commodities from one Place to another: And some of these Canals afford tolerable Store of several Kinds of Fish.

Notwithstanding all these Advantages, there are many Things wanting in *Holland*, their Supplies of Wines, nay, even of Corn, and most other Things necessary for the Sustenance of Life, are derived from foreign Countries, which occasions their having such a prodigious Number of Ships, so that some have computed them equal to all the rest that *Europe* can produce. But as on one Side they are chiefly oblig'd to the Sea for their Riches, so on the other Hand it proves the Occasion of almost irreparable Desolations; for though they take all possible Precautions to maintain their Dams and Mills for the emptying of the Water, yet sometimes the Impetuosity of this Element breaks through all these Fences, which has cost at several Times the Lives of some Millions of People. Thus, *April* 17, 1429, a Hundred thousand People were drown'd about *Dort*. In 1446, there were fifteen Parishes overflowed in the Village of *Scheveling*, 121 Houses were carried away, and the Church, now close by the Sea-side, stood in the Middle of the Place.

Another Inconveniency is, the sudden Change of the Weather from Heat to Cold, a Thing not agreeable to those who are not used to it. Their Impositions are also very heavy, which consequently occasions a Dearness of all Sorts of Victuals; but their Plenty of Trade seems to make them a sufficient Amends for this and every other Inconveniency.

We were not a little surpriz'd with the first Sight of *Rotterdam*, for its Canals being, for the most Part, so deep and broad, that they are capable of receiving Vessels of a great Bulk; this affords the most agreeable Prospect of a Mixture of Trees, Tops of lofty Houses and Malts, which at a Distance appear wonderfully beautiful.

The City of *Rotterdam* has not always been in the same flourishing Condition, which makes it now challenge a Place among the Cities of the second Rank, its Port being both large and commodious, the City rich, populous, pleasant, and extremely flourishing; their Storehouses for the Navy, the Townhouse, and the Bank, are beautiful Structures; their Glass-house (famous through all the Seven Provinces) manufactures abundance of little enamel'd Bowls, and such-like Bawbles, curiously done, which are sold to prodigious Profit to the Savages in the *Indies*.

There are two *French* Churches here: The Statue of Brass of *Erasmus* is fix'd on a Pedestal of Marble in the Place called the *Great Bridge*, surrounded with Iron Rails. *Erasmus* is dress'd in his Doctor's Robe, with a Book in his Hand; and near it you see the following Distich, wrote over the Door of a little House where he was born, *Octob.* 27, 1467. but died at *Basil*, *June* 12, 1536.

*Ædibus hic ortus, mundum decoravit Erasmus
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, Fide.*

There has been due Care express'd in this Respect, for the first Statue was erected 1540, of Wood; after that another of Stone, 1657; and this of Brass, 1622.

We made a little Journey from hence to a small Village called *Leckerkeck*, about three Leagues from the City, upon the River *Leck*, where the Lord of the Manor told us, that the Salmon-fishing (the fifth Part whereof belongs to him) used formerly to produce Twenty thousand Livres *per Annum* for his Share, but of late Years the Salmon having left that River, the Fishing (which they are forced to continue only to maintain their Right) does not defray the Charges.

At the same Place they shewed us a Woman, who was the Year before, *i. e.* 1686, brought to Bed of six Sons at one Birth, four of them were baptiz'd, and the eldest lived four Months after.

At the Lord of the Manor's House, we saw also a Servant-maid, named *la Bonte*, who under that Name was muster'd, and serv'd no less than seven Years in the Quality of a Musqueteer.

We

We were credibly inform'd, that a few Years before there died in this Place one *Gerard Bastianfon*, a Fisherman, who was full eight Foot high, and though a very lean Person, weigh'd five hundred Weight: The Doors of his House, and his Clothes, which were shewn, sufficiently confirm'd what they told us of his Size.

The Tower of the great Church here is very remarkable. It leaned formerly on the Nave of the Building; that is, bent towards the North-East three Feet and a half, but by opening the Foundation, they have found Means to set it up quite streight, as appears by a prose Inscription in *Dutch*; which also acquaints us the Ground was opened September the 25th, 1651, and was closed again April the 22d, 1655. The Architect who performed this singular Piece of Work, was one *Nicholas Jeremy Persons*. *Dion Cassius*, under the Reign of *Tiberius*, mentions something of the same Sort done, and that the Artist was but ill rewarded.

3. The ordinary Passage-boat carried us in two Hours to *Delft*, a City that holds the third Rank in the Assembly of the States of *Holland*. One of the chief Curiosities they shew you in this City is, the Tomb of *William Prince of Orange*, assassinated here by *Balthasar Gerard*, 1584. The Arsenal, the Townhouse, the *Stadtholder's* Palace, the Grand Place, and the great Hospital, with its Gardens, are well worth the Sight of a Traveller. The Canal betwixt this City and the *Hague* is not above a League in Length, in Sight of *Reswyck* and *Voerburch*, two pleasant Villages, and adorn'd on both Sides with most delightful Summer Villa's, fine Walks, and noble Gardens.

The *Hague*, being without Gates or Walls, is reckon'd among the Villages, notwithstanding which, as it enjoys the Privilege of a City, so its Grandeur and Beauty seems to deserve that Name, being besides this the Residence of the Princes of *Orange* when *Stadtholders*, of all the foreign Ministers, and the Place of Assembly of the *States General*; besides that, the great Concourse of Foreigners of all Sorts, renders the People more obliging and sociable than in any other Place of *Holland*. Add to this, that the Air is very good, the Wood near the Town extremely delightful, and the Walk from thence to the Village of *Scheveling*, near the Sea-side, very diverting. Here they shew a Chariot furnish'd both with Wheels and Sails, which is carried along by the Wind upon the Sea-shore, very pleasant to walk on, it being both hard and level.

Its Situation is certainly the most pleasant of any Place in *Holland*, having the before-mentioned Wood to the North, very fertile Meadows to the South, good arable Lands to the East, and the Sea to the West.

The Princes of *Orange* keep their Residence in the Palace of the ancient Earls of *Holland*; but that called the *Old Court*, where they formerly lodg'd, is by much the more regular Structure; the Houses of Pleasure about the *Hague* are generally very beautiful.

We took, among other Things, a View of the Church of the Village of *Losdun*, so famous for the two Basons of Brass preserved there, in Memory of the Three hundred sixty five Children of the Countess of *Hennebergh*, Daughter to *Florent IV.* Earl of *Holland*, that were baptiz'd in them. The Story goes, that the said Countess having reproach'd a Beggar-woman with having too many Children, the poor Wretch, by way of Imprecation, wish'd her as many as there were Days in the Year; which being fulfill'd, they were all christened, (the Boys by the Name of *John*, the Girls *Elizabeth*) and buried in the Church of *Losdun*. The whole History is painted at large in the said Church, on both Ends of which Picture the two Basons are fix'd. The Truth of it is attested by *Erasmus*, *Vives*, *Guicciardine*, and others.

From the *Hague* we went forward to *Leyden*, a Place not so much frequented by Courtiers and Officers, nor so much disturbed with Business and Traffick as the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*, but exceeding charming by its intrinsick Beauty and Quiet, so that you seem to enjoy the Benefit of a Country Life in the Midst of a great City: Its chief Trade consists in the Woollen Manufactory, which, together with the University, makes it

one of the most considerable Cities in *Holland*. There are commonly about 1500 Students.

In the *Anatomy-Hall* they shew you a great many Skeletons both of Men and Beasts, abundance of Plants, Fruits, Animals, Arms, Habits, Pictures, Mummies, Urns, Images, &c. and among the rest, the Picture of a *Prussian* Peasant, who having swallowed a large Knife, the same (as they tell you) was cut out again of his Stomach, and he lived eight Years after.

In the Gallery of the Physick-Garden, and the adjoining Cabinet, called the *Indian Cabinet*, we saw divers natural Curiosities, among the rest a wing'd Cat and Ape; the Hand of a Mermaid; a vegetable *Priapus*, a most curious Plant; a Monster produced from a Hen's Egg; a Piece of Money of Paper, made during the Siege of *Leyden* by the *Spaniards* in 1574, with this Inscription on one Side, *Hæc libertatis ergo*; on the other, *Pugno pro Patria*: An *East-India* Serpent, on whose Skin are to be seen, as some fancy, several natural Figures resembling *Arabick* Characters; besides a great Number of Animals, Insects, and other Things, preserved in Vials fill'd with Spirit of Wine.

Before I take my Leave of *Leyden*, I must not forget to give you an Account of the *Rhine*, which is lost near its Mouth, where most other Rivers are at the largest; for the *Rhine* dividing itself into two Branches near *Schenkerschontz*; one of them takes the Name of *Wakle*, the other a little above *Arnheim*, that of *Yffel*; and continuing its Course about seven or eight Leagues below that City, as far as *Duarstadt*, is there again subdivided into two other small Channels, the chiefest whereof takes the Name of the *Leck*; and the other Rivulet, which turns more to the Right, retains the Name of the *Rhine*; till coming to *Utrecht*, it emits another Branch, which taking its Course to the North, is known by the Name of the *Vecht*; and the other continuing its Course, by the Name of the *Rhine*, to *Wor-den*, it at last loses itself in two or three Canals at *Leyden*. The Cause of this odd Fate of the *Rhine*, is attributed to an Earthquake, which throwing Part of the *Downs* into the Mouth of this River, shut it ever since, the Waters were driven back, and consequently enlarg'd and deepened the Channel of the *Leck* as you see it now.

They shew you here the Shopboard belonging to that noted Taylor called *John* of *Leyden*, (where he was born) the chief of the *Anabaptists*. His true Name was *John Bucold*.

From hence to *Harlem* is five Hours travelling by the Passage-boat, the Canal being lined with a great Number of Country-seats and Summer-houses.

Harlem is a large and pleasant City, and, for its agreeable Situation, may challenge the Preference before *Leyden*, most of its Canals being mix'd with the little River *Sparm*. This City is chiefly famous for the Linnen Manufactory, and that of Tape, though of late Years they have made also great Quantities of Silk-stuffs. The great Church (the largest in all the Seven Provinces) and the Town-house, are stately Structures; and the Wood without the City is a great Addition to its pleasant Situation; for which it is deservedly admired.

Lawrence Coster, who challenges the first Invention of Printing, was a Native of this City; though *John Guttenbergh* of *Strasburgh*, and *Conrade* and *Arnold*, two Brothers of *Mayence*, challenge that Honour before him. However, those of *Harlem*, in respect to their Townsman, keep in their Townhouse the first Book that ever was printed, in a Silver Case wrapt in Silk, the Keeping whereof is committed to the Care of several of the Magistrates; and the Statue of *Lawrence Coster* is to be view'd in the same Place. This Inscription is to be seen in golden Letters over the Door of the House where the said *Lawrence Coster* lived.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM,
Typographia ars artium omnium Conservatrix, hic primum
inventâ circa annum 1440.

Meyer

Meyer assures us, that in 1403. a Mermaid was cast ashore by a Tempest near *Harlem*, who was brought to feed upon Bread and Milk, taught to spin, and lived for many Years. *John Gerard* of *Leyden* adds, that she would frequently pull off her Clothes, and run towards the Water, and that her Speech was so confused a Noise, as not to be understood by any body: She was buried in the Church-yard, because she had learnt to make the Sign of the Cross. He speaks this upon the Credit of several Persons that had seen her.

4. As it would require a long Continuance in the City of *Amsterdam* to learn every Thing that belongs to it, and a large Volume to describe it all, I will content myself with giving rather a Scheme than a Description of a Place, which is, beyond all Dispute, one of the most beautiful and considerable Cities in the World; however, for its Extent it is in no wise to be compared to *London*, there being, according to a good Calculation, in *London* about Seven hundred thousand Souls, but in *Amsterdam* not above Two hundred thousand; but for Riches and Trade it may vie with any City in the World, witness their *East-India Company*, which was founded in 1594, and has waged Wars against very potent Princes, without any considerable Interruption of their Trade.

This City is built upon Piles fix'd in the Marshes on the South Side of the River *Ye* or *Tye*, which is a Branch of the *Zuyder-Zee*. Its Fortifications are very considerable, consisting of many Bastions faced with Brick, surrounded with a Ditch eighty Paces broad, fill'd with running Water, which, together with the Sluices, whereby they can lay all the adjacent Country under Water, renders it almost impregnable; besides the ordinary Garrison, the Militia or Train'd Bands of the City consist of sixty Companies of a hundred and fifty Men each, commanded by Citizens.

The Town-house, which is reported to have cost three Millions, is a spacious and most magnificent Structure, of hewn Stone; its Length is a hundred and ten Paces, and its Breadth twenty four: It is highly esteem'd for its regular Architecture, many are of Opinion, that the Foundation cost as much as the Fabrick above Ground; however, the Doors which give Entrance to this great and splendid Palace seem to be too small, in Proportion to the Whole, and the Square or Space before it is not either neat or regular.

The principal Church of the City was formerly dedicated to *St. Catherine*, but is now called *The New Church*: It is not so large as either of the great Churches at *Leyden* or *Harlem*; for as *Amsterdam* was no more than a poor Village within these five hundred Years, and its Condition, even in our Age, was not comparable to what you see it now, this Church was built answerable to its State at that Time. They affirm, that the Pulpit, made of Wood of *Gotbick* Carving, with its Canopy, cost Two hundred thousand Crowns; and the Organs (which are extraordinary fine) at least a hundred thousand Crowns; the Steeple intended to be erected remains imperfect. On the Glass Windows is painted the History of the Emperor *Maximilian V.* who bestow'd the Imperial Crown upon the Arms of this City. The Tomb of the famous Admiral *de Ruyter*, in this Church, is a fine Piece. The Synagogue of the *Portuguese Jews* is a stately Fabrick; but that of the *High-Dutch* is but very indifferent. It is observable, that notwithstanding the Inquisition of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Agents from both these Crowns at *Amsterdam* were *Jews* in 1687.

One of their Houses of Correction, called the *Rasphuis*, is for the young Debauchees, where they are kept to their Tasks, under the Penalty of Whipping. There is another such a one for the Whores, stiled the *Spinhuys*, who are not treated with the same Severity. But there are enough of them also at Liberty here as well as in other great Cities.

The *Roman Catholics* enjoy Liberty of Conscience as in other Parts of the Seven Provinces, tho' their Number is not so considerable as some have endeavour'd to persuade us; for I have been inform'd by Persons of

Knowledge and Credit, that the *Roman Catholics*, and all other Sectaries together, do not make a fourth Part of the Inhabitants of *Amsterdam*.

In this City remains still a Convent of certain Nuns call'd *Beguines*, an Order erected *A. D.* 1207, composed of Maidens and Widows, who have no Children, and who need no other Qualifications to be admitted into this Society, than a Testimonial of their good Behaviour, and a Competency to live upon, either by themselves or in Conjunction with one or more of the Sisters, as they find it most suitable to their Purpose. Their Convent (which contains about a hundred and thirty Sisters) is built like a little City with a Wall and Ditch about it, within which stands a Church, where they are obliged to perform their Devotions at certain Hours. They wear an odd looking black Habit, receive and pay Visits, and quit the Convent when they please.

The Houses of *Amsterdam* being founded upon wooden Piles, this is the Reason they will not allow any Coaches here, except to Physicians and to some Strangers of Note; instead whereof, they make Use of a Kind of Sleds made like Coaches; but this Carriage being but slow and uneasy, is not generally in Fashion.

We saw at *Amsterdam* a *French Opera*, but in Want both of good Machines and Actors; so that we were not much delighted with it.

The Musick-houses of *Amsterdam*, so much talk'd of, are publick Houses or Taverns, where young Fellows of the Dregs of the People, come under Pretence of Dancing, but in Effect to pick up lewd Women, who resort thither in great Numbers, and carry them to other convenient Lodgings, these being intended only for their meeting Places. They are generally visited by Strangers, out of Curiosity; and you must either drink what they offer, or pay as if you did.

The Exchange of *Amsterdam* is two hundred Foot long, and a hundred and twenty broad: The Galleries above are supported by forty six Pillars, but are not so spacious, nor are the Shops so many, as those over the *London Exchange*.

The Academy, stiled the *Illustrious School*, is also an elegant Structure, divided into several Schools for Divinity, Philosophy, History, Law and Physick.

There are five high Towers in this City, which have each a great Clock, and are placed at such a convenient Distance, as that the Hours of the Day are shown all over the Town.

I took another Turn to *Loosdun*, where I observed, that the Inscription in the Church of this Village differs from the Passage, relating to this Matter, found in the Annals, where the Bishop that baptized the three hundred sixty five Children is call'd *Guido*, Suffragan of *Utrecht*; whereas in the Annals he is stiled *William*, Suffragan of *Treves*; but this might be occasioned by the Carelessness of the Transcribers.

5. We pass'd seven Hours upon the Canal betwixt *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht* very pleasantly; leaving on the Right Hand the old Castle of *Abeow*, and the Village of the same Name, the Boundary of the Province of *Holland* on that Side, about three Leagues from *Amsterdam*: We no sooner came to *Utrecht*, but we found it to fall very much short of that extream Neatness we observed in the Province of *Holland*, and yet it retains a sufficient Share of it too.

This City is famous for its Antiquity, its University, and the Union made here in 1579, which was the Foundation of the whole *Dutch Republick*. The Steeple of the Cathedral is very high, and the Church contains many Relicks highly valued by the *Roman Catholics*.

The Mall, and the Walks about it, without the Gates of the City, are infinitely pleasant, being upon that Score spared by the *French King's* express Command, when his Troops ravaged all the Country round about. A certain Gentleman of *Utrecht* told me, that there were no less than forty eight Towns within the Reach of a Day's Journey from this City, and among them thirty three to which you may go, and come back the same Day. The Country about *Utrecht* has a far different

ferent Face from what you see in *Holland*, their Fields being for the most part plough'd Lands enclosed with strong Hedges.

Two Hours from *Utrecht* we pass'd in Sight of *Zeist*, and of the Castle on the Right Hand: It is a very handsom Structure, enclosed with a Ditch full of running Water, adorn'd with Labyrinths, Gardens, Statues, Fountains, and other Ornaments, being built not many Years ago by one of the richest Lords of this Country. The Fields betwixt *Rhenen* and *Arnheim* are for the most part planted with Tobacco, propp'd by Stakes; and at *Rhincom*, a Village three Hours on this Side of *Rhenen*, you see a Stone, which is the Boundary betwixt the Lordship of *Utrecht* and the Province of *Guelders*.

Arnheim has nothing remarkable but its Fortifications. Two Hours and a half beyond it we pass'd the *Yssel*, divided into three Branches near each other; and afterwards continuing our Journey through *Doesburgh*, (a little City on that River, in the Province of *Zutphen*) we dined in a poor Village, if Milk with Biscuit may be call'd a Dinner; but the worst is, that our Fare was no better at Night, when we lodg'd at *Ysselburgh*, a small dismantled Town upon the Borders of *Cleves*.

Between this last Place and the City of *Wesel* the Country is sandy, and full of Woods: Its Fortifications are but indifferent, but they were then busy in erecting a Citadel betwixt this City and the Fort of *Lippe* upon the Bank of the *Rhine*. It is under the Jurisdiction of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who, by vertue of a Treaty made with the Duke of *Newburgh*, (now Elector *Palatine*) grants Liberty of Conscience to the *Roman Catholics*, the same being allow'd reciprocally to the *Protestants* in the Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, under the Elector *Palatine's* Jurisdiction. The *Calvinists* have two Churches, the *Lutherans* and *Roman Catholics* each of them one, for the Exercise of their Divine Worship. The *Jews* have likewise a little Synagogue there.

About half an Hour beyond *Wesel* we pass'd the River *Lippe*, which joins its Waters with the *Rhine*, and arrived before Night at *Duisburgh*, a City of the same Bigness with *Wesel*, but without any Fortifications: It has however an University, but no great Concourse of Scholars. The great Church belongs to the *Protestants*, but the *Roman Catholics* enjoy also the same Exercise of their Religion, and have even the Liberty of carrying the Host in publick Procession, though they refrain from doing it, for Fear of giving Occasion of Disturbance.

Not above half a League beyond *Duisburgh* we entered the Country of *Berg*, and in two Hours after pass'd through the little City of *Keyserwaert*, seated upon the *Rhine*, and very well fortified.

Hence we continued our Journey to *Dusseldorp*, the Residence of the Electoral Prince *Palatine*. It is much larger and better peopled than *Duisburgh*, and its Fortifications in a very good State, but has no Suburbs, any more than *Keyserwaert*.

6. The City of *Cologne* affords a most agreeable Prospect at a Distance, by its Situation in a plain and level Country, and the vast Number of Steeples, which make a most glorious Shew. Though it be of prodigious Extent, yet is it surrounded with a Wall, Towers, Bastions, and a dry Ditch. It has twenty four Gates, thirteen to the Land, and eleven on the *Rhine*. It is an Imperial City, govern'd by its own Magistrates, though the Archbishop and Elector of that Name has some Share both in the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, and a Prerogative of pardoning Criminals. The Oath, which the Citizens take to this Prince, seems to be a Kind of Homage, conceived in these Terms:

We the free Citizens of Cologne do this Day, for now and for ever, promise to A. B. Archbishop of Cologne, to be faithful and favourable to him, as long as he shall preserve, in our Rights and Honour, and in our ancient Privileges, Us, our Wives, our Children, and our City of Cologne. So God and his Saints help us.

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The Answer of the Archbishop is as follows:

We A. B. by the Grace of God, Archbishop of the holy Church of Cologne, and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire in Italy, to the End that an amicable Confederacy, entire Confidence, and sincere and lasting Peace, may be cultivated betwixt Us and our dear Burgeses of the City of Cologne, do make known by these Presents, and promise and declare sincerely, without Fraud, that we do confirm all their Rights and Privileges, written or not written, old or new, within or without the City of Cologne, which have been granted to it by the Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Archbishops of Cologne, without ever doing any Thing to violate the same. In Testimony whereof, &c.

The whole Chapter of *Cologne* is composed of sixty Canons, who must be Princes or Counts, but the twenty four eldest are the Capitularies. According to the *Golden Bull*, the Electors of *Cologne* used to crown the Emperor; but these Archbishops not having been Priests for a considerable Time, those of *Mentz* have perform'd the same in their Stead, and since that challenge it as a Right.

There are a considerable Number of *Protestants* in this City, who have a Church not far thence, in the Territories of the Duke of *Newburgh*, they stile them *Gueux* or Beggars to this Day, by the same Name that was given at *Brussels* to the first Authors of the Agreement by the Count *de Barlemont*.

The Townhouse is a vast Fabrick, after the *Gothick* Manner: Here they shew whole Rooms full of Bows, Arrows, Cross-bows, Bucklers, and such Sort of antick Arms. One of these Cross-bows was of Whalebone, and twelve Foot long, eight Inches broad, and four Inches thick. From the Tower of this House there is a most delightful Prospect of the whole City and of the adjacent Country. That Part which lies opposite to the City, on the other Side of the River, is chiefly inhabited by the *Jews*, and belongs to the Territories of *Newburgh*. The Cathedral Church (or rather its Beginning) is so fine, that it is a thousand Pities it should not be brought to Perfection. Here lies entomb'd, as is pretended, the three Kings of the East, that came to worship our Saviour, being transferr'd hither from *Milan*, A. D. 1162. at the Time when *Frederick Barbarossa* laid that City desolate. They report here abundance of Miracles wrought by them; and among the rest, that an excessive Dearth having been occasioned by a great Drought in *Hungary*, abundance of that Country came hither to implore the Assistance of these three Kings, who promised them Rain, which following soon after in great Plenty the *Hungarians*, in Remembrance of this Miracle, come every seven Years in Pilgrimage to *Cologne*, where they are entertained by the Magistrates for a Fortnight, in a handsome House built for that Purpose.

In the vaulted Roof of this Church, almost over the Chapel that contains these precious Relicks, is a Hole of three or four Foot wide, round the Opening of which you see these Words; *Anno 1404. 30 Oct. Ventus de nocte flat ingens, grandem per tectum lapidem pellit; i. e. On the 30th of October, 1404, the Wind blew very hard in the Night, and forc'd a great Stone through the Roof*: The Stone is still to be seen upon the Floor near this Chapel; they call it the *Devil's Stone*, because they were of Opinion that the Devil threw it out of Malice. Over one of the Doors of the same Church we saw thirty six gilt Staves about three Foot long each, with this Distich under them:

*Quot pendere vides Baculos tot Episcopus Annos
Huic Agrippinae praeuit Ecclesiae.*

Upon Enquiry we found, that the present Elector was then in the thirty seventh Year of his Reign, but could not learn either the true Original or Use of this Custom.

In the Church of *St. Ursula* they shew you the Tombs of the eleven thousand Virgins that were massacred by the *Huns* at *Cologne*, in the Year 238, together with this Saint, unto whose Memory is dedicated this Church.

Church. They tell you, that the Earth will not admit of any other dead Corps; for Instance of which, they shew the Tomb of a Daughter of a certain Duke of *Brabant*, who being interr'd there, rais'd up herself, and remaining thus in the Air, they were forc'd to put her in this Tomb, fix'd upon Iron Supporters, two or three Foot from the Ground, against one of the Pillars of the Church. In a great Chapel on one Side of the same Church, you see the Bones of these Saints hung up in as decent a Manner as you see the Swords and Pistols ranged in the Guard-chamber of *St. James*, or in any other Armoury; these Bones have no Ornaments except the Heads, some of which are kept in Cases of Silver, others are cover'd with Stuffs of Gold, and some have Bonnets or Caps of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, rich Silks, &c. Hence it is that the City of *Cologne* challenges the Title of *Cologne the holy*; and its Arms are, *Argent eleven Flames Gules, with a Chef of the Second, charg'd with three Crowns Or*; the eleven Flames intimating the eleven thousand Virgins, and the three Crowns the three Kings. But this idle Story, which was grounded on the ignorant Mistake of the following Inscription, *SS. URSULA et UNDECIMILLA, V. M.* which means no more than the *Saints Ursula and Undecimilla Virgins and Martyrs*; for *Sancta Ursula & undecim millia Virginum Martyrum*, that is, *St. Ursula and eleven thousand Virgins and Martyrs*; has been so fully refuted by Archbishop *Usher*, and other learned Men, that no body now pays any Regard to it.

In the Church of the *Maccabees* is a Crucifix, with an everlasting and miraculous Perriwig on its Head; for though the *Hungarian* Pilgrims, at their coming to *Cologne*, each cut a Lock of Hair off, yet has it not been diminish'd hitherto, by all this Polling.

At the Entrance of the Church of the *Twelve Apostles*, is to be seen a Picture, which is remarkable chiefly for the Story it represents: They relate, that a Burgher-master's Wife of this City, being, in 1571, buried in this Church, with a Ring of great Value on her Hand, the Sexton made bold to visit the Grave afterwards for the Ring's Sake, but was not a little amaz'd, when he found the supposed dead Lady grasp him by the Hand, which made him retreat very speedily. However, the Lady having made hard shift to get out of the Sepulchre, went to her own House, where knocking at the Door, she call'd to a Servant, and related unto him the whole Adventure; but the Servant taking her for a Ghost, ran in a Fright to recount unto his Master what had happened; who told him, that he would as soon believe his Horses in the Garret: He had no sooner said these Words, but a great Noise being heard in the Garret, the Servant went up, and, to his great Amazement, found six Coach-horses there: By this Time the Woman had made Shift to get in, and by the Care of her Servants was so well recovered, that there was no great Likelihood of her returning to the Grave for that Time; and the Horses were the next Day let down out of the Garret by certain Machines. They shew you to this Day, in the same Garret, several wooden Horses, said to be covered with the Skins of those that were seen there; and in the Church of the *Twelve Apostles*, there is a great Piece of Linnen-cloth, which, they say, was of this Woman's spinning after her Release from the Grave, which she survived seven Years. We find some authentick Testimonies of the Truth of this memorable Story, but in them the Episode of the Horses is entirely left out, as being an evident and very absurd Fiction.

There are some Families now in *Cologne*, who deduce their Genealogies from the *Roman* Race, that settled a Colony here the first Time.

7. The Roads betwixt *Cologne* and *Mentz* being extremely bad, we chose to embark upon the *Rhine*: The first Town we came to was *Bonn*, a small inconsiderable Place, the Fortifications whereof lie neglected, and the Electoral Palace of *Cologne* made but a very indifferent Appearance.

As we came nearer to *Andernach*, at which, as well as at *Keyserwaert*, they receive a Toll; a Burgher-master of that Place told us, that there were certain Gen-

tlemen belonging to that City, who have the Title of *Free Knights*, and enjoy peculiar Privileges.

Coming to *Coblentz*, we observed its Situation upon a Neck of Land made by the *Moselle*, where it joins its Current with the *Rhine*, by which it is render'd very agreeable. We were told, that it is very well fortified on the Land-side, but near the Water-side we saw only a single Wall. The Castle of *Ehrenbreitstein*, i. e. the *Rock of Honour*, built just over against it, upon a rising Ground on the other Side of the River, is very strong both by Art and Nature, its Foundations being laid upon the Ruins of the old Fort of *Hermanstein*, the Remains whereof are seen on one Corner only of the Rock on which the Windmill stands. It is always well provided with a good Garrison, and Ammunition in Proportion. The Palace (where the Elector of *Cologne* commonly resides) is at the Foot of the Hill, upon the very Bank of the *Rhine*, just under the Castle.

About half a League on this Side of *Baccharach*, directly overagainst *Coblentz*, (a Town under the Jurisdiction of the Elector *Palatine*) stands an old Castle in the Middle of the *Rhine*, called *Pfaltz*, whence some, but improperly, have derived the Titles of the *Pfaltz Graves*, or *Counts Palatines*.

Baccharach is a small City belonging to the Elector *Palatine*, built on the Side of a Hill, chiefly famous for its excellent Wines that grow thereabouts. We dined with one of the Ministers of the Place, who would needs frame the Etymology of *Baccharach* from *Bachi ara*, or the *Altar of Bacchus*; and for a Confirmation of his Opinion, told us, that in the same Neighbourhood there were four other ancient Towns which ow'd their Name to *Bacchus*, viz. *Steegbach*, which lying on a Hillock, signifies as much as *Scala Bacchi*, or the *Ladder of Bacchus*; *Diabach*, i. e. *Digitus Bacchi*, or the *Finger of Bacchus*; *Handbach*, or *Mannersbach*, i. e. *Mannus Bacchi*, the *Hand of Bacchus*; and *Lorch*, i. e. *Laurea Bacchi*, or the *Bays of Bacchus*.

Soon after we were pass'd *Baccharach*, a furious Tempest oblig'd us to seek Shelter a-shore, a little on this Side *Rudelsheim*. In our Way we pass'd by an old ruin'd Castle or square Tower, known by the Name of the *Tower of Rats*, whither, they say, a certain Archbishop of *Mentz* retreated (its Situation being on a little Isle in the *Rhine*) to avoid the Rats, that devour'd him at last. Some look upon it as a Fable, because the old Chronicles of the Country mention different Names and Times when this Accident happened; but others, who consider it as a Truth, (as it is generally taken for such hereabouts) alledge in Behalf of their Opinion, several Histories of this Nature related by Authors of unquestionable Authority.

From *Bonn*, as far as *Binghen*, three Leagues on this Side *Mentz*, the *Rhine* carries its Current through the Mountains, at the Foot of which you see all the Country on both Sides cover'd with Vineyards, interspers'd with a great Number of small Cities, good large Villages and Castles, of the last of which I counted forty since I parted from *Cologne*, built, for the most Part, upon the Ascents of the Mountains, and some on the very Points of the Rocks. The Country People, in these Parts, but especially the Women, appear in a very odd Dress; on their Heads they wear little Caps of some colour'd Stuff, border'd with an Edging of a different Colour, their Hair hanging in Tresses quite down their Backs. Their Waistes appear very short, half a Foot below which they gird themselves with a broad Leather Girdle, and underneath it is a thick Roll, which bears up their Petticoats almost as high as their Knees.

From *Binghen* to *Mentz* the *Rhine* is very broad: Here you go over a Bridge of Boats, and as soon as you enter the City, the Electoral Palace presents itself to View, a Fabrick of a reddish Stone, embellish'd with divers Ornaments, wanting neither Regularity nor Magnificence, though built after the old *German* Fashion. They told us, that in the Middle of the Citadel was to be seen the Ruins of a Tower called commonly the *Tomb of Drusus*: 'Tis true, *Drusus Germanicus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, died in *Germany*, but

but not near the *Rhine*, and he was buried in the *Campo Martio* at *Rome*; so that in all likelihood this was one of the Statues or triumphal Arches erected near the Banks of the *Rhine* to his Memory, after the Senate had bestowed upon him the Surname of *Germanicus*.

The Church Ornaments in which the Elector says Mass, are remarkable for their Riches; and the Canopy under which the Host is carried, upon certain Festivals, in Procession, is all cover'd with Pearls.

Every one of the Electors of *Mentz* bears the Arms of his own Family, but he quarters *Gules a Wheel Argent*, which are the Arms of the Electorate, the Original of which they deduce from the first Elector, who was the Son of a Wheelwright.

In the Cathedral you see a great many magnificent Tombs of the Electors interr'd here. The Chapter consists of forty two Gentlemen, twenty four of which only are Capitularies. The Protestants are allowed Habitations at *Mentz*, but not the Exercise of their Religion. The City is sufficiently large, but indifferently peopled, neither is the University in any great Esteem now: However, its Situation is very pleasant, in a most excellent Country. The Elector of *Mentz* is the first among the Ecclesiastical Electors, Chancellor of the Empire, and Dean of the Electoral College; in Right of which he presides in the Diets, and at Imperial Elections.

8. After having cross'd the *Rhine* at *Mentz*, we embark'd on the River *Maine* in the ordinary Passage-boat, which carried us in one Day to *Frankfort*, a City much exceeding *Mentz* in Beauty, Riches, Bigness, Number of Inhabitants, and Strength, being fortified with eleven Bastions, which though they have some Defects, yet they are in some Measure repaired by its Situation in a flat Country: The Houses are generally built of the same red Stone I mentioned before, or else of Wood, or Plaster cover'd with Slates. The *Maine*, a considerable large River, leaves it on the Right, and a Stone Bridge of four hundred Paces in Length joins it with *Sakerhausen*. The Territories of this City are of no great Extent: The Senate, as well as the greatest Part of the Inhabitants, are *Lutherans*, though the *Roman Catholics* are possess'd of the Cathedral Church, where the Ceremony of anointing the Emperor is perform'd; however, they are not allow'd to make any publick Processions. The *Calvinists* inhabiting here, have a Church at *Bochenheim*, a small Hour's Walk from thence, in the Country of *Hanaw*, but are obliged to marry and to christen their Children in the *Lutheran* Churches.

In the Townhouse is the Apartment where the Solemnity of the Election of the Emperor is perform'd, and where one of the Originals of the *Golden Bull* is preserv'd. It is hung only with Tapestry, and furnish'd with some Elbow Chairs of black Velvet, and a large Table cover'd with a green Carpet. On one Side of this Apartment is a Hall, where certain Ceremonies are perform'd immediately after the Election, which being over, the Emperor goes from thence to the Church, where he is crown'd.

The *Golden Bull* is a Book in *Quarto*, of twenty four Leaves in Parchment stitch'd together, and covered with a Piece of Vellum, without any further Ornament. The Seal, which is about two Inches and a half broad, and cover'd with Gold, is fastened to it by a String of twisted Silk of divers Colours; upon this Seal, which appears not unlike a Medal, you see the Effigies of the Emperor *Charles IV.* seated and crown'd, with a Scepter in his Right Hand, and the Globe in the Left, having the Shield of the Empire on his Right, and that of *Bohemia* on his Left, with this Inscription round it.

Carolus Quartus Divinâ favente Clementiâ Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus.

And on each Side near the two Scutcheons, *Et Bohemæ Rex*. On the Reverse is a Gate of a Castle betwixt two Towers, which denotes *Rome*, as is apparent by the following Inscription about it.

Roma Caput Mundi regit Orbis fræna rotundi.

And upon the Gate betwixt these two Towers,

Roma Aurea.

This Bull, intended to be the Foundation of the Constitution of the Empire, was made at *Nuremburgh* by *Charles IV.* with the general Consent of the States, in 1356, and contains the Manner of the Election of the Emperor, and of the King of the *Romans*, as also many Things relating to the Rank, Assemblies, Rights, Immunities and Successions of the Electors, and in what Manner every one of them is to perform his Function. *Frankfort* is by this Bull appointed for the Election of the Emperor; notwithstanding which, *Henry II.* was elected at *Mentz*, and *Henry III.* at *Aix la Chapelle*; some others have been chosen at *Cologne*, *Augsburgh*, and *Ratisbon*, not to mention several other Innovations introduc'd since that Time, especially by the Treaties of *Westphalia*.

At *Dr. Peter's*, who makes the famous Treacle of *Frankfort*, we saw many Curiosities, and among the rest, a Stone taken out of a human Body, of the Bigness of a Man's Head, which he bought for Sixteen hundred Crowns.

There are abundance of *Jews* at *Frankfort*, but they are not near so rich as those of *Amsterdam*, being used in a Manner like Slaves here, viz. to fetch the Water when any Fire happens to break out in the City; for the rest, their chief Employment is to go from one Inn to another to sell their Commodities to Foreigners, and so pick up a poor Living.

I need not tell you, that the three annual Fairs of *Frankfort* contribute not a little to its Fame and Riches.

The University acknowledges for its Founders, *Joachim* and *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, in 1506.

9. As we were taking Coach to leave *Frankfort*, we observed the Coachman to put some Salt upon each of his Horses, which he told us was a never-failing Antidote against Witchcraft, and other unlucky Accidents.

Having passed the *Rhine* at *Gernsheim*, we entred a Wood, where the Roads prov'd very bad; but after that, for two Leagues, till we came to *Worms*, exceeding good.

The City of *Worms* is seated about three or four hundred Paces from the *Rhine*, on the Left, in a most fruitful Country, having no other Fortifications but a double Wall: It was formerly an Archbishoprick, till the See was removed to *Mentz* by Pope *Zachary*, but still remains a Bishop's See, and that Prelate has great Authority there though it is an Imperial City. It is not inferior in Bigness to *Frankfort*, but ill peopled and poor. I saw a House that was sold for a thousand Crowns, which had yielded formerly as much annual Rent; and there are so many void Spaces within the Compass of the Place, that the Vines planted there are computed to produce every Year fifteen hundred Fuders of Wine, a Fuder being a Cask that holds no less than two hundred and fifty *English* Gallons. This Wine is in such high Esteem in those Parts, that they have turn'd it into a Proverb, and say, *It is sweeter than the Virgin's Milk*; whence questionless is also arisen the Custom of presenting it to Persons of Note that travel that Way, with some Fish, &c. and this is stiled Wine of Honour. Besides that, the *Lutherans* have one Church for their own Use here; they preach by Turns with the *Romanists* in the *Dominican* Church, all the rest being in the Possession of the *Roman Catholics*, who don't carry the Host in publick, nor make any Procession, except on the Day after *Easter*. The *Calvinists* have a Church at *Newhausen* in the Palatinate, about half a League from *Worms*, where the *Lutherans* now and then christen their Children, quite contrary to what is practis'd by the *Lutherans* at *Frankfort*.

The Church of *St. Paul*, as well as that of *St. John*, are very ancient Structures, the best of the two being built of vast square Stones, in a very irregular Mannner, with narrow Windows, and Galleries all round the Outside just under the Roof; the Walls are twelve

Foot

Foot thick, and seem as if they were not at first designed for a Church, but rather for a Fortrefs. The Cathedral is both very long and lofty, adorn'd with a Tower on each of the four Corners; it is a strong Fabrick with some Ornaments after the *Gothick* Way. Over one Door of this Church they shew you the Figure of a strange Animal of the Bigness of an Ass, with four Heads, one the Head of a Man, the second of an Ox, the third of an Eagle, and the fourth of a Lyon; the two first stand upright, and the two others hang downwards; the right Fore-foot is of a Man, the left of an Ox, and the two hinder of an Eagle and a Lyon; a Woman sits on the Back of it. The People here tell you very odd Stories concerning it, but we may suppose it to be an Hieroglyphick compos'd of the four Beasts in the Vision of *Ezekiel*, and the Woman to represent the Gospel. Over the Altar of one of the Chapels of the same Church I observed a Picture, in which the Virgin received Christ as he was descending from the Cross, whilst the Angels were carrying the Instruments of his Crucifixion to Heaven. But the Picture at the Entrance of *St. Martin's* Church, just over a moveable Altar, is of any here most worth the peculiar Observation of a Traveller; it is about five Foot square, and in it God the Father is represented on the very Top of one Corner, from whence he seems to address himself to the Virgin *Mary*, who is on her Knees in the Midst of the Picture, holding the Infant Christ by the Feet, and putting his Head into the Hopper of a Mill, which is turn'd by the twelve Apostles Hands by the Help of a Wheel, assisted by the four Beasts of *Ezekiel*, who give a helping Hand on the other Side. Hard by the Pope is painted upon his Knees, receiving the Hosts, which fall ready made from the Mill into a golden Chalice or Cup, one of which he presents to a Cardinal, who gives it to a Bishop, the Bishop to a Priest, and the Priest to a Layman. There are two publick Edifices in this City, one intended for the Senate, where they meet twice a Week about Matters of State, the other for the Courts of Justice. It was in the first that *Luther* made his solemn Appeal, concerning which they tell you, that the Doctor being much heated with the Eagerness of the Dispute, as also by a Fire that was near him, he desired a Glass of Wine; which being brought, he forgot to drink it, but being still eager in the Pursuit of his Discourse, set it down upon a Bench, where soon after it broke without being touch'd by any body, which made it pass for current, that there was some Poison mix'd with the Wine, of which the *Lutherans* were so fully persuaded, that they broke the Bench on which the Glass stood into Shivers, and kept some Pieces of it, which are still preserved in Memory of *Luther's* Deliverance. We also took a View of the House call'd the *Mint*, where, among other Curiosities, they shew'd us a square Piece of Parchment in a Frame, upon which there are twelve Sorts of Hands written with divers Miniatures and Draughts excellently done with a Pen, by one *Thomas Schuweiker*, only with his Feet, he being born without Arms, as the following Inscription testifies:

*Mira vides, pedibus Juvenis facit omnia recta
Cui pariens Mater brachia nulla dedit.*

In a spacious Portico belonging to this House you see a vast Number of Bones and Horns hanging betwixt the Arches: The first, they say, are the Remnants of Giants, and the last of the Oxen which drew the Stones with which the Cathedral was built. The Outside of the House was adorn'd with Variety of Pictures, and among the rest with many arm'd Giants, which, in the Inscription underneath, are call'd *Vangiones*: That this Part of the *Rhine* was inhabited by a Race of People call'd *Vangiones*, is evident from *Tacitus* and others; but how they became Giants, I am not able to tell. Proceeding on our Journey, we pass'd by *Frankendal*, the Fortifications of which Place would not be despiseable, if they were faced with Brick; whereas now they are slop'd too much, by reason of the Softness of

the Earth, which could not be supported otherwise, but would sink into a Heap.

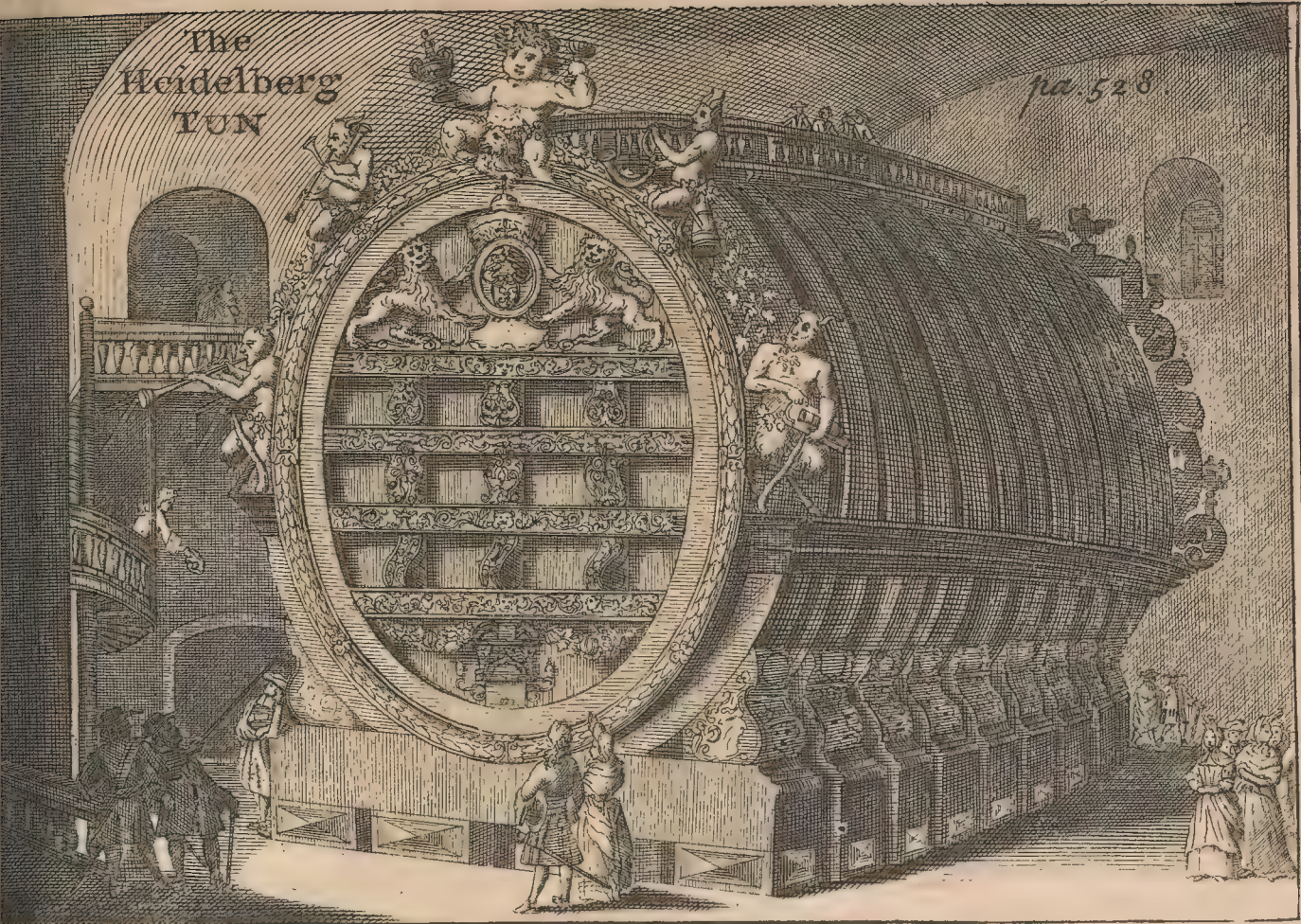
The same Defect, but in a higher Degree, is evident in the Fortifications of *Manheim*, both which belong to the Elector *Palatine*, and are not above two Hours distant from each other; but the last has a considerable Advantage by its Situation in a flat Country, and its being almost inclosed by the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*. The most remarkable Piece in *Manheim* is the *Temple of Concord*, founded by the Elector *Charles Lewis*, Father of *Charles*, the last of that Race, who being a Person of no harsh Disposition, especially in Matters of Religion, order'd, that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* should by Turns exercise their Divine Worship in this Church; and the present Elector *Palatine*, who is a *Roman Catholick*, has thought fit to join the *Romanists* with the others; since which Time, the Ministers of three different Religions perform, each in their Turn, their Religious Service in the *Church of Concord*; so that in three successive *Sundays*, each of the three Ministers has the Privilege of beginning first. The Church is not very large, but exceeding neat; the Pulpit common to all three. The *Roman Catholicks*, after they have said Mass, draw a Curtain, and so hide the Altar, at which they have perform'd it.

Manheim was about forty Years ago no more than a Village, and owes its Increase to *Frederick* the Father of *Charles Lewis*, who at the same Time built and fortified it: The Streets are very streight and regular, and some of them planted with Trees, as in *Holland*. After having pass'd the *Neckar* at *Manheim*, over a Bridge of Boats, we travel'd for three Hours thro' a fertile Plain, extending to the Foot of the Mountains of *Heidelburgh*, which, by a continued Ridge, seem'd to intercept our Passage; but that the *Neckar* passes thro' an Opening, and shews you a direct Way to *Heidelburgh*, by a cover'd Bridge which brings you to the other Side, where this City is seated very pleasantly among the Trees and Rocks. But as to its interior Beauties, we cannot boast, for the City is neither fine nor well built, most of their Houses being of Wood, tho' they dwell among the Rocks: The Electoral Palace is of hewn Stone, some Parts whereof are of good Architecture, but none of them quite finished. They have made divers fine Gardens among the Rocks, but at the best they are irregular.

Not long before the Dutches of *Orleans*, Sister to the last Elector, and Heiress to Part of his personal Estate, had taken the Furniture of this Palace away, at the same Time they sold every Thing, even to the Wine of the famous Tun of *Heidelburgh*. This so much celebrated Tun is thirty one Foot long, and twenty one high, unto which you ascend by a Pair of Stairs of fifty Steps, to a Kind of Platform or Balcony of twenty Foot long, inclosed with Rails: The Elector's Arms are placed on the Front of the Tun, and *Bacchus* on the Top, attended by Satyrs, Drunkards, and such-like. Vines, Grapes, Glasses and Leather Jacks make a great Part of the Ornaments of this Tun, in *basso relievo*. Abundance of Jest and Apothegms, relating to the same Subject, are to be seen, in *High Dutch*, on divers Parts of this enormous Tun.

The various Chances of War have reduced this Country to a poor Condition, tho' naturally very good. All Religions are tolerated, but the Magistrates are generally *Protestants*, as in other Parts of the *Palatinate*. The great Church of this City contains many magnificent Tombs of the *Counts Palatines*, and among the rest that of *Robert King* of the *Romans*, the Founder of the University of *Heidelburgh*. You know by what ill Fate this City lost its famous Library, which, in 1622, was transported thence to the *Vatican*.

9. We were scarce two Hours riding from *Heidelburgh*, but we met with nothing but whole Forests of Fir-trees, and a Country so poor, that about *Wiseloth* and *Sintzheim*, you might buy a wheaten Loaf of eight Pounds for two Pence; and in four Days Journey we did not so much as get Sight of one considerable Town: The best of them is *Winsheim*, an Imperial City, as well as *Wimphen*,



The Heidelberg TUN

pa. 528



The Lady of NEWBURG

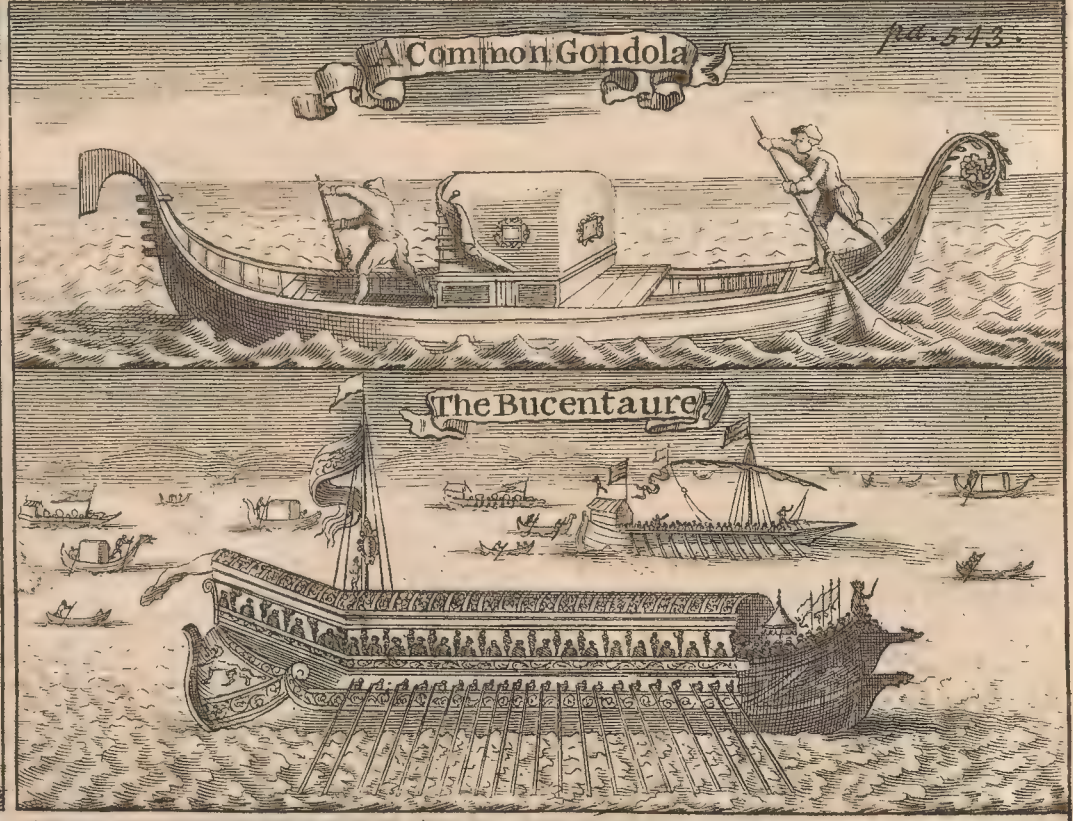
pa. 530

pa. 531

Habits of the Women at AUGSBURG



Rialto Bridge.



A Common Gondola

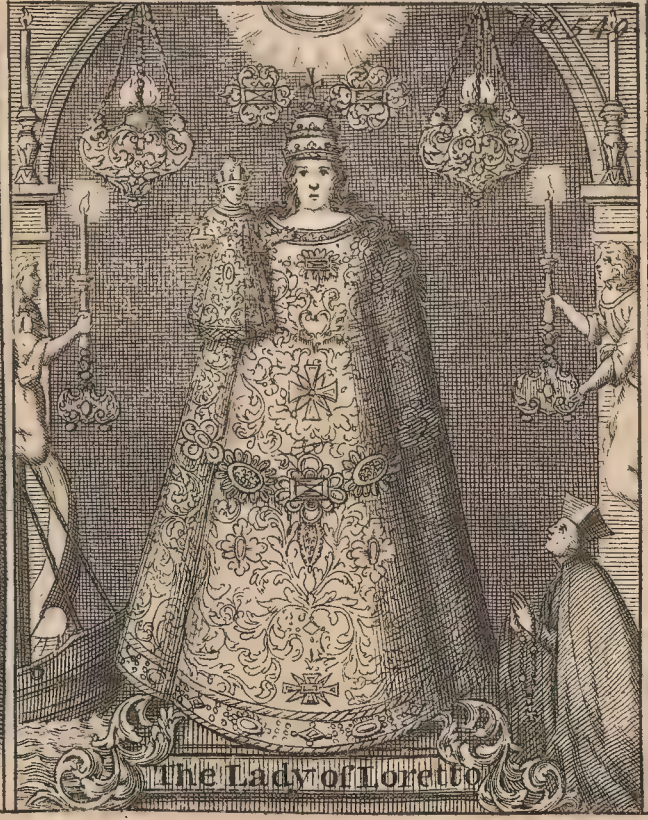
The Bucentaure

pa. 543



The Doge of Venice

Vanitas Vanitatum



The Lady of Loretto



Virgil's Tomb

pa. 559



Wimphen, both inhabited by *Lutherans*. What diverted us most in all this Journey was, a Meeting of the Magistrates of the little City of *Palemburgh*, which happening to be in the same Inn where we dined, we were well diverted with the Sight of twelve or fifteen Peasants with high-crown'd Hats, cover'd with green and yellow Ribbon, with red or blue Vests, Ruffs of black Taffata, their Hair cut round close just below their Ears, and their Beards like those of the *Capuchins*: In this Habit we saw them sitting together, with their Elbows resting on a Table, and explaining the Law (after their Manner) each with a good Glass of Wine in his Hand, every one striving to get the better of another more by Strength of Voice than of Argument.

It is not to be wonder'd, that Drinking should be so common in this Country, considering the Temptations they lie under here, for you buy four great Pots of Wine for a Penny; and if a Passenger happens to ask for a Cup of Wine, they bring him a large Jack, scarce knowing what a little Measure is. As you travel from the mountainous Country into the Plains that lead to *Nurembergh*, the Tobacco and Hops succeed by Degrees the Vineyards: We had a fair Prospect of this beautiful City at a considerable Distance, as we were travelling along the Banks of the River *Pegnitz*, which runs from it, but serves only to turn some Mills, whereas without any great Difficulty it might be made navigable, and consequently much increase the Grandeur of this City, so that the Cost of making it so would be amply repaid.

However, this Defect does not hinder *Nurembergh* from being a Place of great Trade, great Riches, and well peopled; and for its Bigness it is reputed to be twice as large as *Frankfort* upon the *Meine*, and contains under its Jurisdiction seven other Cities, and four hundred and eighty Boroughs and Villages: It has six Gates, two hundred twenty eight large Streets, and one hundred and eighteen Fountains and Wells: Fortifications after the ancient Manner, which are of no great Consideration, its Situation in the very Heart of *Germany* being its chief Security, and indeed this little Republick generally enjoys Peace. *Nurembergh* is a very handsome City, its Houses being generally lofty and strong, of hewn Stone, and many adorn'd with Pictures on the Outside, after the *Gothick* Manner, and consequently not very regular: Besides this, it has many good brass Fountains, one whereof we saw at the Artificer's House, the Statues of which alone cost seventy thousand Crowns. The Streets are broad, clean, and well paved, but not streight. One of the Towers of the Castle bears the Name of *Nero's Tower*, whence some would look for the Original of this City as far as *Nero*, whereas 'tis more probable, that *Noriberga*, or *Mons Noricorum*, as it is called in *Latin*, has its Etymology from the *Norici*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, and *Berg*, i. e. a Mountain. The Castle is seated on a high Rock, though all the rest of the City be very flat; it is irregular, being built according to the unequal Shape of the Rock. They shew'd us a Well, which they affirm'd to be sixteen hundred Foot deep, and that the Chian of the Bucket weigh'd three thousand Pounds, but we did not believe them.

In one of the Halls of this Castle are to be seen four *Corinthian* Pillars forty five Foot high, which were brought (say they) from *Rome* by the Devil, upon a Challenge which a Monk made him. On the Stones of the Parapet of the Castle, they shew the Print of a Horse's Shoe, where they say a Conjuror leap'd over the Ditch. The Ornaments used at the anointing of the Emperors are preserved in the Church of the Hospital; the Diadem of *Charlemagne* (called the *Insula*) is of pure Gold, weighing fourteen Pounds, and covered with precious Stones, being not closed on the Top, as the Imperial Crowns are generally represented, but suppose, instead of the Fleurets on Ducal Coronets, you see Plates rounded on the Top, which, being joined by the Sides, make the Compass of the Bonnet; of these there are seven, that before exceeding the rest in the Lustre of the precious Stones; on the Top of all is a Cross, and a Semicircle, supported by the two Head-plates behind, raised above the Bonnet, and join-

ed to the Top of the Cross. The Scepter and Globe are of Gold, and the Sword is said to have been brought from Heaven. The Robe of *Charlemagne* is of a Violet Colour, embroider'd with Pearls, and the Imperial Cloak edged with the same, and strewed with Eagles of Gold, and a great Number of precious Stones. Here are also the Cope, the Stole, the Breeches embroider'd with Stones, the Stockins and the Buskins cover'd with Plates of Gold.

Amongst divers other Relicks, they keep in this Church the Iron Head of St. *Longinus's* Lance; and because they are not ignorant that the same is shewn in above ten other Places in the World, they say all these are Counterfeits, and that theirs was found by St. *Andrew*, and brought from *Antioch* to this City.

Their Arsenal is one of the most renowned in *Germany*; in the two great Halls (each two hundred and fifty Paces long) we saw three hundred Pieces of Cannon, and among them many of a very large Bore, the Biggest whereof carried a Ball of three hundred Pounds; but to speak the Truth, the rest, being Arms of more Antiquity than Use, serve only for a Shew. The publick Library is in a Cloyster formerly belonging to the *Dominicans*, and contains, as they say, twenty thousand Volumes: The most ancient Manuscript is of nine hundred Years, being a Copy of the Gospels, with the Prayers and Hymns formerly used in the *Greek Church*; the Characters are very different from what is used now: They also shew'd us a Book printed at *Spires* 1446, but it seems as if there had been an Error in the Cyphers; for at the same Time we were shewn another of the Impression of *Faustus* at *Mentz* in 1459, which had, by way of Advertisement, annexed to it, *That this Book was not written by the Hand, but was printed by an admirable Secret newly invented*. They keep in this Library many Rarities, but the Cabinet of Mr. *Viani* exceeds them, it being almost impossible to conceive how a Man of a private Fortune could heap together so many Things brought from all Parts of the World. There is one great Apartment fill'd with the divers Arms of all Countries; from whence you go into another stored with excellent Pictures, Medals, curious Works both ancient and modern, Idols, Shells, Plants, Minerals, and other natural Productions. He shew'd us a Wind-Gun, wherewith considerable Mischief may be done at a Distance without any Noise.

The Town-house is a spacious Fabrick, with a beautiful well-proportion'd Front, but no Court before it. And from hence we were carried to the publick Cellar, which is two hundred and fifty Paces long, and contains twenty thousand middle-siz'd Tuns (they call them *Auns*) of Wine, a Provision the *Germans* always take extraordinary Care of; for it must be confess'd, that the *Germans* are the most civil and obliging People in the World, but excessive Drinkers. You scarce enter a House to make a Visit, but before you can speak three Words, you are saluted with a savoury Collation, and large Jacks of Wine: To refuse a Health, or to leave a Drop in your Glass, is a capital Fault; by which Means the Cup never stands still. This made the Duke of *Rhoan* say pleasantly of the *Germans*, *That they had found out the Perpetual Motion in their Cups, which puzzled all the Mathematicians in the World*: Hence it is that Glasses of all Sizes are in so high an Esteem with them, that they are ranged in good Order in some of their best Apartments, and make a Part of their ornamental Furniture.

In the Evening we had the Opportunity of seeing Part of the Celebration of a Wedding: The Bridegroom, attended by his Friends and Kindred, march'd first on Foot from a House to the Church, which was not above two hundred Paces distant, his future Spouse following soon after, with her Friends, from the same House. Being come into the Church, the Bridegroom sat down with his Relations on one Side, and the Bride on the other opposite to him; over each of their Heads against the Wall, being painted the Figure of Death: From thence they both approach'd to the Minister, who stood in the Midst of the Choir, who had no sooner perform'd the Ceremony, but four or

five Trumpets sounded from the Top of the Steeple; and so the new-married Couple return'd in the same Manner and to the same Place from whence they came. The Bridegroom appear'd all in black, with a Cloak trim'd with Lace, a great Ruff, and a little Crown of Gold Plate-Lace upon his Perriwig; but the Bride's Dress is not so easy to be described; the best Way to give you an Idea of it, is, to fancy a Head-tire compos'd of Plate-Wire gilt, like a Bob-perriwig, half a Foot higher than the Forehead, and frizled out on the Sides; these Threads or Wires are so close together, that there is no more Distance between them than is just sufficient to fasten to them an infinite Number of very small thin Plates of Gold, round, polish'd and bright, which hanging both within and without, wave with the least Motion, and, in the Opinions of these People, are very ornamental. Her Habit was a Kind of black Vest with long Skirts, resembling the *Hongrelines* used not long ago in *France*; and the Body of this Cassock, which was cut very short, was cover'd with Gold Lace all over the Seams, as the Skirts were with little close Knots of black Satin Ribbon, and the freight Cuffs reach down below the Wrists. Over this she wore a Neckband of very fine antique Lace, shap'd before like a Man's Band, but ending behind in a Point, which reach'd down to the Middle of her Back: About her Shoulders she had a Gold Chain like the Collar of some Order; and such another Chain instead of a Girdle. The Petticoat was pretty short, trimm'd towards the Bottom with Gold Fringe and black Bone Lace. We saw this Bride dance at the Wedding with one of the Senators in a great Ruff; and, to tell you the plain Truth, the Customs I observed at this Feast were so very different from ours, that I rather fancied myself in *China* than in *Europe*. It would be an endless Piece of Work, if I should describe to you all the other Habits I saw here; but I will only tell you, that as odd and fantastical as they appear at first Sight, they are not unbecoming, as indeed what are? on agreeable Persons.

Nurenbergh can boast of better Artisans and greater Numbers than perhaps any City in *Europe*: Some have attributed to them the Invention of Fire-arms, and of Gunpowder, by *Bertold Swartz* a Monk; tho' others would have the same to owe its Origin to the City of *Chioggia* in the *Venetian State*, and others to *Denmark*. But the curious Works of *Nurenbergh* of Wood, Ivory, Alabaster, nay, of Paper and Starch, are famous over all *Europe*. Their Houses are both spacious and neat, and I never saw one Ceiling in all the City, but what had some Undersetting of curious Joiners-work. They have here a peculiar Respect for Horns, for with them they adorn even their best Apartments and Chambers. All the Way betwixt *Heidelburgh* and *Nurenbergh* we met with very poor Entertainment, but the Inns of *Nurenbergh* made us an ample Amends for it, where, among other Things, we had every Day a Desert of late Fruit, and Plenty of very good Fish, at very reasonable Rates. In the Church of *St. Sebald* you see a wooden Crucifix, which is esteemed a great Master-piece; but the Church of *St. Lawrence* exceeds all the rest in Bigness. They are both built after the *Gottick* Manner, but the last has eight Doors. The great Church-yard is worth the Observation of a Traveller, for it has above three thousand Tombs with Epitaphs and Coats of Arms wrought in Brass. The *Jews* are restrained to a Village near the City, from whence they may come daily into the Town for a small Piece of Money, but must return before Night. The few *Roman Catholics* that inhabit here have the Privilege of performing their Religious Service in one of the *Lutheran Churches*, at certain Hours when their Service is over. The *Calvinists* have their Church a League from the City, in the Marquisate of *Anspach*, and baptize their Children in the *Lutheran Churches*, as at *Frankfort*.

10. From *Nurenbergh* the Roads are very bad and woody till you come towards *Ingolstadt*, where you meet with a well-cultivated champaign Country. *Ingolstadt* (under the Jurisdiction of the Elector of *Bavaria*) stands upon the *Danube*, of an indifferent Bigness and Strength,

with broad, freight, and well-pav'd Streets, and pleasantly situated, but poor and ill peopled; the Houses are on the Outside, for the most part, painted white. They told us Wonders of their Arsenal, but as they were very unwilling to shew it, I suppose its Fame surpass'd its Worth, it being generally observable, that Things of this Nature are seldom kept from the Sight of Strangers, unless not worth their seeing. I took Notice at *Ingolstadt* (as in many other Cities of *Germany*) of certain Vessels of Wood or Brass mounted upon four Wheels, near the Fountains, which are kept to carry Water when any Fire breaks out, and for that Purpose are very convenient.

From *Ingolstadt* we travel'd to *Newburgh*, a little City without any Strength, seated on the right Bank of the *Danube*, where this River begins to be pretty broad and rapid: We pass'd it over a Bridge, which brought us into the City, where, at our first Entry, we took a View of the Castle, built on a Rock, the Apartments whereof, especially on the Ground-floor, are very handsome and convenient, tho' all the Furniture had been lately removed from thence to the Castle of *Heidelburgh*, there remaining only a Cabinet full of rare Pictures and other Curiosities; among the rest I observed a round hard Stone, which weigh'd four Pounds, and was found in the Body of a Horse. This, in my Judgment, might be called Bezoar. The Church of the *Jesuits* is the handsomest in the City, tho' that of *St. Peter* has of late Years render'd itself famous by a pretended Miracle that happened to the *Capuchin*, *Mark de Avilano*, who made himself so much talk'd of during the *Hungarian War*. This Father coming some Years ago to *Newburgh*, and perceiving an old *Nostre dame* of Wood in one Corner of the Church of *St. Peter*, that was all cover'd with Dust, the good Father prostrated himself before it, and whilst he was offering his fervent Prayers, he cried out on a sudden, *A Miracle!* protesting that the good Lady had lifted up her Eyes towards him: The Story, back'd by the Reputation of the Father, soon got such universal Credit among the Inhabitants, that they went in Procession to *St. Peter's Church*, whence they took the Statue, and having clean'd and dress'd it in a sumptuous Habit, placed her on the high Altar, where she is visited by a great Number of Pilgrims from all Parts, and is famous by the Title of *Our Lady of Newburgh*.

The Country betwixt *Newburgh* and *Augsburgh* is very fruitful and pleasant, except that near the last, the Grounds are boggy and barren; notwithstanding which, the *Augsburghers* boast their City to be the fairest in all *Germany*, and that in Bigness it exceeds *Nurenbergh* itself, tho' they own it not so well peopled; besides, tho' their Streets are broader and freighter, their Houses are not near so handsome, few of them being built with hewn Stones, but for the most Part plaister'd only, and whiten'd without, and sometimes adorn'd with Pictures; however, the Floors of their Apartments are for the most Part paved with a Kind of yellowish Marble, brought thither from *Tyrol*; and their Ceilings are either of curious Joiners-work divided into Compartments, or of a certain Cement well polish'd, which is very durable: The worst of their Buildings is, that their Chambers have no regular Figure, the Stairs which lead to them taking away all their Uniformity.

Augsburgh is the Metropolis of *Swabia*: *Augustus* sent thither a Colony, and gave it the Name of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, from the *Vindelici*, a People inhabiting about the Rivers *Vindo* and *Licus*, called at this Day the *Werda* and *Leck*, between which also the City of *Augsburgh* is seated, to distinguish it from *Augusta Trevirorum*, *Taurinorum*, &c. but this City having been so often pillaged, (especially by *Attila*) there are scarce any Remains of Antiquity to be found here. However, not long since there was dug out here a Pillar of five or six Foot high, with the Figure of a Pine-apple on the Top of it: They also found certain Medals of *Augustus* with such a Pillar on the Reverse: It is very probable that this Pillar was intended to mark out the Boundary of the Empire on that Side: For it being

being a constant Custom among the *Romans* to distinguish the Limits of a new-conquer'd Country by some Mark or other distinct from the rest, and by something relating more peculiarly to that Country; it is likely that they chose the Pine-apple for this Pillar, because this Part of *Germany* abounds in Firr and Pine-trees; and it is perhaps for the same Reason that *Augsburgh* bears the Pine-apple in its Arms.

Tho' the Fortifications of this City are not very considerable, the Inhabitants of this City have endured divers Sieges with a great deal of Bravery. The Senate here is compos'd of Half *Lutherans* and Half *Roman Catholics*, tho' the Bishop has also a considerable Sway, who has a Palace in the City, (but he resides generally at *Dillengen*) and is Master of the greatest Part of the Territories belonging to this City. The *Roman Catholics* make publick Processions here, and carry the Host thro' the Streets, which the *Lutherans* salute by pulling off their Hats; for as they live in a good Correspondence with each other, so they avoid all Opportunities of giving Scandal, the Poor of both Religions being maintain'd in one Hospital. The *Jews* are confined to a separate Place, and for every Hour they stay in the City are obliged to pay a Florin, which amounts to three of our Shillings.

The Town-house is a lofty and spacious square Fabrick, of very fine hewn Stones; the Portal is of Marble, and almost all the Rooms wainscotted and ceiled with *Polish Ash*, which looks very fine. The great Hall makes a very noble Appearance, being a hundred and ten Foot long, fifty eight broad, and fifty two high, with a fine Jasper Floor. The Walls are adorn'd with Paintings intermix'd, according to the *German* Custom, with Emblems and Devices relating to the Government; but the Roof exceeds all the rest for its singular Beauty, being compos'd of regular Compartments, the Squares and Panels whereof are enrich'd with Sculptures richly gilt, and beautified with curious Pictures and other Ornaments. The Arsenal is also a very large Structure; the two Halls below are full of Cannon, most of which are of Brass; but among the rest, there is a Culverine, a six Pounder, of Leather, twenty six Foot long; the other Arms are kept above Stairs. During the Wars of this last Age, the *Augsburghers* used to keep frequently their Gates shut, for Fear of a Surprise, but at last, for the Conveniency of admitting Strangers and others without Danger into the City, they contriv'd a secret Gate, which remains still, with all its Locks and Engines, the Design of which is very nicely and well contriv'd, but too tedious and difficult to describe.

Augsburgh was formerly a City of great Traffick, whilst all the Merchandize from the *Mediterranean* was landed at *Venice*, and from thence, by the Way of *Augsburgh*, dispers'd thro' all *Germany*: But since *Holland* has almost engross'd all that Trade, *Augsburgh* bears its Share in the general Loss, as well as *Venice*, *Milan*, *Antwerp*, and many other Cities, that were formerly famous for Commerce. In the Bishop's Palace they shew you the Apartment where the Confession of *Augsburgh* was presented to the Emperor *Charles V.* in 1540, by *Luther* and *Melancthon*. The Cathedral here has a Gate of Brass, over which are represented several historical Passages of the Holy Scripture in *basso relievo*. In the History of the Creation the Virgin *Mary* is represented framing *Eve* out of one of *Adam's* Ribs; which passes here for a great Elegance.

The Artisans of *Augsburgh* are not inferior to those of *Nuremberg*; nay, they even excel them in Clocks, Goldsmiths Work, and in Ivory. They shew'd us here several Clocks valued at fifteen or twenty thousand Crowns a-piece; but the worst is, they are so very nice, that they are not durable. Their Ivory Work is no less admirable, and among the rest certain Cups hollow'd and well shap'd, with a Ring made of the same Piece in turning, which plays betwixt the Foot and the Bowl of the Cup, without Possibility of coming off. Of these there are an hundred, with their Rings in a Pepper-corn of an ordinary Size: I have some of them. Upon Examination I observed distinctly the

Traces of the Tool wherewith they are turn'd, which shews it a pure Work of the Eyes and Hand, and no Artifice. They have another curious Bauble, viz. Fleas fastened about the Neck with Chains of Steel, so finely wrought, that though they are a Span long, they are so light, that a Flea will lift it up when it leaps. They sell one of these Fleas, with Chain and all, for ten Pence.

The Singularity and Variety of Habits is still more conspicuous at *Augsburgh* than at *Nuremberg*, that Affair being so exactly regulated here by the Magistrates, that the Difference of Religion, and Quality of People, is for the most Part seen by their Clothes. As for Instance, I saw a *Roman Catholick* Merchant's Widow in Mourning for her Husband; she had a Kercher well whited and starch'd, with Wings and Cornets belonging to this Dress; a black Petticoat, and black Cloak, made like that of a Man, reaching down to her Knees; a great white Veil behind, hanging at the Tail of the Kercher down to her Heels, enlarging itself by Degrees; a Piece of the same Linnen with the Kercher, four Foot long, and at least two broad, which is very much starch'd and stretch'd on a square Wire Thread, fastened just below the Hips, and covers all the Fore-part of the Body.

They have found Means to turn a Branch of the River *Leck* into the City, the Waters whereof are exceeding clear and good. Upon this Channel stand four or five Towers, on the Tops of which are certain Cisterns, which are fill'd by the Help of several Pumps mov'd by Mills, from whence the Water is convey'd into all Parts of the City. A Thing not to be admir'd only, but imitated. I must not forget to tell you, that *Augsburgh* has many Fountains, some of which are not inferior to the magnificent Fountain of *Nuremberg*, which I formerly described.

11. As we were leaving *Augsburgh*, we took Notice upon the Road, that they cover the Vines and Fig-trees hereabouts with Straw or Mats against the Cold, which is sharper than in *England*, though they do not lie so far to the North. The Country is all upon a Level betwixt *Augsburgh* and *Munich*, but none of the best, being full of Woods of Fir-trees.

Munich is a beautiful City, built *A. D.* 965, but very indifferently fortified, scarce half so big as *Augsburgh*, and of no Trade, the chief thing it has to boast of being the Residence of their Prince, and his magnificent Palace. The first Thing we did, was to visit the *Jesuits* Library, of which we had heard Wonders, but found it far below our Expectation; and the Library-keeper, or his Deputy, who was order'd to shew it us, was so prodigious a Blockhead, that we could scarce imagine there could be so much Ignorance found among those of that Order. However, both their Convent and Church are exceeding fine, and the last very large, light, and lofty; the Vestry is very rich, and among their Relicks they shew a Joint as big as that of an Elephant, which, they told us, was one of *St. Christopher's* Joints of the Back-bone. In the *Austins* Church they have many excellent Pictures; and that of the *Cajetans* is an handsome Structure. The City of *Munich* bears a Monk in its Arms, which seems to confirm the common Opinion, that it got the *Latin* Name of *Monacum* or *Monachium*, from a Monastery that stood formerly on the Place where it was built.

In the Church of *Nostre Dame* is the magnificent Tomb of the Emperor *Lewis IV.* beautified with many marble and brass Figures. About ten or twelve Steps from the Entrance of the great Door of the Church, one of the Stones of the Pavement is mark'd with a double Cross; and if you stand upright upon this Stone, you find the Pillars of the Church so placed, that you can't see one of the Windows of the Church. The Outside of the Electoral Palace is no way answerable to the Beauty of its Inside, tho', at the same time, most of its Apartments are not very regular; for this vast Structure being not built by one Person, nor at the same Time, it differs according to the various Fancies of the Persons that had the Management of its Fronts; notwithstanding all which, it is, on the whole, a very beautiful Fabrick. The great Hall of the Elector's Apartment

Apartment is an hundred and eighteen Foot long, and fifty two broad; it is truly magnificent, especially in respect of its curious Pictures, which are all *Histories*, the sacred on one Side, and the profane on the other, every *History* having a *Latin* Inscription in Verse, one of the best of which is the Distich annex'd to that of *Susannah*.

*Casta Susanna placet; Lucretia cede Susannæ,
Tu post, Illa mori maluit, ante scelus.*

In the little Chapel belonging to the Apartment of the Electores, you see Nothing almost but Gold, Pearls and Gems. Among the Relicks they shew you a Piece of Gold Mohair, which they pretend to be Part of the Virgin's Robes. The Parlour of Perspectives is extremely fine; but the Hall of Antiquities, that were brought hither from *Rome*, exceeds all the rest; we counted no less than one hundred ninety two Busts, and four hundred other Pieces here, all highly esteem'd for their exquisite Workmanship and Antiquity. The Furniture of this Palace is rich beyond what can be imagined, and they told us, that besides the Tapestry in Use, there were laid up in the Wardrobe to the Value of eight Millions of Crowns; but here, I am afraid, they overshoot the Mark. The Treasury contains whole Services of Gold, and many other precious Vessels, vast Quantity of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and other precious Stones, besides an infinite Number of rare Pictures, curious Works, Medals, and valuable Rarities; among the rest is a Cherry-stone, upon which you see distinctly engraven one hundred and forty Heads; and a Gondola of Palm-tree Wood turn'd into Stone, with this Inscription:

*Palma fui, cæpi lapidescere, cymbula nunc sum,
Si non Neptunus, Navita Bacchus erit.*

Where-ever you turn your Eyes in this Palace, you see nothing but Marble, though, to unravel the Secret, it is to be told, that this is only a certain Composition, which they know how to harden and polish so artificially, that it appears like and lasts as well as Marble. They have divers subterraneous Walks or Galleries, leading from the Palace to all the Churches and Convents of the City. The Arsenal was at that Time almost unfurnished, most of the best Arms and Cannon being carried from thence into *Hungary*. They shew'd us here the Grand Vizier's Tent, taken in the last Battle, which was more remarkable for its Bigness than its Beauty; the Materials were only of painted Calico, with fine Sattin Strings, cover'd with Silk Braid, and the Lozenges of the same, interwoven betwixt the Strings. This Country produces no Wine, and as they know no other Religion but the *Roman*, so they look upon those of another Persuasion as Monsters rather than Men.

12. After we had travel'd for some Time along the Banks of the River *Iser*, (upon which *Munich* is seated) we pass'd through a Forest, and immediately on our coming out from thence, discover'd the snowy Tops of the *Alps*, which at a Distance appear'd like the foaming Waves of a raging Sea: We came the same Day to a Village call'd *Legrem*, seated near a small Lake of fresh Water at the Foot of the Mountains; we eat here some Fish of a Kind which we had never seen before. We coasted along the Mountains for two Hours, and by Degrees got within the Rocks cover'd with Fir-trees and Snow, being a most desolate Place, and destitute of Inhabitants, except that near two or three Lakes you meet with a few Fishers Huts, made of the Roots of Fir-trees well joined together, their Boats being made of the same Trees hollow'd out, like *Indian* Canoes. At the Village of *Mittenwald*, three Leagues within the Mountains, seated in a pleasant Valley surrounded with Rocks, they treated us with some Goats Flesh and Salmon Trouts. Our Host shewed us a certain Kind of round Stones of the Bigness of a Hen's Egg, which he assured us were found in the Stomach of their Goats, and resembled a soft, imperfect *Bezoar*; he ask'd ten Crowns a-piece for them.

We were not gone far from this Village, but we met a Troop of Beggars acting the *History of the Fall*, for they had planted a Tree laden with red Fruit in the Way, climbing up against which, was a little Devil in the Shape of a Crocodile, whilst a Girl with long dishevel'd Hair approach'd towards it, and an old Fellow clad in Black, with a young Boy clad in White, holding a Sword in his Hand, stood at a little Distance, and upon our Approach the Play began. The little Boy with the Dagger represented *Michael the Archangel*; I need not say in what Character the OLD MAN appeared, tho' he told me in very plain Terms. The Reader will easily judge what terrible Effects, in regard to true Religion, such Follies must produce.

Within a Quarter of an Hour after, we pass'd by the Fort *Chernitz*, built betwixt two inaccessible Rocks, being the common Boundary of *Tyrol*, and the Bishoprick of *Freisingen*, the first whereof belongs to the Emperor, the last is Part of the Country of *Bavaria*. At Night we came to the Village of *Leefeld*, where is a Convent of *Austin* Fryars: In their Church they shew you two or three pretended Miracles, and among the rest, a chew'd and bloody Host, in a Repository of Glas: They tell you, that a Gentleman named *Milser*, Lord of the Castle of *Schlesburgh*, being so vain as to oblige them to give him the great Host, which is only for the Use of the Clergy, he had no sooner put it into his Mouth, but it cast out a Flood of Blood, and at the same Time his Legs sunk into the Pavement up to his Knees; they shew you the Hole to this Day in the Pavement near the Altar, and the Print of his Hand on one of the Stones of the same Altar, where he would have supported himself. His Repentance however saved him, and left these Vestiges to deter others from attempting the like mighty Crime in the Sight of the Priests. This Host also works Miracles, amongst which we may very well reckon the Inhabitants believing implicitly every Word of this Story.

About two Leagues beyond *Seefeld* we began to descend into a Valley, at least a Mile in Breadth, sprinkled with divers pretty little Villages, water'd by the River *Ihn*: We pass'd only on the right Side of it, along the Foot of the Mountain, where, after we had travel'd a League further, they shew'd us a streight and craggy Rock, called the *Emperor's Rock*, above a hundred Fathoms high, (as they assured us) at about three Quarters of the Height of which we could observe a Nich dug, in which stood a Crucifix, with a Statue on each Side: They tell you, that the Emperor *Maximilian* I. being in Chase of a wild Goat, pursued her to this Place, where alighting from his Horse, he durst not remount it, but was forc'd to be brought down by the Help of Engines. There is indeed another Account of this Matter, which has received the Sanction of many great Names, particularly, of *Stephen Piggbius*, who relates, that the Archduke *Maximilian*, after remaining two Days and two Nights in the Sight of Multitudes of People, in the Place where this Crucifix now stands, was at length conducted safely back by a Person unknown, and therefore supposed to have been an Angel, in Memory of which these Monuments are placed. Our Author added this Story in his later Editions, and brought some Instances to support it, yet to many Readers, no doubt, his first Account will appear the most satisfactory.

Inspruck, a City seated upon the River *Ihn*, about two Hours beyond the Middle of the before-mention'd Valley: Before you enter the City, you pass that River over a Bridge, whence it received the Name of *Inspruck*, i. e. *The Bridge of the Ihn*, and *Enipons* or *Enipontum* in *Latin*. The Houses of *Inspruck* are very fine, but their Roofs are built after an odd Manner, being flat on the Top, and the Rafters, instead of rising to a Point, are revers'd, so that the Rain settles always in the Middle of the Roof. The Palace of *Inspruck*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* resided as Governor, is both convenient and large, but neither beautiful nor regular, having been built at different Times. There is one Thing particular here, of which I will endeavour to give you the best Account I can: There stands in the Middle of the City a House, call'd the *Chancery*, the Roof of the

the Porch of which, they tell you, was cover'd with Plates of Gold, by Archduke *Frederick*, after he return'd from his Exile. I made the best Observation I could concerning the Truth of this Story, and found that Plates of Brass were fastened to the Timber instead of Tiles, and that each of these Tiles was cover'd with another thin one of another Metal, which, if they be not Gold, I am sure they are gilded; the Roof being about fifteen Foot square, it could not by Calculation amount, supposing them to be Gold, to above two hundred thousand Crowns. The twenty eight magnificent Brass Statues in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, were the Gift of the same *Frederick*: They are bigger than the Life, and represent Emperors, Archdukes, Dukes of *Burgundy*, two Empresses, and two Princesses; the Names of whom they are not able to tell you, as much as they reverence that Family.

About half an Hour from *Innsbruck*, at the Foot of a Mountain, stands *Anras*, called in *Latin*, *Arx Ambrosiana*, a Country Seat of the Archdukes, being remarkable only for its Situation and the Curiosities they shew to Strangers. There is a large Hall fill'd with all Sorts of Arms, which were more curious than useful; and among other Things, a Lance used by Archduke *Ferdinand* in Turnaments. They tell you most surprizing Things of the Strength of this Prince; as for Instance, That he could stop a Coach with six Horses, by taking hold of a Spoke of the Wheel; and would break two Crown Pieces joined together. In an adjacent Gallery we saw the Effigies of many Princes mounted on their Horses in Armour, with all the Ornaments used in Turnaments; and the Skin of a Serpent fifteen Foot long, taken near *Ulm*, upon the Banks of the *Danube*. At the End of this Gallery is an Apartment fill'd with the Spoils and Arms taken from the *Turks*. Here you see a *Bassa* and an *Aga* of the *Janizaries* represented on Horseback, in the same magnificent Habits and Harnesses, embellish'd with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, they had when they were taken Prisoners.

In another Gallery they shew'd us a double Rank of Cupboards, join'd by the Backs and Sides, extended all along the Middle of the Gallery, there being but a little Room left to walk on both Sides: The three first were full of curious Works of all Sorts, as Alabaster, Glass, Coral, and Mother of Pearl; the fourth contain'd Medals, and Gold and Silver Coins; the fifth, Vessels of Porcelain and seal'd Earth; in the sixth were many rare little Cabinets richly inlaid, the Drawers whereof were fill'd with Medals and little Curiosities of *Agate* and *Ambergrise*. Besides these, you see here seven large Volumes, bound in black Velvet, with Edges and Clasps of Silver, which, instead of Leaves, contain'd small Boxes fill'd with a great Number of Medals. The seventh Cupboard has many very ancient Arms curiously wrought; and amongst the rest, a Cross-bow with thirty four lesser Bows within its Compass, discharging as many Arrows at a Time. The eighth is fill'd with Animals, Plants, and such-like natural Curiosities; here you see a Horn of an Ox of six Inches Diameter. The three following Cupboards are furnish'd with Works of Ivory, of Wood, and of the Pen; the twelfth with Manuscripts and rare Books; the thirteenth with Works of Steel, and particularly Padlocks, and other Locks of a rare Invention: In the fourteenth they shew'd us Stones representing Trees, Fruits, Shells and Animals, all the pure Productions of Nature: In the fifteenth and sixteenth, all Sorts of Clock-work and musical Instruments. The seventeenth contains a considerable Quantity of precious Stones unpolish'd, and of metallick and mineral Oars. The eighteenth, a good Number of small Vessels of precious Materials, and of the rarest Shells in the World. The nineteenth surpasses all the rest in Riches, being fill'd with Vessels of Gold, Crystal, *Agate*, *Chalcedony*, *Onyx*, *Cornelian*, *Lapis Lazuli*, and other precious Stones, enrich'd with Gold and Diamonds in *basso relievo*, and other rare Workmanship. The twentieth and last contains Antiquities of all Sorts, Sepulchral Lamps, Urns, Idols, &c. and among the rest a Piece of a Rope about the Length of a Hand, which, they

tell you, is Part of the same wherewith *Judas* hang'd himself. On the Walls and Ceiling you see an infinite Number of other Curiosities, among which the Bow of *Noah* is an admirable Piece of Painting, for which, they affirm, the Great Duke of *Tuscany* offer'd an hundred thousand Crowns; and in a great Chest you see a whole Cart-load of Medals laid up together; a sure Sign they are not valuable. From hence they carried us into the Library, which we found much out of Order; and from thence into another Gallery full of Statues, Busts, and other Pieces of Antiquity; besides a great many other Apartments adorn'd with Pictures of a great Value. At our Inn (the *Golden Hart*) we saw a middle aged Clown, who would lay his Arm stretch'd upon the Ground, upon which a lusty Fellow standing with both his Feet, he lifted him up with the same Hand only, and carried him cross the Room.

13. About a League beyond *Innsbruck* we re-enter'd the Mountains, and by a troublesome and tedious Ascent of seven Hours, came late at Night to a little Village (not quite at the Top of the Mountain) call'd *Gruss*, i. e. *Salutation*, having acquired its Name from the Meeting of the two illustrious Brothers near it, viz. *Charles V.* and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the whole Account whereof you find engraven on a Marble Stone two hundred Paces from the Village, the exact Place where they first saluted each other. They treated us at Night with several Sorts of Wild Fowl and Venison; all the Hares, Foxes and Bears are white here, as well as most of their Partridges: They abound also in Heath Cocks and Hens, Pheasants, and another Kind of large Wild Fowl, call'd by them *Schneehahn* or *Snow-goose*. All these Sorts of Wild Fowl have their Feet velveted about the Claws, with a Kind of Furr which is neither Hair nor Feathers, but so thick, that the Snow cannot penetrate it, a Point of natural History that very well deserves Notice.

This Mountain is call'd the *Brennerberg*, i. e. the *Burning Hill*, by reason of the piercing and burning Winds, which (together with both Thunder and Lightning) reign frequently there in the Summer Season. These Winds forcing their Passage thro' the Hollowness of the neighbouring Mountains, as it were thro' Pipes, raise such furious Hurricanes, as sometimes overthrow both Trees and Rocks. Having travel'd about two Hours the next Day, we came to the Top of the Mountain, where we discover'd a remarkable Spring, which discharging itself upon a Rock, there separates into two Currents, which soon after become considerable Rivers, one turning to the South, and joining with the *Ibn* near *Innsbruck*, the other to the North, after it has passed *Brixen* and *Bolsano*, discharges itself into the *Adige* a little above *Trent*. We dined at *Steerzingen*, where we eat the Flesh of a certain Creature call'd by them *Steinbocks* or *Rock-Goats*, (*Rupæ Capræ*) Creatures betwixt a He-goat and a Doe, which were most excellent Meat.

From hence, the direct Way to *Trent* being very rough, we took that over *Brixen*, which is less dangerous: We met this Day above a hundred Waggon drawn by Oxen, the cloven Feet whereof were shod with Iron; they came from the Fair of *Bolsano*. We saw also, in these Mountains, Abundance of small Carts with two Wheels, which the Peasants draw themselves, and chiefly make Use of to fetch Salt from *Hall*, a little City in the Valley of *Innsbruck*: It is made of Water boil'd into Salt. The Habits of these Mountaineers are very odd, some wearing green, others yellow, and others blue Hats, and that with such little Difference in their Garments, that the Women are scarce to be distinguished from the Men. *Brixen* is a very small City in the Country of *Tyrol*, though it is the Residence of the Bishop. They keep their best Apartments here in the highest Stories, but for what Reason I know not.

From hence to *Bolsano* is only seven Hours travelling; but as the Road lies betwixt the River and the high Mountains, if a sudden Thaw happens to melt the Snow, it rows down from the Precipices with such Violence, that it swallows up both Man and Beast; whence it is, that on the Road you see so many small Monuments, fill'd with the Histories of such as have

either escaped narrowly, or perish'd by these Accidents ; and hence also it is, that the Churches hereabouts, and especially our Lady of *Newburgh's*, are almost overladen with Presents. We were not a little surprized when we found the Valley of *Bolsano*, in the Middle of the Winter, cover'd with green Willows, Roses and Mulberry-trees, the Reason whereof may be attributed to the Situation of the Valley, which on all Sides is shelter'd from the Winds.

The City of *Bolsano* belongs also to the Bishoprick of *Trent*, but is of very little Compass ; its chief Traffick arises from four Fairs a Year, each of which lasts fifteen Days, in which they exchange the Commodities brought thither from *Germany* and *Italy*. They shew'd us a round Hole of three Foot diameter in the Roof of the Church, surrounded with a Garland of Ribbons of different Colours, on which hang a great Number of large Wafers : They told us, That an Opera being acted in that Church on *Ascension-Day*, the Person that represented Christ was taken up into Heaven thro' this Hole. The Valley of *Bolsano* is full of Vineyards, which produce a Wine much esteemed thereabouts, but is not so pleasing to Strangers, by reason of its fulsome Sweetness. The Road betwixt *Bolsano* and *Trent* (just a Day's Journey) is planted all along the Valley with Vines, where you see, at certain Distances, little Straw Hutts, supported by three high Firr-poles, like a Trevet, from whence they kill the Bears with Fusils, that come from the Mountains to eat the Grapes.

Trent is much of the same Bigness as *Bolsano*, and seated after the same Manner, on a flat Rock of a Kind of red and white Marble, which also furnishes the Materials for their Houses. This City is subject to most dangerous Inundations, not only from the Overflowing of the River, but also from the Brooks of *Levis* and *Fersena*, which sometimes disgorge themselves with such Impetuosity from the adjacent Mountains, that they force great Rocks along with them even into the Town. *Trent* is fortified only with a single Wall, wash'd by the River *Adige*. The Bridge and Bishop's Palace are much boasted of by the Country People, tho' the last is low and but indifferently large. The Bishop is both a Temporal and Spiritual Lord, and his Territories are of a considerable Extent. Some place this Country in *Germany*, others in *Italy*, because the Bishop is a Prince of the Empire ; but the common Language of *Trent* is *Italian*, and the Inhabitants of the Country reckon it Part of *Italy*, in which, however, they are not follow'd by their Neighbours. In one of the Chapels of the Cathedral they shew a Crucifix as big as the Life, which, they very gravely say, bow'd its Head at the Time of the Councils being sworn and proclaimed under it, to shew its Approbation of the Veracity of their Decrees. They add, That no body knows the Materials of which it is compos'd ; and for that Reason would have you believe it was made without Hands. They are building a most magnificent Chapel, where it is to be plac'd, this being somewhat dark : They call it the *Holy Crucifix*.

The Church of *St. Mary major*, where this Council sat, is a little Church, built of a kind of base Marble. The Organs here are worth taking Notice of, for they not only play'd to us many new Airs, but also counterfeited the Cries of divers Beasts, the Beat of Drums, and several other Things of this Nature, which seem'd to us inconsistent with the Gravity of such a Council, the History whereof is painted near it.

In the Church of *St. Peter* they shew the Chapel of the little Saint *Simonin*. They tell you, that in 1276. the *Jews* stole their *Simonin*, (or little *Simon*) a Shoemaker's Son, in the 28th Month of his Age, and after having kill'd the Child in a most cruel Manner, to drink the Blood at one of their Feasts, threw his Carcass into a Water-pipe, (which now passes to the House where the Thing was committed, and where their Synagogue was at that time) which being thence carried into the River, and found by some Fishermen, the whole Business was discovered, the *Jews* convicted, Thirty nine of them executed, and the rest for ever banish'd the City. Pope *Sixtus IV.* canoniz'd the

Child, who being embalm'd, is now to be seen in a Case upon the Altar of a Chapel dedicated to his Memory, with a Knife, Pincers, and four great Iron Needles they made Use of in tormenting him, and two Silver Goblets, in which they drank the Blood. The same Story is painted at *Frankfort* on the *Main*, under the Bridge Gate. In the later Editions of our Author's Book there are many Histories of the same Nature mentioned, to shew, that this is not altogether incredible.

15. The Additions and Alterations that our Author has made in the Course of numerous Editions through which his Book has pass'd, renders it extremely difficult to make such an Abridgment of it as was requisite for our Purpose ; since in order to this, we are oblig'd to run through all his Volumes, that we may bring together and unite the many different Passages in them that relate to the same Place ; yet after all this is done, there remain some Things still to be mention'd for the Satisfaction of a judicious Reader. As for Instance, at the End of his second Volume, our Author has added a distinct Treatise under the Title of, *Instructions to a Traveller*, which at the Time he wrote it, was certainly one of the most useful and entertaining Parts of his Work ; but we know by Experience, that the Length of Time has hurt it extremely.

He tells us therein, what Carriages a Traveller should make use of, the Times when they set out and come in, and their Expence ; but we know with Certainty that Things are much altered since, and that in this Respect, the wisest Thing a Traveller can do, is to provide himself with a *Dutch Almanack* for the Year in which he travels, where he will find every thing set down of that Nature as it stands at present. We may say the same Thing with respect to the best Inns at every Place, and the Houses where they speak *French* and *English*, which alter so frequently, that they would be of little or no Use in a Collection of this Nature. He suggests likewise the Enquiries a Traveller ought to make, which is quite beside our Purpose, and are also subject to many Variations.

We the rather mention these Particulars, that it may appear we consider'd well what we were doing, and that we have left nothing untouch'd from Haste or Inadvertency. There are also some long Dissertations of his upon various Subjects, founded only upon Hints that he met with in his Travels ; such, for Example, as the History of the Art of *Printing*, in which there are many Things curious and useful, but the taking in these would swell our Work far beyond its proper Bounds, or would oblige us to exclude other Things that the Publick have more Reason to expect from us, and after all, they would not answer very well the Intention for which they are introduced, since they really require much more Room than he has allowed them. But it may not be amiss to observe, that what has been lately published to the World as a new Invention in this useful Art, under the Title of *Block Printing*, is in reality no more than what was first practis'd by *Coster* and *Faustus*, and which was justly laid aside upon *Mentel's* inventing the Art of casting separate Letters. For according to the ancient Method, which is still in Use in *China*, the Letters were cut in Blocks of Wood or of Metal, from which the Sheets were wrought ; but then it was necessary to cut Plates for every Page of a Book, which were of no Use but for the printing of that Book ; and besides their being very expensive, took up a vast deal of Room, and after all, could never be brought to furnish such neat, beautiful, and correct Impressions, as we have from the Method that is now practis'd.

In regard to the Alterations that have happen'd in the Places through which he pass'd, with respect to their Change of Masters or Forms of Government, it would be equally needless and endless to aim at Corrections, because we must then write the History of every City and Territory, which would require many Volumes. All that in this respect could be done, was to retrench such Passages as are no longer either useful or entertaining upon account of such Changes, and preserving only those that are and will be instructive and pleasant

pleasant as long as the Places remain to which they refer.

These Observations and Remarks are placed at the End of this Section, that the Reader may the better judge of the Reasons upon which they are founded, as well as to spare ourselves and him the Trouble of repeating the same Things, where those Reasons have made the same Conduct necessary in the remaining Part of his Work, of which it is but Justice to say, that most of its Imperfections are such as no Performance of

the same Kind can be exempted from, and that most of his Superfluities are owing to his Endeavours to render his Book complete; which from the Nature of Things, neither it nor any of its Kind ever can be; for while Things are subject to perpetual Alterations, it is impossible to frame any Descriptions of them that will last for any considerable Length of Time; this therefore we hope, will be a sufficient Apology both for him and for us, and shall, for that Reason, insist upon this Subject no longer, but return again to our Author's Travels.

SECTION II.

The TRAVELS of Mr. MAXIMILIAN MISSON, through a great Part of Italy, with a distinct Detail of whatever is curious or worthy of Observation in the Places he visited, and many judicious and important Remarks on the Manners, Customs, &c. of the Inhabitants.

1. *A Description of what is remarkable in the Road to Verona; of that City and of the chief Edifices, and other Things that are remarkable therein.* 2. *An Account of his Journey from thence to Vicenza; a Description of that City, and of Padua, with abundance of Remarks upon the ancient and modern State of that famous University.* 3. *The Author's Passage from thence to Venice; a very large Account of that famous City, and of all the publick Buildings, and other Places of Note therein.* 4. *This Subject continued, with various Remarks upon a Multitude of curious and entertaining Topicks.* 5. *The Conclusion of this Subject, interspers'd with Observations upon the Government of the Republick, and the History of the several Dukes of Venice.* 6. *A Description of Rovigo, Ferrara, Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano, with an Account of what is remarkable in each of them, and in the Country about them.* 7. *A very copious and circumstantial Description of Loretto, of the holy House there, with many curious and entertaining Reflections.* 8. *The Author's Journey from Loretto to Rome, with a Description of all the Places of Note he pass'd through in his Way, with Observations upon their Situation, Produce, ancient and modern Condition, &c.* 9. *An Account of whatever is remarkable in the Way between Rome and Naples; a Description of the Roman High-ways, and some Account of the City of Naples.* 10. *That Subject continued, together with a particular and most entertaining Relation of the Author's Journey to Mount Vesuvius, and other remarkable Places in the Neighbourhood of that City.* 11. *A very large and useful Collection of Remarks and Observations on the City and Republick of Venice, occasioned by a long Letter written to the Author during his Stay in Italy, in which are contained a Multitude of very important Particulars, and wherein many vulgar Errors are enumerated and refuted.*

1. **F**ROM hence we travel'd on to Roveredo, a little City famous for its Trade in Silk, and so on to Borguetto, the last Village in the Territory of Trent, and to Offenigo, the first belonging to the Venetians, a little wooden Cross being the Mark that shews the Boundary of these two States. On this Side of the first mentioned City, you travel thro' the Wood of Roveredo, as they call it, tho' there is scarce a Shrub to be seen all the Way, the Ground being cover'd with Rocks, that lie scatter'd up and down, at some Distance from one another. It is a dangerous Passage for Travellers, as well as the Forest of Vergnara, between Offenigo and the Fort of Guardara, by Reason of the Multitude of Robbers that frequent these desert Places. It being too late to reach the Fort Schluse, we were forced to lodge in the little Village of Seraino. The Fort is seated at the Foot of a high Rock, the Way leading to it being cut out of the craggy Rock, which is a Precipice on the Back-side, at the Bottom whereof the Adige runs with a swift Current.

After we had pass'd the Fort, and had coasted for some Time the Banks of the said River, which here glides along among the Rocks, we came at last into a vast Plain, which is stony and barren in divers Places, tho' in others you see it well planted with Olive and white Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, as well as with Vines, the last of which are planted at the Foot of Cherry-trees and young Elms, and join themselves from Tree to Tree, forming thereby a very agreeable Prospect. Having pass'd the Adige in a Ferry-boat two Leagues from Seraino, we discover'd soon after the City of Verona, where we arrived the same Day.

On that Side where we entred the Gates, we found a great many void Spaces, and the Grass growing in the Streets, which were scarce half paved; and tho' the rest is something better, yet, generally speaking, it is a poor Place, and very indifferently peopled. The Houses are commonly low and unequal, the Balconies for the most part of Wood, and the Streets dirty and generally very narrow; however, its Situation is infinitely pleasing, and the Air very good. The Adige divides it in two Parts, which are joined again by four Stone Bridges. The Castle of St. Peter being seated upon a rising Ground, affords a most admirable Prospect of the adjacent Country. The Fort of St. Felix is behind that of St. Peter, and both together command the City; the rest of the Fortifications are both irregular, and much out of Repair.

The Amphitheatre of Verona is all destroy'd as to the Front or outward Wall, but the Benches have been kept in tolerable Repair: There are forty four of them, the Circumference of the highest I found five hundred and thirty Paces, and of the lowest two hundred and fifty; each Step is a Foot and a half high, and twenty six Inches broad. At each End of the Arena, betwixt the Benches, is a Portal of twenty five Feet high, by which you may enter out of the Street into the Arena; and above each of these Portals, a Balcony of twenty Foot long and ten broad, surrounded with Marble Rails.

In the Cathedral, which is a little dark Building, you see the Tomb of Pope Lucius III. with this Inscription only:

Offa Lucii III. Roma pulsus invidia. i. e.

The Remains of Lucius III. enviously driven from Rome.

The Church of St. Zeno at *Verona* acknowledges *Pepin* the Son of *Charlemagne* for its Founder; it has most wretched Carving on the Frontispiece. On the Portal I took Notice of two Birds that, I suppose, were made for Cocks, holding between them a Creature with a long Tail, intended perhaps for a Fox, by which, some believe, is represented *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, (two *Frenchmen*) who dispossess'd *Didier* King of the *Lombards*. On the same Portal is another Hieroglyphick, viz. a Man on Horseback in *basso relievo*, over whom the following three Verses are engraved, in half *Roman* and half *Gothick* Characters :

*O Regem stultum, petit infernale tributum,
Moxque paratur equus, quem mist Dæmon iniquus.
Exit aquæ nudus, petit infera non rediturus.*

But though we guess'd at the *Rebus* of the Cocks and Fox, yet I must own I could not meet with any Body that could give me an Interpretation of this Devil's Horse. Near the Church of St. Mary the Old you see many magnificent Tombs of the *Scaligers*, who were Princes of *Verona* before this City was forc'd to submit to the *Venetians*, and from whom the learned *Julius* and *Joseph Scaligers* pretended to derive themselves.

The Cabinet of Count *Mascardo*, consisting of a Gallery and six Chambers full of Pictures, Books, Rings, Animals, Plants, Metals, monstrous or extravagant Productions of Nature, and the most exquisite Pieces of Art, is so admirable, and their Number so great, that even a Catalogue of them would fill a good Volume; however, I can't forbear to mention some of them, not spoken of before: It has many Instruments and Utensils used in the *Pagan* Sacrifices, and divers Figures of Brass, which they used to hang up in their Temples in Remembrance of some signal Deliverance; divers Pieces of Workmanship out of the Stone *Amiantos*, or the *Asbestos*, spun into Thread like Cotton. Here I observ'd also many of those Parts of Trees used among the Ancients before the inventing of Paper; two Trees of black Coral three Foot high each; a Hen's Egg of this Figure (—); a Circumcision Knife, used by the *Jews* to those Children that died before the eighth Day.

We saw a very singular Funeral at *Verona*, the Body being dress'd all in Black, with a white Linen Cloak, a fine Perriwig upon the Head, and a Hat adorn'd with a Garland of Flowers, was thus laid upon a Quilt, with a Counterpane of flower'd Silk yellow and red, and a Pillow of the same Stuff. It was carried thus open by four Men thro' the Streets, the Company following two by two, and such as were never married wearing Garlands, in Imitation of the Ancients, who had their *Corona Pudicitie*, or *Garland of Chastity*. One Mr. *Montel*, a *French* Merchant living at *Verona*, and since in *London*, gave me an Account of a Procession he had often seen, which I can't but give you; the Story runs thus.

Jesus Christ having a Compassion for the *As*s he made his Entrance upon into *Jerusalem*, gave her a Key to the Fields, where she was to feed quietly all her Life-time after; but the *As*s, it seems, being tired with her own Country Pasture, had a Mind to try those of foreign Countries, and coming to the Sea, the Waves became smooth and solid, so that with little trouble she visited the Isles of *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Candia*, *Malta* and *Sicily*, and thence coming to the Gulph of *Venice*, staid for some Time in the same Place where *Venice* was built since; but finding the Air not very healthy, and the Marshy Pastures not sweet enough for her Palate, she march'd up the River *Adige* to *Verona*, where she liv'd and ended her Days. This you observe is the Legend; now for the Procession.

To preserve the Memory of this renown'd *As*s, they have put his Relicks into the Belly of an artificial *As*s, which is kept in the Church of *Nostre Dame* of the *Organs*, and which is carried two or three Times every

Year, by four of the strongest Monks of the Convent, in Pontifical Habits, in Procession round the City. This I believe is more than was ever done in *Arcadia*, where they had a singular Veneration for this Animal, and may be justly stiled the Procession of *Asses*.

I have just now made a second Visit to the Cabin of the Count *Mascardo*; and the obliging Person who received me was pleas'd with my Curiosity, instead of looking upon it as a Trouble. He assur'd me that he never thought any Part of his Time so agreeably employ'd, as that which he spent in shewing his Curiosities to those who love them, and that he was extremely pleas'd he could entertain me alone without being disturb'd by the Crowd, which for several Reasons he said, made him always very uneasy. We began immediately to take another View of many Rarities and Curiosities, and I found him more communicative than the first time I saw him, for he talk'd very much, all he said shewing a great Deal of Knowledge and Literature. We fell upon Drawers of precious Stones, and he shew'd me very fine Amethysts, and quoted several Authors, who affirm that *Joseph* presented one set in a Ring to the Virgin, when he espous'd her; and when I was looking upon the Sapphires, he cited a Passage of St. *Epiphanius*, who believed that God; wrote the Decalogue upon a Sapphire. The Virtues that are ascribed to those and other Stones, furnish'd us with Matter for a new Conversation. He has a considerable Number of the Stones which he calls *Sætte*, *Fulmini*, *Pietre cerane*, and Thunderbolts. This is a Matter of Fact, that if true, deserves to be examin'd, and perhaps I may another Time give you a more positive Account relating to this Subject.

But at present I must make haste to finish my Letter. I took Notice of some Mirrors of mix'd Metal that were dug up near *Verona*, and are probably very ancient. The Use of Mirrors made of Glass, is an Invention that one may reckon amongst those that are new; but those that have written, without any Manner of Distinction, that Mirrors in general were unknown to the Ancients, are fallen into a gross Mistake, for both sacred and profane Books make frequent Mention of them. Among the great Variety of Coins that are to be seen in the Cabinet, there are some of Leather, but so disfigur'd, that I could not make any certain Judgment of them. I remember the obliging and learned Mr. *Hearne*, one of the Keepers of the famous *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, has shewn me one which was better preserv'd in the Cabinet of the *Schola Academica*, of which Cabinet he has the Care and Management. No Man is ignorant of the Use that has been made of this Sort of Money at several Times, and on different Occasions.

2. As we travel'd from *Verona* to *Vicenza*, we found the Country very fertile, well cultivat'd, and generally level: Their Trees they plant here Lozenge-wise, on which they raise their Vines. We dined at the little Village *La Torre*, the Boundary betwixt the *Veronese* and *Vicentin* Territories: Their Wines are fulsome and sweet; their Bread, tho' made of excellent and very white Flower, is as heavy as a Lump of Earth, for Want of good Management; and the rest of our Dinner was only a Dish of grey Pease fry'd in Oil, a Thing surprizing enough in so plentiful a Country, when we had better Fare among the Mountains.

Vicenza is scarce half so big as *Verona*, and but slenderly fortified with an old Wall. There are four Rivulets meet near it, but none are navigable. Among their Churches, the *Coronata* is finely paved and wainscotted; and that of the Religious of St. *Catherine* is remarkable for three very fine Altars, as the Cathedral is for divers good Pictures. Their Town-house, though much boast'd of by the *Italians*, is but an indifferent Structure, as indeed are many others, which pass among them for mighty magnificent Buildings, there being nothing more natural to the *Italians*, than to be lavish in their Titles, whence they give frequently the Name of a Palace to those Structures that would scarce pass for a handsome Seat in other Parts; as they often stile that a Chamber of Audience, which in *England* they call

a large *Parlour*. Among other Fabricks, we saw a little Country Seat belonging to the Marquis of *Capra*, about half a League from the City: It is a square Building, in the Midst whereof is the Hall, under a small Dome, having at each Angle of the Square two Chambers and a Closet: It has some good Pictures, and its Situation on an Ascent makes it very pleasant.

In our Return we look'd upon the Church of our Lady of *Montberic*; the Prior gravely told us, that this Image of our Lady came out of the Earth, in the same Place where she now stands, and from whence she is not to be removed; for if you will believe him, ten thousand Men have been employ'd to carry her to *Vicenza*, but could not perform that Task. The Picture by the Hand of *Paul* of *Verona*, in the Dining-Room, representing St. *Gregory* at Dinner with some Pilgrims, is a most excellent Piece. The Ruins of the old Amphitheatre at *Vicenza* are hid under other Buildings. The Theatre, which is in the Academy of the *Olympicks*, is the Work of the great Architect *Palladio*; as is the Triumphal Arch without the Gates that lead into the Plain call'd the *Field of Mars*, in Imitation of the Ancients.

The Garden of the Count *Valmanara* is a Thing much boasted of among the *Vicentins*: It is, indeed, true, it has a handsome Canal, curious Divisions, Knots, and Closets, and a most delightful Alley of Oranges and Citrons; but, after all, it wants much of being an accomplish'd Piece, suitable to the Inscription over the Garden Gate, which begins (and is continued) in the following pompous Strain.

Stop, dear Traveller, thou who searchest for rare Things and enchanted Places, for here thou maist find Satisfaction: Enter into this delicious Garden, and take a full Taste of all Sorts of Pleasures; the Count de Valmanara gives thee Leave, &c.

The Road betwixt *Vicenza* and *Padua* is much the same as betwixt *Verona* and *Vicenza*. We passed the *Tezenza* about an Hour after we left *Vicenza*, and the *Brenta* an Hour on this Side of *Padua*, call'd, on Account of its University, *the Learned*, a large and yet a very poor City, seated in the Midst of a most fruitful Country, having many void Places without Houses, and many Houses without Inhabitants; which is also the Case of some other neighbouring Places. This City fell into the Hands of the *Venetians* in 1406, and in 1519, they included the Suburbs within the Fortifications, which are now ready to fall. The Streets of this City are lined on both Sides with Portico's or Piazza's, which, tho' they afford a convenient Shelter against the Rains and Sun-beams, make them narrow and dark, and give Opportunity to many Murthers, Robberies, and other Insolencies committed by the Scholars, known by the Name of the *Qui-va-li* of *Padua*.

These Scholars had a Custom of going abroad arm'd in the Night-time in whole Troops, and lurking between the Pillars of these *Piazza's*, assault such as happen to pass by that Way; for whilst one asks the Question, *Qui-va-li*? Another immediately cries, *Qui-va-la*? And so, without giving Time to the Passenger to recollect himself, knock him down, and sometimes break an Arm or a Leg, or perhaps give him a Passport to the other World. Some understanding Persons in these Parts are of Opinion, that *Padua* was formerly a Sea-port, by reason of its ancient Grandeur and Riches, and that now they sometimes dig Masts and Anchors out of the Ground; but these may perhaps be the Remnants of Ships left in a Canal leading to that City.

The *Paduans* boast of *Antenor* as their first Founder; but not to insist upon the Improbability of this Assertion, or enquire whether *Padua* be the *Patavium* of *Antenor*, I will only tell you, that their pretended Tomb of *Antenor* is a meer Imposition upon the World; for, about four hundred Years ago, as they were laying the Foundation of an Hospital, they happened to dig up a leaden Coffin, near which lay a Sword; the Coffin was without any Inscription, but the Sword had some Verses

in barbarous *Latin*, having but very little Relation to what was used in *Antenor's* Days: Notwithstanding which, the *Paduans* in general, but especially one *Lupatus*, a Man of some Learning, and who was one of their Magistrates, were so much prepossess'd with the Conceit of their pretended Founder, that they would needs erect this Monument at the Entrance of St. *Lawrence's* Street, and bestow the Title of *Antenor's* Tomb upon it, with the following Inscription in *Gothick* Characters:

C. *Inclutus. Antenor. patriam vox nisa quietem,
Transtulit hic Enetum Dardanidumque fugas
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit Urbem
Quem tenet hic humili, marmore cesa domus.*

Several Criticisms have been made upon this Inscription, but among all the rest, nobody has been able to find out yet the Intention of the C. at the Beginning of these Verses. The Tomb of *Lupatus* stands just by that of his dear *Antenor*, to whom he gave a Name, tho' not a Being.

The Church of St. *Anthony* of *Lisbon*, otherwise call'd St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, is both very large and exceeding magnificent in Carving and Painting, and many very sumptuous Tombs; among the last are that of *Alexander Contarini*, the *Venetian* Admiral, and of Count *Horatio Sicco*, kill'd at the last Siege of *Vienna*. The Picture in *Fresco* in the Chapel of St. *Felix*, done by the famous *Giotto*, is a most admirable Piece: But the most considerable Piece of all in this City, is, the Chapel of St. *Anthony*, which is forty Foot long, and twenty five broad; his Body lies entomb'd under the Altar, which is very magnificent and rich: They pretend that his Bones send forth an odoriferous Scent, for which Reason there is kept a Place behind the Altar, which being not well joined, it is no difficult Matter to put some Balsam into the Opening. The Chapel is cover'd all over with a *Basso relievo* Work of white Marble, representing the Miracles wrought by this Saint, the Works of *Tullius Lombardus* and *Sansovin*. Before the Altar hang thirty six great Silver Lamps, which burn Night and Day, to the Honour of this Saint.

The Church of St. *Justina* is both very large and very magnificent, tho' not brought yet to its full Perfection; the Pavement is compos'd of red, black, and white Marble Squares; and the Roof of the great Church hath seven Domes, which afford it both Light and Ornament, and two more on each Arm of the Cross: In it there are twenty four fine Marble Altars, all of a different Colour, besides the great Altar, which is a most magnificent Work: They suffer no Monuments to be erected in this Church. The *Basso relievo* of the Benches of the Choir, representing the Prophecies of the *Old Testament* concerning Christ, with their Accomplishment in the *New*, is almost surprizing: It was not finished in less Time than twenty two Years. The History of the Martyrdom of St. *Justina* over the great Altar, is of the excellent Hand of *Paul* of *Verona*. The Monastery is a vast Pile of Building, having no less than six Cloysters, and as many Courts and Gardens: I will not trouble you with the Story of the Image of the Virgin, which flew from *Constantinople* when the *Turks* became Masters of that City, no more than with an Account of the other Saints that are kept in this Church. The great Place near it, 256 Foot long, and 86 broad, was formerly called the *Field of Mars*, but has since changed its Name into that of *Prato della Valle*, or the *Meadow of the Valley*. The Hall of the Town-house is a hundred and ten Paces long, and forty broad, but dark: It contains many Monuments of illustrious Persons. The *Paduans* have had no less Success in finding the Tomb of their Countryman *T. Livius*, than in that of *Antenor*, for in 1413, a Shrine of Lead having been found in the Gardens of St. *Justina*, they did not in the least question but that this Coffin must be that of *Titus Livius*, considering this noted Historian was the Priest of *Concord*, and that this Monastery of the *Benedictines* of St. *Justina* was built upon the Ruins of the ancient Temple of *Concord*.

To be short, this pretended Coffin of *Livius* being changed for one of Wood, was carried with a great deal of Pomp to the Palace of Justice, where they erected the same Monument that is seen to this Day, and afterwards added the following Inscription, which was found in the Neighbourhood of the Place where the *Temple of Concord* formerly stood :

V. F. (*)
Titus Livius
Liviae T. F.
Quartæ L.
Halys
Concordialis
Patavi
Sibi & suis
Omnibus.

(*) *Vivens Fecit.*

Over this Inscription they have placed a Head of Marble, which passes for that of *Titus Livius* ; but tho' both the Head and the Inscription are ancient, yet *Orfato* has, in his late Dissertation, sufficiently proved, that the *Titus Livius*, mentioned in this Inscription, was no more than a freed Man, of one of the Daughters of *Titus Livius* the Historian. But satisfying the Learned and the People are two Things.

To leave the Fables and Incertainties of Antiquity, I shall give you an Account of another Monument which we saw in the same Hall, and which is worthy of Observation. Some have exalted *Susannah* above *Lucretia* ; but it may be justly said, that the Marchioness *de Obizzi* surpassed *Susannah* and *Lucretia* both. Since when she saw Death present before her, she resolved to suffer it courageously, rather than to permit her Chastity to be violated. A Gentleman of *Padua* was passionately in Love with this young and beautiful Lady, and found an Opportunity to get into her Chamber when she was in Bed, in the Absence of the Marquis *d'Obizzi* her Husband. It is probable that he tried the softest and most gentle Ways before he proceeded to Acts of Violence : But at last, when he saw he could not prevail, his Love turned to Fury, and he was so transported with Rage, that he stabb'd this virtuous Lady. Here is the Inscription.

Venerare, Hospes, Pudicitiae Simulacrum & Victimam,
Cui hanc Aram Patavini erexere Proceres :
 LUCRETIAM, sicut, DE DONDIS AB HOROLOGIO,
Quæ Latinam Lucretiam Intemerati Thoris
Gloria vicit.
Hæc, inter Noctis Tenebras Maritales asseruit Tedas,
Et furiales recentis Tarquinii faces,
Casto Cruore extinxit.
Per Januas Saucii oris juguli Pectorisque
Impiâ Novacula reforatas,
Candidam efflavit Animam.
Tam fortis Heroine
 Quam Numen Pio ANEÆ ex OBIZZONIBUS,
Orciani Dynastæ Connubio junxit,
Glorosis Manibus,
Patria Lacrymis, Italia Atramento
Parentavit.
 Anno M.DC.LXXII.

You will, doubtless, commend the *Paduans* for taking Care to eternize the Memory of so rare a Virtue, that met with such a barbarous Treatment : And perhaps your Curiosity will prompt you to desire the Continuation of the Story. When the Marchioness was surprized in her Bed, her only Son, about five Years old, was with her ; but the Murderer having carried him into a neighbouring Chamber before he perform'd his horrid Villany, the Child could not see all that passed. The Thing being brought to Light, the said Murderer was taken into Custody upon Suspicion. It was known that he had an Inclination to the Marchioness. The Child gave some Information : Some Neighbours affirm'd, they had seen the Gentleman in that Part of the City. They found a Button of his

Sleeve upon the Bed, Fellow to that which he still wore ; and these Things were strong Presumptions of his Guilt. They then put him to the Torture, both ordinarily and extraordinarily ; but he still denied the Fact, and after fifteen Years Imprisonment, his Friends, by their Importunity, saved his Life, and even, as I suppose, obtained his Liberty, which yet he enjoyed not long ; for some Months after his Deliverance, the young Marquis, which was the Child I spoke of, shot him with a Pistol in the Head, and so revenged the Death of his Mother. He is at present (1687) in *Germany* in the Emperor's Service.

The Amphitheatre of *Padua* exceeded that of *Verona* ; however, nothing is to be seen of it now, but an Heap of Ruins. I must tell you, to shew how different People's Notions are, that going into a Tennis-court here, I found the Walls white, the Balls black, and the Rackets of the Bigness of a large Sieve.

3. We left *Padua* the 20th of *December*, and came to *Venice* the same Night in good Time. By the Way we saw many good Villages and fine Country-houses belonging to *Noble Venetians*. Coming to *Mestre*, a little City on the Shore of the Gulph, five Miles from *Venice*, we took a *Gondola*, which carried us in an Hour and a half thither.

To give a true Idea of *Venice*, I must say something of the Waters, in the Midst whereof it is built. It is certain, that the Grounds upon which *Venice* now stands were, thirteen or fourteen hundred Years ago, drowned by the Sea, till afterwards they were raised out of the Water, and Channels made betwixt them, for the more convenient Approach of Vessels to the City, some of them being capable of admitting Ships of the greatest Burthen ; whereas some cannot carry Vessels of above two hundred Tuns. To empty the Mudd out of these Channels, they have Mills and other Engines, and have turn'd the Mouth of the *Brent* and other Rivers, to prevent their forcing the Sands into the Lagues or Channels, for Fear the Earth should gain upon them, who put their greatest Safety and Strength in their watery Situation : But as they are obliged on one Side to keep the Depth of their Waters, so on the other hand, it is not for their Interest that these Channels should be of an equal Depth in all Places, this being one of their main Securities, which has stood them in good Stead at several Times, witness the Mis-carriage of *Pepin's* Vessels in these Channels, and of the *Genoese* Fleet about three hundred Years ago.

Imagine then, a City with thirty or forty tall Steeples to rise from among these Channels, at a League and a half Distance from the Continent, without any other Defence than the Waves of the Sea, and you will have a tolerable Idea of *Venice*.

I know that all Geographers agree, that *Venice* is composed of seventy two Isles ; nor will I controvert so received an Opinion : But I must confess, that I can by no Means conceive where these seventy two Isles should be ; and I dare assure you, that this Account gives a false Notion of the Situation of this City. It should seem by this Description, that there were seventy two little Hills, one near the other ; and that these little Eminencies being all inhabited, had at last formed the City of *Venice* ; which is not true. *Venice* is generally flat, and built on Piles in the Water, which washes the Foundations of the Houses, to the Height of four or five Feet. It is true, they have made the best Use of several Spaces of Ground of a reasonable Bigness, which may, indeed, give Occasion for one to believe, there was formerly some Land there ; but not seventy two Isles, or any Thing like them. For the Streets, they are very narrow, and the most Part of them seem to have been filled up, and raised with Mud and Rubbish, especially along the Canals ; but it is not at all probable, that they have a solid natural Ground at the Bottom. If all the Divisions, which the Canals make, were reckoned for Isles, we should find near two hundred instead of seventy two. It must be farther observed, that the Number of these Isles might be arbitrarily increased, and new ones made in any Place, by fixing Piles, and building Houses upon them, as Bridges are

are built, by Means of *Basterdeaux*, in the deepest and most rapid Rivers; nay, even in the Sea also, as at *Pozzuolo* and *Dunkirk*, besides several Moles. So that taking the Thing after this Manner, they could make such artificial Islands where-ever they pleased.

We are not to give Credit to what is commonly said of the Extent of *Venice*; some reckon it eight Miles in Circuit, and others allow but seven; as for me, I assure you, *Venice* is not either eight or seven Miles in Compass, they reckon five Miles from *Mestre* to *Venice*, which Way we came in an Hour and an half with two Rowers, and we took a Turn about *Venice* in the same Space of Time with two other Rowers, who made neither more nor less Haste than those of *Mestre*. Judge then by this of the Circuit of that City; consider too, that our Gondola was frequently obliged to describe a larger Compass, to avoid the little Capes which the City makes in several Places; and by Consequence the Line that it made, was much greater than the true Circuit of the City. Add to all this, that to mark the Circumference of a City, without considering its Figure, is not a competent Way to determine the Largeness of its Extent. One might easily demonstrate, without great Help of Mathematicks, that a City which is eight Miles in Compass, for Example, may contain a less Number of Houses, than a City which is only four Miles or less, if you please. This depends upon the Regularity or Irregularity of the Figure.

The Number of Inhabitants is another Thing which has often been determined, but seldom well examined. It is commonly reported at *Venice*, that there are two hundred thousand Souls in the City, and some have advanced the Number to three hundred thousand; but we must not rely upon those frivolous Opinions: When the Trade of *Venice* flourished, it is probable enough that the Number of its Inhabitants was much greater than it is at present, but if we may give Credit to the Report of a Person who hath been settled here for a long Time, and assures me that his Calculation is very exact, *Venice* does not at present contain more than an hundred and thirty or forty thousand Souls, comprehending the Isle of *Giudeca*. Those who please themselves with representing *Venice* as a very populous City, take great Care to put us in Mind, that it has neither Gardens, void Places, or Church-yards; and that the Streets are very narrow. But when, on the other Hand, they would describe the Beauty of *Venice*, they magnify its Gardens, its Places or Squares, and the Breadth and Number of its Canals. I read the other Day, in a *Venetian* Author, that he counted in *Venice* fifty three publick Places, and three hundred and thirty five Gardens. Thus you may see how variously Things are represented. But to speak freely, there is a Mixture of Truth and Falshood on both Sides. I will not deny that there may be fifty three Spaces, great and small, to which this Author hath thought fit to give the Name of Places; and the same might be said of his Gardens; but if we take a particular View of those Places and Gardens, we must conclude him to be too prodigal of such honourable Titles. To speak properly, there is but one Place at *Venice*, the famous and magnificent Place of *St. Mark*. But let us allow him the Liberty of that Name to five or six void Spaces more, which are neither large nor beautiful; yet all this comes far short of fifty three Places. There are also some Gardens here, and particularly towards *Santa Maria del' Orto*, but if we set aside fifteen or twenty, or should even allow thirty or thirty five to be so called, I can positively aver, that the three hundred which remain would not, one with another, be ten Foot square; and are not these very noble Gardens? Nor is the other Account exactly true, for besides the Gardens and void Spaces that are in *Venice*, there are many Places very thinly inhabited. It is true indeed, there are no Church-yards.

As for the Argument that is brought from the Narrowness of the Streets, it is a Sophism easy to be cleared. The Streets are narrow, I confess, and so narrow, that the Justling of Elbows, in the most frequented of them, is very troublesome; but then, sure, the Canals ought to be reckoned instead of Streets? If the Ca-

nals were filled and paved, the Narrowness of the Streets could not be alledged. I must tell you, since we are on this Subject, that all the City is so divided with these Canals and Streets, that there are but few Houses which you may not go to by Water as well as by Land, though every Canal is not bordered with a double Quay, as in *Holland*; for the Conveniency of those who go on Foot, there are indeed some of those, but very often the Canal takes all the Space from one Row of Buildings to another. The Streets are in the little Isles that are borrowed from the Canals, and there are about four hundred and fifty Bridges dispers'd among those Canals, so that there are few Parts of the City to which one may not go either with or without a Gondola. It is true, all these little Passages, and all the Turns that must be made to find the Bridges, make *Venice* a true Labyrinth; but the best Way of giving you a true Idea of the Plan of *Venice*, is to send you a Draught of it, which is the most exact of all those that have been seen by me.

The first Place we visited was the Palace of *St. Mark*, the Glory of *Venice*; the Church of *St. Mark* fronts one End of it, and that of *St. Geminian* the other; and betwixt both these Churches, the *Procuraties*, or Inns of Court and Offices of Lawyers, built very regularly of fine Marble, border both Sides of it with lofty Piazzas. This Place is two hundred and eighty Foot long, and one hundred and ten broad. As you are going from the Church of *St. Geminian* towards that of *St. Mark*, and instead of entering there, to the right Hand you come into another Square two hundred and fifty Paces long, and eighty broad, called the *Broglio*, the Extremity of which reaches to the Sea-side. The *Doge's* Palace takes up one Side of it, and the *Procuraties* are continued on the other.

The Tower of *St. Mark* being near the Angle of the Square within, does in some Measure spoil the Symmetry of the Place; its Height is three hundred and sixty Foot, including the Angel that serves for a Weathercock, formerly it was finely gilt, and could be discerned thirty Leagues at Sea, but the Gold being now worn off, it appears at no great Distance. The *Broglio* is the Place where the Nobles walk, who sometimes take one, sometimes the other Side, according to the Conveniency of the Sun or Shade, and no body else is admitted to mix with them on that Side the Walk, but the other is free for every body; they are so nice in this Point, that when a young Nobleman comes to an Age that qualifies him for the Council, and to take the Robe, four Noblemen of his Friends introduce him the first Day into the *Broglio*; and if any Nobleman is excluded from the Council, he is no longer admitted into the *Broglio*.

About the ninth Age, the Merchants of *Venice* transported the Body of *St. Mark* from *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to *Venice*; and as Christ is said to have saluted this Evangelist in Prison with these Words, *Peace be unto thee Mark, my Evangelist*; so the Body of this Saint was received with the same Words by the Senate of *Venice*; who order'd the same to be written in the open Book held by the Lion of *St. Mark* in the Arms of *Venice*, and the Church of *St. Mark* to be built to his Honour; though at the same Time they were so careless in observing his Shrine or Tomb, that now they can't precisely tell where it is. I will not detain you with the Story of his Apparition, when he shew'd his Arm to the *Doge*, and bestow'd upon him the Golden Ring, which is carried with great Solemnity in Procession every Year on the 28th of *June*, because it is fabulous.

The Patriarchal Church, dedicated to *St. Peter* and *St. Mark*, is no more than the *Doge's* Chapel, and the *Primicerio* or Dean of the Canons of *St. Mark* wears a Mitre and Rochet like a Bishop, and has no Dependance on the Patriarch; I saw him officiate in great Pomp on *Christmas-Day*; he must be always a Noble *Venetian*, and his annual Revenue may be about a thousand Pounds Sterling.

The Church of *St. Mark* is a square Structure after the *Greek* Way, being a Cross shortned, but not very lofty, and somewhat dark; its chief Ornaments consist in excellent *Mosaic* Work and Marble; the Roof has several

several Domes, among which, that in the Middle exceeds the rest: It has a vast Number of Statues on the Outside, among which, the *Adam and Eve*, by *Ricco*, are chiefly remarkable: I don't speak, in this Place, of the four Brazen Horses over the Porch, as being foreign Pieces brought thither by Accident. A certain learned Antiquary told me, that these Horses belong'd formerly to the Chariot of the Sun, which was made as a singular Ornament to a triumphal Arch erected by the Roman Senate to the Honour of *Nero*, after his Victory over the *Parthians*; *Constantine* the Great carried them from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, where they stood in the *Hippodrome* till the *Venetians* brought them from thence: One may still see they were gilt, when first erected. But the greatest Curiosity belonging to the Church of *St. Mark*, is the vast Quantity of *Mosaick* Work wherewith both the Roof and Pavement is cover'd. To give you some Idea of this Work; it deduces its Origin from *Greece*, tho' they tell you that its Use has been in *Italy* near two thousand Years; for *Vitruvius* (who liv'd under *Augustus*) calls it *Opus sectile*, *Pavementa sectilia*, *Opera musæa* and *musiva*; by others it is call'd *Opus varniculatum* or *tessellatum*. All Works therefore compos'd of small inlaid Pieces, whether of Stone, Wood, Ivory, or any other Matter, let their Representations be what they will, come within the Compass of what is call'd *Mosaick* Work: The most curious Works made out of *Florence* Stone, come also under this Denomination; but instead of natural Stones, which would take up too much Time to be polish'd and prepar'd, they have made Use here of a certain Composition of Glass and Enamel, melted together in a Crucible, which takes a most lively and bright Colour, that never fades nor stains. Every Piece of the *Mosaick* of *St. Mark* is a little Cube; the Field is *Mosaick* finely gilt, and incorporated in the Fire, upon the Superficies of one of the Faces of the Square, all the Figures (with their Draperies and Ornaments) being colour'd according to Nature, by the artificial joining together of all the Pieces of the Work, according to the Design which the Workman has before him, being nicely fixed in the compound Matter or Plaster prepared to receive them, which immediately after becomes so hard and solid, that this Work has lasted near eight hundred and fifty Years without losing any Thing of its Beauty.

The Pavement of the Church is not inferior to the Roof, being compos'd of *Jasper*, *Porphyry*, spotted-green, Marble of several Colours, which make Compartments different from each other. Among all the Relicks, miraculous Images, and other holy Rarities kept here, I will mention only the Rock which *Moses* struck in the Wilderness, in the Chapel of *Madona della Scarpa*, at the End of the Font, of a greyish Marble; the three Holes out of which the Water issued, are placed triangular-wise, about two Inches asunder; but as each of them is no bigger than a Goose Quill, how these could furnish Water sufficient, in so small a Time, to quench the Thirst of six hundred thousand Men, with their Wives, Children and Cattle, is what I am not able to determine. In the Middle of the Portico of the Church, over-against the Door, they shew a Piece of *Porphyry* enchas'd in the Pavement where Pope *Alexander III.* set his Foot on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*.

From the Church of *St. Mark* we were conducted to the Treasury, of which three Procurators of *St. Mark* are always Guardians, and which is never open'd but in the Presence of one of them. In the first Apartment they shew you some Relicks, several Pieces of the true Cross, the Hair and Milk of the Virgins. Thence you go into another Room, where the real Treasure is kept, most of which was brought from *Constantinople* with the before mentioned brazen Horses. The most considerable Pieces here, are the two Crowns of the Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, abundance of precious Vessels of *Agate*, the Root of an *Emerald* and of *Rock-Crystal*; all these, they tell you, belong'd to *Constantine's* Cupboard: A Seal eight Inches deep, and as many in Diameter, made of one single *Granate*; a *Saphyr* weighing ten Ounces; twelve Crosetts of Gold, adorn'd with Pearls; as many Head-tires in Form of a Crown, worn upon certain

Festivals by the Maids of Honour to the Empress *Helen*; a Cup made out of a single *Turquoise*, with *Egyptian* Characters; it is seven Inches Diameter, and three and a half deep; a Picture of *St. Jerome* in curious *Mosaick*; and many other rich Things of this Nature: But the Duke's *Corno* is, in my Opinion, the finest Piece of all, (which *Camerarius* values at no more than two hundred thousand Crowns) the Circle is of Gold, the Bonnet of *Crimson Velvet*, enrich'd all over with precious Stones and Pearls of a large Size: *Charles Paschal* is of Opinion, that this *Corno* is the *Phrygian* Bonnet or *Trojan* Mitre brought into *Italy* by *Antenor*, the Figure whereof is express'd in several ancient Pieces, as in the Statue of *Ganymede*, which is to be seen in the Porch of the Library of *St. Mark*, upon some Medals of the God *Lunus*; in some others where *Aeneas* carries *Anchises* upon his Back, and in the Miniatures of the ancient Manuscript of *Virgil* in the *Vatican*.

This Manuscript puts me in Mind of another, viz. the so much celebrated Gospel of *St. Mark*, kept in this Treasury, which I had Leave, by a special Favour, to consider all over; its Leaves are of Parchment loosen'd from each other, very much worn and torn, defaced, and so rotted, that where-ever you touch it something will stick to your Fingers; it is very hard to discern any thing distinctly of it; it was in Quarto, of the Thickness of two Fingers, and the Remnants of this precious Treasure are kept shut up in a Box of *Vermilion* gilt, made in the Shape of a Book. Here and there you may still discern the Traces of some imperfect Characters upon the moist Parchment, but so as scarce to be distinctly seen what they were; by a nice Inspection I discover'd three or four Letters well form'd, and met with the Word *KATA* distinctly written as you see it here. The Abbot *Lith*, Library-keeper of *St. Mark*, assisted me in turning over, with a great deal of Exactness, all the Leaves, but could discover nothing material, except that it had a very broad Margin, and the Lines were placed at a great Distance from one another, rul'd with two parallel Lines, to make the Writing equal and streight. The before-mention'd Word *KATA*, with one Δ and one Σ , which we also plainly discern'd, prove that it is a *Greek* Manuscript; *Alphon-sus* says 'tis *Latin*, and *Baronius* confirms it; but that it should be of *St. Mark's* own Hand-writing, I can't find sufficient Reason to believe, being rather of Opinion, that (the Manner of Writing consider'd) it is the Work of some profess'd Transcriber; and as for the rest, we must rely upon Tradition and common Fame, that it is the Gospel of *St. Mark*; it being so much defac'd by the Injuries of Time, that few Letters can be decypher'd in it, and consequently it is a difficult Task to prove or disprove whether it really be, or not, what they pretend it is.

In the Year 1427, one *Stamati*, a *Candiote* by Birth, robb'd this Treasury, and broke the Wall, but was taken, and every thing recover'd, and he sentenc'd to be hang'd, which was executed accordingly betwixt the Marble Pillars which stand at the Entrance of the Palace over-against the *Lagietta*: They say, he begg'd of the Judges that he might be hang'd in a golden Haltar, which was granted. Next adjoining to the Church of *St. Mark*, is the Palace of *St. Mark*, a great Mass of Building after the *Gothick* Manner, but nevertheless very magnificent: It has been very often defac'd by Fire, so that the Reparations made at divers Times, have made it not so uniform as it would be otherwise. That Part which faces the Canal, is built of a very hard Kind of Stone brought from *Istria*, and excellently well design'd; were all the rest like this, it might pass for an exquisite Piece of Architecture; as it is, it is very venerable. It is in this Place that the Duke keeps his constant Residence; and here it is that the Council of State and the other Assemblies meet. The Apartments are spacious and lofty enough, and well wainscotted, but want Light in respect to our modern Way of Building.

The Hall appointed for the Meeting of the Great Council (where, in Effect, the Sovereignty is lodg'd) is of a large Size, and adorn'd with curious Painting; here

here you see the Pictures of all their Dukes, the History of the taking of *Constantinople* in 1192, but was lost again within sixty Years after; among the rest they shew you the History of Pope *Alexander* and *Frederick Barbarossa*, with the Pope's Foot on the Emperor's Neck, or rather his Shoulder; as it is expressed here. If you remember the Story of the Rebellion of *Bajamonta* against the Senate, in 1210, I must tell you, that this was the Occasion of the little Arsenal kept in this Palace, from whence there is a Passage to the Hall of the *Great Council* where the Nobility assemble, that in Case such another Design should break out whilst they are assembled in Council, they might readily be supplied with Arms from thence for their Defence. It was upon the same Score that they built the little Judgment-Seat called the *Loggia*, at the Foot of St. Mark's Tower, in Sight of the Palace and the *Grand Council* Chamber: Here are always some Procurators of St. Mark upon the Watch whilst the *Great Council* meet and deliberate of Matters of State, for the Security of the Republick.

This Arsenal is provided with a good Number of Fusils and Musquets ready charg'd, besides many other Arms. Here they have an Engine that will light five hundred Matches at once: They preserve here also some very curious Arms of an ancient Make, and among the rest, the Sword of the famous *Scanderbeg*. Here also they shew you the Bust of *Francis Carrara*, the last Lord of *Padua*, who for his Cruelties was strangled, with four of his Children, by the Command of the Senate of *Venice*, in 1405. I observed likewise a little Trunk with six little Guns, which the same *Carrara* sent for a Present to a Lady, and was so contrived by certain Springs, that upon opening of the Trunk the Guns all fired at once, and killed the Lady. They also shew'd us some little Pocket Cross-bows and Arrows of Steel of this Tyrant, with which his Custom was to kill such as passed by, without knowing from whence they received their Wounds; and various whimsical Sorts of Locks and Bolts he used to keep his Concubines confin'd. Here I also saw the two little Statues of *Adam* and *Eve*, which *Albert Durer* made in Prison with the Point of his Penknife only, and which purchased him his Liberty. We must not forget the antick Mouths under the inner Portico of this Palace, and in divers Places of the Galleries, into the Throat of which any body may cast a Note, to give Advice or Notice of any Thing he is able to the Inquirers, who have the Keys of these Boxes, and sometimes reward those who make what they call the *Secret Accusation*, who, to discover themselves, tear a Piece off the Billet, and by joining it again are known.

The Library is kept in the *Procuraties* opposite to the Palace, on the other Side of the *Broglio*; it is none of the most numerous, rare, and best condition'd, and has but few Manuscripts, which are, for the most Part, *Greek*; though they also shew you a Treatise, entituled, *De Consideratione Dei*, attributed to St. *Austin*; but to make Amends, it has many excellent Pictures, done by *Titian* and other great Masters, and several exquisite *Greek* Statues, as that of *Ganymede*, a *Venus*, an *Apollo*, and two Gladiators. It is the Opinion of some, that *Venice* has as many rare Pictures as *Rome*; I will not pretend to determine that Matter, but only tell you, that the three most celebrated Pieces we could see, either in the Churches or in any other publick Place, are the Wedding of *Canah* by *Paul Veronese*, in the Refectory of St. *George Major*; the Presentation of the Virgin in the School of Charity; and St. *Peter Martyr*, in St. *John* and St. *Paul's*, both by *Titian*. *Venice* is the properest Place in *Europe* for young Painters to improve themselves, for in both the Academies they have the Opportunity of viewing naked Persons of both Sexes, in what Posture they please.

In Answer to your Question concerning the Flux and Reflux, I can only tell you, that the Sea flows six Hours, and ebbs as many; it is later every Day about three Quarters of an Hour, as it is generally upon the Coasts. The Tide commonly rises at *Venice* four Foot, or four and a half, sometimes more, sometimes less. The Shore beyond *Venice* is extremely pleasant, the long and narrow Isles enclosing this City from North to

South, in the Form of a Semicircle. The main Sea affords some Shell-fish, and abundance of Oysters, but they are neither so savoury nor so wholesome as ours.

The *Venetians* boast much of their *Policy* and *Liberty*; for the Proof of the first they generally alledge, that they have maintain'd themselves for thirteen hundred Years. This Reason might perhaps stand, if they could boast to have maintain'd the same Form of Government; whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that the Government of *Venice* has often chang'd its Constitution, since their Dukes were heretofore as absolute as *Cæsar* was at *Rome* not long before his Death. Another Consideration is, that the Republick of *Venice* being confin'd to such narrow Bounds, in Comparison of the more powerful States of *Europe*, and surrounded by Neighbours less potent than itself, it seems not to require such profound Maxims of Policy to maintain itself, by living quietly and peaceably with the rest; and notwithstanding all this, the Senate of *Venice* have, with all their Policy, not been able to prevent the Declension of their State at divers Times. As for their Liberty, of which they so loudly talk, it amounts chiefly to this; that provided they don't intermeddle with State-Affairs, and commit no enormous Crime, that must of Necessity, or by its Notoriety, fall under the Censure of Justice, every body is at Liberty to live as he pleases: Hence it is that the *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*, are allowed the publick Exercise of their Religions; and all the other Sects are tolerated, or at least connived at, provided they manage with a little Discretion: It is true, the worshipping of Images and Relicks, and such-like Superstitions, abound as much among the common People of *Venice*, as in other Places, but the better Sort set no great Value upon them. They are now as jealous of the Liberty of the *Venetian* Church, as the *French* were of the *Gallican*; and it is for this Reason they keep the *Jesuits* so much in Awe; they allow none in their Convents but their own Subjects, and will not admit any Superior, except a Native of the City. They do not hesitate to permit these Fathers to wear Masks during the Carnival, to entertain their Concubines, to sing on the Stages, and what else they think fit, provided only they keep their Fingers out of publick Affairs.

Concerning the Faith of the *Greeks* here, I can't but be of Opinion, that they differ in many Points from the *Greek* Churches of the *East*, though they exclaim heavily against the Usurpation of the Church of *Rome*; they declare for Transubstantiation; they make use of common Bread, mingle Water with Wine, and communicate under both Kinds. In their Churches they have two Altars, one called the *Altar of Preparation*, the other of *Consecration*; the first they make use of to cut the Bread with a Knife shap'd like the Iron Point of a Launce, where they also mix the Water and Wine, and the Priest takes it with a Sponge out of the Vessel in which it was first mix'd, and afterwards squeezes it into the Chalice. They embrace one another before they have communicated, and the Communicants receive the Bread steep'd in the Wine, the Priest putting it with a Spoon into their Mouths: Of all this I was an Eye-witness. The Archbishop officiated in a Mitre not unlike an Imperial Crown, and all his Ornaments were exceeding magnificent, and were changed several Times, according to the different Parts of the Service. They abound in mysterious Ceremonies; whenever the Bishop blesses the People, he has in his Right-hand a three-branch'd Candlestick, with as many lighted Tapers; this, they say, is an Emblem of the Trinity, as the Candlestick with two Branches he holds in his Left, is of the two Natures of *Jesus Christ*. They divide their Churches into four several Parts; the Altars stand at one End, which they call *holy*, none but the Priest who officiates, and his Attendants, are admitted there; the next to that is appointed for the other Service; the third is where the Men are separated from the Women by little Balisters; the Women sitting behind Lettices at the other End of the Church, or in the Galleries. They perform their Divine Service in the vulgar *Greek*, and highly condemn the Use of an unknown Language in the Church. They worship standing,

standing, bow their Heads, and put their Hands at the same Time on their Breasts. Marriage is among them no Bar to Priesthood, but if they are single at the Time of their being admitted into Orders, they must not marry afterwards, and they forbid the fourth Marriage for Decency-sake, deny the Popish Purgatory, and yet pray for the Dead. They use Confession, but not after the Manner of the *Romanists*. Concerning the Article of the *Proceeding of the Holy Ghost*, they say as little now as they formerly disputed upon it, looking upon it as a Point that has more of Nicety than Use; they also preserve Relicks, but never worship them.

I have made the best Enquiry I was able about the Doctrines of the *Armenians*, but their Church being repairing at present, I have had no Opportunity to see their Worship, nor to learn the Truth of it from others, except that a Friend of mine told me, that they were of very different Opinions in respect of several Articles, but that these four or five were most generally received among them, *viz.* They communicate under both Kinds, they give the Sacrament even to Infants, acknowledge the Sequestration of Souls as the *Greeks* do, allow of Divorces, and believe, that at the Time of the Resurrection there will be no Difference of Sexes.

4. Before I leave *Venice*, I must add some few other Observations to what I have already said concerning this City, and all the Curiosities therein. The Bridge of *Rialto* challenges the first Place, founded on ten thousand Elm Piles, and which cost two hundred and fifty thousand *Venetian* Ducats. It is built over the Middle of the great Canal which divides this City in the Figure of an S. The *Venetians* are so much taken with this Bridge, that they often want Terms to express its Grandeur, whereas it is certain that it has Nothing extraordinary belonging to it, except that it is built upon one Arch: As I took particular Care to measure it, so I can give you an exact Account of it. The Compass of the Arch makes the third Part of a Circle; the whole Extent, from one Extremity of the Arch to the other, on the Level of the Canal, is ninety Foot, and its Height twenty four. I know some have blam'd the Architecture, which, according to the strict Rules of Art, might, for its greater Strength, be an exact Semicircle; but, in my Opinion, this Objection may soon be answer'd, it being reasonable to suppose, that the remaining Part of the Semicircle is taken up in the Foundation under Water. It is strongly built of great Pieces of a kind of white Marble; it has two Rows of Shops, which divide it into three Streets, *viz.* one large one in the Middle, and two other little ones, between the Rails and the Backsides of the Shops. Almost all the other Bridges of *Venice* have but single Arches, and Steps of a white and hard Stone, and most commonly very slippery, which in Part has given Occasion to the common Proverb of *Venice*,

*Beware here, of White Stones,
Whores, Priests, and Pantaloons.*

All the best Houses stand on both Sides of the *Great Canal*, among which are the magnificent Palaces of *Pisani*, *Morosini*, *Loredano*, *Rosini*, *Vandramino*, and *Grimani*, but their chief Beauty consists in their Frontispieces, which commonly are of two or three Sorts of Architecture, the rest being but very indifferent. The *Lagunes* contribute not a little to the Unwholsomeness of the Air of *Venice*, though the *Venetians* are very unwilling to own it, but their Water is generally bad; for among an hundred and fifty Springs they have here, there are not above two or three that afford good Water, which is the Reason that most private Persons of Note are forc'd to preserve the Rain-water in Cisterns. The Wines generally drank here are either fulsomely sweet, or sower and eager: Their Bread is also very ill made, for let it be never so fresh, it is as hard as a Biscuit, and must be broken with a Hammer. The little Opportunity a Stranger has of conversing with the *Venetians* in their Houses, makes me give you no Account of their Manner of House-keeping, but it puts me in Mind of what I read the other Day in a Preface

of *Henry Stephens*, That in his Time, a Woman that appear'd bare-neck'd abroad, was look'd upon with a very indifferent Eye in *France*; whereas in *Italy*, and especially in *Venice*, every old Hag shew'd her wither'd Neck, but at present none but declared Whores shew their Necks bare; nay, the Women of Quality do not even shew their Faces in the Churches, the only Places where they appear in Publick; and the ordinary Women wear over their Heads a great Scarf, opening only a little about the Eyes. Their Females they educate in the Convents, from their tender Age till they are married, which is done commonly by their Parents or Kindred, without letting them see their future Husbands: For it is to be observed, that among Persons of Quality there are no Regards in Reference to this Point, but a good Family and Riches, the rest being left to Chance: Whence it is that the Men commonly remedy the Defects of their Wives, by maintaining Concubines: They have here a peculiar Way of cohabiting with certain Women, much used among those of a tender Conscience: It is a Kind of clandestine Marriage, the Ceremony whereof is not perform'd sometimes till many Years after they have lived together, and often not till a few Days or Hours before the Death of one of the Parties: But the most general Way is, to keep their Mistress at a certain Allowance as long as both Parties agree; and this is so frequently practis'd here, that such as are not able to keep one singly, join with two or three more, who enjoy the Woman, without the least Jealousy, each in his Turn.

This Kind of Libertinism is so general at *Venice*, that the Mothers of young Noblemen are commonly the first who agree with a poor Maiden's Father or Mother, for the Use of their Sons, at a certain Rate, to be paid monthly or yearly, as they can agree best. I have it from credible Hands, and *Roman Catholics*, that the Confessors look upon this as such a Trifle, that they take not the least Notice of it in their Confessions. For Strangers and Passengers you have whole Streets fill'd with Ladies, easily distinguished from others by their Habits, being dressed in red and yellow, with naked Breasts, painted Faces, and Nosegays above their Ears; whereas all the other Ladies appear in black. The Carnival commences here the second Holiday in *Christmas*; then it is they begin to wear Masks, and open their *Play-houses* and *Gaming-houses*: The Place of *St. Mark* is fill'd with *Mountebanks*, *Jack-puddings*, *Pedlars*, *Whores*, and such Sort of Cattle, who flock thither from all Parts. In the Beginning they act with some Moderation; but the nearer they come towards *Shrove-Tuesday*, the more their Madness encreases. The Senate of *Venice* allow these Extravagancies, to divert the People from feeling the heavy Burthen of their Government, which, without such-like Amusements, would be insupportable to them: Besides that, the vast Number of Strangers, which come from all Parts to *Venice*, to the Diversions of the *Carnival*, brings a vast Sum of Money to the City: I was credibly inform'd, that during the last *Carnival*, there were no less than seven Sovereign Princes, and thirty thousand other Foreigners there.

To give you my Opinion of the *Opera's* and *Comedies* of *Venice*, in respect to those of *Paris*, I must be plain with you, That the Ornaments of the first are infinitely inferior to those of *France*: Their Habits are mean, without Dances, and generally without any Machines or Illuminations, except here and there a few Candles, scarce worth mentioning. I will not venture to contradict the general Opinion of the World concerning the *Italian* Musick; and it must really be confessed, that they have some excellent Airs, and most exquisite Voices: But, to tell you my Sentiment of the Matter, there is a certain unpleasant Confusion in several Songs of their *Opera's*, and they dwell many Times longer in one Quavering, than in singing four whole Lines, and immediately after they run so fast, that you cannot tell whether they sing or speak, or do both by Turns. It is certain, that the overstrained Scream is not so pleasing to Foreigners as to the *Italians*. The Orchestre is much less than at *Paris*; but this may perhaps

haps be esteemed rather a Perfection than a Fault. There is another Thing I cannot pass by without a Remark, I mean the preposterous Figure which their Eunuchs make on the Theatre: It is a very odd Sight to see one of these mutilated Fellows act the Part of a Bully with his effeminate Voice; and another to represent a young Lover, with his withered wrinkled Face.

There are at present no less than seven *Opera's* at *Venice*, which by Foreigners are frequented chiefly for the good Company's Sake: They have a Buffoon in every *Opera*, who intermixes his Fooleries, without Discretion, with the most serious and tragical Part of the Play. Their Comedies are fill'd with such ridiculous Buffooneries, that in other Parts they would not pass for tolerable Farces, *Harlequin* being commonly the Head Actor, who is back'd in his Grimaces with the most rank Bawdry that can be invented, to make the Spectators laugh; and for Fear they should be disappointed in their Aim, they admit whole Troops of the *Gondoliers*, or Watermen, into the Playhouse for nothing, when they are ready to begin: These are very diligent on this Occasion, by bawling and clapping their Hands, to extort, as it were, a general Applause from the Spectators. These Theatres belong to some Noblemen, who make a considerable Profit of them during the Carnival.

Their Assemblies, where they play at Basset, they call *Ridotti*, which are kept open as long as the Theatres: They allow none but Noblemen to cut: You shall see sometimes ten or twelve Rooms on a Floor, with Gaming-tables in all, crowded with Gamesters masked, with Courtesans and Ladies of Quality, who, under this Disguise, have the Privilege of enjoying all the Diversions of the Carnival, provided they can get a little out of the Way of their Spies or jealous Husbands. They have also certain Rooms, where they sell Liquors, Sweetmeats, and such-like Things, to relieve such as are fatigued with Standing. Every one thus masked, provided he be in good Apparel, has the Liberty of talking to the Ladies even of the highest Quality, nobody, not even the Husband himself, taking Notice at that Time what is said to his Wife, because the Mask is sacred; though this sometimes gives Occasion to an Intrigue, in a Place where the Scarcity of Opportunity prompts them to do more with the Wink of an Eye, than in other Countries with a longer Courtship.

But the chief Place for Masquerading is the Place of *St. Mark*, where you may put yourself in what Disguise you please, provided you can maintain the Figure of the Person you assume; for here you see the *Harlequins* jeer one another handsomely; those who personate Doctors, dispute learnedly; and so with the rest: But such as have no Inclination to venture upon these Engagements, may appear in the Habit of a Nobleman, or some foreign Dress, and be only Spectators. All the Masquers must appear without Swords. Here you see, besides *Puppet-players*, *Rope-dancers*, and *Fortune-tellers*, whose little Stages are fill'd with *Globes*, *Spheres*, and other *Astronomical Instruments*: They make Use of a Tube of Tin to speak into the Ears of those who consult them; and it is a pleasant Sight to see the Priests and Monks more frequently taking up the Tube than the rest.

I will not pretend to give you an Account of their *Bull-baitings*, *Goose-bunting*, *Wrestling*, or *Boxing*, *Balls*, *Races* upon the Water, or of their *Feast* on *Shrove-Tuesday*, when they cut off a Bull's Head in the Presence of the whole Senate, in Memory of a Victory in *Friuli*: But I must not omit to tell you, that the Carnival is not the only Time when *Masks* are in Request at *Venice*, there being no Feast of Pleasure where they are not used more or less, as at the Audiences of Ambassadors, on *Ascension-day*, &c. All these Days are very profitable to the Watermen, who knowing all the Turns and By-ways, keep Correspondence with the Waiting-women, and for a good Reward will furnish Ladders of Cords for an Intrigue, one of their main Businesses being Pimping; in which Art they are so well versed, that they will deposit a Sum of Money, as a Security,

that their Ware shall prove good. They hire the *Venetian Gondola's*, or *Boats*, either from Place to Place, or by the Hour, or by the Day. You may have one of the best for five or six Shillings a Day. These Boats are prettily contrived, and very light: Their Length is generally thirty or thirty two Foot, and their Breadth four or five, in which you may sit with a great deal of Conveniency, under a Cover like a Coach, with Glasses on both Sides; the left is reckoned the best Place, because there you can best see the Boatman, and command him as you please. These Fellows are very dextrous in their Business, and will, with a surprizing Facility, manage their Oars, standing with their Faces towards the Place where they are to go. All the *Gondola's*, or *Boats*, must be black, even the little Chamber, which is generally cover'd with black Cloth or Serge; but Foreigners are not so strictly tied to this Rule; the *Gondola's* especially of the Ambassadors are generally exceeding magnificent: They have commonly four or five, and make their Entries in them.

The Arsenal of *Venice* challenges Precedence among the first of *Europe*; but as it must be confess'd, that it is a Place of great Consequence, so on the other hand it ought to be consider'd, that it is the only one the *Venetians* have in *Italy*, and that in its Enclosure it comprehends all their Ammunition, Stores for their Navy, Casting-houses, Rope-yards, Forges, Lodges for the Galleys, and Galeasses, and the *Bucentoro* itself, besides the Docks for refitting their Ships: And notwithstanding all this, you must not believe above half they tell you upon this Head. I remember that our Guide would fain have persuaded us, that it contain'd no less than two thousand five hundred Pieces of great Cannon, Arms for a hundred thousand Foot, and compleat Accoutrements for twenty thousand Horse; but these are only Words. Among their Men of War, that call'd *The Redeemer* is the biggest, and, as they told us, carried eighty Pieces of Cannon and fourteen Pattareroes, and is now at Sea. Their Galeasses have three Rows of Guns in the Prow, but only two in the Poop; their Complement of Slaves is ninety two, six on a Bench. The *Bucentaure* is a large Galeass of State finely carved and gilt, in which the Doge and Senate, with many of the Nobles, go out to Sea every Year on *Ascension-day*, to perform the Ceremony of marrying the Sea.

As to the Rank the Noblemen of *Venice* aspire to, which they have push'd to that Degree, that they pretend their Nobility to comprehend all other Titles, so as even to compare themselves with Princes of Royal Blood; I must tell you, that it appears to me rather founded upon Opinion than solid Reason. It is true, that considering the *Noble Venetians*, by Right of Inheritance, are Members of the great Council, which gives Life to all the rest; they are born with some Character of Sovereignty, but at that Rate the Nobility of *Genoa* might challenge the same Prerogative; and, after all their Boasting, the Commands, great Offices, Wealth, and ancient Extraction, make new Distinctions among them; and they are not so nice, but that they will sell this Title for a certain Sum of Money. They never appear in Publick but in their Robes, which are of black Cloth, and ought to be lined with greyish Cloth in the Winter, and Ermins in the Summer. The Stole is of the same Cloth, as well as the Girdle, which, being about four Inches broad, is adorned with Silver Buckles and Plates. Their Bonnets are no more than a Kind of Caps of black Worsted, with a Fringe of the same Stuff, which they commonly bear in their Hands, because they are unwilling to incommode their great Perriwigs; however, the Procurators of *St. Mark*, the *Sacri Grandi*, and some others of the great Officers of the State, are distinguished by their peculiar Habits: Those that have been Ambassadors have the Privilege of wearing a Stole of Cloth of Gold, and Golden Buckles on their Girdles, but they generally content themselves with a little Gold Galloon upon their black Stole.

The *Physicians*, *Advocates*, *Notaries*, and all those they call *Cittadini*, wear the same Habits as the Nobles; they challenge the Title of *Excellency*, and the Manner

of saluting them is to kiss their Sleeve, which about the Elbow is as big as a moderate Sack, and serve sometimes to carry Provisions in from the Market, because they scarce ever appear with any Attendance at their Heels. They are never saluted in the Street, except by those who wear the same Robe, being rather fear'd than lov'd by the People, not so much on account of the Hardships they suffer from them, as for want of knowing them, the Nobles being not permitted to converse familiarly with any body. The Nobility of *Venice* is not restrained to the eldest Sons, as in *England*, but they are not permitted to traffick, much less to marry with Foreigners. Those *Marquisses*, *Counts*, and other titular Nobles belonging to the *Venetian* State, are no Noblemen of *Venice*, but either such as really enjoy'd these Dignities in their respective Countries before they became subject to the *Venetians*, or by the *Venetians*, since their Conquests, have been dignified with these Titles to humble the rest, and by a Confusion of new Titles, abate the Pretensions of the ancient Nobility of those Countries. There are a third Sort of titular Nobility in the *Venetian* State, whose Ancestors, though not fully entitled to those Dignities, yet had some Pretensions to them, and upon the Change of the Government, assumed these Titles by the Connivance of the *Venetians*.

Your Information concerning the Duke or Doge of *Venice*, is wrong in all its Parts; for, I can assure you, he bears only the Figure of a Prince, and the Shadow of Greatness without any real Substance; much in the same Manner the Dukes of *Aquitain* and *Normandy* do at the Coronation of a King of *England*. It is true, he has some outward Marks of Grandeur annex'd to his lofty Title, but these are bestow'd on him no otherwise than as he is a Representative of the Republick, as Ambassadors are of their Masters. That this is true beyond all Contradiction, you will very clearly perceive, if you consider, that all his Councillors have a constant Eye over all his Actions, and have an Authority to visit his Closet every Hour. It is not in his Power to pardon any Criminal; he can't so much as pass over to the Continent without Permission from the State; and he no sooner sets Foot ashore on that Side, but his Ducal Authority and Dignity cease, and he is consider'd as Nothing more than a bare Nobleman of *Venice*; immediately all his Kindred, that were before in any Offices, are turn'd out, and when he dies, there is no such Thing as the least publick Mourning upon that Occasion. He is, beside this, as much subject to the Law as the meanest Person, and the Inquisition of State is chiefly level'd at his Power, which is so streightned, that except two or three inconsiderable Privileges, he possesses Nothing beyond other Noblemen; these are, that he has a double Voice in the *Grand Council*, and the Disposal of divers little Offices belonging to the Palace, and the Nomination of the *Primicerio* and Canons of *St. Mark*. The Honours, as I told you before, which are paid to him, being nothing else than the Marks of the Sovereignty of the Common-wealth in their Representative; it is in this Sense he bears the Title of Duke and of *His Serenity*, (a Title esteem'd here beyond that of *Highness*) and when he appears abroad upon any solemn Occasion, has a Torch carried before him, a folding Chair (having two Arms and no Back) with its Cushion, eight Silver Trumpets, and as many Standards with the Arms of *Venice*, and perhaps some Hautboys: Of these Standards two are white, two red, two violet, and two blue, which, they say, signify, *Peace*, *War*, *Truce*, and the *League*: They shew'd us that the two red ones were carried first, the State being then engaged in a War against the *Turks*, whereas in Time of Peace, the white ones precede the rest. He has also a Kind of Umbrello carried after him.

Upon these Occasions the Doge is generally accompanied by the *Nuncio*, and the Ambassadors residing at *Venice*, except the Minister of *Spain*, who never appears at these Solemnities, to avoid disputing with the *French* Ambassador about Precedence; all these Ministers have their Hats on; the Duke never pulls off his ducal Cornet,

except when the Host is elevated, or when he is visited by a Prince of Royal Extraction, or by a Cardinal, who sits in a like Chair with the Duke, and even on his right Hand. After these march the chief Senators, before whom is carried the Sword of State, as an evident Mark of the Sovereignty of the Council. It is true, upon their Coin the Duke's Name is stamp'd, but on the Reverse you see him on his Knees, at the Feet of the *Primicerio*, who sits and represents *St. Mark*; of him the Doge takes the Oath of Fidelity, with the Mass-book in one Hand, and with the other receiving the Standard of *Venice*; so it is evident, that his Image bears no more Marks of Honour here than that of the *Primicerio*. The Letters of foreign Princes are also directed and delivered to the Doge, but he is so far from having any Power of opening them, that he must deliver them to the Council: The same Thing is observed in respect to Ambassadors; for after Matters have been deliberated and concluded in the Council, the Answer is put so exactly into the Duke's Mouth, that should he commit the least Mistake, he is corrected upon the Spot. Thus in all Acts or Declarations, of State, he is no more than the Herald, who has the Honour of publishing what is enacted by the Senate.

I will not pretend to unravel to you the Mysteries of the *Venetian* Common-wealth, the same being above my Purpose, and even out of my Knowledge, for want of sufficient Time to be fully instructed in so many Things: I will only add concerning the Patriarch of *Venice*, that after he is elected by the Senate, he receives his Confirmation from the Pope: Though his Station is very eminent, yet his Authority is kept within very narrow Bounds; for, except two or three Benefices, the People of each Parish chuse their own Curates, and the Clergy acknowledge no Superiority but that of the Senate. This Prelate must always be chosen out of the Nobility, and his Garment is of a Violet Colour; he styles himself *Divini Miseratione Venetiarum Patriarcha*, i. e. by God's Mercy Patriarch of *Venice*; but not as others do, *Et Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Gratia*; and by the Grace of the Holy Apostolick See; the *Venetians* acknowledging no such Superiority. For the rest, this Election is commonly carried on by Interest and Intrigue, as in the chusing of a Pope, little Regard being had to Merit; and it is beyond all Dispute, that the Ignorance of the Clergy here is greater than what can well be express'd or imagin'd; to remedy which, as also their Licentiousness, and the too free Conversation with the Nuns, Cardinal *Barberigo*, Bishop of *Padua*, a wise and venerable Person, has taken a great deal of Pains of late Years, but to little Purpose.

I must not forget to tell you a pleasant Secret they make use of here, in Behalf of some Priests that are Musicians: You are not ignorant, that one of the main Qualifications belonging to a Priest, is to be a compleat Man; but as the Sweetness of the Voice is of great Use, both in their Opera's and Churches, they have found out this Expedient, that a Priest thus fitted for Musick, may exercise the Functions of Priesthood, provided he carry the same Implements that belong'd to his Body in his Pocket. Is not this a most religious Distinction!

Father *Mark Aviano*, whom I mention'd in my Letter from *Augsburgh*, is here at present, but I could never hear him preach, the Crowd of the People being such, that they were forc'd to break a Hole through the Wall of the Church, to let him go into it from a neighbouring House.

5. It is one of the Peculiarities of *Venice*, that some of the Churches are dedicated to Saints that were never canonized, such as the good Man *Job*, the Prophets *Moses*, *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Zachary*, to whom there might be some others added. I had the Curiosity to visit the Temples that are consecrated to those illustrious Names, but could not find any Thing more extraordinary in them, than their Dedication. One of the finest of those sacred Structures is that which is dedicated to *St. Moses*; it has a majestick Front, which was built by *Alexander Tremignone*, at the Charge of the Procurator *Vincint Fini*. They preserve several Relicks

licks in this Church, and pretend, that they are both very authentick and potent; however, since they consist only of Arms, Legs, and Jaw-Bones, I will not trouble you with a Catalogue of them: But when I meet with some holy Curiosity, which deserves to be particularly taken Notice of, as some Foreskin of a *Philistine*, some Pease of *St. Francis's* Issue, or a Shoe of the *Trojan Horse*, you may expect to hear of it. As for the Church of *St. Samuel*, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is nothing remarkable to be seen in it: *St. Job's* is a very fine Building. In the Vestry they keep a Body of *St. Luke*, and the *Benedictins* of *St. Justina* at *Padua*, have another: But since the Pope declared for the former, the Monks of *Padua* have very prudently taken the Resolution to be silent.

At *St. Jeremy's*, which is a fine Edifice, they have one of that Prophet's Teeth, and it is reasonable they should have a Relick of their Nation. If the rest had imitated so judicious an Example, we might, perhaps, have had the Pleasure to have seen one of *Moses's* Horns and *Job's* Scabs. The great Altar, and the Tomb of *St. John* the Martyr, Duke of *Alexandria*, are the most remarkable Things I observed at *St. Daniel's*. *St. Zachary's* is a fine Building. The Architecture is not modern, but the Front is enriched with fine Marble, and the Inside beautified with many Ornaments. There are also magnificent Altars in it. The famous Church of *St. Mark* is so enriched with *Mosaick* Work, that, in this Respect, the Churches of *St. George Major* and *della Salute* ought not to come in Competition with it: But if we consider the Architecture of *St. Mark*, it is an obscure Place, in Comparison to those Churches. The best Judges give the Preference to *St. George's*, but common Eyes find something in the Church *della Salute* that is more agreeable to them. The Designs are quite different: *St. George's* is not unlike to *St. Justina's* at *Padua*, for the Contrivance or Gusto is the same in both. It is true, *St. Justina's* is larger, and perhaps more magnificent within, but its Outside is naked; whereas the other is adorned with an admirable Front. The great Altar in this Church is enriched with Marble of the finest Sort, and curiously wrought: It is also adorned with several Statues, the chief of which are the four Evangelists supporting a World, on which there is a *Padre Eterno*. The Whole is of Brass gilt. The Seats of the Canons round the Choir are of Walnut Tree, on which the Life of *St. Benedict* is described in very fine *Basso relievo*, where the Rules of Perspective are well observed. In a Chapel near the Tomb of the Procurator *Vincent Morosini*, those, who have good Eyes, observe on a Marble Pillar, and on some Places on the Balusters, Fishes, Birds, and other Things naturally figured; and even an entire Crucifix; I mean the Eyes of Imagination; for there is nothing like it in Reality, though certain little Books, that are to be bought at *Venice*, say so.

In this Church they have the Body of *St. Stephen* the Proto-martyr, which a pious Woman called *Juliana*, brought from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, from whence it was afterwards transported to *Venice* by one *Peter* a Monk. The whole Story is described at Length in two long *Latin* Inscriptions, which I had the Patience to transcribe, but I am afraid you would not have the Patience to read. The Choir, Altars, Floor, Dome, and Vestry, of the Church *della Salute*, are all extremely beautiful: The Foundations of this Structure were laid March the 25th, 1631, two Years being spent in fixing the Piles. The Occasion is related in an Inscription which was placed on the first Stone; importing, a Vow to the Virgin for Deliverance from the Plague. This Church was built by *Balthasar Longhena*: It is adorned both without and within with about one hundred and thirty Marble Statues. It was erected at the Charge of the Publick; whereas most of the other Churches were built by private Families, and consequently may be look'd upon as so many Marks either of their Vanity or Piety, and at the same time, of their vast Riches. On the great Altar there is a Statue of the Virgin holding the little *Jesus* in her Arms. The *Genius* of *Venice* on her Right Hand imploring her Assistance to stop the Progress of

that mortal and contagious Distemper: On the other Side is *Pestilence* flying, pursued by an Angel with a Torch in his Hand. *St. Mark* is present with the blessed *Lawrence*, *Justiniani*, and several others. All these Statues are of fine Marble, and wrought by a curious Hand. I dare not undertake to describe all the Embellishments of this noble Structure.

St. James de Rialto is said to be the first Church that was built on these Spots of Ground on which *Venice* is founded; but it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, that it may be reckoned a new Church, notwithstanding all its boasted Antiquity. The Altar in the great Chapel is of white Marble, and adorned with a fine Statue of *St. James* by *Alex. Vittoria*. *St. Mark's* Church is but a Chapel to the Doge's Palace. *St. Peter di Castello* is the Episcopal and Patriarchal Church, pretty large, and the Front deserves to be taken Notice of for its beautiful Simplicity; and though no extraordinary Care has been taken to embellish this Church, there are some very considerable Ornaments, and several remarkable Things to be seen in it. The great Altar was erected by the Senate, in Pursuance of a Vow they had made during the War against the *Turks* in 1649. It is dedicated to the *Beato Lorenzo*; and the Body of that Demi-Saint is placed there, in a stately Marble Tomb, supported by Angels and Apostles. The Statue of *Beato* stands upon the Tomb, and that contains his Bones. I have seen some devout Persons kiss a Stone Chair, which is kept in this Church, on the Right Hand as you enter betwixt the second and third Altar, by the Wall. They pretend that *St. Peter* made Use of it when he was at *Antioch*; and a Sacristan informed me, that it was a Present of *Michael Palaeologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*. The same Person told me a Story of a Brazen Cross that was found floating in some Part of the Lagunes, and brought with a great deal of Ceremony to this Church. They have a Veneration for it, but the Cross could never tell them what kept it from sinking when it was in the Water; and though it is evidently miraculous, nobody may say that he remembers to have seen it working any Miracle: So that notwithstanding every Church, and almost every Chapel, is abundantly provided with Pieces of the true Cross, this brazen one, as extraordinary as it is, is somewhat neglected.

The Monks of *St. Michael*, betwixt *Venice* and *Murano*, have, in the Chapel of the Family *Priolo*, a fine one, which is endued with a particular Virtue to appease Tempests: The History of it is full of surprising Wonders: It is written on a Scroll of Vellum in so antique a Manner, that this Consideration alone would be sufficient to prove the Truth of the Relation, though they had no other Arguments to confirm it. It was in Usage heretofore, that never any Vessel set Sail from the Port of *Venice*, till the Pilot and all the Ship's Crew had recommended themselves to the Protection of this miraculous Cross: But the Heat of this Devotion is much abated, for it seems it is the Misfortune of *Venice*, as well as of other Places, that good Customs are sooner forgotten than bad ones. The Choir of the Church is much commended for the Richness and Beauty of the Work. In a little Chamber near the Choir there is a Map of the World drawn with the Hand, and adorned with Miniatures, which is certainly a curious Piece. He that made it was a Monk of this Convent, as it appears by the Medals that were struck on that Occasion, with this Motto, *Frater Maurus S. Michaelis, Morianensis, de Venetiis, Ordinis Camaldulensis, Cosmographus incomparabilis*. The Monk, who shewed us these Things, carried us to a little but magnificent Chapel near the Church: He said, the People generally believed that it was built by a Courtesan, with the Profits of her Vocation; yet at the same Time he assured us, in strong Terms, that they were mistaken. But what signifies it, whether true or false. *Solon* built a Temple to *Venus*, with the Money that was earned by common Prostitutes; and why should they not do the same at *Rome* and *Venice*, where such lewd Women are not only tolerated, but invited, protected, countenanced, and publicly allowed? The Convent can-

not be termed a magnificent Structure, but it is certainly a great Building and agreeably situated, for from hence you have the Prospect of *Venice*, *Murano*, *Lido*, *Terra Firma*, and several Places in the *Lagunes*, without mentioning the Walks and Gardens that belong to the Convent. In the Year 1497, a *Spanish* Ambassador was so charmed with the Beauties of this Place, that he resolved to spend the Remainder of his Days in it: They made us take Notice of his Epitaph, which they told us was written by the famous *Aldus Manutius*.

I will not trouble you with any Account of the other Tombs and Epitaphs that are to be seen in this Place; but since we are so near the Glass-houses of *Murano*, I shall take this Occasion to make some Remarks upon them. *Murano* is one of the largest and most agreeable Islands in the *Lagunes*, about a short Mile from *Venice*: It contains fifteen Churches, comprehending those of the Convents. There are some fine Houses in it, and a great many more Gardens proportionably than at *Venice*. There is a Canal which runs cross the Island, which is larger than the other Canals in the same Place, and the famous Glass-houses which you have heard so often mentioned, are seated on this Canal. You must not imagine that there is any Thing at all extraordinary in these Buildings; they are divided into several Lodgings, Halls, Warehouses, Furnaces, &c. as in other Places. Formerly, the Glass called *Venice Crystal* was the finest in *Europe*, but at present it does not merit that Title, not that it is coarser than before, but because they have found the Secret in other Places to make Glass at least as fine as that of *Venice*. Mr. de S. Didier writes, that he heard a Master of a Glass-house at *Venice* offer an hundred thousand Franks to any Man that would teach him the Secret of making Glass as white as that of a Cup that was brought from *Paris*; and one of my Friends assured me, that a few Years ago having carried a Vial of the finest Crystal of *Murano* to *London*, the Workmen there were so far from looking upon it as extraordinary or inimitable, that they said they could, and sometimes did, make finer Work. The Skill they have acquired in other Countries, and the Manufactures they have erected, have almost ruined the Trade of *Murano*. Their whitest and purest Glass is made of certain Stones that are found in *Jesina*, the Ashes of several Herbs that are found in the Country about *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and the other usual Ingredients; they make it also of certain Stones that they found in the *Adige*, and the Sand that is gathered on the Shore of the Gulph on the *Dalmatian* Side: But this is only for common Glass. The Glass-makers of *Murano* stile themselves Gentlemen, since they were enobled by *Henry III.* who had the Curiosity to see them at Work when he passed through *Venice*, and they enjoy all the Privileges of the *Citadinance*.

But let us return to our Churches. I will not lose Time in describing that which bears the Name of St. *Nicholas of the Lettice*, which was founded by the famous *Nicholas Leono*, on Occasion of his being cured by the sanctified Lettices that were sent to him by the Monks. Nor that of St. *Maria Celestis*, which took its Name from an Image that fell from Heaven, and is enriched with a precious Leg of St. *Lawrence*, which serves to extinguish Fire; nor will I trouble you with an Account of *Jonas's* Head, which is kept at St. *Apollinaris's*; nor of St. *Claras's* Nail; nor of the Coif at St. *Lawrence's*; nor of other Rarities of the same Nature, which perhaps you would look upon as Trifles. *Sancta Maria Gloriosa* is another of the principal Churches in *Venice*; it is large and very much embellish'd with divers Ornaments. They pretend that the Seraphick St. *Francis*, in proper Person, mark'd the Place where it should be built. I spent two whole Afternoons in viewing and decyphering the Epitaphs that were to be seen in it, but I only transcribed two of them; one of a Woman, which is the only Monument of that Kind I observed there; and the other of a *Doge*, who is made to speak his own Elegy. It is *Francis Foscarei* who was deposed, or rather remov'd from his Seat of Authority and Power to that of a private Person, in the 84th Year of his Age, as not being capable of performing longer any Function belonging to his Ducal Office, in which he had honourably acquit-

ted himself for the Space of thirty four Years. In all States they depose their Princes when they become traitorous to their Country, and declare themselves Enemies instead of nursing Fathers and Protectors of it, according to natural Equity, and the solemn Oath they are obliged to take on Day the of their Instalment. They depose also Fools and Madmen, such as *Alphonso* of *Portugal*, Uncle to the present King; and when they fall into an irrecoverable State of Infirmary, why should they not exhort them to make an honourable Resignation of their Power? Does a General of an Army that grows old and infirm, make any Scruple of resigning his Post to another? I shall take this Occasion to observe, that by the Epitaphs I have seen in this Place, I find that a considerable Number of the Persons on whom they are written, died above 80 Years old; a Sign that the Air of *Venice* is not so bad as is commonly reported.

I liked much the greater Altar of St. *Justina's*, with the Tabernacle; the devout Adorers of that Saint are always careful to visit the Stone where she left the Print of her Knees when she said her last Prayer before her Martyrdom, as the Story is related in an Inscription beneath the Stone. Those who chuse the huge St. *Christopher* for their Patron, have an extraordinary Veneration for a Statue of that Saint, which is to be seen in the Church of St. *Maria del Horto*, on the great Altar. It was made by an excellent Sculptor, according to the Proportion of a Bone of the Original, which was heretofore brought from *England* by a very curious Person, who was a nice Judge of Relicks; so that a devout Spectator has the Pleasure to behold the exact Dimensions of that Saint; and this Consideration has so enhanced the Value of the Statue, that those who have most Experience in Affairs of this Nature, are confident that it will quickly begin to work Miracles. I could easily reckon up a vast Number of fine Paintings with which the Churches are adorn'd, but I know not whether you would have the Patience to read such a dry Catalogue, nor will I undertake to give you an Account of those half sacred Places, which are here called *Scuole*; these are publick Edifices divided into Chapels, Halls, Chambers, and Lodgings, which belong to Fraternities of Monks, or some other particular Societies. I have seen at least thirty five of them, and I doubt not but that there are more. Among the rest there are six called *Scuole grandi*, which are embellished with so much Art and Cost, that they may vie with the finest Churches both in the Richness and Beauty of their Ornaments.

In many Churches and Fraternities, there are annual Funds established to raise Portions and procure comfortable Matches for poor Maids; and generally over all *Italy* Care is taken by such charitable Foundations to provide for the Necessities of the Sex. After I have given you my Observations on the Christian Churches, you will perhaps expect an Account of the *Jewish Synagogues*; but all that I can say on this Subject is, that there are seven of them, and that the best of the seven is not near so fine as the *Portuguese Synagogue* in *London*. If we give Credit to the vulgar Computation, there are about two thousand *Jews* at *Venice*; some of them are Rich, but few in Comparison to the Poor. They are obliged to wear red Hats; but I find by *Martinelli* in his *Ritratto*, that they may be exempt from that disagreeable Distinction by paying a small Sum of Money. They have a Sort of Court that determines petty Suits among themselves. They are generally a Kind of People that never refuse any Sort of Employment, and are made use of on several Occasions, especially by the Nobles, who are a very great Support to them. They may take the Degree of Doctors in Medicine at *Padua*, and practise Physick any where in the City and State of *Venice*.

6. The only Thing worth taking Notice of betwixt *Padua* and *Rovigo* is the Country, which is flat and fruitful, adorned with Vineyards, Groves, Meadows, and well-till'd Grounds, and water'd by many Rivulets. Upon the Road you see some Houses of Pleasure belonging to the *Venetians*, but the Country People about *Rovigo* dwell only in Huts made of Reeds. The City of *Rovigo* itself is very poor, and of no great Extent, and

and yet it is the Residence of the Bishop of *Adria*, that famous City, which imparted its Name to the Gulph, though now no more than a half-drown'd Village.

Ferrara is a large and beautiful City, but poor and ill Peopled: We went on Purpose to one of the best Places of the whole City, where four Streets meet, but could not perceive one Person in any of them, though the Country about it is one of the best in *Lombardy*, but wants Tillage for Want of Inhabitants, this fruitful Country being almost desolate, by the Severity of the Papal Government. *Ferrara* was united to the Ecclesiastical State under the Pontificate of *Clement VIII.* who built a very strong Citadel, which is still in good Repair. Of the ancient University of *Ferrara*, there remains only a poor College, belonging to the *Jesuits*. Near the Cathedral stand some Statues on Horseback of Brass; and directly over against the Palace of the Nobility is one of Duke *Hercules II.* on Horseback, on the Pedestal of which is an Inscription granting a Sanctuary to Criminals for Twenty Paces round it. We also saw the Ducal Palace, the House of the *Marquess de Villa*, and divers Churches and Convents, which have all their peculiar Beauties; and, among the rest, took Notice of the Tomb and Epitaph of *Ariosto*, in the Church of the *Benedictins*. In the Opera we heard a pretty little Songstress of Twelve or Thirteen Years of Age; most of the Boxes were fill'd with *Jesuits* and Clergymen.

From *Ferrara* to *Ravenna* is Fifty Miles; all the Way we saw not one Town or Village worth taking Notice of. The first Day's Journey was very passable, but afterward the Road becomes very deep, betwixt the Branches of the *Adige* and the *Po*: The ancient Geographers describe its Situation like that of *Venice*, amongst the Waters, and it is certain that this was the best Harbour the *Romans* were Masters of in the *Adriatick* Gulph, but since that time the *Lagunes* are dried up, and the Sea is at least three Miles from it, the City being now surrounded with the most fruitful Fields of *Italy*: Neither is there the least Doubt, but that the present *Ravenna* stands in the same Place where the ancient *Ravenna* was, there being in the Walls that face the Sea-side many great Iron Rings, by which they used formerly to fasten their Vessels; and the Ruins of the ancient Beacon are to be seen to this Day. This City is seated in a flat Country, is not above half as big as *Ferrara*, but meanly built, and as thinly peopled. Without the Walls, near the ancient Harbour, you see the *Mausoleum* erected to the Memory of *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths*, by *Amalasinth* his Daughter; it is since turned into a little Church call'd the *Rotunda*; it is covered with one hewn Stone of Thirty eight Foot Diameter, and Fifteen in Thickness, on the Top of which stood the Tomb of *Theodoric*, surrounded by the Statues of the Twelve Apostles, which were destroyed during the last Wars of *Lewis XII.* together with the Tomb of *Porphyry*, which since has been fix'd in the Wall of an ancient Palace within the City.

The Cathedral is a very ancient Structure, supported by Fifty six Pillars of Marble of the *Archipelago*, placed in a double Range on each Side. The Choir is vaulted with excellent *Mosaick* Work, where they shew you, as a precious Relick, one of the Stones with which *St. Stephen* was martyr'd. But the great Door of this Church is the most curious Thing, and deserves most a Traveller's Observation, being made of Planks of Vines, some of which are twelve Foot high, and Fourteen or Fifteen Inches broad; for it is to be observ'd, that hereabouts, in those Places that were formerly covered by the Sea, the Vines grow to a prodigious Bigness. In the Church of the *Theatins* (or *Jesuits*) they shew a little Window just over the Altar, with the Figure of a white Pigeon upon it, placed there, as they tell you, in Memory of a Miracle that happened at the Election of the second Bishop of *Ravenna*, after the Death of *S. Apollinarius*, when a Pigeon coming into the Window, perch'd upon him who was to be elected; and the same Thing happened Eleven Times after successively.

The Churches of *S. Vitalis*, *S. Apollinarius*, *S. Romu-*

aldus, and *S. Andrew* have many stately Pieces of *Marble* and *Porphyry*, brought from *Greece* during the Time of the *Exarchy*, or while under that Name it continued a Province of the *Greek Empire*. The Tomb of *Galla Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodosius the Great*, is to be seen in the Church of *S. Cel-sus*, between those of *Valentinian* and *Honorius*.

In the *Grand Place* you see a noble Statue of Brass of Pope *Alexander VII.* And at the other End of the same Square, two Columns, on which formerly stood the ancient Patron and the Arms of *Venice*, whilst *Ravenna* was under their Jurisdiction; the like Columns they erect in all Cities belonging to their State; but since that Time the Pope has put the Statutes of *S. Victor* and *Apollinarius* upon the same Columns. Near them, under a Portico, they shew the Gates of Brass, and some other Spoils, those of *Ravenna* took from those of *Pavia*.

We had scarce travel'd a good Hour from *Ravenna*, but we enter'd a Forest of Pine-trees, which is four Miles long, after which we travell'd within Sight of the Sea to the left, and the Marshes to the right.

Having passed the River *Savio* in a Ferryboat, we continued our Journey thro' the little City of *Cervia*, seated among the Bogs; the Inhabitants live by making of Salt. We dined at *Cosenate*, near the Sea-side, and before we had made three Miles more, came to the Banks of the famous River *Rubicon*, call'd also the *Pisatello*, and by some the *Frumicino*; and we were not a little surpriz'd to see our Coach pass it without a Bridge or Ferry-boat, yet *Lucan* in his Time gives it the following Character:

Fonte cadit modico, parvisque impellitur undis.

Within an Hour after we travel'd close along the Sea-shore, which was even, sandy and firm, without any Rocks or Shells, till within a Mile of *Rimini*, where we were forc'd to travel deeper into the Country, for the Conveniency of passing the River *Ariminum*, which washes the Walls of the City of *Rimini*; it is now call'd *Marechia*.

Rimini is a small and poor City, seated in a rich Country. On the Bridge of Marble are two entire Inscriptions, intimating, that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* were the Founders of this City, and that the triumphal Arch was built by the first. Behind the Gardens of the *Capuchins* are to be seen the Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and Five hundred Paces thence, without the City, a Brick Tower, which was the *Pharos* of the ancient Harbour, but is now encompassed with Gardens, the Sea being retir'd at least half a Mile thence.

The Church of *S. Francis* was built out of the Ruins of the Harbour, which was once one of the best in *Italy*. The Library of the Count *de Gambalunga* is numerous, but without any rare Books that deserve Notice. In the Midst of the Market is a Marble Pedestal with these Words upon it, *Caius Caesar Dict: Rubicone superato civili bell: Commilit: suos hic in foro Ar: adlocutus*. In another Place you see the brazen Statue of *Paul V.* and near it a curious Marble Fountain.

From *Rimini* we travel'd for fifteen Miles along the *Downs* betwixt the Sea and the Fields. As we passed thro' the Village *Catholica*, we found over the Portal of the great Church an Inscription, by which it appear'd that this Village receiv'd its Name from certain Orthodox Fathers, who, during the Council of *Rimini* in 359, compos'd, for the most part of *Arians*, used to perform their religious Service here, in Spite of that Assembly. About ten or twelve Miles thence, towards the *Apennines*, we discover'd the City and little Republick of *Marino* on the Top of a Mountain, at the Foot of which are the Limits of its Territories: This small and inconsiderable Commonwealth being below the Envy and Jealousy of its Neighbours, has maintain'd its Liberty for many Ages. The Country between *Catholica* and *Pesaro* is for seven Miles together very well inhabited and cultivated.

The City of *Pesaro* exceeds *Rimini* as well in Big-
nests

ness and the Pleasantness of its Situation, upon an easy Ascent, as in the Neatness and Beauty of its Buildings. Nothing can be more pleasant to the Eye, than the little Hills that surround it, with the agreeable Mixture of *Pastures, Vineyards, and Orchards*. Their Olives are very good, but their Figs are absolutely esteemed the best in *Italy*. Meat is so cheap here, that you may buy a Pound (which contains eighteen Ounces here) for less than a halfpenny; Bread and Wine are cheaper in Proportion than Meat; and as both the Sea and Rivers furnish them with Plenty of Fish, so this City abounds in all Things necessary for Life. Its Fortifications are none of the worst, considering they are after the old Fashion. In the Market-place is a fine Fountain, and a Statue of Pope *Urban VIII.* under whose Pontificate this City and the Dukedom of *Urbino* were incorporated with the Ecclesiastical State, as they have ever since continued.

From *Pesaro* we continued our Journey along the sandy Shore for seven Miles, as far as *Fano*. We saw Abundance of Walnuts, Chestnuts, Rushes, and many other Things, forced by the Winds from the neighbouring Rivers to this Shore. One of our Company, among the rest, took up here a certain little Fish call'd *Cavaletto* by the *Italians*, in *France, Cheval Marin*, or the *Sea-horse*: It is frequently to be met with in Cabinets, being easily dried and preserved; its Head and Neck has some Resemblance to those of a Horse. The *Italians* attribute to it a peculiar Quality of curing the Bite of a mad Dog, if eaten roasted, and applied to the affected Part, skin'd and beaten with Honey and Vinegar. *Fano* itself is a small but neat City, having nothing in it worth taking Notice of, except one Triumphant Arch, but the Inscription on it is quite defaced. It is composed of three distinct Gates.

About a Mile from *Fano* we travel'd over a wooden Bridge five or six hundred Paces long, built over the several Branches of the *Pongio*, which overflow all the circumjacent Country, when the Snow begins to melt on the *Apennines*; afterwards coasting along the Sea-side for fifteen Miles, we came to *Senegallia*, an old City, enclosed with a strong Wall, and some Bastions, but not very regular. Our Weariness, after a tedious Day's Journey, proved the Occasion of our good Fortune, without which we had run the same Danger that befel several of the Inhabitants, who were the same Night at a Play acted at the Governor's House, but the Arch, which supported the Stage, with some of the nearest Seats, being overladen, gave Way, and above thirty Persons were kill'd, and many more wounded by this Accident.

From *Senegallia* we kept still all along the Shore, but for seventeen Miles met with no Houses, except an old Castle and some Inns, about a hundred Paces from the Sea-side. Near a little Village call'd *Turreet*, about three Miles from *Ancona*, we turn'd into the Land-way, where we arrived in good Time. This City is seated upon a double Hillock, at the very Point of the Cape, being much larger than any of the four or five last-mentioned Cities, but not much richer, though the Excellency of its Harbour, and the Fertility of the adjacent Country seems to entitle it to Traffick, of which it had a sufficient Share formerly, but is much decayed of late Years, by being under the papal Dominion. The Streets of *Ancona* are both narrow and dark, and their Buildings but indifferent; besides that, its Situation up and down Hill renders it very inconvenient. The Citadel is seated on the first Hill, which commands both the City and Harbour; and on the other, which makes the Point of the Cape, stands the Church of *St. Cyriaca*, being a low dark Fabrick, the Front whereof is of Marble, but without any Ornament. Here they boast of the Body of *St. Ursula*, as well as those of *Cologne*, besides many other Saints and Relicks in high Veneration among the People. From hence we had a very delightful Prospect of the Sea, City, and Country at once.

At the Entrance of the Mole is a magnificent triumphal Arch of white Marble, erected to the Honour of *Trajan*, by the Senate, in Acknowledgement of the Charge he had been at in repairing this Harbour, as

the Inscription, which is not in the least defac'd, tells the Reader; but it was with some Difficulty defended from the Monks, who would often have demolish'd it to repair their Convents. The Exchange where the Merchants meet, is built in the Nature of a Portico of an indifferent Bigness; at the four Corners stand as many Statues, representing *Faith, Hope, Charity, and Religion*, the last of which was thrown down by an Earthquake, and the rest shaken. Before I leave *Ancona*, I must tell you something of the Oddness of the Dress of the Inhabitants: We saw the chiefest Burghers, on a Holiday, appear in a black Cloak lin'd with green, with blue or philamot Stockings, Shoes whiten'd with Chalk, and tied with Ribbons of all Sorts of Colours; their unbutton'd Doublets were embroider'd with divers Colours, and the great Sleeves of their Shirts hung down to their Fingers Ends. The ordinary Sort of Women wear a Kind of Coif, with a long Fringe hanging over their Faces; the Body of the Gown is generally red or yellow, fasten'd on four Sides with Laces, and trimmed all over with colour'd Galloon; their Waistcoats and Petticoats are both very short, and of various Colours. The Ladies of Quality imitate in their Dress the *French* Fashion, but after so awkward a Manner, that they appear more ridiculous than the others in their own Country Dress.

We observ'd another Custom upon this Road, which, they told us, runs from *Ferrara* all over *Italy*; I mean their Paper Windows, which being always torn, prove very inconvenient in the Winter, and afford a very odd Prospect to Foreigners, as well as very inconvenient. To compleat our Misery, they would commonly bring a Fricacy of three Eggs, and perhaps as many Pilchards, for a Supper for five or six Persons, and at last make us pay as dear as if we had had extraordinary good Cheer, our Dinner and Supper amounting generally to four Shillings a Head. The Flux and Reflux of the Sea increase and decrease according to the Distance from the Extremity of the Gulph; for at *Venice* the Tide rises about four Foot, near *Ravenna* to three, at *Pesaro* two, and scarce above one at *Ancona*, and so decreases till at last it comes to nothing.

7. The Country between *Ancona* and *Loretto* is the best in *Italy*, but the Roads the worst, which oblig'd us to alight several Times to ease the Coach. I don't question but you have seen several Accounts of our famous Lady of *Loretto*; but since Matters of this Nature are variously represented, the Curiosity of the Thing deserves very well an exact Abridgment of what I was able either to learn or see, which I will give you with great Fidelity. This House, so much celebrated among the *Roman Catholics*, is the same (if you will take their Word for it) in which the Virgin was born, where she was betroth'd and married to *Joseph*, where she receiv'd the Salute of the Angel, and where the Son of God was incarnate. This House was from *Nazareth* transported by the Angels into *Dalmatia*, and placed on the Hill of *Terfatto*, 10 May, 1291, where, after it had continued for three Years and seven Months, the Angels removed it from thence into the Middle of a Forest in the Territory of *Recanati*, Part of the Marquisate of *Ancona*; but this Wood being famous for many Robberies committed thereabouts, this *holy House* was, after eight Months, removed a third Time from thence, to the same Hill on which it now stands; but soon after a Controversy arising betwixt two Brothers, Coheirs of the Ground on which it stood, about the Possession of this House, it was in four Months after placed by the Angels some Paces from thence, in the high Road, where it is to be seen to this Day.

To prevent all Inconveniencies that might happen to so sacred a Place, they built a most sumptuous Church about it, in the Middle of which it stands free from all Injuries; and for its better Preservation, they have since erected four Walls, which enclose it on all Sides like a Box, without touching the Walls of the *Santa Casa*, or *Holy House*; all that Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, were able to perform in the Beginning of the last Age, has been bestow'd on this Fabrick, which is built of white Marble of *Carrara*, after the *Corinthian* Order, adorn'd

adorn'd with the most exquisite *Basso relievo*, in which the whole History of the Virgin is represented. Between the double Pillars are two Niches, one above the other ; the ten Niches below contain the Statues of the ten Prophets, and those above, the ten *Sybils*. In the Middle of this, the *Santa Casa*, or *holy House*, is enclos'd, which is only a single Chamber forty four Palms long within, eighteen broad, and thirteen high, each Palm and a half being equivalent to thirteen Inches of our *English* Measure. To make the Story of the Removal of this Hall or Chamber the more probable, they pretend it to be built of some unknown Stones ; but, upon the strictest Examination I could make, I found the same to be true Brick, of a different Bigness and unequal Shape, mix'd with some flat, greyish, or reddish Stones, which are very common here ; the whole is cemented with Lime and Sand, but the Pieces are ill join'd, as if it had been done in great Haste : The Mason's Work is almost open to View on the Inside, except in some Places, where you see certain Fragments of Plaster-work cover'd with Painting, representing the Virgin, with the little *Jesus* between her Arms ; this appears plainly in five or six different Places. The *holy House* stands from East to West, a Thing not much used in *Italy* ; on the East Side is a little Chimney, over which, in a Niche, stands the Image of the great Lady of *Loretto*, made, as they say, of Cedar Wood, and by the Hands of *St. Luke*, being about four Foot high. Her Ornaments are of an inestimable Value, and if we may believe those that live thereabouts, she has a great many Robes for Change, and seven different Mourning Habits for the Holy Week : Her triple Crown, which is all over cover'd with precious Stones, was the Present of *Lewis XIII.* King of *France* ; they told us this Distich was engraven upon it :

*Tu Caput ante meum cinxisti ; VIRGO, Coronæ
Nunc Caput ecce tenet nostra Corona tuum.*

He gave also a Crown to the Infant.

On both Sides of the Niche are Cupboards fill'd with ancient Ornaments of this Statue ; and in a little Window in the Wall, on the South-side, they shew you some earthen Dishes which were used by the holy Family ; some of these Vessels have since been edg'd with Gold, but that which they shew'd us was a Porringer with a silver Foot at the Bottom, done on Purpose to persuade the World that it was made of a strange Earth, whereas it is no more than Potters Ware, the Glazing whereof is not so nicely taken off, but that some Parts of it remain to be discover'd by a curious Eye. At the West-end, just opposite to our Lady, they shew you a Window of about three Foot square, through which the Angel enter'd : The present Arch of this House being of a modern Fabrick, I ask'd them what was become of the old Roof, but they could tell me no Tidings of it. Here are also two remarkable Things, which, they say, were transported at the same Time with the House, *viz.* the Altar made by the Apostle's own Hands, and the Stone on which *St. Peter* celebrated Mass the first Time ; it is cover'd with Silver, and kept as a precious Relick under the Altar where they usually officiate. The Floor of the *Santa Casa* is of Squares of red and white Marble ; but this is not the old Floor, because that was left, together with the Foundations, at *Nazareth*. This sacred Place has three Doors, two of which are at the End facing the East, and give Passage to cross from North to South ; here the Pilgrims are let in : The other is on the South-side, and leads to the Sanctuary, *i. e.* the Space between the Altar and the End of our Lady's Chamber.

To enumerate all the Riches of this Place, would be an endless Piece of Work, the infinite Number of precious Stones wherewith the Mantle of this Image is adorn'd, are alone sufficient to dazzle the Sight of the Spectators, besides that, all about you see nothing but Lamps, Statues, Busts, and other Figures of Gold and Silver, not including the twenty eight Candlesticks of Silver and Vermilion, and the twelve of massy Gold of twenty seven Pounds Weight each. They have a Custom

of exposing the last Offering of Value for a certain Time, before the Eyes of our Lady, in a Place made for that Purpose. That which we saw there was an Angel of Gold, with a Heart of the Bigness of an Egg in his Hands, set all over with Diamonds of a great Value. Our Conductor being an *English* Jesuit, did not forget to tell us, that it was a Present of the Queen of *England*, and that the said Princess had conceiv'd at the same Minute the said Present was offer'd to our Lady, and was then big with Child. He had taken the Pains to make a whole Copy of Verses upon this Subject, by way of Dialogue between our Lady and the Angel, and took a great deal of Care to recite them to us more than once with a audible Tone, and would at last force a Copy of them upon me. This Queen was *Mary of Este*, Consort to *James II.*

Round the Walls of the Chapel that enclose the *holy House*, you see a vast Number of branch'd Candlesticks, to illuminate the whole Fabrick : But the greatest Curiosity is the Processions of those Devotees, who crawl round the *holy House* upon their Knees, some five Times, others seven, and others twelve Times, according to the different Degrees of their Devotions ; some of these creep along from one Side, whilst others meet them coming from the other, but all furnish'd with Beads, and muttering *Pater nosters* ; but as they all covet to come nearest to the holy Place, this sometimes occasions no small Confusion, which is the Reason that this is never done but when there is only a slender Number of Pilgrims. The chief Resort is at *Easter*, and the Virgin's Nativity, which they celebrate in *September* : I had it from credible Hands, that in some Years they have had here above two hundred thousand Pilgrims during these two Feasts. It is no unpleasant Sight to observe the Caravans of these Pilgrims of both Sexes, who commonly come in Societies : As for Instance ; a certain Body of Men join at *Bologna*, each of whom has a Frock of coarse Linnen, and a Cawl of the same made like a Strainer for *Hippocras*, which covers their Head, leaving only three Holes for the Eyes and Mouth. They appear in different Colours, each Society chusing their own, but are all provided with Beads, Girdles, Pilgrims Staves, and the Arms of the Society, which are either painted or wrought on the Back and Breast of every Member of the Fraternity. They commonly ride on Asses. The Women appear in as rich Apparel as possibly they can, and fix to the Bodies of their Gowns a little Pilgrim's Staff of the Length of a Hand, some of which are of Gold and Silver, adorn'd with Gems and Pearls, others of Ebony, Ivory, &c. artificially wrought. The Ladies commonly ride in Calashes, attended by whole Squadrons of Ass-troopers.

After all the extraordinary Things that have been said of the *holy House*, the Treasury infinitely surpasses it in Riches ; this is a spacious Chamber or Hall, wainscotted, with ten large Presses with folding Doors, the arched Roof being a most curious Sort of Plaster, divided by gilt Compartments, beautified with excellent Pictures. Formerly they were glad to keep Abundance of Silver Work here, but the same having since given Place to Gold, is laid up elsewhere in great Heaps in private Places, and perhaps for private Uses. These Presses therefore are now quite fill'd up with nothing but pure Gold, precious Jewels, among which they shew a Pearl of an inestimable Value, shap'd after the Fashion of a *Gondola*, or such Vessels and Ornaments as exceed the Value of Gold and Gems, by their Rarity. It would be a Piece of Folly to attempt a particular Account of what exceeds even Imagination itself ; the best Idea I am able to give you of this Treasure is, that you must consider, that all the People, Princes and States, who acknowledge the papal Authority, have, for these four hundred Years past, endeavour'd to outvie each other in bestowing the richest Presents that could be had upon this *holy House*. They have, besides this, a settled Revenue, and vast Tracts of Land belonging to it ; and the Boxes in which they gather the Alms of the Pilgrims, furnish them every Year with more Money to make fresh Purchases. To excite the Charity of the Pilgrims, they do nor forget to give it out, that the annual Charges

of maintaining all that belong to the *holy House*, amounts to no less than 38634 Crowns, whereas their ordinary yearly Revenue is no more than 27000 Crowns.

From the Treasury we were conducted to a little Arsenal, which has scarce any thing remarkable but some Arms taken from the *Turks*, who about fifty Years before (under the Reign of *Mahomet II.* and *Selim*) made a Descent thereabouts, to plunder this sacred Place, but were struck blind by our Lady, as they were endeavouring to break into the House. From the Windows of this Arsenal they shew you that Part of the Sea over which the House was carried by the Angels; and our Jesuit made most solemn Protestations, that ever since there remains a certain white Tract on the Water, and that he had often observed it. I can't pass by in Silence, that as we were going towards the *holy House*, the Rabble flock'd about us, telling us, that we must not approach the holy Place without confessing and communicating, unless we would throw ourselves into manifest Danger of sudden Death.

From hence we went to the great Wine Cellar, stor'd with an hundred and fifty Tuns of excellent Wine. And in the *Apothecary's* Office they shew'd us an hundred and forty five earthen Vessels, highly esteem'd, because they believe them to have been painted by *Raphael*. On five of the largest are painted *St. Paul* and the four *Evangelists*, the rest being adorn'd with the Histories of some Saints, the Metamorphoses of *Ovid*, &c. The City of *Loretto* is but small, yet well fortified, and has the Title of a Bishoprick. In the *Great Place* stands a most noble Fountain of Marble, beautified with divers Brass Statues, and another erected by the Citizens of *Loretto*, in Acknowledgment of certain Privileges granted them by Pope *Sixtus V.* The Inhabitants get their Livelihood by making and selling Medals, Rosaries, sanctified Beads, Images, *Agnus Dei's*, Measures of the Height of the Image of our Lady, and such Trifles. They sell here Chaplets, the Beads of which were as big as Goose-Eggs, and are used on Days of extraordinary Devotion. The Tradition of the Removal of the *holy House* is so stedfastly maintain'd in this Place, that there is scarce an Inhabitant so mean, but pretends to be descended from the Race of those that saw the *holy House* fix'd where now it is, by which Means they transplant this Tradition from Father to Son *in infinita*.

8. Travelling from hence through *Recanati*, a little City seated on the Top of a Hill, three Miles from *Loretto*, I look'd into the great Church, where I could see nothing worth mentioning but the Tomb of Pope *Gregory XII.* who was deposed from the Pontificate by the Council of *Pisa*. Ten Miles further, in a most fertile Country, on the Bank of the *Potenza*, we pass'd thro' the Ruins of the City formerly known by the Name of *Hebvia Ricina*, where we saw vast Fragments of an Amphitheatre built of Stone and Brick mingled together. We travel'd on this Side of the River for two Miles among the Hills, till we came to *Macerata*, where we lodg'd that Night; it being foul Weather, we could not stir abroad, but were told by the Inhabitants, that it was a pretty large and pleasant Place. The Country between *Macerata* and *Tolentino* lies all upon a Level, and is extremely fruitful, but very indifferently peopled. They prop their Vines with Reeds, and plough with Boufflos, these Beasts being stronger than Oxen, and easier fed.

Tolentino is seated on a rising Ground; for the rest, a Place that has nothing remarkable belonging to it. The next Place we came to was *Belfort*, built all of Stone: A Mile beyond it begins the Province of *Umbria*, where we enter into the *Apennine*. I remember we fell into the Company of a Gentleman, who was going from *Macerata* to *Foligno*, who, after some Discourse relating to the Lady of *Loretto*, told us, among other Things, that they were extremely pleas'd in *Italy* at the News they had lately received from *England*, that their King was turn'd Christian. I desir'd him to explain his Meaning, which he did in such Terms, that I could not but stand amaz'd at his Ignorance, his Notions of the *Protestants* being very near the same the *Pagans* entertain'd of the *Primitive Christians*, so that

with all the Art I had, I could not persuade him that we used Baptism among us: This Simplicity is so universal in this Country, that they are more ignorant of our Religion than the *Chinese* themselves, in which they are encourag'd by their Clergy, who leave no Stone unturn'd to make the *Protestants* odious to the People at any rate.

After we had left *Tolentino*, we travel'd for forty Miles among the Rocks; the chief Villages we took Notice of in our Way, were *Valcimara*, *Ponte di Trava*, *Matia*, *Dignano*, *Colfiorito*, *Casa Nuova*, &c. We left the Mountains near the Village of *Pala*, from whence we discover'd the Plain of *Foligno*, which affords the most delightful Prospect from the Hill, being water'd with many Rivulets, well inhabited, and extraordinarily improv'd; so that we had no sooner quitted the Mountains, but we found ourselves, as it were, on a sudden, in a sweet and agreeable Climate, where we saw the Almond-trees already in Blossom, after we had scarce recover'd our selves from the Cold of the frosty Rocks. Having continued our Journey for four Miles in a continual easy Descent, we came into a narrow level Way, on one Side whereof runs a small and clear River, at the End of which lies *Foligno*, in the most fertile Country in the World; it has the Reputation of a better Traffick than most of the other Cities in the Ecclesiastical State; their Trade consists chiefly in Draperies, Gold and Silver Laces, Silk Stuffs, and Spices. Soon after we came out of *Foligno*, we discover'd, on the other Side of the Plain, upon an Eminency, the Town of *Montefalco*, famous for the Interment of *St. Clara*. They shew here the three Stones of the Bigness of small Nuts, said to be found in the Heart of that Saint, upon which the History of the Passion is engrav'd. Near the Village of *Pesignano*, between *Foligno* and *Spoletto*, at the Foot of the Hill which encloses the Plain, a large Spring arises through four several Outlets from under the Rocks, which make a small Lake by their Conjunction, and thence send forth a pleasant Rivulet, which waters the adjacent Country.

Not above two hundred Paces from the Spring-head, you see, near the Road, a small Temple of the *Corinthian* Order, called *St. Salvatore*, where the Bishop of *Spoletto* says Mass once a Year. We observed the three following Inscriptions on the Front, and on both Sides;

(1.) + S. C. S. *Deus Profetarum qui fecit Redemptionem.*

(2.) *Deus Angelorum qui fecit Resurrectionem.*

(3.) + S. C. S. *Deus Apost * * **

the rest being quite defac'd; which together with its Manner of building Cross-wise and Eastward, as most other Churches, and the Crosses carv'd in divers Parts of the Pediments, sufficiently contradict the Opinion of those who would have this Temple to have been consecrated to *Clitumnus*, though perhaps it may have been erected upon or out of the Ruins of that of *Clitumnus*. But it is much more probable what I heard a skilful Antiquary say at *Spoletto*, viz. that the River before-mentioned is the *Clitumnus* mention'd by the Ancients, and among the rest, by *Virgil*, in the second of his *Georgicks*.

From *Pesignano* to *Spoletto* you travel for seven Miles in a plain Country, at the Foot of the Hills, full of Inhabitants. *Spoletto* is seated within the Mountains, beyond the before-mention'd Plain, a poor, ill-built, and thinly-peopled City. The Cathedral is celebrated for its Height, which however is not extraordinary. The Pavement is inlaid with small Pieces of Marble, like *St. Mark's* Church at *Venice*, and the Pediment of the great Portal is very fine *Mosaick* Work on a golden Ground. The Castle is seated on the highest Ground, and has nothing to boast of but its Situation. About five hundred Paces without the City, is a Church consecrated to *Concord*, and since called the Chapel of the Crucifix. *Spoletto* has also some Remnants of Antiquity, a triumphal Arch half ruin'd, and the Fragments of an Amphitheatre with divers loose Marble Stones, without

without Inscriptions, except that the Arch still retains a few Characters. The most remarkable Thing here is, the Aquaduct, which joins the Mountain of St. Francis to that of *Spoletto*. It is a *Gothick* Work, and remains entire and useful to this Day: Its Length is three hundred and fifty Paces, and its Height, from the Bottom of the Valley, two hundred and thirty.

Three Miles beyond *Spoletto* we pass'd the highest Mountain hereabouts, called *Semma*; and after we had travel'd about five or six Miles among the barren Rocks, we found the succeeding Hills, for four or five Miles, covered with Lawrels, wild Olive Trees, Tamarinds, Junipers, ever-green Oaks, and divers other sempervirent Trees and Shrubs, which is very pleasant. At our Approach to *Terni*, the Mountains, which had enclosed us in a streight Passage upon the Brink of a Torrent, which runs at the Bottom of the Valley, extended themselves by Degrees to a great Forest of Olive-trees laden with Fruit, which they generally suffer to hang till they drop off themselves: The Olives for Pickling are gathered before they are ripe, and their Bitterness is removed by Art; the ripe are as bitter as the green ones, notwithstanding which they produce the sweetest Liquor that can be imagined.

From this Wood of Olives we travel'd for a Mile in an agreeable Plain, which brought us to *Terni*, seated upon the River *Nera*, in a most fruitful Country. This City is not so large in Compass as *Spoletto*, but much more populous; they sell Abundance of Oyl: We were told, that during six Months of the Year they make here an hundred Charges of Oil every Day, each Charge weighing six hundred Pounds, and is generally sold at the Rate of twelve *English* Crowns. By an Inscription to be seen on the Porch of the Seminary near the Cathedral, it appears, that it may contend for its Antiquity with *Rome* itself; the Inscription being made for *Tiberius*, is dated thus;

Post Interamniam conditam DCCIII.

Terni being anciently called *Interamna* and *Interamnium*, from its Situation *inter amnes*, or the two Branches of the River that waters it. On the Bridge is to be seen another Inscription, put there in the Time of Pope *Urban* the Eighth, intimating, that this Bridge was built by *Pompey the Great*. About three Miles from *Terni* is the famous Waterfall of Mount *del Marmore*; the Way that leads up to it is very rocky, so that we were forced to alight often from our Horses. By the Way we observed, on the South Side of the Mountain, divers Corners, which never felt the Rigour of the Winter-Season, and among the Busto's Abundance of *Jesmins*, *Lawrels*, *Myrtles*, *Rosemary* as fresh then (in February) as they are with us in April.

As we were ascending the Hill *Papinio*, we observed, in a Valley near the Bank of a River, a Tract of Ground planted with at least seven hundred Orange-trees, a Thing rarely to be seen in the open Field, where they have no Shelter. But to return to our Cataract. The River *Valerio* has its Rise among the Mountains, twelve or thirteen Miles from the Place where the Water falls down. At about nine Miles from its head Spring it falls into the Lake of *Luco*, whence continuing its Current, with a much larger Stream than before, to a Plain, which, in respect of the Depth below it, proves a Mountain, it falls with great Force down from a craggy Rock three hundred Paces high, into the Concavity of another Rock underneath it, against which the Waters break with such a violent Agitation, that it rises like a Cloud of Dust twice as high as the Fall, and occasions a Kind of perpetual Rain in all the adjacent Parts: The Repercussion of the Sun-beams in this pulverized Water produces an infinite Number of Rainbows, according to the various rebounding and spurting of this watery Cloud, the Sight whereof fills the Spectators with Amazement; at last all these Waters gather into an Abyss, occasioned by the continual Falling down of the Waters, and from thence break forth with incredible Force through the Crevices of divers Rocks, and so continuing their Course with a murmuring Noise a little fur-

ther, at last join themselves with the little River *Nera*, which is much enlarged by the Accession of these Waters.

From *Terni* to *Narni* you travel for seven Miles thro' a plain and fertile Country; it affords an indifferent good Prospect from the adjacent Hills on the Side you come from *Terni*, but deceives you in your Expectation after you come into it, being in a Manner destitute of Inhabitants, with narrow dirty Streets, and so uneven, that you cannot go five Steps without ascending or descending; and their Paper Windows make a verry beggarly show. I took Notice *en passant* of two tolerable handsome Fountains of Brass. The Emperor *Nerva* was a native of this City. A little before you enter the City, you see the Ruins of a Bridge, said to have been built under the Reign of *Augustus*: It is admirable both for its Height and Structure, because, after having joined the Mountain of *Spoletto* to another neighbouring Mount, it ends in the high Road towards *Pemsa*. The vast Pieces of Marble, which are the Materials of this Bridge, are joined together without any Cement or Iron-work: It hath four or five Arches, of which only one remains entire, the Top of the Mould of the largest being broken. I was credibly inform'd, that this Arch is a hundred and seventy Foot in Extent, which, if so, far exceeds the celebrated Bridge of *Rialto*.

We had no sooner left *Narni*, but we found ourselves again among the Mountains. Thus traveling on for eight Miles, we came to the Town of *Otricoli*, near which, at the Entrance of a Plain, are to be seen the Ruins of the ancient *Otriculum*; but we could find nothing worth our Observation among them. Not long after we pass'd the *Tyber* over a Stone Bridge that owes its Foundation to *Sixtus V.* and its Perfection to *Urban VIII.* as the Inscription tells you. We came very late to *Citta Castellana*, and departed again early in the Morning, this Place having nothing that could invite us to stay therein. Near to *Regnano* we found the old *Via Flaminia*, with its Pavement entire, having not perceived any Footsteps of it before since we left *Rimini*, to which Place it extended itself, as ancient Authors inform us. After we had dined at *Castel Nuova*, an inconsiderable Place as well as *Regnano*, we continued our Journey to *Rome*, through an infinite Number of ancient Ruins; but most of the Country lay untill'd, and almost destitute of Inhabitants. Having repass'd the *Tyber* by the *Pons Milvius*, (as the ancient Authors call it) since by Corruption call'd *Ponte Molle*, we came upon a paved Way, which brought us betwixt many Gardens and Summer-seats, to the famous City of *Rome*.

9. After we had rambled two or three Days about *Rome*, good Company invited us to hasten our intended Journey for *Naples*, which is reckon'd eight Days distant from *Rome*. About twelve Miles from this City we came to *Marino*, a great Town now belonging to the Prince *Colonna*, and formerly known by the Name of *Villa Mariana*. From *Marino* we ascended a rocky Mountain, where we saw nothing but Wood and Boufflos: Of the Lake of *Castel Gandolfo*, which we coasted near an Hour, we shall have Occasion to speak in our Return. About five Miles after we had left the Lake, at the Descent of the Mountain, we discovered the Sea, and on our Right Hand, on a little Hillock, the City call'd *Citta de la Vigna*, being the ancient *Lavinium*, a Municipal City, which gave Birth to *Antoninus Pius*, but not the *Lavinium* of *Aeneas*, according to the common Opinion: *Lavina littora* is twelve Miles thence, towards *Prattica*.

It was late before we reached *Velitri*, a little City seated on a Hill, and surrounded by a Wall; it was anciently a considerable Place, when it durst strive with *Rome* itself, but now makes a very indifferent Figure. The People here are generally of Opinion, that *Augustus* was a Native of this City; and one of the Servants in the Inn was so communicative as to tell us so; but being ask'd who that *Augustus* was, he answer'd, He was the first Christian Emperor; for you must observe, that nothing is more common in *Velitri*, among the

Italians,

Italians, than to canonize all the illustrious Men of Antiquity, whether *Christians* or *Pagans*. It is certain that *Augustus* was born at *Rome*, under the Consulate of *Cicero* and *Anthony*, as *Suetonius* positively affirms: It is however true, that his Family deduced its Origin from *Velitri*, *Gentem Octaviam Velitris præcipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant*. The same Author tells us, that the Chamber in which he was nurs'd, near *Velitri*, was held in the same Veneration as now the holy House of *Loretto*: *Huc introire, says he, nisi necessariò & castè religio est. Temerè adeuntibus metus & horror objiciebatur*. In the Midst of the Market-place of *Velitri* stands a curious Brazen Statue of Pope *Urban VIII.* sitting, as generally all the Statues of Popes are represented, to denote (as I suppose) their Superiority over other Princes. The Marquess de *Ginetti's* House is worth viewing, both for its pleasant Situation, and the many Antiquities preserved there; which are fine and judiciously chosen.

Descending from the Hill of *Velitri*, we took Notice of a great many Caves dug on purpose to keep their Wines cool; after which we travel'd for fifteen Miles through a poor Country, to the Foot of the Mountain, on the Top whereof stands the little City of *Lermonetta*, built upon the Ruins of the old *Lera*. About four Miles further we saw, on the Left Hand, about fifty Paces from the Highway, certain ancient Ruins, which they told us were the Remains of the Place called by *St. Paul* the *Three Shops*, but now the *Three Taverns*. On the Right Hand we discover'd the Cape called now-a-days *Monte Circello*, supposed by some to have been an Island formerly: Here it was that the jealous *Circe* changed her Rival *Scylla*, the Mistress of *Glaucus*, into a Sea Monster, and *Ulysses's* Companions into Hogs. A little Way from the *Three Taverns* you see the City of *Letia*, seated on a Mountain; its ancient Fame for the Goodness of its Wine is now quite lost, the Mountain producing nothing of that Nature at present. It is true, the Woods, wherewith these Mountains are almost covered, produce Abundance of those Trees, called *Ficus Indica*, some of which grow up to the Height of thirty or forty Foot, with Trunks as thick as a Man: *Lawrels* and *Myrtles* you find in great Plenty in the Hedges, and Abundance of Orange Trees in the open Field.

Not far from *Letia*, at the Village of *Casa Nuova*, you may take Boat upon the Lake, which brings you to *Terracina*, but we continued our Journey by Land, and turning to the Left, entred into a Valley, which brought us to the Mountain and City of *Piperno*. In our Passage thither I observed a Churchyard planted with Orange-trees, a Thing not usually seen in *Italy*, where all People of Fashion have their Chapels or Vault in some Church or Convent, and the poorer Sort are buried in some private Corner, without the Cities; besides, whenever they have any Churchyards, they plant them with Pines, Yew-trees or Cypressess, but never with Orange-trees.

Piperno is a modern City, built near the Place where the ancient *Privernum* stood, the Metropolis of the *Volsi*, and the Residence of their King *Metabus*, Father to the famous *Camilla*. The Bishoprick of *Piperno* was united with that of *Terracina*, by reason of its Poverty: They keep the Bishop's Chair in the Choir of the Cathedral. In the Church of *St. Benedict* they shew you an Image of our Lady, made by *St. Luke*, which, they say, could not be burnt at the Time of the Conflagration of *Piperno*. On the Hill of *Piperno*, called *Colle rosso*, the Lilies and Daffodils grow naturally in great Plenty: This Hill also affords a peculiar fine Earth for Potters Ware. From the Top of this Hill you may see a little City called *Mayença*, near which is a Lake, the Waters whereof rise considerably two Days before Rain.

From *Piperno* we travel'd over sandy Hillocks, cover'd with various Sorts of sempervive Shrubs; we got afterwards into a Wood, where we saw Abundance of Cork-trees much resembling an ever-green Oak, and, to speak Truth, I believe it to be a Kind of Oak, since it bears Acorns: It has this peculiar Quality, that the more you strip it of its Bark, the stronger it grows,

and produces immediately a new one, which renders it very profitable. Soon after we came out of the Wood, we went to see the Abby of *Fossa Nuova*, said to be built upon the Ruins of the *Forum Appii*, about some three hundred Paces from the high Road. The Story the Monks told us concerning *Thomas Aquinas* is a very odd one; they affirm, that the said *Thomas Aquinas*, in his Way from *Fondi* to the Council of *Lyons*, finding himself very ill, alighted from his Mule, and fastning a Stick in the Ground, tied his Mule to it, whilst he laid himself down to sleep in a Corner of the Wood not far from the Church; the Mule getting loose, ran strait to the Church, and setting his Feet in the Choir, sunk in an instant into the Pavement, where he died. They shew you the Print of his Feet, over which they have laid an Iron Grate. However, as they search'd after the Master, to chastise him for his Negligence, they met with *St. Thomas*, who was so afflicted at the Loss of his Mule, that he died within a few Days after in this Convent, where his Body was entomb'd in the Church, and was from thence afterwards removed to *Fondi*, and from *Fondi* to *Tholouse*.

About ten Miles thence we began to discover certain Remnants of the ancient high Road call'd *Via Appia*, made by *Appius Claudius* when he was Cenfor: You see it come out of a deep Marsh, which is at present inaccessible, whereas formerly it was the direct and common Road from *Capua* to *Rome*; a convincing Instance of the perpetual Vicissitude of worldly Things. The same Thing we observed in our Way betwixt *Citta Castellana* and *Rome*, of the *Via Flaminia*, of which we saw now and then considerable Tracts preserved entire, as on this Side *Regnano*, and towards *Castel Nuova*, fifteen Miles from *Rome*; whereas in other Places it mounts up to inaccessible Mountains, and in other Places it is swallowed up in deep Marshes and Valleys, occasioned questionless by Winds, Rains, great Floods, Earthquakes, and other such-like Accidents, which produce such stupendious Changes upon the Surface of the Earth.

In my Opinion these famous Roads are more surprising than most other Pieces of Antiquity, considering that an infinite Number of Passengers, Horses and Chariots should incessantly, for so many Ages, tread on this Pavement, and yet so many considerable Fragments of it remain entire. The Stones which compose this Pavement are not all of the same Bigness, (*Procopius* says they were all square, but he is in an Error) of a grey and reddish Colour, not unlike rusty Iron, very hard, and ten or twelve Inches thick; generally speaking, those of the largest Size are above two Foot, and the least not less than one. Notwithstanding the great Difference in their Shape and Figure, they have been join'd so nicely, that in those Places, where the Pavement is quite entire, you cannot thrust the Point of a Sword betwixt them. These Ways, which they call *Vie Consulares*, had on each Side Borders of the same Stone raised about two Foot above the rest: I have observed them very entire in some Places: They called them *Cippo* or *Margines*, or *Marginationes Viarum*; and it is betwixt these Borders the true Breadth of these Highways ought to be taken, according to which I found the two Ways, *Via Appia* and *Via Flaminia*, twenty Palms broad, with very little Difference, which makes fourteen Foot, bating four Inches, *English* Measure. In some Places you see Ruts made by the Chariot-wheels three or four Inches deep, the Tract whereof, from one Pavement to another, is the surest Mark of its ancient Situation; for the rest, the Pavement is whole and even, without any visible Impressions made by the Horseshoes. They told us, that the Foundation of this Pavement was another very thick Lay of Stone, fix'd on a Bed of Sand, which keeps it from sinking. All along the Road to *Terracina* are to be seen the Ruins of many ancient Monuments, erected formerly for Ornament Sake, as on other great Roads.

Trachina (so call'd from its Situation upon a Rock of difficult Access) or *Terracina* is the *Anxur* of the Ancients, now a poor and ill-peopled Place, seated in a desolate Country. A little beyond *Terracina* one may plainly

plainly discover divers Parts of the Pavement of the *Via Appia* to have been cut through the Rock called *Pisca Marina*, which being near a hundred twenty six Foot high, the ancient Cyphers are mark'd from ten to ten in a capital *Roman* Character, on the Inside of the Rock, which is cut perpendicular; so that the Cypher on the Top is CXX. A certain Antiquary of *Rome* told me, that having measured these Distances, he found them almost all unequal; whence some conjecture, that these Marks were only made for the Direction of the head Workman, without any farther Design. Others are of Opinion, that the Distance of each Cypher marks the Division of the Work of every ten Days, and that the Inequality must arise from the greater or less Difficulty the Workmen met with in cutting the Stone. The Narrowness of the Rock towards the Top, and the greater Distance in Proportion to it, seem to confirm this Opinion, were it not that, according to this Supposition, the first Tenth must have been mark'd above, and the Cypher CXX at the Bottom, it being very probable that they begun at the Top of the Rock. We continued our Journey over the Hills cover'd with Cork-trees, the Marshes and the Sea on our Right; and thus keeping near the old Pavement, we arrived at Night at *Fondi*. In our Way, about three Miles beyond *Terracina*, we saw an old Wall, which, they told us, was the Boundary between the Ecclesiastical State and the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Fondi is seated in a flat Country, not far from a Lake bearing the same Name, which extends itself into a large Compass among the Marshes, betwixt the Hills and the Sea. The Eels of this Lake are highly celebrated for their extraordinary Bigness. This City was entirely ruined in 1534, by *Hariaden Barbarossa* Admiral of the *Turkish* Fleet, the History of which is painted in the Church of the *Annunciata*. *Fondi* is paved with the Stones taken from the *Via Appia*, but are not near so exactly joined. Not far from the Castle they shew you a Garden which (they say) belonged to *Cicero*. The *Dominicans* preserve, with a great deal of Veneration, the Chamber and Auditory of *Thomas Aquinas*, as also an old Orange-tree which he planted; he died in 1273, so that certainly this is the oldest Orange-tree that ever was heard of. I remember they told us strange Things of this Tree, and among the rest, that its Leaves were of a quite different Shape from those of other Orange-trees; but we could not find the least Difference, and were convinced by our own Eyes, that the Winter had not spared the Oranges of this Tree, any more than the rest in other Places. After we had left *Fondi*, we travel'd for ten Miles upon the old Pavement to *Mola*, among the Mountains.

Near *Itru*, a small City seated upon a Rock about six Miles from *Fondi*, I took Notice of certain large Trees, called thereabouts *Soucellè*; the Fruit is a Cod of half a Foot long, of the Thickness of a Bean-cod; they dry them, and then they taste like Honey or Manna; their true Name is *Carobba*. About Ten o'Clock in the Morning we came to *Mola*, a little City seated upon the Sea-shore: Here are to be seen vast Heaps of Marble Stones and other Ruins, of *Formiæ* once a glorious Place, built by *Antiphates* King of the *Lestrygons*. The Air is infinitely sweet here, and the Hills on the Gulph between *Cajeta* and *Mola* produce most excellent Fruits and Wines, as the Sea affords them vast Quantities of Fish. They shewed us in particular the Ruins of a certain old Palace, which, they tell you, belonged to *Cicero*, and was for the most part destroyed by the Sea. The various Pieces of *Mosaick*, which are plainly to be distinguished yet in several Parts, sufficiently testify it was no ordinary Structure; and they assure you, with a great deal of Confidence hereabouts, that certain Inscriptions have been taken from thence, which made it plainly appear to be *Cicero's*.

It blowing then a very brisk Gale, we were at a Stand whether we should venture over the little Gulph (which is four Miles broad) to *Gaieta*, seated on the very Point of the Cape, directly opposite to *Mola*; but at last having resolved on the Passage, we found *Gaieta* of a pretty large Extent, strong by Art and Nature, by

its difficult Access upon the high Rock. The Harbour is also very good. Here is to be seen the Tomb of *Charles of Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, who was slain in the Sacking of *Rome* by the Imperial Forces: And the ancient *Mausoleum* of *Munatius Plancus*, commonly called the Tower of *Orlando*. The Epitaph of the first is as follows:

Aucto Imperio, superatâ Italiâ, devictò Gallo, pontifice obfesso, Româ captâ, Bourbonii hoc marmor cineres continet. i. e.

The Empire enlarged, Italy subdued, the Gaul beaten, the Pope besieged, Rome taken, the Ashes of BOURBON, (by whom all this was done) this Marble contains.

From hence we were conducted to the Cleft Mountain called *La Spaccata*, just at the Edge of the Sea-shore: It is separated from the Top quite to the Bottom, where it is about four or five Foot asunder, but grows broader and broader towards the Height: The Concavities on one Side, and the Protuberances on the other, directly opposite to one another, seem to be evident Marks of its being really divided, which, they say, happened at the Time when our Saviour gave up the Ghost. Upon one of the Insides of this Rock they shew you the Print of a Hand, which softened under it on the Challenge of a certain incredulous Person: Beneath it you see this Distich:

*Improba mens verum renuit, quod fama fatetur
Credere: at hoc digitis saxa liquata probant.*

*Th' unbelieving Mind the Truth denies
Tradition proves: The Rock new Proof supplies.*

This Rock being a famous Pilgrimage, there are small Steps contrived, which lead down to a little Chapel dedicated to the holy Trinity. The Curate would have given us some Pieces he cut off with a Hammer; but finding us not willing to overcharge ourselves with such Sort of Baggage, he seem'd to be offended at our Refusal, and at the losing his own Pains.

From thence taking our Way to the Cathedral, we were shew'd, among other Antiquities, a pretended Pillar of the Temple of *Solomon*; four such-like are to be seen at the high Altar of *St. Mark's* Chapel at *Venice*. Here is also a very ancient Vessel of white Marble, said to have been found at *Mola*, which now serves instead of a Font in the Baptistry: It is a most curious Piece, and most admirably preserved: Its Shape resembles a Bell about four Foot high, supported by four Lyons of the same Materials. The *Basso relievo* is esteemed excellent Workmanship, especially the little *Bacchus* rising out of *Jupiter's* Thigh, put by *Mercury* into the Hands of *Ino*. All round it you see *Satyrs* and *Bacchanals*, and among the rest a *Faunus* playing on two Pipes at once, as I have seen the Shepherds do in *Tyrol*; the Workman's Name is engraven on the Vessel, ΣΑΛΠΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. Not far from the Garden of the *Franciscans*, call'd *Zoccolanti*, is a Bush of Thorns, which has scarce any Pricks, which they say has grown thus ever since *St. Francis* rowl'd himself there to extinguish his Lust. Near the Place called *Della Foglia*, they shew you where he preached to the Fish.

As you go up by the little Door of the Episcopal Palace, over-against the Altar of the *Holy Sacrament*, there is a Marble Statue of about four Palms high, representing an old Man setting his Feet upon a little Dog, underneath which is a Death's Head, and a Serpent whose Tail is placed on the Dog, wraps itself about the old Man, and rests on his Head, and has an Eagle on his. This is generally supposed to be the Statue of *Æsculapius*, with his Serpent, the Dog signifying Vigilance required in a Physician, and the Eagle the Empire of God; the Death's Head is an Emblem of human Nature, subject to that Deity, or the Object of the Art of Physick. After a short Stay at *Gaieta*

we return'd to *Mola*, and then coasting the Sea upon the *Via Appia* for eight Miles, came to the Ruins of the ancient City of *Minturna*, in the Neighbourhood of which *Marius* shelter'd himself after his Army had been defeated by *Sylla*, as History informs us.

We took Notice in our Passage of the Ruins of an old Amphitheatre, and the Remnants of an Aqueduct which came from the little City of *Tajetto*, two Miles further on the Left Hand. The River *Garigliano* (formerly call'd *Lyris*) runs just by *Minturna*; we pass'd it in a Ferry-boat, and quitting the old troublesome and slippery Pavement, travel'd through the Meadows to the Village of *St. Agatha*, where we lodg'd that Night. The Country between this Village and *Capua* (which is sixteen Miles) is very level, and extremely fruitful near *Capua*. Not far from *St. Agatha* they shew'd us, at some Miles Distance, the Hills which formerly produced the famous *Falernian* Wine, that inspired the *Roman* Poets, but are at present barren.

Capua is seated upon the Bank of the *Volturno*, the chief River of the Kingdom of *Naples*, though of an indifferent Bigness; it has various Inscriptions and Marble Stones, brought thither from the ancient *Capua*, the Ruins whereof we visited, about two Miles from thence, near the Mountains to the Eastward, the Town called *St. Mary's* being built out of the Ruins of this once so celebrated City: The many little Temples and old Castles, the Remnants of two Amphitheatres, one of the Gates, and a great Number of broken Pillars, and other magnificent Fragments of Architecture, are undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Country People brought us Variety of Medals to sell, but as they are cunning enough to carry the best to the Antiquaries of the neighbouring Cities, who pay them a good Rate for them, so they seldom offer any Thing but their Refuse to Travellers. The Campaign betwixt *Capua* and *Naples* (which is sixteen Miles, and Part of the Province of *Terra di Lauro*) is perhaps the most fruitful Soil in the World, whence it is that they have given it the Name of *Campagna Stellata*, to signify the benign Influence of the Stars upon this Country, as if Fertility proceeded wholly from thence. Among other Places we pass'd through *Aversa*, built (as they tell you) out of the Ruins of *Atella* by the *Normans*, after they had driven the *Saracens* and *Greeks* out of *Naples*.

The City of *Naples* was rebuilt by the *Cumani*, who gave it the Name of *Νεάπολις*, to distinguish it from the Remnants of the high City, unto which they gave the Name of *Παλαιόπολις*, for both were before that Time called *Parthenope*, from the Mermaid *Parthenope*, who, after *Ulysses* and his Companions had escaped her Snare, threw herself, out of Despair, headlong from a Precipice, and was interr'd at *Palaiopolis*; though some others derive its Etymology from *Parthenope* the Daughter of *Eumelus* King of *Thessaly*, who settled a Colony there, and changed its ancient Name into that of *Parthenope*. These *Grecian* Names seem sufficiently to evince, that the *Greeks* were the Founders of this City, which is very large and populous, though I am not able to give you an exact Account of the Number of its Inhabitants: Its Figure is very irregular, and its Circuit, according to the Computation of some who have walk'd round the Wall, is about nine Miles, not including the Suburbs, which, amounting to nine more, make the whole Circumference up eighteen: It is pav'd all over with square Stones of the same Bigness, the Streets being generally straight and broad, the Houses lofty, flat-roof'd and uniform, in which it exceeds the Buildings of *London*, *Paris*, *Venice*, and even *Rome* itself, all which have very fine Palaces, but these are mix'd with a great Number of ordinary Houses, whereas at *Naples* they are, generally speaking, very handsome Fabricks. To the South it is enclosed by a little Bay, and to the North by very fertile Hills, which rise, by an easy Ascent, into *Campagna Felice*; to the East lies the Plain which leads to Mount *Vesuvius*, and on the West Side the high Town, where are the *Chartreux*, and the Castle of *St. Erasmus*, the Prospect of which Ascent is very charming to the Beholders.

Besides these fine private Houses, there are a great many may be rank'd among the Number of the best Palaces; as for instance, those of the Dukes of *Matalone*, *Gravina*, *Airola*, and *de la Tour*; of the Princes of *St. Agatha*, *Montmilet*, *Botera*, and *Cellamare*; the Palace of the Viceroy stands in a Great Place, its Front is very regular, and adorned with three Orders of Architecture; its whole Length is near four hundred foot, and was built by the famous *Montana*. The three Castles of *Naples*, the Academy called *Studii Nuovi*, the School for riding the great Horse, the Convents in general, the Hospitals, the Arsenal, and the Magazines for their Gallies, are all very remarkable Structures. The whole City is adorn'd with a considerable Number of Fountains, among which three are of an incomparable Grandeur and Beauty: But the Churches here, both for their Number and Beauty, surpass all the rest; their Frontispieces, Portals, Chapels, Altars and Tombs being the most exquisite Pieces of Architecture that Art ever produced; they are filled with Pictures, Sculptures, and Gold and silver Vessels, and their Arches, Wainscots and Walls are covered with the most precious Marble curiously laid together, or with Compartments of *Basso relievo*, or of gilt Joyners Work, and beautified with the Performances of the greatest Painters. To be short, wherever you turn your Eye, you are dazzled with the curious Works of *Jasper*, *Porphyry*, and *Mosaick* of all Sorts, and the most exquisite Products of Art. The Church of the *Jesuits* is an excellent Fabrick, embellish'd with magnificent Ornaments from Top to Bottom. The Painting of the Dome is the Work of *Lanfranc*; that of *St. Mary* of the *Annunciata* is not inferior to it; and the famous Hospital (which has two hundred thousand Ducats annual Revenue) is exceeding rich, as are those of *St. Philip* of *Neri*, *St. Maria la Nuova*, *St. Severin*, *St. Paul*, *St. Dominick*, the Church and Convent of Mount *Olivet*, the Church of the *Holy Apostles*, *St. John Carbonara*, of the little Hospital, and *St. Maria della sanità*, not to mention many more, which are all very fair, and have their Vestries and Treasuries crowded with Riches. I remember that two *Theatines*, as they were conducting us into their Church of the *Holy Apostles*, made heavy Complaint of the Poverty of their Order, (they having no Possessions, and at the same Time not being permitted to beg like the *Mendicants*) but after they had shew'd us the Magnificence of their Church, and fourteen large Cupboards in the Vestry filled with Gold and Silver Vessels, and other precious Things, we had sufficient Reason to believe that they had no great Occasion to go a Begging. In *Italy* all Monks are at once Misers and Mendicants.

The spacious Convent of the *Chartreux* of *St. Martin* is every where full of curious and magnificent Pieces; and the Church, though none of the largest, yet is a compleat Piece, both for the Materials and Exquisite-ness of the Art. The Monks that were our Conductors assur'd us, that under one Priorate there were bestow'd among them above five hundred thousand Ducats in Silver Plate, Sculptures and Pictures: The Nativity of Christ is a most exquisite Piece, done by *Guido*; the four Pictures of the Last Supper are of the Hands of *Espagnolet*, *Hanibal Caracche*, *Paul Veronese*, and Cavalier *Massimo*, the last of which has represented Christ standing, giving the Sacrament to his Apostles, who are upon their Knees; besides many other Pieces of high Value, and exquisite in their Kind.

The Pavement of the Cloyster (which is an hundred Paces square) is of Marble inlaid in Boughs and such-like Ornaments, the four Galleries being supported by sixty Pillars, each of one entire Piece of the best white Marble of *Carrara*. Every Frier has his own Chamber, a Closet and Library, besides a little Garden; and the Prior's Lodgings are fit for the Reception of a Prince: Here it is they shew the famous Crucifix of *Michael Angelo*, done, as they say, to the Life after a Peasant, who, to that End, was crucified by the Painter; it is of Wood, and not above half a Foot high: It is observable, that the Crucifix holds his Head straight, which looks not very like the Posture of an expiring Person.

Person on the Cross. They have also a St. Lawrence, by Titian; and some Designs of Rubens and Albert Durer, which are valued at a high Rate, and are very fine.

From this Ascent you have the most delightful Prospect that can be well conceiv'd; you have at one View the Sea and many Islands, and among these that of Caprea, the famous Seraglio of Tiberius, as likewise the whole City of Naples, with its three Castles, viz. of the Egg, the new Castle, and that of St. Elmo; the Harbour, Mole, and Lantern; and along the Sea-shore, the Creeks and Inlets mix'd with little Capes, as also a great Number of Villages built along the Sea-side; towards the Land-side, the Gardens and fertile Hills leading into Campania Felice are the most agreeable Objects in the World; and at a greater Distance you may behold the horrible Smoke of Mount Vesuvius. To describe all the Relicks, Statues, or miraculous Images, as they stile them, would be endless; I will only mention a few of them: At St. Lewis they keep some of the Virgin's Milk, which becomes liquid on all our Lady's Festivals; at St. John Carbonara, the Blood of St. Januarius is boil'd up when any one approaches his Shrine, as the Blood of St. John Baptist (preserv'd at St. Maria Donna Romita) does, whilst they say Mass for his Beheading. I pass by the Pieces of the true Cross, the Nails, the Branches of the Crown of Thorns, the Images said to be made by St. Luke, and such-like Rarities. At St. Dominick the Greater, they shew the Crucifix that spoke to St. Thomas Aquinas; and another in that of the Benedictins, which, if you will believe them, spoke more to Pope Pius V. At the Church of St. Agnello, in the Chapel of the Monaci, they shew you also a speaking Crucifix, with a long Inscription underneath relating to the Story; and another in the same Church, which, they tell you, used to hold Dialogues with Jane the Mother of St. Agnello, and with St. Agnello himself; this they stile the Image of St. Mary of Intercession. Among the miraculous Crucifixes here, that of St. Mary of the Carmelites must not be pass'd by in Silence; for when D. Pedro d'Arragon besieg'd Naples in 1439, it bow'd its Head at the Sight of a Cannon-ball, which only beat off the Crown of the Crucifix.

The Churches contain a vast Number of Tombs and Epitaphs: In that of St. John the Evangelist, are six or seven Epitaphs made by Joh. Jovianus Pontanus, among which one is for his Daughter Lucia, another for his Son, and two more for his Wife and himself. At St. Clara's you see the Epitaph of King Robert, firmamed the Good and the Wise. At St. Domin. maj. one for a Lord of the noble Family of Caraffa, and another for the Cardinal d'Ariano of the same House. In the Vestry of this Church you see many of the Tombs of the Kings and Queens of Naples, among which, those of Isabel of Arragon, Daughter of Alphonsus I. and Wife of John Galeazzo Duke of Milan, and of Joan the first Queen of Jerusalem and both the Sicilies, deserve to be remember'd: The first runs thus:

*Hic Isabella jacet, centum fata sanguine Regum,
Quicum Majestas Itala prisca jacet;
Sol qui lustrabat radiis fulgentibus orbem,
Occidit, inque alio nunc agit Orbe diem.
Obiit die 11 Febr. 1524.*

The second thus:

*Inclita Parthenopes jacet hic Regina Joanna
Prima; prius felix, mox miseranda nimis
Quam Carolo genitam, multavit Carolus alter
Qua morte illa virum sustulit ante suum.*

She was the Daughter of Charles of Sicily, Duke of Calabria, and was strangled by Charles Duras, whom she had adopted, and who rebelling against her, accused her of having strangled Andrew of Hungary, her first Husband, whose Tomb is to be seen in the Cathedral.

In the same Place is also to be seen the Tomb and Epitaph of the famous Marquis of Pescara, by Ariosto; and in the Church of St. Mary of Concord, a long In-

scription upon the Tomb of a King of Fez, who having embrac'd the Roman Faith, and fought under the Imperial and Spanish Banners, died an hundred Years old in 1641. The Tomb of Innocent IV. who died at Naples in 1254, is to be seen in the Cathedral, with two long Epitaphs, one whereof is in Leonine Verse. In the Church of St. Agnello is the following Epitaph for a Bishop who refused the Cardinal's Cap.

*Sigismundo Pappacudæ Franc. F. Tropeiensium Præsul;
viro opt. & Jurisconsulto, qui cum in cætum Cardina-
lium fuisset a Clemente VII. adscitus, maluit in Pa-
triæ Episcopus vivere. Vixit Ann. 80. M. 6. D.
10. Obiit 1536.*

In the Church of St. Severin of the Benedictins, in the most beautiful Chapel belonging to the Family of St. Severin, are to be seen the Tombs and Inscriptions of three young Lords, Brothers, poyson'd by their Uncle; as also that of their Mother, lamenting the untimely Death of her Sons. Directly opposite to the Church of the Carmelites you see a Kind of Chapel, erected by Order of Charles I. King of Naples, in the same Place where he caused the Head of the unfortunate Conradin to be cut off, and at the same Time that of his Cousin Frederick Marquis of Baden and Duke of Austria, with five or six other Lords, the whole History of which is painted in Fresco on the Inside of the Walls of the Chapel, in the Middle of which stands a Pillar of Porphyry, and round about it this Distich:

*Asturis ungue Leo, pullum rapiens Aquilinum
Hic deplumavit, Acephalumque dedit.*

The Carmelites shew'd us in their Convent the Place where the famous Rebel Thomas Aniello (commonly called Massaniello) was slain, after he had been the Head of the Rebels eighteen Days: I have a Piece of Money that was coin'd whilst this Rebellion lasted, with this Inscription, S. P. Q. N. As we pass'd by the Church of St. Mary major, our Conductor told us, there was a brazen Hog to be seen there, made by Pomponius Bishop of Naples; it seems the Place where this Church now stands was haunted by the Devil in the Shape of a Hog, which so terrified the Inhabitants, that they left their Houses, till this holy Bishop being bid by the Virgin to build a Church for her in the same Place, the infernal Hog disappear'd.

10. The City of Naples having been subject to so many Masters and various Revolutions, has lost the greatest Part of its Antiquities; however, in the Front of St. Paul major you still see the Frontispiece of the ancient Temple of Apollo, afterwards dedicated to Castor and Pollux by one Tiberius Julius Tarsus, his Name being to this Day distinctly to be seen on one of the Friezes of this Frontispiece.

T I B E P I O Σ I O T A I O Σ T A P E O Σ

The Portico rests upon eight twisted Pillars of the Corinthian Order, and the Pediment is adorn'd with Basso relievo, representing the Deities. The Columns of the Ristituta are said to have been taken from the ancient Temple of Neptune. Here are also to be seen some Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and an ancient Statue of the Nile upon a Crocodile. The House of D. Diomedes Caraffa contains many Sculptures and ancient Inscriptions; in the Court you see the Head and all the Crest of a brazen Horse, that had no Bridle, which being an Emblem of the Liberty of Naples, whilst yet a Common-wealth, stood in one of the great Places, but King Conrad having order'd a Bit to be put on this Horse, directed the following Distich to be set on the Pedestal:

*Hactenus effrænis, Domini nunc paret habenis
Rendomat hunc æquus Parthenopensis equum.*

On the Hill, where it is supposed the ancient Paleopolis stood, are a great many old Ruins, and divers Collec-

tions

tions of Medals, which contribute not a little to the true Understanding of the History of *Naples*, are to be found in the Cabinets of the Antiquaries of this City, and especially in that of Mr. *Richetti*. Of the Catacombs I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

After Pope *Sixtus V.* had cleared the Ecclesiastical State of the *Banditti*, they became more numerous in the Kingdom of *Naples*; so that even within these few Years Travellers were forced to go in Caravans to secure themselves against their Insolencies; but the Honour of freeing this Countty from these dangerous Vermin is due to the Marquis *del Carpio*, late Viceroy of *Naples*, who put a great Number of them to Death; and I remember we saw lately above five hundred of them at Work in the Arsenal, who had surrender'd under Condition that their Lives should be saved, and not to be made Galley-slaves. But notwithstanding all this, it must be owned, that the Generality of the *Neapolitans* are a very wicked Generation. We were credibly inform'd, that in two Prisons only there were no less than four thousand Malefactors at that Time. This has questionless given Occasion to the noted Proverb, *That Naples is a Paradise inhabited by Devils*.

Besides this, notwithstanding all the outward Grandeur of this City, it has several Things which not a little overcloud its Lustre; for Women are as hard to be seen here, as in any Part of *Italy*. The Habits and Equipages of Persons of Quality are all black, not being allow'd the Wearing of Gold and Silver, and the greatest Lord has no more than two Footmen; besides, most of their Coaches are drawn by Mules; and they generally appear in the *Spanish* Dress. The Viceroy's Court is very silent and melancholy: Their Trade is also much decayed, their chiefest Commodities at this Time being Soap, Snuff, Stockins, Waistcoats, some Silk Manufactories &c.

From *Naples* to the Top of Mount *Vesuvius* is eight Miles, of which I shall endeavour to give you a more exact Account than you have seen hitherto. The first four Miles, as you pass along the Sea-coast, you go through many good Villages, and the Grounds are very well cultivated; yet from Place to Place you see great Stones, thrown thither by the Eruptions of that Mountain: The last of these Villages is called *Resina*; when turning to the Left, we began to ascend, but still on Horseback for two good Miles further, among loose Stones, and Heaps of burnt Earth; the nearer you come to the Top, the more you find the Ground crack'd and cover'd with these burnt Stones; and in some Places you see the Tracts of the Channels of Sulphur, which have been forced down from the Top towards the Bottom. About the Middle, the Ascent beginning to grow extream rough, you must alight to pass on Foot, which is not done without a great deal of Difficulty, the Ashes, or rather calcined Dust, not affording any sure Footing: But at last, after several small Restings, we came up to the ancient Gulph or Hollowness, for of late considerable Alterations have happened in this Mountain. The Circumference of this first Gulph has about a Mile in Diameter, to the best of our Guess; the Edges being worn into several rugged Elevations, you may go down into it several Ways about a hundred Paces below the first Circle, being the whole Depth of this old Mouth; for this vast Abyfs was by an extraordinary Eruption, almost quite fill'd up with a Mixture of Sulphur, Alom, Bitumen, Saltpetre, and Nitre, which, after the Violence of the Eruption was past, turning into a hard Crust, produced a Level in this Gulph not above a hundred Paces below its exterior Brims; but some Time after, a furious Eruption having shaken and broken through this Crust, tumbled the hardened Pieces one upon another, as we see the broken Ice of a Pond congealed by a sudden Frost. This unequal Superficies is interspersed with burning Funnels, which emit continual Exhalations; and in some Places we could feel the Heat through our Shoes. You must know, that in the Middle of this Superficies (which is almost of a circular Figure) another most violent Eruption has forced its Passage, and cast up a

new Mountain, which is likewise round and about a Quarter of a Mile high.

After we had traversed that rough Space of about three hundred Paces broad, between the greater and lesser Mountain, we ascended this little Mountain with as much Pains as we had done the first, which we found full of smoaking Chinks, and in many Places lay a pure Sulphur mixed with a Kind of *Sal Armoniac*, of a Citron Colour. In some Places we saw a reddish porous Substance, like the Dregs or Scum of Iron as it comes from the Smiths Forge. The Top of this lesser Mountain hath its Mouth as well as the great one, which is about one hundred Paces broad, and the Inlet to this vast subterraneous Abyfs, sends forth a thick Flood of Smoak, which fills up the whole Concavity; the Winds forcing it sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on the other, we had an exact View of the Height of its Entrance or Brink, which is perpendicular within, except in one Place, where it is sloping enough to descend into it, which we did after our Guide for sixty or eighty Paces, when coming to the very Brink of this Precipice, we rowl'd down many Stones we broke off near it: We found them sometimes to stop at the first or second Falling, and sometimes to take a long Course rebounding with a great Noise. We could not perceive any considerable Increase of the Smoak by the Tumbling in of these Stones; and if they had been much bigger, they would perhaps have produced no other Effect, there being no great Reason to imagine, that the sulphurous Lake is perpendicularly under the Opening of this Mountain: I know some have had the Curiosity to blow up Part of these Rocks with Gunpowder; but this seems to me a dangerous Piece of Curiosity, where it is not safe to stay too long, by reason of the sudden Eruptions that happen now and then; witness the famous *Pliny*, who was surprized with such an one, though at a considerable Distance; and the furious Eruptions in 1682, 1685, and 1687, not to mention those recorded by the more ancient Authors.

The little Time we had to stay about *Pozzuolo* did not permit us to take so particular an Account of all the Curiosities there, as we might have done, had we been more at Leisure; however, I do not question relating something that is new concerning this Journey. In our Way from the Suburbs of *Naples* to *Pozzuolo* we saw the Hill known by the Name of *Pausilypus*: To confess the Truth, it is most delicious, of an infinitely charming Situation, extreamly well cultivated, full of Summer Seats, and planted with most excellent Vines. The Ascent to this Hill was not so steep, but that it might have been made easy enough, but, moved by an extravagant Humour, they resolved to pierce the Mountain, and by that Means made indeed a shorter Way, and of an extraordinary Contrivance, but much more troublesome than the Ascent would have been. This Cave is generally call'd the *Grott* of *Pozzuolo*, being in some Places cut through the Rock, in others through the Sand; its whole Length is near a Mile, the Height between thirty and forty Foot, and eighteen in Breadth, affording an easy Passage for two Coaches: It has no other Light than at the two Extremities, and a little Hole in the Middle over the Oratory, which is made in the Rock by enlarging that Part somewhat beyond the rest. The Dust which is raised by the Passengers is very troublesome, to avoid which you cover your Face with a Handkerchief; and to avoid running against each other, you cry as you pass along, *To the Right*, or *to the Left*? This is an ancient Work, *Seneca* in his Time complained of its Dust and Darkness; it is attributed to one *Coccejus*, who (according to some ancient Annals) is said to have employed a hundred thousand Men in it, who finish'd it in fifteen Days; but it is not known who this *Coccejus* was, some believe him to be a Prince or Governor of that Part of the Country, some only the Head Workman, or Undertaker of the Design.

A little beyond *Pausilypus* lies the Lake of *Agnano*, between two Hills, almost round, and two Miles in Circumference: The Water is very clear, and without any

ill Taste, and though it seems continually boiling, produceth not the least Heat, but abounds with great Plenty of Tench and Eels. Near the Banks of this Lake are the two celebrated Caves, known by the Names of the *Baths of St. German*, and the *Grotta di Cane*, or *Grott of the Dog*; the Etymology is so fabulous, that I will not pretend to enlarge upon it; thus much is certain, That after you have descended three or four Steps into these *Baths*, you on a sudden feel Heat, and a sulphureous Smell, which put you immediately into a Sweat, and is accounted very salubrious to gouty Persons, and those afflicted with some other Diseases, who come hither in Crowds for that Purpose.

The *Grotto of the Dog* is no more than the opening of a Cave, at the very Foot of a Hill, being no more than nine Foot long, four and a half broad, and five high, and not made by Art; the Bottom is pure Earth, and the Sides have nothing but what is natural: I observed some Drops falling from above, which, they told us, were produc'd by the Condensation of the Exhalations or Vapours raised from below; though I am rather of Opinion, that they distil from the Mountain, and pierce the Top of the Cave, out of the Bottom of which arises a subtile penetrating Exhalation, without any visible Smoak, being a sulphureous Steam, which stops the Breath in a Minute. We saw him who keeps the Key of this Cave, as well as of the aforesaid Baths, make the Experiment with a Dog in the following Manner. He enters as upright as he can, proceeds to the Middle of the Cave, where bowing and kneeling by Degees, holding his Head as upright as he can, he sits down upon his Heels, so that with his Hands he can hold a Dog by all his four Feet down close to the Ground: The poor Creature is seized in an Instant with violent Convulsions, stretches himself without crying, and becomes stiff, when he that holds him throws him out of the Cave, and being presently cast into the Lake, which is not above twenty Paces distant, he recovers his Breath in a Minute, and swims out of the Water. The same Experiment has been made upon Men and several Sorts of Animals with the same Effect; the Viceroy D. *Pedro de Toledo* made it with two of his Slaves, who died. Two Foot from the Ground, and even lower, there is nothing to be seen of this Nature. The Keeper shew'd us another Experiment with two lighted Torches, one of which he put near the Ground, and it was extinguished immediately without the least Smoak; then lighting it by the other, he put that near the Ground as the former; which being likewise put out, he rekindled that by the first, and so by Turns.

The like sulphureous Exhalations are said to be in a Cave at *Zoli* in *Hungary*; and *Pliny* calls this we are speaking of now, *Spiraculum Puteolanum*. All the adjacent Country seems to be filled underneath with Brimstone, especially about *Monte Secco* and *Solfatara*, where we saw subterraneous Holes fill'd with Sulphur and Allom, which send forth Flames and Smoak with the same Smell and Noise as we see in *Vesuvius*. They prepare Abundance of *Rock-Allum* on the *Solfatara*, which is a yellow and white Mountain, dried up and consumed by its own Fire; they work in small Hutts, and the Cauldrons boil only by the Heat coming out of the Openings. The Top of this Hill has a Kind of oval Basin about 1250 Foot long, and a Mile in Breadth, the Exhalations of which are often smelt at *Naples*, and blacken their Marble and other Ornaments, nay, even corrupt the neighbouring Waters; whence it is that the *Capuchins* of *St. Januarius*, who live near it, have been forced to raise their Cisterns from the Ground upon Pillars. Most of the Inhabitants in the City, and about it, will tell you, that these smoaking Holes of *Solfatara* are actually the Chimneys of Hell itself: *Capaccio* is of the same Opinion, and assures us, that the *Capuchins* hear often most dreadful Howlings, and are frequently disturbed with Hobgoblins.

From hence we descended towards *Puzzoli*, anciently a famous City, as a vast Number of stately Ruins sufficiently testify, though at present it is but an inconsiderable Place. Near to *St. James's Church* you see the

Ruins of a magnificent Amphitheatre, the *Arena*, whereof was an hundred seventy two Foot long, and eighty eight broad; built of hewn Stone: Here they tell you *St. Januarius*, with six other *Christians*, being thrown before the Beasts; they ador'd instead of devouring them; but not long after these seven had their Heads cut off near *Solfatara*, in the same Place where the Church dedicated to *St. Januarius* now stands. On the Altar you see these Words:

Locus de collationis S. Januarii & sociorum ejus. i. e.

The Place where St. Januarius and his Companions were beheaded.

Close to the Amphitheatre remain still vast Ruins, but buried almost under-ground, look'd upon by some as the Remainders of a Labyrinth, though I am rather inclined to believe it a Fishpond like the *Piscina Mirabilis*. The Cathedral is built not only upon the Ruins of the Temple of *Jupiter*, but also of Part of its Materials. In the Frontispiece you see these Words, *Calurnius Luc. Fil.* which shew evidently by whom it was built.

Between the City and the Amphitheatre are to be seen also the Ruins of the Temple of *Diana*: In tempestuous Weather the Sea throws ashore, near the *Dominicans* of *Jesus Maria*, many new Marks of the ancient Magnificence of *Puzzoli*, as *Cornelians*, *Agates*, *Jaspers*, *Amethysts*, as likewise divers other Sorts of Stones, upon which are found engrav'd all Sorts of Figures, as *Cocks*, *Eagles*, *Swans*, *Hares*, *Serpents*, *Grasshoppers*, *Ants*, *Vine-branches*, *Grapes*, *Ears of Corn*, *Heads of Men*, and *Motto's* in *Greek* and *Latin*. The Sand of *Puzzoli*, used in their Building, is much commended both by *Vitruvius* and *Pliny*; and, in effect, if mixed with a certain Sort of Mortar, become as hard as Marble, even in the Sea itself. As we passed along in our Boat to go the Lake of *Lucrin*, two Miles distant from *Puzzoli*, we had the Opportunity of taking a full View of the famous Arches, generally supposed to be the Remnants of a Bridge built by *Caligula* from *Bajæ* to *Puzzoli*, whence to this Day they are known by the Name of *Caligula's Bridge* among the Inhabitants; but if we will attend to the Words of *Suetonius*, nothing is more evident than that this pretended Bridge of *Caligula*, was not of Stones or Brick, but of Boats; these are his Words: *Bajaram medium intervallum Puteolanas ad Moles trium millium & sexcentorum ferè passuum ponte conjunxit, contractis undique onerariis navibus, & ordine duplici ad anchoras collocatis, superjectoque aggere terreno, ac directo in Viæ Appiæ formam.* &c. The Words *Puteolanas Moles* plainly discover what these Arches we now see were, viz. belonging to a Mole that defended the Harbour against the Violence of the tempestuous Waves: Neither is it a sufficient Objection to say, that we do not build our modern Moles with Arches, since Things of the same Nature may be done variously at so great Distances of Time; besides that, some will maintain, that a Mole with Arches might be more durable than one without, and be nevertheless sufficient to break the Waves, and to defend the Harbour.

The Lake of *Lucrin*, so famous in ancient Times, is now no more than a little Pond of about one hundred Paces broad, and a Quarter of a Mile long, being for the most Part fill'd up with the *New Mountain*. It is now about sixty or eighty Leagues from the Sea, whereas anciently it join'd with it; for if we may credit *Pliny*, they were forced to make Use of many Engines to separate them: The Water of this Lake is always salt; it was highly celebrated among the Ancients for its Oysters: *Nuptiæ videbant Ostreas Lucrinas*, saith *Varro*; and *Concha Lucrini delicacior stagni*, *Martial*. I suppose you remember the Story related by *Pliny* and several other Authors concerning a Dolphin, frequently fed with Bread by a Boy that went every Day to School from *Bajæ* to *Puzzoli*, became at last so familiar with the Boy, that he used to carry him often on his Back over the little Bay; *Appian* tells us, he was an Eyewitness of it, besides many more that flock'd from all Parts to *Puzzoli* to see it; and *Solinus* affirms, that at last

it was so common, that it was scarce regarded as an extraordinary Thing. I remember, that in my Travels I saw a Sea-calf, so very tame, that it would do as many Tricks as a Spaniel.

In the Year 1538, in the Night between the 19th and 20th of September, the Earth produc'd on a sudden a certain Mountain never seen before, which for that Reason has since retained the Name of *Monte Nuovo*, or the *New Mountain*. Those who have measured it, make its Height perpendicularly four hundred Toises, and its Circumference three large Miles. The Gulph or Opening of fifty Paces diameter on the Top of this *New Mountain*, sufficiently proves its Production to have been caused by an Eruption, though it never sent forth either Fire or Smoke since its first Eruption, which was attended with a most dreadful Earthquake, that put all the neighbouring Country under a great Consternation, the Sea recoiling, many Churches and Houses being burnt or swallowed up, a vast Number of Men and Beasts perishing by this prodigious Birth of the *New Mountain*. Your Mountain of *Markle-hill*, in the County of *Hereford*, was usher'd into the World after a much easier and more pleasant Manner, because it mov'd with a gentle Pace for three Days and Nights, with Houses and Trees, for about four hundred Paces.

On the other Side of the *Lucrin Lake*, you see another famous Hill called *Monte di Christo*, the Story whereof runs thus: A most violent Earthquake having made an Opening in this Hill, which reach'd from the Superficies to the very *Limbus Patrum*, *Jesus Christ* enter'd through this Cavern, where being joyfully receiv'd by the Souls that were destin'd to heavenly Felicity, he led them through this Passage up to the Top of the Mountain, from whence they were lifted up to Heaven. A fine *Italian Fable*!

The Lake of *Averno* is not above a Mile from the Lake of *Lucrin*, being much about the same Bulk as the Lake *Agnano*; it is beyond Question, that what *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Pliny*, and others say of its deadly Vapours, is not so at present, the Birds flying over it without the least Detriment, which is the Reason that *Pliny* is reckoned by some modern Authors to have advanced a manifest Falshood. But if the Matter be truly weigh'd, it will sufficiently appear, that *Pliny* only quotes *Varro* in what he says of this Lake, but speaks not as an Eye-witness; for, discoursing of the Lakes which have extraordinary Qualities, he cites *Ctesias*, a *Greek Historian*, who mentions a Lake in the *Indies* on which nothing swims, and afterward alledges the Testimony of *Varro* about the *Averno*. Add to this, that *Strabo* attributes the Cause of this Stench in the *Averno* to the Thickness and Number of the Trees that surrounded it on all Sides, which, he says, being removed by *Augustus*, the Air became pure and sweet: And *Boccace*, who liv'd not above three hundred Years since, assures us, that some subterraneous Chanel of Sulphur being mixed with the Waters of the *Averno*, they became stinking, and killed many of the Fish, which he saw with his own Eyes: Two manifest Instances, that this Lake hath been at different Times in very different Conditions. *Virgil* derives the Word *Avernus* from *Aornus*, notwithstanding which, this Name seems to have been the ancient Appellation of sulphureous Gulphs in general, which makes *Lucretius* call these Kind of Pools *Averna Loca*.

The Ruins to be seen to this Day about the *Averno*, plainly demonstrate, that the adjacent Hills were well peopled after the before-mentioned Trees were cut down. The Antiquaries do not agree, whether the Ruins next to the Lake belong'd to a Temple of *Mercury*, or of *Neptune*; but certain it is, it could not be the Temple of *Apollo*. As we approach'd the *Averno*, I could plainly perceive something of a nauseous Smell, but whether it proceeded from the Lake, or not, I will not pretend to determine; for the Lake abounds with Fish, its Waters are fresh and pretty clear, only inclining somewhat to a Blue; I tasted them in divers Places, and found them to have a pretty sharp Twang of some Mineral, but what I could not distinguish.

Not far from hence is the subterraneous Passage and Cave commonly known by the Name of the *Sybil's Grott*, the chief Entrance whereof is said to have been near

Cuma, four Miles from *Averno*, but it is all filled up on that Side. We went into it through a narrow Passage, every one with a lighted Torch in his Hand, the Passage being on both Sides overgrown with Briars and Thistles. This subterraneous Passage is dug under Hills, without any Ornaments, except in the Place I am going to describe to you: It is about ten Foot broad, and twelve high. After you have gone two hundred and fifty Paces in a straight Line, you meet with a square Grott on the right, and seventy or eighty Paces further a little Cell of fifteen Foot long, and eight or nine broad. You may perceive by various Remains, that the Roof was formerly painted and the Walls adorned with *Mosaick Work*. After I had read the learned Treatise of Mr. *Blondel* concerning these pretended *Sybil's*, and their Writings, I was sufficient Proof against all the vulgar Opinions of this Grott; notwithstanding what divers ancient Authors have told us concerning the *Sybillæ Cumæa* and her Cave, which by the *Italians* has been applied to this subterraneous Passage, I am not ignorant of the Description of *Virgil*,

*Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum
Unde ruunt totidem voces—*

but at the same Time am convinc'd, that *Virgil* spoke of it only as a fabulous Tradition; for what else will you say to the *centum aditus*, and *centum ostia*, which are not to be found here or any where else? In my Opinion, this might be such another Passage as the Grott of *Pausilippus*, and the painted Cell appropriated to some Deity. *Strabo* relates, upon the Credit of *Ephorus*, an ancient Historian of *Cumæ*, that the *Cimmerians* of *Italy*, (to distinguish them from those inhabiting near the *Bosphorus*) did inhabit in subterraneous Caverns between *Bajæ* and the Lake *Averno*, from whence they sallied out in the Night-time to perpetrate their Murders. The digging of this Cave seems more properly to belong to them, were it not that the *Mosaick Work* in the Cell hath as little Resemblance to their Way of living, as to the Habitation of a pretended Mad-woman, such as the *Sybil* is supposed to have been.

From this Cave we took a Turn to *Bajæ*, the most pleasant and magnificent Place in the World in ancient Times; *Horace*, *Martial*, *Josephus*, *Seneca*, *Albinus*, and others, have left us such a Character of it, as might put this Assertion beyond all Question, were not the Ruins of many Temples, Baths, and Palaces, which are to be seen round the Bay, and even in the Sea itself, undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Bay of *Bajæ* is infinitely pleasant, the Air exceeding sweet, and the adjoining Hills with easy Ascents charming beyond what can be express'd or imagin'd; but alas, that vast Number of Summer-seats which adorn'd the Neighbourhood of this City, are now nothing but a vast Heap of Ruins, and a dismal Solitude. Between *Bajæ* and *Miseno* is the Precinct call'd *Bauli*, where you see the Tomb of *Agrippina*, and near it the Remnants of the Fishpond of *Q. Hortensius*, Colleague of *Q. Cecilius Metellus*.

Not far from this are very great Ruins, commonly called *Mercato di Sabato*, which some pretend to be the Remains of a Circus. At the very Sea-side are to be seen considerable Ruins of the Country House of *Hortensius*; and near his Fishpond, the Remains of a Temple said to have been dedicated to *Diana*. Not many Years since, a most noble Statue of *Venus*, twice as big as the Life, was dug up in this Neighbourhood, holding a Globe in her right Hand, and three Oranges in the left. *Capaccio*, who has given an exact Description of it, says, that this Statue was found in the same Place where anciently stood the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*. From *Bajæ* it is not above a large Mile to that delightful Plain called the *Elysian Fields*, situate between the Sea and that stinking Marsh *Acheron*, called by *Virgil*, *Tenebrosa Palus*, now *Lago della Coluccia*. I might farther speak of the Academy of *Cicero*, now turned into an Ox-stall, of the Baths of *Tritoli*, the Tomb of *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, of the *Piscina mirabilis*, or Fishpond of *Agrippa*, and the other Fishpond called

Cento Camerelle, besides a great many other remarkable Remnants of Antiquity, but that I had not sufficient Leisure to make so exact an Observation of them as was sufficient to give you a full Description of them.

From *Bajæ* we took Boat to *Puzzoli* again, and thence went on Horseback to *Naples*. But before we depart, I must say a Word or two of the Tomb of *Virgil*. At the Entrance of the Grott of *Pausilypus*; which leads to *Puzzoli*, stands an ancient Monument shaped like a Pyramid, but above half destroyed. Some modern Historians assure us, that in their Time there were nine small Columns of Marble in the little Chamber of this *Mausoleum*, which supported an Urn of the same Substance, with this Distich upon it :

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope ; cecini, pascua, rura, Duces.*

But now there are neither Columns nor Urn to be seen here. The *Mausoleum* is built of very large square Stone, notwithstanding which, it is almost cover'd with Bushes and Shrubs, that have taken Root between the Stones; among the rest there grows a Lawrel on the Top of it, which, if you will believe the Inhabitants, has been often cropp'd and pluck'd up, but always grows again.

Virgil is look'd upon by many of the Inhabitants of this Country as a great Sorcerer; whence it is that they have attributed to him the making of the Grott of *Pausilypus*, as also of the brazen Horse, the Head whereof, as I told you before, is still preserved at the Palace of *D. Diomedes Caraffa*. Unto this Horse they attributed, for the same Reason, a secret Virtue of curing all Sorts of Diseases in Horses, and of preserving them from sinister Accidents, and for a considerable Time used to bring their Horses from the remotest Parts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to lead them in Procession round this pretended Horse of *Virgil*; till at last the Horse was, by the Order of a certain Archbishop of that Kingdom, removed from thence, and a great Bell cast of its Body, which remains in the Cathedral, and is of somewhat more Use than the Horse. The House of *Sannazarius*, which stood on the Sea-side, at the Foot of the Hill of *Pausilypus*, being destroyed by the War, a Church was built in the same Place, dedicated to the most holy Birth of the Mother of God, where his Tomb is now to be seen in one of the Chapels. The Tomb is of white Marble, done by the excellent Hand of *St. Croce*: Upon it you see the Bust of *Sannazarius* crowned with Lawrel, and on each Side the Statues of *Apollo* and *Minerva*, which they commonly call *David* and *Judith*. I suppose you are informed, that *James Sannazarius* changed his Name into that of *Actius Sincerus*, according to the Custom or rather Affectation of those Times.

II. Your Letter I received with a great Pleasure, in Return whereof I will endeavour to satisfy your Curiosity, in resolving your Questions concerning *Venice*, in the same Order you have proposed them; after which I will proceed to give you an Account of *Rome*.

I. Whatever your Friend may say on Pretence of his being a Citizen of *Venice*, of the Number of Inhabitants in that City, which he makes amount to 250,000, I cannot allow him a competent Judge; though on the other hand I must tell you, that you carry the Matter too far, when you declare, that it is impossible to know the exact Number of Inhabitants in great Cities, *Sir William Petty* having proposed to us a rational Method of making such a Computation, without any remarkable Error. I ought however not to pass by in Silence, that in my Computation I included the Inhabitants of the Isle of *La Giudeca*, but not the Isle of *Murano*.

II. The two Columns of Granite in the Place of the *Broglia*, some say, were brought from *Egypt*, others from *Constantinople*, (perhaps they were brought from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*.) Upon one of these Columns stands the Arms of *Venice*, viz. the wing'd Lion of *St. Mark* holding an open Book, with the Inscription of *Pax tibi Marce*. On the other you see the Statue of *St. Theodore*. The like Columns the *Venetians* erect in all the

great Cities under their Jurisdiction, as Trophies of the Republick. The same *Venetian* also misinform'd you about the three great Banners set on Festival Days upon the brazen Pedestals opposite to *St. Mark's Church*, viz. That they represent the *Venetian State*, and the two Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, the Republick's Arms being to be seen without the least Alteration in all the three Banners. Another vulgar Error is, That the *Venetian Signiory* has no Coat of Arms, though the Lion is to be seen in all those Places where the Arms of a State are generally to be seen. The Lion of *St. Mark* takes its Origin from the Vision of *Ezekiel*, and not from the imaginary Transformation of *St. Mark* into a Lion, to check the incestuous Love of his Sister. Hence it is, that the *Venetian Ambassador* being ask'd, what Country it was that produced those wing'd Lions? replied; The same that brought forth the double-headed Eagles; alluding to the Arms of the Empire, *Russia*, and other Sovereignities.

III. What I told you concerning the Air of *Venice* must be taken with some Grains of Allowance, though the Air of *Venice* is none of the worst. In the *Lagunes* it is so bad, that the Inhabitants of the lesser Isles commonly leave their Habitations in the hot Season, and retire elsewhere. But this is not peculiar to *Venice*, but is also common in several other Parts of *Italy*, especially in the Country about *Rome*.

IV. That the Doge of *Venice* continues for Life, whereas the Doge of *Genoa* reigns only for two Years, is sufficiently known. The Revenues of the Doge of *Venice*, so far as I was able to learn, do not amount to quite 3000 *l. Sterling per Annum*; but the Frugality wherewith the *Venetians* manage their Government, has taught them not to allow their Spouses any Share in those useless Honours they pay to their Husbands.

V. Concerning the Libertinism in the Monasteries of *Venice*, as I will not profess myself to be acquainted with it in particular, so I can only tell you, that it is generally acknowledged here, that the Nuns are often visited by Persons in Masquerade at the Grates; that they go to Plays and other Places in Disguise; that they have made Tables on Purpose for Entertainments, one half within, and the other half without the Grates; nay, that they are often engaged in Intrigues; and that the Friars are guilty of such Debaucheries as can scarce be imagined. These, I say, are common Reports; but I do not affirm them.

VI. What your Friend has been pleased to alledge against the Sovereignty of the Doge, is not worth taking Notice of, the same being sufficiently known to all that have had any Insight into the *Venetian State*, or enquired into the Principles of their political Constitution.

VII. The whole Revenue of this Commonwealth, according to the best Computation, amounts annually to six Millions of Crowns, including the Sale of Offices and Nobility, Confiscations, &c.

VIII. They permit some Jews to live at *Venice*, who are rich, especially the Portuguese: Their Quarter is called *Il Ghetto*, or the Jewry; their Hats are cover'd with Scarlet, lined and edged with black. The poorer Sort are contented with wax'd Linen. By the Help of Money this Badge may be dispensed with.

IX. The whole Number of their Nobility, arrived to a proper Age of sitting in the Great Council, amounts to about thirteen hundred; but one half of them being generally abroad in Civil or Military Employments, this Assembly scarce ever exceeds six or seven hundred; yet these seem too many for the Management of those Matters of Consequence that come before them, which hath given Birth to this Proverb, *Troppo Teste, troppo Feste, troppo Tempeste*; Too many Heads, too many Festivals, and too many Tempests. And as the first is meant of the Great Council of *Venice*, so their Festivals are so frequent, that they exceed those observed in *France* by one third Part, and they are commonly pester'd with Storms in the Summer.

X. The Golden Book I have mentioned, contains a Catalogue of all the Noblemen in their State; and as all the Brothers of every Family have an equal Share in

in the Nobility, so their Names are registred in this Book as soon as they are born. Upon this Occasion I cannot forbear to add something in Reference of what has been told you against the Account I gave you of the Haughtiness of the *Venetian* Nobles: There is scarce any Body that is acquainted at *Venice*, but will easily agree with me, that the *Venetian* Nobles are not only extremely conceited of their Nobility, but also very difficult of Access to Strangers of great Note; though the last may be attributed either to Custom, or rather to the Politicks of their Government: And though they are not very sparing of Salutations when they are walking at the *Broglio*, yet they always appear very reserved and proud in the Company of the Citizens; nay, they give and receive but few Visits among themselves. It must however be confessed, that in private Conversation, especially if their Interest be concerned, they will be as obliging as most Men, and will sometimes enter into a familiar Acquaintance with Strangers, provided both Sides be not of more than ordinary Quality, for this would have ill Consequences.

What I told you concerning the great Sleeves of the Noblemen, that they serve instead of a Basket at certain Times, was not a bare Jest; for I remember I saw once a good Sallad, and at another Time an excellent Cod's-tail, thus carried out of the Market. There are besides this, about two or three hundred *Barnabotes*, so call'd from a cheap Place in the City, where they live, (a Sort of poor Gentlemen, that serve for a Foil to the richer) who both beg about the Streets, and would be glad to earn a Penny in carrying home Provisions for other People. In the Summer these Noblemen have their Vests without Furrs, but the turning up on the Edges, remains always furr'd.

XI. It was not from my Ignorance of your Inclination, or rather Love to Painting, that made me guilty of that Negligence with which you upbraid me, in giving you so imperfect Account of those curious Pieces that are to be seen at *Venice*. However, in Obedience to your Desire, I shall endeavour in some Measure to supply that Defect, by adding some new Observations, though I am afraid my Memory will not furnish me with many.

There were formerly, in the Hall of the great Council, some Pictures done by *Gentil Bellini*, and *John* his Brother, which excelled the best Pieces of that Age, but they were consumed, with almost the whole Palace, in 1577. The same Histories were copied five Years after by *Frederick Zuccherò*, and set up again in the same Order in which they still remain. *Pordenone's* Pictures in *Fresco*, in the Cloyster of *St. Stephen*, are very much esteemed, as are likewise his *St. Sebastian* and *St. Roch*, at *St. John de Rialto*. *Pordenone* was an excellent Painter; his Designs are esteemed very judicious, and his Colours admirably well managed. He emulated *Titian*, and with some Degree of Success.

The *St. Peter Martyr* of *Titian*, is reputed to be one of the finest Pictures that ever was made, but it begins to be much defaced. The best Judges are charmed with this Piece, though it has lost all that Lustre which ravishes an unskilful Eye. They think they can never enough admire the Beauty and Richness of its colouring, and judicious Disposition of the Lights, the Roundness of the Figures, the Passion and Life that is observed in the Face, and Strength of Expression which reigns through the whole Piece. There are several other Pictures by the same Hand in the Churches, *St. Mark's* Palace, the Library, Convents and Fraternities. There are also some Pieces by *Schiavoni* in the Library, which have been frequently taken for *Titian's*. *Horace Vecelli* his Son has almost equal'd him in some Works, and the Picture in the Hall of the great Council, which represents the Battle fought by the *Romans* against the Troops of *Frederick*, is the Work of *Horace*, though it is commonly ascribed to his Father.

The Wedding Dinner at *Cana* by *Paul Veronese*, in the Refectory of the *Benedictine* Monks in the Isle of *St. George*, is esteemed to be the Master-piece of that Painter, who, you know, is famous for the same Excellencies that we admire in *Titian*. His Works are

particularly remarkable for the beautiful Disposition of the Figures, judicious Choice of Colours, a sublime Genius, vast Ideas, the greatest Easiness imaginable, and the most charming Variety. This Piece takes up all the bottom Wall of the Refectory, it is two and thirty Foot broad, and contains one hundred and twenty-five Figures.

In the Church of *St. Sebastian*, the Feast of *Simon the Leper* is one of the most celebrated Pieces of the same Artist. There are also three other Pictures by the same Hand in the Arch of *St. Mark's* Library, which, if my Memory do not deceive me, represent Geometry, Arithmetick, and the Glory which is acquired by Learning.

The *Paradise*, by *Tintoret*, in the Hall of the Great Council, is a famous Piece. It was said of *Tintoret*, that he united the Designs of *Michael Angelo* with the Colouring of *Titian*, which certainly was a very noble Character. Besides, he had the most fruitful Invention, and at the same Time the quickest Hand of the Age. A Painter who was with me in the Fraternity, or, as they call it at *Venice*, the School of *St. Roch*, made me observe with Admiration that rare Picture which *Tintoret* finished almost in a Moment, while *Paul Veronese*, *Salviati*, and *Frederick Zuccherò*, his Competitors in the same Work, were still busy upon the rough Draught which was to be presented to those who designed to employ them. I have seen several Pieces by the same Hand in the above-mentioned School, at *St. Maria dell' Oro*, at *St. Mark's* School, and other Places. There are some of *Bassani's* Works at *St. Mary major*. *Schiavoni's* Pictures in the Library are, I think, Emblems of *Valour*, *Sovereignty*, and *Sanctity*.

XII. I told you, if I remember right, that their Gondola's or Boats have black Tilts; I will add, that nobody (except the Doge) can be attended by Servants in Liveries; tho' the Ladies of Noblemen, during the first and second Years of their Marriage, are allowed to give what Colours they like best to their Gondoliers or Boatmen, and to use Jewels; but that Time being once expired, this Courtesy ceases, and they are not permitted to appear in Jewels unless on some high Festivals, and during the Carnival; whence it is that the rich Courtezans rather pay the Fine than debar themselves of these Ornaments. What you heard affirmed by some, that the *Venetian* Ladies enjoy a greater Share of Liberty than those of *England* or *France*, seems to me to be the Effect of a fond Spirit of Contradiction; for, supposing the Ladies of *Venice* have the Liberty in Carnival-time to go to Plays, Opera's, Fairs, or Gaming-houses, in Disguise, what Advantages can they reap from the Diversion of so short a Time, especially considering that all this while they are constantly attended by their Husband's Spies, who cannot but put them in Mind of the Slavery they are to undergo for ten or eleven Months in the Year? What Comparison is there between this Confinement and the entire Liberty the *English* and *French* Ladies enjoy in their Walks, Visits, Meetings, and Divertisements, without the least Restraint?

XIII. The young Noblemen are permitted to be as splendid in their gold and silver Laces, Stuffs, Plumes, and Embroideries, as they think fit: They put on the Gown at fifteen Years of Age, tho' they have no Vote in the great Council till they are five and twenty. They have also the Liberty of wearing what Habits they like best on the Continent, the Jurisdiction of the Tribunal that regulates Habits, not extending beyond the *Laguna's*.

XIV. When we were viewing the Treasury, no Mention was made by our Guides of *St. Mark's* Thumb, and that he was dismembered to prevent his being a Priest; but they were not so forgetful as not to tell us the Tradition of the Loss of his Ring, and how it was recover'd, and the Story runs thus: In the Year 1239, three Men came to a Gondolier in very tempestuous Weather, and having constrained him to carry them two Miles to the *Lido*, they found there a whole Shipful of Devils, that were busied in raising a Tempest by their Enchantments; but these three Men had no sooner given

given them a severe Reprimand, but the Tempest ceased. The first of these three Persons made the Boatman carry him back to the Church of St. *Nicholas*, the second to that of St. *George*, and the third to that of St. *Mark*; but the last, instead of paying the Boatman, gave him a Ring, ordering him to carry it to the Senate, and told him at the same time, that he who went on shore first was St. *Nicholas* himself, the second St. *George*, and that he was St. *Mark*. The Boatman, astonish'd at his Words, related the whole Matter to all the Senate, who, receiving the Ring, bestowed a considerable Reward upon him.

XV. They suffer *Protestants* to be buried in their Churches; the Reason is, because they take no Notice of them here as *Protestants*, all such as are neither *Jews*, *Greeks*, nor *Armenians*, being reputed *Roman Catholics*.

XVI. Your Admirer of the Palaces of *Venice* hath mistaken my Aim, because I did not deny that there were some stately Palaces there, and made particular Mention of several of them; but notwithstanding all this, what I said of the *Italian* Palaces in general, is

true beyond Contradiction: And because you own that he hath no Skill in Architecture, you will do very well not to rely too far upon his Judgment in this Point, any more than in what you have been informed concerning the Machines in the *Venetian Opera's*, and that *Venice* is, for Neatness, to be compared to *Holland*.

XVII. I told you, that there is a Passage by Water to all the Houses in *Venice*; I am well satisfied you did not take this Part absolutely according to the literal Sense, because there may be perhaps about five or six in a thousand that can't be approach'd but by Land, and in this I speak the outside; for what your young Traveller has assur'd you, that there was no Canal within five hundred Paces of the House where he lodg'd, and that there are twenty such Places in the City, is a Contradiction in itself, for at this Rate, how many Spaces of a Mile in Diameter must there be in *Venice*? And whether this is possible, I leave to your own Determination, if you will carefully examine the Platform of this City, which I send you, and is founded upon unquestionable Evidence.

SECTION III.

The TRAVELS of Mr. MAXIMILIAN MISSON continued, from his Arrival at Rome, to his Departure out of Italy; with Observations and Remarks.

1. *A succinct Description of Rome; a more particular Account of the famous Church of St. Peter; a View of the Palace and Library of the Vatican; with various Remarks and Observations.*
2. *The Author's Visit to Queen Christina of Sweden; the Description of Rome resum'd, with a Multitude of curious Particulars resulting from the Author's Observations while resident in that City and in its Neighbourhood.*
3. *The Solution of various Queries relating to the Antiquities of Rome; the Story of Pope Joan; an Account of Albano, and other Places in the Vicinity of that great City.*
4. *Some farther Remarks on the History of the Female Pope; the State of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, at Rome; together with additional Remarks on the Antiquities and Curiosities there and thereabouts.*
5. *The Author's Travels resum'd; an Account of Viterbo, Siena, Pisa, Leghorn, Lucca, and several other Places.*
6. *The noble City of Florence describ'd, the Great Duke's Palace there, the most remarkable Churches, and Monuments in them; with other curious and entertaining Particulars.*
7. *A View of the Country between Florence and Bologna, the last mentioned City described, and the most remarkable Places therein; and the Author's Journey from thence to Modena.*
8. *An Account of Reggio, Parma, Placentia, Cremona, Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and several other Places.*
9. *The large and famous City of Milan described, with a distinct View of its principal Edifices; an Account of Pavia, and other Places.*
10. *The Author's Journey from Pavia to Genoa; Historical Observations on that City and Republick.*
11. *A Description of Alexandria, Casal, Turin, and of the Country of Piedmont.*
12. *Some Observations of the Author in relation to Italy in general.*
13. *Remarks upon the two foregoing Sections; with an Account of some of the principal Mistakes, charged upon our Author by later Writers, and those Charges impartially discuss'd.*

I. **W**E will now come to *Rome*, which being thoroughly describ'd by several Persons of Note, who had all possible Opportunities of giving the best Account of it, I will pretend to no more, than to give you a general Idea of this great and famous City, together with what Observations I was able to make upon such Matters as were then altogether new, or but little known, and have Relation to your Questions. I need not tell you, that before the Reign of *Servius Tullius* it comprehended no more than seven Hills, whence it got the Name of *Septicollis*, or *Seven Hills*; but being much enlarg'd since, contains no less than twelve; viz. *Monte Capitolino*, *Palatino*, *Aventino*, *Celio*, *Esquilino*, *Viminato*, *Quirinale* or *Monte Cavallo*, *Janiculo*, *Pincio*, *Vaticano*, *Citorio*, and *Giordano*; however, you must not imagine them to be huge Mountains, but only little Hills, the Ascent whereof is scarce discernable.

Vopiscus (who flourish'd under *Dioclesian*) would make us believe, that the Walls of *Rome*, built by *Aurelian*, were no less than fifty Miles in Compass; but there must be an enormous Error in this, seeing that the present Walls of *Rome* are very near the same with

those *Aurelian* erected, and yet are not above thirteen Miles in Circumference, this being the largest Compass *Rome* ever had, though its Suburbs perhaps extended far beyond them on all Sides. But of what is enclos'd within the Walls, there is not above one third Part inhabited at present, the rest, (viz. to the South and East) being either *Gardens* or *Ruins*. Most of the Houses are of Brick, and plaister'd over on the Outside; the Roofs are ridg'd, but the Angle on the Top is very obtuse; and some are built, as we call it in *France*, *à la Mansarde*. Neither the Houses nor Streets are very beautiful, and the Pavements narrow and not very neat.

Which Way soever you approach *Rome*, you may discover St. *Peter's* Cathedral above all the other Spires and the Tops of the highest Edifices. The Course of the *Tyber* (which makes a little Island here) is from North to South: That Part on the right Side, called *Trastavera*, is not above the sixth Part of the other. The first Prospect of this great City does not surprize the Traveller, but the longer he stays in it, the more frequent Opportunities he will meet with of observing something worth his Attention, in ruminating upon the Remnants of the Spoils of the Universe, which made

once the *Porphyries*, *Granites*, and the purest *Oriental Marble*, to be more common at *Rome*, than the Bricks or Stones out of the neighbouring Quarries; the *Collosses*, *Temples*, *Palaces*, *Amphitheatres*, *Arches*, *Baths*, *Cirques*, *Columns*, *Fountains*, *Aquæducts*, *Obelisks*, *Mausoleums*, and other magnificent Structures, being for the most Part of these precious Materials, which tho' buried now in Ruins, yet still retain some Remains of their ancient Splendor.

The Country about *Rome*, for ten or twelve Miles, is flat, but uneven, ill peopled, unhealthy, and barren in many Places. As to the Number of the Inhabitants, they are generally computed to be two hundred thousand; but I will not be answerable for this Computation, these Things being founded upon uncertain Conjectures, so that even the Passages in the ancient *Roman* Authors are very hard to be reconcil'd in this Point, some telling us of Three millions one thousand and thirty seven, under the Reign of *Augustus*, others of four or five Millions, whereas *Suetonius* computes no more than One million and six hundred thousand under *Tiberius*, the immediate Successor of *Augustus*; and I remember that *Werner Rookwink*, in his *Fasciculus Temporum*, does not hesitate at making them amount to Twenty seven millions and eighty thousand. I suppose he included all such as had the Privilege of *Roman Citizens* in his Account.

Two Days after our Return from *Naples*, we happen'd to see the Ceremony of making either Wives or Nuns, of three hundred and fifty Maidens, the Fund for which was rais'd by a Club of sixty charitable Gentlemen. This Ceremony is perform'd every Year on the Festival of the *Annunciation*, when the Pope and the sacred College meeting at the *Minerva*, the Pope, (or in his Absence some Cardinal) says High Mass, and all the Girls confess, and receive the Sacrament, being cloath'd in white Serge, with Veils over their Heads, having only one Opening for their Sight; they enter thus two and two into the Choir, where prostrating themselves at the Pope's or Cardinal's Feet who officiates, near whom stands an Officer with a Bason full of little white Bags, each of which contains either a Bill of fifty Crowns for such Maidens as chuse Marriage, or a Bill of an hundred Crowns for those that are willing to embrace a religious Life. Each Maiden having declared her Choice, receives her Bag hanging on a little String, with a Kiss, and so goes off to make Room for another. Those that have chosen a religious Life are crown'd with Garlands of Flowers, and have the first Place assigned them in the Procession. At that Time there were no more than thirty two of these among the three hundred and fifty.

Having taken a full View of the *Minerva*, (where we saw the famous Statue of Christ embracing the Cross, the Work of *Michael Angelo*) we went to the beautiful *Borgese* Palace, the Portico of which is supported by ninety six antique Pillars of *Egyptian Granite*. In the lower Rooms alone are no less than seventeen hundred original Pictures, by the best Masters of *Europe*, among which, that of *Venus* blindfolding *Cupid*, done by *Titian*, far excels the rest. The Picture of *Paul V.* (who was of this Family) in most exquisite *Mosaick* Work, is reputed to contain above a Million of Pieces, which however I cannot find by my Calculation. We also saw here a Crucifix of the same Bigness with that shewn us by the *Carthusians* at *Naples*, and they assured us that this is that celebrated Original of *Michael Angelo*. The Name of *Rotundo* was given to the *Pantheon* by common People, by reason of its circular Figure. *Boniface IV.* dedicated it to the *Virgin* and all the *Martyrs*, whence he call'd it *St. Maria ad Martyres*: And another Pope would needs comprize all the *Saints* with the *Martyrs*. The Origin of its ancient Name is likewise somewhat doubtful, some deriving the Etymology of the *Pantheon* and ascribing its Convexity to the Resemblance of the Heavens; others alledging, that it was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, others, to *Jupiter*, and all the Gods. This last Opinion seems to be founded upon the many Niches which are seen in the Inside, and were (question-

less) full of Idols: But if we may believe *Varro*, who tells us of no less than thirty thousand Gods worshipp'd at *Rome*; and the Philosopher *Bruxillus*, who, in his Speech to the Senate, makes them amount to no less than two hundred and eighty thousand; there are not near Niches enough to accommodate all these Deities.

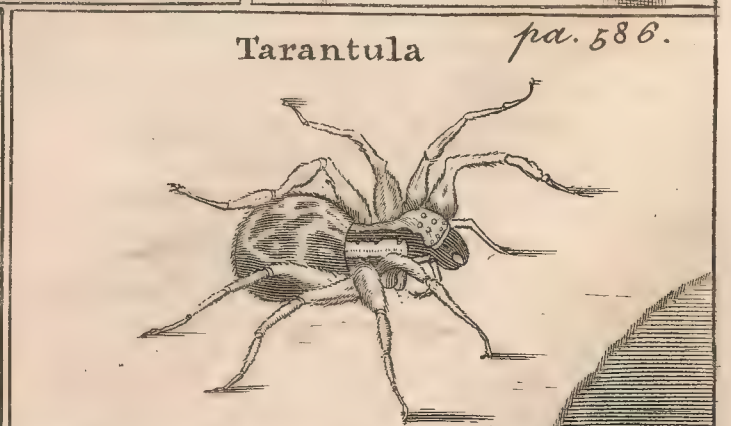
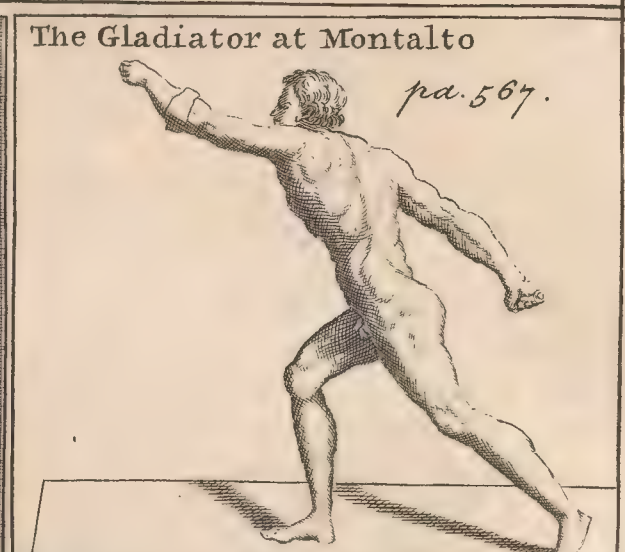
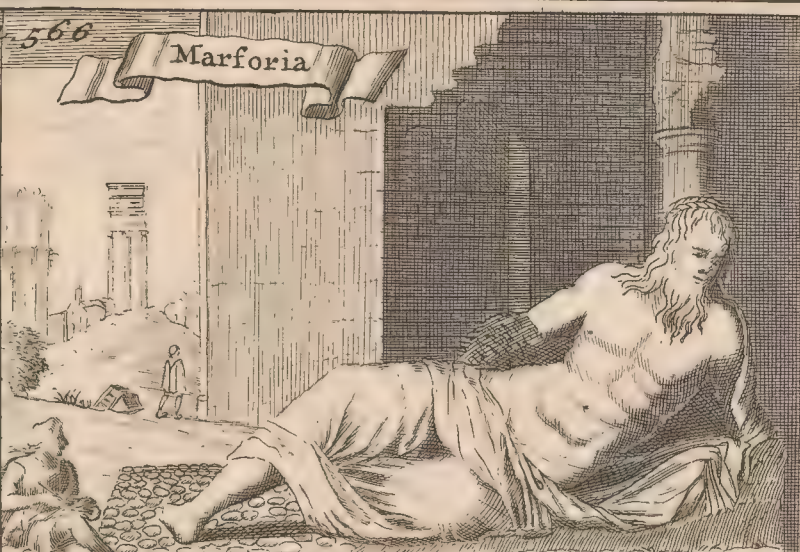
This Temple, though despoiled of its best Ornaments, yet is one of the fairest and most entire Pieces of Antiquity in *Italy*. The Columns of the Portico of this Church are all of one Piece of *Granite*, of the *Corinthian* Order, not equally big, but, according to the most exact Measure I could take, they were fifteen Inches in Compass, some few Inches less or more: That Piece of *Granite*, in which the Opening of the great Gate is cut, is forty Foot high, and near twenty broad. The two Lions under the Portico of the *Pantheon* stood formerly on the Front of the Temple of *Isis*. *La Guillitiere* (who is follow'd by *Meursius*) would needs persuade us, that the *Pantheon* of *Athens* surpasses that of *Rome* in Magnificence, having mistaken the Temple of *Minerva* for the *Pantheon*, into which Error they have been misled by the erroneous Account of *Theodosius Zygomala*, in his Letter to *Martin Crusius*; or perhaps by the mistaken Name of *Paribenion*, which *Pausanias* gives it.

It being not my present Purpose to give you a particular Description of Churches, I will only communicate to you my Observations upon them. That of *St. Peter* has the Reputation of the most magnificent and largest Church in the Universe: He that is willing to give a true Judgment of it, must not be sparing of his Pains in viewing it frequently, as well on the Top into the very Ball, as the Church under Ground. You no sooner enter this great Structure, but your Eyes are surprized with the incomparable Proportions of the nicest Pieces of Architecture, and a most exact and unparallel'd Order, rather to be admired than described: And since you are pleas'd to rely upon my Fidelity and Judgment, I will send you the principal Dimensions of this Structure, as I have taken them with the Assistance of very skilful Persons, more than once.

1. The Length of the Church, taken on the Outside, including the whole Portico and the Thickness of the Walls, 722 *Engl. Feet*.
2. The Length of the Church within, not reckoning either the Portico or the Thickness of the Walls, 594 *Feet*.
3. The Length of the Cross of the Church on the Outside, 490 *Feet*.
4. The Length of the said Cross within, 438 *Feet*.
5. The Breadth of the Body of the Church, 86 *Feet*, 8 *Inches*.
6. The perpendicular Height of the Body of the Church, 144 *Feet*.
7. The Bigness or outward Circumference of the Dome, 620 *Feet*.
8. The Diameter of the Dome within, 143 *Feet*.
9. The Breadth of the Front of the Church, 400 *Feet*.
10. The compleat Height of the Church, from the Floor to the Top of the Cross, which is over the Ball, 432 *Feet*.
11. The Diameter of the Ball, 8 *Feet*, 4 *Inches*.
12. The Height of the Statues on the Cornish of the second Order of the Front, 18 *Feet*.

Michael Angelo and *Bramante* were the two chief Architects of this noble and majestic Structure, the first under Pope *Paul III.* the second under *Julius II.* The Chair of *St. Peter* is supported by the four Doctors of the Church: The Statues of Brass gilt, and the Tombs of *Urban VIII.*, *Paul III.*, *Alexander VII.*, and the Countess *Maud*, are most magnificent and curious Pieces of Workmanship, worthy of the Edifice in which they are placed.

In short, where-ever you turn your Eyes, you meet with nothing but gilt Work, excellent Pictures, and Statues of Brass and Marble, and these disposed in so excellent an Order, that their Multitude does not cause the least Confusion. The Inside of the Cupola is of *Mosaick* Work, and the Arch of the Nave of a certain fine Clay, with Compartments of raised Work gilt; all the Pilasters are designed to be over-cast with the same Matter, as well as the remaining Part of the Inside of the Church. The High Altar stands in the Midst of the Cross, directly under the Dome, the Pavilion being supported by four wreath'd Pillars of Brass,



Habits of the Women of STRASBURG



Brass, beautified with Foliages and Bees, the Arms of Pope Urban VIII. On each of these Columns stands a Brass Angel seventeen Foot high, and on the Cornish you see Children playing and walking up and down: The whole Height amounts to ninety Feet. Under this Altar is a Pair of Stairs leading to the Chapel under Ground, where St. Peter's Body is kept, and to some other sacred subterraneous Places belonging to this Church. At the Entrance down these Stairs I saw a Bull engraven in Marble, forbidding any Woman to enter there, except on *Whitsun-Monday*, when Men are prohibited to enter, under Pain of being anathematized: The Place being very dark, we were told by the Sexton, that this Prohibition was occasioned by an amorous Intrigue. An Indulgence of seven Years is granted for every Step of the Stairs leading to St. Peter's Chapel, to all such as descend them with Devotion.

The double Row of Pillars (286 in Number) which surround the Great Place before the Church, and lead to the same by a double Portico on each Side, is a surprising Piece to behold. The two magnificent Fountains in this Place are highly worth a curious Traveller's Observation, as well as the Obelisk that stands in the middle of one entire Piece of Granite seventy eight Foot high, with either the Pedestal or Cross placed on the Top of it by *Sixtus V.* when he set up this ancient Monument here, which in 1586. weighed 956,148 Pounds without the Base. It is a general (but erroneous) Opinion, That the Globe of Brass, which was there formerly, contain'd the Ashes of *Augustus*; but *Dominicus Fontana*, the famous Architect, upon Examination, found it not fit for that Use, but to be only an Ornament to this Obelisk, which was consecrated to *Augustus* and *Tiberius*; as is apparent from the Inscription, which remains still undefaced:

*Divo Casari, divi Julii F. Augusto
Tiberio Casari D. Aug. F. Augusto sacrum.*

The Palace of the *Vatican*, so call'd from the God *Vaticanus*, who gave his *Vaticinia* or Oracles here, is conveniently seated for the Pope near St. Peter's Church, but by its too near Neighbourhood takes off Abundance of the Prospect, as well as some other Edifices near it. This Palace is not one entire regular Structure, but a Composition of many beautiful Pieces, said to contain 12500 Chambers, Halls and Closets, which may in some Measure be discover'd in the Model which is shewed of it in Wood.

The *Belvedere*, belonging to the *Vatican*, received its Name from its delightful Prospect: We were so surpriz'd with the most excellent Pieces of *Raphael*, *Michael Angelo*, *Julius Romanus*, *Pinturiccio*, *Rolidorus*, *John d'Udina*, *Daniel Volterra*, and other great Masters, and they found us so much Diversion, that we neglected to take Notice of all the other Perfections of this beautiful Edifice. I have often, with a great deal of Delight, seen the most curious Persons in *Rome* gaze with great Amazement upon the History of *Attila*, (the Work of the incomparable *Raphael*, who was born 1483, and died when he was thirty seven Years old) and admire its Beauty and Perfections, nay, even put their Wits on the Rack to find out Expressions suitable to the several Excellencies of this marvellous Piece; when after all, some nice Judges have, and not without very good Reason, found Fault with the Dress in which *Raphael* has thought fit to represent *Leo I.* and two Cardinals, being after the same Manner as they are worn by them now-a-days; whereas it is evident, from the History of those Times, that Pope *Constantine*, and the other Popes, (two hundred and fifty Years after *Leo I.*) wore plain Camblet Garments. Thus *Titian* hath painted *Rosaries* at the Girdles of the Two Disciples that met Christ in his Way to *Emaus*; and another celebrated Painter, *Rosso*, has represented Monks in their Habits as Guests at the *Virgins Weddings*. I remember that at *Soest*, a Town of *Westphalia*, there is a Picture of our Saviour's Last Supper painted in a Glass Window of a Church, wherein that Painter has put a Gammon of Bacon instead

of the *Paschal Lamb*. Nay, even *Michael Angelo*, in his most celebrated Piece of the Last Judgment, has introduced many indecent Postures, Angels without Wings; nay, even the Ferryman *Charon* with his Boat full of Souls.

In the Hall where the Pope gives Audience to Ambassadors, are three large Pictures representing the History of the Admiral *Coligni*; the first shews you the Admiral as he was carried to his House, after his being wounded by the Russian *Morevel*, (fifty thousand Crowns were set upon his Head) at the Bottom whereof you read this Inscription:

*Gasper Colignius Ammiralius, accepto vulnere domum
refertur. Greg. XIII. Pontif. Max. 1572. i. e.
The Admiral Gasper Coligni carried home wounded.*

The second represents him murder'd in his own House, with his Son-in-law *Teligny* and others, with this Motto underneath:

*Cades Coligni & Sociorum ejus.
i. e. The Slaughter of Coligni and his Adherents.*

In the third the News of this Murder is brought to the King, who shews a Satisfaction in his Countenance, with this Inscription:

*Rex Coligni necem probat:
i. e. The King approves of the Slaughter of Coligni.*

Besides these Trophies of so barbarous an Action, the same Pope caused Medals to be coin'd with this Inscription, *Gregorius XIII. Pont. Max. an. 1.* and on the Reverse an Angel with a Cross in one Hand, and a Sword (with which he seems to thrust) in the other, with this Inscription, *Ugonottorum Strages 1572, i. e. The Slaughter of the Hugonotts 1572.* I obtained one of these Medals, though they are become very rare of late Years.

Of the Gardens of *Belvedere*, and the Statues there, I will put you in Mind only of the invaluable Marble Statue (of one entire Stone) of *Laocoon*, the Work of *Agesander*, *Polydorus* and *Athenadorus*, three Grecian Sculptors; of the Trunk without Head, Arms or Legs, with the Sculptor's Name engraven on the Pedestal,

*ΑΠΟΛΛΑΝΙΟΣ ΝΗΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. i. e.
Apollonius, the Son of Nestor, an Athenian.*

The *Vatican Library* owes much of its Contents to that of *Hydelbergh*, and of the Duke of *Urbino*; the Number of Books it contains is so variously reported, that I thought it best to determine nothing upon that Head. The Pictures represent for the most Part the Sciences, Councils, noted Libraries, Inventors of Letters, and some Pieces relating to the Life of *Sixtus V.* The old MS. of *Virgil* is in Quarto, but of greater Breadth than Length, in capital Letters, without Points, or any other Distinction of Words. The *Gothick Letters*, as well as the Miniature, shew it not to be written in the first Ages of Antiquity, as some would have it. Among the Manuscripts of the latter Ages, I took Notice of some Letters written to and by Cardinals, wherein they give one another no other Title than Mr. *Peter* and Mr. *Julius*. They also shew'd us a Volume in Quarto, of the Thickness of a Finger, containing Letters from King *Henry VIII.* to *Anne Bullen*. I also took particular Notice of the *German Bible* which you mention'd, and, as they say, translated by *Luther*, and written with his own Hand; which might have some Probability of Truth, were it not that a certain extravagant Prayer, written apparently with the same Hand, at the End of it, did destroy it; the Words are thus in the Original:

*O God, durch deine Gute
Beschere uns Kleider and Hute,
Auch Mäntel and Röcke
Fette Kälber and Böcke,*

Oxen,

Oxen, Schafa and Binder,
Viele Weiber, wenig Kinder;
Slechte, Spaise and Trank
Machet cikem das Yabr lang.

- i. e. O God, thro' thy Mercy, grant us Clothes and Hats, Cloaks and Gowns, fat Calves and Goats, Oxen, Sheep and Bulls, many Wives, and few Children: Indifferent Meat and Drink makes the Year pass away very slowly.

In the Arsenal, they tell you, the Pope preserves constantly Arms for forty thousand Foot and twenty thousand Horse; but I am sure there were not half enough for that Number, and those very indifferent. I told you that the Pope may, with great Conveniency, descend from the Vatican to St. Peter's Church; and on the other Side he may, with the same Ease, make a secret Retreat from thence into the Castle of St. Angelo, through a Gallery built by Alexander VI. It was Urban VIII. fortified it with four Bastions, unto which he gave the Names of the four Evangelists. In the Chapel you see a Picture representing Pope Gregory I. prostrated at the Feet of an Angel that appear'd to him on the Top of the *Moles Adriani*, or *Adrian's Mausoleum*, and sheathing his Sword, foretold the Pope the Deliverance of the City of Rome from a most violent Pestilence; whence this Place received the Name of St. Angelo.

In the little Arsenal belonging to this Castle, we saw, besides the Papal Triple Crown, an Armoury full of prohibited Arms, taken, for the most Part, from such unfortunate Persons as were executed on that Account. Among the rest, they shew'd us the Pistols of *Ranuccio Farnese*, Son and Heir of *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma* and Governor of the *Netherlands*, who usually carrying Pistols about him, contrary to the express Prohibition of *Sixtus V.* who being a rigorous Person, and of a Disposition very forward to maintain his Authority, order'd *Ranuccio* to be seized in one of the Chambers of the Palace, as he was going to desire Audience of his Holiness, and to be carried Prisoner to the Castle of St. Angelo. Cardinal *Farnese*, *Ranuccio's* Uncle, left no Stone unturn'd to procure his Liberty, but in vain; for one Evening, about Ten o'Clock, whilst the Cardinal was soliciting his Release with the Pope, he sent his Orders to the Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo, to have the Prince *Ranuccio* beheaded: This done, the Pope not questioning but that his Orders had been executed immediately, and willing to make a Shew of obliging the Cardinal, gave him a new Order about Eleven a Clock, enjoining the Governor of the Castle to set *Ranuccio* at Liberty. The Cardinal, who knew nothing of the first Order, made all the Haste he could thither, but was highly surpriz'd when he found his Nephew preparing himself for present Death in the Arms of a Confessor, the only Reason that had delay'd his Execution; but the Cardinal, overjoy'd to have nick'd the Time so exactly, and producing his new Order to the Governor, had his Nephew put into his Hands, who, by his Uncle's Procurement, took Post immediately, and so escaped the Hands of his Executioners.

During our Stay here, there was a certain Prisoner of Note kept in the Castle of St. Angelo, named *Borri*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, and a good Physician and Chymist, accused of Heresy in receiving the Errors of the *Collyridians* in the fourth Age, who paid a Kind of Adoration to the *Virgin*, nay, some say that he made her a fourth Person in the Godhead: However, he has the Liberty of visiting some of his Patients of the best Quality in the City, being supposed not to be in his right Wits at certain Times.

I am not well able to resolve your Question concerning Dr. *Molinos*, for though I have seen those Propositions that are said to be his, yet will I not presume to give my Judgment of them, unless I could hear *Molinos* himself; however, as they are published, some of them are dangerous, others ambiguous, several of them indifferent, and many very reasonable and orthodox. As to his Person, he has a very bad Character, being reputed a Villain and lewd Fellow, who, by his pre-

tended *Insensibility* and *Extasy*, has deluded a great Number of Nuns, of which they tell you a thousand Stories, which have procured him his ignominious Confinement to a Cell for his Life. I have however observed, that his most inveterate Enemies have a much better Opinion of his Followers, who have embraced *Quietism*, and other Opinions you have heard so often attributed to *Molinos*.

2. The Queen of Sweden, *Christina Vasa*, is a Princess about sixty Years of Age, of a low Stature, and very fat; her Complexion, Voice, and Countenance are masculine, with a great Nose, large and blue Eyes, and yellow Eye-brows; her double Chin is strewn'd with some few long Hairs, and her under Lip sticks out a little; her Hair is of a light Chestnut Colour, of a hand-breadth long, powder'd and curl'd up in Puffs, without any other Head-dress; her Air is very pleasing, and seldom without a Smile. As for her Habit, imagine a Man's *Justaucor* of black Sattin reaching to the Knees, and button'd quite down; a very short black Petticoat, which plainly discovers a Man's Shoe; a Knot of black Ribbon instead of a Neckcloth, and a Girdle above the *Justaucor*, which supports the Belly. The Queen having left us, we took a View of the Palace *Riari* her Residence, where we met with many ancient Pieces; the most exquisite of them are, the *Augustus*, of the rarest transparent oriental Alabaster, but the Head and Feet are modern, and of Brass gilt; sixteen ancient Columns of *Giallo*, with two Pillars of transparent oriental Alabaster seven Foot high; the *Venus*, whose mangled Legs are so admirably supplied by new Pieces, that the Joining is not to be perceived; the *Castor* and *Pollux* on each Side of their Mother *Leda*, all of one Piece of Marble; the Sons are bigger than the Mother: The Altar of *Bacchus*, of beautiful white Marble, is adorn'd with most exquisite Sculptures in *Basso relievo*. Old *Silenus* going home drunk from the Feast of his Foster-child, supported by two Men; the *Bacchantes* appearing in the Posture of Mad-women. In another Place we saw a Goat flea'd alive, for cropping the Vines; and a Boar, which is wash'd in order to be sacrificed.

Among the Pictures, the Piece of *Correggio*, representing the Intrigue of *Jupiter* with *Leda* in the Shape of a Swan, is exceeding fine; as are the *Virgin*, with the Infant *Jesus*; the little St. *John*, by *Raphael*; and *Danae*, by *Carraccio*; besides several other rare Pieces of *Titian*, *Paul Veronese*, *Guido*, and other great Masters. It would be much beyond the Compass of a moderate Treatise to enter upon a Description of all the rare Medals to be seen in this Palace, I will therefore content myself with mentioning only the best: The *Oibo*, of Brass, an *Egyptian* Piece, with *Serapis* on the Reverse of it; the *Pertinax*, a small *Latin* Medal, on the Reverse whereof you see that Emperor offering a Sacrifice; the *Antoninus Pius*, another *Latin* Medal, having on the Reverse *Victory* and *Plenty* offering him Fruit; another little Medal of the same *Antonin*, called by Mr. *Bellori*, *l'Anno Nuovo*, or, the New Year, from the four Letters *A. N. F. F.* which he interprets *Annum Novum*, *Faustum*, *Felicem*; and a Medal of *Nero*, with *Hercules* on the Reverse; the *Cicero*, of Onyx, the Head white on a brown Ground, a most curious Piece. But we will pass from hence to some other Curiosities: In St. *Sabina's* Church, on Mount *Aventine*, we saw a great Stone, which, they tell you, the Devil of *Colen* hurl'd down from the Top of an high arch'd Roof, to knock out St. *Dominick's* Brains, after he had been disappointed in his Design of beating down the Chapel of the Three Kings.

The Crucifix in St. *Paul's* Church, which spoke to St. *Bridget*, was the Work of P. *Cavallini*; it was made in the Year 1360; besides which, they have several other talking Images at Rome, as, the Crucifix of St. *Mary Transportin's*, which spoke several Times to St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; our Lady of St. *Cosmo* and *Damian*, (formerly the Temple of *Remus* and *Romulus*) which chid St. *Gregory* for passing by without saluting her: They shew you certain *Latin* Verses (attributed by some to the Abbot *Joachim*, by others to *Beda*) containing the

the whole Dialogue betwixt the Image and the Saint : Another at *St. Mary's the Empress*, and one more in *St. Gregory's* on Mount *Celio*, have now and then given some Proofs of their Faculty of speaking, as divers others (if you will believe them) have not been sparing with their Tears ; as at *St. Mary's of Peace*, *St. Mary's in Valicella*, and another *St. Mary's* call'd *del Pianto*, and that in the Church of the *Holy Ghost*, has shed whole Floods of Tears, as these credulous People believe. The Image of Christ at *St. Sylvester's* in the *Campo Martio*, done by himself, as they say, and sent by him to King *Abagarus*, is the rarest Picture in *Rome*. *Eusebius* mentions the Letter pass'd between Christ and *Abagarus*, but says nothing of the Image, the Story being of much later Date.

This City abounds also in Variety of Relicks ; as, the Ark of the Covenant, *Moses* and *Aaron's* Rods, and the Fountain of Christ preserved at *St. John Lateran* ; a Piece of the same Money *Judas* received, his Lanthorn is also shewn at *St. Dennis* in *France*, and the Cross of the *Good-Thief*, are shewn at the Church of the *Holy Cross* of *Jerusalem*, with the Tail of *Balaam's* Ass and *St. Paul's* Thorn ; *St. Rock's* Bowels are kept at *St. Marcell's*. The Beams of the Star that conducted the Women have been evaporated of late Years, as well as the Sound of the *Jerusalem* Bells ; but *Moses's* Horns, it seems, are still preserved at *Genoa*. The Navel of Christ is preserved at *St. Maria del Popolo*, concerning the Foundation of which they tell you the following Story : In the very same Place stood a large Walnut-tree, on the Branches of which used to perch a certain Troop of Devils, who guarded the Ashes of *Nero* in an Urn near it : This being very injurious to the Neighbourhood, they prevailed with Pope *Paschal II.* to rid them of this hellish Company : After some Time spent in Fasting and Prayer, it was revealed to him, that he should pull up the Tree by the Root, and build a Church ; and this being done accordingly, he gave it the Name of *St. Mary of the People*.

In the Church of *St. Giacomo Scoffa-Cavalli*, or *St. James Shake-horses*, they shew the Stone, on the Altar of the Presentation, on which Christ was circumcised, with the Impression made by one of his Heels upon the Marble ; as also another Marble Table on *St. Anne's* Altar, on which *Abraham* intended to sacrifice his Son : These Relicks, they say, were sent by the Empress *Helena*, to be kept in *St. Peter's* Church ; but the Waggon was no sooner come near *St. James's* Church, but the Horses stop'd ; so that the Drivers not being able to make them go one Step farther, some Mystery was supposed to be hidden in this unaccountable Accident ; and it being consider'd at last, that *St. Paul* call'd *St. James*, as well as *St. Peter*, the Pillar of the Church, they resolved to leave them at *St. James's*, and to preserve the Memory of the Miracle, gave that Saint the Name of *Scoffa-Cavalli*, or *Shake-horses*.

You may easily imagine, that my Curiosity might lead me to hear some of their Preachers, who, generally speaking, express themselves more in fantastical Gestures, wry Mouths, and odd-composed Faces, than in their Arguments, or a fine Disposition of Words, serving more for Diversion than Instruction. I must farther tell you, that each Order has its peculiar Way of preaching ; the *Jesuits* declaim very well, without those Gestures and Motions the rest are guilty of, but their Style is extravagant. The *Capuchins* thunder out nothing but Hell and Destruction, and make a hideous Noise ; whence it is that a certain *Italian* Author says pleasantly, That when a *Capuchin* preaches, the Dogs run out of the Church. In short, their Discourse has neither Strength nor Gravity, a confused Noise and Heat, without Sense or Reason. I remember I heard once a *Carmelite* preaching before the Penitent Whores of the *Holy Cross*, concerning *Mary Magdalen*, who spent at least a Quarter of an Hour in representing all her Features to the greatest Nicety, not like a Preacher, but like a Painter.

The Question you put to me, Whether there are more Courtesans at *Rome* or *Venice*, I am not able to answer ; for though I see not so many here as at *Venice*,

I have it from credible Persons, that their Number is almost infinite. *Sixtus V.* endeavour'd to root out this Evil ; but after he had done all he could with Banishments and otherwise, was forced to recal them again, as *Sixtus IV.* did before, to prevent, as they say, greater Disorders. Upon this Occasion I cannot but remember an ancient Picture of a Wedding at the *Aldobrandin* Palace. This is a Piece of Frize, brought hither with the same Part of the Wall on which it is painted, being highly valuable both for its Antiquity and Workmanship. I need not tell you, that the Marriage Ceremonies were very different among the *Romans*, the Bride being seated sometimes upon a Sheep's Fleece, sometimes on a Figure of the God *Priapus*, sometimes in another Posture. In this Picture she is seated on the Bed-side, her Head hanging down with an Air of Coyness, whilst a Matron sitting by her puts her in Mind, with a smiling Countenance, of her Duty. The Bridegroom, in an odd Dress, with an Ivy Garland on his Head, is seated near the Bed, waiting, with an eager Impatience express'd in his Looks, for the Compliance of his whining Spouse, whilst divers Maids are busy in preparing Baths and sweet-scented Ointments, and a she-Musician plays upon the Harp, whilst another seems to sing some *Hymenia* ! O *Hymenæe*, some *Epithalamium*, or lascivious Song, to dispel the Charms. This Picture on the Frize, and another on the Pyramid of *Cestius*, are the only Remnants of the true ancient Painting in *Rome*. This Pyramid is square, ending in a sharp Point ; it is of Brick, but cover'd with white Marble ; it was repair'd 1673, and restored to its former Beauty by *Alexander VII.* and, as appears by the Inscription, was erected to the Memory of *C. Cestius*, one of the Seven Magistrates appointed to take Care of Religious Feasts.

You enter the *Mausoleum* through a narrow Opening in the Middle of the Thick Wall, and thence into a vaulted Room nineteen Foot long, thirteen broad, and fourteen Foot high, plaister'd over with a certain white polish'd Mortar, on which are seen several Pictures of Women, Vessels, and other Ornaments.

To enter into a particular Description of so difficult a Subject being beyond my Scope, I will content myself to tell you, that I found the Antiquaries here of different Opinions in reference to these Figures, some pretending that they represent the Preparatives for a Funeral Show, others a Banquet, as a Memorial of the Office of the Deceased. One of the Figures holds a Vessel, into which some others pour lustral Water, and others Wine. Another Figure you see with large Pipes, designed, as some say, for Mirth, and according to some, for Mourning, both Parties pretending to back their Opinions by this Distich in *Ovid's Fasti*.

*Cantabat Fanis, cantabat Tibia Ludis
Cantabat mæstis, Tibia funeribus.*

There is one Thing, viz. the different Colours of the Figures, which seem to intimate, that these Habits were not intended for Funeral Ceremonies ; and as, according to the Inscription of a Pedestal dug up near this Pyramid, this *Cestius* died in the Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign, so it is beyond Dispute, that the Women were cloath'd in White at the Funerals in his Reign, the Fashion of Mourning in Black being abolish'd in the Beginning of *Cæsar's* Dictatorship. Perhaps these Pictures were designed only for an Ornament to the Tomb, without the least Respect either to Feasts or Funerals, as the Sepulchre of the *Nasos* has many such historical Ornaments, the bare Product of the Painter's Fancy. The like is to be seen in several other Tombs, and especially Urns. The greatest Curiosity in these Pictures is the Durableness, especially of their Colours, which were only mix'd with Water, and do not even penetrate the Plaister ; besides that, Painting in Oil is an Invention of the latter Ages, by *John de Bruges*, about 1450.

This Pyramid is about two hundred Paces distant from the Hill call'd *Doliolo* or *Monte Testaceo*, i. e. the Hill of Potshards, which some would have derive its Name from the broken Pieces thrown there by the Pot-

ters, that were obliged to live near the *Tyber*, to prevent its Inundation on that Side, by casting together the Pieces of the broken *Idols*, *Bathing-tubs*, *Statues*, *Tiles*, and other Sorts of earthen *Vessels*, which amounting to a vast Quantity in so great a City, produced this Hillock.

But as probable as this Opinion appears at first View, I have upon strict Examination of the Matter, observ'd Things which induce me to believe otherwise; for having seen, at several Times and at several Places, the People dig Caves under this Hill to keep their Wine in, I could never observe them bring out any Fragments of *Images*, *Tiles*, &c. but only the Remnants of *Urns*; whence I conjecture, that whilst the Custom of burning the Dead continued, a prodigious Quantity of earthen *Urns* were made for the common People, and as of Necessity many of them must be broken, the Reverence they had to those *Vessels*, that had contain'd the Ashes of the dead Bodies, had induced them to assign a certain Place for these Fragments to be laid up in a Heap, just as we, out of Respect to the Dead, preserve their Bones.

Your Curiosity concerning the famous *Pasquin* and his Antagonist *Marforio*, I will satisfy as well as I can: This *Pasquin* was a Taylor, a jovial smart Fellow, at whose House the Newsmongers used to meet; his *Lampoons* were called *Pasquinades*, and these, as well as all the other *Libels* of the Town, were affix'd to a Statue which stood near his Gate: It is a mangled Statue, thought by some to be a *Roman Soldier*; it stands leaning against a House at the Corner of a Place where several Streets meet. Pope *Alexander VI.* being advis'd to throw this *Pasquin* into the *Tiber*, he answer'd, *I should be afraid it would turn into a Frog, and trouble me Day and Night with its Croaking.* *Marforio* is likewise a maim'd Statue, said by some to be made for *Jupiter*, others for the *Rhine*, or for *Nera*, which runs by *Terni*: It stands in one of the Courts of the Capitol; and *Marforio* commonly asks the Questions which are resolved by *Pasquin*.

You will perhaps expect me to relate Wonders of *Tivoli* and *Frescati*, and it is not to be denied but that they are pleasant, or (if you will have it so) fine Places, but if Things are best distinguished by Way of Comparison, (as for Instance, betwixt *Frescati* and *Versailles*, or even some other that are not Royal Seats) I dare boldly affirm, that both *Tivoli* and *Frescati*, and all the other celebrated Places about *Rome*, in respect to their Gardens and Waterworks, are only Toys. *Frescati* is a small Town seated on the Brow of a Hill, twelve Miles from *Rome*; it has several beautiful Country Seats, the three principal of which are, *Monte Dracone*, belonging to Prince *Borghese*; *Belvedere*, to the Prince *Pamphilio*; and the *Villa Ludovisia*, to the Dutchess of *Guadagnola*, the Constable *Colonna's* Sister; all which are in Comparison to *Versailles* the same as *Frescati* is to *Rome*. *Monte Dracone* is a very large Structure, seated on an Ascent, from which you may see *Rome* and the interjacent Plain; but as the City lies at too great a Distance, and the Plain is not embellish'd with that Variety of things which render a Landship agreeable, so the Prospect of *Paris* from *St. Clou* is infinitely more delightful: On the Side of *Monte Porcio* there is much greater Variety in the Prospect, but more straitned. The Avenues to the House are but indifferent, and very difficult, and the Gardens and Fountains much out of Order. The Situation of *Belvedere* is near the same with *Monte Dracone*; it has a pretty Cascade and a Grotto, where you see *Apollo* with the *Nine Muses* on *Parnassus*. The chief Ornament of the *Villa Ludovisia* is the Cascade; but the Furniture of all these Houses were but very indifferent.

Tivoli is such another small Town, about eighteen Miles from *Rome*: Here is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke of *Modena*, commonly in the Possession of the Cardinals of that Family; it is very spacious, but wants both convenient Apartments and good Furniture; the best Thing belonging to it are three Rooms painted in *Fresco* by *Raphael*, and some ancient Statues: The Gardens, though but small, yet are adorn'd with

most delightful Terras Walks and curious Waterworks, far beyond those of *Frescati*, and perhaps all other Works of this Nature in *Italy*; but at present, what with the Stoppage of the Canals, and the Defect of the Pipes, every Thing is so much out of Order in this House, that you see only the Remains of its Beauty. This Sight, as well as of most other celebrated Country Seats, put me in Mind, after the surprizing Things I had heard concerning the *Italian Waterworks*, that if formerly they did surpass those of *France*, the Face of Affairs is much altered now; and allowing even what they say of the Palace *d'Este*, that the Waterworks cost no less than three millions, it is nevertheless beyond all Dispute, that the Waterworks and other Beauties of *Versailles* abundantly exceed all those at *Tivoli*. The Cascade or Cataract of the River *Treverona* (which produces white smooth Flints call'd the *Hailshot of Tivoli*) in this small Town is very pleasant, being not very high. Near it you see the Ruins of an ancient Structure, reputed by some to have been the *Sybil's House*, by others a Temple of *Hercules*: In the Court stand two ancient Statues of a reddish Granite speckled with Black, representing (according to Mr. *Spon's* Opinion) the Goddess *Isis*, which he supposes to have been brought by *Adrian* out of *Aegypt*, to adorn his Country Seat.

The Hill near this Place has many Ages ago, and still affords most of the Stones used in *Rome*, called commonly *Travertin* by Corruption, instead of *Tibur-tin*: The Front of *St. Peter's Church* is built of the same, as well as the *Colisseum*, which is quite cover'd with it: The Stone is very excellent, but yellowish and porous, and not so serviceable as your *Portland Quarry*, and those of *Paris* and *Caen*. *Alexander Tassoni*, in his *Various Thoughts*, says, That some Workmen having cleft a great Piece of one of the Stones of *Tivoli*, found in the Middle of it, in an empty Space, a *Crayfish* weighing four Pounds, which they boil'd and eat. *Alexander ab Alexandro* assures us, that he found a wrought Diamond in the Heart of a great Piece of Marble, and at another Time a considerable Quantity of sweet-scented Oyl in another Piece of Marble. *Baptista Fulgosus* speaks of a Worm found in the Middle of a Flint. The before-mentioned *Tassoni* relates, (to shew the Spirit of the Man) that a Cat suckled a Rat at *Tivoli*.

About three Miles from *Tivoli* we saw a small Lake called *Lago de Bagni*, or *Solfatara*, called by the Vulgar the *Sixteen Barges*, from the same Number of small floating Isles that are upon it: It is no more than a large round Pond, of about two hundred Paces diameter, the Water whereof is very transparent, and of a blueish Colour; it gives Rise to a small Rivulet which, after a short but rapid Course, joins its Waters with the *Anieno*; they say the Waters of the *Anieno* whiten the Teeth. The Lake as well as the Brook emit a very strong sulphureous Scent. The late Cardinal *d'Este* in vain attempted to sound the Depth of this Lake, though two Divers were prevailed upon to enter into it, one of whom never return'd, and the other related, that coming at a certain Depth, he found the Water so hot, that he was not able to endure it, though on the Surface it is very cold: The Sound caused by the treading of the Horses thereabouts, makes it apparent, that there is a Hollowess underneath the Ground near the Banks of this Lake. It is not unlikely that the Circumference of this Lake is only the Mouth of a much larger Abyss extending a great Way under-ground on all Sides, and that the Diver, who was never seen again, happened to be carried into the subterraneous Gulph, and could not find out again the Entrance of the Lake, for he never appeared afterwards upon the Surface of the Water. Near the Bank of this Lake are seen some Ruins, supposed by many to be the Baths of *Agrippa*: The largest of the floating Islands is of an oval Figure, not above fifteen Foot long: As the least Touch puts them in Motion, so they are easily carried by the Wind which Way soever it blows. Two of our Company got upon the least of these Islands, and push'd it from the Bank only with the Points of their Swords.

The *Villa Borghese* is in my Opinion one of the most pleasant and the best kept of any about *Rome*; it is all cover'd

cover'd on one Side with most curious ancient Pillars of *Basso rilievo*, so naturally disposed, as if they had been made for those Places where you see them. All the Apartments are fill'd with admirable *Statues* and *Pictures*, among the first, the *Gladiator* made by *Agastias* Son of *Dositheus* the *Ephesian*, as the *Greek* Inscription on the Base expresses it, a Copy whereof in Brass stood at the End of the Canal in *St. James's Park* in *London*, (since removed to *Hampton Court*) is an excellent Piece, as well as the *Juno* of *Porphyry*; *Romulus's* Wolf of the finest *Egyptian* Marble; the Busts of *Hannibal*, *Seneca*, and *Pertinax*; the *Hermaphrodite*; the old *Silenus*, with *Bacchus* in his Arms; the *David* throwing a Stone out of his Sling at *Goliath*, *Aeneas* carrying his Father, and the Transfiguration of *Daphne*, three modern Pieces of *Bernini*, yet deserve to be rank'd among the best of the former Ages. Among the *Pictures*, which are numberless here, the *St. Anthony* by *Caracchio*, and the dead *Christ* by *Raphael*, are preferr'd before all the rest. In short, the *Villa Borghese* is a most delicious Seat, and if it wants something of that Royal Magnificence, which gives a Lustre to some Palaces, its sweet and natural Beauties seem to make an ample Amends for it: Besides that, for *Statues* and *Sculptures* the Seat of a *Roman* Gentleman may challenge the Precedency before all the other Palaces in the World. In the Garden, the Gardener shew'd us a double white *Hya-cinth*, the Root of which, he told us, cost five hundred Crowns the Year before; a Thing not much surprizing to me, when I had known the Fondness (to speak no worse) of some People to proceed to that Extravagancy in *Flowers*, as to give four or five hundred Pistoles for a Tulip-root in *Flanders*.

The *Villa Ludovisa*, though much out of Order otherwise from the Poverty of the Prince of *Piombino* its Master, yet is very remarkable for a vast Number of *Statues*, and those for the most Part very ancient and valuable. The *Faustina* embracing a *Gladiator*, her Lover; the two *Gladiators*, one a dying *Mirmillo*, and the other reposing himself after the Engagement. The *Statues* of *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, and *Concord* are all most curious Pieces: The choicest *Pictures* and richest Furniture are removed from hence to other Places, the only Thing of Value remaining there, being the Bedstead, which (they say) cost twenty thousand Pistoles, but was much out of Order. In the same Chamber they shew'd us some Bones, which, they would make us believe, were the Skeleton of a petrified Man; but, upon a strict Search, I found these Bones not petrified, but cover'd only with a stony Crust; not that I believe it impossible for Bones to be liable to Petrification as well as other Things, having in my Travels had the Opportunity of seeing great Variety of petrified Fruits, Flowers, Trees, Wood, Plants, Fishes, broad Pieces of Flesh, and Animals of all Sorts: *Paræus* speaks of a whole Child petrified in the Mother's Womb; and *Kircher* relates the same of the Town of *Biedoblo* in *Afric*, that it was petrified in one Night, with Men, Beasts, Trees, and every Thing that was in it.

The *Villa Chigi* is famous for its curious little Water-spouts, and the Cabinet of Curiosities, in which the *Adrian* of oriental Jasper excels the rest, and is really invaluable. The curious Walks of the *Villa Montalto* or *Savelli*, are not inferior to any of *Rome* for valuable *Statues* and *Pictures*; among the first, the *Germanicus*, the *Pescennius Niger*, the *Scipio*, the Goddess *Nenia*, the *Adonis*, and the *Gladiator*, are most excellent Pieces of Antiquity; and among the *Pictures*, the dead *Christ* by *Raphael*, the *St. Francis* by *Caracchio*, the *Virgin* and the *Bacchus* by *Guido*, and the *St. John* by *Pomarancio*. I observed here an unusual Figure of *Abraham's* Sacrifice, by *l'Espagnolet*, who, instead of a Cymetar, or short two-handed Sword, as *Abraham* is commonly painted with, has, more agreeable to Truth, given him a plain sacrificing Knife, to cut his Son's Throat.

The Gardens of the *Villa Pamphilia* would, for their Exactness and orderly Disposition, challenge the Preference before many others, were they kept in better Repair, the House being adorn'd on the Outside with

excellent *Basso rilievo*, like that of the *Villa Borghese*, and is as well furnish'd within, but that the best *Statues* are much disorder'd by an odd Accident; for the Prince *Pamphilio* being very young, and much bigotted to the *Jesuits*, these holy Fathers, under a Pretext of Devotion, prevail'd upon him so far, as to have all his Marble *Statues*, Men, Women, and Children, quite laid over with Plaster-work in divers Parts of their Bodies, except a little *Bacchus*, who had the good Fortune to escape their ill-placed Zeal; and a poor *Venus*, the Masterpiece of *Caracchio*, but her Beauties hid by Smutt from Head to Foot. After some Time, however the Prince, being got out of the Hands of these pretended Zealots, order'd the nasty Clay or Plaster to be taken off again, which was done accordingly, but he found, to his no small Regret, that the clumsy Plasterers had mangled several Parts of the *Statues* to make their Clay stick the better.

The *Vigne Madame*, a Country-seat belonging to the Duke of *Parma*, is neither spacious nor magnificent, but very regular and pleasantly seated, being the Design of *Julius Romanus*: On one Side it has a most delightful Prospect of *Rome*, with many Gardens and adjacent Seats; and on the other, a most beautiful Landskip of little well-cultivated Hills. Over against it you see the *Tyber* flow through the pleasant Meadows and Fields, and at a Distance the snowy Tops of the *Apennines* rising up among the Clouds; behind it is a Wood of tall Trees, divided into cool and shady Walks; the Gardens rise by Degrees into Terrass Walks, and are well adorn'd with *Statues* and Fountains. Having sufficiently tired your Patience with the Description of *Statues* and *Pictures*, I will say nothing of the Houses of *Medicis*, *Matthæi*, *Lanti*, *Cesarini*, *Justiniani*, and many others.

3. I will at present begin with answering your Questions concerning the *Tyber*. As on one Hand it owes its chief Reputation to that famous City that was built upon its Banks, so on the other Hand, it has been represented by some with too much Contempt, its Breadth being by a general Computation at *Rome* about three hundred Feet, as may be seen by the Bridges of *St. Angelo* and of *Sixtus*; the first is three hundred and thirty, and the last three hundred Foot long; besides that, it has a rapid Current, and a considerable Depth. What some Antiquaries would maintain, that it was unlawful to erect Houses upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, may be sufficiently refuted out of *Claudian* and other Authors. *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus* order'd it to be clean'd, and enlarged its Chancel, to render the Passage easier to the Current; whose Example has been follow'd by several other Princes, to prevent its Inundations, but without any remarkable Success; for the South-East Wind off the *Mediterranean* (here call'd the *Sea Wind*) sometimes blows with such Violence, that it stops the Waters of the *Tyber* at its Outlet, which if it happens at a Time when (either by continual Rains, or the Melting of the Snow in the *Apennines*) the Torrents of the lesser Rivers that join with the *Tyber* are swoln, this Concatenation of Accidents produces those Inundations, which are look'd upon as the Scourge of *Rome*, as the sulphureous Eruptions of Mount *Vesuvius* are the Scourge of *Naples*; and of these, one of the most fatal happen'd under *Clement VIII.* in *December* 1698.

The Waters of the *Tyber* appear always muddy and yellowish, but if they are set by for a Night to settle, they will become clear and limpid, and are then accounted very good; notwithstanding which, the *Romans* have been anciently, and still are, at a vast Charge to convey other Waters to *Rome*, through the Mountains, by the Means of costly Aqueducts. The *Aqua Felice* cost Pope *Sixtus V.* near four hundred thousand Crowns to bring them twenty Miles to *Rome*; and as the Waters of the Fountain of *Montorio* were carried at a greater Distance by Pope *Paul* the Fifth, 1612; so it is probable they cost a great deal more Money in the Materials necessary for their Carriage.

On the High Altar of the Church of the *Franciscans* at *Montorio*, is to be seen that most excellent Piece of the

the *Transfiguration*, which is the last Work and Master-piece of *Raphael Urbin* the greatest Painter of his Time.

Not far from thence stands the Chapel, built in the same Place, as they believe, where *St. Peter* was crucified; for which Reason they shew a deep Hole in the Chapel, where they affirm the Cross was fix'd. The Picture of this Crucifixion, with the Head downwards, is to be seen at *St. Paul's at the three Fountains*, by the Hand of *Guido*; where they also shew you the Pillar, on which, they say, *St. Paul* was beheaded. In the Cloyster of *St. John de Lateran* they shew the Column on which *St. Peter's* Cock crew; and another, which, they tell you, was cleft asunder from the Top to the Bottom, on the Day of Christ's Passion: Here you see also the Measure of Christ's Height, and the Stone on which *Pilate's* Soldiers cast Lots for Christ's Garments; it is of Porphyry, four Foot long, and three broad; the Dice they pretend to be kept at *Umbriatico in Calabria*. I will not trouble you with many other Curiosities pretended to be preserved here, but cannot forbear to mention the Chair I saw there, being a kind of arm'd Chair of one single Piece of Porphyry, about which you desire to be inform'd, as being that which was formerly made use of in the Ceremony instituted to prevent all Doubts concerning the Pope's Sex.

I will not be too curious to enquire into the Reason and End of that Search, but since you have given me sufficient Occasion to make the best Reflections I can upon the Subject of the *She-Pope*, I must frankly confess, that I have not hitherto met with the least Solidity, either in your Objections, or any made by others, against the Truth of this History; though I am not ignorant that some *Protestant* as well as *Roman Catholick* Doctors of the last Ages, have rejected the same as a Fable. For, what Reason can be given to rank this among many other extraordinary Events recorded in History, when seventy or eighty Authors (*Blondel* says seventy one *Greek* and *Latin*, some too canoniz'd Writers) all Men of Sense, not prompted either by Interest or Honour, have related the same at divers Times; nay, when the Interest of Religion, and Fear of Punishment, might, in all Likelihood, rather have deterr'd them from publishing the same? It is a very slender Objection to alledge the Difficulty of the Thing, the same not being sufficient to disprove a Matter founded upon so unquestionable Authority, especially if we give some Allowance for the Diversity of Times, it being certain, that People living then in an Age of Ignorance and Stupidity, they might be sooner impos'd upon than in this crafty Age; besides, that Things which seem'd to be involv'd in insurmountable Difficulties, have nevertheless been brought about by Time and Chance; witness *Joan of Arc*, known by the Name of the *Maid of Orleans*, born in the Village of *Damremy*, in the Year 1429, who at the Age of eighteen or twenty, from a poor Shepherdess, became at once a great General: Besides, the Difficulties objected by our Adversaries are of such a Nature, as cannot render this History fabulous, all the Circumstances attending the same, being, if not altogether probable, or at least within the Compass of Possibility.

The beardless Chin objected to her Holiness is of little Validity, when we consider that the papal Chair has at other Times been filled with beardless Youths, witness *Benedict IX.* and *John XII.* the first of whom was chose at ten or eleven, and the last at eighteen Years of Age. Perhaps this *She-Pope* might be of the Number of those *Viragoes*, who have not only a masculine Mien and Beard, but also the Courage and other Qualifications of great Men; and why might not such a one, in Disguise, have as fair a Pretension to the papal Chair as a begging Vagabond, such as *Adrian IV.* or a Swineherd, like *Sixtus V.*; And others who might be mentioned? But, say they, how could a Woman hide her great Belly so long, and at last expose herself to the Danger of being deliver'd in a solemn Procession? As to the first Part of your Objection, What Difficulty is there for a Woman that is taken for a Man to hide her great Belly, any more than for a Man that has a swell'd Belly to be imagin'd to be with Child? And as to the

pretended Imprudence of our *She-Pope*, it is to be consider'd, that certain Things in this World are involv'd in such Difficulties as must be overcome at any Rate, maugre all the Danger that attends them; besides that, it is no hard Matter to suppose that she might be deliver'd before her Time.

You alledge the different Calculations of the Time, but the Reason is obvious, those who have expung'd the *Pope's* Name out of the Catalogue of Popes, being forced to extend the Reigns of the preceeding Popes, to fill up the Breach they made themselves. The next Objection, concerning her Voyage to *Athens*, when she was but a young Scholar, is founded upon a frivolous Supposition, which I may soon answer, by telling you, that perhaps she was old enough to be admitted among the Auditors of the *Athenian* Philosophers; besides that, it is not all the Authors who mention her, speak of her going to *Athens*: And though from these various Relations of my Authors you may seem to hope for an Advantage on your Side, I must tell you, that even in *sacred History* there are not wanting Instances of Variations in Circumstances of this Nature, and that these Variations, provided they do not amount to Contradictions, do not in the least weaken, but rather strengthen the Credit of such a Relation; for had there been a Combination set on Foot on Purpose to usher a fabulous Story, as that of *Pope Joan* is pretended to be, they would have certainly agreed in all the Circumstances relating to the Story.

The strongest Argument (in your Opinion) against us, is the Silence of those Authors who were Contemporaries of *Pope Joan*; but you will find this as weak as the rest, if you consider that *Marianus Scotus*, who died at *Fulda* in *Germany*, 1086; *Sigebert* a learned Monk, who died in the Beginning of the twelfth Century, and divers other more ancient Authors, did in all Probability take it from those Authors that had mentioned the same before them, there being not the least Likelihood that they invented it, for the Reasons before-mentioned: Besides, let me tell you, your Argument is built upon a wrong Bottom; for the Editions of *Anastasi* (surnamed the *Bibliothecary*, who was a *Roman* Abbot, a Person of Learning, and Contemporary of *Pope Joan*) which have escaped Castration, give a very circumstantial Account of the whole Matter. But suppose they did not, what Wonder is it, if *Fear* and *Shame* did impose Silence to the Writers of that Age, when the Invention of Printing was unknown as yet in the World, which could not be kept secret afterwards? As we see that the worst of Princes have been flattered during the Age they liv'd in, whom afterwards Posterity, not cow'd by Fear, hath painted in their true Colours. I can't see why the Church of *Rome* should make such a Stir to hide this Disgrace, when *Baronius* bestows the Title of *Monsters* upon several other Popes, and not without Reason, considering the Enormities the Popes have been guilty of, in distributing Scepters, and treading crown'd Heads under their Feet, notwithstanding they retain'd the Quality of Priests; and what is worse than all the rest, to set a certain Rate of Absolution upon the most abominable Crimes that can be committed, as appears from the Book entituled, *The Rates of the Apostolical Chamber*, which I bought some Days ago. It is true, they have since endeavoured to suppress the Book, by inserting it in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Council of *Trent*, but continue nevertheless in selling their Dispensations.

— Venalia nobis,

Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Corona

Ignis, Thura, Preces, Caelum est venale, Deusque.

i. e.

B. Mant.

Priests, Temples, Altars, all with us are sold,

Fire, Incense, Pray'rs, Heaven, God himself for Gold.

I will appeal to all unbiass'd Persons, when once Posterity shall read the History of the Persecution of *France*, as represented by *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and others of the same Stamp, I say, when they shall read the same in these Authors, whether they

they would not be apt to imagine that these poor Wretches were used with all imaginable Moderation, if it werenot manifest from irrefragable Authority, that these unfortunate Creatures suffer'd all the Cruelties that could be invented by their implacable Enemies. Before I take my Leave of Pope Joan, I cannot forbear mentioning what Mezeray says (in the Life of Charles the Bald) upon this Subject, viz. That *this Opinion was generally received as an undoubted Truth for five hundred Years together.* If you are curious to know the Reason why the Use of this Chair is laid aside now-a-days, the following Epigram of Pannius will satisfy your Curiosity.

*Non poterat quisquam referantes Æthera Claves
Non exploratis, sumere Testiculis :*

*Cur igitur nostro mos hic nunc tempore cessat ?
Ante probat quod se quilibet esse marem.*

The Sense is this :

*The sacred Keys none could of old obtain
Unless by Search his Manhood was made plain ;
Why does not to our Days this Rule extend ?
More certain Signs they give e'er they pretend.*

Pasquin, in his Verses on Paul II. and Innocent VIII. gives you the same Reason ;

*Pontificis Pauli Testes ne Roma requiras,
Filia quam genuit, sat docet esse marem.*

In English :

*That PAUL's a Man Rome need no Proof require,
Except the Maid that calls the Pontiff Sire.*

*Octo Nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas,
Hunc merito poteris dicere Romæ patrem.*

That is,

*Eight Boys, eight Girls, begot ; He well may claim,
Tho' not a holy, yet a Father's Name.*

The Church of St. John Lateran is celebrated for its spacious Magnificence, and the Title she bears of *The Head and Mother of all Churches*, according to the Inscription engraven on the Portico :

*Dogmate Papali, datur simul Imperiali
Ut sim cunctarum mater Ecclesiarum.*

Sixtus V. built a large Palace near this Church, but it was never inhabited. Next adjoining to this Structure is the *Sancta Scala*, so called from the twenty eight Steps of white Marble, pretended to be the same by which Christ ascended into Pilate's House, which no body is permitted to ascend but kneeling, though there are two little Stairs, on each side one, by which every one is permitted to walk up into the Chapel called *Sancta Sanctorum*, or the *Holy of Holies*, except Women, who are forbid to enter there. It has this Name from an Image of Christ, which, they say, was made by Angels : I saw it, and can assure you it is very ill-shapen, and very unworthy of the pretended Workmen.

From hence we passed by St. Mary major, a sumptuous Fabrick. A certain devout Roman Lord being warn'd in a Dream to go to Mount Esquilin, and there to build a Church to the Honour of the Mother of God, in the Place where he should find Snow ; and Pope Liberius having at the same Time such another Vision, they walk'd thither the next Morning ; and notwithstanding it was then in August, Anno 355, they found Snow, which they removed with their own Hands, and laid the Foundation of a Church in that Place. The Chapel of Sixtus V. the Work of Dominick Fontana, which cost seven hundred thousand Roman Crowns, and of Paul V. are very magnificent Structures ; in the last of which they shew you the Manger of Bethlehem, and the Picture of the Virgin done by St. Luke. Near it stands the little Church of St. Anthony, where all the Horses of the City receive Benediction every Year on that Saint's Festival. Soon after we took a Turn to Castel Gondolfo, sixteen Miles from Rome, a Palace belonging to the Pope, but has little remarkable in it.

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About a Mile from this Castle we saw the little Town of Albano, where in former Ages stood the famous City of Alba, which, they say, extended from the Lake of Castel Gondolfo to this Town of Albano ; but this is a Matter of Fact, question'd by some.

We were shewn at Albano the Ruins of a *Mausoleum* not unlike an old Tower, called commonly the Tomb of Ascanius, but with the same Uncertainty. There is another very ancient Tomb near Albano, supposed to be the Sepulchre of the two Horatii, and the three Curiatii, occasion'd, questionless, by the five Pyramids standing on this Tomb ; but Livy expressly contradicts this Opinion, viz. that their Sepulchres were erected in the same Places where each of them expired, viz. those of the Horatii near Alba, and those of the Curiatii not far from Rome. They told us that the Lake of Castel Gondolfo was six or seven Miles in Circumference, enclosed on all Sides with rising Grounds in the Form of an Amphitheatre. In two Places the Depth of this Lake cannot be sounded, and sometimes the Waters of this Lake swell on a sudden to the very Brink of these high Banks, occasion'd, without doubt, by some subterraneous watery Receptacles which discharge themselves into it. Near Gensana, about half a Mile from this Lake, is another little one, called by the Moderns the Lake of Nemi, but by the Ancients *Speculum Dianæ*, from a Grove and Temple consecrated to that Goddess, which formerly were very near the Banks of this Lake.

Between Albano and Castel Gondolfo are to be seen the Ruins of an ancient Amphitheatre ; and we were not a little surpriz'd to see several large Trees, that had taken Root without, to have forc'd their Passage thro', and cleft asunder the best cemented Stone and Brick. The Country about Albano and Gensana is very fertile, affording the best Wines and Fruits, and the Inhabitants still hold their most ancient Custom of cultivating Leeks and Onions ; *Mittit præcipuos nemoralis Aricia porros.* Mart. Before I leave the Roman Palaces, I must tell you also something of those within the City, which I will do with all the Brevity that is possible.

At the Palace Justiniani there is a Catalogue of Antiquities of 1867 Pieces, and of 638 curious Pictures, the most excellent of which are, the Nero's Head, the Minerva, Venus coming out of a Bath, and the three little Cupids sleeping and leaning one upon another. Cardinal Chigi's Palace is scarce inferior to any in Rome, the Gates are over-crusted with an old green Marble : The Statues of the two Venus's, of Marsias flea'd, and of the dying Gladiator, are admirable Pieces. The Farnesian Palace was begun by Antonio de S. Gallo, but brought to Perfection by the famous Michael Angelo ; the Front being in Breadth one hundred and eighty Foot, and ninety Foot high. The Gates, Corner-pieces, Cross-bars of the Windows, Cornish, and in short, all the principal Stones of this beautiful Structure, were the Spoils taken from the great Coliseum, which admirable Monument of Antiquity has furnish'd Materials also not only to the Palace of the Chancery and St. Lawrence's Church, but also to some Part of the City Walls. Thus Innocent VIII. destroyed the Gordian Arch to build a Church ; and Alexander VI. that most beautiful Pyramid of Scipio, to pave the Streets with the Stones.

The Marble Steps to the Church of Ara Cæli belong'd formerly to the Temple of Romulus : St. Blaise's Church owes its Ornaments to the Spoils of the Temple of Neptune, as S. Nicholas of the Souls was built out of the Ruins of the Circus Agonalis ; and had it not been for Sixtus V. we might now look in vain for any of the precious Remnants of Antiquity in Rome.

The Hercules and Bull in the Farnesian Palace are celebrated throughout the World ; and the Gallery by Caracchio, the Hall by Salviati, and the Venus and Adonis by Titian, are also excellent Pieces. The Library in the Palace of Altieri contains a good Number of the best Books. The whole Staircase, and especially the Statue of a Captive King at the Foot of it, (found five hundred Years ago in the Place called

Navona) is very fine. It has very spacious Apartments well filled with curious Pictures and rich Furniture. I saw here a *Looking Glass* of *Rock Crystal*, ten Inches long, and six broad, in a Frame of Gold set with precious Stones of a considerable Value. They also shew'd us a little earthen Dish carefully kept in a rich Frame, as being supposed to be the Work of *Raphael*, and is of the same Kind with the Vessels of *Loretto*; but discouraging upon this Subject with the noted *Carlo Maratti*, he assured me, that *Raphael* never drew a Stroke on any of these Dishes, but that, by the Resemblance of the Way of working, some of his Scholars painted the same, in Imitation of his Designs.

The Palace *Barberini*, called the *Palestrina*, containing four thousand Chambers, is the largest in *Rome* next to the *Vatican*, and has abundance of Antiquities; the little *Diana*, of Oriental Alabaster, is of great Repute; the *Tullia*, Daughter of *Servius Tullius*, and Wife to *Tarquin the Proud*, is very rare, and said to be the only one of that Kind in *Rome*: Here I also saw the God *Osiris*, with his Hawk's Head on a human Body, which was found with the Obelisk of *Minerva*, under the Ruins of the Temple of *Isis*; and a Marble Bust of Pope *Urban VIII.* made by a blind Man, and yet the best that is extant of that Pope. The other Palace of *Barberini*, towards the four Fountains, is fill'd up with Rarities, Antiquities, and Curiosities of all Sorts: They told us, that the Library contains four thousand Volumes. In the Halls of the Palace *Colonna* you see the Pictures of two Popes, *Adrian I.* and *Martin V.* two of the best that ever sat in the Chair, nineteen Cardinals, and fifty four Generals, all descended from the House of *Colonna*. In this Palace are nine very spacious Apartments, eight thousand original Pictures, a little Arsenal, Busts, antique *Basso rilievo*, Statues, and rich Furniture, in considerable Quantities.

As for their Way of Building in general, I told you before, that they cover their Houses with ridged Roofs, found out by our famous *Mansard*, and much preferable to flat Roofs; and upon this Occasion I must intreat you to lay aside that partial Opinion you seem to have conceiv'd of the entire Perfection of the *Roman Architecture*, which, as well as in other Places, varies according to the Difference of the Age and peculiar Mode of the Country, and is not always suited to the Regularity and Magnificence of just Architecture. The Obelisks in *Rome* are quadrangular, ending in a sharp Point, their Angles respecting the four Corners of the World, and denoting the four Elements, as the whole resembled the Rays of the Sun, the chief Divinity adored by the *Egyptians* under the Name of *Osiris*. The Hieroglyphick Characters on these Obelisks, supposed by some to have been the Elogies or Histories of great Actions, erected by the *Egyptians* in Honour of the Heroes of their Nation, have since been clearly demonstrated to contain the Secrets of their Divinity, *Astrology*, *Metaphysics*, *Magick*, and such other Sciences as were in Vogue among the *Egyptians*: All these Obelisks, (not one of them being made at *Rome*) are of *Granite*, a Kind of very hard Marble, which, they say, will resist the Fire for a considerable Time, and without Question induced the ancient *Egyptians* to make Choice of it for such lasting Monuments. The Obelisk of *St. John Lateran* has stood three thousand Years, and that of *St. Peter* nine hundred Years longer: The first, which is the biggest of the two, is an hundred and eight Foot high, without including the Pedestal or the Cross. There are also some *Granites* of *Corfica* in this Place, but their Grain is much coarser than those of *Egypt*.

4. Since you desired me to give you my Observations upon what Mr. *Chevreau* hath alledged, in his History of the World, concerning Pope *Joan*, I will write you my Sentiments upon this Head. That Gentleman acknowledges, That a considerable Number of famous Authors have mention'd that Story, and positively asserted the Truth thereof: And what Reason, I pray, can he alledge, why so many unbiass'd Witnesses of unquestionable Credit, who unanimously attest that Matter, should not be credited? He says, *The more judicious*

and cautious Part of Mankind, relying on the Silence of several other Authors, have examined and rejected the same. It is certainly a very weak Way of arguing, to say, that a Thing attested by the unanimous Voice of seventy or eighty Men, all of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, most of them Clergymen, and some canoniz'd Saints, all which is confess'd by the *Romanists*, should be invalidated by the Silence of some other Authors. But, says Mr. *Chevreau*, *Anastasius the Bibliothecary makes no Mention of the She-Pope Joan*: But this Author, as well as *Onuphrius*, who alledges the same Argument, is mistaken. If you will be pleased to consult Mr. *le Sueur's Ecclesiastical History*, and *Colomesius's Historical Miscellanies*, you will hear there of an *Anastasius* in the *French King's Library*, containing a circumstantial Account of this female Pope; besides two other Copies of the same Author, seen by the great *Salmasius* at *Augsbourg*, and another at *Milan*, which give an Account of the same Pope *Joan*. These before-mentioned Books tell you further, that the Jesuits of *Meniz* having only suffer'd two Copies to be wrought off conformable to the Original, (which they do not deny themselves to be true) suppress'd what displeased them in the rest of the Edition. Upon this Occasion, I cannot but put you in Mind to weigh strictly the Authority of the Testimony of *Anastasius*, (he wrote the Lives of the Popes to *Nicholas I.* the Successor of *Benedict III.*) who being a Man of singular Learning, lived at *Rome*, and was Contemporary with this female Pope.

I cannot forbear, in the next Place, to give you my Thoughts upon the Reflections made by Mr. *Chevreau* on *Martinus Polonus*, or the *Pole*, Archbishop of *Cosenza*, and Penitentiary to *Innocent IV.* and (according to the Opinion of some) to *Nicholas III.* whom he calls a silly Monk; and, I pray, for what Reason? Since, says he, in his Treatise of the Wonders of *Rome*, he mistakes the Gate of *Ostia* or of *St. Paul*, and of *Capenna* and *St. Sebastian*, for another which he calls *Collina*, instead (as we may probably suppose) of *Collatina* or *Pinciana*, the Pantheon for a Temple of *Cybele*, and the Amphitheatre for a Temple of the Sun, we may the easier forgive his Blunder in History when he mistakes a Pope for a Popes. If this Argument holds, That supposing M. *Polonus* had mistaken one Gate for another, therefore he must take a Pope for a Popes, I might with the same Reason retort it upon *Chevreau* himself, that since his Reflections on M. *Polonus* are groundless, therefore he mistakes a Popes for a Pope. That his Reflections are groundless, appears, (1.) That Mr. *Chevreau* himself knew not that there was such a Gate at *Rome* as the *Collina*, when he says, that *Polonus* took the Gate of *Ostia*, and the Gate *Capenna*, for another which he call'd *Collina*, instead of *Collatina*, or *Pinciana*; it being certain that *Collina* was the Name of a Gate as well as *Collatina*, and had its Name à *Colle Quirinali*, mention'd by *Ovid*:

*Templa frequentari Collinæ proxima portæ
Nunc decet, ————— Fast. 4.*

being now call'd *Salarco*. (2.) The Gate *Collatina*, so called from the Town of *Collatium*, is different from the *Pinciana*, as *F. Nardin* hath sufficiently demonstrated. (3.) Mr. *Chevreau* has as little Reason to find Fault with *Polonus* for calling the Pantheon the Temple of *Cybele*, the same being founded upon the Opinion of several learned Antiquaries, who believe it to have been consecrated by *Agrippa* to *Jupiter the Avenger*, and to *Cybele* the Mother of all the Gods, who was sometimes worshipped under the Names of *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*; sometimes under the Names of *Tellus*, *Magna Pale*, *Magna Mater*, and frequently stiled *Natura Rerum Parens*. (4.) Mr. *Chevreau* speaks so ambiguously concerning the *Roman Amphitheatre*, that his Meaning is not easily to be understood; for since there were several Amphitheatres, the Ruins of some of which are still remaining, I suppose he means the great Amphitheatre called *Coliseum*, built by *Vespasian*, and dedicated by *Titus*. (5.) It is certainly too great an Absurdity to believe, that *Polonus* could mistake this *Coliseum* for the Temple of the Sun; which makes me imagine,

imagine that some of his Expressions must not be well understood, and that instead of saying the *Coliseum* as a Temple of the *Sun*, he might speak of the Temple near the *Amphitheatre*.

You tell me, you have seen a Manuscript of *Polonus*, where this Story is written in the Margin by another Hand; and what can be infer'd from thence, except, that the Author having been mutilated by some body or other, a more equitable Person supplied the Defect, *Bellarmino* himself making not the least Scruple to confess, that *M. Polonus* wrote the History of the *Pope's*? For the rest Mr. *Chevreau* being not a little puzzled to give the World a probable Account of the first Rise of this Story, is forced to have Recourse to *Onuphrius*, (though he conceals his Name) who pretends, that Pope *John* was nick-nam'd *Joan*, from a favourite Concubine he had of that Name; though neither of them can produce any other Authority for this Assertion than their own, or make it appear that Pope *John* had such a Concubine: It is true, they cite *Luitprand* in their Behalf, but erroneously, the Widow's Name he speaks of being *Anne*, and not *Joan*. And Mr. *Chevreau*, it seems, was ignorant that Mr. *du Plessis Mornay* had already made a Discovery of this Forgery of *Onuphrius*, and that this Pope *John* fill'd the Chair a hundred Years after Pope *Joan*.

What he affirms of the Chair not being bored, I can contradict as an ocular Witness, having seen it more than once; and it is bored after the Manner of Close-stools. There are two of them, (both of Porphyry) one broken and the other entire, both made after the same Manner. *Platina* affirms positively, after *Chalcondylas* an *Athenian*, who flourished about the Middle of the fifteenth Century, and other approved Authors, that the new-elected Pope was placed in the bored Chair, and that the youngest Deacon used to thrust his Hand through the Hole, to feel whether he had the true Marks of Virility. This was, questionless, the primitive Use of this Chair; and though this Custom was laid aside by Degrees, they continued however for some Time to set the Popes on the same Chair, to put them in Mind, as Mr. *Chevreau* affirms after *Fauchet*, that they were still subject to the common Infirmities of human Nature.

What Mr. *Chevreau* tells us concerning the Deputies of the Council of *Soissons*, sent to Pope *Leo IV.* who was deceased before their Arrival, is of little Consequence, since he mentions a Council of *Soissons* without any peculiar Distinction, and without the least Proof, which ought to have been founded upon Manuscripts of uncontroverted Antiquity and Credit, to extricate himself and his Adherents out of the Labyrinth in which they have entangled themselves, by confounding the Succession of the Popes that preceded and followed the Popes *Joan*; whence it is, that whereas *Platina*, *Garenza*, and other unbiass'd Historians, compute twenty four Popes that bore the Name of *John*, (the rest count but twenty three) and thus introduce an irreparable Confusion in History. But it is Time to have done with Mr. *Chevreau*; I will only add, that it ought not to seem strange to you, that our *Pope's* is sometimes called *Anglicus*, sometimes *Moguntinus*; the Author of the *Fasciculus Temporum* (*Werner Wolnink* a *Westphalian*) has unfolded the Riddle in these Words, *Joannes Anglicus cognomine, sed natione Moguntinus*: Her Name was *Joan English*, but was born at *Mayence*. Neither must the Variations observed in Manuscripts disturb you, who are not ignorant of a thousand Instances of what Forgeries have been introduced by Transcribers; any more than the doubtful Expressions you meet with in some Authors that relate this History, it being to be consider'd, that as the Force of Truth prompted them to speak, so Fear, on the other hand, was a sufficient Bridle to restrain them from speaking too freely of the Matter: But as, notwithstanding all this, some Authors have broken through all these Obstacles, and given us a positive and circumstantial Account of the whole Matter, all the negative Authorities in the World cannot be sufficient to counterbalance the Credit of so many authentic Witnesses, and of a Relation so generally and so-

lidlly attested. To bring up the Rear of your Arguments, you have called to your Aid some of the *Protestant Doctors*, who deny the Story of Pope *Joan*, and among the rest the famous *David Blondel*, a Man of Learning and Wit: But, to deal frankly with you, as the Author's Name is the strongest Argument in his Book; so it is an unaccountable Piece of Prejudice to build blindly upon the Opinion of any Man not divinely inspired, let his Name be ever so great in the World, for Learning and Knowledge.

For my Part, I cannot reconcile his Argument when he confesses, that the History of the Female Pope is contain'd in the *Augsburgh Copies* of *Anastadius*, but in Opposition to these pretends to cite (and that without quoting any entire Passage) a certain private Copy of *Anastadius*, to be met with (which we must take upon his Credit) at *Paris*, the Certainty whereof he seems to question himself, when he tells us, that it has often been mistaken for *Platina*; so that in the Main this Book may, without much Difficulty, be refuted by itself, the rest being a confused Medley of Chronological Cavils, and an Heap of needless Quotations, serving more for Ostentation and to confound than demonstrate the Matter he has taken in Hand, to stand either one Way or other. To conclude the Whole, and to tell you my Thoughts with all imaginable Freedom, I have a great deal of Reason to believe, that it was rather Interest and Ostentation than the Love of Truth that engaged our Author in this Design; for I was assured by a Person of Honour at *Paris*, who knew the Author very well, that he had it from the first Hand, that he was hired to write a Treatise against the History of Pope *Joan*. And as my Author is a Person of unquestionable Reputation, so the only Thing that can be said upon this Head is, that Mr. *Blondel* is not the first Man that has been overcome by the Force of Gold.

All that I am able to answer to your Questions concerning the *Armenians* and *Greeks* is, That as they have each their peculiar Ceremonies, so they officiate according to their own Rites; but before they can settle at *Rome*, are obliged to acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy. Some Antiquaries say, the little *Armenian* Church was formerly one of the Temples of the *Sun* and *Jupiter*. Before the Pontificate of *Paul IV.* the *Jews* lived pretty easy in any Part of *Rome*, but this Pope confined them to a certain Quarter of the City, whither they were to retire at Sun-set, forced them to sell their Possessions, and allow'd them to deal only in old Clothes, and for Distinction Sake to wear yellow Hats. *Gregory XIII.* obliged a certain Number of them to hear a *Christian* Sermon every *Saturday* in the Afternoon; but I had no Opportunity to see this Assembly. The *Italian Jews*, and especially those of *Rome*, religiously observe that Custom of marrying before the twentieth Year of Age: Their Number may amount in *Rome*, to about six or seven thousand; but they are generally poor and despised.

If any *Jew* or other *Infidel* has a Mind to be baptized, the Ceremony is generally put off to *Saturday* in the *Holy Week*, and is then perform'd in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, because they believe *Constantine the Great* was baptized here. We saw six *Turks* baptized; they wore white Damask Cloaks, and a large Band, with a Silver Cross hanging at their Necks; the Cardinal that was to officiate, attended by the Canons of the Church, began the Ceremony with blessing the Water; then the new Converts being presented by their respective God-fathers, advanced one after another, and having declared their Willingness to receive Baptism, they lean'd over the Font, and the Cardinal baptized them by pouring Water upon their Heads with a large Silver Spoon; and having given each his Name, they were, with Wax Tapers in their Hands, conducted to the Chapel of the Baptistry, to be confirm'd, and from thence went to hear Mass in the same Church.

The *Thursday* before we were present at the Ceremony of washing the Feet of thirteen Pilgrims in one of the Chapels of the *Vatican*: They appear'd all in white, with a Kind of Hood and square Cap, seated in a Row upon a Bench. After they had pull'd off their Shoes and

and Stockins, a great Basin was brought, and Ewers of Vermilion, one for each Pilgrim; then the Cardinal that officiated instead of the Pope, putting their Feet in the Basin, wash'd and rubb'd them with his own Hands, and at last wip'd and kiss'd them: Soon after, each of them being regaled with two golden Medals, they went all together to an Apartment of the Palace, to partake of a magnificent Entertainment prepared for them; they were placed in one Row at a Table, the Cardinal dining at the same Time at another in the same Room.

The Pope [*Innocent XI.*] though really old and infirm, yet often makes the Want of Health serve for a Pretence to excuse his Absence at those numerous Ceremonies used at *Rome*. I had it from very credible Persons, that he did not approve of the *French Way* of converting People by *Dragooning*, and shew'd a great deal of Aversion to those who pretended to propose certain Methods of Accommodation to him with the Crown of *France*. His Retirement is the Occasion he is seldom seen by Strangers; nay, it is a Rarity to meet any of his Coaches, Footmen, or others belonging to his Retinue. If he happens to stir abroad, it is in a large Litter lined with Crimson Velvet, without and within adorn'd with Gold Galoons and Fringes, the Harnesses of the Mules cover'd with the same Stuff. He sits always alone in his Litter, with a little Table before him. All the Popes have the same Livery, viz. Scarlet, with a double Velvet Galoon of the same Colour; even the Apartments of the *Vatican* and *Monte Cavallo* are hung with red Damask intermixed with Edges of Gold Galoons, and adorn'd above with Gold Fringes.

The Situation of the Gardens of *Monte Cavallo* is very delightful, but their Contrivance is not very regular, nor are they well kept. The two Marble Horses before this Palace are generally reputed to be made by *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*, whose Names are engraven upon them.

Opus Phidias, Opus Praxiteles.

Some will have them to be the Statues of *Bucephalus* the Horse of *Alexander*, which these Artists made in Emulation of each other; but there is a Mistake in this Tradition, considering that *Phidias* flourished a whole Age before *Praxiteles*, and *Alexander* the Great reign'd fifty Years after *Praxiteles*. The two Marble Horses in the Court of the Capitol, were brought thither from the Theatre of *Pompey*, and the *Equestrian Statue* of Brass, placed here by *Paul III.* is supposed to be the Statue of *Marcus Aurelius*. The Capitol is a modern Structure, built not only upon the Ruins, but even upon Part of the Foundations of the ancient Fabrick, the old Foundations still appearing.

The Antiquities here being so many, that a Description of them would require an entire Volume, I will only mention some of the principal: The *She-Wolf* giving Suck to the two Brothers, on which is to be seen the Mark of the Thunderbolt mentioned by *Cicero*, (*Orat. 3. contr. Cat.*) four great *Basso relievo's* representing divers Passages of the History of *M. Aurelius*; the *Columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, the first that was honour'd with a naval Triumph at *Rome*; the Messenger pulling out a Thorn in the Senate-house; the Bust of *Cicero* with his Vetches; the four ancient Measures, one for Oil, two for Wine, and the fourth for Grain; the Bust of *Virgil*; *Nero's* Nurse holding him by the Hand; the Goddesses of *Silence*; the God *Pan*; the three Furies; a Statue of *Cæsar* in Armour; another of *Augustus*; those of *Castor* and *Pollux*; the Fragments of the *Colosses* of *Apollo*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus*; the Lion devouring a Horse; and the Trophies of *Trajan*, but believ'd by others to have belong'd to *Marius*. The Pictures in *Fresco* in the great Hall are of Cavalier *Joseph's* Hand; in my Opinion they represent the Battle of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*.

I am somewhat doubtful what Account to give you of the Pillar called the *Milliarium*; it is of white Marble eight Foot and a half high, with a Cypher [I]

mark'd on the Top, and on the Chapter a brass Globe of two Foot Diameter: It is the general Opinion, that this Pillar stands in the Center of *Rome*, from whence they used to compute the Distances from that City, divided into Miles by other Pillars erected on all the great Roads of *Italy*; but there are several Arguments which contradict this Opinion, for the Column in the *Forum Romanum* was, according to *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and other ancient *Roman* Authors, either of Brass or Brass gilt, with the Names of the great Roads and Distances of the chief Cities engraven upon it, Nothing like which appears on the *Milliarium* in the Capitol. If you object, that perhaps the brazen *Milliarium* being lost, this was set up instead of it; the Inscription engraven on one of the Faces of the Pedestal will tell you, that it was found near the *Appian Highway*.

S. P. Q. R. *Columnam Milliarium primi ab Urbe lapidis indicem ab Imperatore Vespasiano & Nerva restitutam de ruinis Suburbanis Viæ Appiæ in Capitolium transtulit.*

And it seems not likely that this Column was from the Center of the City transpos'd to a Mile's Distance from the Walls; then which Way can you give a true Explication of these Expressions, *primus*, or *secundus*, *ab Urbe lapidis*, if these Stones or Pillars were not without the City, the Words *ab Urbe* shewing plainly that they were not within? And since this *Milliarium* was found in one of the Suburbs near the Highway, I cannot but persuade myself that it then stood in its proper Place, and that the Number of those first Columns was equal to that of the great Roads. Whether we suppose the gilt *Milliarium* to be the only first Pillar, and the second Columns to have been placed at the Distance of one Mile from it; or that the gilt Column in the Center of the City was the Head-mark from whence all the Distances were computed, and that the next Columns were called the first *Milliariums*, and mark'd with an Inscription like that you see in the Capitol; it is evident from either of these Suppositions, that considering the Extent of *Rome*, none of these first or second Columns but must be within the City; and that consequently this Expression, *primo ab Urbe lapide*, could not take Place, but instead thereof, the *primus lapis* must have been in *Urbe*, and not *ab Urbe*.

There is a very ancient Inscription in the Palace call'd *Palæstrinum*, which contains the Statues of a College of *Æsculapius* and of *Health*, unto which *Salvia Marcellina* bequeath'd a Temple, a Place or Court, and a Walk, the Whole situate on the *Appian Way*, near the Temple of *Mars*, *Intra milliarius primum & secundum ab Urbe euntibus*, i. e. *Between the first and second Mile as you go from the City*; which Words, join'd to the Opinion of the best Antiquaries, that there was a Temple of *Mars* without the City, and on the *Via Appia*, are a sufficient Inducement to convince me, that the gilt *Milliarium* was erected as a publick Mark to know where all the great Roads begun, and to compute the Distance of great Cities; but that all the first Columns were each one Mile distant from the Walls of *Rome*. The two following Inscriptions are engraven on the Body of the *Milliarium* in the Capitol:

IMP. CÆSAR VESPASIANUS PONTIF. MAXIM.
TRIB. POTESTAT. XVII. IMP. XVII. P. P.
CENSOR. COS. VII. DESIGN. VIII.

IMP. NERVA CÆSAR AUGUSTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE
COS. III. PATER PATRIÆ REFECIT.

Adjoining to the right Wing of the Capitol is the Church known by the Name of *Ara Cæli*: They tell you, that *Augustus* having for a considerable Time, but in vain, solicited the Oracle of *Delphos* to know his Successor in the Empire, the Oracle at last declared, that his Mouth was stop'd by the *Hebrew Child*, who was the Son of God, and God himself; and that *Augustus*, finding this to agree with *Sibyllin* Prophecies, order'd an Altar to be built in the Capitol to the Honour of

of the *Hebrew Child*, unto which he gave the Name of the *Ara primogeniti Dei*, *The Altar of the First-born of God*. The before-mentioned Church being built in the same Place where *Augustus's* Altar still remains near the Quire, had thence the Name of *Ara Cæli*.

Near unto this Place is a Chapel called *St. Pietro in Carcere*, built in the same Place where *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were kept in Prison, after their Condemnation, and, according to the Opinion of the best Antiquaries, is the *Tullianum* finish'd by *Servius Tullius* or *Tullius Hostilius*, and used as a Prison for condemned Malefactors only. Here they shew you a Spring (they tell you that the Water has a milky Taste) which, they say, gushed out of the Rock at the Prayer of *St. Peter*, in order to baptize certain Profelytes; as also an Impression in the Wall, made (as they say) by that Apostle's Face, the Stone yielding as he was thrust with his Head against it by a Soldier.

Among the Multitude of ancient Ruins behind the Capitol, is the famous *Tarpeia*, (so called from one *Tarpeia* a Roman Lady) that once so dreadful Precipice, which is now not above twenty Foot high. The Triumphal Arch erected to *Titus* after his Conquest of *Jerusalem*, the *Basso rilievo* representing the Candlestick, Table, Trumpets of the Jubilee, and some Vessels taken out of the Temple, is highly worth a Traveller's Observation. The Arch of *Constantine* is very near entire, except that you see some Statues thereon without Heads, supposed to be carried privately by *Lawrence de Medicis* to *Florence*; and as the nicest Judges have observed a considerable Difference in the Beauty of the *Basso rilievo*, it is suspected that some of the best Pieces were taken off when it was erected. The Lake of *Curtius* was in the Middle of the *Forum Romanum*, but was already lost in *Ovid's* Time:

*Curtius ille Lacus, siccus qui sustinet aras
Nunc solida est tellus: sed fuit antè Lacus.*

The vast *Amphitheatre* call'd *Coliseum*, from a *Colossus* that was near it, is of a circular Figure on the outside, though the *Arena* is oval; it was capable of containing eighty five thousand Spectators, not including the twenty thousand *Excuneati* who stood in the Passages, and consequently four Times as many as the Amphitheatre of *Verona*. The Pillars of the third Order, and the Pilasters of the fourth, had *Corinthian* Chapiters. Though I cannot engage to answer your Questions concerning the Senate of Women instituted by *Heliogabalus*, yet I can thus far satisfy your Curiosity, that the little Edifice at *Monte Cavallo*, by some supposed to have been the Temple of the *Sun*, by others the Temple of *Health*, is suspected to have been the Meeting-place of that sage Assembly.

The Columns of *Trajan* and *Antoninus* are truly magnificent Monuments of Antiquity, adorn'd with most excellent *Basso rilievo*, ascending in a spiral Line from the Base to the Chapter, and representing the great Actions of those great Princes. The first is composed of twenty four Stones, each containing eight Steps, erected by the Senate to the Honour of *Trajan*, and served afterwards for his *Mausoleum*, his Ashes being placed in an Urn of Gold, on the very Top of it; in lieu of this Urn was afterwards placed the Statue of *St. Peter*, of Brass gilt, by *Sixtus V.* The whole Height of the Body of this Column is 128 Roman, or 124 English Feet; and you ascend to the Top by 123 Steps. The second, composed of twenty eight Stones, was likewise built by the Senate, to the Honour of *Antoninus Pius*, with the Statue of that Emperor on the Top of it, but has since been forced to make Way for *St. Paul*, whose Statue of Brass is now placed there, and gilt like that of *St. Peter* on *Trajan's* Pillar. The Body of this Column is 160 Roman, or 155 English Feet high; and the Stairs leading to the Top consist of 206 Steps.

One Day as we were visiting the Caves, known generally by the Name of *Catacombs*, we entered into the *Mausoleum* of *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Metellus*, surnamed *Creticus*, where, at the very Entrance of it, we were shewn a Hole, into which, but a few Weeks

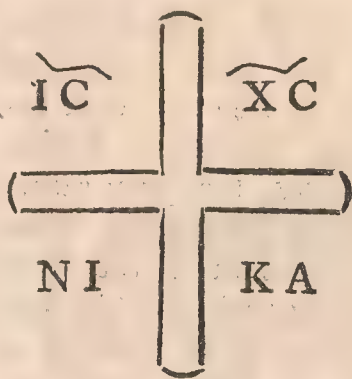
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before, a certain Gentleman (*D. Malatesta Strinati* of *Cesena*) happened to tumble deep under Ground, unperceived by his Company; his Friends being amazed and not knowing what was become of him, after they miss'd him, went in Search of him; but whether it was the Depth of the Pit, or that he was stunn'd by the Fall, he was not able to cry, or at least not loud enough to be heard by them, so that they were forc'd to return without him: The poor Gentleman having continued in this deplorable Condition for sixty Hours, at last found Means to open a Passage, and so clambering out of the Pit with a great deal of Difficulty, got to an adjacent House, where being comforted with some good Broths, he soon after recover'd his Strength. I am apt to believe there is no Place in the World that can compare with *Rome* for subterraneous Passages; and though the Earth has stopt up the Entrances of some, yet there are still left a prodigious Number of Caves, generally known by the Name of *Catacombs* among the modern Authors, though they cannot well support the Etymologies they produce.

These *Catacombs* are not single Vaults, but rather whole subterraneous Cities, with Turnings and Windings like Streets; as for Instance, those of *St. Agnes*, *St. Sebastian*, &c. There are some Caverns; as, those of the Gate *Pinciana*, and those near *St. John* and *St. Paul*, which seem never to have been made Use of as Burial-places, and are known by the Name of *Grotto's*.

The *Catacombs* of *Rome* extend under all its Suburbs, but those of *Naples* only under one Part of that City; these are dug out from among the Rocks, each Passage being commonly betwixt fifteen and eighteen Foot wide, and twelve or fifteen Foot high: The hollow Niches in both Sides of the Walls are shaped like Chests, of divers Sizes, placed in Rows above one another without the least Order, in which were laid the Bodies without any Coffins, cover'd only with flat Stones like Tiles, cemented with a Kind of Mortar or Mixture of Chalk and Sand. Besides these, the *Catacombs* of *Naples* have divers Tombs of an indifferent Bigness, with several Figures of Heads, Half Lengths, &c. with the Names of the Persons entombed, as *Paulus*, *Nicolaus*, *Proculus*, &c. and sometimes *hic jacet*, or *quiescit* underneath it.

On one of these Tombs I saw a blue and yellow Cross with the following Characters.



Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ.

Jesus Christus vincit.

Jesus Christ overcame.

Where it is to be observed, that the *Greeks* wrote their Ξ almost like our *Latin C*, during the three first Ages. Among all the *Catacombs* of *Rome*, those of *St. Sebastian* are the greatest; their Height is the same as those of *Naples*, but the Passages are not above two Foot and a half broad, by reason the sandy Ground could not be easily underprop'd, of which those at *Naples*, hewn out of the Rock, do not stand in Need. We saw one of these Niches opened, where we found a Skeleton moulder'd away into whitish Ashes, yet we could perceive that the Corps had been laid on its Back.

The *Roman Catholics* have taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the World, that these subterraneous Vaults were dug by the Christians in primitive Times, to bury their Dead in, with the Exclusion of all Pagans; that they used to perform their Religious Worship in them during the Times of Persecution; and that consequently they contain an inexhaustible Store of Relicks of Saints and Martyrs interr'd in them.

Though the Proof of this Assertion lies at the Door of the *Romanists*, and hitherto they have scarce attempted any Thing on that Head, yet will I subjoin some few Observations:

Observations which seem to contradict this Opinion. The first Thing I have to offer upon this Subject is, a Description of *Horace* of the *Puteoli*, or *publick Burying-places* of the poorer Sort, which is exactly applicable to the *Catacombs* ;

*Huc prius angustis ejecta Cadavera Cellis
Conseruus vili portanda locabat in arcâ :
Hoc miseræ plebi, stabat commune sepulchrum.*

The second Observation are the Words *Fata, Diis manibus, Domus æterna*, and such-like, found in the Epitaphs of some Tombs in the *Catacombs*, which I cannot conceive to have been in the least suitable to the Simplicity and Piety of the Inscriptions of Christian Tombs in primitive Times. I remember Mr. *Spon*, that most celebrated Antiquary, is of the same Opinion, in his Voyage to *Greece*, where he looks upon the Words *Æthera* and *Superis* as sufficient Proofs to shew, that the Tomb, which contain'd them, belonged to a Heathen.

The glass Vials and little metallick Vessels frequently found in the *Catacombs*, seem to be additional Marks of *Paganism* ; and though the *Romanists* pretend those Vessels formerly contain'd the Blood of the Martyrs, (this is rather a Conjecture than a Proof) whereas it is certain, that the *Roman Pagans* used to put *Lachrymatories* (in which they gather'd the Tears of certain Women hired for that Purpose) into their Urns and Tombs. I remember a certain Passage in *Tertullian's Apologetic*, which does not at all agree with the Pretensions of the *Roman Church* ; he says, The *Pagans* used to take the dead Bodies of the *Christians* out of their Tombs, and drag them about the Streets ; whence it seems very probable, that they would have deprived them of their Caves, had they discover'd them. Besides, how can it be conceived that the *Christians* should be able to dig those vast subterraneous Passages without being perceived ? And, how could they dispose of the Rubbish ? They will tell us perhaps, that they did not do it in secret, and that the Sand of the *Catacombs* was sold by the poor *Christians*, who, for this Reason, were nicknamed *Arenarii* ; but this is not applicable to the *Catacombs* of *Naples* : Besides that, it does not appear that the poor *Christians* were the only People that employed themselves in the Selling of Sand about the City.

The Cyphers of the Name of *Christ*, *Palm-branches*, *Doves of Peace*, *Crosses*, *Crowns*, and other Marks of Christianity, to be seen upon the Stones of these Sepulchres, are so far from proving, that these Burial-places were peculiar to the *Christians*, that they rather appear to be intended as Marks to distinguish them from the *Infidels*. The same may be said of the *Christian* Epitaphs, the Question being, not whether the Bodies of some *Christians* were buried here, (which is beyond all Dispute) but whether all others were excluded from being interr'd in the same Vaults, set apart for the Dregs of the People. The Pictures and Altars of different Sorts and Ages, found in the *Catacombs* of *Naples* and *Rome*, have been the Product either of the zealous Covetousness of the Popes, who, looking upon the *Catacombs* as a profitable Source of Relicks, have repair'd and made such Alterations in them, as they found most agreeable to encourage the Concourse of the Pilgrims. *Pancirollus* gives us a large Account of these Reparations. Most of the Bodies now to be seen in the *Catacombs* of *Naples*, were buried there forty Years ago, during the great Plague that raged in that City.

About a hundred and sixty Paces distant from the *Catacombs* of *St. Agnes*, stands an ancient Temple of a circular Figure, reputed by some to have been the Temple of *Bacchus*, on account of the Representations of certain Vines on the Roof, and some Vine-branches, Grapes, Vessels, and such-like Instruments on a Tomb of *Porphyry* in the same Temple ; but it being certain that *Bacchus* did not die at *Rome*, its Nearness to the Church of *St. Agnes* (built by *Constantine*) seems to be a sufficient Proof, that it was built by the same Em-

peror, to serve for a Baptistry to the said Church. The Tabernacle of *St. Agnes's Church* is supported by four Pillars of the best polish'd *Porphyry* : The Statue of *Agnes* you see there, is supposed to have been anciently the Statue of some *Pagan Deity*, the Mantle whereof is chiefly remarkable.

As it is beyond the Compass of a moderate Treatise to comprehend an exact Description of all the Antiquities and other Curiosities I observed in the Cabinets here, so I will content myself with mentioning only the most remarkable of those in the Cabinet of Mr. *Bellori*, which, for their Number, exceed all that ever I saw of this Kind. His *Fortuna Panthea* of Brass is not above half a Foot high, this little Goddess being a Composition of all the Characters of Divinity appropriated to other Gods, for she appears with the Beauty of *Venus*, *Juno's* Crown, *Diana's* Crescent, the Mitre of *Isis*, the Horn of Plenty of *Ceres*, *Minerva's* Robe, the Wings of *Fame*, *Cupid's* Quiver, the Goat-skin of *Bacchus*, the Serpent of *Esculapius*, *Fortune's* Rudder, and several other Characteristical Marks of different Deities ; the *Faustina* deified with her Veil strew'd with Stars ; the *Magna Mater*, or *Natura rerum parens*, suckling Animals of different Kinds at all her Breasts ; the Goddess *Fortune* with the Horn of Plenty in one, and the Nail of Necessity in the other Hand ; the Bust of a young *Roman*, with his Golden Bull hanging at his Neck ; the *Cistrum*, or an Instrument used by the *Egyptians* to call the People together to the Sacrifice, and afterwards introduced among the *Romans* for the same Purpose : It is a most curious Piece of Antiquity, resembling a small Racket, the Wood pierced with four Pieces of Brass like Cords or Rods, which play and make a Noise ; an ancient brown earthen Vessel extremely fine, and of the same Sound as the true Porcelane, with Pictures upon it representing the ancient Customs of Bathing : Among others, you see a Woman holding in one Hand a *Strigil* or Instrument for rubbing off Sweat, and in the other, a *Guttum* or Vessel with sweet-scented Liquors, not to mention the Urns, Sepulchral Lamps, *Lachrymatories*, Pictures, &c.

Father *Kircher's* Cabinet was once one of the most celebrated in *Europe*, and notwithstanding its being garbled of late Years, retains still a good Collection of natural Curiosities and mechanical Engines. The *Roman College*, or chief House of the *Jesuits*, (where it is to be seen) is perhaps one of the finest Palaces in *Rome* : The Library is numerous, but without any ancient Manuscripts, or other Rarities. In the Great Hall of this Society you see the Picture of the famous Jesuit *Garnet*, who was executed in *England* on Account of the Gunpowder Plot, with an Angel at his Side shewing him the Way to Heaven, open'd to receive him. This Hall is adorn'd with the Pictures of many other Jesuits that suffer'd Martyrdom.

During the last three Days in the *Holy Week*, we saw the Streets of *Rome* crowded with Processions and Penitents with Hoods over their Heads, some in white, others in violet Colour, blue, yellow, and other Colours ; some lashing their naked Bodies with Whips of small twisted Cords, which made more Noise than they did Execution : It is sufficiently known that some of them are hired for this Purpose. However, the Concourse of Pilgrims was not so great this Year as it had been at some other Times. I remember I read, in an Account of *Trinity Hospital*, that in 1600, (being the last Jubilee Year) that House entertained or provided for (according to Custom) 440,500 Men, and 2500 Women. The *Italian* Pilgrims are entertain'd here three Days, but Foreigners four Days, and are served at Table by Princes, Princesses, Cardinals, and the Pope himself. One Thing I must not pass in Silence, viz. that we never met the Sacrament in *Rome*, or any other Town of *Italy*, except at *Venice*, where we saw it twice carried in great State under a magnificent Canopy, attended by a great Number of Torches.

I must do this Justice to the *Italians*, that they are not possess'd with the Spirit of Persecution, at least against Strangers ; and I don't remember that in all our Travels through *Italy*, not excepting even *Rome* and *Loretto*,

Loretto, we were in the least affronted on the Account of not worshipping Relicks or Images, the worst we ever heard upon that Score being stiled now and then, *Non sano Christiani, no sound Christians.*

5. The Way between Rome and Viterbo has little remarkable, except some Remnants of the *Via Emilia*, which we found of the same Breadth with the other Consular High-roads. The ancient *Lacus Cyminus* (now Lake *de Vico*) is at the Foot of a very high Hill, but of an easy Ascent, bearing the same Name with the Lake. It is almost covered with Sycamores and Chestnut-trees, and produces vast Quantities of *Primroses*, *Narcissus's*, *Hya-cinths*, and many other Flowers. The City of Viterbo is built of Stone, and surrounded with a Wall: Besides its Steeples, it has eight or ten square Towers, built by the Inhabitants for Retreats during the intestine Com-motions of the *Guelph* and *Gibellin* Factions. The following Inscription on the Town-house, gives you an Account of the Restoration of the ancient *Tuscan* Name *Viterbo*.

Desiderius ultimus Insubrium Rex Longulam, Vetulo-niam atque Volturniam mœnibus cingit: & Etruriæ priore Nomine inducitur, Viterbium, multa capitis indi-cte, appellari jubet. Sal. An. DCC.LXXIII.

Schroder says he saw another ancient Inscription.

M. T. Ciceronem ob egregias ejus virtutes singularesque animi dotes; per totum Orbem nostris armis virtuteque perdomitum; saluum & incolumem esse jubemus.

In the before-mentioned Place is to be seen another authentick Inscription, confirming the Donation made by the Countess *Maud* to the See of Rome:

Æternæ memoriæ inclytæ Mathildis, quæ ob præstabile Religionis studium, ac pietatem, sed Pontificiæ suum hoc patrimonium, Divi Petri in Tuscia dein nuncupatum elargitur. Et in veterem Urbis ejus splendorem intuens, Paschalis II. Bleden Pontif. Max. ejus Metropolim, ut ante Viterbium constituit. An. S. 1113.

It would be a fine Thing for the *Romanists*, if they had so good a Plea for the Donation of *Constantine*; the *Latin* Version of it is to be seen in *Barth. Picerna* and *Aug. Steuchus*, pretended to be done after the *Greek* Original in the *Vatican*; it is also inserted in *Gratian's Decretals*, but *St. Antonin* of *Florence* assures us it is not in the old *Decretals*; and divers noted Authors have refuted this Fable.

This puts me in Mind of a witty Repartee of *Hieronymo Donato*, Venetian Ambassador to *Alexander VI.* who being ask'd by the Pope where their Title of Sovereignty to the *Adriatick Gulph* was recorded? reply'd, That his Holiness might find their Title written on the Back of the Donation of *Constantine*. Notwithstanding the Inscription of *Desiderius* mentions only three Cities united under the Name of *Viterbo*, yet I remember that this City is sometimes stiled *Tetrapolis*, and its Inhabitants *Quaterni Populi*; the Names of the four Cities are express'd in a Distich written on the Top of the Stair-case in the Town-house:

Hanc Fanum, Arbanum, Vetulonia, Longula quondam Oppida, dant Urbem: prima Elementa. F. A. U. L.

Some deduce the Origin of the ancient *Viterbium* from *Isis* and *Osiris*, for which they produce some *Greek* and *Latin* Inscriptions; but being inform'd by credible Persons that they were supposititious, and suppos'd to have been contrived by *John Annius* the Dominican, known commonly by the Name of *Annius Viterbiensis*, an Author of no Reputation, I will not insert them here.

In one of the Halls of the Town-house you see a Picture representing an innumerable Swarm of Locusts, which darkened the Sun and cover'd the Earth, devouring every thing they met with upon the Ground about *Viterbo*. This happened in 1526. *Mezeray* relates such

another Story, which happened in *France* in 873, and was followed by a great Plague; and *Oforius* another Instance of the same Nature, which, he says, happen'd in *Africk* in the Year of the World 3825.

We were no sooner come within Sight of *Montefiascone*, a little Town seated on a little Hill within eight Miles of *Viterbo*, but the Children came out and ask'd us, whether we would not take a View of the *Est, est, est?* The Story, I know, has been mention'd by others, but perhaps not with all its Circumstances: A certain Abbot or Bishop travelling from *Germany* to *Italy*, used to send a Servant before, to know in which Inn he could meet with the best Wine, and to mark it with the Word *Est* over the Door. Coming to *Montefiascone*, the Servant was so highly pleas'd with the *Muscattello*, that he writ three *Ests* over the Door, which inviting his Master to drink more plentifully than he used to do, he fell sick and died on the Spot; his Monument stands in *St. Flavian's* Church, about two hundred Paces from the Town; he is represented with a Mitre on his Head, with two Scutcheons (*quarterly in the first a Lion, in the second two Fesses, the Shield not blazon'd*) and as many Drinking-glasses on each Side of him; at his Feet you see the following Inscription in *Gothick* Characters, by Way of Epitaph, made in all Probability by his Servant:

Est, Est, Est, propter nimium Est, Joh. de Fuc. D. meus mortuus est.

That is,

Est, Est, Est, by taking too much of Est, John de Fuc, my Lord, died like a Beast.

His true Name was *John de Fucris*, and he was of a great Family in *Augsburgh*.

All the Way between *Montefiascone* and *Bolsena*, we pass'd near the Banks of the Lake of that Name; it is of an oval Figure, and forty Miles in Compass; it contains two Islands, called *Martana* and *Passentina*; the first is celebrated for the Banishment of *Amalefuntba*, the Daughter of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, who was afterwards murther'd there by the Command of her Cousin *Theodat*, whom she had made her Associate in the Government. *Bolsena* is a very indifferent Town, formerly an Episcopal See, till it was translated to *Orvieto*. Behind it you see the Ruins of the ancient *Volturnum*, which, as *Pliny* relates, was burnt by Lightning. The Country between *Bolsena* and *Aquapendente*, is the worst in the whole World; the last of these two is poor and almost desolate, yet retains the Title of an Archbishoprick ever since the Destruction of *Castro. Centino*, a little Village at the Foot of the Hill *Radicoferani*, is the utmost Boundary of the Pope's Dominions on that Side; the Town and Citadel, built by *Desiderius* the last King of the *Lombards*, bearing the Name of the said Hill upon which they stand, are for half the Year conceal'd in the Clouds. In our Way hence towards *Siena*, we saw for eight or ten Miles nothing but barren Mountains; but as we came towards *St. Quirico*, the Country began to grow better and better, though this lasted not long, for near *Torrinieri* the Land grew worse than before, and continued thus, with some small Alteration, till we came to *Siena*.

Siena, the third City, and perhaps the most pleasantly situated in all *Tuscany*; its Air is excellent, the Streets, though not level, yet very neat, being pav'd with Bricks laid sideways; the Houses are handsomely built, and the Water very good; besides that, the *Tuscan* Language is spoken here in its utmost Purity, without the Roughness of the *Florentine* Dialect.

The Cathedral of *Siena* is a *Gothick* Structure, but very beautiful, and one of the most perfect among all the great Churches of *Europe*, being cover'd within and without with Marble; the Pavement is of black and white Marble *a la Mosaïque* in the Choir. On the Corridor running round the Body of the Inside of the Church, are to be seen the Statues of the Popes, and among the rest there is one smooth-chin'd Creature, which, as is said, was placed there in the Room of the Pope's *Joan: Baronius* says, it was taken away and broken to Pieces; *Launoy* says it was to be seen in 1634, and *Blondel* acknowledges

knowledges the same, as also the Statue erected in the Place where Pope *Joan* was deliver'd; Father *Mabillon* confesses the same Statue, and says, that the Name *Joannes VIII. Fœmina Angliæ* was added to it. All the Authors that ever I saw, who inveigh against the Story of this female Pope, and mention this Statue, acknowledge that it is still remaining, or at least, that it really subsisted heretofore. This Structure was begun by *Duccio*, and finish'd by *Dominic Beccafumi*. That Part next the Choir is beautified with the Pictures of *Abraham's* Sacrifice, and the Passage of the *Israelites* through the Red-Sea; the arch'd Roof is azur'd, intermix'd with Stars of Gold. From the Church you pass into the Place where the Library was kept formerly; here we saw those glorious Pieces in *Fresco* representing the Life of *Pius II.* design'd by *Raphael*, but painted by *Peter Perugin* his Master, with *Bernardin* and *Pinturicchio*; most of the Faces represent Persons then alive; among others, the Pope's Soul soaring upwards in the Shape of a *Paradise* Bird, and the *Hermit* gazing on it, is an exquisite Piece.

I will not detain you with the Story of *St. Katherine* of *Siena*, but I can't pass by in Silence the old Citadel with fifteen or twenty square Towers; among these the Tower of *Mangiana* is mightily extoll'd for its Height, but it is by those who have seen but few others. The Arms of *Siena* are, the famous *She-wolf* that gave Suck to *Romulus* and *Remus*, founded upon a Fable, that *Siena* was built by the Children of *Remus*. Travelling between the City of *Siena* and the River *Arno*, we found the Ground grow better and better the nearer we came to the River, especially about *Camiano*, *Granayola*, *Ponte d'Era*, and between *Pontgibon* and *Pisa*. Near *Pontgibon* or *Poggi-bonzi* (famous for its Tobacco) we met whole Troops of Girls going from House to House singing and wishing a merry *May*; their Songs are composed of a Number of pleasant Wishes, every Stanza concluding with a merry, merry, *May*.

On several sandy Hills near *Certaldo*, we saw great Quantities of several Sorts of Shells, as we had before at *Monte-Mario*, a Mile from *Rome*, in the *Alps* in *France*, and other Places; the same have been observed by *Olearius*, *Steno*, *Cambden*, *Speed*, and others. I received your Observations with a great deal of Satisfaction, but, to deal frankly with you, I must tell you, that I differ with you in Opinion; for if these Shells were the Remains of the Deluge, I see no Reason why the same should not rather have been left in the Valleys, and more universally spread upon the Surface of the Earth; whereas now they are only gather'd into Heaps in certain Places. Nor see I any sufficient Cause to have Recourse to supposed Inundations, Tempests, and Eruptions; for though some such Thing might rationally be concluded in reference to certain Places subject to Earthquakes, (as for Instance, the *New Vesuvius*, or *Monte Nuovo*) yet as the same Reason does not hold in all other Places where these Shells are found, so the Solution of this *Phænomenon* may with much more Ease be look'd for in the same Property upon the Land which produces these Shells at Sea. You will perhaps tell me, that Shells are inseparable from Fishes, Snails, &c. but you may easily answer your self, if you will but consider, that Shells have been found in the Stomachs, Kidneys, and other Parts of human Bodies. But we will proceed on our Journey.

Pisa is the second City of *Tuscany*, formerly a considerable Republick, seated in a level Plain on the River *Arno*, dignified with the Title of an Archbishoprick and an University; its Streets are spacious, streight, and well pav'd with broad Stones, and generally well built. The *Arno*, which is navigable here, and twice as broad as the *Tyber* at *Rome*, divides the City into two Parts; it is at present very poor and ill-peopled, its desolate Condition must be attributed to their Wars with the *Florentines*, who, after the Conquest of this Place, founded the great Mart of *Leghorn* upon the Ruin of *Pisa*. The Cathedral here is very like that of *Siena*, but not quite so large; it is a regular Structure, and over-crusted with curious Marble. The Baptistry is of a circular Figure an hundred and eighty Foot in Circumference, and

arch'd, surmounted by a *Cupola*: By an Inscription on a Pillar of this Baptistry it appears, that the Church was finish'd 1153. Here is an Eccho, which magnifies a Noise to such a Decree, that the Sound thereof lasts as long as the Tinkling of a great Bell. Travellers make a great Wonder of the Leaning Tower, which some pretend to appear leaning on all Sides, by a peculiar Art of the Architect, when, in Effect, its Inclination is only on one Side, occasioned by the Sinking of the Foundation: Its whole Height is a hundred and eighty eight Feet, and is of the Figure of an exact Cylinder. I let down a Plummets from the Balcony on the Top, on that Side where it inclines most, and after several Tryals both to the Right and Left, found that the Lead touch'd fifteen Foot distant from the Foundation.

The famous Burying-place of *Siena*, call'd *Campo Santo*, (because the Earth was brought from the *Holy Land* 1228.) is a Kind of Cloyster, one hundred and ninety Paces long, and sixty six broad. On a Wall under one of the Portico's I saw an Inscription, being a Decree of the Senate of *Pisa* upon the Death of *Cæsar*, ordering their Subjects to appear in Mourning for a whole Year, and to abstain from all publick Divertisements. I will not trouble you with their Physick-garden, as having nothing memorable in it; but I must not quite forget the Knights of *St. Stephen*, who have their Residence here: They must be of noble Blood, and born in Wedlock: They vow Conjugal Chastity, and say a hundred *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Maria's* every Day. This Order was founded by the Great Duke *Cosmo I.* 1561, the sixth of *August*, after he had gain'd the Battle of *Marciano*; his Statue stands directly opposite (in the Place) to the Church.

Legborne is about fourteen Miles distant from *Pisa*, the Country between them being very level, but woody, fill'd with Oaks, Cork-trees, and wild Myrtles: They tell you, that these Woods were formerly all cover'd by the Sea, which reach'd within three Miles of *Pisa*, where you see a large Church at the Entrance of these Woods, which, they tell you, was built in the same Place where *St. Peter* was shipwreck'd one Day when he was fishing. I need not tell you, that *Legborne* is a modern City, built on a level Ground, and strengthened with good Fortifications faced with Brick-work; its Streets are large, streight, and uniform, the Houses generally of the same Height, and painted on the Outside. In our Journey from *Legborne* to *Lucca*, passing a second Time through *Pisa*, we saw, three Miles on this Side of it, the craggy Mount *St. Julian*, the Boundary betwixt *Tuscany* and the Republick of *Lucca*.

The City is most pleasantly seated in a fruitful Plain of fifteen or twenty Miles in Extent, enclosed by very rich and well-cultivated Hills; its Fortifications are regular, and faced with Bricks: We walked round the Ramparts in an Hour's Time: But though it is not so big as *Pisa*, it contains many stately Houses, and is very well peopled. They shew'd us the Palace of the Republick, where the *Gonfalonier*, or Standard-bearer, with the seven *Anziani*, or Counsellors, lodge and eat together. The State of *Lucca* is a Fief of the Empire; its Government is Aristocratical, managed by the Council of two hundred and forty Nobles, divided into two Bodies, who rule alternately every six Months, with the *Gonfalonier* at their Head. This chief Magistrate bears some Resemblance to the Doges of *Venice* or *Genoa*, but continues no longer than two Months in this Dignity; from whence he reaps no other Profit but maintaining of his Table at the publick Charge: His Dress is a Robe of Crimson Velvet, with a Bonnet and Stole, and his Title, *His Excellency*; his Guard consists of sixty *Switzers*, and he may not be chosen to the same Dignity till after six Years. Their Arsenal is abundantly provided with Arms, and those very well kept.

In the Cathedral we saw the Chapel of the *Volto Santo*. They tell you, that *Nicodemus* having several Times attempted in vain to paint the Crucifix, was at last assisted by the Angels, who guided his Pencil to finish it: They are not able to tell you how this Picture came to *St. Fredian's* Church, but are positive that it removed

ved from thence to the Cathedral, where it hung in the Air, in the Place where we saw it, till they built an Altar under it, on which it rested, and about which they afterwards built a magnificent Chapel. This Crucifix is in such high Esteem with them, that they stamp it on their Coin, with the Arms of the Signiory. In St. Fredian's Church is a Marble Table seventeen Foot long, six and a half broad, and fourteen Inches thick; the whole Story whereof is express'd in the following Inscription:

O quisquis legis, lapis es, ni lapis hic moveat in admirationem & cultum D. Frediani, qui templo huic construendo, molem hanc in montibus ad quartum lapidem naſtus, viribus impar, sed spiritu fervens; mirā facilitate manibus humerisque suis, & Canonicorum in plaſtrum binis indomitis vacculis trahendum impoſitum, sexto salutis ſæculo, hâc in æde ſtatuit ſacrum monumentum.

In the Miſt of the ſame Church is to be ſeen a Tomb-ſtone with this Inſcription:

*Hic jacet Corpus Sancti Riccardi Regis Angliæ.
Here lies the Body of St. Richard King of England.*

Who this Royal Saint was, I am not able to imagine; for Richard I. (ſurnam'd Lyonheart) died in France, and was interr'd in the Abbey of Fontevrault; Richard II. was, after his dethroning, ſtabb'd at Pomfret, and buried firſt in St. Paul's, from whence he was carried to Langley, and afterwards to Weſtmiſter; and Richard III. being ſlain in the Battle of Boſworth in Leiceſtershire, his Body was interr'd in the City of Leiceſter. I do not remember ever to have heard any Thing of a King Richard before the Heptarchy.

In the Church of St. Auſtin you ſee an Image of our Lady, with the little Jeſus in her left Arm, concerning which they tell you the following Story: A certain Soldier having loſt all his Money at Dice, fell into ſuch a Rage, that after having given a great many ill Words to the Image of our Lady placed then againſt the Wall of the Guard-houſe, he threw a Stone level'd directly at the Head of the little Jeſus; but our Lady perceiving the Danger, toſs'd the Child in an Inſtant from her right Arm into the Left, where it remains ever ſince; the insolent Soldier was ſwallow'd by the Earth, the Hole being ſhewn to this Day. About the Time of the Reformation divers noble Families retired from Lucca to Geneva, where ſome ſtill flouriſh.

Half Way betwixt Lucca and Florence ſtands Piſtoya, viz. twenty Miles from each; the Country thereabouts is extreamly fertile, and well cultivated, but the City is almoſt deſolate, having loſt all its Trade with its Liberty: It is much bigger than Lucca; and its large and regular Streets and beautiful Buildings are ſufficient Teſtimonies of its former Grandeur.

The Inhabitants of Piſtoya have a moſt profound Veneration for St. James and his Relicks; the Altar of his Chapel in the Cathedral is cover'd with Plates of Silver, and adorn'd with very rich Lamps. Here I obſerved, in a peculiar Prayer directed to him, theſe Words, *Tu qui primatum tenes inter Apoſtolos, imo qui eorum primus; i. e. Thou that waſt the firſt, nay, the chief among the Apoſtles, &c.* There are not a few who pretend to look for the Original of the Guelph and Gibellin Factions among the Piſtoyans, where, they ſay, lived two Brothers called Guelph and Gibel, the elder of which ſided with Pope Gregory IX. whiſt the younger embraced the Intereſt of the Emperor Barbaroſſa; but, in my Opinion, thoſe come much nearer the Mark, who derive the Names of thoſe two famous Factions from the illuſtrious and potent Families of the Guelphs and Gibellines, (upon the Borders of Germany and Italy) who were at open Enmity, a conſiderable Time with each other, before one declared for the Emperor and the other for the Pope.

6. My laſt being written the next Day after our Arrival at Florence, I will in this give you a brief Deſcription.

tion of this City, and afterwards communicate ſuch Obſervations as I have had Occaſion to make during our Stay. Florence, the capital of Tuscany, dignified with the Title of an Archbiſhoprick, and the ordinary Reſidence of the Great Dukes, is ſeated upon the River Arno, as it were within the Arena of an Amphitheatre, being enclor'd at four or five Miles Diſtance, (except on the Side toward Piſtoya) with very fruitful Hills, riſing by an eaſy Aſcent till they unite with the high Mountains: If you take a full View from one of the Towers of Florence, of the Villages and Houſes of Pleaſure in the Plain and Hills, it ſeems to be only the Continuation of Suburbs, this Valley being perhaps the beſt peopled Place of that Kind in the Univerſe.

I was credibly inform'd, that the Circumference of the Walls of Florence is 15,240 Fathoms, and that the River Arno, which runs through it, is 500 Fathoms broad; ſo that adding the double Breadth of the River to the Compaſs of the Walls, the whole Circuit of Florence amounts to 16240 Fathoms, three of which are equivalent to five Feet eight Inches Engliſh Meaſure, according to which Computation it amounts to 36,675 Feet: It is almoſt of a circular Figure. The ſame Perſon told me, that there are in Florence about eight thouſand eight hundred Houſes, ſixty thouſand Souls, twenty two Hoſpitals, eighty nine Convents, eighty four Fraternities, one hundred and fifty two Churches, eighteen Halls belonging to Merchants, ſeventy two Courts of Juſtice, ſix Columns, two Pyramids, four Bridges, ſeven Fountains, ſeventeen Places or Squares, and one hundred and ſixty publick Statues. The Streets are paved with broad Pieces of a grey Stone called Pietra-forſe, and moſt of the Houſes are built of the ſame; theſe are brought from the neighbouring Quarries.

The Great Duke's Palace (called Pitti) is a moſt noble Structure, but has this Defect, that the Court is not ſpacious enough in Proportion to the Edifice, which being one hundred and twenty Foot high to the Corniſh of the third Order, cannot be ſeen without Trouble in any Part of the Court, which is only one hundred and ſixty Foot long, and one hundred and forty broad. As we were entering the old Ducal Palace, (the Receptacle of the ſo much celebrated Curioſities) we took a full View of the four Statues of white Marble on the Bridge of the Trinity, representing the four Seasons of the Year, made by Michael Angelo. The chief Curioſities we obſerved here were, the David, the Work of Michael Angelo; the Judith, by Donatello; the Sabin Women carried off by Violence, by John of Bologna; the Perſeus of Braſs, by Coligni; the Hercules and Cacus, by Bandinelli; and the Braſs Statue on Horſeback of Coſmo I. by John Bologna; all theſe are moſt exquisite Pieces. The three Baſſo relievo's on the Peſtial of that Statue represent Coſmo I. kneeling before the Pope as he was giving him the Title of Great Duke; the ſame Prince entering Florence in a triumphant Chariot; and the Reſignation of the Sovereignty to him by the Senate of Florence. The great Gallery of the Palace is four hundred Foot long, where we paſs'd between two Rows of ancient Statues and Buſts. Above them, againſt the Wall, we ſaw the Pictures of the ancient Philoſophers on one Side, and thoſe of great Generals on the other.

Among theſe Statues, that ſuppos'd to be Scipio's, in a Robe of Braſs, excels all the reſt, the Characters on the Hem of his Garment are of the old Hetruſcan; the Leda embracing Jupiter with a Pleaſure mix'd with Shame; the Bacchus, with a Copy of the ſame by Michael Angelo, not inferior to the Original; Julia the Daughter of Auguſtus, the Pomona, the Venus, the Diana, the Apollo, another Bacchus, the Peaſant ſtriking a Boar, the Buſts of all the Emperors to Galienus, and eſpecially thoſe of Adrian, Pertinax, and Severus, are excellent Pieces.

In the Chambers behind this Gallery, we obſerved in the firſt a great branch'd Candleſtick of Amber, an admirable Column of Oriental Alabaſter, a Rhinoceros's Horn of an extraordinary Bigneſs, Abundance of Baſſo relievo's,

and a great Number of ancient Sculptures, Medals, Idols, sepulchral Lamps, Stones, Minerals, and other natural Curiosities : The second is fill'd with Pictures ; the third, called the *Mathematical Chamber*, (here used to be kept the Iron Nail, one half of which was pretended to be transmuted into Gold, but is not shewn now, it having been found to be no more than a Sodering) has, among other things, Globes and Spheres of seven Foot diameter : The fourth has likewise nothing but Pictures, which excel those of the second, except the Ornaments of Ivory, Amber, and precious Stones in a peculiar Cabinet, and among the rest, a large rough Emerald rooted in its Rock, and the Platform of *Leghorn* on a Table of *Lapis Lazuli* : In the fifth Chamber you see the Pictures of most of the illustrious Persons of the present Age ; among the Generals are *Cromwell*, *Monk*, and the late Earl of *Ossory* : The sixth contains an hundred and thirty seven Pictures of the most famous Painters, done by themselves : The seventh is filled with Porcelane Vessels, and the five following with all Manner of surprizing Curiosities, and great Quantities of Arms of all Countries ; the Horsetail of twenty Foot long, presented to the Great Duke by the late *Charles Duke of Lorrain*, is none of the least among these Rarities ; but the most precious Things are preserv'd in an octagonal Apartment called the *Tribune*, built by *Buontalenti*, being twenty Foot in Diameter ; the Floor is pav'd with Marble of divers Colours, artificially join'd like inlaid Work ; the Hangings are of crimson Velvet, the Windows of Crystal, and the Inside of the Lanthorn cover'd with Mother of Pearl. You have, questionless, heard of that most celebrated Diamond, which weighs 139½ Carats ; *Tavernier* says, it is Pity that the Water is yellowish. Among the other Rarities, the following are the choicest ; an antique Head of *Julius Caesar*, of one entire *Turquoise* of the Bigness of an Egg ; a Cupboard filled with Vessels of Agate, *Lapis Lazuli*, Cornelian, and Rock-crystal set with Gold and precious Stones ; a large Table and Cabinet of inlaid Work of Oriental Jasper, Calcedony, Rubies, Topazes, and other precious Stones, excellently well contrived ; a Collection of the best Medals ; a vast Number of carv'd and engraved Pieces nicely kept ; some Master-pieces of the most excellent Painters ; six very beautiful *Grecian Statues* ; two Wrestlers ; the Peasant whetting his Bill, and at the same time listening to the Conspirators, *Cataline's* Associates ; a *Tauro*, a *Cupid* sleeping, a *Venus* six Foot high, and another five Foot, both of white Marble, the finest Piece of Workmanship in the World, the Head turns a little towards her left Shoulder, with her right Hand before her Bosom, yet at some little Distance, and covering her Nudity with the other, but without touching ; she stands bowing gently with her right Knee forward, the better to hide herself. This bashful Posture is accompanied with all the Marks of Modesty and Chastity in her Face, and with an incomparable Beauty, Sweetness, and youthful Air ; her Neck is exceeding beautiful ; and, in short, this Master-piece is the most exquisite Imitation of the Perfection of Nature. On the Marble Base are these Words :

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΘΕΣΕΝ.

Cleomenes, Son of Apollodorus the Athenian, made it.

From this Palace passing through a small Gallery, we came into the ancient Palace of the Republick, where the Great Duke's Wardrobe is kept ; and among other Things we saw there the rich Coach made for the Solemnity of the Great Duke's Marriage. The Hall of this Palace is a hundred and seventy two Foot long, and seventy four broad. The Cathedral is a large and stately Building, though for the most Part of a *Gothick* Architecture, being over-crust'd within and without with the finest polish'd Marble of several Colours : Its whole Length is four hundred and ninety Feet, and its Height, to the Top of the Cross on the Globe, three hundred and eighty Feet ; the worst is, that it has no Frontispiece. The rarest Statues in this Church are, *St. James*, by *Sansovin* ; the *Adam* and *Eve*, by *Bandinello* ; the Statue of *God the Father* ; the *dead Christ*, and an Angel supporting him, by the same Hand, on the high

Altar : The *Eve* is somewhat larger than *Adam*. The *Resurrection* painted in the Dome is a most excellent Piece, though the Criticks find Fault with *Fred. Zuccherro*, who made it, because he has represented the rising Bodies with Clothes on : Besides this, we took Notice of a greater Blunder in the same Church, committed by no less famous a Painter than *Paul Urcello*, who has painted *Sir John Hawkwood*, whom the *Italians* call *Acutus*, an *Englisman*, General of the *Pisans*, on Horseback, and his Horse resting on two Legs on the same Side, while the other two are in Motion.

The Pieces of the Rods of *Aaron* and *Moses*, shewn in the Cathedral, are question'd by some, because these Rods are said to be entire at the Church of *St. John de Lateran*. The Steeple (near the Church) is a Tower of one hundred and eighty Feet high, over-crust'd with square Pieces of red, black, and white Marble, and beautified with several excellent Statues : The old Bald Man, by *Donatelli*, is highly esteem'd.

The Baptistry is not unlike that of *Pisa*, and cover'd like the Church ; some say it was anciently the Temple of *Mars*, and that after its being converted into a Baptistry, it was dedicated to *St. John Baptist*. The *Mosaick* Work on the arch'd Roof is esteem'd excellent, and among the Statues here, the *Magdalen* of Wood, by *Donatelli*, excels all the rest : But the most surprizing Pieces are, the three Gates of Brass, whereon are represented some sacred Histories in *Basso relievo*. The Back-Gate, with this Inscription, *Andreas Ugolini de Pisis me fecit 1330*, is not altogether so beautiful as the other two, which put *Michael Angelo* into such a Rapture, that he said, they deserved to be placed at the Entrance of Heaven :

*Dum cernit valvas aurato ex ære nitentes
In templo Michael Angelus, obstupuit ;
Attonitusque diu, sic alta silentia rupit ;
O Divinum Opus ! O Janua digna Polo !*

The Sense of which is,
*These Gates of burnish'd Brass when he beheld,
Great ANGELO, best Judge of what excell'd ;
Amaz'd he stood, long silent, and then sigh'd !
O Work Divine ! O worthy Heaven ! he cry'd.*

The Statue of Justice near the Church of the *Trinity* is supported by a Column of Porphyry said to have stood formerly in the *Pantheon*. In the Court before the middle Gate of the Baptistry, you see two Columns of Porphyry at some Distance from each other, and yet chain'd together, which, they say, were brought from *Majorca*, and bestow'd upon the *Florentines* by the *Pisans*, for the Assistance they gave them in the Conquest of Part of that Isle. Near them stands another Column erected in Memory of a pretended Miracle wrought by the Body of *St. Zenobius*, when it was removed from *St. Lawrence* to the Cathedral Church, for his Shrine touching by Chance the Trunk of a dry Tree that lay upon the Ground, it blossom'd immediately, and produced Fruit.

The Church of *St. Lawrence* is both spacious and rich, and the Chapel, I must confess, when finish'd, will be the most exquisite Structure that ever was seen of this Kind ; it is both very large and magnificent : In the Middle of each Face of the Hexagon stands a double Pilaster of Jasper, with a double Chapter of Brass gilt, the Base being the same. The Emblematical Figures on the Pedestals of these Pilasters are very artificially made of precious Stones : In the six Angles are placed as many rich Tombs of Porphyry, Oriental Granite, and some other of the most precious Kinds of Marble ; on each Tomb lies a great Pillow of Jasper, valued each at sixty thousand Crowns, enrich'd with precious Stones, and upon each Pillow stands a Crown, exceeding in Richness the Pillow itself : The Base supporting the Tombs is over-crust'd with Porphyry and Calcedony, on which will be engraven the Epitaphs of the Princes for whom these Tombs are designed, and their Statues of Brass gilt, twice as big as the Life, are to be placed in the Niches of black Marble that are over the Tombs.

Tombs. The inner Roof of the Dome is intended to be covered with *Lapis Lazuli* intermixed with Roses and other Carvings gilt; and the rest of the Walls are over-crufted in Compartments with the finest Agate, Granite, Onyx, and other precious Stones, each Pannel being divided into Squares, embellish'd with various Sorts of Ornaments of Copper gilt; and the high Altar is likely to surpass all the rest.

The Library of St. *Lawrence*, which is eighty Fathom long, and twenty broad, is celebrated for its Manuscripts; as for Instance, that of *Virgil* of the Age of *Theodosius*, and a very ancient Greek MS. of the Chirurgery of the Ancients, of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Asclepiades*, *Bitlynus*, *Apollonius*, *Archigenes*, *Nymphodorus*, *Heliodorus*, *Diocles*, *Rufus Ephesus*, and *Apollo-dorus Citienfis*, with the Manner of curing Dislocations, and Figures painted on Vellum, the only ancient Work of this Nature now extant. Mr. *Magliabecchi*, the Bibliothecary, was very sorry he could not communicate to me St. *Chrysostom's* Letter to *Cæsarius*, having received express Orders to the contrary from the Great Duke; but he positively assur'd me, that the Passage cited by *Martyr* is contain'd *verbatim* in that Manuscript.

In the Church of the *Holy Cross* we saw the Tomb of *Michael Angelo*, which, in my Opinion, bears no Proportion to the Merit of so famous a Person. In this Church is a Chapel belonging to the Family of the *Zanbini*, on the Altar of which is a Picture of Christ delivering the Souls of the Fathers, and among them many female Spirits, the Work of *Angelo Bronzini*: Some are of Opinion, that she who represents *Eve* is the true Resemblance of *Bronzini's* Mistress, and that the Man in the right Corner of this Piece, gazing upon this pretended *Eve*, is the Painter himself; just as *Pinturicchio* painted in the *Vatican*, Pope *Alexander VI.* prostrate at the Feet of *Julia Farnese*, under Pretence of adoring the holy Virgin.

In the *Annunciata* are kept two of the thirty Pieces *Judas* received to betray his Master; and in the Church of the *Carmelites*, the Crucifix that spoke to St. *Andrew d'Ursini*. Among the several fine Seats belonging to the Great Duke, we had only the Opportunity to see *Poggio Imperiale* and *Pratinola*; it must be confessed they are very delightful Places, and have even a sufficient Share of Beauty; but since our Gardens and Waterworks are advanced to that Height in *France*, the only Way to maintain the ancient Reputation of the *Italian* Seats, is to pass by in Silence their pretended miraculous Ornaments.

The Arsenal and Citadel of St. *John Baptist* are kept in very good Order, but the Forts of *Belvedere* and St. *Miniato* are much out of Repair. The Great Duke also maintains various Kinds of wild Creatures, and Nurseries for them. In the Hospital *ad Scalas* is the Tomb and Epitaph of a human Monster, with two Heads and four Hands on one Body, named *Peter* and *Paul*; one of these Heads would often weep, whilst the other laugh'd, and this slept often whilst the former was awake. The Mountains near *Florence* produce certain Stones, which being saw'd in the Middle and polish'd, represent sometimes Trees of divers Sorts, sometimes whole Towns, and the Ruins of old Castles; the first are called *Dendrites* by *Kircher*.

To conclude, I must tell you, that though *Florence*, for its Situation, and other Advantages, may be reckoned among the finest Cities in the World, yet to those who know the Pleasures of Society, and especially of Conversation with the fair Sex, the insupportable Constraint, and unavoidable Ceremonies used at *Florence*, appear an intolerable Burthen, except to those that are inur'd to this Kind of Slavery from their Infancy.

7. The Road between *Florence* and *Bologna* being one continued Ridge of the *Apennine* Mountains, and consequently not very fit for Calashes, we were forced to hire Horses, all the Littermen being taken up in carrying Monks (by what Accident I know not) over the Mountains. For two Days together we passed through a barren and mountainous Country; the highest Mountain we met with in our Passage, was that called *Monte*

Juovo; however, the Valleys of *Sarperia* and *Fiorenzola* (which some think to be the *Fidentia* of the Ancients) are not quite so desolate as the rest; the first is famous for Knives and other Cutlers Work made there; it was destroy'd by an Earthquake in 1642. We took Notice, that near the Village of *Pietra Mala* the Air sparkled in the Night. At the Village of *Scarica l'Assino*, between the last nam'd Place and *Loyano*, we saw a Post the Boundary of the Pope's and Great Duke's Territories, the Arms of the first being affixed on one, and the *Florentine* Arms on the other Side. From the Top of the last Hills of the *Apennine*, as we approach'd *Bologna*, and arrived by an easy Descent near that City, we had the most glorious Prospect in the World, of the extensive and delightful Plain of *Lombardy*, extending along the *Po*, from the *Apennines* to the *Alps*.

Bologna, the Seat of an Archbishop, who has the Title of a Prince of the Empire, and the second City in the Ecclesiastical State, is seated at the Foot of the *Apennine* Hills, at their opening into the Plain, upon the *Via Emilia*. The fairest Prospect of *Bologna* and the adjacent Country is from the Convent of St. *Michael in Bosco*, where at the same Time you may have the Pleasure of seeing one of the most magnificent Monasteries in *Italy*, comparable for its Beauty to most of the Royal Palaces of *Europe*; and to speak the Truth, as *Bologna* is larger and more populous, nay, even richer than *Florence*, so its Convents are generally very spacious and exceeding magnificent. The City is surrounded only with a single Wall without a Citadel; for when they surrendred to Pope *Nicholas* in 1278, it was under Condition, that they should not be bridled by a Citadel, their Estates not be liable to any Confiscations, and should be allow'd an Auditor of the *Rota*, and an Ambassador of their own at *Rome*; which Privileges have not been hitherto infringed. The University acknowledges for its Founder *Theodosius* the younger, in 425, but owes its chief Splendour to *Charles the Great*; hence it is that the Motto *Bononia docet*, is seen on the Coin of this City, as the Word *Libertas* is in their Arms.

In one of the Halls of the University College is a Monument erected to the Memory of a certain noted Chirurgeon named *Gabriel Taglicozzo*, who made artificial Noses, Lips, &c. of Flesh, mentioned by *Butler* in his *Hudibras*. The Canal which joins the *Arno* with the *Po*, is a great Conveniency for the Commerce of this City, the Inhabitants of which trade in Wax, Hemp, Flax, Hams, Sauciges, Soap, Tobacco, and Perfumes, besides that they have near four hundred Silk-mills; formerly they used to sell their little Dogs at a high Rate. The Houses of this City are generally of Stone, or Brick plaister'd over; the Streets have Portico's on both Sides, like those of *Padua*, but are higher and larger, and are for the most Part very straight; the Women are handsome, and not kept under so much Restraint as at *Florence*; the better Sort are inclin'd to follow the *French Mode*. In General *Caprara's* Palace, one of the best in the whole City, we saw many rich Spoils taken from the *Turks*.

The publick Palace of this City is appointed for the Lodging of the Cardinal Legate, and the *Gonfalonier* and his Counsellors. Over the Portal stands a Brass Statue of *Gregory XIII.* and on one Side of it that of *Boniface VIII.* with this Inscription;

Bonifacio VIII. P. M. ob eximia erga se merita, S. P. Q. B.
Ann. MCCC.

Here you are also shewn the Cabinet of Curiosities of *Ulysses Aldrovandus*, join'd with that of the Marquis of *Costi*, both belonging to the Publick. Among the rest we took Notice of the Picture of a certain Woman, who (as *Aldrovandus* says of his own Knowledge) had a long and thick Beard like a *Capuchin*. M. *Lotier*, a Banker of this City, has also an excellent Collection of Medals, in which are to be seen two *Otho's* in Brass of unquestionable Antiquity. In a Chamber near it they shewed us one hundred and eighty seven Volumes in *Folio*, all of *Aldrovandus's* own Hand-writing, and about two hundred

dred Bags full of loose Papers ; the Margins were pretty large, and the Lines not very close.

On the Front of this Palace, between the Statues of the Popes, is a *Latin* Inscription, intimating, that the Emperor *Charles V.* and Pope *Clement VIII.* meeting at *Bologna* in *November 1529*, restored the Peace of *Italy*, and that afterwards the said Emperor was crown'd King of *Lombardy* in the Church of *St. Petronius* ; the Emperor had been crown'd before, *Oct. 22, 1520*, at *Aix la Chapelle*. In another Place of this Palace, you see the Picture of one named *Ugolino*, on the Wall, hanging by one Foot, with this Subscription, *Ugolino traditore, filatugliero alla Patria* ; perhaps this might be Count *Ugolin* of *Pisa*, one of the Heads of the *Guelphs*. In another Place you see an Inscription beginning thus : *Adeste O Sol & Luna Testes, &c.* relating to a Miracle wrought by an Image of our Lady, who deliver'd *Bologna* from the Pestilence. That great and stately Fountain which faces this Palace, is the Work of the famous Architect and Sculptor *John* of *Bologna*, said by some to have cost seventy thousand Crowns.

In the Church of *St. Petronius* (the biggest in the whole City) is to be seen the so much celebrated *Meridian* Line of *Cassini*, engraven on a Copper Plate of 222 Foot long, and fixed in the Pavement. It begins at the Entrance of the great Body on the left Hand, and passes between the Pillars, without the least Obstacle, to the End of the little Nave of the Church, the Situation of which is almost *East* and *West*. In the arch'd Roof of the last Nave is a Hole, directly over the Noon-point of this Line, through which a Ray of the Sun entering, marks the Solstices and Equinoxes upon the Line. The same Operation may, without much Difficulty, be perform'd in any other convenient Place, the whole Mystery consisting only in measuring the Degrees on the Line, proportionably to the Height of the Hole through which the Ray enters.

In the Church of *Corpus Domini* they shew an embalm'd Body of *St. Catherine Vigni*, which has wrought many Miracles : But the Image of our Lady, said to be made by *St. Luke*, is in much greater Veneration with them ; her Residence is at the Mount *la Guardia*, eight Miles from the City (they were then making a cover'd Way to that Mountain) from whence they bring her at certain Times in Procession into *Bologna* with more than ordinary Magnificence, attended by the several Companies of the Artisans, the Fraternities, Convents, Heads of the Parishes, Magistrates, the *Gonfalonier*, and the *Legate* himself : The Image is always carried under a rich Canopy, the People upon their Knees saluting it as it passes by, with the most zealous Ejaculations that can be conceiv'd.

In the Church of the *Dominicans* you see the most magnificent Chapel and Tomb of *St. Dominic* ; the inlaid Work of different Colours on the Benches of the Choir, done by *Damian* of *Bergamo*, a Monk, are highly esteem'd to this Day, though it is beyond all Dispute, that since the finding out of the Art of imprinting natural Colours on Wood, this Kind of Work has been brought to a much greater Perfection. In the same Church is to be seen the Tomb of *Hentius* or *Enzelin* King of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, natural Son to the Emperor *Frederick II.* The Epitaph gives you an Account of his being taken Prisoner by the *Bononians*, who detain'd him twenty two Years, nine Months, and sixteen Days in Captivity, till his Death, which happen'd in *March 1272*. The Tower called *Garisenda* is about 130 Foot high, and leans like that of *Pisa* ; it is a square Tower built of Brick, and its Inclination to one Side proceeds, questionless, from the same Reason (*viz.* from the Sinking of the Foundation) as does that of *Pisa*. The bright Stones, known by the Name of *Bononian* Stones, are the Product of the Hill of *Paderna*, about three Miles distant from the City.

The Heats being almost as troublesome here as in the *Apennines*, the Men use Fans as well as the Women, some of which are of Paper, and sold for a Penny a piece. In our Inn they had a Way of driving away the

Flies by a Machine ; they often treated us with *Lake Toisies* of the Bigness of a good Trencher ; their Flesh is pretty firm, and not ill tasted.

Leaving *Bologna* about Sun-set, we travel'd ten Miles to *Samogia*, a small Village about half Way between this City and *Modena*. They told us, that from this Place to the *Alps*, the Country is as level as a Bowling-green, and that the Roads are lined on both Sides, either with Cornfields or Vineyards ; the Vines are supported by Fruit-trees planted Chequer-wise, as we had seen them already in several Parts of *Lombardy*, and afforded a very delightful Prospect at first, but at Length grew offensive to the Eyes of us Travellers, for Want of that Variety which is diverting to the Sight, and without which nothing is diverting. The same Night, as we came near to the Village, we were surprized with the Sight of a prodigious Quantity of shining Flies, called *Lucciole*, with which the Hedges were cover'd to such a Degree, that they seem'd to be on Fire ; they are not unlike the Locusts in Shape, but not so large ; the shining Part is a certain yellow hairy Down under the Belly, which being stretch'd at every Motion of their Wings, sends forth a bright Glance like Fire.

Early in the Morning we pursued our Journey to *Modena*, where we arrived in two Hours. In our Way we pass'd by the Fort of *Urban VIII.* defended by four Bastions bearing the Names of *St. Mary*, *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Petronius* ; and a little on this Side of it we cross'd the River *Panaro*, the Boundary between the *Bolonian* and *Modenesse* Territories. The City of *Modena* itself is seated in a fertile Country, but for Want of Trade makes but an indifferent Appearance ; for its Fortifications are much decay'd, the Streets are narrow and dirty, the Portico's on both Sides of them low and narrow, and even the Churches contain nothing worth taking Notice of ; so that were it not for its ancient Reputation, and the Residence of the Dukes of that Name, it would scarce deserve a Place among the Cities of *Italy*. The old Palace is an inconsiderable Edifice, but the new one promises much better.

8. We travel'd in Calashes in four Hours from *Modena* to *Reggio*, a City as barren in Curiosities as *Modena*, but better built, and its Situation very pleasant. The Inhabitants tell you Wonders of their Churches, but these Things they must tell those that have not seen *Rome* or *Naples* ; their chief Pretensions lie in the Workmanship of Bones, of which they make several Sorts of Toys not worth the mentioning, and sold miserably cheap. They told us of certain ancient Inscriptions found at *Reggio*, in which this City was called *Regium Lepidi*, the other *Reggio* in *Calabria ulterior*, being known by the Name of *Regium Julium*, and its Inhabitants *Regienses*, whereas those of the first were called *Rhegini*. They stile their Prince Duke of *Reggio* and *Modena*, just as in *Scotland* (before the Union) they put the Name of their Country before *England* in the Title of the King. About eight Miles from *Reggio* we pass'd the Bridge over the River *Lenza*, on the other Side of which begins the Dutchy of *Parma*, being a plain Country, mostly Pasture, whereas about *Bologna* and *Modena* the Grounds are generally till'd.

The City of *Parma* is seventeen Miles from this Bridge, very pleasantly seated, and seen at a considerable Distance, by reason of the Straightness of the Road leading to it, and the Height of its Spires. Over the Gate, through which we enter'd, we saw the Arms of Pope *Paul III.* the same who bestow'd the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Placentia* upon his natural Son *Lewis*. The River of *Parma* divides it into two Parts, but is not navigable ; its Fortifications are very good, and the Citadel design'd after the Model of that of *Antwerp*, formerly esteem'd a Master-piece.

The Ducal Palace is a very indifferent Building, but the new one is likely to be much larger and handsomer. The Wardrobe is well furnish'd, and so are the Stables, and the Coaches very rich. The great Theatre is beyond any of that Kind I ever saw, either at *Paris* or *Venice* ; the softest Whisper may be heard through any Part of it, though it is of a very large Extent ; there are no Boxes, but only Benches rais'd one above the other,

other as in an Amphitheatre. The Pit is also very spacious, and may be filled with Water to the Height of three Foot, in which they represent Naval Combats with whole Squadrons of little gilt Boats.

Besides the Schools of the University, they have here a College, wherein they receive young Gentlemen of all Nations, but none except such as are capable of being admitted Knights of *Maltba*. They eat together according to the different Sciences they learn; their Number at this Time amounted to two hundred and thirty. The Dome of the Cathedral is painted by the Hand of *Correggio*, and in the Churches of *St. John* and *St. Anthony* are various excellent Pieces. At the Race we saw Abundance of very good Company taking the *Tour à la mode* in their Coaches; but they observe here the same Custom that is practised upon this Account at *Rome*, viz. that the Women never go with the Men in the same Coach, but always appear in Coaches by themselves. In our Journey from hence to *Placentia*, we saw not any Village or River worth mentioning, except the little dismantled Town of *St. Domino*, tho' they are thirty five Miles distant one from another.

The City of *Placentia* is seated in a pleasant Plain about six hundred Paces from the *Po*; its Circumference is larger than that of *Parma*; the Houses are of Brick, neatly built, but very low, and on each Side of the Houses Foot-ways fenced with Posts, as in *London*, especially in the *Race-street*, which is as straight as a Line, of an equal Breadth from one End to the other, and three thousand Foot long. The Statues of the famous *Alexander Farnese*, Governour of the *Netherlands*, and of his Son *Ranuccio I.* adorn the *Great Place*, or, in plain *English*, the *great Square*. From the Top of one of the highest Steeples we had a full View of the Country round about, embellish'd with the various Windings of the *Po*, and could plainly discern *Cremona*, though at twenty Miles Distance. The Cathedral has some Pictures, done by the Hand of *Carache*; and that of *St. Sixtus*, an Image of our Lady, by *Raphael*. To conclude, *Placentia* is ill-peopled, and the Fortifications are but indifferent, though much extolled by the *Italians*; and their Weights, Measures, and Coins, are different from those of *Parma*. We coasted the Banks of the *Po*, but at some Distance from the River, following the Current till we came over-against *Cremona*, where we passed in a Ferry-boat, for there are no Bridges upon the *Po* below *Turin*.

The City of *Cremona* is seated on the *Milanese*-side of that River; it is very large, but poorer and less populous than *Placentia*. The Castle, though much extoll'd by the romantick *Italians*, is an antick shapeless Heap of Ruins; the Inhabitants of this City boast exceedingly of its Antiquity, but can produce no authentick Proofs for it. This City is forty Miles from *Mantua*, and in the Way between both you meet with no considerable Town except *Buzzolo*, a small City surrounded with some inconsiderable Works, which among some People pass for Fortifications; however, it bears the Title of a Dukedom, and its Prince is at the same Time Sovereign of the adjacent Country for four or five Miles about it. We passed the River *Oglio*, which rises with a large and rapid Current out of the Lake of *Iseo*, and falls into the *Po*.

Almost all Descriptions I ever saw of *Mantua*, have given a very imperfect Account of the true Situation of this City, which is generally represented to be in the Midst of a Lake; but to speak the Truth, this pretended Lake is no more than the Waters of the River *Mincio*, arising from the Lake of *Guarda*, which overflowing the flat Country, makes a kind of Marsh fourteen or fifteen times longer than it is broad, in which, but toward one Side of it, the City of *Mantua* is built on a firm Tract of Ground. The Cawsey over which we passed, was between two and three hundred Paces long, but on the Side towards *Verona* it is of a larger Extent. In some Places of these Marshes, the Water is always in Motion, but as it stagnates in most Places, the best Part of the rich Inhabitants leave the City during the Summer Season. *Mantua* has only a Wall for its Defence, but the Citadel is very strong: For the rest, it

is about the same Bigness as *Cremona*, but much better peopled; the Streets are broad and straight, but the Houses indifferently built.

The *Italians* will tell you strange Things of the Magnificence of the Palace, though, in Effect, it has neither Beauty nor Regularity, and the best Idea I can give you of it, is to compare it to *Whitehall*, viz. that it is large and commodious, without the other Qualifications belonging to a Royal Palace. We were assur'd, that this Palace was most magnificently furnish'd before it was pillaged by the *Imperialists*, July 18, 1639, but even as you see it now, the Duke's Lodgings want nothing of what is requisite to render them both convenient and splendid: The Hall is filled with rare and ancient Pictures, and the Cabinet of Curiosities wants not Materials to entertain the industrious Traveller. The Duke of *Mantua* has seven or eight Country Seats, among these we only saw *la Favorite* and *Marmirol*, the last of which is very pleasantly seated near a delightful Brook and Wood, and well furnish'd with Pictures and Antiquities, with Gardens, Orange-walks, Aviaries, and most curious Fountains belonging to it. In the Church of *St. Andrew*, they shew the *St. Longin*, with some Drops of that miraculous Blood found in this City in the Time of *Leo III.* which afterwards gave the Occasion (viz. in 1608.) to the Institution of the Order of *Mantua* by *Vincent Gonzaga*, who selected twenty Knights to be Companions of this Order. The other remarkable Things in *Mantua* are, the Churches of the *Jesuits*, of *St. Barnabas*, *St. Maurice*, *St. Sebastian*, *St. Ursula*, and *St. Barbara*, the Town-house, Theatre, Manufactory Halls, the Mill of the twelve Apostles, the Synagogue and Shambles. But before we part with *Mantua*, we must remember the Village of *Andes* near this City, which gave Birth to *Virgil*;

Mantua Musarum Domus, atque ad sidera cantu
Eveſta Andino. Sil. Ital. l. 8.

Leaving *Mantua*, we travel'd for twenty two Miles, till we came to the River which is the common Boundary between that Dukedom and the *Venetian State*, and eighteen Miles further came and lodg'd the same Night at *Brescia*. We were not a little surpriz'd at the Sight of the Women in the Streets and Shops, a Thing we had not seen since our Arrival at *Verona*. *Brescia* is pretty well peopled, and indifferently large; its Citadel, which is very strong, stands on an adjacent Hill near the Foot of the *Alps*; the other Fortifications are of no great Moment. The Palace of *Justice* is a noble Structure, of a certain Stone not unlike Marble; on the Pediment of the Front you see these Words;

Fidelis Brixia Fidei & Justitiæ consecravit.

The Armourers Shops are directly opposite to this Palace, under a Portico of five hundred Paces long, the Fire-arms of *Brescia* being accounted the best in *Italy*. This City is watered with many fine Springs, and a commodious Rivulet, which have their Rise among the *Alps*.

In the Cathedral they shew you what they call *Constantine's Oriflame*, which they told us was the same blue Cross that appear'd to *Constantine*, with this Motto, *In hoc Signo vinces*. But how is it possible that an Apparition in the Air could be preserv'd? And how could it be called an *Oriflame*, which signifies a Kind of gilt Standard or Banner? Some deriving its Etymology from *Flammula*, a Banner, and *aurea*, golden, because it was affix'd to a gilt Launce; others from a Sort of gold and flame-colour'd Stuff; it was adorn'd with green Tassels. I remember *Mezeray* tells us, that the second Race of the *French Kings* used to have *St. Martin's Cope* born before their Armies, but that the *Capets* made Use of the Banner of *St. Dennis*, called *Oriflame*, kept in that Saint's Church. Perhaps this *Oriflame* of *Brescia* is the *Labarum* in which *Constantine*, after his Victory over *Maccatius*, order'd a Cypher, which consists of the initial Letters of the Name of Christ, to be inserted,

As we travelled from *Brescia* to *Bergamo*, we passed constantly along the Ridge of the *Alps* on our right Hand, at the Distance of two or three Miles.

At *Palazzuolo*, a Place seated half Way between both these Cities (*viz.* fifteen Miles distant from each) we passed the *Oglio* a second Time. Coming to *Bergamo*, we found it both a trading and a strong Town, its Situation being at the Foot of the *Alps*. The Fortifications are well faced and kept, and the Citadel, with some Outworks, defend the rising Grounds about the City, which has no less than five good Suburbs. In the Cathedral you see the Tomb of the great *Barth. Cogliano*, General of the *Venetian* Forces against the *Milaneſe*; and in that of the *Austin* Friars, the Tomb of the famous *Ambroſe Calepin*, a Native of *Calepio*, a Village not far from *Bergamo*. In the Choir of the Cathedral you see some inlaid Work on the Benches, done after the ſame Manner, and by the ſame Hand, as that we ſaw in the Church of the *Dominicans* at *Bologna*. The *Bergameſe* Jargon is very groſs, beſides which, the Inhabitants have, for the moſt Part, ſcrophulous Tumors on their Throats, which appear very nauſeous to Strangers, though to them it appears ſo natural, that they queſtion whether it be a greater Perfection to have or be without theſe Tumors, and are inclined to hold the former.

The Grounds about *Bergamo*, and generally all over the *Milaneſe*, being watered with many Rivulets ariſing from the *Alps*, the Country People have from thence derived an infinite Number of Channels, whereby they prevent the Inconveniency of Drought, and render their Grounds fertile. The River *Adda* (ariſing out of the Lake of *Como*) having at this Time overflown its Banks, we were obliged to quit our Calafh at *Canonica*, a Village about twelve Miles from *Bergamo*, and to paſs the River in a Boat, not without ſome Danger, by reaſon of the Violence of the Current. Two Miles above *Canonica*, on the oppoſite Side of the River, lies *Trezzo*, where we embark'd on the Canal called *Navilio della Marreſana*, which reaches in a ſtraight Line within half a Mile of *Milan*, its Length being about twenty Miles. It is ſupplied with Water by the *Adda*, which River having in many Places very ſteep Cataracts or Waterfalls before it comes into the flat Country, is near *Canonica* twenty five or thirty Foot lower than the Canal; which is the Reaſon that ſo many Attempts were made in vain to bring the Waters of the *Adda* to *Milan*, till at laſt that moſt celebrated Architect and Engineer *Leonardo da Vinci* undertook this Work, and brought it to Perfection. Mr. *Felibien* gives this great *Florentine* the following Character; That he was of a very large Stature, and of ſuch Strength, as to be able to twiſt the Clapper of a Bell with one Hand; he was an excellent Horſeman, a fine Dancer, and very dextrous in the Management of Arms, and all other Gentleman-like Exerciſes; he was one of the beſt Painters of his Age; he and *Michael Angelo* having engaged *Raphael* to leave his firſt Way of Drawing; beſides which, he was a ſkilful Architect, a good Sculptor, and great Engineer; a learned Mathematician, Muſician, Anatomist, Philoſopher, Poet, and Hiſtorian; all which, join'd with his courteous and generous Behaviour, certainly render'd him one of the moſt accompliſh'd Perſons the World ever ſaw. He died in the 75th Year of his Age, in the Arms of *Francis I.* King of *France*, who giving him a Viſit, and our illuſtrious *Leonardo* endeavouring to ſhew his Acknowledgment by raiſing his Body in the Bed, the King advanc'd with his Arms to hinder him, and ſo he expir'd. From this Canal we had a moſt delightful Proſpect of the adjacent Country, border'd in many Places with Summer-houſes, Gardens, and Orchards, like ſome of the Canals in *Holland*.

9. Scarce any City in *Europe* hath been ſo entirely deſtroyed by the two terrible Scourges of Mankind, *War* and *Peſtilence*, as *Milan*; notwithstanding which, it may at this Day be rank'd among the fineſt Cities in the World: It was quite deſtroy'd by *Frederic Barbaroſſa* in 1162. It is almoſt of a circular Figure, about ten Miles in Compaſs, and is ſaid to contain no leſs than thirty thouſand Inhabitants. There are but few

Instances of ſuch great Cities built in the Middle of the Land without the Conveniency of either the Sea or a River, the Defect of which is ſupplied by many Springs and Rivulets that water the Country adjoining, and the Canal deriv'd from the River *Adda* fills the Ditch of the inward Encloſure of the City with running Water. The Fortifications, or outward Encloſure, were made ſince the Deſtruction of this City by *Barbaroſſa*. Near the Gate of *Pavia* is to be ſeen the Beginning of a Canal, intended to be drawn from thence to the City of *Pavia*, by *Galeazzo Viſconti*, but the Execution thereof was ſtopt by his Death. A certain *Latin* Author (*Werner Rookwink*) derives the Etymology of *Mediolanum*, à *Sue dimidia lanata*, i. e. from a Sow half cover'd with Wool, found in the ſame Place where this City was founded.

The firſt Thing we thought worthy our Attention, was the famous Cabinet of the late Canon *Manfredi Settala*, a Man equally learned and judicious, not only in his Choice, but alſo in working many curious Things with his own Hands. We ſaw here various Machines, invented for the Diſcovery of the *Perpetual Motion*; Looking-glaſſes of ſeveral Sorts, Dials, Muſical Inſtruments ancient and modern, and ſome of his own inventing; Books, Medals, curious Locks and Keys, Seals, Rings, Pictures, *Indian* Works, Muramies, Arms, ſtrange Habits, Lamps, Urns, Idols, and a great Number of all Sorts of Antiquities; Fruits, Stones, Minerals, Animals, Variety of Shells, Curioſities in Steel, Wood, Amber, and Ivory; a Piece of Cloth made of the Stone *Amiantos*, Monsters, &c. But the Diſh of yellow Amber, two Foot in Diameter, is a moſt exquisite Rarity: There are divers other Pieces of rough Amber with Ants, Flies, Spiders, and other Inſects, enclod in the Subſtance of them, a convincing Proof, in my Opinion, that Amber is a Kind of Gum or Bituminous Matter harden'd by the Air, the Sea, or ſome other Cauſe, ſo that when (for Inſtance) an Ant happens to light upon a raw and clammy Piece of this Bituminous Matter, ſhe is entangled in this unctuous Subſtance, and it growing harder and bigger by Degrees, the Inſect is enclod in it. This Opinion is exactly the ſame *Martial* had of it;

*Dum Phaëtontea formica vagatur in umbrâ
Implicuit tenuem succina Gutta feram:
Sic modò quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente
Funeribus facta eſt nunc pretioſa ſuis.*

There are three or four pretended *Unicorn* Horns in this Cabinet; for though, beyond all Diſpute, they are properly no more than the Teeth of a certain Fiſh found in the *Northern Seas*, yet here, as well as in the *Venetian Treasury*, and other Places where they are preſerv'd, they retain ſtill the Opinion, that they grow on the Head of that imaginary Creature. There are alſo ſome *Fossil Horns* exactly like thoſe that grow on Fiſhes, though of a very different Matter. The *Remora*, a Fiſh about the Bigneſs of a Herring, ſhewn in many Cabinets, is of the ſame fabulous Kind; I am ſure I have ſeen no leſs than twelve of them in ſeveral Places, but never two of the ſame Kind.

The Cathedral, founded by *John Galeas Viſconti*, firſt Duke of *Milan*, 13 June 1386. and which ſtands in the Center of the City, is a Structure of a prodigious Bulk, though (according to my Computation) a ſixth Part leſs than *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, but is infinitely beyond it in the Curioſity of the Ornaments and Sculptures, wherewith it is cover'd both within and without, there being not the Breadth of a Hand to be ſeen in the whole that is unwrought. It is built after the *Gotick* Manner, and to form a true Idea of this Edifice, you muſt repreſent to your ſelf a vaſt Collection of *Roſes*, *Trees*, *Animals*, *Grotesques*, *Pyramids*, *Niches*, *Statues*, and a thouſand other Varieties, affording an agreeable Confuſion to the Eye: However, there are only ſome Parts of this Church compleatly finiſh'd, the Canons of the Chapter thinking it their Intereſt not to proceed with too much Vigour in a Thing of this Nature, which brings vaſt Sums of Money by *Donations*, *Legacies*,

Legacies, &c. into their Coffers, Part of which they know how to employ to other Uses. According to an Inscription in Gold Letters, engraved on a Piece of Marble in the same Church, one *John Peter Carcannis*, a Native of *Milan*, left by his Will the Sum of 230,000 Crowns of Gold, toward the Building and Adorning the Front of this Church, which, nevertheless, remains to this Day almost naked. There may, perhaps, also be another Reason why the same is not finish'd; for considering that there are two Sorts of Architecture in that Part of it which is already begun, it seems as if the Undertakers were not a little puzzled how to reconcile the Uniformity of the Architecture to the *Gothick* Structure of the whole Body of the Church.

Martin the Fifth's Statue stands in the Choir of this Church, without a Beard, and a very young Face, tho' he was near fifty Years old when he was chosen Pope; the Inscription says, it exceeds *Praxiteles*:

*Præstantis Imaginis author,
De Tradate fuit Jacobinus in arte profundus,
Non Praxitele minor, sed major, farier ausim.*

Near it is the Statue of *Pius IV.* Behind the Choir are two Marble Tables, containing a Catalogue of all the Relicks preserved in this Church, among which is a Piece of *Moses's* Rod, though at the same Time they pretend to have it entire at *St. John de Lateran's*. Besides this Piece, there is another preserved at *Florence*, and *Baronius* says another was found at *Sens* 1008. On the great Altar you see the Nail of the Crucifixion, of which it is said *Constantine* made a Bit for a Bridle; five Lights burn constantly round it Day and Night.

The Pavement of this Cathedral is more curious and more solid than that of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, the Marble whereof being very thin, is almost worn out. The whole Charge of this Pavement (when finished) is computed at 66,290 Crowns, not including the Choir. We had from the Steeple of this Church a full View of *Milan*, besides other Cities in the Plain of *Lombardy*, and the Conjunction of the *Alps* and *Apennines* near *Genoa*. The great Bell, called *St. Ambrose*, is seven Foot in diameter, and weighs thirty thousand Pounds. In the great Square before the Church we observed generally about thirty Coaches; but their ordinary *Tour à la Mode* is a spacious unpaved Street, (called *Strada Marina*) sprinkled every Day with Water.

The *Ambrosian* Library obtained its Name from being dedicated to *St. Ambrose*, by *Frederick Borromeo* Archbishop of *Milan*. A certain Author, in his Description of this Library, printed at *Tortona*, makes the Number of its MSS. amount to 12,000, and the printed Volumes 72,000; but the Library-keeper told us, there were not above 40,000 in all. Among the first, *Ruffinus's* Version of *Josephus* challenges the Precedency for its Antiquity. The great Hall is seventy five Foot long, and thirty broad; it is kept open two Hours in the Forenoon, and as many in the Afternoon. Among other Rarities, we were shewn a large Volume of mechanical Draughts, done, as they said, by *Leonardo da Vinci's* own Hand; the Writing is so bad, that it is not to be read without a Perspective-glass. An Inscription on the Wall near it tells you, that a King of *England* offered three thousand Pistoles for it, but mentions not his Name. In the Academy for Painting, adjoining to this Library, we saw a Picture of *Clement X.* resembling a Print so exactly, that we were all deceived in it. The Cittadel is a regular Hexagon Fortification, well faced, and strengthen'd with a good Ditch and Counter-scarps. The principal Structures, besides the Churches and Convents are, the two Palaces of the Governor and Archbishop, the Houses of *Marquis Homodeo*, *Count Barth. Aresè*, and *Signior Martini*.

The Seminary (founded by *Charles Borromeo*) has a double Portico 176 Foot three Inches long, and 16 Foot 10 Inches and a half broad, extending round the Inside of the great square Court; the first Order is *Doric*, the second is *Ionian*. Over the high Portal you see the Statue of *Piety*. The *Townhouse* and the *Great*

Hospital, the great Court of which is 120 Paces square, about the Inside whereof are two Rows of Portico's, supported on each Side by forty two Pillars of a certain Kind of Marble found in the *Alps*, each Pillar consisting of one single Piece of Stone. The Body of the Structure is of Brick; the old Hospital is united with it, but the *Lazaret* or Hospital for infected Persons lies about three hundred Paces without the City; *Bramante* was the Architect. This large Structure is composed of four Galleries joined in a Square, each of which contains ninety two Chambers, about twenty four Foot broad; so that the whole Length of each Gallery (including the Walls) amounts to eighteen hundred Feet. The Inside is surrounded with a Portico sustained by Marble Pillars, and the Square within is a Meadow, water'd by several Springs and Brooks, in the Middle of which stands an Altar under a Dome, supported by Pillars, by which Means the Sick may see Mass said from their Chambers.

The Church of *St. Ambrose* hath many Statues and Pictures, which were the Production of the ignorant Ages: Among the rest, you see here a *Dragon* of Brass, resting upon a Column of Marble; some think it to be the Serpent of *Æsculapius*, others an Emblem of the Serpent in the Desert; but the common Opinion is, that this Dragon was cast out of the Fragments of that Serpent; which makes many Pilgrims flock thither to worship it, as *Bossi* and *Charles Torre* assure us by their own Experience. In the Church of *St. Eustorgia* they shew still the Tomb that contain'd the Bodies of the three Kings that were afterwards removed to *Cologne*; they pretend, that it retains to this Day a certain Virtue of curing Distempers; for it is to be observed, that the Inhabitants of the *Milanese* are not behind-hand with the rest in magnifying their Relicks, of which they have Abundance, for at *St. Alexander's* there are no less than 144,000 Martyrs of the Catacombs of *St. Sebastian*.

The chief Curiosities made in *Milan* are Works of several Sorts in Steel and Rock-Crystal, with which they are furnish'd by the neighbouring *Alps*; of the largest Pieces they make Looking-glasses, but they are seldom above a Foot square. It is to the Curiosity of their Workmanship that some attribute the Original of the old Proverb, *viz. He that wishes well to Italy, must destroy Milan*: meaning, that thereby its Riches would be dispersed through the whole Country; though some explain the same Proverb of the fatal Wars that have afflicted *Italy* on the Account of this City, it having been forty Times besieged, and two and twenty Times taken. The House of the *Marquis of Simonetta*, two Miles without the City, hath an *Eccho* which repeats the last Syllable about forty Times: We heard it in a cover'd Gallery in one of the Wings of the Buildings, where the *Eccho* answering from the other Wing, we found the Sound to decrease like the Rebouncings of an Ivory Ball.

In our Way from *Milan* to *Pavia* (which is only fifteen Miles) we went to take a View of the famous Convent in the Plain of *Barco*, founded by *John Galeazzo Visconti* first Duke of *Milan*. The Church is of a *Gothick* Architecture, but the Chapels and Altars not inferior to any in *Italy*; the Cloysters are wonderfully handsome, and the Gardens, Parks, Brooks, and Avenues exceeding delightful; it contain'd then about fifty eight Friars, who lived there very deliciously. The once famous, but now inconsiderable, City of *Pavia* is so much fallen from its ancient Lustre, that its poor Remains bear scarce any Resemblance to what in ancient Times its Buildings were, when the Metropolis of a Kingdom, and the Residence of no less than twenty Monarchs, the Castle being now no more than an old Heap of Stone, and the Fortifications quite neglected. The University (founded by *Charlemain*, and re-established by *Charles IV.*) is not much better than the Town; it hath, however, five Colleges, among which that of *Borromeo* is worth taking Notice of, for the Beauty of its Structure; the Scholars of every College wear different Gowns; which Distinction is of great Service.

The Cathedral is a low, dark, and very old Edifice;
over-

over-against it is an *Equestrian* Statue of Brass, called the *Regisul*, which some think to be the Statue of *Antoninus Pius*; *Platina* gives it the same Name, and says, it was brought from *Ravenna* after that City had been sack'd by King *Luitprand*, the same who (as they say) brought *St. Austin's* Body from *Sardinia* to *Pavia*, where it was buried in *St. Peter's* Church, now in the Possession of the *Austin Friars*, though it is certain that they cannot shew the Place where the Body lies, the Marble Tomb in the Chapel on one Side of the Church being erected only in Honour of that Saint. *Bernard Saccus*, (l. 10. c. 3.) a Native of *Pavia*, in his History of that City, gives us the following Account of the Translation of *St. Austin's* Body: *In templo D. Petri à Luitpranda ædificato conditum Augustini corpus fuit; & ne facile resciri posset, ferunt Luitprandum tribus locis effossis, struistisque, sepulchris, alibi deinde nocte, paucis operi adhibitis, jussisse corpus condi, omnibus sepulchris eadem nocte, occlusis, ut certa corporis sede ignorata, difficilior in ævum fieret occasio, ejus perquirendi rapiendique. Constructum deinde alio sæculo sacellum D. Augustino fuit, juxta Templum D. Petri, in quo sacello Arca marmorea & celebris, composita est, Augustini sepulchrum representans.* The same Author makes the following Observations concerning *Pavia*, That the Grounds thereabouts produce naturally *Asparagus* twice every Year, which are eaten raw by the Country People; and that the *Po*, which now is five or six Miles from that City, reach'd formerly within five hundred Paces of it; which explains several Passages in the ancient Geographers, who place *Pavia* near that River: *Padus*, adds *Saccus*, *sæpe totus ab alveo profiliens, alium sibi extemplo alveum sine fossoribus eruit. Si ab Apennino aquarum copia irruat, fluctus in adversam ripam torquet, contra vero si ab Alpium latere aquarum impetus fiat: si ex utraque parte, effertur supramodum.*

Coming out of *Pavia*, we pass'd the River *Tesin* (*Ticinum*) over a cover'd Bridge, being the most rapid and largest River of all that fall into the *Po*. It is subject to great Inundations, which sometimes prove fatal to the adjacent Fields; they say, that if these Inundations continue for eight Days, (which, however, happens rarely) the Coldness of the Waters destroys the Herbs to that Degree, that they scarce recover in several Years after.

The River *Ticinum* had formerly communicated its Name to the City of *Pavia*, built upon its Bank; *Saccus* says, in the Year 472. its Name was changed in the Time of *Odoacer*, who, after he had destroyed it, granted Immunity for five Years to the Inhabitants, in order to rebuild the City; whence the City was call'd *Papia quasi piorum patria*, from the Piety of its Citizens, who went to *Ravenna* to implore the King's Pardon, not for their embracing the Christian Religion, which they had done long before. *Me si audieritis*, said one of their Envoys after their Return, *nomen inveniemus, quod nostræ pietatis officia in patriam restituendam, paucis syllabis posteritati attestabitur, & Ticini nomen aquis restituetur. Papia piorum Patria, &c.* I shall add only, that *Pavia* is famous for the Misfortune of two Kings taken Prisoners there, viz. *Desiderius* by *Charlemain*, and *Francis I.* by *Charles V.*

10. We dined at *Voghera*, a Town about fifteen Miles from *Pavia*, and lodged the same Night at *Novi*, a City seated at the Foot of the *Apennines*, thirty Miles from *Genoa*, under whose Jurisdiction it is; the Road betwixt both is very mountainous. The Situation of *Genoa* is at the End of a Gulph, partly on the Brow of a Hill, which forms a Crescent round the Gulph, and partly on a little Plain betwixt the Foot of the Hills and the Sea-shore; the Streets are narrow, and the Houses in the lower Part of the City six or seven Stories high, but are lower by Degrees as the Ascent rises; this affords a pleasant Prospect at a Distance, but carries with it divers Inconveniencies, especially for Coaches, which for that Reason are not much in Fashion here, the Ladies being generally carried in Litters, and Gentlemen using Calashes they drive themselves. It is strengthened by a double Fortification, reaching on both Sides to the Shore, the innermost incloses the Body of the City,

and the second the rising Grounds about it. When I had taken a View of the City of *Genoa*, I could not but be surpris'd at what is commonly reported of it, viz. that it is built all of Marble, whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that (except some Houses in the *Strada Nuova*, that are either adorn'd with, or have whole Fronts of Marble) their ordinary Materials for Building are Brick and Stone, or both together, and their Houses are generally plaister'd over on the Outside. Notwithstanding this, *Genoa* is not destitute of beautiful Structures, especially in five or six of the best Streets, and in the Suburbs of *St. Pietro d'Arena*; besides that, *Genoa* has this Advantage in Building, that Slates and Glafs are as plentiful here as they are rare in other Parts of *Italy*.

The pretended Gardens in the Air in *Genoa*, compar'd by some to the pensile Gardens of *Semiramis*, owe their Original to nothing else but the Scarcity of Ground, which obliges the Inhabitants to put their Flowerpots in their Balconies, and sometimes to cover them with Earth. The best Edifices of *Genoa* escaped the Fury of the French Bombs, which being level'd against the middle Part of the City, did most dreadful Execution, there being to this Day (1688) above five hundred ruin'd Houses in that Part of the City. In the Church of our Lady of the Vineyards they shew'd us a Bomb which fell there without the least Detriment; had not the French Bombs thrown down four or five Churches and as many Convents at the same Time, they would certainly make the World believe that the Bombs had a Respect for so sacred a Place. During this Conflagration, the Doge, with thirty Persons more, shelter'd themselves in the great Hospital called the *Albergo*, whither many of the Inhabitants also carried their best Effects. To prevent the like for the future, they are at present busied in making a third Mole, which is to stretch further into the Sea than the two former. The Harbour of *Genoa* is capacious enough, and of a good Depth, but is expos'd to the *Lubeccio* or the African South-West Wind, the most dangerous that reigns in this Part of the Mediterranean. This oblig'd them to make another lesser Port within the great one, for the Security of their Gallies, which are now reduced to so small a Number as six, an insignificant Squadron in Comparison of what the *Genoese* Navies were in former Times.

Those that intend to have a compleat Idea of *Genoa*, must view it distinctly from three several Places, from the Top of the *Pharos* or Water-Tower; from the Sea at a Mile's Distance; and from the Top of the Hill. The publick Palace, or *Palazzo Reale*, where the Doge and some of the Senators lodge with their Families, is a very large Structure. In the little Arsenal of this Palace we were shewn a *Rostrum* of an ancient Roman Ship; it was of Iron, with a Boar's Head at the End of it: The Inscription tells you, that it was found in the Harbour of *Genoa*, as they were cleansing it. Here are also some Curiaffes, said to have belong'd to certain Ladies of this City who fought against the Turks.

The Ladies generally dress themselves after the French Mode, but the ordinary Sort make Use of a Kind of little Fardingals. The Noblemen, though not obliged to any particular Habit, yet wear for the most Part Black and Cloaks; they assume the Titles of *Dukes*, *Marquisses*, *Counts*, &c. which the *Venetian* Nobility do not, but they wear no Swords.

The Doge (who must be fifty Years old at least) is stiled *His Serenity*, the Senators *Their Excellencies*, and the Noblemen *Most Illustrious*, a Title of no great Moment in *Italy*. The Doge is crown'd with a Crown of Gold, and holds a Scepter in his Hand, by reason of the Kingdom of *Corfica* under the Jurisdiction of this Republick, but his Power is as much limited as that of the Doge of *Venice*; besides that, at the End of every two Years Deputies are always sent to his Serenity, to give him to understand, that his Time being expired, he must leave the Palace. We saw once the whole Senate in their Formalities at the Procession on the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, where the Doge appeared

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|-----|-------------|-------|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|------------------------|
| AAA | The Bay | E | The Battery | I | S ^t Peter de Arena | N | The Hospital | R | The Old Castle. |
| BBB | The Harbour | F | The Charas or Watch Tower | K | The Doges Palace | O | Lady of y Vineyards Church | S | Bastia. |
| C | The Mole | G G G | The Fortification round y Town | L | The Arsenal | P | The Biagno | T | Bastia di Permento. |
| D | The Fort | HHH | The Old Wall | M | The Cathedral | O | S ^t Bartolomeo | U | Church of y Annunziata |

peared in a crimson Robe, with a kind of square Bonnet on his Head; before him were carried two Battle Axes and a Sword in the Scabbard, a Senator marching on each Side of him in a black Gown, but of the same Make with that of the Doge; the Streets were strew'd with green Herbs, and lined on both Sides with Tapestry; in the Windows we saw the Ladies dress'd in their best Attire, with Baskets full of Flowers, which they threw among those that follow'd the Procession, according to their several Inclinations, the Gentlemen receiving these Favours with low Reverences from the Hands of the fair Distributors.

The Church of the *Annunciata*, though the fairest in *Genoa*, yet in Beauty and Magnificence is much inferior to many we have had Occasion to describe before. The most remarkable Thing that belongs to it is, that it owns for its Founder a Citizen of *Genoa* of the Family of *Lomellino*, who built it at his own Expence.

I will not detain you with the Dialogue between the Crucifix at *St. Jerome* and *St. Bridget*, any more than with an ample Description of the great Dish made of one single Emerald, in which, they say, Christ eat the *Paschal Lamb*, (*Beda* says it was a Silver Dish) *Du Val* would have this Emerald Dish to be one of the Presents made by the Queen of *Sheba* to *Solomon*.

At *St. Mary of the Castle* there is another speaking Crucifix; for a certain Gentleman, it seems, having made a Promise of Marriage to his Mistress in a Place of the City where a Crucifix stood, which he afterwards refused to fulfil; the Lady accused him before the Judges, where, being upon the Point of losing the Cause for Want of sufficient Witness, she appeal'd to the said Crucifix; and some Persons being sent thither, and the Question proposed to the Crucifix, it answer'd with a Nod, which made the Judges determine in Favour of the injured Lady; which is the Reason that this Crucifix is particularly reverenc'd by Maids. But I cannot say how far it is trusted. The Ashes of *St. John Baptist* are preserved in the Cathedral, in a Shrine supported by four beautiful Columns of Porphyry, brought from *Smyrna* in 1098. This Saint and the Emperor are the two Protectors of *Genoa*, and the Image of the first is stamp'd on its Coin, which is the fairest and best in *Italy*, commonly called *Genouines*.

The Traffick of *Genoa* consists chiefly in *Velvets*, *Points*, *Gloves*, *Anchovies*, dry *Confections*, and various Sorts of *Fruits*, but is much decay'd; for though some private Persons are still exceeding rich, yet the Generality grow poor; the Government monopolizes the Trade of Wine and Corn, so that the *Tavern* and *Innkeepers* must buy their Wines out of the Cellar of the State, and the Bakers fetch their Corn from the publick Granaries.

11. Taking our Way from *Genoa* towards *Casal*, we came back the same Way we went as far as *Novi*, where, hiring a Coach to *Turin*, we dined the next Day at *Alexandria*, a little City, provided with slender Fortifications; notwithstanding which, it maintain'd a Siege of six Months against *Frederick Barbarossa*, who gave it the Name of *Casarea*, which *Alexander III.* changed into *Alexandria*. What some affirm, viz. that the Emperors used to be crown'd here with a Crown of Straw, is a meer Fable, whence (they say) it got the Name of *Alexandria di Paglia* or of *Straw*, which, indeed, it retains to this Day, though the Reason of it is not known. *Casal* is a strong City, seated on the right Bank of the *Po*; besides the old Castle, it has a new Citadel, fortified with six Royal Bastions, Half-moons before the Curtains, and a large and deep Ditch full of Water, and an Arsenal stored with Arms for ten thousand Men. Since the *French* have been in Possession of this Citadel, they have made considerable Alterations in the Fortifications, especially in the Bastions, which being very large, they made a second Rampart, and new Bastions within the other.

From *Casal* we pass'd the *Po* a fourth Time, the Banks of which our Coach follow'd for a considerable Time; we pass'd in Sight of *Terni*, a small fortified Place in that Part of *Montferrat* under the Jurisdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*. *Verrue* lies on the right Side of the *Po*,

and is much stronger than the other. After we had travel'd eight Miles from *Casal*, we enter'd *Piedmont*, the Ground being still level, but not long after found ourselves among the Mountains, in a large and flat Valley, almost surrounded with the *Alps*: The Grounds in some Parts of this Plain are exceeding rich, but in some others very indifferent. In our Passage we saw two or three large Spots of Ground, where two Days before had stood the finest Corn in the World, now laid quite Waste by the Hailstones, the very Straw being beaten into the Ground, and the Vines, Walnut and other Trees broke all to Pieces. It is generally reckon'd but forty five Miles from *Casal* to *Turin*, but the *Montferrat* Miles, as well as those in *Piedmont*, are much longer than those in *Lombardy*.

The City of *Turin* is seated in a Plain upon the River *Doire*, three hundred Paces from the *Po*; not only the Town, but also the Avenues leading to it, are very pleasant; but what most pleases Strangers is, that here they are joy'd with the frank Conversation of the Inhabitants, after they have been almost tired out with the starched and jealous Reservedness of the *Italians*, it being certain, that their Manner of living at *Turin*, may be compar'd to the most polite City of *France*, and that Language is as commonly spoken here as the *Italian*, the People generally following the same Steps in their Conversation, and it may be said without the least Exaggeration, that the Court of *Savoy* is as sprightly and gay as any in *Europe*. The old Part of *Turin* is somewhat indifferently built, but to make Amends for this, the new Part has broad straight Streets, and the Houses are large, high, and pretty uniform. The Street that passes through the two Squares, and reaches from the Castle to the new Gate, is one of the fairest in *Europe*. The Houses in the new Square are adorn'd with large Portico's that enclose them on all Sides. The Duke's Palace has very good Apartments, though it appears with no great Lustre on the Outside. The Palace of the *Jesuits*, and of the Prince of *Carignan*, (but lately finish'd) are both magnificent Structures. *Turin* is but of an indifferent Bigness, enclos'd with a regular Fortification by the present Duke; but the Citadel exceeds the rest both in Strength and Beauty, but was not quite finish'd. The Walks of Oaks on the Ramparts are very delightful to behold at a Distance, and afford an agreeable Shade to those that divert themselves here, with the most delicious Prospect towards the Rivers; but the general Meeting-place of the Gentry is near *Valentia*, a Country Seat of the Duke upon the Banks of the *Po*, about a Mile from *Turin*, besides which the Duke has seven or eight more, all well furnish'd. Before we leave *Turin*, we must not forget to say something of the new Chapel dedicated to the *holy Handkerchief*, in the Cathedral; it is, beyond all Question, a very glorious Piece of Workmanship, but what some have pretended, viz. that it excels the Chapel of *St. Lawrence* at *Florence*, is so far from being true, that it is not comparable to it; they are indeed both of the same Figure, but that of *Turin* is much less, and will be embellish'd only with black Marble. I must upon this Occasion put you in Mind, that instead of one, there are at least five or six of these pretended *holy Handkerchiefs*, viz. two at *Rome*, in *St. Peter's* and *St. John de Lateran*; one at *Cadoin* in *Perigord*; one at *Besançon*, one at *Compeigne*, one at *Milan*, and another at *Aix la Chapelle*; they all produce papal Bulls to maintain their Titles, in which Point the Handkerchief of *Cadoin* has the Preference, being authorized by no less than fourteen Bulls, whereas that of *Turin* has only four.

12. Since we are going to leave *Italy*, I have a Mind to entertain you with some Observations, which I had not the Opportunity to insert in any of my former Letters. Our short Stay in the Places through which we pass'd, would not suffer us to spend much Time in making Acquaintance with the People of the Country; and consequently, we could not be so particularly informed of their Customs; neither do I intend to enter on that Subject, but only to communicate some Remarks to you, without any other Order than as they shall

offer themselves to my Memory. I could not give you an Account of those Academies of the *Virtuosi*, that are established in almost all the Towns in *Italy*, because I had not Time to enquire particularly about them; but if I may give Credit to the Information I received from several Persons, they are certainly, notwithstanding the Noise they make about them, but very inconsiderable Societies, as I have intimated before. The affected Oddness of their Titles are very whimsical, they are not much unlike the Names which the Grooms in *France* and *England* give to their Horses. I shall only mention a Dozen of them. Thus the *Academists* of *Genoa* call themselves *Addormentati*, i. e. *Drowsy*; those of *Naples*, *Ardenti*, i. e. *Burning*; those of *Alexandria*, *Immobili*, i. e. *Immovable*; those of *Rome*, *Fantastici* and *Humoristi*, i. e. *Fantastical* or *Humorous*; those of *Viterbo*, *Ostinati*, i. e. *Obstinate*; those of *Siena*, *Intronati*, i. e. *Giddy-headed*, or *Block-heads*; at *Perusa* they stile themselves *Insenfati*, i. e. *Mad*; at *Parma*, *Innominati*, i. e. *Harmless*; at *Bologna*, *Otiosi*, i. e. *Idle*; at *Milan*, *Nascofi*, i. e. *Concealed*; at *Ancona*, *Caliginati*, i. e. *Obscure* and *confused*; at *Mantua*, *Invaghiti*, i. e. *Easy* or *Pliable*; and at *Macerata*, *Catenati*, i. e. *Chained*. I perceive I have skipped from Place to Place without any Order, but that is not material in a Thing of this Nature.

We were treated with a great deal of Civility and Kindness by the *Italians*, as far as we could judge by outward Appearances; but to deal plainly, their Complaisance is a Mixture of Flattery and Design. We found also by Experience, that the People of this Nation are very sober. The Inns in the little Towns, especially on certain Roads, are very ill furnished with Provisions. The first Course they call the *Antipasto*, is a Dish of Giblets boiled with Salt and Pepper, and mixed with Whites of Eggs; after which Course, comes two or three small Dishes, one after another, of different *Ragous*. Between *Rome* and *Naples* the Traveller is sometimes regal'd with *Buffaloes* and *Crows*. Some Historians relate, that the first *Buffaloes* that were seen in *Italy*, were brought thither *Anno Dom. 595*; the *Buffaloe's* Flesh is black, stinking, and hard; there are none but the most beggarly *Jews* at *Rome* who eat it, and the Beast must be hunted, otherwise it is impossible to chew its Flesh. They have all the various Kinds of Wine in *Italy*, but the best Sorts are scarce. About *Rome* there is the Wine of *Gensano*, *Albano*, and *Castle Gandolfo*, in which Places the Soil is the same; the *Greco* of *Naples* and the *Lacryma Christi* are strong, but the small *Asprino bianco*, and the *Chiarello piccante*, seemed more agreeable to our Taste, though they are much less esteemed. At *Florence* and *Montefiascone* the richest Wines are pleasant, and have no more Fire than what is convenient for ordinary Drink; but there is no great Quantity of them. The Great Duke's delicate *Moscadello* grows in a little Vineyard, and is consecrated to his own Ule, or to be sent as Presents, but never dispersed through the Country. There are also some good Sorts of Wine near *Verona*, and in the State of *Genoa*. About *Loretto* the Casks are made short and broad, like a *Dutch Cheese*, but towards *Pavia* their Length is about seven Times their Diameter. Towards *Parma* and *Placentia*, where there are excellent Pastures, they make Cheese of all their Milk. Butter is scarce in *Italy*, instead of which they use Oil in all their *Ragous* and *Fricasies*; but though they draw it from their own Olive-trees, it is oftentimes worse than in those Countries where none of these Trees grow; for what will yield the Price and keep longest is always transported for the Sake of Gain. We have not seen the chief Season for Fruit in this Country. At *Venice*, where we staid two Months in Winter, we had white Grapes of *Bologna*, very firm, and of a most delicious Taste. At *Naples* we eat Winter Melons, and at *Genoa* we were entertained with all Sorts of small Fruits, and I never saw so good and large Cherries as there. The *Riviera di Genoa* is peculiarly famous for excellent Fruit; it may be truly said of *Genoa*, that its Hills are without Wood, but all the rest of the Proverb is false, *Men without Faith, Ladies without Shame, and Sea without*

Fishes. There are both Rogues and honest Men every where, and we found by Experience, that there are very good Fish in the Sea of *Genoa*. I took Pleasure two or three Times to go in the Morning to see the Fish-market at *Naples*, *Venice*, *Ancona*, and *Leghorn*, and other Places, where I observed several Sorts that I had never seen in other Places. The Gulph of *Cajeta* abounds with Sturgeon, some of which are also found in the *Tiber*; it is excellent when roasted fresh.

In all our Travels through *Italy*, we never saw either a Hare or Partridge in the Fields; and I might also add, we saw as few in the Inns. It is very strange, in my Opinion, that these Animals are not more plentiful, since the Country is not wholly destitute of them. There are large Extents of Ground in *Italy*, which are almost uninhabited, and consequently ought to abound with Game, proportionable to the like Places in the rest of the World. And again it might be reasonably supposed, that the Game should be more here than in other Places, because the Lords of these Grounds are never wont to reside on them, and yet are no less jealous of their Rights than the Gentlemen of other Countries. In *England* and *France*, there are many Persons of Quality who pass their Time in the Country, but that is not the Custom in *Italy*, where all Persons of Note live in the Cities, out of which there are no Castles or great Houses to be seen, which belong to private Persons, or at least they are very rare, especially if we compare this Country with *France* and with *England*. To return to our Game; it must be acknowledged, that Quails are not so great Rarities here as Partridges, for on the Approach of Spring they come in Bevy's from *Africa* and cover the whole Country. These poor little Creatures are so tired with their long Passage, that they throw themselves into Ships, and where-ever they can find a Place to repose themselves. They may be caught in Heaps without the least Trouble; but since they are extremely lean, they who take them usually feed them, for some Time, before they eat them. I believe it is a Question not yet resolved, whether these Birds fly over the Sea at one Flight, or whether they do not sometimes swim to take Breath? It is indeed hard to conceive, that the Quail, which has not a strong Wing, and flies heavily, should be able to continue its Flight so long. But on the other Side, I am inclined to believe, that the Water would so moisten and drench the Feathers, that it could never spread its Wings again; and besides, its Leanness and Weariness, the Dangers to which it exposes itself, and its Eagerness to find a Resting-place, are, in my Opinion, convincing Arguments, that it flies all the Way without Intermission, though, it must be confessed, this Notion is subject to Difficulties.

I saw but one *Scorpion* in *Italy*, and I could not learn that these Animals are very mischievous in this Country: There are several Ways to guard against them; but I never saw any of those hanging Beds that are usually talked of as common there. The People about *Verona* make Use of Iron Bedsteads, which they place at some Distance from the Walls, that those Insects may neither breed in them, nor be able to come upon the Beds, and the Feet of the Bedsteads are filed and polished for the same Reason. If the Animal itself can be caught and bruised, on the Part which it stung, it is a certain Remedy; and there are also Salts and Oils extracted out of it, which produce the same Effect: But after all, the Stinging of Scorpions is not mortal in *Italy*; and besides, such Instances happen so very rarely, that they who are desirous to travel into that Country, ought not be discouraged by them. There are two Sorts of Animals to which the *Italians* give the Name *Tarantula*; one is a Sort of Lizard, whose Biting is reputed mortal; it is found especially about *Fondi*, *Cajeta*, and *Capua*: But this is not that, which other Nations call *Tarantula*. The true *Tarantula* is a Spider, and lives in the Fields; there are many of them in *Abruzzo*, *Calabria*, and they are also found in some Parts of *Tuscany*. Such as are stung by this Creature, make a thousand different Gestures in a Moment; for they weep, dance, tremble, laugh, grow pale, cry, swoon away,

away, and, after a few Days of Torment, expire, if they be not assisted in Time. They find some Relief by Sweating and Antidotes, but *Musick* is the great and specifick Remedy. A learned Gentleman of unquestionable Credit told me at *Rome*, that he had been twice a Witness both of the Disease and of the Cure. They are both attended with Circumstances that seem very strange; but the Matter of Fact is well attested, and undeniable. I think I could produce natural and easy Reasons to explain this Effect of Musick; but without engaging myself in a Dissertation that would carry me too far, I shall content myself with relating some other Instances of the same Kind: Every one knows the Efficacy of *David's* Harp to restore *Saul* to the Use of his Reason. I remember *Lewis Guyon*, in his *Lessons*, has a Story of a Lady of his Acquaintance, who lived one hundred and six Years without ever using any other Remedy than Musick; for which Purpose she allowed a Salary to a certain Musician, whom she called her Physician; and I might add, that I was particularly acquainted with a Gentleman, very much subject to the Gout, who infallibly received Ease, and sometimes was wholly freed from his Pains by a loud Noise. He used to make all his Servants come into his Chamber, and beat with all their Force upon the Table and Floor; and the Noise they made, in Conjunction with the Sound of a *Violin*, was his Sovereign Remedy. Highway Robbers (about which Reports prevail so strongly) are not more frequent or dangerous in this Country, than *Scorpions* or *Tarantula's*, for there have not been any *Banditti* at *Rome* since the Pontificate of *Sixtus V.* And I think I told you, that the Marquis *del Carpio* hath extirpated them out of *Naples*. I do not remember that ever any Person was put to Death in all the Places through which we travel'd, during the Time we staid in them. There is not a City, perhaps, in the whole World, where Executions are so rare as at *Venice*. They who are under the Patronage of a Nobleman, which is a Thing very easily obtain'd, may do what they please; only they must take Care never to commit a Villany in a publick Place, or that may make too great a Noise. At our Entry into most Cities our Pistols were taken from us; but we always found them at the other Gate at our Departure. This is a troublesome Thing, for at the End of the Voyage the Charge amounts to as much as the Pistols are worth. It is not lawful to wear Swords either at *Genoa* or *Lucca*, but that Privilege is readily granted to Strangers, when they desire it; and both this and the former Custom are daily declining, so that, in all Probability, they will be very soon out of Date.

The Bayonet is prohibited in Cities, but in the Country every one may wear what Arms he pleases; and even those who travel on Horseback, oftentimes carry Fuses. The *Stiletto's* of *Milan* are famous, for they do their Work effectually. Love and Jealousy are the two Furies that shed most Blood in *Italy*. The *Italians* are said to be jealous without Reason, and the least Suspicion puts them into a Fit of implacable Rage. Not only at *Venice*, but every where else, the Girls are sent to Nunneries in their Infancy, and they are usually married, or at least contracted, without seeing their future Husbands; the Girls of the lowest Rank are suffer'd to remain with their Parents, and for that Reason it is not without much Difficulty that they are able to find Husbands. I am not so well acquainted with the Customs of other Places, but at *Rome* there are several Funds established, either to marry poor Maids, or to confine them for ever to a Convent. These Charities are distributed with almost the same Ceremonies that are observed at the *Minerva*, which I described. I observed in the Churches at *Rome*, that in Lent the Women hearing Sermons, are shut up in a Place under the Pulpit, with an Inclosure of well-joined Boards six Foot high. There are several Trees and Plants in *Italy*, which grow neither in *England* nor, for the most part, in *France*, unless perhaps in the Southern Parts of it. The Palm-tree is a Stranger in *Italy*, and rarely bears Fruit there. In the Garden of Simples at *Pisa*, there is a Male and Female Palm-tree planted together,

agreeable to the ancient Error of those who thought such a Marriage was necessary to make those Trees fruitful. But this is a meer Fable, for I observed a Palm-tree alone full of Dates at the *Villa Madome* on *Mount Mario* at *Rome*. We went to the Pope's Chapel on *Palm Sunday*, where all the Cardinals were assembled, and he who officiated for the Pope, presented a Palm Branch to every one of the rest. These Branches were almost five Foot long, and the Leaves were woven together into Knots of several Figures with great Art. We saw that which was sent to the Pope. All the Prelates and other Ecclesiasticks had also Branches, which were either greater or smaller, according to the Dignity of those who bore them; the Laicks use only Olive Branches. In M. *Badouer's* Garden at *Verona*, there are Cypress-trees an hundred Foot high, and two hundred Years old; the Citrons of *Florence*, called *Cedratti*, are the most excellent of all this Kind of Fruit. Silk-worms were brought into *Italy* from *Japan* and *China*. I have already told you, that we observed several Sorts of Trees commonly planted in the Ground in *Italy*, which they are forced to put into Pots or Boxes in the colder Countries, that they may carry them in Winter into Green-Houses, to preserve them from the Rigour of the Season. Such are the Orange-trees and Lemon-trees, the Pomgranate-trees, the Olive-trees, the Myrtles, the *Ficus Indica*, the Caper-trees, and many others. They have commonly also the Plane-tree, the Cork-tree, the Scarlate Oak, the Jujub-tree, the Carob-tree, Cypress, Sena, Lentisk, &c. The Roads are lined, in several Countries in *Italy* with white Mulberry-trees, for the Nourishment of Silk-worms. Those, who love Simples, will find enough to gratify their Curiosity on the *Appennine* Mountains between *Loretto* and *Rome*, and every where in the *Alps*, but they must have more Time than we had.

I gathered certain Sorts of Sponges on the Sea-side towards *Terracina*, of which, two were in a Manner rooted on very hard Flints, the rest lay loose on the Shore. These Sponges put me in Mind of Pumice-stones; and I must not forget to tell you, that I spent some Time to no Purpose, in searching for those Stones on *Mount Vesuvius*, though it is generally said, and even by very learned Men, to be full of them. This is a very great Mistake, there are indeed many porous and calcined Stones, which have some Resemblance to Pumice-stones, but the Difference is soon perceived, tho' Pumice-stone is a Production of Nature, and it is so far from being true that they are made so by the Fire of *Vesuvius*, or any other, that such a Fire would certainly destroy them, as it destroys all other Substances that are within its Reach. Over-against the Cape of *Mycene* there is a little Island where those Stones grow. When the Sea is agitated by a Storm, it loosens and carries away some of them that are swimming, and the Wind drives ashore a great many small Pieces between *Puzola* and *Cumæ*, especially towards *Bajæ*, where I have gathered some that were very fine. You may then be assured, that there are no Pumice-stones to be found about *Vesuvius*, and that all that you have read about it in the Books of Travellers and Naturalists, ought to be reckoned among the grossest popular Errors. The Mountains of *Italy* and particularly the *Appennine* Hills, abound with Metals, Mineral Waters, Crystal, Alabaster, a Kind of Agate, and several Sorts of Marble, but the Marble of the *Archipelago* has brighter Colours. The white Marble of *Cararo* is one of the finest Sorts in *Italy*, and a great deal of it is transported to *France*. The Winter had been very long and sharp, almost all the Oranges and Citrons were frozen, and the Ground under the Trees was covered with them in the above-mentioned Places, where these Fruits are most common.

I observed that they take a great deal of Care at *Rome* to preserve themselves from the Inconveniencies occasioned by the Heats which are usually very troublesome in that Place. The People of Quality have low Apartments, where the Sun never appears, which are paved with Marble, and furnished with Fountains and Water Spouts; and besides, the Doors and Windows

are so contrived, that they are never without a kind of cool Breeze. The Beds are encompassed at some Distance with a Curtain of Gauze or Tiffany, which is joined close to the Boards of the Floor and Ceiling above and below, and hinders them from being tormented with Gnats. It is also the Custom to sleep two Hours immediately after Dinner, but they never lie down, for they have a Sort of folding Chairs which have Backs that rise and fall with a Spring. The Use of Umbrello's is common every where. The *Serain*, or Evening Dew, in the *Campagna di Roma*, is esteemed mortal during three or four Months in the Summer, and great Care is taken to avoid it. Travellers double their Pace to arrive at *Rome* in Time, or stay at the Distance of eighteen or twenty Miles from it. I found the following Verses over the Gate of a House at *Rome*; they contain the Rules that ought to be observed for the Preservation of Health in that City, according to the Opinion of the Author.

*Enecat insolitos residentis Pessimus Aer
Romanus; solitos non bene gratus habet.
Sospes ut hic vivas, lux septima det medicinam
Absit odor fœdus; sit modicusque labor.
Pelle Famam & Frigus, Fructus, Femurque relinque,
Nec placeat gelido fonte levare sitim.*

That is,

*The pois'nous Air of ROME, all Strangers fear,
Nor wholly safe e'en those establish'd here.
Would'st thou escape? Take Physick once a Week,
Ill Smells avoid, nor too much Labour seek.
Fly Hunger, Cold; from Fruit, from Females, fly,
Nor taste Spring Water,—if you do—you die.*

You may observe by the Way, that the Author chose rather to run the Hazard of a false Quantity, than to lose the Jingle of his four *F's*; he might have said *Venerem* instead of *Femur*, the first Syllable of which is short. I have not given you an Account of the Antiquity of several Cities, though Enquires of that Nature are sometimes curious; but besides, that they require a great deal of Time and Labour, and have been prosecuted already by very able Pens. I find that these Controversies are very often Questions only about the Places where those Cities stood, for in many of them there is not the least Remains, or any Proof of their first Foundations. They have been subject to the same Alterations which the Vessel of the *Argonauts* underwent of old; besides, the Sight of the Places might perhaps raise a Traveller's Curiosity, but wears off by Degrees when they are only the Objects of his Imagination. I must tell you now I think on't, that in all *Italy* we observed but one Windmill, or rather the Ruins of one, at *Legborne*. They use no Tin Vessels in this Country, because of the Scarcity of that Metal; all their Vessels are made of Earth leaded, or of Earthen Ware; we have seen it made in several Places, but they have none that resembles *China* so exactly as that of *Delft*. Whereas we place the Beginning of the natural Day immediately after Midnight, the *Italians* make it begin after Sun-setting, and their Clocks strike always four and twenty Hours, from one Sun-setting to another. You may easily perceive, that, according to this Computation the Hour of Noon varies daily, for when the Sun sets at Four o'Clock according to our Calculation, they reckon One when we count Five, and consequently it is Noon at twenty Hours; and in like Manner when the Sun sets at Eight on our Dials, it is One o'Clock with them when we reckon Nine, and it is just Noon at Sixteen Hours. Nevertheless, with respect to the artificial Day between Sun-rising and Sun-setting, they use the Words Yesterday and To-morrow as we do. The *Babylonians* began their natural Day at Sun-rising, and the *Jews* at Sun-setting, as the *Italians* do at present. The Inhabitants of the Province of *Umbria*, with *Ptolemy*, and some others, in former Times, reckoned the Beginning of the Day at Noon, and the *Egyptians* at Midnight, as we do. The ancient *Romans* also began the Day at Midnight, but their Hours are

unequal. I cannot forbear acquainting you, that we left *Rome* without seeing the Pope; there were, doubtless, some Reasons, that would not permit him to appear in Publick; and there were others that hindered us from paying him a Visit. I shall conclude this Account with telling you, that we bought some modern Medals at *Rome* from the famous *Hameranus*, who is reputed to excel in that Sort of Workmanship. Of all the Medals we saw of Queen *Christina*, this, in my Opinion, is the most heroical, and most worthy of that great Princess. Her Dominions are on the Reverse, with the whole Hemisphere, and this Motto, *Ne mi besogna ne mi basta*, I don't want them, and they are not sufficient to me. *Alexander the Great* could use the last Part of this Motto, but instead of reigning over himself, his Ambition made him desire more Worlds.

15. The Account we have of our Author's Voyages, contains also the History of his Return through *Switzerland*, Part of *Germany*, and the Low-Countries; but as we have a much better Description of those Countries by Bishop *Burnet*, who without Question had his Head better turned for writing upon such Subjects, and for giving his Readers useful and important Relations, rather than a bare Detail of Roads, Churches, Inns, Tombs, and Inscriptions, we have chosen rather to omit the Remainder of his Travels in Haste through these Places, and to give those of that learned Prelate, who though he was the Author of many Books, upon a great Variety of Subjects, all of which have been received with Applause, at least by a great Part of the World, yet perhaps there are none of them that will do him greater Honour with Posterity than the Letters he published containing the Account of his Travels.

But before we part entirely with *Misson*, it may not be amiss to make some few Observations upon his Writings, for the Sake of doing Justice to Truth, to our Readers, and to his Reputation. It must be confess'd, that there are a great Variety of curious, useful and entertaining Remarks to be met with in his Travels, and that as his Design was to render them as useful as possible to the World, so the Pains he took for that Purpose were very great and very laudable; but on the other Hand it must be also allowed, that his Method is very far from being so just or so judicious as might be wished.

The Reader will easily observe, and, indeed, he confesses it himself, that he made but a very short Stay in many Places; but then he visited many of those Places afterwards, which gave him an Opportunity of enlarging, altering, and correcting those Observations; but then the Method in which he has done this is also none of the best, for instead of reviewing and reforming his first Book, he has inserted new Letters, Supplements, Dissertations, critical Discourses, and perpetual marginal Notes; which so distract and disturb the Narration, that one is frequently obliged to run over his whole four Volumes, in order to draw together his dispersed Accounts of the same Thing.

We have removed, as far as it were in our Power, this Difficulty in the Abridgment we have given of his Travels; but without Doubt it would give a great Satisfaction to the Publick, and add very much to the Value of this Work, if, in the next *English* Edition of it, Care was taken to digest the Whole into Chapters rather than Letters, to bring the several Notes, Dissertations and Supplements into their proper Places, and to throw out all the unnecessary Repetitions, which would at once reduce the Size, augment the Credit, and add to the Utility of the Book, which would be then much superior to any Thing of its Kind.

We have already observed, that in the Author's Lifetime his Book had been attack'd by several Writers, against whom, however, he defended himself with equal Spirit and Success; and where-ever he found himself in the Wrong, he took Care immediately to correct it. There were, however, some Things in his Disposition, which led him to write upon some very tender Subjects, not to be touch'd even by the nicest Hand, without giving Offence to great Bodies of People: As for Instance, his laying open the superstitious Follies

Follies of the Papists, the Artifices of their Priests, the Credulity of the common People, and the Injuries done to the Christian Religion by such Practices on the one Hand; and Bigottry on the other.

He has been condemned for this as a very partial Writer by the *Romanists*, which is natural enough, but he has not been refuted. It is no Wonder at all, that in the Reign of King *James II.* when the Papists thought themselves secure of reviving their Religion in *England*, Men firmly attached to the Protestant Cause should likewise shew their Zeal; and it was still the more excusable in Mr. *Misson*, as he had been very lately banish'd out of his native Country on the Score of Religion. The learned Father *Labat* cannot forgive him the Pains he has taken to restore the Credit of the Pope or Popes *Joan*. He says very truly upon that Subject, that several learned Protestants have given it up besides *David Blondel*, such as *Chamier*, *Du Moulin* and *Bochart*: But what then? Can there be a clearer Answer given to this than that which Mr. *Misson* has given, viz. That this Story was written and believed for many Ages by the Papists themselves? We may add to this, that it would be no difficult Task to shew, that some very learned Papists still believe it.

Misson has very honestly and very ingenuously confessed, that the Fact is of no great Importance with respect to any religious Dispute; and surely this was as much as could be expected from him, and is a very great Mark of his Impartiality. With regard to his Arguments, there has been little or nothing said against them; and I am persuaded that it would be a very difficult Matter to overturn them. The same Writer, I mean Father *Labat*, is very angry with him about the *Sella stercoraria*, or Close-stool Chair, but he does not contradict him with respect to the Fact, he only says it is a Kind of Close-stool, and that the Use of it was to put the Pope in Mind that his Exaltation to that Dignity did not release him from the Infirmities incident to human Nature. This he gives us as his Opinion, and a very probable Opinion it is, but I do not see why *Misson* was not as much at Liberty to give us his Sentiment upon the same Subject, more especially as he gives his Authorities, which very plainly prove, that what he thought upon this Point was once the common Opinion of the *Romanists* themselves, and therefore it is hard to assign a Cause for blaming him upon this Head.

It must however be observed, that *Labat*, in many other Places, commends the Travels of *Misson*, and is only in Pain, that an Author who wrote so well, should treat various Subjects in such a Manner, as to expose the Cause which he found himself bound to espouse, and at the same Time he has himself taken the Liberty to treat very freely the ridiculous Superstitions of the *Italians*; and if with all his Respect for their Faith he has used this Freedom, one cannot help being surprized that he should take it ill, that a Protestant Writer carried his Remarks a little farther, and much more that he should charge him with Impiety, since throughout his whole Book there is Nothing that has the least Tendency that Way; and upon many Occasions he shews himself very ready to refute vulgar Prejudices, and to do Justice to the Papists. As for Instance, he allows that they are very far from having a Spirit of Persecution in *Italy*, and that he never knew them carry their Resentment farther against Protestants, than saying they were not sound Christians.

The Historical Remarks he has given us are, generally speaking, very correct as well as curious, though now and then he falls into Mistakes; as for Example, when he says that *Francfort* has an University erected by the House of *Brandenbourg*, he is speaking there of *Francfort* upon the *Maine*; but the University he means is at *Francfort* upon the *Oder*. It is no Wonder at all that in such a Multitude of critical Remarks, he should now and then be guilty of an Oversight. He retained all his Life a sincere Love for his Country, which discovers itself frequently in his Writings, more especially in preferring the Palaces and Gardens of *France* to those of *Italy*. There might, perhaps, in this, be a little Partiality, and yet, generally speaking, he is in the right, and the

Noise which the *Italians* have made about the Wonders that are to be found in their Country, might well enough deserve the critical Remarks he has made upon them.

As for his Digressions with Respect to Natural History, they may very well be regarded as the most curious Pieces in his Work, and are so allowed to be by the best Judges. His Conjectures in relation to the Formation of Shells in Mountains, and other Places at a Distance from the Sea, are very judicious as well as highly probable. We may say the same Thing with regard to the Curiosities of this Country, and particularly what he has inserted in Relation to the *Tarantula*, about which however there have been very warm Disputes; but he lays down nothing but from Authority, and therefore is not at all interested in the Event of those Disputes, so that his Character cannot suffer in the Judgment of the Learned, however they may be at last determined.

As he mentions only such Curiosities as came in his Way, and he had an Opportunity of visiting, examining and enquiring, we need not wonder at his Silence as to many curious Particulars. As for Example, that we may conclude this Section with something more entertaining than dry Remarks, let us mention one, *Grotta dei Serpi* is a subterraneous Cavern, near the Village of *Sassa*, eight Miles from the City of *Braccano* in *Italy*, described by *Kircher* thus:

The *Grotta dei Serpi* is big enough to hold two Persons; it is perforated with several fistular Apertures, somewhat in the Manner of a Sieve, out of which, at the Beginning of the Spring Season issue a numerous Brood of young Snakes of divers Colours, but all free from any particular poisonous Quality. In this Cave they expose their Lepers, Paraliticks, and elephantiack Patients, quite naked, where the Warmth of the subterraneous Steams resolving them into Sweat, and the Serpents clinging variously all around, licking and sucking them, they become so thoroughly freed of all their vicious Humours, that upon repeating the Operation for some Time, they become perfectly restored.

This Cave *Kircher* visited himself, and found it warm, and every Way agreeable to the Description given of it: He saw the Holes, and heard a clamorous hissing Noise in them, though he missed seeing the Serpents, it not being the Season of their creeping out; yet he saw a great Number of their *Exuviae* or Sloughs, and an Elm growing hard-by laden with them. The Discovery of this Cave was by the Cure of a Leper going from *Rome* to some Baths near this Place, who losing his Way, and being benighted, happened upon this Cave, and finding it very warm, pulled off his Cloaths, and being weary and sleepy, had the good Fortune not to feel the Serpents about him, till they had wrought his Cure.

One might suspect, that our curious Traveller had not heard of this Curiosity, which, by the Way, is now totally lost, and lost by the strangest Means in the World, otherwise one could hardly think he would have omitted it. But we will repair that Mistake from the Works of his Antagonist Father *Labat*, who travel'd through *Italy* twelve or fourteen Years later than *Misson*, and visited this Cave in Person; but it had then lost its Virtue and its Serpents, as he assures us in the following Manner.

It was found necessary, in order to dispose the Patients quietly to endure the Operation necessary to their Cure, to compose them by a Dose of *Opium*, and, for this, Recourse was had to the Physicians, who perceiving that their Business was much lessened by this new Method, so that *Æsculapius* was in Danger of being devoured by his own Serpent, they resolved to undo the Cave, and to prevent such Patients from having any Diseases for the Future. In short, they gave so much *Opium* to their Patients that were sent to the Grotto, that they not only lay still for a Night, but for ever.

This Scheme, though well laid, did not take, the People continued obstinate, and were resolved rather to trust the Serpents than the Doctors. They took therefore their *Opium* at home, and the Cures were as frequent and as effectual as ever. The Physicians had then

Recourse to a new and more successful Contrivance than the former; they had in vain tried to keep the People from the Serpents, they resolved to try next, whether it might not be possible to keep the Serpents from the People: And with this View, in the Midst of a dry Summer, they caused the Bushes to be set on Fire that grew upon the Mountain, by which that Generation of Serpents was totally destroyed; and the Grotto has remained useless ever since.

Let us now take Leave of this Subject, and of the Travels of *Misson*, observing only, that in a subsequent Voyage of his, he had the Misfortune to be taken by a French Privateer, and carried to *Dunkirk*, where he suffered a severe Imprisonment, chiefly on the Score of his being a Protestant, and having on that Account, as

we observed before, been banish'd *France*. But his Friends having applied themselves to the King on his Behalf, he was immediately set at Liberty, which contributed not a little to confirm that high Spirit of Loyalty with which he had been possessed, and of which he has left abundant Testimonies in his Works, by defending, as much as in his Power lay, the Character of *Lewis XIV.* for though he could not prevail upon himself to be a good Catholick, yet a better *Frenchman* or a better Subject that great Monarch had not in all his Dominions; which is a plain Proof that *Lewis XIV.* with all his Policy, served the Priests much more than himself or his Family, in driving so many Thousands of Protestants out of his Territories.

SECTION IV.

TRAVELS through *Switzerland*, Part of *Italy*, some Provinces of *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*, in which are contained many curious Historical and Political Remarks on the Manners of the People, the Forms of Government, and the State of the Countries before mentioned.

Extracted from the Letters of Doctor GILBERT BURNET, (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; written in the Years 1685, and 1686.

1. The wretched Condition of the Country between Paris and Lyons; Antiquities observable in those Parts, with some literary and critical Remarks.
2. A large Description of the City of Geneva, of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and of the Form and Maxims of Government in that little Republick.
3. A Description of the City and Canton of Bern, the Manners of its Inhabitants, their Riches and Industry, the Modesty of their Women, and the martial Virtues of their Men.
4. The Reasons which induced the Swiss to overlook the Conquest of the County of Burgundy by the French, which has proved so much to their Detriment.
5. The History of the War between the Protestant and Popish Cantons in the Year 1656, and the Means by which those Disputes were compromised.
6. A most curious and entertaining Account of the scandalous Cheat and Imposture of the Dominicans at Bern in 1509.
7. A Comparison between the Country of France and that of Switzerland, with some Remarks upon the Government in both Countries, shewing that Tyranny will turn a Paradise into a Desert, and Liberty convert a Wilderness into a Land of Plenty.
8. Of the miserable Bigottry of the People in the Popish Cantons, from the Number of the Jesuits and Monks, and of their immense Wealth in those Countries.
9. Of the Canton of Zurich, its Wealth, Forces, Manufactures, Trade, Frugality in the Administration of Publick Affairs, and other Particulars.
10. Some general, useful and entertaining Remarks on the State of the Swiss Cantons, and a full Display of the pernicious Spirit of Popery.
11. A Description of the Country of the Grisons, with an Account of the City of Coire, and of the Character of the Bishop at that Time.
12. A distinct View of the Government of the Grisons, the Manner of their obtaining their Liberty, the Division of their Country, and of their Diets.
13. Of the Valteline, Chavannes, and Bormio Territories which they possess in Italy, and how they obtained them; with an Account of the Fertility of the Soil in the Valteline, and of the Liberty that those Districts enjoy under the Leagues.
14. Of the Massacre in the Valteline, of the War that followed it, and of the State of that Country.
15. Of the Remains of the ancient Waldenses, the true Character and religious Sentiments of the People so called.
16. Of Chavannes, with an Account of the most observable Villages upon the Road, of its Situation, the Fertility of the Soil, Easiness of the Government, Plentifulness of Provisions, with an Account of the Nature of their Wine, and the Manner how they make and preserve it, with other Particulars.
17. Some other Curiosities in this Part of the Country, together with an Account of a Town and all its Inhabitants overwhelmed by the Fall of a Mountain.
18. A Description of the Borromean Islands, esteemed beyond Comparison the most beautiful Part of Europe.
19. A large Account of Lombardy, and the City of Milan, with many curious Observations made by the Author during his Stay in those Parts.
20. A Collection of useful, judicious, and entertaining Remarks on several Parts of Italy, in which Care is taken to avoid repeating any thing contained in the former Section.
21. The same Subject continued in relation to other Parts of Italy not hitherto mentioned.
22. Conclusion of those Observations and Remarks, comprehending the Characters and Histories of several remarkable Persons, written with great Impartiality and Freedom.
23. A Description of Marseilles, and some Reasons given for the extensive Commerce and great Wealth of that Port, in Comparison of any other in France.
24. Some other Observations on the Country thereabouts.
25. Description

scription of the Town of Basil, the Places most worthy of Notice there, together with the Manners, Customs, and Government of the Inhabitants. 26. *An Account of Huningen, Brisac, and Strasbourg, with a particular Account of the Manner in which the French made themselves Masters of this last mentioned City.* 27. *An Account of the Fortres of Phillipsbourg, and its great Importance to the Empire.* 28. *A Description of the City and Bishoprick of Spire, and of the Country thereabouts.* 29. *A large, distinct, and entertaining View of the Lower Palatinate, of the famous City of Heidelberg, and the History of some of the Electors Palatine.* 30. *The pleasant and delightful Country between the last mentioned City and Francfort, with other Remarks and Observations.* 31. *The like Description of the City and Electorate of Mentz, with a clear Account of the Revenues, Strength, and Trade of that Country.* 32. *A large and curious Account of the City and Electorate of Cologne, of the Cities of Dusseldorpe, Keyserswart, and Wesel.* 33. *Observations made by the Author in his Journey through the Dutchy of Cleves, the Town of Nimeguen, and other Places in the Low-Countries.*

I. IT is so common to write TRAVELS, that for one who has seen so little, and as it were in Haſte, it may look like a presumptuous Affectation to be reckon'd among VOYAGERS, if he attempts to say any Thing upon so short an Excursion, and concerning Places so much viſited, and which are consequently so well known: Yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that travel, and having join'd to those a Curiosity almost equal to the Advantages I enjoy'd, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful Entertainment, if I give you some Account of those Things that pleased me most, in the Places through which I have pass'd. But I will avoid saying such Things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to them. For as you know that I have no great Inclination to copy what others have said, so a Traveller has not Leisure, or a Disposition suited for so dull an Employment.

As I came all the Way from *Paris* to *Lyons*, I was amaz'd to see so much Misery as appear'd, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the Marks of an extreme Poverty shew'd themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almost in the Looks of the Inhabitants; and a general dispeopling, in all the Towns, was a very visible Effect of the Hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you Nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent Situation of *Lyons*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a Height for a Prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the *Jesuits* College and Library, of the famous Nunnery of *St. Peter*, of the Churches, particularly *St. Irene's*, of the Remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns, and the old *Mosaick* in the Abbey *Dene*.

The Speech of *Claudius*, engraven on a Plate of Brass, and set at the End of the low Walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the Way of Writing and Pointing in that Age very copiously. The Shield of Silver of twenty two Pounds Weight, in which some Remains of Gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent the generous Action of *Scipio*, in restoring a fair Captive to a *Celliberian* Prince, is certainly the noblest Piece of Plate that is now extant; the embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an Inscription upon it, to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more estimable.

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and barbarous Ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*. There are twenty three Inscriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of Mercy*, but so placed, as shew how little those who possess them either understand or value them. I shall only give you one, because I made a little Reflection on it; though perhaps not too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have consider'd it. The Inscription is this:

D. M.

Et Memoriae Eternæ

SUTIA ANTHIDIS,

Quæ vixit annis xxx. M.XI.D.V.

Quæ dum Nimia Pia fuit, facta est Impia:

ET ATTIO PROBATIOLO, CECALIVS CALISTIO

Conjux & Pater,

Et sibi vivo ponendum curavit,

Et sub ascia dedicavit.

This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false *Latin* in *Nimia*. But the Inscription seems so extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and Son, and under which himself was to be laid with Ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of Impiety, and give so extraordinary an Account of her becoming so through an Excess of Piety, that it deserves some Consideration.

It seems the Impiety was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a Manner; and it is plain, that he thought it arose from an Excess of Piety. I need not examine the Conjectures of others; but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your Censure.

It seems to me, that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Christian; for the Christians, because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred Rites, were accused both of Atheism and Impiety. This is so often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost Labour to prove it. So this Wife of *Cecalius Calistio* having turn'd Christian, it seems he thought he was bound to take some Notice of it in the Inscription: But by it he gives an honourable Character of the Christian Doctrine, at the same Time that he seems to accuse it, viz. that through an Excess of Piety his Wife was carried to it; since a Mind, seriously possess'd with a true Sense of Piety, could not avoid falling under a Dislike of Paganism, and becoming Christian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen. The learned Mr. *Chorier* has some Manuscripts of considerable Antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de Re Militari*, there is a clear Correction of a Passage, that in all the printed Editions is not Sense. In the Chapter of the Size of the Soldiers, he begins, *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam.* *A* is in no Manuscript, and *Mario Consule* is a Mistake for *trium Cubitorum*; for *III.* which are for *trium*, have been read for *M*; and *C*, which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a Mistake read *Consule*. So the true Reading of that Passage is, *Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam.* He shew'd me another Manuscript of about five or six hundred Years old, in which *St. John's* Revelation is contain'd, all exemplified in Figures; and after that comes *Æsop's* Fables likewise, all designed in Figures; from which he infer'd, that those, who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of *Dauphine*, or entertain you with a Landskip of the Country, which deserves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeness of the Mountains, that almost shut it up, together with the Beauty, the Evenness and Fruitfulness of the Valley, that is all well water'd with the River *Lisferre*, make such an agreeable Mixture, that this vast Diversity of Objects at once fill the Eye, and give it a very entertaining Prospect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deserves a long Description; and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little State; but it has so many good Constitutions in it, that the greatest may justly learn of it. The Chamber of Corn there has always two Years Provision for the City in Store, and forces none but the Bakers to buy at a fixed Price; and so it is both necessary against any Extremities under which the

the State may fall, and is likewise of great Advantage; for it produces a good yearly Income, that has helped the State to pay a Debt of near a Million, contracted during the Wars; and the Citizens are not oppress'd by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleases, only publick Houses must buy from the Chamber.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony; for none of the Landlords can sell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at five Crowns their Measure, and even that is slowly and ill paid; so that there was eight hundred thousand Crowns owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the Measure is lessened a fifth Part, and the Price of the Whole is doubled; so that what was bought at five Crowns, is sold out at twelve; and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a settled Quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some Part of it back, the Chamber discounts to them only the first Price of five Crowns: Whereas in *Geneva*, the Measure by which they buy and sell is the same; and the Gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-price: So that upon the whole Matter, the Chamber of Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this small Commonwealth are so well employ'd, that there is no Cause of Complaint given in the Administration of the publick Purse, which, with the Advantages that arise out of this Chamber of Corn, is about an hundred thousand Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: Three hundred Soldiers are paid, an Arsenal is maintain'd, that, in Proportion to the State, is the greatest in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State. There are a great Number of Ministers and Professors, in all twenty four, besides all the publick Charges and Offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of Twenty-five having an hundred Crowns, and every Syndick having two hundred Crowns Pension; and, after all this, come the accidental Charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*; so that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himself at the Cost of the Publick. And the Appointments of the little Council are a very small Recompence for the great Attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five Hours a Day. The Salary for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above two hundred Crowns; but to balance this, those Employments are here held in their due Reputation; and the richest Citizens in the Town breed up their Children so as to qualify them for those Places. And a Minister, that is suitable to his Character, is thought so good a Match, that generally they have such Estates either by Succession or Marriage, as support them agreeable to the Rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a Regulation of Expences of all Sorts, that a small Sum goes a great Way. It is a surprising Thing to see so much Learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose Profession obliges them to study, but among the Magistrates and Citizens; and if there are not many Men of the first Form of Learning among them, yet almost every body here has a Tincture of a learned Education, insomuch that they are Masters of the *Latin*, they know History and the Controversies of Religion, and are generally Men of good Sense.

There is an universal Civility, not only towards Strangers, but one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an Excess: So that in them one sees a Mixture of a *French* Openness, and an *Italian* Exactness; but there is, indeed, a little too much of the last.

The publick Justice of the City is quick, and is more commended than the private Justice of those that deal in Trade; a Want of Sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publick Lewdness tolerated, and the Disorders of that Sort are managed with great Address. Notwithstanding their Neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very

little known among them. One of the best Parts of their Law is the Way of selling Estates, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called Subhastation, from the *Roman* Custom of selling *sub hasta*. A Man, that to is buy an Estate, agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government, who order three several Proclamations to be made six Weeks after one another, of the intended Sale, that is to be on such a Day; when the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is sold at an Under-value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the Money to the State, who upon that grant him his Title to the Estate, which can never be so much as brought under a Debate in Law; and the Price is paid to the State, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where twelve Years Possession gives a Prescription; so that in no Place of the World are Titles to Estates so secure as here. The Constitution of the Government is the same in *Geneva* and in most of the Cantons. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of *Two Hundred*; and this Council chooses out of its Number *Twenty-five*, who are the lesser Council; and the Censure of the *Twenty-five* belongs to the Great Council. They are chosen by a Sort of Ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their Votes; which is an effectual Method to suppress Factions and Resentments, since no Man can know who voted for him or against him; yet the Election is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an Intrigue concerning it; for since the Being of the little Council leads one to the Syndicate, which is the chief Honour of the State, this Dignity is sought for here with as active and solicitous Ambition, as appears elsewhere for greater Matters. The *Two Hundred* are chosen and censured by the *Twenty-five*; so that these two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks upon each other: The Magistracy is in the former, and the Sovereignty in the latter. The Number of *Twenty-five* is never exceeded in the lesser Council; but for the greater, though it passes by the Name of the Council of *Two Hundred*, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; so that notwithstanding the Absence or Sickness of some of the Members, they may still be able to call together near the full Number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of sixty, consisting of those of the two hundred that have born Offices, such as Auditors, Attorney-generals; or those that have been in other Employments, which are given for a certain Number of Years. This Court has no Authority, but is called together by the *Twenty-five*, when any extraordinary Occasion makes it adviseable for them to call for a more general Concurrence in the Resolutions they are about to take. And this Council is of the Nature of a Council of State, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in itself. The whole Body of the *Burgesses* choose the Syndics the first *Sunday* of the Year; and there are some other Elections that likewise belong to them. The Difference between the *Burgesses* and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought, or given to Strangers, and they may be of the two hundred; but none is a Citizen, but he that is the Son of a *Burgess*, and that is born within the Town.

This little Republick's chief Support is in the firm Alliance that has subsisted so long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*; and it is so visibly the Interest of all *Switzerland* to preserve it, that if the Cantons had not forgot their Interest so palpably, in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Comté*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be touch'd: For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can signify no more, than to put it in a State to resist a Surprise or Scalade; since if an Army comes to besiege it in Form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come with a Force able to raise the Siege, those within will be able to make but a very short Resistance.

2. From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lausanne* its chief Town, in my Way

to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is situated on three Hills, so that the whole is Ascent and Descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the Side on which the Church stands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South Wall of the Cross was so split by an Earthquake about thirty Years ago, that there was a Rent made from Top to Bottom above a Foot wide; which was again so closed up ten Years after by another Earthquake, that now one only sees a Crack where the Breach was. This extravagant Situation of the Town was occasioned by a Legend of some Miracles wrought near the Church; which prevail'd so much on the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and so in consequence the Buildings near it, were added to the old Town, which stood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the Highway from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the chief Privileges, particularly the Judicature of Life and Death, still belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake, which at one End is called the Lake of *Geneva*, at the other the Lake of *Lausanne*. I need not mention the Dimensions, which are so well known, only in some Places the Depth has never been found. The Banks of the Lake are the most beautiful Plots of Ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid out by Art; the Sloping is so easy and so equal, and the Grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful Prospect cannot be seen. The Lake is well stock'd with excellent Fish, but their Numbers sensibly decrease, and one Sort is quite lost. It is to be ascribed not only to the Ravenousness of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another Sort of Fish that they call Moutails, which were never taken in the Lake till within these six Years last past. They are in the Lake of *Neufchâtel*, and some of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*; and it is likely, that by some Conveyance under Ground, they have come into Channels that fall into this Lake. The Water of the Lake is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhone*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmix'd, as some Travellers have fondly imagin'd; because sometimes a soft Gale makes a Curling of the Water in some Places, which runs smooth in the Places over which that soft Breath of Wind does not pass, the Gale shifting its Place often; but it is believed, that there are also many great Fountains all over the Lake. These Springs may very probably flow from some vast Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cisterns, that discharge themselves in the Vallies which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two Sides of the Alps, both North and South, there are so great a Number of those little Seas, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast Sources, that feed so constantly these huge Ponds.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, call'd *Maudit*, or *Cursed*, of which one Third is always cover'd with Snow, is two Miles perpendicular in Height, according to the Observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who, at twenty two Years of Age, is one of the greatest Men of his Age, and seems born to carry Learning beyond what it has yet attained.

But I will now entertain you a little with the State of *Bern*; for that Canton alone is above a third Part of *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its Beginning or History; nor will I enlarge upon the Constitution; which are all well known. It has a Council of *two hundred*, that goes by that Name, though it consists almost of three hundred; and another of *twenty five*, as at *Geneva*. The chief Magistrates are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Syndics* of *Geneva*, but for Life, and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman* Consuls, each being his Year by Turns the *Advoyer* in Office. After them there are the *four Bannerets*, who answer to the Tribunes of the People in *Rome*; then come the *two Bursars* or Treasurers, one for the ancient *German* Territory, the other for the *French* Territory, or the Country of *Vaud*; and the two last, chosen of the twenty five, are called the *Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are discovered; and they have an Authority of calling the *two hundred* together

when they think fit, and of accusing those of the Magistracy, the *Advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see Cause; though this falls out seldom.

3. The whole Canton of *Bern* is divided into seventy two Bailiages; and in every one of those there is a Bailiff named by the Council of *two hundred*, who must be a Citizen of *Bern*, and one of the *two hundred*, into which Council no Man can be chosen till he is married. These Bailiages are Employments both of Honour and Profit, for the Bailiff is the Governor and Judge in that Jurisdiction; since though he has some Assessors, who are chosen out of the Bailiage, yet he may by his Authority carry Matters which Way he will against all their Opinions, and the Bailiffs have to their own Use all the Confiscations and Fines; so that drinking being so common in this Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailiff makes his Advantage of all those Disorders; and in the six Years of his Government, according to the Quality of his Bailiage, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thousand Crowns with him back to *Bern*, on which he lives till he can carry another Bailiage: For one is capable of being twice Bailiff; and though some have been thrice Bailiffs, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the Bailiff are the only Impositions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are subjected; and these, falling only on the Irregularities and Disorders of the debauch'd, makes this Grievance, though in some particular Cases it presses hard, yet not so universally felt; for a sober and regular Man is in no Danger. Many in this Canton are Lords of Castles or Manors, and have a Jurisdiction annex'd to their Estates, and name their Magistrate, who is called the *Castellan*. In Matters of small Consequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailiff; but beyond the Value of two Pistoles an Appeal lies; and no Sentence of Death is executed, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an Appeal from the Bailiff to the Council at *Bern*. There are many Complaints of the Injustice of the Bailiffs; but their Law is short and clear, so that a Suit is soon ended; two or three Hearings are the most that even an intricate Suit amounts to, either in the first Instance, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* consider these Bailiages as their Inheritance; and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was used among the *Romans* in the Distribution of their Provinces: And so little signify the best Regulations, when there are radicated Diseases in the State, that though there is all possible Precaution used in the Nomination of these Bailiffs, yet that has not preserved this State from falling under so great a Mischief by those little Provinces; that as it has already in a great Measure corrupted their Morals, so it may turn in Conclusion to the Ruin of this Republick. All the Electors give their Voices by Ballot, by which they are free from all Aftergame in the Nomination of the Person. All the Kindred of the Pretenders, even to the remotest Degree, are excluded from Voting, as are also all their Creditors; so that none can vote but those who seem to have no Interest in the Issue of the Competition: And yet there is so much Intrigue, and so great a Corruption in the Distribution of these Employments, that the whole Business, in which all *Bern* is continually in Motion, is, the Catching of the best Bailiages, on which a powerful Family will have its Eye for many Years before they fall. For the Counsellors of *Bern* give but a very small Share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them; all that they propose is to make a Bailiage sure to them; for this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make a sufficient Number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the *Bannerets* that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailiff is chosen, he takes all possible Methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few Crimes pass with Impunity, that produce either Confiscations or Fines: His Justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*; and there have been severe Judgments against some Bailiffs; yet as Complaints are

not made, except upon great Occasions, which are not often given, so it being the general Interest of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all possible Advantages of those Employments, the Censure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is very crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the Support of the Town. They maintain Professors in the Universities of *Bern* and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton, and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French*: In the former there are about three hundred Parishes; in the latter there are about one hundred and fifty: But in the Benefices of the *German* Side, the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preserved so, that some Benefices are worth a thousand Crowns; whereas in the *Païs de Vaud* the Provisions are set off as Salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred Crowns. It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the Strength of their Walls; for as they have never finish'd them, so what is built cannot be esteem'd a regular Fortification; and is not preserv'd with any Care, nor furnish'd with Cannon; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have Abundance in their Arsenal, in which, they say, there are Arms for forty thousand Men.

The Peasants are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* Side, and are all well armed. They pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Improvements; in which they succeed so well, that I was shew'd some that were by Accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had Estates to the Value of an hundred thousand Crowns, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thousand Crowns for a Peasant is no extraordinary Matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some Places, as about *Payerne*, yields an Encrease of fifteen for one. They breed many Horses, which bring them in a great deal of Money. The worst Thing in the Country is the Moisture of the Air, which is occasioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and by the neighbouring Mountains that are cover'd with Snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Midsummer, also by the vast Quantity of Fir-trees, which seem to fill very near the Half of their Soil: And if these were for the most Part rooted out, as they would have much more Soil, so their Air would be purer; yet, till they find either Coal or Turf for their Fuel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in some Places; if this Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers it may be easily carried over the Country, it may save them a great Extent of Ground, now cover'd with Wood, and their Air become thereby the more clear and the more wholesome.

They have some Fountains of Salt Water, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to Account.

The Men are generally sincere, but heavy: They think it necessary to correct the Moisture of the Air with liberal Entertainments; and they are well furnish'd with all necessary Ingredients; for as their Soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in excellent Fish, and their Woods in Fowl; the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally employ'd in their domestick Affairs; and the Wives, even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the Concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as those of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not generally converse together; and the Women are so much amused with the Management at home, and enter so little into Affairs, that among them, as an eminent Physician told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the Idleness and the Intrigues that abound elsewhere; whereas, he said, with them the Blood was cleansed by their Labour; and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much Thinking, nor did they know what Amours were. The third Adultery is punish'd with Death; which is also the Punishment of the fifth Act of Fornication, of which I saw an Instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confess'd herself guilty of many Whore-

doms, and design'd to be revenged on some Men that did not furnish her with Money as she expected, was upon that condemned and executed. The Manner was solemn; for the Advoyer comes into a Place prepared in the Middle of the Street, and for the Satisfaction of the People, the whole Process is read, and Sentence pronounced in the Hearing of all; the Counsellors, both of the great and lesser Council, standing about the Advoyer, who, after Sentence, took the Criminal very gently by the Hand, and pray'd for her Soul; and after Execution there was a Sermon for the Instruction of the People.

4. The whole State is disciplined for War; for every Man that can bear Arms is list'd, and knows his Post and Arms; and there are Beacons so laid over the Country, that the Signal can run through the whole Canton in a Night; and their military Lists are so laid, that every Man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general Summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that, upon a general Summons, they could bring above eighty thousand Men together. These Men are robust and strong, and capable of great Hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an eager and quick Sense of Liberty, and a great Love to their Country; but they labour under a Want of Officers. And though the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor; they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Country, but they would soon grow weary of a long War; and the Soil requires so much Cultivation, that they could not spare from their Labour the Men necessary to preserve their Country. They were, indeed, as happy as a People could be, when the Emperor had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other: They had then no Reason to fear their Neighbours; but now that both those Provinces are in the Hands of the *French*, the Case is quite alter'd; for as *Basil* is every Moment in Danger from the Garrison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-shot distant from it; so all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places nor good Passes to secure it. Their Error therefore in suffering this to fall into the Hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some Pains to be informed concerning it, and will give you this Account that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Post; so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seem'd to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of *Lorraine* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that Side in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in *France*; so that the King resolv'd to possess himself of the *Comté*, but us'd that Precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offer'd a Neutrality on that Side: But the *Spaniards* who judg'd right, that it was as much the Interest of the Cantons, as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comté* in their Hands, refus'd to consent to it; but they took no Care to defend it, and seem'd, for that Reason, to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*; and after those that were most likely to make Opposition were gain'd, the *French* Minister laid before them the Necessity in which his Master found himself to secure that Side; but that still he would grant a Neutrality on their Account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Assurances that could be given in Words were offer'd to them, that they should never find the least Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but, on the contrary, all possible Protection. There was just Cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation; for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable Force to preserve the Country, so that it seem'd almost inevitable to give Way to the *French* Proposition. But one propos'd that which an unbiass'd Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should themselves seize the Country, and by so doing secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily

easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the Country to them, when a general Peace should be made. He laid out the Misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour, but all was lost Labour; so he went out in a Rage, and publish'd through the Town that the State was sold, and all was lost. They now see their Error too late, and would repair it if it were possible; but the Truth is, many of the particular Members of this State do prey so much upon the Publick, that unless they, with one Consent, resolve to reform those Abuses, they will never be in a Condition to do much; for in many of their Bailiages, of which some are Abbies, the Bailiffs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewise on the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick Revenue (of which they are the Receivers) for their Reimbursement. Which made Mr. *D'Erlack* once say, when one of those Accounts was presented, that it was very strange, if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the Power of their Bannerets is so great, that one would think they might redress many Abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tan-ners, and the Blacksmiths; and every Citizen of *Bern* must incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call Abbies; for it is likely they were anciently a Sort of religious Fraternity. Every one of these chooses two Bannerets, who bear Office by Turns, from four Years to four Years; and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his Office, which he holds for Life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the several Abbies, as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*; and the Advoyers carry still their Name from the ancient Title *Ecdicus*, or Advocate, that was the Title of the chief Magistrates of the Towns in the Times of the *Roman* Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office hath a vast Power; they examine and pass all Accompts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices; so that no Man can be proposed to the Council of *two hundred* without their Approbation; and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting Men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for Life, is no less indeed, but rather more considerable than that of the Advoyer, though they are inferior to him in Rank.

They manage Matters with great Address, of which this Instance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyership not long ago. There was one whose Temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitor whom they favour'd; so they set up a third Competitor, whose Kindred were the Persons that were best affected to him whose Advancement they opposed, and by this Means they were all shut out from voting, so that the Election went according to the Design of the Bannerets. The chief Man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there, is Mr. *D'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *D'Erlack* who was Governor of *Brisack*, and had a Brevet to be a Marshal of *France*. This is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great Part in shaking off the *Austrian* Tyranny; and they have been ever since very much distinguish'd there from all the rest of their Nobility. The present Head of it is a very extraordinary Man; he has a great Authority in his Canton, not only as Advoyer, but by the particular Esteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the State; though it is somewhat strange, how he should bear so great a Sway in such a Government; for he neither feasts nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself more like a Minister of State in a Monarchy, than a Magistrate in a popular Government; for one sees in him none of those Arts that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate, and no Children; so he has no

Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuses of the State; though the Disease is inveterate, and seems past Cure.

5. He had a Misfortune in a War that was thirty Years ago (in the Year 1656) between the Popish and Protestant Cantons; the Occasion of which will engage me in a short Digression. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without Prejudice to the general League. Now the Popish Cantons have made Laws, that it shall be capital for any to change their Religion; and on a set Day every Year they go all to Mass, and the Masters of Families swear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their Lives End; and so they pretend they punish their falling into Heresy, with Death and Confiscation of Goods, because it is a Violation of the Faith which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other Hand, in the Protestant Cantons, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the Gospel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons, *Appenzel* and *Glaris*, both Religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal Privileges; and in some Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friberg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailiffs by Turns; and both Religions are so equally tolerated, that in the same Church they have both Mass and Sermon so peaceably, that on one *Sunday* the Mass begins, and the Sermon follows, and the next *Sunday* the Sermon begins, and the Mass comes after, without the least Disorder, Murmuring, or other Inconvenience.

But in the Year 1656, some of the Cantons of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated; and some others that had also changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the Refugees, but instead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded their Subjects, that they might proceed against them as Delinquents; and they founded this on a Law by which any of the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton, if they are demanded by the Canton to which they belong. But those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchristian; tho' the Deputy of *Basil* was of another Mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some Insolencies upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give Satisfaction; upon which a War followed between the *Protestant* and *Popish* Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of twenty-five thousand Men, which was commanded by Mr. *D'Erlack*, but was dispersed in several Bodies; and the *Papists*, who had not above six thousand, surprized Mr. *D'Erlack* with a Body much superior to theirs. Both Sides, after a short Engagement, ran; the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole Day; at last those of *Lucern*, seeing that none staid to defend the Cannon, carried them off. This Loss raised such a Tumult in *Bern*, that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. *D'Erlack*; but he came with such a Presence of Mind, and gave so satisfactory an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the *Papists* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that Occasion. Within these few Years there were some Quarrels like to arise in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was said, that the equal Privileges agreed on to both Religions were not preserv'd; but on this Occasion the Pope's Nuncio acted a very different Part from that which might have been expected. For whereas the Ministers of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all Disputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the Part of a Mediator. And whereas it was visible, that the Injustice

tice lay on the Side of the *Papists*, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the Chief of the *Popish* Cantons, that the Difference was compos'd.

But to return to *Bern*. The Buildings have neither great Magnificence, nor many Apartments; but they are convenient, and suited to the Way of living in that Country. The Streets not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages, are furnish'd with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great Use, so they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the Top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the Ground began to fail, so to support it they have rais'd a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church itself; for there is a Platform made which is a Square, to which the Church is one Side, and the farther Side is a vast Wall fortified with Buttresses about an hundred and fifty Foot high. They told me, that all the Ground down to the Bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults. This Platform is the principal Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun-set; and the River underneath affords a very beautiful Prospect. For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills; but all along as this Cut goes, the Water of the *Aar* runs over a sloping Bank of Stone, which they say was made at a vast Charge, and makes a noble Cascade.

The second Church is the *Dominican* Chapel, where I saw the famous Hole that went to an Image in the Church from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at Length: For as it was one of the most signal Cheats that the World has known, so it falling out about twenty Years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People for that Change. I am the more able to give a particular Account of it, because I read the original Process in the *Latin* Records, signed by the Notaries of the Court of Delegates that the Pope sent to examine the Matter. The Record is above one hundred and thirty Sheets, writ close on both Sides, being indeed a large Volume. And I found the printed Accounts so defective, that I was at the Pains of reading the whole Process, of which I will give here an authentick though concise Abstract.

6. The two famous Orders, that had possess'd themselves of the Esteem of those dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty Contest. The *Dominicans* were the more learned; they were the most eminent Preachers of those Times, and had the Conduct of the Courts of Inquisition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their Hands. But on the other Hand, the *Franciscans* had an outward Appearance of more Severity, a ruder Habit, stricter Rules, and greater Poverty, which gave them such Advantages in the Eyes of the simple Multitude, as were able to balance the other Honours of the *Dominican* Order. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high Dispute; but the Devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing Fashion of those Times, the *Franciscans* had great Advantages. The *Dominicans* being all engaged in the Defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* Opinions, were thereby oblig'd to assert, that she was born in original Sin. This was propos'd to the People by the *Franciscans* as no less than Blasphemy; and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose Ground extremely in the Minds of the People, who were strongly prepossess'd in Favour of the immaculate Conception.

About the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Frankfort*; and one *Wigand*, a *Dominican*, coming into the Church, the Cordelier seeing him, broke out into Exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that profaned the Virgin, or that poisoned Princes in the Sacrament (for a *Dominican* had so poisoned the Emperor *Henry VII.*) *Wigand* being extremely provoked with this bloody Reproach, gave him the Lie, upon which a Dispute arose, which ended in a Tumult that had almost cost the *Dominican* his Life; yet he got away. The whole Order resolv'd to take their Revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpfen* in the Year 1504, they contriv'd a Method for supporting the Credit of their Order, which was

much sunk in the Opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciscans*: Four of the J unto undertook to manage the Design; for they said, since the People were so much dispos'd to believe Dreams and Fables, they must dream on their Side, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as others had done. They resolv'd to make *Bern* the Scene in which the Project should be put in Execution; for they found the People of *Bern* at that Time apt to swallow any Thing, and not dispos'd to make severe Enquires into extraordinary Matters. When they had form'd their Design, a fit Tool present'd itself; for one *Jetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-Brother, who had all the Dispositions that were necessary for the Execution of their Project; he was extreme simple, and much inclined to Austerities; so having observ'd his Temper well, they began to execute their Project the very Night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-day*, 1507. One of the Fryers convey'd himself secretly into his Cell, and appear'd to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a strange Figure; he had a Box near his Mouth, upon which, as he blew, Fire seem'd to come out of his Mouth. He had also some Dogs about him, that appear'd as his Tormentors. In this Posture he came near the Fryer while he was in Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they us'd to tell all their Fryers, to beget in them a great Dread of ever laying aside their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superior of their House at *Solothurn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his Habit, was kill'd in his Lay Cloaths. The Fryer in the Vizard said he was that Person, and was condemn'd to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added, that he might be rescu'd by his Means; and he seconded this with most horrible Cries, expressing the Miseries which he suffer'd. The poor Fryer *Jetzer* was excessively frighted; but the other advanced, and required a Promise of him to do that which he should desire, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The Fryer promis'd all that he ask'd of him. Then the other said, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail; but they must be very extraordinary: The whole Monastery must, for a Week together, discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the Form of one on a Cross, in one of their Chapels, while Mass was said in the Sight of all that should come to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the Effects of the Love that the Blessed Virgin bear him, together with many other extraordinary Things; and said he would appear again, accompanied with two other Spirits; and assur'd him, that all he suffer'd for his Deliverance should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come, than the Fryer gave an Account of this Apparition to the rest of the Convent, who seem'd extremely surpriz'd: They all press'd him to undergo the Discipline that was enjoin'd him, and every one undertook to bear his Share; so the deluded Fryer perform'd it exactly in one of the Chapels of their Church. This drew a vast Number of Spectators together, who consider'd the poor Fryer as a Saint; and in the mean while the four Fryers that managed the Imposture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Fryer's Confessor was in the Secret; and by this Means they knew all the little Passages of the poor Fryer's Life, even to his Thoughts, which help'd them not a little in the Conduct of the Matter. The Confessor gave him an Hostie, with a Piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a Piece of the true Cross; and by these he was to fortify himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him; since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up thereby. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued Fryer brought two others with him in such Vizards, that the Fryer thought they were Devils indeed. The Fryer present'd the Hostie to them, which gave them such a Check, that he was fully satisfied of the Virtue of this Preservative.

The Fryer, that pretended he was suffering in Purgatory, said so many Things relating to the Secrets of his Life and Thoughts, which he had from the Confessor,

feffor, that the poor Fryer was fully possessed of the Reality of the Apparition. In two of these Representations, that were both managed in the same Manner, the Fryer in the Masque talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he said was excessively dear to the blessed Virgin, who knew herself to be conceived in original Sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in Purgatory: That the Story of St. *Bernard's* appearing with a Spot on him, for having opposed himself to the Feast of the Conception, was a Forgery; but that it was true, that some hideous Flies appear'd on St. *Bonaventure's* Tomb, who had taught the contrary: That the Blessed Virgin abhor'd the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son: That *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroy'd for harbouring such Plagues within their Walls. When the enjoined Discipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again, and said, he was delivered out of Purgatory; but before he could be admitted to Heaven, he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it; and after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their Charities rescued him out of his Pains. The Fryer fancied the Voice resembled the Prior's a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any Thing, that he gave no great Heed to this Suspicion. Some Days after this, the same Fryer appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Fryer that she was Saint *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular Devotion; and added, that the Blessed Virgin was so much pleased with his Charity, that she intended to come and visit him. He immediately call'd the Convent together, and gave the rest of the Fryers an Account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them with great Joy; and the Fryer languish'd for the Accomplishment of the Promise that St. *Barbara* had made him. After some Days the long'd for Delusion appear'd to him, cloathed as the Virgin used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits. There were about her some Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they set on the Altars on the great Holidays. There was also a Pulley fastened in the Room over his Head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the Air, and float about the Virgin, which encreased the Delusion. The Virgin, after some Endearments, extolling the Merit of his Charity and Discipline, told him that she was conceived in original Sin, and that Pope *Julius II.* that then reign'd, was to put an End to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus IV.* had instituted; and that he was to be the Instrument of persuading the Pope of the Truth in that Matter. She gave him three Drops of her Son's Blood, which were three Tears of Blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*; and this signified, that she was three Hours in original Sin, after which she was by his Mercy delivered out of that State. For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the Matter, that though they should gain the main Point, of her Conception in Sin, yet they would comply so far with the Reverence for the Virgin with which the World was then possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five Drops of Blood in the Form of a Cross, which were Tears of Blood that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And to convince him more fully, she presented an Hostie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red Colour. The Cheat of those supposed Visits was often repeated; at last the Virgin told him, that she was to give him such Marks of her Son's Love to him, that the Matter should be past all Doubt. She said, that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and St. *Catherine* were real Wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his Hand. He had no great Mind to receive a Favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his Hand, and struck a Nail through it. This Hole was as big as a Grain of Pease, and he saw the Candle clearly through it. This threw him out of a supposed Transport into a real Agony: But she seem'd to touch his Hand, and he thought

he smelt an Ointment with which she anointed it; though his Confessor persuaded him that that was only an Imagination; so the supposed Virgin left him for that Time.

The next Night the Apparition return'd, and brought some Linnen Clothes, which had some real or imaginary Virtue to allay his Torment; and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the Linnen in which Christ was wrapped; and with that she gave him a soporiferous Draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body in such a Manner, that he felt no Pain.

But in order to this, the Fryers betook themselves to Charms; and the Sub-prior shewed the rest a Book full of them; but he said, that before they could be effectual, they must renounce God; and he not only did this himself, but by a formal Act in Writing, signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Devil: It is true, he did not oblige the rest to do this, but only to renounce God. The Composition of the Draught was a Mixture of some Fountain Water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quick-silver, some Grains of Incense, somewhat of an *Easter* Wax-candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Composition was a Secret, which the Sub-prior did not communicate to the rest. By this the poor Fryer *Fetzer* was made almost insensible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep Sleep, he felt this wonderful Impression on his Body; and now he was ravish'd out of Measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the Parts of our Saviour's Passion: He was exposed to the People on the great Altar, to the Amazement of the whole Town, and to the Mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other Draughts, that threw him into Convulsions; and when he came out of those, a Voice was heard, which came through that Hole, which yet remains, and runs from one of the Cells, along a great Part of the Wall of the Church: For a Fryer spoke through a Pipe, and at the End of the Hole there was an Image of the Virgin's, with a little *Jesus* in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice seem'd to come. The Image also seem'd to shed Tears; and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little *Jesus* asked, why she wept? And she said, it was because his Honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without Sin. In Conclusion, the Fryers so over-acted this Matter, that at last even the poor deluded Fryer himself came to discover it, and resolv'd to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well-nigh kill'd a Fryer that came to him personating the Virgin in another Shape with a Crown on her Head. He also over-heard the Fryers once talking among themselves, of the Contrivance and Success of the Imposture, so plainly, that he discover'd the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the Horror with which such a Discovery could inspire him.

The Fryers fearing that an Imposture, which was carried on hitherto with so much Success, should be quite spoil'd, and turn'd against them, thought the surest Way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what Esteem he would be, if he continued to support the Reputation that he had acquired; that he would become the Chief of the Order; and in the End they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture. But at last, fearing lest he should discover all, they resolv'd to poison him; of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him, that was prepared with Spices, he kept it for some Time, and it growing green, he threw it to some young Wolf's Whelps that were in the Monastery, which died immediately. His Constitution was so vigorous, that though they gave him Poison five several Times, he was not destroyed by it. They also press'd him earnestly to renounce God, which they judg'd necessary, that their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never consent to that. At last they forced him to take a poisoned

Hostie, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it. That failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further Torment, he swore to them in a most imprecating Stile, that he would never discover the Secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them, till he found an Opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himself into the Hands of the Magistrates, to whom he discovered all.

The four Fryers were seized and put in Prison, and an Account of the Matter was sent first to the Bishop of *Lausanne*, and then to *Rome*; and it may be easily imagin'd, that the *Franciscans* took all possible Care to have it thoroughly examined. The Bishops of *Lausanne* and *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Process. The four Fryers first excepted to *Jetzer's* Credit; but that was rejected: Then being threaten'd with the Question, they put in a long Plea against that; but though the Provincial would not consent to that, yet they were put to the Question: Some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the Whole of the Imposture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Jetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them; and one of the Fryers said plainly, that he was in the whole Secret; and so he withdrew, but he died some Days after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was generally believed. The Matter lay asleep some Time, but a Year after that, a *Spanish* Bishop came, authorized with full Power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Fryers were solemnly degraded from their Priesthoods, and eight Days after, it being the last of *May*, 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other Side of the River, over-against the great Church. The Place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall through which the Voice was conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried-on Cheat that has been known; and, no Doubt, had the poor Fryer died before the Discovery, it had passed to Posterity as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was; and it gives a shrew'd Suspicion, that many of the other Miracles of that Church are of the same Nature, but more successfully finish'd.

7. *Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, both Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with the Conveniencies of Life than it; and yet *Italy* is almost dispeopled, and the People in it are reduced to Misery that can scarce be imagined but by those who have seen it: And *France* is in a great Measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants reduced to such Poverty as appears in all the Marks in which it can shew itself, in their Houses, Furniture, Cloaths, and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is full of People, and in several Places, in Villages as well as in Towns, one sees all the Marks of Plenty and Wealth. Their Houses and Windows are in good Order, the Highways are well maintained, People are well clothed, and every one at his Ease. This Observation surprised me still more in the Country of the *Grisons*, where there is hardly any Soil at all, the Vallies being almost washed away with the Torrents that fall down from the Hills, and swell their Brooks sometimes so suddenly, that in many Places the whole Soil is carried away; and yet those Vallies are well peopled, and every one lives happy under a gentle Government: Whilst rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such Misery, that as many Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live, and pay those Impositions that are laid upon them. The common People generally reason very simply of Government; but they feel truly though they argue false. So an easy Government, though in a Country with an ill Soil, and accompanied with great Inconveniencies, draws, or at least keeps People in it; whereas a severe Government, though it may in Speculation appear reasonable, drives its Subjects even out of the best and most desirable Seats.

8. In my Way from *Bern*, I passed by *Solothurn*, and I came through *Fribourg* in my Way to *Bern*. These are two of the chief Popish Cantons after *Lucern*; and one sees in them a Heat and Bigottry beyond what appears in *France* or *Italy*. Long before they come within the Church, they kneel down in the Streets, when Mass is saying. The Images are extreme gross. In the chief Church of *Solothurn*, there is an Image of God the Father, as an old Man with a black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Dove over his Head. Here also begins Devotion at the *Ave-Mary* Bell, which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all over *Italy*: At Noon, and at Sun-set, the Bell rings, and all say the *Ave-Mary*. But whereas in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this, all the *Switzers* see their common Interest so well, that they live in a very good Understanding one with another. This is chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in the other Popish Cantons. The Jesuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland*, as they are elsewhere; they have a noble College and Chapel in the best Place of *Fribourg*. It is not long since they were at *Solothurn*, where there was a Revenue of a thousand Livres a Year settled for the Maintenance of ten of them, with this Provision, that they should never exceed that Number. But where once settled, they find Means to break through all Limitations; and are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and College, which will cost, before finished, above four hundred thousand Livres, to which the *French* King gives ten thousand Livres for the Frontispiece; for as this is the Canton in which his Ambassadour resides, he thought it for his Glory, to have a Monument raised by an Order, that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they can find their Account in it.

In the same Canton there is an Abbey, that has one hundred thousand Livres of Revenue; there is also a very rich House of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that has sixty thousand Livres of Revenue, and but sixty Nuns in it, who, having a thousand Livres a-piece, may live in all possible Plenty, in a Country where a little Money goes a great Way. But that which surprises one most at *Solothurn* is, the great Fortification they are building about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen. The Stone with which it is faced, is a Sort of coarse Marble, but many Stones are ten Foot long, and two Foot thick: But though this will be a Work of Expence and Beauty, yet it would signify little against a great Army that attack'd it vigorously. The Wall is finished on the Side of the River, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterscarp and Glacis are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other Side of the River, which they intend to fortify in the same Manner. This has cost them near two Millions of Livres, and this Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain, that a Fortification able to resist their Peasants in case of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers, as *Bern*; the Little Council consists of thirty-six: They have twelve Bailiages, which are very profitable to those that can carry them; one Bursar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have Bailiages; but if there are Disorders at *Bern* in the Choice of Bailiffs, there are far greater among the Popish Cantons, where all Things are sold, as a foreign Minister told me; who, tho' he knew my Religion, did not stick to own frankly, that the Catholicks were not near so well governed as the Protestant Cantons. Justice is generally sold among them; and in Treaties with foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken Money both from *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, and have signed contradictory Articles at the same Time.

9. *Baden* has nothing in it remarkable, except its convenient Situation, which makes it the Seat of the General Diet of the Cantons, tho' not one of them, but a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the ancient

cient Cantons. At last I came to *Zurich*, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with relation to us, it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is less than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much richer; they reckon that they can bring fifty thousand Men together on twenty four Hours Warning; their Subjects live happy, for the Bailiffs here have Appointments, and have only the Hundred Penny of the Fines; so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern*, to whom the Fine belongs entirely. And whereas at *Bern*, the constant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages; here it is a Service to which the Citizens are bound to submit, according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the Magistrate called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Burgomaster. The Revenue of the State is justly accounted for, so that the Publick is much richer than at *Bern*; the Arsenal is much better furnished, and the Fortifications more regular. There is a great Trade stirring; and as their Lake, that is twenty four Miles long, and two or three broad, supplies them with Provisions, so their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufactures is *Crape*, in all Respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the Situation of the Town, but content myself with telling you, that it is very pleasant, the Country about it mountainous, and the Winters hard; for the Lake freezes quite over, only in some Places Ice never lies, which is esteemed a Mark that Springs rise there and cause that Heat. So also in the Lake of *Geneva*, tho' never quite frozen, yet Flakes of Ice lie in several Parts, but are never seen in some Parts of the Lake; which is supposed to flow from the same Cause.

But to return to *Zurich*: One sees here the ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity. Their Women not only do not converse with Men, except those of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets make no Returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courtesies; and here, as through all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the Civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one Thing singular in the Constitution of *Zurich*, that is, their *Little Council* consists of Fifty Persons, but there sit in it only Twenty-five at a Time; and so the Halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper Burgomaster, have also the Government in their Hands by Turns, and they shift every six Months, at *Midsummer*, and at *Christmas*. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages, and twenty-one Castellannies; in the former the Bailiff resides constantly; but the Castellan, who is also one of the *Great Council*, has so little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at set Times of the Year to do Justice.

The Virtue of this Canton has appear'd in their adhering to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a Sovereign Influence; but here it never prevailed. They have converted the ancient Revenues of the Church more to pious Uses, than any where else. They have many Hospitals well endowed; in one, as I was told, there was six hundred and fifty Poor kept: But as they support the real Charities which belong to such Endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are plain; and one of the Government said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and not lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are still continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation; but if they subsist plentifully, they labour hard; for they have two or three Sermons a Day, and at least one; the first begins at Five o'Clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation. But the Sermons are generally too

long, and the Preachers have departed from the first Design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were so contrived, that it were in all not above a Quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the People with less Weariness, and more Profit, so it would be a vast Advantage to the Preachers; for as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much; so having once made themselves Masters of the practical Parts, such short Discourses would cost them less Pains than those laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest Part of their Time, and often to little Purpose.

I told you, in *Bern* the Bailiages are given by a Sort of Ballot, which is so managed, that no Man's Vote is known: But I must add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable Alteration in the Way of Voting, when Offices are to be given; which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which exposes the Competitors more to Chance, and may put an End to the Intrigues that are so much in Use for obtaining those Employments. There are Balls put into a Box, equal to the Number of those that have a Right to vote, and are present; of these one Third are gilt, and two Parts are only silver'd; so every one takes out a Ball, but none can vote, except those who have the gilt Balls; so that a Man may have more than two Thirds on his Side, and yet be disappointed in a Competition.

10. There is one Thing, for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be too much commended: They have, ever since the Persecution began in *France*, open'd a Sanctuary to such as retired thither, in so Christian a Manner, that it deserves all honourable Remembrances that can be made of it. Such Ministers and others, as were at first condemned in *France* for the Affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more. For they have assign'd the *French* Ministers a Pension of five Crowns a Month if unmarried, and have increased it to every one who had a Wife and Children, so that some had above ten Crowns a Month Pension. They dispersed them all over the *Païs de Vaud*, but the greatest Number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the supporting of this Charge, the Charities of *Zurich* and other Protestant States were brought hither. Not only the Protestant Cantons, but the *Grisons*, and some small States that are under the Protection of the Cantons, such as *Neuchâtel*, *St. Gall*, and some others, have sent their Charities to *Bern*, who dispense of them with great Discretion, and bear what farther Charge this brings upon them. And in this last total Dispersion of those Churches, the Country has been animated with such a Spirit of Compassion, that every Man's House and Purse has been opened to the Refugees, who have passed in such Numbers, that sometimes there have been above two thousand in *Lausanne* alone, and of these at one Time near two hundred Ministers; and they all met with a Kindness that look'd more like the primitive Age, than the Degeneracy of that in which we live.

The only considerable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is, when Estates are sold, the fifth Part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the Bailiff can make, is to bring it to a sixth. This they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*; only there are some Lands that are *frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax. But this falling only on the Sellers, it was thought a just Punishment and a wise Restraint on ill Husbands of their Estates.

I was the more confirm'd in the Account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in some small Towns in the Canton of *Bern*, the chief Magistrate is still so called, as in *Payerne*: So that I make no Doubt, but as the ancient Magistrates in the Time of the *Romans*, that were to give an Account of the Town, were called *Advocates*; and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Bishops, was called at first *Advocate*, and afterwards

Vidam

Vidam or *Vicedominus*; so that this was the Title that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have touch'd too slightly on the last Difference in *Switzerland*, which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tolerated, so they are separated in different Quarters; those of one have the one Half of the Canton, and those of the other Religion have the other Half; so they live apart, but in *Glaris* they are mix'd; and now the Number of the Papists is very low; one assured me, there were not above two hundred Families of that Religion; and those so poor, that their Necessities dispose some every Day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons seeing the Danger of losing their Interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the Intrigues of a Court that understood the Policy of embroiling all other States, made great Use of some Complaints of the Papists of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other Religion exposed them to much Injustice and Oppression; and upon that they proposed that the Canton should be equally divided as *Apenzel* was. This was extremely unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth, perhaps not the twentieth Part of the Canton. It is true, it was so situated, that the Protestant Cantons could not easily come to their Assistance; but those of *Glaris* resolved to die rather than suffer this Injustice; and the Protestant Cantons resolved to engage in a War with the Popish Cantons, if they imposed on their Brethren of *Glaris*. At last this Expedient was found, that in all Suits between those of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges should be of the Religion of the Defendant. But while this Contest was on Foot, those who fomented, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjunction; for then was the Fortification of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Basil* much advanced, of which they are now very apprehensive when too late. There are six noble Families in *Bern* that have this Privilege, that when any of them are chosen of the Council, they take Place before the ancient Counsellors; whereas the rest take Place according to the Order in which they were chosen.

11. After a short Stay at *Zurich*, we went down the Lake, where we passed under the Bridge at *Ripperfwood*, which is a noble Work for such a Country. The Lake is there about half a Mile broad, the Bridge about twelve Foot broad, but hath no Rails on either Side; so that if the Wind is high, which is no extraordinary Thing, a Man is in great Danger of being blown into the Lake. This Defect I found in almost all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which seem'd very strange; for since that Defence is made at so small an Expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked; and more surprising in some Places, where the Bridges are both high and long: Yet I never heard of any Mischief that follow'd; but those are sober Countries, where Drinking is not much in Use. After two Days Journey we came to *Coire*, the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we found a General Diet of the three Leagues sitting; so that having staid ten Days there, I came to be informed of a great many Particulars which are not commonly known. The Town may contain between four and five thousand Souls. It lies in a Bottom upon a small Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with Mountains, so that they have a very short Summer; for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*, and it began to snow in *September* when I was there. On a rising Ground at the East End of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, and the Close where the Dean and six Prebendaries live: All within the Close are Papists, but the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty well together. Above a Quarter of a Mile up the Hill, one goes by a steep Ascent to St. *Lucius's* Chapel: My Curiosity carried me thither, though I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the *Grisons*. His Chapel is a little Vault about ten Foot square, where there is an Altar, and Mass is said upon

some great Festivals. It is situated under a natural Arch in the Rock, which is given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit. From it some Drops of a Fountain fall down near the Chapel. The Bishop assured me it had a miraculous Virtue for weak Eyes, and that it was oily; but neither Taste nor Feeling discover'd to me any Oiliness. I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock Water is. But when I offer'd to shew the good old Bishop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable, and most remarkably so in that which related to the *Grisons*, that we had no Kings in *Britain* at that Time, but were a Province to the *Romans*; that no ancient Authors speak of it, *Bede* being the first; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, with his Answer, bear evident Characters of Forgery; it signified nothing to the Bishop, who assured me, that they had a Tradition in their Church, and it was inserted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed. He also told me the other Legend of King *Lucius's* Sister, St. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose Veil there was yet a considerable Remnant among their Reliques. I confess I never saw a Relict so ill disguised, for it is a Piece of worn Linnen Cloth lately washed, and the Burning did not seem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case, there were some there that with great Devotion rubbed their Beads upon it. The Bishop had some Contests with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire, he had proscribed him. The Dean also behaved himself so insolently, that by an Order of the Diet he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the Consent both of the Popish and Protestant Communities, a Law was long ago made against Ecclesiastical Immunities; this Attempt on the Dean was made four Years ago. As soon as he was let out, he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the Bishop, and it was thought the Popish Party intended to move in the Diet, while we were there, for the repealing that Law, but they did it not. The Foundation of the Quarrel between the Bishop and Dean was, the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretend, and upon which the Bishop made some Invasion. I took Occasion to shew him the Novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the Primitive Church it was believed, that the Bishop had the Authority over his Presbyters by a divine Right; and if it was by a divine Right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his Obedience. But the Bishop would not carry the Matter so high, but contented himself with two Maxims; one was, that the Bishop was Christ's Vicar in his Diocese; and the other, that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bishop was in his Diocese.

He was a good-natur'd Man, and did not make use of the Authority that he had over the Papists, to set them to live uneasily with their Neighbours of another Religion. That Bishop was anciently a great Prince, and the best Part of the League, that carries still the Name of *the House of God*, belong'd to him; though I was assured that *Pregallia*, one of those Communities, was a free State above six hundred Years ago; and that they have Records extant that prove this: The other Communities bought their Liberties from several Bishops some Time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant; so that it is an impudent Thing to say, that they shook off his Yoke at that Time.

The Bishop hath yet a Revenue of about a thousand Pounds a Year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred Pounds a Year. It is not easy to imagine how the Riches of this Country are raised; for one sees nothing but vast Mountains, that seem barren Rocks, and some little Vallies among them not a Mile broad, and the best Part of these wash'd away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it. But their Wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Pasture; and in the hot Months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which brings them a clear Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a Year. The Publick is indeed poor, but particular Persons are so rich, that I knew

knew a great many there, who were look'd on to have Estates to the Value of one hundred thousand Crowns. Mr. *Schovestein*, accounted the richest Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a Million of Livres. The Government here is a pure Common-wealth; for in the Choice of their Magistrates, every Man above sixteen Years old hath his Voice, which is also the Constitution of some of the small Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Grisons*, that of the *House of God*, and that of the *Ten Jurisdictions*.

12. They believe, that upon the Incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian* Islands, out of which rose that famous Common-wealth, so others came and shelter'd themselves in these Vallies. They told me of an ancient Inscription lately found on a Stone, where on the one Side is graven, *Omitto Rbetos indomitos*, and *Ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was placed by *Julius Caesar*. This Stone is upon one of their Mountains; but as I did not pass that Way, so I can make no Judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this People, they were cast into little States, according to the different Vallies which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administred; and so they fell under the Power of some little Princes, that became severe Masters. But when they saw the Example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian* Yoke, above two hundred Years ago, they combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small Princes used their Authority better, and concurred with the People, and so they are still Parts of the Body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty. It is about two Miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. The whole Territory is about half a Mile long, at the Foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any Breadth. The Authority of these *Barons* was formerly more absolute than now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: But to keep together the little Village, they have granted them a Power of naming a List for their Magistrates, the Person being to be named by the Baron, who hath also the Right of Pardoning, of Coining, and every Thing else that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality; for he was in all Points like an ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of *Inspruck*; the others to Mr. *Schovenstein*, and Mr. *de Mont*; they are the Heads of those Communities of which their Baronies are composed; they name the Magistrates out of the Lists that are presented to them by their Subjects, and have the Right of Pardoning, and to Confiscations. That belonging to the *House of Austria* is the biggest: It hath five Voices in the Diet, and can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the Year 1679; he entered upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were specified in an Agreement that passed between him and his Peasants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. *Travers* made many Encroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who made their Complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the Matter judg'd at *Inspruck*, and the Emperor supported him in this Pretension, and sent an Agent to the Diet. I was present when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Compliments. The Diet stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted, that the Emperor had no Authority to judge that Matter, which belong'd only to them: So *Travers* was forced to let his Pretensions fall.

All the other Parts of this State are purely *Democratical*: There are three different Bodies or Leagues, and each of these an entire Government; and the Assembly or Diet of the three Leagues is only a Confederacy, like the United Provinces, or the Cantons. There are *sixty seven Voices* in the Diet, which are thus divided: The League of the *Grisons* hath *twenty eight* Voices, that of the *House of God* *twenty four*, and that of the *Jurisdictions* *fifteen*. The *Jurisdictions* belonged anciently to the *House of Austria*; but having shaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the Diet: But in the

last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke; yet they defended their Liberty with so much Vigour, that the *Austrians* thought the Conquest would not quit the Cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one Village, which was quite abandoned by all the Men, who left the Women in it, some Hundreds, as I was told, being there quartered, were apprehensive of no Danger from their Hostesses: But the Women intended to let their Husbands see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action, though it must be confess'd it was a little too barbarous for the Sex. They enter'd into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the Soldiers at one Time. The Woman that proposed this, had four lodged with her, and she, with her own Hands, dispatched them all; and so did the rest, not one Soldier escaping to carry away the News. In another Place, a Body of the *Austrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned; for the Men having no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains: But they took their Measures so well, and possessed themselves of the Passes in such a Manner, that they came down upon the Soldiers with so much Fury, that they defeated them, so that very few escaped; and it is certain, that the subduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is so poor; so that though particular Persons are rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his Liberty, which is more entire here than even in *Switzerland*; but often swells too high, and throws them into Convulsions. The League of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and is composed of *eight* and *twenty* Communities, of which there are *eighteen* Papists, and the rest are Protestants. The Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet do not suffer those of another Religion to live among them; so that every Community is entirely of the same Religion; and if any changes, he must go into another Community. Each Community is an entire State within itself, and all Persons meet once a Year to chuse the Judge and his Assistants, whom they change or continue from Year to Year, as they see Cause. There is no Difference between Gentleman and Peasant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord; nor dare his Landlord use him ill when he votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peasants would consider this as a common Quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Assembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the General Diet of the three Leagues, except in Matters that concern the conquer'd Countries, which belong in common to the three. There is one chosen by the Deputies for the Assembly of the League, who is called the Head of the League, that calls them together as he thinks proper, and can bring a Cause that hath been once judged to a second Hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The second League is that of the *House of God*, in which there are *four* and *twenty* Communities. The Burgomaster of *Coire* is always the Head of this League, which at this Time is almost wholly Protestant; and the two Vallies of the Upper and Lower *Engedin*, are pointed out by the Papists as Canibals towards such Catholics as come among them. But Fryer *Sfondrato*, Nephew to Pope Gregory XIV. whose Mother the Marquis of *Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great Regret. About eighteen Years ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles; and he became so much in Love with the Crown of Martyrdom, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there what he desired. His Brother had come sometime before into the Country to drink the Mineral Waters, and was well known to the Gentry; so some of these hearing of the Fryer's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained in their Houses, and conveyed through the Country, though he took all possible Methods to provoke them; for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made

no Answer, only they continued their Civilities ; which so enraged the warm Fryer, that he went to *Bormio*, and there died of Grief. An Accident fell out five Years ago, that the People of the Country esteemed a Miracle. The Papists, in their Processions, go out of one Community into another ; and when they pass through Protestant Communities, they lower the Cross, and give over singing till they come again upon Popish Ground ; but then they went on bearing up the Cross, and singing ; upon which the Protestants stopp'd them. They, finding that they were not equal in Number to the Protestants, sent to a Catholick Community, and desired their Assistance. Two thousand came, and in all Appearance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue ; for the Protestants were resolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others no less resolved to force their Way. But an extraordinary thick Mist rose, and through it the Papists fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood ; but terrified with the Appearance, they retired, and this saved a Battle that probably would not only have ended in the Shedding much Blood, but might have disorder'd the whole Constitution of their Leagues. The Papists of Quality endeavour to keep their People in Order ; but they acknowledge, that the Protestants are much more peaceable than the Catholicks. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Diet ; yet they are generally called the Ten Jurisdictions, and the greater Part of them are likewise of the Protestant Religion : For upon the general Computation of the *three* Leagues, the Protestants are about *two* Thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the Middle, and two on either Side. At every Table sits the Head of the League, and a Secretary near him ; and from the Table there go down Benches on both Hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League. They hold their Diets by Turns, in the chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it happened to be the Turn of the *House of God*, when I was there ; so they met at *Coire*.

13. The three Leagues, or *Grisons* in general, have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Districts ; the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas* ; *Maftinus*, one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died, he gave his Right to those Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire* ; so the Prelate had a Title, without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on Foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, since they were Masters of all the Passes, through which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity : Yet they had not Zeal enough for their Bishop, to engage upon his Account ; but agreed to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that they yielded those Parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this Cession they are possessed of them. Those Accessions to this State are much better than the Principal ; for as the *Valtelline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest Vallies in the World, in which there are three Harvests some Years ; so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio*, though not so good as that, are much preferable to the best Vallies of the *Grisons*. Yet the Engagement that People have to their Homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Country, that they might plant themselves so advantageously : But they love their rugged Vallies, and think the Safety they enjoy in them, beyond the Pleasures of their acquired Dominions ; which they govern by Bailiffs and Podestats, and other Officers whom they send among them ; and all the Advantage that they draw from them is, that the Magistrates they send enrich themselves in the same Manner as the Bailiffs in *Switzerland*. All those Offices go round the several Communities, which have the Right of Nomination in their Turn : But if there is none of the Community

proper, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that Turn, and the Community distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of those Parts, except the Fines, which in some Years amount to no considerable Sum ; and ten or twelve thousand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raised in a Year : So that their Subjects live happy, and free of all Taxes, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary. It was, indeed, the Effect of a very surprising Bigottry, when a People, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that Protestants were tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Rulers, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the worst Masters in the World.

14. To give a more particular Relation of that Matter, and tell the Circumstances which seem a little to lessen that Rebellion and Massacre, I must give an Account of a Part of this Constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest Men tremble. The Peasants come sometimes in great Bodies, and demand a Chamber of Justice from the Diet, and they are bound to grant it when thus demanded, which happens generally once in twenty Years. This Tumult of the Peasants is set on by some of the Malecontent Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is composed of Ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage such Accusations as are presented. It is superior to all Law, and acts like a Court of Inquisition : They give the Question, that is, put to the Torture, and do every Thing that they think necessary to discover the Truth of such Accusations as are presented to them ; and the Decisions of this Court can never be brought under a Review, though there is one Exception to this ; for about a hundred Years ago, one Court of Justice reversed all that another had done. The Peasants are in as great Jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French* ; and the good Men among them are sensible of a great Corruption of Morals, that the *Spanish* Service brings among them. For there is a *Grison* Regiment kept in Pay by the *Spaniards* ; there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a thousand Crowns Pay, though they are not obliged to attend the Service. This is a Pension paid under a more decent Name to the most considerable Men of the Country ; and is shared among them without any Distinction of Protestant and Papist, and is believed to sway their Councils too much. The Peasants are apt to take Fire, and to believe they are betray'd by these Pensioners of *Spain* ; and when Rumours are blown about among them, they come in great Numbers to demand a Chamber of Justice. The common Question that they give, which is also used through all *Switzerland*, and in *Geneva*, is, they tie the Hands of the suspected Person behind his Back, and pull them up to his Head, and so draw them about ; by which the Arms, and chiefly the Shoulder-blades, are disjointed. And when a Person put to the Question confesses his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confession, upon Oath, at the Place of Execution ; and if he goes off from it then, and saith, That his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Question ; for this passes for a Maxim, That no Man must die, unless he confesseth himself guilty. Generally when the Fury of demanding this Chamber spreads among the People, the Gentry run away, and leave the whole Matter in the Power of the Peasants ; for they know not where it will end : And so the Peasants being named Judges, the Justice goes quick, till some Sacrifices appease the Rage. Two Years ago, upon the Sale of a Common to the Bishop of *Como*, to which he had ancient Pretensions, the Peasants, having no more the Liberty of the Common, were enraged at their Magistrates, and a Report was spread abroad, of which the Author could never be discovered, that the *Spaniards* had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them

them to corrupt all their Magistrates. Upon this they were so on Fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made : But the Gentry happened to be then so much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peasants, or that directed their Rage. A Chamber of Justice was granted, but the Matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any was guilty : Yet some that had dealt in that Transaction were fined, not so much for any Fault, as to raise a Fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber. And because they could not find Colour to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one of the *Spanish* Companies.

In the Year 1618, there was a Report that the *Spaniards* had a Treaty on Foot to take away the *Valteline* from the Leagues. This was supported in Credit by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governor of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*. Near the *Valteline* there was one *Ganatz* a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that managed the Rage of the Peasants; and there was great Reason to suspect some under-hand Dealing, though he threw it which Way he pleased. A Chamber of Justice was appointed to sit at *Tossane*, which is a considerable Town, twelve Miles from *Coire*, on the Road to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is an high but small Hill, to which there is no Access but on one Side, where there are the Ruins of a Castle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the first Prince of the Country. There was severe Justice done in this Chamber; a Priest was put to the Question, and so ill used, that he died in it, which is a crying Thing among them. The chief Suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spanish* Regiment : He withdrew himself from the Storm; but the Peasants, led on by *Ganatz*, pursued him so close, that at last they found him, and hewed him in Pieces, *Ganatz* himself striking the first Stroke with an Ax, which was taken up, and preserved by his Friends; and four and twenty Years after, fifty or sixty of this Gentleman's Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same Axe. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars, abandon'd both his Religion and his Profession, being a Disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish* Troops. After the Peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen Governor of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, being then in so important a Charge. Yet he was so much hated, that though the Murthing of a Magistrate in Office, and at a publick Assembly, in so terrible a Manner, ought to have been severely punish'd; yet no Enquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Question confessed enough to hang them; some endured the Question, and escaped with the Loss of the Use of their Arms. Those of the *Valteline* have pretended this Severity was that which gave the Rise to the Massacre; and it is very probable this might have drawn in some that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous Action. But it was afterwards discovered, that the Plot had been formed long before; so that the Industry and Rage of the Priests, managed by *Spanish* Emissaries, working upon the Bigottry of the People, was the real Cause; and this only made Use of as a Pretext to give some Colour to the Massacre, which was executed some Months after this Chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at Church : There were some Hundreds destroyed, the rest got all up into the Mountains, and so escaped into the Country of the *Grisons*; and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the Hills, for they are situated just at the Bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War; the *French* saw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this Pass from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promise, that Things should be put into the

same State in which they were before the Year 1618. But when that Order was sent to the Governor of *Milan*, it was plain he had secret Instructions to the contrary, for he refused to execute it. So a War followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easy for them to support the Charge of it, without having Recourse to the Assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Interest in the Affairs of the *Valteline*, than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion; and to shew their Sincerity, they put the Country into the Pope's Hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their Assistance, or restore it without securing it from all Change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cause of the *Grisons*, and because the Duke of *Roban* was like to be the most favoured General, as being of their Religion, he was sent to command some Forces that march'd thither. But he saw, that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the Passes of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the *Grisons* reposed an entire Confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Instrument in that he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* engage in the Quarrel, and fearing they should possess themselves of the Passes, offered to restore all the Territory in *Italy*; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the Protestants got away so quick upon the Disorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the Priests. The *Spaniards* stood upon these Conditions; That an Amnesty should be granted for what was past : That there should be no Exercise of the Protestant Religion tolerated in the Country : And that the Bailiffs and other Magistrates of that Religion, who were to be sent into the *Valteline*, should not openly practise their Religion : And as for other Persons, that none of that Religion might stay above six Weeks at a Time in the Country. The Duke of *Roban*, seeing that Conditions of so much Advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did under-hand advise those of that Religion to accept of them, at the same Time that he seem'd openly to oppose the Treaty set on Foot on those Terms; and that he might get out of this Employment with the less Dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison, till they had finish'd their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this Day own, that they owe the Preservation of their Country to the Advices of that great Man. Many that were of that Religion returned to their Houses and Estates; but the greatest Part have since changed their Religion, others sold their Estates, and left the Country; some stay still, and go two or three Hours Journey to some of the Protestant Communities, where they have the Exercise of their Religion; and though they may not stay in the *Valteline* above six Weeks at a Time, yet they avoid that by going for a Day or two out of the Country once within that Time; nor is that Matter at present so severely examined, because there is a Calm among them as to those Matters. But when it comes to the Turn of the Protestant Communities to send one of their Religion to those Employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of *Como*, to whose Diocese those Territories belong : For if the Bishop fancies that they do any Thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, he excommunicates them. And tho' this may appear a ridiculous Thing, since they are in a worse State by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible Effect; for the People, who are extremely superstitious, will not come near such Magistrates : So that about three Years ago, a Bailiff found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, though his Time was not out, since being excommunicated, he could no longer maintain the Government.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs : One a little particular was executed when I was there. A Man, that hath an Estate by his Wife, enjoys it after her Death as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children he had by her. The Justice is short, but it is thought that Bribes go here, though but mean in proportion to their Poverty,

verty, as well as in other Places. The married Women scarce appear abroad, except at Church; but the young Women have more Liberty before they are married. There is such a Plenty of all Things, by Reason of the Gentleness of the Government, and the Industry of the People, that in the ten Days I staid at *Coire*, I was but once ask'd an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches; in the one there is an Organ, that joins with their Voices in the Singing of the Psalms; and there was for the Honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem sung very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this, the Minister preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular Devotion used here in saying of the Lord's Prayer, that the Ministers, who wear Caps, put them off. The Women, as in *Bern*, turn all to the East in Time of Prayer, and in their private Devotions before and after the publick Prayers: Many also bow at the Name of Jesus. They christen discovering the whole Head, and pouring the Water on the Hind-head, using a trine Asperision; which is also the Practice of the *Switz*. It was Matter of much Edification, to see the great Numbers, both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every Day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here, in the Middle of the Prayer, a good Interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Assembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Logick*; and for the rest they send their Children to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The Clergy are very meanly provided; for the the most Part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their People. They complained much to me of a Coldness in their People in the Matters of Religion, and of a great Corruption in their Morals. The Commons are extreme insolent, and many Crimes go unpunished, if the Persons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Ministers here are under a terrible Slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend a Prescription not only for the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to dismiss their Churchmen as they see cause. How it is among the Papists I cannot tell; but the Dean of the Synod of *the House of God* told me, they had an ill Custom of ordaining their Ministers without a Title, upon Examination of their Abilities, which took them up generally six or seven Hours; and when this Tryal was dispatch'd, if the Person was qualified they ordainec him; and it was too ordinary for those to endeavour to undermine the Ministers already in Employment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest and Kindred of the Intruder carried the Matter against the Incumbent without any Pretence; and in that Case the Synod was bound to receive the Intruder. In one Half of the Country they preach in *High Dutch*, and in the other Half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a Mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod; and as the People choose their Ministers, so, in Imitation of the *Switz*, every Synod chooses their *Antistes*, or Superintendent. He is call'd the Dean among the *Grisons*, and hath a Sort of Episcopal Power; but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for Life; but the Synod, upon great Cause, may make a Change. The People are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have a Tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extreme civil to Strangers; but it seems, in all Commonwealths Innkeepers think they have a Right to exact upon Strangers; which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

15. I shall conclude what I have to say of the *Grisons* with an extraordinary Story, which I had from the Ministers of *Coire*, and several other Gentlemen, that saw in *April* 1685, about five hundred Persons of different Sexes and Ages, that passed through the Town, who gave this Account of themselves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tyrol*, belonging the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the Dioceses of *Trent* and *Bresse*. They seemed to be a Remnant of the old *Waldenses*; they worshipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament

was only a Commemoration of the Death of Christ; in many other Points they had their peculiar Opinions, different from those of the Church of *Rome*: They knew nothing either of *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, though their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearness to the Protestant Religion. They had Mass said among them; but some Years since some of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their Labour, happened into the *Palatinate*, where they were better instructed in Matters of Religion; and these brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelberg* Catechism, with some other *German* Books, which ran over the Valley; and they being in a good Disposition, those Books had such an Effect upon them, that they gave over going to Mass, and began to worship God in a Way more suitable to the Rules set down in Scripture. Some of their Priests concurred in this Change; but others who adhered still to the Mass, went and gave the Archbishop of *Salzburg* an Account of it; upon which he sent some to examine the Matter, to exhort them to return to Mass, and to threaten them with Severity, if they continued obstinate: So they seeing a terrible Storm ready to break on them, resolved to abandon their Houses, and all they had, rather than sin against their Consciences; and the whole Inhabitants, old and young, Men and Women, to the Number of two thousand, divided themselves into several Bodies; some to go to *Brandenburg*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the Way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The Ministers told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity; for a Collection being made for them, they desired only a little Bread to carry them on their Way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossano*, and from thence through the Way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It lies through a Bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under Ground, for a great Part of the Way: The Way is cut out in the Middle of the Rock in some Places; and in several, the Steepness of the Rock being such, that a Way could not be cut, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid. This Way holds an Hour; after that, there is for two Hours a good Road, and we pass'd through two considerable Villages, finding good Lodging in both: From thence there is, for two Hours Journey, terrible Way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an Hour's Journey good Way to *Splugen*, which is a large Village of two hundred Houses that are well built, and the Inhabitants seem to live at their Ease, though they have no Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them. This is the last Protestant Church that was in our Rout: It was well endow'd; for the Minister had near two hundred Crowns. Those of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, and drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there pass generally a hundred Horses through this Town, one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horses that belong to it. From this Place we went mounting for three Hours, till we got to the Top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that, the Way was tolerably good for two Hours; and for two Hours there is a constant Descent, which, for the most part, is as steep as if we were going down Stairs. At the Foot of this is a little Village, called *Campodolin*; and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast Difference of the Climate, (for whereas we were freezing on the other Side, the Heat of the Sun was uneasy here) and by the Number of the Beggars; though it may seem the Reverse of what one ought to expect, since the richest Country of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Grisons*, one of the poorest States, have no Beggars at all. One Thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valtelline*, after carried three Days Journey, is sold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries at the Door; but there are no Taxes nor Impositions here. From *Campodolin* there are three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a slow Descent, and in some Places the Way is extreme rugged and stony.

16. *Chavennes* is very pleasantly situated at the very Foot of the Mountains; there runs through the Town a charming little River. It is nobly built, and hath many rich Vineyards about it; and the Reverberation of the Sun-beams from the Mountains so increases the Heats, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Part of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a noble Architecture in many Houses: In short, all the Marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town stood a little more to the North about five hundred Years ago, but a Piece of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the upper End of the Town there are some Rocks that look like Ruins, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit for Forts and Castles: The Marks of the Tools appear'd all over the Rock in one Place. I measured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is four hundred and fifty Foot; and, as we could guess, the Rock was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both Sides in a Line, as even as a Wall; towards the Top of one, the Name *Salvius* is cut in large Letters, a little *Gothick*. On the Tops of those Rocks, which are inaccessible, except on the one Side, and to that the Ascent is uneasy, they had Garrisons during the Wars of the *Valtelline*: There were fifteen hundred in Garrison in that which is in the Middle. There fall down frequently Pieces from the Hills, that extremely fatten the Ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruitful beyond Expression: And I saw a Lime-tree that was planted eight and thirty Years before in a Piece of Ground which has been so cover'd, two Fathom and an half in Compass. On both Sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom between the Hills; and at the Roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars and Gröttos, and strike a Hole about a Foot square, ten or twelve Foot into the Hill, which all the Summer draws a fresh Air into the Cellar, so that the Wine of those Cellars drinks as cold as if it were in Ice; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the End of *September*: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that, which is compressed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the Operation of the Sun is weakened, this Course of the Air is less sensible. Before, or over those Vaults, they build little pleasant Rooms like Summer-houses, and in them they go to Collations generally at Night in Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes than here; there is one Sort larger than the biggest *Damascene* Plumbs that we have in *England*.

There is a Kind of Wine here and in the *Valtelline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called Aromatick Wine; and as the Taste makes one think it must be a Composition, (for it tastes like a strong Water drawn off Spices) so its Strength, being equal to a weak Brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine: Yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any Mixture. The Liquor being singular, I informed myself particularly of the Way of preparing it. The Grapes are red, though it appears white. They let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, when they are extreme ripe; then they carry them to their Garrets, and set them all upright on their Ends by one another for two or three Months; then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away those in which there is the least Appearance of Rottenness, so that they press none but sound Grapes: After they are pressed, they put the Liquor in an open Vessel, in which it throws up a Scum, which they take off twice a Day; and when no more comes up, which, according to the Difference of the Season, is sooner or later, (for sometimes the Scum comes no more after eight Days, and at other Times it continues a Fortnight) then they put it in a close Vessel. For the first Year it is extreme sweet and luscious, but at the End of the Year, they pierce it a little higher than the Middle of the Vessel, almost two Thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every Year they fill it

up anew: Once a Year (in the Month of *March*) it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a Month; but their other Wine ferments not at that Time. *Madam de Salis*, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence like *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Composition that was forty Years old, and was so very strong, that one could hardly drink above a Spoonful; and it tasted high of Spicery, though she assured me there was not one Grain of Spice in it, nor of any other Mixture. Thus, as I conceive, the Heat that is in this Wine becomes a Fire, and distils itself, throwing up the more spirituous Parts of it to the Top of the Hogshead.

Both here, and in the Country of the *Grisons*, the Meat is very juicy; the Fowl are excellent, their Roots and Herbs very well relish'd; but the Fish of their Lakes are beyond any Thing I ever saw. They live in great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture; but they have Plenty of all Things, and are very rich. The Family, where we were so nobly entertain'd, is believed to be worth about two hundred thousand Crowns. Here the *Italian* Custom, of one only of a Family that marries, begins to take place. There is a Sort of Pots of Stone that is used not only in all the Kitchens here, but almost all over *Lombardy*, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels oily and scaly, so that a Scale sticks to one's Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the Nature of a Slate: There are but three Mines of it known, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*; but the first is much the best. They generally cut it in the Mine round, about a Foot and a half diameter, and a Foot and a Quarter thick; and they work it in a Mill, where the Chissels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered, that he, who manages the Chissel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the Course of the Water. They turn off first the outward Coat of this Stone, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one Pot after another by those small and hooked Chissels, by which they make a Nest of Pots, all one within another, the biggest being of the Size of an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no larger than a small Pipkin: These they arm with Hooks and Circles of Brass, and so they use them in their Kitchens. One of these Stone-pots takes Heat, and boils, sooner than any Pot of Metal; and whereas the Bottoms of Metal-pots transmit the Heat so entirely to the Liquor within, that they are not insufferably hot, the Bottom of this Stone-pot, which is about twice so thick as a Pot of Metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, or gives any Sort of Taste to the Liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground, it is very brittle; yet this is repair'd by patching it up; for they piece their broken Pots so close, though without any Cement, by sewing with Iron-wire the broken Parcels together, that in the Holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the least Breach, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The Passage to this Mine is very inconvenient; for they must creep into it for near half a Mile through a Rock, that is so hard, that the Passage is not above three Foot high; and those, that draw out the Stones, creep along upon their Belly, having a Candle fastened in their Forehead, and the Stone laid on a Sort of Cushion made for it upon their Hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred Weight.

17. But having mentioned some Falls or Breaches of Mountains in those Parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary Fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the same Bottom, but on a Situation that is a little more raised. The Town was half the Bigness of *Chavennes*; the Number of the Inhabitants about two and twenty hundred Persons, but it was much better built; for besides the great Palace of the *Francken*, that cost some Millions, there were many other Palaces erected by several rich Factors of *Milan*, and the other Parts of *Italy*, who liked the Situation and Air, as well as the Freedom of the Government; so they used to come hither

during

during the Heats, and gave themselves all the Indulgences that a vast Wealth could furnish. By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest. It was an Out-house of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The Voluptuousness of this Place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me, that she had heard her Mother often relate some Passages of a Protestant Minister's Sermons, preached in a little Church which those of that Religion had there, which warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their Heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the twenty-fifth of *August*, 1618, a Person came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving; but he was laughed at for his Pains. He had a Daughter, whom he persuaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of Town with him, she called to Mind that she had not lock'd the Door of a Room, in which she had some Things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the Hour of Supper the Hill fell, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, so that not one Person escaped. The Fall of the Mountains so fill'd the Channel of the River, that the first News those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their River; for three or four Hours there came not a Drop of Water, but the River wrought for itself a new Course, and returned to them. I could hear no particular Character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great Discovery of the last Day. Some of the Family of the *Francken* got some Miners to work under Ground, to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for besides their Plate and Furniture, there was great Quantity of Cash and many Jewels in the House. The Miners pretended they could find Nothing; but they went to their own Country of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other visible Account could be given but this, that they had found some of that Treasure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Grisons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Banker* signified the same Thing; so the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*, and to this Day the *Grisons* drive a vast Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate, hath not perhaps a third Part of this within the Country, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Country is such, that the Natives, when they have made Estates elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy*, and the best Parts of *Germany*, and come and live among those Mountains, of which the very Sight is enough to fill a Man with Horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two Hours through a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which is almost round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como*, over-against Fort *Fuentes*; when we passed, the Water was so low, that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long, and four board, and runs between two Ranges of Hills. I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any Description of it. The best Thing in it is a fine Chapel, which the present Pope *Innocent XI.* who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Code-laggo*, belonging to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles on the Lake. This Lake doth not run in an even Current, as other Lakes that rise under the *Alps*, but the Situation of the Hills about it throws it into several Courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little Provinces, of which, during the Wars of *Italy* between the two Crowns, in *Francis I.* and *Charles V.*'s Time, they possessed themselves as a Pledge for Payment of their Arrears; and they were then such considerable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of *Milan* court

them by Turns, and became the peaceable Possessors of almost all that Tract that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Country of the *Valeffi*, or the *Vallies*. The Inhabitants here are so well used, live so free of all Impositions, and the Government is so gentle, that I must tell you another Paradox; this is the worst Country, the least productive, the most exposed to Cold, and the least capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the best peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*. There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugane* alone ninety nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all full of People. The twelve ancient Cantons have their Turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here; but when it comes to the Turn of those of the Religion, their Bailiffs must be content with private Devotions in their own House, but can have no publick Exercises, nor so much as a Minister in their Houses. For here, as in the *Valtelline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the Cantons, they made an express Provision, that no Religion, except the Popish, should be tolerated here; so that the Bailiff, who is the Prince, often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in these Parts. The Bailiffs make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, yet with more Caution; for they take great Care not to give the Natives any Distaste, though the Miseries to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, might, in all Appearance, deliver their Masters from any great Apprehensions of a Revolt. A great many Mechanicks of all Sorts live in these Parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free from all Taxes. I was told, that some Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberini*, had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Country from them, and so to erect it into a Principality; and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand Crowns to each of the twelve Cantons; but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made no Proposition to the Diet of the Cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whenever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many People to live in so bad a Soil, when they are in Sight of the best in *Europe*, but the Easiness of the Government.

18. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a noble Lake, six and fifty Miles long, and in most Places six Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the Middle of it; it makes a great Bay to the Westward, and there lie two Islands, called the *Borromean* Islands, which are certainly the loveliest Spots of Ground in the World. There is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them; they have the full View of the Lake, and the Ground rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined equal to the Terraces here. They belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the Head of the Family, Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the Name of *St. Carlo*. On the West End lies the Palace, which is one of the best in *Italy* for the Lodgings within, tho' the Architecture is but ordinary. There is one noble Apartment above four and twenty Foot high, and there is a vast Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures, beyond any Thing I saw out of *Rome*. The whole Island is a Garden, except a little Corner to the South, set off for a Village of about forty little Houses. And because the Figure of the Island was not very regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made grotesque; and so they have brought it to a regular Form, by laying Earth over those Vaults. There is first a Garden to the East, that rises up from the Lake by five Rows of Terraces, on the three Sides of the Garden, that are watered by the Lake; the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons; and a more beautiful Spot of a Garden cannot be seen. There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden; the one is a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-house all wainscotted with

with Alabaſter and Marble, of a fine Colour inclining to red. From this Garden one goes on a Level to all the reſt of the Allies and Parterres, Herb and Flower-gardens, in all which there are Variety of Fountains and Arbours; but the great Parterre is a ſurprizing Thing: For as it is well furniſhed with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaſt Extent, and juſtly ſituated to the Palace, at the further End of it there is a great Mount; the Face of it, that looks to the Parterre, is made like a Theatre, all full of Fountains and Statues, the Height riſing up in five ſeveral Rows, about fifty Foot high, and about fourſcore Foot in Front; and round this Mount, anſwering to the five Rows into which the Theatre is divided, there run as many Terraces of noble Walks. The Walls are all as cloſe covered with Oranges and Citrons, as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel. The Top of the Mount is ſeventy Foot long, and forty broad: and here is a vaſt Ciſtern, into which the Mill plays up the Water that furniſhes all the Fountains. The Fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there; but when all is compleat, this Place will look like an enchanted Iſland. The Freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a Lake, and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and delightful Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the World hath nothing like it.

19. From hence I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable Village at the End of the Lake; and here I began to feel a mighty Change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Country that can be imagined, the Ground lies ſo even, is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by Rows of Trees, incloſing every Piece of Ground of an Acre or two in Compaſs, that it cannot be denied that here is a vaſt Extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many Places an hundred broad; where the whole Country is equal to the love- lieſt Spots in *England* and *France*; it hath all the Sweetneſs that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air. The Neighbourhood of the Mountains cauſes a Freſhneſs here, that makes the Soil the moſt deſireable Place to live in that can be ſeen, if the Government were not ſo ſevere, that there is nothing but Poverty all over this rich Country. A Traveller in many Places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill furniſhed, that if he does not buy Proviſions in the great Towns, he will be driven to a very poor Diet, in a Country that ſeems to flow with Milk and Honey: But of this I ſhall ſay more hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* diſcharges itſelf in the River *Tefino*, which runs with ſuch a Force, that we went thirty Miles in three Hours with a ſingle Skulker, and the Water was no Way ſwelled. From hence we went into the Canal which *Francis I.* cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty Foot broad, and on both its Banks there are ſuch Contrivances to diſcharge the Water when it riſes to ſuch a Height, that it can never be fuller of Water than it is intended it ſhould be: It lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes for ſix Miles together one ſees the Line exactly before one. It is thirty Miles long, and is the beſt Advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long Deſcription of this City, which is one of the nobleſt in the World for an inland Town, that hath no Court, no Commerce either by Sea, or any navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very ſmall Country; for that, which is not mountainous in this State, is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a Wealth that is ſurprizing. It pays for an Eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand Soldiers effectively in it; ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe Hands the Government is lodg'd. But the Extent of the Town, the Nobleneſs of the Buildings, and above all, the ſurprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are Signs of great Wealth: The Dome hath Nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude *Gothick* Manner; but for the Vaſtneſs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, *St. Peter's* itſelf not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement

and Walls, both Outſide and In, and on the Top it is all flagged with Marble; and there is the vaſteſt Number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. Juſt under the *Cupola* lies *St. Carlo's* Body, in a great Caſe of Cryſtal, of vaſt Value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holidays, and there was a perpetual Crowd; and the Superſtition of the People for his Body is ſuch, that on a Holiday he runs a Hazard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His Canonization coſt the Town an hundred thouſand Crowns. They pretend they have Miracles too from Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not ſet about his Canonization, the Price is ſo high. The Plate and other Preſents made to *St. Carlo*, are Things of a prodigious Value; ſome Services for the Altar are all of Gold, ſome ſet with Jewels, others ſo finely wrought, that the Faſhion is thought equal to the Value of the Metal. The Habits, and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization, are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit; and according to the Anſwer that a Fryer made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him, how they they came to qualify one of the worſt of their Princes with the Title of Saint, in an Inſcription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never Man deſerved of a City this Title ſo juſtly as Cardinal *Borromeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving Nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced ſo great a Man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it. For as there have been ſince that Time two Cardinals of that Family, ſo it is eſteemed a *Cafa Santa*, and when-ever it produces an Eccleſiaſtick of any conſiderable Merit, he is ſure, if he lives, to be raiſed to this Archbiſhoprick: For if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the State to a Rebellion; and he were a bold Man that would venture on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and conſecrated it, though the Work will not be quite finiſhed for ſome Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Priests, never to finiſh a great Deſign, that, by keeping it in an unfiniſh'd State, they may be always drawing vaſt Sums from the Superſtition of the People. He built the Archbiſhop's Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the *Switzers*, ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and many Convents. In ſhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* ſtrike one with Amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every Thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are Signs both of great Wealth and Superſtition; but their Libraries not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous Things. The Room is often fine, and richly adorn'd, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen; and the Ignorance of the Priests, both ſecular and regular, ſuch, that no Man, that hath not had Occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The Convent of *St. Viſtor*, that is without the Town, is by much the richeſt; it is compoſed of Canons regular, called in *Italy*, *The Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetans*. That of the *Barnabites* is extreme rich; there is a Pulpit and a Confessional, all inlaid with Agates of different Colours, finely ſpotted Marbles, and *Lapis Lazuli*, that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. *St. Lawrence* has a noble *Cupola*, and a Pulpit of the ſame Form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jefuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *St. Sebaſtians*, are very rich. The Citadel is too well known to need a Deſcription; it is very regularly built, and is moſt effectual to keep the Town in Order. The Hoſpital is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had ninety thouſand Crowns Revenue. The old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty Foot ſquare, and there are three Rows of Corridors, or Galleries, all round the Court, one in every Stage, according to the *Italian* Manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and leaves a Gallery before every Door. It is true, theſe take up a great deal

deal of the Building, being eight or ten Foot broad ; but then here is an open Space, that is extreme cool on that Side where the Sun doth not lie ; for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by Pillars, at the Distance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both Sides, as is common in all Hospitals ; but there are also a great many Chambers, in which Persons, who were formerly of a distinguished Condition, are treated with a particular Care. There is an Out-house, which is called the *Lazaretto*, which belongs to this Hospital ; it is an exact Quarter of a Mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers ; so that as the Service is convenient, the Sick have a cover'd Walk before their Doors. In the Middle of this vast Square there is an octangular Chapel, so contrived, that the Sick, from all their Beds, may see the Elevation of the Hostie, and adore it. This House is for the Plague, or for infectious Fevers ; and the Sick, that want a freer Air, are also removed hither.

I need not say any Thing of the curious Works in Crystal that are seen in *Milan* ; the greatest Quantities, that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and wrought here. It is certain, the *Alps* have much Wealth shut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to search for it : But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except Iron Mines ; yet, by the Colourings that in many Places the Fountains make as they run along the Rocks, one sees Cause to believe that there are Minerals shut up in them. Gold hath been often found in the River *Arve* that runs by *Geneva*.

The last Curiosity that I shall mention of the Town of *Milan*, is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brother's Hands, where there are a great many very valuable Things both of Art and Nature. There is a Lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold and Silver, and Emeralds, and Diamonds which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious Motions, where, by an unseen Spring, a Ball, after it hath roll'd down through many winding Descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual Motion : This is done in several Forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the Vulgar. Many Motions of little Animals, that run about by Springs, are also very pretty. There is a Loadstone of a vast Force, that carries a great Chain. There is also a monstrous Child, that was lately born in the Hospital, which is preserved in Spirit of Wine : It is double below, hath one Breast and Neck, two Pair of Ears, a vast Head, and but one Face. As for the Buildings in *Milan*, they are large and substantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture. The Governor's Palace hath some noble Apartments in it. The chief Palace was built by a Banker. There is one Inconvenience in *Milan*, which destroys all the Pleasure that one can find in it : They have no Glass Windows, so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut up in a Dungeon ; and this is so universal, that there is not one House in ten that hath Glass in their Windows. The same Defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an Effect of their Poverty ; for what by the Oppression of the Government, what by the squeezing Oppression of their Priests, who drain all the rest of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the People here are reduced to a Poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches ; and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found ; but Purgatory is a Fund not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese* consists chiefly in their Silks ; and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East-India* Companies bring in to *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languishes extremely, by the great Fall that is in the Silk Trade. There is a great Magnificence in *Milan* ; the Nobility affect to make a noble Appearance in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants ; and the Women go

Abroad with more Freedom here, than in any Town of *Italy*.

20. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we pass'd through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison ; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of other Princes of *Italy*, shew, that they are not very apprehensive one of another. And when one passes through those Places, which are represented in History as of great Strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge, that the Sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived a great many Degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the Seat of War, could not resist against a good Army now, so many Days as it did then Years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominions live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate sends *Podestas*, like the Bailiffs of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdiction assigned them. There is also a Captain-General, who hath the Military Authority in his Hands ; and these are Checks upon each other, as the *Bashaws* and the *Cadis* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the Town is so small, that both these are in one Person. We were there in the Time of the Fair ; Linnen Cloth and Cheese (which though it goes by the Name of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities. The Magnificence of the *Podesta* appeared very extraordinary ; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery ; and the two Coaches, in which himself and his Lady rode, were both extraordinary rich : His was a huge Bed-coach, all the Outside black Velvet, and a mighty rich gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth. Here they make the best Barrels for Pistols and Muskets in *Italy*. There are great Iron-works near it ; but the War with the *Turk* had occasioned an Order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*. They are building a noble Dome at *Brescia*. I was shew'd a Nunnery there, which is now under a great Disgrace. Some Years ago a new Bishop coming thither, began with the Visitation of that Nunnery : He discovered two Vaults ; by one Men came ordinarily into it, and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay-in. When he was examining the Nuns severely concerning those Vaults, some of them told him, that his own Priests did much worse. He shut up the Nuns, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Veil ; and by this Means the House will soon come to an End. The Citadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Compliment, within these last ten or twelve Years, to their *Podestas*, which is a Matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vast Charge ; for they erect Statues to their *Podestas* ; and this being once begun, must be carried on, otherwise those to whom the like Honour is not done, will resent it as an high Affront ; and the Revenges of the noble *Venetians* are dreadful Things, especially to their Subjects. This Name of *Podesta* is very ancient ; for in the *Roman* Times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns were called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*.

— *Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse Potestas.*

From *Brescia*, the Beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted ; for as all the Way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is a Garden, so here on the one Side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty Miles long, and where broadest, twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed all *Lombardy* over are extreme short ; for I walk'd often four or five Miles by Way of Exercise, and I found a thousand Paces made their common Mile ; but in *Tuscany*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Mile is fifteen hundred Paces. We pass'd through a great Heath for seven or eight Miles on this Side *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is

is a vast Town, and much of it well built. There are many rich Churches in it ; but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easy to change a Pistole without taking their Coin of base Alloy, which won't pass out of the *Veronese* : For this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small States to retain still a Coin peculiar to them, which is highly inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheatre, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved ; for tho' most of the great Stones of the Outside are pick'd out, yet the great sloping Vault, on which the Rows of the Seats are laid, is entire : The Rows of the Seats are also entire ; they are four and forty Rows ; every Row is a Foot and a half high, and as much in Breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them under the Feet of those of the higher Row ; and allowing every Man a Foot and a half ; the whole Amphitheatre can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the Vaults, under the Rows of Seats, were the Stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the Company. The Thickness of the Building, from the outward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninety Foot : But this noble Remnant of Antiquity has been so often and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next Thing of Value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furnished with Antiquities and Rarities. There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in *Africa* to the Honour of *M. Crassus* ; there is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the *Roman* Weights, with their Instruments for their Sacrifices ; there are many Curiosities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that rises up in Terrasses the whole Height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions which belong to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy* ; for there is all the Way a Succession of Gardens : The Ground is better cultivated than I saw it in any other Part of *Italy*, but the Wine is not good ; for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins ; but the Soil is too fat to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda*, a very extraordinary Wine, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best Sort of Canary ; it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it derives the Name of *Holy Wine* ; and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear ; but I have not marked how long it may be kept : We had it there for a Groat an *English* Quart ; I wonder'd that they did not trade with it. All the Cattle of *Italy* are grey or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not enquire into the Reasons of these Things ; it is certain Hog's Flesh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England* ; whether the Truffles, on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or no, I know not ; the Husks of the pressed Grapes are also a mighty Nourishment to them ; but Cattle of that greyish Colour are certainly weaker : The Carriage of *Italy* is commonly performed by them, and this is very hard Work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever so little ; for the Ground being level, and there being no raised Highways, the Carts go deep, and are very hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient Liberty than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less ; for it submitted itself to the *Venetians*, whereas the other disputed long, and brought it often very low. One sees the Marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are lately built : They have a modern Theatre made in Imitation of the ancient *Romans*. *Lombardy* differs in Climate from the Southern Part of *Italy*, for here they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from

Breezes that blow so sharp from the *Alps*, that they would kill those delicate Plants ; whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens ; and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holiday, and there I saw a Preparation for a Procession that was to be in the Afternoon : I did not wonder at what a *French* Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax ; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know ; but in the Morning all People ran to it, and said their Prayers to it, and kissed the Ground before it, with all the Appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen Miles to *Padua*, all a Garden : Here one sees the Decays of a vast City, which was one of the biggest of all *Italy* : The Compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited Ground in it, and Houses there go almost for Nothing. The Air is extreme good ; and there is so great a Plenty of all Things, except Money, that a very little of that goes a great Way. The University here, though so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Professors, yet sinks extremely : There are no Men of any great Fame in it, and the Quarrels among the Students have driven away most of the Strangers that used to come and study here ; for it is not safe to stir abroad after Sun-set. The Number of the Palaces is incredible ; and though the Nobility of *Padua* are almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient Palaces shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels, that were in all those conquer'd Cities, continue still among them ; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their Revenges, both come under the Bando by this Means, and the Confiscation goes to the Senate. At some Times of Grace, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the Numbers of the guilty Persons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by Monsieur *Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many Years a Professor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last Grace ; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it upon his Word. The Nobility of *Padua*, and of the other Towns, seem not to see what a Profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families ; for one Family in the same Man's Time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced, from fourteen thousand Ducats Revenue, to less than three thousand, by its falling at several Times under the Bando. But their Jealousies and Revenges are pursued with so much Vigour, that, when these are in their Way, all other Things are forgot. There is here the Remnant of the Amphitheatre, though nothing but the outward Wall. There is here also, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, call'd the City, and an outward without that, call'd the Burgo ; but though there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in Compass ; it lies almost round : The publick Hall is the noblest in *Italy* : The Dome is an ancient but mean Building : The Church of *St. Anthony*, but especially the holy Chapel in it, where the Saint lies, is one of the best Pieces of modern Sculpture ; for round the Chapel the chief Miracles of that Saint are represented in *mezzo relievo*, in a very surprizing Manner. The Devotion that is paid to this Saint all *Lombardy* over is amazing ; he is called, by Way of Excellence, *Il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his Sake. But among the little Vows that hang without the holy Chapel, there is one that is the highest Pitch of Blasphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, speaking of the Saint, *quos non audit & ipse Deus* ; i. e. *He hears those whom God himself doth not hear*. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the Architecture is so beautiful, it is so well enlightned, and the Cupolas are so advantageously placed, that, if

the Outside answer'd the Inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontispiece: There are many new Altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abbey hath an hundred thousand Ducats Revenue; and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belong'd to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Bishop here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his Pattern; he hath founded a noble Seminary for secular Priests; he lives in a constant Discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now on ill Terms with his Canons, who are all noble *Venetians*, and so allow themselves great Liberties, of which they will not willingly be abridg'd. He is charitable to a high Degree, and is, in all Respects, a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live easy and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their Quarrels; but though the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live miserably. Yet on all Hands round about them, the Oppressions being more intolerable, they know not where to fly for Ease; whereas on the contrary, the Miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the Ecclesiastical State, send in Numbers among them, so that they are well stock'd with People. But the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding military Matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This Jealousy is the true Ground of that Maxim, though another is pretended that is more plausible, which is, their Care of their own People, whom they study to preserve; and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain, a Revolt here were no hard Matter, for the Garrisons and Fortifications are so slight, that those great Towns could easily shake off their Yoke, if it were not for the Factions that reign among them, by which one Party would choose rather to expose the other to the Rigour of the Inquisitors, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty: And the Inquisitors, in such Cases, proceed so secretly, and so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such Consequence; and the oppressed Nobility of those States retain still so much of their old and un-subdued Insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure, as if they had many strong Citadels and numerous Garrisons among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the noble *Venetians* on both Sides of the River, built with so great a Variety of Architecture, that there is not one like another. There is also the like Diversity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months, and some allow themselves all the Excesses of dissolute Liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina*, which is at the Mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six Miles on the *Lagunes*, or Shallows, to *Venice*. These Shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an Island is like to become as great a Charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible Industry to cleanse the Channels of the *Lagunes*, and to keep them full of Water: And yet many think, that the Water hath failed so much in this last Age, that if it continues to abate at the same Rate, within an Age or two more, *Venice* may become a Part of the *Terra Firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing Sight in the whole World to see so vast a City situated in the Sea, and such a Number of Islands so united together by Bridges, brought to such a regular Figure, the Pilotty supplying the Want of Earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is, of all the Things that one can see, the most amazing. And though this Republick is much sunk from what it was, both by the great Losses suffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great Decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast Plenty of all Things in this Place. I will not offer to describe either the Church or the Pa-

lace of *St. Mark*, which are too well known. The Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vast Value. Here I saw that Story of Pope *Alexander III.* treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Nobleness of the Stair-cases, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beastliness of those that walk there, and leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so noble a Palace.

I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father *Paul* was not in such Consideration there as he is elsewhere. I asked for his Tomb, but they made no Account of him, and seemed not to know where it was. It is true, the Person to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this Matter. I had great Discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which Father *Paul* drew his History, which are, no doubt, preserved with great Care in their Archives; and since the Transactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of Importance, so they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World, the only Way to put an End to Disputes, in Matter of Fact, is to print the Originals themselves. A Person of great Credit at *Venice* promised me to do his utmost to get that Proposition set on Foot, though the Exactness that the Government hath always affected, as to the Matter of their Archives, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give Way to any such Search. The Affinity of the Matter brings into my Mind a Conversation I had with a Person of great Eminence at *Venice*, that had been long at *Constantinople*, and was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*. He was at *Constantinople*, when the Enquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on Foot, occasioned by the famous Dispute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*: And being a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was dealt with to assist in that Business; but as a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said he could not meddle in it. He hath a very bad Opinion of the *Greeks*, and told me, that none of their Priests were more inveterate to the Church of *Rome*, than those that were bred up at *Rome*; for they, to free themselves of the Prejudices that their Countrymen conceive against them, by reason of their Education, affect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little Money, or Hope of Protection from any of the Ambassadors that came from the West, would prevail with them to sign any Thing desired of them. He added one Thing, that though he firmly believed Transubstantiation himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased. He took his Notions of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said; for their Rites, not being changed for a great many Ages, were the true Indications of Doctrines received among them; whereas they were ignorant of Tradition, and apt to prevaricate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them. Therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore after the Consecration, that was an evident Sign they did not believe the corporal Presence, and was well able to balance all their Subscriptions. He added, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag in which the Sacrament was, and shew it with no Sort of Respect, more than when they shewed any Manuscript; and he looked on Adoration as such a necessary Consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at *Paris* told me, that the Originals of those Attestations were in too exact and too correct a Style to have been formed in *Greece*. He assured me they were penn'd at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Puri-

ry of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name these Persons, because they are alive, and this might be a Prejudice to them.

One of the Ornaments of *Venice*, was the young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two. She passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua*, according to the Forms ; but, which was beyond all, she was a Person of such extraordinary Virtue and Piety, that she is spoke of as a Saint. She died some Months before I came ; she was of the noble Family of the *Cornaros*, though not of the three chief Branches, which are *St. Maurice*, *St. Paul*, and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the Distinction of her Family was *Piscopia*. Her Merit made all People unwilling to remember the Blemish of her Descent on the one Side ; for though the *Cornaros* reckon themselves a Rank of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a Gondalier's Daughter so long, that he had some Children by her, at last, for their Sakes, married the Mother, and paid a considerable Fine to save the Forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children must have undergone by the Meanness of the Mother's Birth. The *Cornaros* carry it so high, that many of that Family have made themselves Nuns, because they thought their own Name was so noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it for another : And when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredos*, which is also one of the ancientest Families, and extreme rich, and she had scarce any Portion at all, (for the *Cornaros* are now very low) some of their Friends came to wish them Joy ; but they rejected the Compliment, and bid them go and wish the *Sagredos* Joy, since they thought the Advantage was on their Side.

There are of the truly ancient noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining ; and among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in Rank. Since the first Formation of their Senate, they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genoa*, they conferred that Honour on thirty Families ; several of their Generals have had it given them as a Reward of their Service : They have also offered it to some Royal Families ; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice* ; and *Henry III.* when he came through *Venice* and *Poland*, to take Possession of the Crown of *France*, went, sat among them, and drew his Ballot as a noble *Venetian* : Several Popes have procured this Honour for their Nephews ; only the *Barberini's* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without they asked it, and so it stuck. But during the War of *Candia*, Cardinal *Francis Barberini* gave twelve thousand Crowns a Year towards the War ; and the Temper found for making them noble *Venetians* was, that the Queen-mother of *France* moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators, before the last War of *Candia*, they were free ; and the Considerations were either great Services, or the Dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour : Those new Families are divided into those called *Ducal Families*, and *New Families* : The Reason of the former Designation is not rightly understood ; all those Families, say some, that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their House ; but as all the old Families have had the same Honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the new Families have also had it, yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had Branches made Dukes without their being first Procurators of *St. Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*. But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450, to the Year 1620, for an hundred and seventy Years, there was a Combination made among those new Families to preserve the Dukedom still among them ; for the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entered into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility. It is true, they made the Dukedom some-

times fall on new Families that were not of this Association ; but this was indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and it appeared that they bore the chief Sway in the Election. This Combination was a Thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquisitors did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it ; so that I never met with it in any Author. But this failed in 1620, when *Memmio* was chosen Duke, and was descended of the ancient Nobility ; which was so great a Mortification to the *Casa Ducale*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hang'd himself through the Rage to which that drove him ; but his Man came in Time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after in a better Mind. Since that Time one of the *Bembos*, two of the *Cornaros*, one of the *Contarinis*, and the present Prince of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been Dukes, who are all of ancient Families ; so that this Faction is so entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* itself) that it was ever amongst them. And thus Time and Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce ; for that, which all the Endeavours of the Inquisitors could not compass, came about of itself. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, though violent enough in those who manage them, are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as formerly among the *Florentines* ; who though they value themselves as much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a dull Race of People, yet shewed how little they understood to conduct their State ; since by domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wisdom to preserve. The Faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the Matter fall, for they lost more than they got by it ; since the ancient Families in Revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the advantageous Employments of the State. For they being only united in that Point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it ; but in other Competitions they set up such Candidates against the Pretenders of the Ducal Families, as were more esteem'd than they, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this, if it had been still kept up, might have proved fatal to their Liberty.

It is indeed a Wonder to see the Dignity of the Duke so much courted ; for he is a Prisoner of State, tied to such Rules, so severely restrained, and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of *St. Mark*, that it is not strange to see the greatest Families, in particular, the *Cornaros*, decline it. All the Family, how numerous soever, must retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is chosen out of it ; only one, that is next a-kin sits still, but without a Vote : And the only real Privilege that the Duke hath is, that he can, without communicating with the *Savi*, propose Matters either to the Council of Ten, to the Senate, or Great Council ; whereas all other Propositions must be first offered to the *Savi*, and examined by them, who have a Sort of tribunitian Power, to reject what they dislike ; and though they cannot hinder the Duke's making a Proposal, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it ; they can hinder it from being voted ; and, after voted, they can suspend the Execution till it is examined over again : And a Duke that is of an active Spirit must resolve to endure these Mortifications ; for it is certain that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew their Authority, and exercise a Sort of Tyranny in rejecting of Propositions, when they intend to humble those who make them : Yet the greatest Part of the best Families court the Dukedom extremely. When *Sagredo* was upon the Point of being chosen, there was so violent an Outcry against it, because of the Disgrace they thought would arise, if they had a Prince whose Nose had miscarried in some Disorders, the Senate complied so far with the People, though the Inquisitors took Care to hang or drown many of the Chief of the Mutineers, as to let the Design for *Sagredo* fall ; upon which he retired to a House he had in the *Terra Firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice* : During which Retirement he wrote two Books ;

Books; the one, *Memoire Ottomaniche*, which is printed, and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and some say it is too sincere and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their Archives. It hath been a Sort of Maxim for some Time, not to choose a married Man to be Duke; for the Coronation of a Dutcheß runs high, and hath cost above one hundred thousand Ducats.

Some ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood; and the *Cornaros* have done this more than others, yet some, on the Account of Principalities that their Ancestors had in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the Inquisitors have long since obliged them to lay aside all those high Stiles; and such of them, as boast too much, find the Dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for when they pretend to any great Employments, they are always excluded. When an Election of Ambassadors was proposed, or to any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be in Terms, that the Council might choose one of its *principal* Members for such an Employment. But because this look'd like a Distinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty Years ago; and instead of Principal, they use now the Term Honourable, which comprehends the whole Body of their Nobility, without any Distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title and Honours; whereas this is a meer Pageantry, and under these big Words there is lodged only a Shadow of Authority; for their Bishop has the sounding Title of Patriarch, as well as the Duke is called Prince and His Serenity, and hath his Name stamped upon their Coin; so the Patriarch hath really no Authority, for not only *St. Mark's Church* is entirely exempt from his Jurisdiction, and immediately subject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all Things so subject to the Senate, and so regulated, that he hath no more Power than they please to allow him: So that the Senate is as really the supreme Governor over all Persons and in all Causes, as the Kings of *England* in their own Dominions since the Reformation. But besides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary Sort of Exemption, and are a Body like a Presbytery independent of the Bishop. The Curates are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish; and no noble *Venetian* is suffer'd to pretend to any Curacy; for they think it below that Dignity, for one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the Hazard of being rejected. I was told the Manner of those Elections was the most scandalous Thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on the Day of Election, and set out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the most scurrilous Manner imaginable; the Secrets of all their Lives are published in most reproachful Terms; and nothing is so abject, that is not put in Practice on those Occasions. There is a Sort of an Association among the Curates for judging of their common Concerns; and some of the Laity of the several Parishes assist; so that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is practised by most Sorts of People at *Venice*, extends itself to the Clergy to such a Degree, that though Ignorance and Vice seem the only indelible Characters that they carry over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a more conspicuous Manner than elsewhere, and upon these popular Elections all comes out.

The Nuns of *Venice* have been under Scandal for a great while; there are some Nunneries that are as famous for their Strictness, as others are for the Liberties they take; chiefly those of *St. Zachary* and *St. Lawrence*, where none but noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended they retired for Devotion, but merely that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled; their Necks and Breasts are bare, and they receive Company; but that which I saw was in a publick Room, in

which there were Grills for several Parlours, so that the Conversation is very confused; for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* speaking generally loud, the Noise of so many Talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns talk very ungracefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying, that in other Places none could bear. About four Years ago the Patriarch intended to reform those Houses; but the Nuns of *St. Laurence* told him plainly they were noble *Venetians*, who chose that Way of Life as more convenient, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations; yet he came and would have shut up their House, upon this they went to set Fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed, and ordered him to desist. There is no Christian State in the World that hath expressed such a Jealousy of Churchmen's getting into publick Councils as the *Venetians*; for as a noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders loses his Right of going to vote in the Great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Family must, during their Lives, withdraw from the Council, and are also incapable of all Employments; and by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great Consequence, they have made it become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided, that the Inquisitors should do Nothing but in the Presence of such as should be deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies will not come but when they think fit, or stay longer than they are pleased with their Proceedings; so that either their Absence, or their Withdrawing, dissolves the Court; for a Citation cannot be made, a Witness examined, or the least Point of Form carried on, if these Deputies are not present. And thus, though there is a Court of Inquisition at *Venice*, yet scarce any Person is brought into Trouble by it; and there are many Protestants that live there without any Disturbance; and though there is a Congregation that have their Exercises of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no Trouble. It is true, the Hostie's not being carried about in Procession, but privately by the Priest to the Sick, makes that uneasy Discrimination of Protestant and Papist not offer itself here, as in other Places; for the Narrowness of the Streets, and the Channels through which one must go, makes this impracticable in *Venice*, as it is elsewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory, though the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*.

The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of Matters of Religion to a Scandal; and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them: So all that vast Pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their Churches, is affected as a Point of Magnificence, or a Matter of Emulation among Families, rather than Superstition; for the Atheism that is received by many here is the dullest and coarsest Thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are so generally corrupted, and so given up to supine Ignorance, that a Man cannot easily imagine to what a Height this is grown; and for Courage, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave among the greater Part of them. It seem'd to me strange to see the *Broglio* so full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was a War on foot with the *Turks*; but instead of being heated in Point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they think it an extravagant Piece of Folly for them to go and expose them, when a little Money will hire Strangers that do it on such easy Terms: And thus their Arms are in the Hands of Strangers, while they stay managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their Spirits among their Courtizans: And their Service is of late Years so much sunk, that it is amazing to see so many come to a Service so decried, where there is little Care had of the Soldiers, and so little Regard paid the Officers: The Arrears are so slowly paid, and the Rewards are so scantily distributed, that, if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very sensibly: For their Subjects are not acquainted with War, their Nobility have no Ambition that Way, and Strangers are extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the

Conjuncture

Conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their Safety ; to the Feebleness of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Pope, preserves them from the Apprehension of an Invasion, and the Quarrels of their Subjects save them from the Fears of a Revolt ; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occasion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and particularly of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim, that for the Preservation of their Families it is fit that only one should marry ; to which I will not add, that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this Means the younger Brothers that have Appointments for Life, and no Families, are not stirr'd up by Ambition to signalize themselves, and so give Way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it ; whereas the best Services, done in other States, flow from the Necessities of younger Brothers, or their Families, whose Blood qualifies them to pretend, as their Pride and Necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation, and then a Fortune. But all this is a Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that, to lay those asleep, they encourage them in all Things that may depress their Minds ; and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited Disorders.

Yet I must add one Thing, that though *Venice* is the Place in the whole World, where Pleasure is most studied, and where Youth have the greatest Wealth, and most Leisure to pursue it ; yet it is the Place that I ever saw, where innocent Pleasure is the least understood. As for the Pleasures of Friendship, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them ; for the horrible Distrust, in which they all live, makes it very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice* ; and though we have been told of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now no more. As for their Wives, they are bred in such Ignorance, and converse so little, that they know nothing but the Superstition on Holidays, in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, to prolong the little Liberty they have of going Abroad, as Children do their Hours of Play. They are not employ'd in domestick Affairs, and generally understand no Sort of Work ; so that I was told, they were the insipidest Creatures imaginable. They are, perhaps, as vicious as in other Places, but it is among them down-right Lewdness ; for they are not drawn in by Amour ; but in them the first Step, without any Preparative, is downright Beastliness. And an *Italian*, that knew the World well, said a very lively Thing to me, that their Jealousy made them restrain their Daughters and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those domestick Entertainments of Conversation and Friendship, that the *French* or *English* have at Home. It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty ; but the *Italians*, by their excessive Caution, deprived themselves of the true Delights of a married State ; and notwithstanding all their uneasy Jealousy, they were still in Danger of a contraband Nobility. Therefore he thought they would do better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain Satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion, instead of a lively Friend, though she might perhaps have some ill Moments. As for their Houses, they have nothing convenient at *Venice* ; the Architecture is almost all the same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the Body of the House, and Chambers on both Hands ; but no Apartments, no Closets, or Back-stairs : So that in Houses that are of an excessive Wealth, they have yet no Convenience. Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin their Moisture produces. The Bottoms are of Boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a Step to get up to them. Their great Chairs are upright, without a Slope in the Back, hard in the Bottom, and the Wood of the Arms not cover'd. They mix Water with their Wine in their Hogsheds ; so that, for Half the Year, it is either dead or four.

They do not leaven their Bread, so that it is heavy ; and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crumb is Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a Stone. In all Inns they boil the Meat first before it is roasted ; and thus they make it tender, and quite tasteless and insipid. And as for their Land-carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extreme inconvenient ; for their Coaches are fastened to the Perch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart. It is true, they begin at *Rome* and *Naples* to have Coaches that are fastened to a Sort of double Perch, that runs along the Bottom of the Coach on both Sides, which are so thin, that they ply to the Motion of the Coach, and are extreme easy ; but those are not known in *Lombardy*. And besides this, their Calashes are open ; so that one is exposed to the Sun and Dust in Summer, and to the Weather in Winter. But though they are covered as ours are, on the other Sides of the *Appennines*, yet I saw none that were cover'd in *Lombardy*. And thus, by an Enumeration of many of the innocent Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* pursue so violently forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find what is allowable. Their constant Practices in the *Broglio* are their chief Business, where those that are necessitous are suing for beneficial Employments, and those full of Wealth take a Sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretensions. The Walk in which the Nobility tread, is left to them entirely ; and they change the Side of the Square of *St. Mark*, as the Sun and Weather direct. Perhaps a Derivation that Mr. *Patin* gave me of *Broglio* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced ; and since they manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that *Broils*, *Brouillons*, and *Imbroilments*, are derived from the Agitations in those Walks.

As for the late created Nobility of *Venice*, I came by some Particulars that are not yet seen in Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen, at the Beginning of the War of *Candia*, the vast Expence in which it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was highly sensible to them ; for as the Dignity of the Rank they hold is the more eminent, as it is restrained to a small Number ; so all the best Employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a Number into it, as must rise out of seventy-eight Families, was, in Effect, sharing their Inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less disagreeable, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they subdued in the *Terra Firma* : For as there are many Citizens, as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not being of that Council that assumed the Government four hundred Years ago, they have not that Honour ; so there had been no Infamy in promoting some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also under Consultation long ago, upon the Reduction of those States in the *Terra Firma*, whether, according to the Maxims of the *Romans*, it was not fit to communicate that Dignity to some of their chief Families, as the surest Way to give Contentment to those States, it being a real, as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in those Cities were admitted to share the Honours of the Republick. It is true, some of those Nobility thought they had Glory enough by their Birth, and *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused this Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its Liberty ; but his Posterity are of another Mind ; for they came and bought in this last Sale of Honour that which was offer'd to their Ancestor, and by him rejected.

When the Senate found itself pressed for Money, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the Number of five, might be enobled, they offering sixty thousand Ducats if *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if Strangers. There was but one Person that opposed this in the Senate ; so being passed there, it was presented to the Great Council, and there it was like to have passed without Difficulty : But one Person opposed

it with so much Vigour, that though the Duke desired him to desist, since the Necessities of the War required a great Supply, yet he persisted; and though one of the *Savi* set forth with Tears the Extremities to which the State was reduced, he fell upon a new Conceit that turned the whole Council. He said, they were not sure, if five Persons could be found, that would purchase at such a Rate, and then it would be a vast Disgrace to expose the Offer of Nobility first to Sale; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered: And by this Means he put by the Resolution for that Time. But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the Great Council, setting forth his Merits, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the Service of the State; that is, to be made noble at that Price. *Del-fino* said, he thought every Man might be well judged worthy to offer such an Assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that Supply might expect a suitable Acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards, of their own Accord, bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick; and this would maintain that Degree, which would be debased, if it were bought and sold. But it seems the Purchasers had no Mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to Gratitude; so the Petition was granted in plain Terms, and the Nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family, to a certain Degree.

After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see, in what Terms such as came to buy this Honour, set forth their own Merits; which were, that they had furnish'd the Republick with Things necessary for its Preservation. There was a Sort of a Triumvirate formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were Brokers, and found out Customers, and at last brought down the Price from a hundred to sixty thousand Ducats; and no Qualifications were required, if they had Money enough. For when *Correge* said to the Duke, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for Want of Merit; the Duke ask'd him, If he had a hundred thousand Ducats? And when he answered, The Sum was ready, the Duke told him, That was a great Merit. At last seventy eight purchased this Honour, to the great Regret of *Labia*, who said, that if he had imagined so many would have followed him, he would have bid so high, that it should have been out of their Power. It is true, many of the Purchasers were ancient Families; but others were not only Merchants, but of the lowest Sort of them; who as they had enrich'd themselves by Trade, then impoverish'd themselves by the Acquisition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over, and put them in a higher Way of living, so it hath not brought them yet any Advantage to balance that Loss; for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded, when they contend with the ancient Nobility; tho' this is done with that Discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new: For that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a Prejudice to them; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice by this great Promotion is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor, that is the Head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the Head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a sufficient Number of capable Citizens left for serving in those Employments; but this Defect will be redress'd in Time.

But if this Increase of the Nobility hath lessen'd the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this Age, that preserves a considerable Distinction of Authority in their Hands. Crimes against the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of Ten; all other Crimes were judged by the Council of

Forty; but in the Year 1624, one of the Nobles was accused of Peculation committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore*, in the Pleading, as he set forth his Crime, called him a *Rogue* and a *Robber*. Yet though his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great Offence; for though he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, so his Fame could not be restored: For the Depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadore's* (or Attorney General's) Charge were heard by the People: It was proposed to make a Difference between the Nobility and other Subjects; and since all Tryals before the Forty were publick, and the Tryals before the Ten secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be try'd by the Ten. Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the Council of Ten is composed) too high; therefore they opposed it upon this Ground, that since the Council of Forty sent out many Orders to the Governors, it would lessen their Authority, if they were not to be Judges of those who were to receive their Orders. But, to qualify this, a Proviso was made, that reserved to the Council of Forty a Power to judge of the Obedience given to their Orders; but other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten; and the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this Distinction between them and other Subjects, that they did not see this really enslaved them the more, and brought them under greater Danger; since those who judge in Secret give freer Scope to their Passions, than those in Publick; and who, in Effect, are to be judged by the Publick, which is a very effectual Restraint upon Judges themselves. But the Council of Ten being in the Hands of the Great Families, whereas all Sorts are of the Council of Forty, formerly the chief Judicatory of the State, and much ancients than that of Ten; It had been more wisely done, to have been still judged by the Forty: And if they thought it for their Honour to have a Difference made in judging the Nobility and other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought the Tryals of all other Offenders on with open Doors, and the Nobility, when they were judged, to have the Doors shut, which is what they very much desire now, but without Hope of obtaining it: For this Power of judging the Nobility is consider'd as the Right of the Ten; and if any Man would go about to change it the Inquisitors would be very quick with him, as a Mover of Sedition, and, in that Case, prove at once Judges and Parties. Yet the Inquisitors, being apprehensive of the Distaste that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a Sort of Regulation, though it amounts not to much; which is, that the Nobility shall be judged before the Council of Ten for enormous Crimes; but that for other Matters, they are to be judged by the Forty; yet the Council of Ten draws all Cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

This leads me to say a little to you of that Part of this Constitution so much censured by Strangers; but is really both the greatest Glory, and chief Security of this Republick; which is, the unlimited Power of the Inquisitors, that extends not only to the chief Nobility, but to the Duke himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him Reprimands, but search his Papers, make his Process, and put him to Death, without being bound to give an Account of their Proceedings. This is the Dread not only of Subjects, but the whole Nobility, and makes the greatest among them tremble, obliging them thereby to an exact Conduct. For though it cannot be denied, that, upon some Occasions, they may have been a little too sudden, as in the known Story of *Foscarini*; yet such Severities have occurred so seldom, that the Wisdom of this Body, in making and preserving such an Institution, cannot be enough admired. In short, the Insolence, the Necessities, and Ambition, that must needs possess many Members of so vast a Body, as the Nobility of *Venice*, must have thrown them often into many fatal

Convulsions,

Convulsions, if it were not for the Dread in which they stand of this Court, which has so many Spies Abroad, among the Gondaliers, [who cannot fail to discover all the secret Intrigues of *Venice* : Besides the Advices that are thrown in at those Lion's Mouths, that are in several Places of St. Mark's Palace, within which there are Boxes under the Keys of the Inquisitors ; that it is scarce possible for a Man to be long in a Design against the State, and not to be discovered. And when they find any in Fault, they are so inexorable, quick, and severe in their Justice, that the very Fear of this is a Restraint, that perhaps the long Preservation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to.

The Inquisitors are Persons so distinguished for their Merit, all of different Families, and their Authority lasts so short a Time, that the Advantages of this vast Authority, lodged with them, are constant and visible ; whereas the unhappy Instances of their being imposed on, and carrying Suspicions too far, are so few, that whenever the Nobility grow weary of this Yoke, and throw it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of *Venice* at an End. It was terribly attack'd not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Ferom Cornaro* was put to Death for his Correspondence with *Spain*. He was not a-kin to the great Family of that Name ; yet they thought their Honour was so much touch'd, when one of its remotest Branches was condemned of Treason, that they offered a Hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and preserved the Family from that Infamy. But tho' this was not accepted (for he suffer'd, as he well deserved) yet it was so visible, that none of the Family were involved in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice : But, upon the first Occasion that offered after that, to quarrel with the Inquisitors they laid hold on it, aggravated the Matter extremely, and moved for Limiting their Authority : But the Great Council was wiser than to touch so sacred a Part of the Government ; so they retain their Power but manage it with all possible Caution. A Foreigner, many Years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the arbitrary Power vested in those Inquisitors, were slight Things in Comparison of the Advantages they found from it ; and after Eleven Years spent in their Service, he said, he never had so much as once received a Reprimand from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it, they are in no Danger ; but if they conceal it, or any Circumstances, their Process will be soon dispatched. I give no Credit to that which a Person of great Eminence assured me was true, that there was a Poisoner-general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employ'd by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a Noise. This I could not believe, tho' my Author protested, that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the Employment discovered it to him. There is no Place in the World where Strangers live with more Freedom, and I was amazed to see so little Exactness among the Searchers of the Custom-house ; for tho' we had a Mule's Load of Trunks and Portmanteaus, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us ? But the best and noblest Entertainment that *Venice* afforded, while I was there, was the Company of M. de la Haye, the French Ambassador, who, as he hath spent his whole Life in publick Ambassies, so he has acquired so great a Knowledge of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a Pattern ; and it is no Wonder to see him engaged in a constant Succession of publick Employments : And his Lady is so wonderful a Person, that I pay them but a very small Part of what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment of their extraordinary Civilities : And indeed, without the Advantage of such a Rendezvous, a Fortnight's Stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious Matter.

21. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*, and thence to *Rovigo*, which is a small Town, and so to the *Po*, which divides the Republick from the *Ferrarese*, now

the Pope's Territory ; and here one sees what Difference of a good and bad Government makes in a Country ; for tho' the Soil is the same on both Sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once of the beautifullest Spots of *Italy*, as *Ferrara* one of its best Towns ; while they had Princes of their own, who for some Ages were Princes of such Virtue, and of heroical Nobleness, that they were really the Fathers of their Country ; nothing can be more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned and uncultivated, nor were there Hands enough to mow their Grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows, to our Wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a Soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants ; and more when we passed thro' that vast Town, which, shews what it was about an Age ago, and now so much deserted, that there are whole Streets without Inhabitants ; and its Poverty appears signally in the Churches, which are mean and poor, for the Superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such Progress, that one may justly take Measures of the Wealth of Places from the Churches. The Superstition or Vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past, that all the vast Buildings of Churches, or rich Convents, and the surprizing Wealth that appears in them on Festival Days, are Donatives of the present Age. So that it is a vulgar Error some have taken up, who fancy that Superstition is at a Stand, if not in Decay ; unless it be acknowledged, that the Craft of Priests hath opened a new Method to support their Riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become less effectual ; and that is, to engage Men in an Emulation in enriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in enriching their Palaces ; so that they have a Pleasure as well as Vanity, in seeing so much dead Wealth in their Houses and in their Churches. But to return to *Ferrara* : I could not but ask, how it came, that so rich a Soil was so abandoned ? Some said, the Air was become unhealthy, that those who stay, were short-lived ; but it is well known, that Four-score Years ago it was well peopled, and thence it seems the ill Air is occasioned by the Want of Inhabitants ; for there not being People to drain, and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes a great deal of Water lie on the Ground and rot, which infects the Air, as is observ'd in that rich, but uninhabited Campaign of *Rome* : So that ill Air is the Effect, rather than the Cause, of the dispeopling the Pope's Dominions. The true Cause is the Severity of the Government, the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations, by which the Nephews of Popes have devoured many Families of *Ferrara*, and have driven away many more. And this appears more visibly, by the different State, as well as Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of People that abound in Wealth ; and the Soil, as it is extreme rich, so is it cultivated with all due Care ; for *Bologna* submitted itself upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges reserved to it. Crimes are only punished in the Persons of those who commit them ; but no Confiscations of Estates ; and though the Authority in criminal Matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the civil Government, the Magistracy, and the Power of Judicature in civil Matters, is entirely in the Hands of the State : And by this Regulation it is, that the Riches of *Bologna* amaze a Stranger, though it is neither on a navigable River, nor the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept ; and the Taxes the Popes fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws more from this Place of Liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute : For the Greatness of a Prince rising from Numbers of Subjects, those Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers, are certainly the truest for advancing the Greatness of the Master ; and I could not but with Scorn observe the Folly of some *Frenchmen*, who made use of this Argument to shew the Greatness of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all Places to which one came ; whereas there were no *English*, *Dutch*, nor *Switzers*, and very few *Germans* ; but this is just contrary to the Consequence that ought to be drawn from this Observations ;

vation ; for it is certain, that few leave their Country to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed at home so, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and round it, though its Situation is not very favourable ; for it lies at the Foot of the *Appennines*, on the North Side, and is very cold in Winter. The Houses are built as at *Padua* and at *Bern*, so that one walks covered under Piazzas ; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than elsewhere. There are many noble Palaces, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich : Within the Town the richest are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief House of the Order, where their Founder's Body is laid in one of the best Chapels of *Italy* ; and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuits*, and the Canons Regular of *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a Scroll of the *Hebrew Bible*, which, though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the Whole ; and they were made to believe by some Jew, that hath no doubt sold it at a high Rate, that it was written by *Ezra's* own Hand, and this hath pass'd long for current ; but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy, like those the Jews use in their Synagogues, that may be, perhaps, three or four hundred Years old : That Part on which I cast my Eye, was the Book of *Esther* ; so by the Bulk of the Scroll, I judg'd it to be the Collection of those small Books of the *Old Testament*, that the Jews set after the Law. But those of the House fancy they have a great Treasure in it ; and perhaps such Jews as have seen it, are willing to laugh at their Ignorance, and suffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church of the Town is *St. Petrone's*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional Line, which that rare Astronomer *Cassini* laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a brass Circle : It marks the true Point of Mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best Performances that perhaps the World ever saw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one Side of which is the Legate's Palace ; among other Statues, one surprized me ; it was Pope *Joan's*, or is so named by the People : It is true, the learned Men say it is the Statue of Pope *Nicholas IV.* who had a womanish Face ; but as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Perspective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was unlike that of Pope *Nicholas IV.* which is in *St. Maria Maggiore* at *Rome* ; for the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an Age in it that is very different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any Thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all ; and I myself saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Author's Time ; in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another Hand.

On the Hill above *Bologna* stands the Monastery of *St. Michael in Bosco*, which hath a most charming Situation, and is one of the best Monasteries in *Italy* ; it has many Courts, and one that is octangular, which is so nobly painted in Fresco, that it is a great Pity to see such Work exposed to the Air ; all was once retouch'd by the famous *Guido Reni*, but it is now much decay'd : The Dormitory is very magnificent, the Chapel is little but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other Side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery. Four Miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of *St. Luke's* ; and because many go in great Devotion there is a Portico building, which is carried on almost half way ; it is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve Foot broad, and fifteen Foot high : It is carried on very vigorously, for in eight or ten Years half is built, and this may prove the Beginning of many such Portico's in *Italy* ; for Things of this Kind want only a Beginning, and when they are once set on Foot, they quickly spread in a Country that is so entirely subdued by Superstition and the Artifices of Priests. In *Bologna* they reckon seventy thousand Persons ; I saw not one of the chief Glories of this Place, for the fa-

mous *Malpighius* was out of Town. I saw a Play there, but the Poesy was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express great Satisfaction in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then advance into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apennines* ; though that is strictly given only to one that is the highest. All the Way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, though there are several Bottoms, and some considerable Towns in them, but all is uphill and down-hill, and *Florence* itself is just at the Bottom of the last Hill. The great Roads all along these Hills are kept in so good Order, that in few of the best inhabited Countries one finds the Highways so well maintained as in these forsaken Mountains ; but this is so great a Passage, that all concerned in it find their Account in the Expence they lay out upon it. On the last, in a little Bottom in the Midst of the Hill stands *Pratolino*, one of the Great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer must be very agreeable, for the Air is extreme thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are costly, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds well laid out, and the Walks long and even ; but as they have no Gravel as we in *England*, so the constant Greenness of the Box so much pleases them, that preferring the Sight to the Smell, their Gardens are so high scented by Box-plots, that it is no Pleasure to walk in them ; they also lay their Walks so between Hedges, that one is confined in them.

I saw first, in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was very convenient ; there went a Course of Water round the Walls. About a Foot from the Ground in a Channel of Stone, along the Side of the Wall ; and in this there were Holes, so made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put into them, conveyed the Water to such Plants as in a dry Season wanted watering ; and a Cock set the Water a running in this Course, so that without the Trouble of drawing Water, a single Person could easily manage a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The Streets are pav'd in Imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stones bigger than our Pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their Joinings to one another, that Horses find Fastening enough for their Feet. There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, so that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the Great Duke's Palace and Gardens, of the old Palace, and the Gallery that joins it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities, that must needs amaze every one that sees them ; the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate and great Coach, are such extraordinary Things, that they would require a very copious Description, if that had not been done so often. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not finished : The Cupola is after *St. Peter's*, the greatest I saw in *Italy* ; it is Three hundred Foot high, and of a vast Compass ; and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular, as well as regular ; only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it in my Thoughts ; for the Walls, that are all of Marble, being white and black, laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery and had not the Air of Nobleness, which in my Opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistry, that stands before it, was a noble Heathen Temple ; its Gates of Brass are the best of that Sort that are in the World ; there are so many Histories so well represented in Bas-relieves in them, with so much Exactness, the Work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious Man could find Entertainment for many Days, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical Exactness. The *Annunciata*, *St. Mark's*, *St. Croce*, and *St. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches ; but the Church and Chapel of *St. Laurence* exceeds them all,

as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the Outside, which is quite flay'd, if I may so speak, but on Design to give it a rich Outside of Marble. In a Chapel within this Church, the Bodies of the Great Dukes lie deposited, till the famous Chapel is finished; but I was much scandalized to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a Description of the glorious Chapel, which as it is, without Doubt, the richest Piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slow, that tho' there are many always at Work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the Number of Hands that are employed in it.

Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgin, made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her Grief at the Passion of her blessed Son, that hath the most Life in it of any Statue I ever saw. But the famous Library, that belongs to this Convent, took up more of my Time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuscripts, most of them *Greek*, that were gather'd together by *Pope Clement VII.* and given to his Country: There are very few printed Books mixed with them; and those Books are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virgil's* Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some Parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written; and in one Place, one in a different Hand had writ, that he had compared those Manuscripts; and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius's* Time, which is about Twelve hundred Years ago: I found some Diphthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me; for I thought that Way of Writing had not been so ancient. But that which pleased me most was, that the Library-keeper assured me, that one had lately found the famous Epistle of *St Chrysostom* to *Cæsarius*, in *Greek*, in the End of a Volume full of other Things, and not among the Manuscripts of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: He thought he remembered well the Place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me, if I came back that Way; but I changing my Design, and going back another Way, could not see the Bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the Great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a Person of wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as learned beyond Imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a Mistake of the Library-keeper's; he said, such a Discovery could not have been made without making so much Noise that he must have heard of it: He added, there was not one Man in *Florence* that either understood *Greek*, or that examin'd Manuscripts; so that I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me. *Florence* is much sunk, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it; and other States, that were once great Republicks, such as *Sienna* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now shrunk into nothing; it is certain, that all three together are now not so numerous as any one of them was Two hundred Years ago. *Leghorn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a Country, that hath been the Scene of so much Action, and so many Wars, now so poor, and in many Places the Soil is quite neglected, for Want of Hands to cultivate it; and in other Places where there are more People, they look so poor, and their Houses are such Ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be such Poverty in so rich a Country, which is full of Beggars; and the Style a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas they begged for the Sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls in Purgatory; and this was the Style in all other Parts of *Italy* through which I passed.

In short, the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly the Pope's Domi-

nious, which are more abandoned than any other, seemed to flow from the Severity of the Government, the Decay of Trade, and the Weight of the Taxes, which, notwithstanding that Decay of Trade, are still kept up; besides, the vast Wealth of the Convents, where the only People of *Italy* are to be found, that live at their Ease, and in great Plenty, and makes many forsake all Sort of Industry, and seek such a Retreat; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new Race, instead of those whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an attentive Traveller, to see not only the *Venetian* Territory, which is indeed a rich Country, but the Bailiages of the *Switzers*, and the Coast of *Genoa*, so full of People, when *Tuscany*, the Patri-mony, and the Kingdom of *Naples* have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa* there is, for many Miles, as it were, a constant Tract of Towns and Villages, and all well peopled, though they have scarce any Soil at all, lying under the Mountains, that are barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun, and lie upon a boisterous Sea, that is almost always in a Storm; that affords very few Fish; yet the Gentleness of the Government draws such Multitudes thither, and those are so wealthy that Money brings but Two per Cent. But to balance this, so strange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told, the worst People of *Italy* are the *Genoese*, and the most corrupted in their Morals, as to all Sorts of Vice; so that though a severe Government and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of Man, and to human Society, to Justice and Equity, and to that essential Equality among Men; yet, on the other Hand, all Men cannot bear that Ease and Liberty that become the human Nature. The Superstition of *Italy*, and the great Waste of Wealth in their Churches, particularly those prodigious Masses of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, sink their Trade extremely; for Silver being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when so much is dead, and circulates no more, it is no Wonder if such an unnatural Extravasion of Silver occasions a great Deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot a Remark that I made on the last Hill of the *Apennines*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and large Cypressess any where, as grew all over that Hill; which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starv'd by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are very severe. All the Roads in *Tuscany* are very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arno*; but the Uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which are all in very good Condition. The Inns are wretched, and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet: This is the Plague of all *Italy*, for except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much, that the Pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniencies that one meets in every Stage through which he passes.

22. I am now in the last Stage of my Voyage; for since my last, I have not only got to *Rome*, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a Day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and avoid an unpleasant Winter's Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I lose the Sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts; but though I am told these deserve the Pains of the Journey, yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt at another Time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confess freely, that the Sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so filled my Stomach that Way, that the Curiosity of seeing new Places is now very low with me; and indeed those I have of late seen are such, that Places, which at another Time would please me, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the Way from *Florence*, through the Great Duke's Country, look'd so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*; but I changed my Note when I came into the Pope's Territories at *Pont Centino*, where there was a rich Vale all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle. But as I passed from *Mont Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared still more ama-

zing; for a vast champaign Country lay quite deserted, and that wide Town, which is of so great a Compass, hath so few Inhabitants, and those so poor and miserable, that the People in the ordinary Towns of *Scotland*, and worst Places, make a much better Appearance. When I was within a Day's Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a City must mend the Matter, but was much disappointed; for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any Thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants nor Cattle to the tenth Part of what it could bear: The Surprise that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on the other Side, chiefly all the Way to *Naples*, and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia*; that vast and rich champaign Country that runs along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above one hundred Miles long, and in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is so abandoned, that as far as one's Eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a House to be seen, but on the Hills that are on the North Side of this Valley: And by this dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholesome, that it is not safe to be a Night in it all the Summer long; for the Water that lies upon many Places not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces so many noisome Steams, as are felt even in *Rome* itself; and if it were not for the Breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intolerable: When one sees all this large but waste Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve Miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. It is the Rigour of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath reduced it to such a Pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it; for such as would come to drain and cultivate it must run a great Hazard; and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no Reward of their Industry.

It is the greatest Solecism in Government, for the Prince to be Elective, and yet absolute; for an hereditary Prince is induced to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his People so, that those that come after him may support the Rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath Nothing of that in his Eye, unless he hath a Generosity which is not ordinary among Men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a Passion for their Families not known in other Places: And thus a Pope, who comes in late to his Dignity, which by Consequence he cannot hope to hold long, very naturally turns to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-shine. And though anciently the Cardinals were a Check upon the Pope, and a Sort of a Council, without whom he could do Nothing even in Temporals, yet now they have quite lost that; and have no other Share in Affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most absolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true, as to Spirituals, they retain still a large Share; so that in Censures and Definitions the Pope can do Nothing without their Concurrence, though it is certain, that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that, as to a Share in the temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any Thing from *St. Peter*, all that is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what Method he thinks best, since the Infallibility, according to their Pretensions, rests in him alone; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting arbitrarily in those Matters, and a summary Way of exercising this Authority might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the Grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a Share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no Claim to it, either by divine or ecclesiastical Warrants: But as for the Endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may justly lay Claim, as being in a Manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have engrossed it to themselves. And thus it is, that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the papal Family are glorious and magnificent; at other Times they think of nothing but of establishing their

House. Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Sense himself; sometimes he is quite sunk, and, as the last Pope was, becomes a Child again thro' old Age: Sometimes he has a particular Stiffness of Temper, with great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. By this Diversity, which appears eminently in every new Pontificate, that commonly avoids those Excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with Relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality itself, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succession of four ravenous Reigns; and tho' there was a short Interruption in the Reign of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barbarini*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich itself; and yet it disorder'd the Revenue, by the vast Magnificence in which he reigned, more in Twenty-nine Months Time, than any other had done in so many Years. The *Altieri* did in a most scandalous Manner raise themselves, in a very short and despised reign, and built one of the noblest Palaces in *Rome*.

He that reigns now doth not raise his Family avowedly, but he eases not the People of their Taxes; and as there is no Magnificence in his Court, or any public Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; so the many vacant Caps occasion many empty Palaces; and by this Means there is so little Expence, that it is not possible for the People to live and pay the Taxes; which hath driven, as is believ'd, almost a fourth Part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome* during this Pontificate. And as the Pre-emption of the Corn makes, that there is no Profit made by the Owners out of the Cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope; so there are no Ways left here of employing Money to any considerable Advantage; for the public Banks, which are all in the Pope's Hand, do not pay in Effect Three *per Cent.* tho' they pretend to give Four *per Cent.* Interest: The Settlement is indeed Four *per Cent.* and this was thought so great an Advantage, that Actions on the Pope's Bank were bought at an Hundred and sixteen *per Cent.* But this Pope broke through all, and declared he would give all Men their Money again, unless they would pay him Thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Interest: And thus for a Hundred Crowns principal, one not only paid at first an Hundred and sixteen, but afterwards Thirty, in all, an hundred forty six for the Hundred; which is almost the half lost; for whensoever the Pope will pay back their Money, all the rest is lost. And now, there is a Report, that the Pope is treating with the *Genoese* for Money at Two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on those Terms, he will then pay his Debts; and the Subjects, that have Money in this Bank, will by this Means lose Six and forty *per Cent.* which is almost half of their Stock. A Man of Quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Churchman, who took me for one of their Clergy, because I wore the Habit of a Churchman, said, it was a Scandal to the Christian World, and made one doubt the Truth of the Christian Religion, to see more Oppression in their Territory, than was to be found in *Turkey*; tho' in the Hands of *Christ's* Vicar. And I can never forget the Reflection a *Roman* Prince made upon the Folly of those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such Degeneracy of Spirit by their Necessities. The *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are brought so low; that if they had still kept the Possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signify no more towards their Preservation, than their other Provinces did, which, by their unskilful Conduct, they have dispeopled and exhausted: Whereas, by their losing the Seven Provinces, those States have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn such Wealth, and such Numbers of People together, that *Spain* itself was preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the Loss of those Provinces in the last: And those States, that, if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signi-

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fied little to its Support, did now more considerably, by being Allies, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke. Indeed, if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such Viceroy's and Governors, as at this Time in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquess of *Carpy*, in his Youth, intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gunpowder, when he was in the Council-chamber. But that Crime was discovered in Time, and was not only forgiven him, in Consideration of the Greatness of his Family, he being the Son of Don *Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several Years Ambassador at *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governor of all the Places through which I passed, that is, without Exception, beloved and esteemed by all Sorts of People; for during the few Years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such Abuses as seemed past Cure, or that required an Age to correct them. He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no Occasion to complain of the Haughtiness of their Masters; for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less Severity, when they give Cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*. He hath taken the Pay of the Soldiers so immediately into his own Care, that they, who, before his Coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed thro' the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well disciplined, and so decently clothed, that it is a Pleasure to see them. He examines their Musters so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists. He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactness; and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of several Places of the Markets, and weighed them himself; and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this Matter to a just Regulation. He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, into Reputation again; and 'tis believed he hath Spies to watch in Case Bribes are still going on. He hath fortified the Palace, which was before his Time so much exposed, that it would have been no hard Thing to have made a Descent and seized it.

But the two Things, that raise his Reputation most are, his extirpating the Banditti, and the Regulation of the Coin. It is well known, what a Plague the Banditti have been to the Kingdom; for they, in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Soldiers. These travelled about seeking for Spoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by some of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters, and did not only thereby protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the Banditti committed to them, who, as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such Barons as gave them Harbour; and it was believed, that those Fines amounted to near a Hundred and Fifty thousand Crowns a Year: And thus the Disease went on, only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the Bottom of the Distemper. But when the present Viceroy entered upon the Government, he resolved to extirpate all the Banditti; and he first let all the Barons understand, that, if they harbour'd them any more, a little Fine would not save them, but that he would proceed against them with the utmost Severity; and by this Means the Banditti could find no Winter Quarters, which drove them to some Fastnesses among the Hills, and they resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst the Mountains. The Viceroy sent a great Body against them, but they defended themselves for some Time vigorously, and in one Sally killed Five hundred Men: but at last, seeing that they were hard pressed, and that the Viceroy intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the

Terms that he offered, which were, a Pardon for what was past, both as to Life and Gallies, and Sixpence a Day for their Subsistence in Prison during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleasure; and so they surrender'd themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then, as he sees Cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in Garrisons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectations, he finished this Matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of *Naples*, that had been so long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that no Place in *Europe* enjoys a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it, as all the other *Spanish* Money, is so subject to Clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* became light, and far below the true Value; so the Viceroy resolved to redress this. He considers, that the Crying-down of Money, that passeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing those in whose Hands the Money happens to be, when such Proclamations are issued; and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one bears his Share, so that none will be crushed by it. He laid Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and got a great many to bring in Plate to be coined: and when he hath thus obtained such a Quantity, as may serve for the Circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give new for it. Thus this Viceroy sets such a Pattern to the other Ministers of the Crown of *Spain*, that, if many would follow, the State of their Affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richest Part of *Italy*; for the very Mountains, that make near half the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oil in great Abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some Years is all burnt up. The Jesuits are the Proprietors of near half *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the same Rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom generally use towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are so miserably oppressed, that in many Places they die of Hunger, even amidst the great Plenty of their best Years: For the Corn is exported to *Spain*, but neither *Spaniards* nor *Neapolitans* understand Trade so well, as to be their own Merchants or Carriers; so that the *English* generally carry the Profit of this Trade. The Oil of this Kingdom is still a vast Trade, and the Manufactures of Wool and Soap in *England* consumes yearly some Thousands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is so low, that it only serves themselves, but the Exportation is considerable. The Sloth and Laziness of this Nation render them incapable of making those Advantages of so rich a Soil, that more industrious People would find out. For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the Men walking in the Market-places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing. And though in some large Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed is so bad, that our Footmen in *England* would make a grievous Outcry, if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any thing to be had in them; the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil stinking. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to endure a good deal of Misery in the four Days Journey that is between those two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Soil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not Hands enough, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no Wonder to see their Soil produce so little, that in the Midst of all that Abundance, Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations in *Europe*. But beside this which I have named, the vast dead Wealth, that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cause of their Misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me, that if it were divided into Five Parts, upon a strict Survey, it would be found, that the Churchmen had four Parts of the Five; which he made thus out. They have in Soil above the half of the whole; which is Two and a half; and in Tithes, and Gifts, and Legacies, they have one and a half more: For no Man

Man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church or Convent. The Wealth that one sees in the City of *Naples* alone, passeth Imagination. There are four and twenty Houses of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*; seven of the *Jesuits*, beside the Convents of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*; and above all, for Situation and Riches, the *Carthusians*, on the Top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The Riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious; it is the greatest Hospital in the World; the Revenue is said to be four hundred thousand Crowns a Year. The Number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*, yet one Convenience for their Sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both Sides, separating it from the Beds on both Hands, and so much void Space on both Sides of the Bed, that the Bed itself took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the Number they boast of; for they talk of Thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse. A great Part of the Wealth of this House goes to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within crusted with lovely Marble, in a great Variety and Beauty of Colours. The Plate that is in the Treasury here, and in the Dome (which hath a noble Chapel, and a vast Treasure) and in a great many other Churches, is so prodigious, that upon the modestest Estimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the *Jesuits*, that of *St. John* the Apostle, and that of *St. Paul*, are surprizingly rich. The Gilding and Painting that is on the Roofs of those Churches have cost Millions; and as there are about an hundred Convents in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another Place, would be thought well worth seeing.

A new Governor of the *Annunciata* is annually chosen, who perhaps puts into his own Pocket twenty thousand Crowns; and to make some Compensation, when he goes out he gives a vast Piece of Plate to the House, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or some Coloss of a Candlestick; for several of those Pieces of Plate are said to be worth ten thousand Crowns. And thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and useless. The *Jesuits* are great Merchants here; their Wine-cellar is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand Hogsheads, and the best Wine in *Naples* is sold by them; yet they do not retail it so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great Square before the Viceroy's Palace, and sell out their Wine by Retail. They pay no Duty, have extraordinary Wine, and are in the best Place of the Town for this Retail. It is true, the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries; for here Men go for a Draught in the Mornings, or when they are dry; yet the House grows rich, and has one of the finest Chapels in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming Men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order. The Convents have a very particular Privilege, for they may buy all the Houses that lie on either Side, till the first Street discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a Street in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this Means they may come to buy the whole Town: And the Progress that the Wealth of the Clergy makes is so visible, that if there is not some Stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole. It is amazing to see so profound an Ignorance reign among the Clergy; for though all the secular Persons here speak of them with all possible Scorn, yet they are the Masters of the People. The Women are infinitely superstitious, and give their Husbands no Rest, but as they draw from them great Presents to the Church.

It is true, there are Societies of Men at *Naples*, of freer Thoughts than can be found in any other Place of *Italy*. The *Greek* Learning begins to flourish there, the new Philosophy is much studied, and there is an Assembly that is held in *D. Joseph Valeta's* Library (where there is a vast Collection of well-chosen Books)

composed of Men that have a right Taste of true Learning and good Sense. They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and represented a Set of Atheists, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius*. But I found no such Thing; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable Number of them during the short Stay that I made. There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive Men of the Assembly. There is also a Grandchild of the great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this; on the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all Things. Only one eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, Archdeacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them. He was once of the *Jesuits* Order, but left it; and as that served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon a long Conversation, I found a great many other Things that possessed me with a high Value for him. Some Physicians in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of Atheism; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, Men of searching Understandings, who have no Idea of the Christian Religion, but that which they see received, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it; for finding such notorious Cheats as appear in many Parts of their Religion, they are, upon that, induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible Things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a Sort of Procession, with a great Company about him, and calling all that he saw to follow him to a Place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his Stand, and entertained the People with a Sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing his Action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no Preachers or Men of Learning among the *Jesuits*. I was told they had not Men capable to teach their Schools, and were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the Oratory hath not that Reputation in *Italy* as in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few secular Priests.

The new Method of *Molinos* so much prevails in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City. And since this hath made some Noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some Account of him. He is a *Spanish* Priest, that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly an ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath wrote a Book, which is entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is an Abstract of mystical Divinity; the Substance of the whole is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best Methods are to retire the Mind from all gross Images, and so to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to present ourselves before God; and then to sink into a Silence and Cessation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his Conduct. This Way he prefers to the Multiplication of many Acts, and different Forms of Devotion; and he makes small Account of corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this Simplicity of Mind. He thinks this not only fit to be proposed to such as live in religious Houses, but to secular Persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of Minds and Manners. He hath many Priests in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose those who confess to them to follow his Method. The *Jesuits* have set themselves much against this Conduct, as foreseeing that it will much weaken the Empire Superstition hath over the People, make Religion become a more plain Thing, and open a Door to Enthusiasm. They also pretend that his Conduct is factious and seditious, which may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith in some Places, that the Mind may attain such a Simplicity in its Acts, as that it may rise in some Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him of laying aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity; though it is plain, that he speaks only of the Purity of single Acts: Upon these Motives they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and also pretend, that some of his Disciples have infused

infused into their Penitents, that they may communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession; which they thought weakened the Yoke whereby the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct; yet he was much supported both in *Naples* and in *Sicily*, and had many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him, got a great King, that is now extremely in the Interests of their Order, to represent to the Pope the Danger of such Innovations.

It is certain, the Pope understands the Matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great Opinion of *Molinus's* Sanctity; yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals, that seconded the Zeal of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapp'd into the Inquisition, where they have been now for some Months; but they are well used, which is believ'd to flow from the good Opinion the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good Man. Upon this Imprisonment, *Paquin* said a pleasant Thing. In one Week, one Man had been condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said; another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ; and *Molinus* was clapp'd in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, That Men ought to bring their Minds to a State of inward Quietness, from which the Name of *Quietists* was given to all his Followers. The *Paquin* made upon all this was, *Si parliamo, in galere; si scrivemmo, impiccati; si stiamo in quiete, all' sant' officio: e che bisogna fare?* "If we speak, we are sent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we stand quiet, we are clapp'd up in the Inquisition; what must we do then?" Yet his Followers at *Naples* believe he will come out of this Trial victorious.

The City of *Naples* is the best situated, lies in the best Climate, and is one of the noblest Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, it hath much more Beauty than either of them. The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and noble, the Stones being generally above a Foot square; and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by Markets, so that Provisions are fresh, and in great Plenty. The Wine is the best in *Europe*, and both the Fish and Flesh are extreme good. It is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is grand, but it is now very richly furnished with Pictures and Statues. There are in it some Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities, of Touchstone, that are of great Value. There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient *Roman* Portico, that is very noble, before *St. Paul's* Church: but without the City, near the Church and Hospital of *St. Gennaro*, are the noble Catacombs; which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the Catacombs of *Rome* are not to be compared, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast long Galleries cut out of the Rock, three Stories one above another: I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the Passage. These Galleries are generally about twenty Foot broad, and fifteen Foot high; so that they are noble spacious Places, not little and narrow, as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four Foot broad, and five or six high. I was made to believe, that these Catacombs of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Miles, but for that I have it only by Report; yet if true, they may run towards *Puzzuolo*, and so may have been the Burial-places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no Certainty. I walked indeed a great Way, and found Galleries going off on all Hands without End: And whereas in the *Roman* Catacombs three are not above three or four Rows of Niches, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid; here there are generally six or seven Rows of Niches, and they are both larger and higher: Some Niches are for Children, and in many Places there are in the Floors, as it

were, great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they are dried, in them; but I could see no Marks either of a Cover for these Holes, which look'd like the Bellies of Chests, or of a Facing to shut up the Niches when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous, unwholesome, stinking Places, where some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a Sight, and so odious a Smell; for the Niches shew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them wrapped in the dead Cloaths, being too low for Coffins. In some Places of the Rock, there is as it were a little Chapel hewn out in the Rock, going off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about, but I saw no Marks of any Wall that shut in those Places; though I am apt to think these might be Burying-places for particular Families.

There is in some Places on the Walls and Arch old *Mosaic* Work, and some Painting; the Colours are fresh, and the Manner *Gothick*; which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans* about 600 Years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*. In some Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other Places: The Freshness of the Colours shew these could not have been done while this Place was employed for Burying; for the Steams and Rottenness of the Air, occasioned by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one Place there is a Man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written; and this is repeated in another Place right against it. In another I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters, J.C.X.O. and on the lower part N I K A. are painted. A learned Antiquary agreed with me, that the Manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above Six hundred Years old; but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The Lower seemed to relate to the last Word of the Vision, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the Cross that appeared to him: But tho' the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inscriptions to put a C for an S, and X stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the *Greek* ω , and that the little Line in the Bosom of the *Tbeta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*.

Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *S^{ta} Johannes*, a clear Sign of a barbarous Age. In another Place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it; that at Top had no Inscription; those below it had these Inscriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*: These Letters are clearly modern; besides that, *Margaret* and *Katharine* are modern Names; and the Addition of *ta* a little above the S, were manifest Evidences that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is Six hundred Years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the Darkness and the thick Air of the Place; so that I staid not above an Hour. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of *Rome* than I had done; I could imagine no Reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; or give myself other Account of the Matter, than that it being a Maxim to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman* Catacombs, as Repositories of Reliques of primitive Christians, it would much lessen their Credit, if it were thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all Respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the Work of the primitive Christians; and indeed, nothing seems more evident, than that these were common Burying-places of the ancient Heathens; one enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables; and such are the Catacombs of *Rome* that I saw, which were those of *St. Agnes*, and *St. Sebastian*, the Entry into them being without the Town: This answers the Law, though in Effect they run under it; for in those Days, when they had not the Use of the Needle, they could

not know which Way they carried on those Works, when they were once so far engaged under Ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain Imagination, to dream the Christians in the primitive Times were able to carry on such a Work; for as this prodigious Digging into such Rocks must have been a very visible Thing, by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast Number of Hands employed in it; so it is absurd to think, that they could hold their Assemblies in the Midst of so much Corruption. I found the Steams so strong, that though I am as little subject to Vapours as most Men, yet I had all Day long, after I was in them, which was not an Hour, a Confusion, and as it were a Boiling in my Head, that disordered me extremely; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there, this must have been sensible in a more insufferable Manner, while there were vast Numbers of Bodies rotting in those Niches. But besides this Improbability from the Nature of the Thing, I called to mind a Passage of a Letter of *Cornelius*, that was Bishop of *Rome* after the Middle of the third Century, which is preserved by *Eusebius* in his sixth Book, in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that Time. There were forty-six Presbyters, seven Deacons, as many Subdeacons, and Ninety-four of the inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: There were also fifteen hundred Widows, and other Poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed, that the Numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as at any Time before *Constantine*: For as this was writ at the End of that long Peace, which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* mention, of above an Hundred Years; so after there were such a Succession of Persecutions, and these came so thick, that we cannot think the Numbers of the Christians encreased much beyond what they were at this Time.

There are two Particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable Estimate of the Christians; one is, their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact Survey it will be found, that where the Poor are well look'd to, they are generally the thirtieth or fortieth Part of Mankind; and this may be believed to be the Proportion of the Poor among the Christians of that Age; for as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Christians of that Time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vast Numbers of the lower Sort among them, that they might be supplied by their Brethren. So that this being the State of the Christians, we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth Part; and the whole five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think that this rises near the full Sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Amount of the Clergy; for as there were forty-six Presbyters, so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were two more than double the Number of the Priests; and this was in a Time when the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more Work on their Hands, the instructing their Catechumens, the visiting their Sick, and the comforting the Weak, Tasks that required so much Application, that in so vast a City as *Rome* in those Days, in which the Christians were scatter'd over the City, we make a Conjecture, that every Presbyter had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his Care; this rises to six and forty thousand, which comes very near the Sum gathered from the other Hint taken from their Poor: So that about fifty thousand is the highest to which we can reasonably raise the Number of the Christians of *Rome* in that Time; and of so many Persons, the old, the young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; the Men therefore in Condition to work were not above twelve thousand, and by Consequence were in no Condition to undertake and carry on so vast a Work. If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the Numbers of the Christians in excessive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his Apology hath also set out the Numbers of the Christians of his Time in a very high

Strain, that is to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence; which disposeth People to magnify their own Party; and we must allow a good deal to an Hyperbole. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast Cavities were dug out of the Rocks: We know that when the Laws of the *Twelve Tables* were made, Sepulture was then in Use; and *Rome* being grown to a vast Bigness, no Doubt they had Repositories for their Dead; so that since none of the *Roman* Authors mention any such Work, it may not be unreasonable to suppose these Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first Beginnings of the City, and so later Authors had no Occasion to take Notice of it. It is also certain, that though Burning came to be in Use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custom of burying Bodies long before *Constantine's* Time; so it was not the Christian Religion that produced this Change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that it happen'd in the Times of the *Antonines*; yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no Mention in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for Burying-places, *Velferus's* Opinion seems more probable, that the Custom of Burning wore out by Degrees; and since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, that the Slaves and the meaner Sort of People were still buried, that being a less expensive and more simple Way than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already Burying-places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the Custom of Burying grew universal without any Law made to enforce it. I could not for some Time find out upon what Grounds the modern Criticks take it for granted, that Burying began in the Times of the *Antonines*, till I had the Happiness to talk with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: He told me that it was certain the Change from Burning to Burying was not made by the Christian Emperors: For *Macrobius* says, in plain Terms, that the Custom of burning Bodies was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*; and as there was no Law made on that Head, so he and the succeeding Emperors gave such Toleration to Paganism, that it is not to be imagined, there was any Order given against Burning; so that it is clear, the Heathens changed it of their own Accord; otherways we should have found that among the Complaints made of the Grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the Time when this Change was made. *Gronovius* shewed me a Passage of *Pblegon's*, that mentions Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have Relation to the Customs of Burying that might be elsewhere; and so *Petronius* gives the Account of the Burial of the *Ephesian* Matron's Husband: But he made it apparent to me, that Burying was commonly practised under *Commodus*; for *Xiphilius* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* Time, the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some Parts of them, and others raising their entire Bodies. The same Author says, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* Body, and so saved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a positive Evidence that Burying was the common Practice of that Time.

The same learned Person has since suggested to my two Passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole Matter; and tell us by what Names those Catacombs were known in the *Roman* time, whereabouts they were, and what Sort of Persons were laid in them: We have also the Designation by which the Bearers were known, and the Time when they carried out the dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the Repositories, of which that Author makes Mention, there were no Care taken to preserve the Bodies that were laid in them from Rotting. His Words are: *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepulture appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici solent extra portam Esquilinam: quæ, quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat Puticulos* *Ælius*

Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putrescerent, nomen esse factum Puticuli. The other Passage runs thus: *Vespæ & vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompâ duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly, that it will not be hard to persuade one, that those Burying-places, now graced with the pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticuli* of *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest Sort of the *Roman* Slaves were laid, and without any farther Care about them, were left to rot.

It is very probable, that as we see some of the *Roman* Families continued to bury their Dead, even when Burning was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their Dead, this Thing being indifferent, and no Law made about it; and therefore it was objected to the Christians after that Time, that they abhorred the Custom of burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this, or any other Evidences that may be brought from Medals after this Time, will only prove that some were burnt, and that the Christians practised burying universally, as expressing their Belief of the Resurrection; whereas the Heathens held the Thing indifferent. It is also clear, from many genuine Inscriptions that have been found in the Catacombs, bearing the Dates of the Consuls, that these were the common Burial-places of all the Christians of the fourth and fifth Century; for I do not remember that there is any Date ancients; and yet not one of the Writers of those Ages speak of them as the Work of the Primitive Christians: They speak indeed of the Burial-places of the Martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Christians might have their Quarters and their Walks in those common Burial-places, where they laid their Dead, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely that they would, in Times of Persecution, make such Inscriptions as might expose the Bodies of their dead Friends to the Rage of their Enemies: And the spurious Acts of some Saints and Martyrs are of too little Credit to give any Support to the common Opinion. *Damasus's* Poetry is of no better Authority; and though those Ages were inclined enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it seems this of the Catacombs, having been the Work of the Primitive Christians, was too gross a Thing to be so early imposed on the World: And this Silence, in a superstitious Age, has much Force in it, for so vast a Work must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easy to carry this much farther, and to shew that the *Bass Relieves* that have been found in some of those Catacombs, have Nothing of the Beauty of the ancient *Roman* Time.

This is also discernible in many Inscriptions that are rather *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are so many Inscriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain these were of later Times; and we see by *St. Jerome*, that the Monks began even in his Time to drive a Trade of Reliques; no Wonder then, that to raise the Credit of such a Heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable Sculptures and Inscriptions, and perhaps shut up the Entries with Care and Secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream, or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation; which was often practised, to the drawing much Wealth and Devotion even to some single Relique; and a few being in this Secret, either those died, or by the Revolutions that happen'd in *Rome*, might have been dispersed before they made the Discovery: And thus the Knowledge of these Places was lost, and came to be discover'd by Accident in the last Age, and ever since supplied with an inexhaustible Magazine of Bones, which are no other than the Bones of the Pagan *Romans*, though they are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at least those of the meaner Sort, are set in Silver and Gold, and entertain the Superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as those who seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be

pretended there was such a Number of Christians at *Naples* as could have wrought the Catacombs; and if it had been thought that those were the common Burial-places of the Heathens, that might have induced the World to think that the *Roman* Catacombs were so too; therefore no Care was taken to examine these.

I will not enter upon a Description of that which is so well known, as *Mont Vesuvio*: It had roared so loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that the Inhabitants could hardly sleep in the Nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the Convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the Ground; and the great Convulsion above fifty Years ago was so terrible, that there was no small Fear in *Naples*, for though it lies at the Distance of seven Miles, they are very timorous, but now the Storm was choaked under Ground; for tho' it smok'd much more than ordinary, yet there was no Eruption. It was indeed smoaking, not only in the Mouth of the little Mount, formed within the great Waste that the Fire hath made, but along all the Bottom that is between the outward Mouth of this Mountain (which is four Miles in Compass) and that inward Hill. When one sees the Mouth of this Fire, and so great a Part of the Hill, covered some Feet deep with Ashes and Stones of metallick Composition, that the Fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fewel of so lasting a Burning, that hath calcined so much Matter, and spewed out such prodigious Quantities. It is plain, there are vast Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it seems in this Mountain they run thro' some Mines and Rocks; and as their slow Consumption raises a perpetual Smoke, so when the Air within is so much rarified that it must open itself, it throws up those Masses of Metal and Rock that are shut in it. But how this Fire draws Air to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a Conveyance of Air under-ground, by some undiscover'd Vacuity, or a more insensible Transmission of Air through the Pores of the Earth. The Heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil that lies towards the Foot of it, that it produces the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the Village at the Bottom is thought the best thereabouts; so that many come thither from *Naples* for their Health. There is a Hill in *Ischia*, an Island not far from *Naples*, which sometimes spews out Fire. On the other Side of *Naples*, to the West, one passeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, and is four hundred and forty Paces long; for I walked it on Foot. It is twenty Foot broad, and at first forty, afterwards but twenty Foot high. The Stone cut here is good for Building; so that as this opened the Way from *Puzzuolo* to *Naples*, it was also a Quarry for the Building of the Town. All the Way one discovers a strange Boiling within the Ground; for a little beyond this Grott of *Pausalippo*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one Hand a Bath, occasioned by a Steam that rises so hot out of the Ground, that as soon as one goes a little into it, he finds himself in a Sweat, which is very proper for some Diseases, especially that which derives its Name from *Naples*. And about twenty Paces from thence, there is another little Grott, that sends out so poisonous a Steam, that it puts out a Candle as soon as it comes near it, and infallibly killeth any living Creature within a Minute; for in half that Time a Dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, (the Grott from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a Convulsion. From that one goes to see the poor Remains of *Puzzuolo*, and of that Bay, once a continued Tract of Towns, being the Retreat of the *Romans* during the Heats of the Summer. All the Rarities here have been so often and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add Nothing to what is so well known. I will say Nothing of the Amphitheatre, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil's* Houses, for which there is nothing but dubious Tradition. They are ancient brick Buildings in *Roman* Taste, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* House are still entire. The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing Thing; here is a Bottom, out of which the Force of the Fire, that breaks forth still in many Places,

ces, in a thick Smoke full of Brimstone, threw up about an Hundred and Fifty Years ago a vast Quantity of Earth, which was carried about three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town overwhelmed by this Eruption, which is of a very considerable Height. They told me, that there was before that Time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one sees the Beginnings in the Bay, at some Distance from the Shore; it carrieth still the Name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*: But by the Swelling of the Ground, upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this Passage is stopp'd, and the *Averno* is become now fresh Water. It is eighteen Fathom deep. On the Side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her Inspirations: The hewing it out of the Rock appears to have been a prodigious Work; for the Rock is one of the hardest Stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in seven hundred Foot long, twenty Foot broad, and, as I guess, eighteen Foot high: and from the End of this great Gallery, there is a narrow Passage of three Foot broad, two Hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little Apartment, in a constant sloping Descent from the great Cave. Here are three little Rooms; in one of them there are some Remains of an old *Mosaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over: There is also a Spring of Water, and a Bath, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed herself; and from this it is said, there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long Miles, but the Passage is now choak'd by the falling in of the Rock in several Places. This Piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is received here, that all this was done by the Devil. The Marks of the Chissel in all Parts of the Rock shew, that it is not a Work of Nature. Certainly they had many Hands at their Command, who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought with no other Design, but to subdue the People more entirely to the Conduct of the Priests who managed this Imposture; so busy hath the Ambition and Fraud of Priests been in all Ages, and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of noble Objects in the Bay of *Puzzuolo*, the Remains of *Caligula's* Bridge are most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the Pillars, and of some of the Arches the half is yet entire. I had not a Line with me to examine the Depth of the Water, where the furthest Pillar is built; but my Waterman assured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have since instructed one going thither in this Particular, and have received this Account from him: That he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar on the *Puzzuolo* Side, and found it seven Fathom and a half deep; but he adds, that the Watermen assured him, that on the other Side before *Baia*, the Water was twenty-six Fathom deep: But as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had also assured him, that the Water was ten Fathom deep on the *Puzzuolo* Side; and by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is twenty Fathom deep on the other Side: So that it is one of the most astonishing Things one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a Depth of Water. It is a noble Monument of that profuse and extravagant Expence of a brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea, merely to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his Vanity. As for *Agrippina's* Tomb, it is no great Matter, only the Bas-relieves are yet entire. The marvellous Fish-pond is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hew'd out of the Rock, and laid over with four Crufts of the old Plaster, which is now as hard as Stone. This is believ'd to be a Work of *Nero's*. And about a Quarter of a Mile from thence, there is another vast Work, which leads into a Rock, but at the Entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters he finds a great many regular Rooms hewed out of the Rock, and covered over with Plaster, which is

still entire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since first made. There are a vast Number of those Rooms; they are said to be a Hundred, from whence this Cave derives the Name of *Centum Camerae*, i. e. *Hundred Chambers*. This hath been as expensive a Work as it is useless. It is ascribed to *Nero*, and they say here he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both so curious and so useful as the Baths, which seem to flow from the same Cause with these Eruptions in the *Vesuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the Grottos formerly mentioned, that as this Heat makes some Fountains boiling hot, so it sends up a Steam through the Rock, that doth not break through the Pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the Rock is soft and spongy, the Steams come through with so melting a Heat, that a Man is very soon dissolved, as it were in Sweat: But if he stoops low in the Passages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no Heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those Steams, as they are hot, so they are also impregnated with such Minerals as they find in their Way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out, and faced with a Building, in which there are, as it were, Bedsteads made in the Walls, upon which those, that come to sweat for their Health, lay their Quilts and Bed-clothes, and so come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain, that a Man can no where pass a Day, both with so much Pleasure, and with such Advantage, as he finds in his Journey to *Puzzuolo*, and the Bay. But tho' anciently this was all so well built, so thoroughly peopled, and so beautifully laid out; yet one sees no where more visibly what a Change Time brings upon all Places; for *Naples* hath so entirely eat out this Place, and drawn off its Inhabitants, that as *Puzzuolo* itself is but a small Village, so there is now no other in this Bay, which was anciently built almost all round; for there are seven big Towns upon it. I cannot pass by that noble Remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty Miles of the Road between *Naples* and *Rome*, without making some Mention of it. This Highway is twelve Foot broad, all made of huge Stones, most of them blue, and they generally a Foot and half large on all Sides. The Strength of this Causeway appears from its long Duration; for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred Years, and is in most Places, for several Miles together, as entire as when first made; and the Mending such Places as have been worn out by Time, shews a visible Difference between the ancient and the modern Way of Paving. One Thing seems strange, that the Road is level with the Earth on both Sides; whereas so much Weight, as those Stones carry, should have sunk the Ground under them by its Pressure. Besides, that the Earth, especially in low Grounds, receives a constant Increase by the Dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills; both which Reasons should make a more sensible Difference between those Roads and the Soil on both Sides; and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently they were a little raised above the Level of the Ground, and that a Course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an Equality. Those Roads were chiefly made for Foot Passengers; for as Nothing is more pleasant than to walk along them, so Nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all Sorts of Carriage; and indeed Mules are the only Beasts of Burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Remains of *Roman* Antiquities at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Isle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little Way to Sea from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign; since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told there was a Tradition of seven small Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a Body, as the *Roman* Empire, governed by such a tyrannical Prince, at such a Distance from the chief Seat, so that all might have been reversed long before the News of it could have reached him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than

than to see so vast a State, that had so great a Sense of Liberty, subdued by so brutal, and so voluptuous a Man as *Anthony*, and so raw a Youth as *Augustus*; so the Wonder is much improved, when we see a Prince, at an Hundred and Fifty Miles Distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which Way he pleased.

But I come now to *Rome*, which as it was once the Empress of the World in a Succession of many Ages, so in it there are at present more curious Things to entertain the Attention of a Traveller, than in any other Place in *Europe*. On the Side of *Tuscany* the Entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to Strangers; coming along for a great many Miles upon the Remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman* Greatness, which laid such Causeways all over *Italy*. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo* there is a noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, resembling each other, as well as placed one near another, and on several Hands one sees a long Visto of Streets. There is no City in our Part of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces, are so noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean; which, indeed, discover very visibly the Misery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are so well known, that I will not venture on any Description of them; and indeed I had too transient a View, to make it with that Degree of Exactness which the Subject requires. *St. Peter's* alone would make a long Letter, not to say a Book: Its Length, Height, and Breadth, are all so exactly proportioned, and the Eye is so equally possess'd with these, that the Whole, upon the first View, appears not so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular Attention; and as the four Pillars, on which the Cupola rises, are of such a prodigious Bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any Superstructure; yet when one climbs to the Top of that vast Height, one cannot help wondering what Foundation can bear so vast a Weight; for as the Church is of a great Height, so the Cupola rises four hundred and fifteen large Steps above the Roof of the Church. In the Height of the Concave of this Cupola there is a Representation, that though it can hardly be seen from the Floor below, and so it doth not perhaps give much Scandal, yet it is a gross Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient Man compassed about with Angels. I will say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of *St. Peter*, of the great Tombs of *Paul III.* *Urban VIII.* and *Alexander VII.* nor of the vast Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reserved in them; or undertake a Description of the adjoining Palace, where the Painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are so rich, that one is sorry to see a Work of that Value laid on *Fresco*, and which must by Consequence wear too soon, as in several Places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Reggia*, that is before the famous Chapel of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in *Fresco*, one Corner that represents the Murder of the renowned Admiral *Chastillon*, and that hath under it these Words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*. The vast Length of the Gallery on one Side, and of the Library on another, surprize one. The Gardens have many Statues of excessive Value, and some good Fountains; but are ill maintain'd both here and in the Palace of the *Quirinal*. And, indeed, in most of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a small Sum laid out to keep all in good Condition, that is brought together at so vast a Charge, they would make another Sort of Show, and be looked at with much more Pleasure. In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many Things that offend the Sight; the Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borghese*; where, as there is the vastest Collection of the best Pieces, and of the greatest Masters that are in all *Europe*; so the Doors and Locks give not that Distaste

to the Eye that one finds elsewhere. The Flooring of the Palace is all of Brick, which is so very mean, that one sees the Disproportion between the Floors and the rest of the Room, not without a sensible Dislike. It is true, they say their Air is so cold and moist in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the Heat is sometimes so great in Summer, that a Flooring of Wood would crack with Heat, as well as be eat up by Vermin that would nest in it: But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to wash their Floors, with that Care that is used in *Holland*, where the Air is moister, and the Climate more productive of Vermin, they would not find such Effects from wooden Floors as they pretend to fear. In a Word, there are none that lay out so much Wealth all at once, as the *Italians* upon Building and Finishing of their Palaces and Gardens, and afterwards bestow so little on the Preserving of them. Another Thing I observed in their Palaces; there is indeed a great Series of noble Rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are composed; but I did not find, at the End of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, such a Disposition of Rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants-rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more consider'd than Convenience; but I found the same Want in those in which they lodged; so that, notwithstanding all the Riches of their Palaces, it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them; and their Gardens are less understood, and worse kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borghese* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious Collection of Bas Relieves, with which the Walls are covered over, that are of a vast Value; so the Statues within, of which some are of Porphyry, and others of Touchstone, are amazing Things. The whole Ground of this Park, which is three Miles in Compass, and in which there are six or seven Lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English* Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated, upon a higher Ground, hath more Water-works, and twice the Extent of the other in Soil; but neither the House nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the Grounds so well laid out, or kept: But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures; and as for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnish'd with red Velvet or Damask, with a broad golden Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a gold Fringe at Top and Bottom; but there is very little Tapestry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digression, from the general View that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one Part of it, which will engage me in a new Digression, as it well deserves, that is, the Library of the *Vatican*. The Case is great, but what is lodged in it much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that fill a Man's Eye: There is first a great Hall, and at the End there runs out on both Sides two Galleries of so vast a Length, that though the Half of them is already furnished with Books, yet one would hope, that there is Room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg* Library stands by itself, and fills one Side of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urbino's* Library of Manuscripts fills the other. But though these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of *Heidelberg*. When it appear'd that I came from *England*, King *Henry VIII's* Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Inscription upon it with his own Hand to Pope *Leo X.* was shewed me, together with a Collection of some Letters that he writ to *Anna Bullen*, of which some are in *English* and some in *French*. I that knew his Hand well, saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin* Manuscripts of great Antiquity in this Library; some few of *Virgil's* I saw writ in Capitals.

But that which took up Half of one Day that I

spent at once in this Place, related to the Dispute on Foot between Mr. *Schelstrat* the Library-keeper and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Constance*. The two Points in Debate, are the Words of the Decree made in the fourth Session, and the Pope's Confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the *French Manuscripts*, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members; which, as it implies that the Head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session, being confirmed by the Pope, puts those who assert the Pope's Infallibility to no small Straits: For if Pope *Martin*, that approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this *Schelstrat* answers from his Manuscripts, that the Words of a Reformation in Head and Members are not in the Decree of that Session; and he did shew me several Manuscripts, of which two were evidently writ during the Sitting of the Council, and were not at all dash'd, in which these Words were not. I know the Hand and Way of Writing of that Age, too well to be easily mistaken in my Judgment concerning those Manuscripts: But if those Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that seem to be much stronger for the Superiority of the Council above that Pope; for it is decreed, that Popes and all other Persons were bound to submit to the Decisions of the Council, as to Faith; which Words are not in the *French Manuscripts*; upon this I told Mr. *Schelstrat*, that I thought the Words in these Manuscripts were stronger than the other, since the Word Reformation, as it was used in the Time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuses, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the monastick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact Observation of the Rules of their Order: So though the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not see that this would import more, than that the Papacy had fallen into some Disorders that needed a Reformation; and this is not denied even by those who assert the Pope's Infallibility. But a Submission to Points of Faith, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman Manuscripts*, is a much more positive Evidence against the Pope's Infallibility; and the Word Faith is not capable of so large a Sense, as may be ascribed to Reformation. But this Difference in so great a Point, between Manuscripts concerning so late a Transaction, gave me Occasion to reflect on the vast Uncertainty of Tradition especially in Matters that are at a great Distance from us; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in Manuscripts, and in which both those of *Paris* and *Rome* seem to carry all possible Evidences of Sincerity. As for the Pope's Confirmation of that Decree, it is true, by a general Bull Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Constance* to such a Period; but besides that, he made a particular Bull, as *Schelstrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among those, this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named. This seemed to be of more Importance, and therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull, for there seem to be just Reasons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promised to do his Endeavour, though he told me that would not be easy, for the Bulls were strictly kept; and the next Day when I came hoping to see it, I could not be admitted; but he assured me, that, if that had not been the last Day of my Stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my seeing the Original: So this is all I can say as to the Authenticity of that Bull. But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr. *Schelstrat*, that the general Bull of Confirmation ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: For since that particular Bull was never discovered till he found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the Forms of the Consistory, and was a fraudulent Thing, of

which no Noise was to be made in that Age; and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil*, between the Pope and the Council upon this Point, no Mention was ever made of it by either Side; and thus it can have no Force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the same Time in which the Necessity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation that he gave; and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority, and so this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. I will not give you here a large Account of the learned Men at *Rome*; *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superstitions of the Heathens, and hath a Closet richly furnished with such Things. *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his understanding the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuits College*, and is much above the common Rate both for Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Church History. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot *Nazari*, hath so general a View of the several Parts of Learning, though he has chiefly applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematicks, and is a Man of so engaging a Civility, and used me in so particular a Manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the Acknowledgments of Esteem and Gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal *Estrée* all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, and a generous Civility, and a Measure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Person of his Rank: But as he gave a noble Protection to one of the most learned Men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launoy*, who lived many Years with him, so it is visible, that he made a great Progress by the Conversation of so extraordinary a Person; and as for theological Learning, there is now none of the College equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need a Character from me: The Elevation of his Condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the Sweetness of Temper that we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Humility of a Friar, amidst all the Dignity of the Purple. And as he shews all the generous Concern for his Countrymen that they can expect from him, I met with so much of it, in so many obliging Marks of his Goodness, that went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's Confessor was a very extraordinary Man for oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*. He is a Master of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the most learned Book against the *Mahometan* Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but is not yet printed: His Learning is not in Vogue: and School Divinity, and casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed, he whose Studies lead him another Way is not so much valued as he ought: and perhaps the small Account that the Pope makes of learned Men turns on him; for it is certain, that this is a Reign in which true Knowledge is very little encourag'd. Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the present Pontificate, one made a pleasant Reflection to me. He said, those Popes that intended to raise their Families, as they saw the Censure this brought upon them, studied to lessen it by other Things that might soften the Spirits of the People. No Man did more for finishing *St. Peter's* and the Library, and for furnishing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul V.* though at the same time he did not forget his Family. And though other Popes, that have raised great Families, have not done this to so eminent a Degree, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence: whereas those Popes that have not raised Families, have thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their Subjects,

jects, or their Reign to Posterity : And it is plain, that the present Pope takes no great Care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free from all publick Scandal ; and there is at present, a Regularity in *Rome*, that deserves great Commendation ; for publick Vices are not to be seen there. His personal Sobriety is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a Day ; though this is short of *Sisto V.* who gave Order to his Steward, never to exceed five and twenty Bajokes, that is, eighteen-pence a Day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and never exposes it ; for, upon the least Disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keeps his Bed, for the least Indisposition, many Days : But his Government is severe, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one Thing comes into my Mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakening the natural Fertility of the Subjects ; for Men and Women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are distress'd ; so it is very likely that they must be much more disposed to propagate than the other. And this appeared evident to me, when I compared the Fruitfulness of *Geneva* and *Switzerland* with the Barrenness over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary Instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*. Mr. *Tronchin*, Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professor of the same Name that is now there, died at the Age of seventy six Years, and had an hundred and fifteen Persons all alive, that either descended from him, or by Marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrinis*, who, receiving the Reformation about an hundred and fifty Years ago, left *Lucca*, their native City, with the *Turretini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others, came and settled at *Geneva* : He is now but seven and forty Years old, and yet he hath an hundred and five Persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them ; so that if he liveth but to eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same Relation to him ; but such Things as these are not found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the fine Fountains of Water, that are almost in all the Corners of it. That old Aqueduct, which *Paul V.* restored, comes from a Collection of Sources five and thirty Miles distant, that runs all the Way upon an Aqueduct in a Canal that is vaulted. It breaketh out in five several Fountains, of which some yield a Discharge of Water about a Foot square. That of *Sixtus V.* the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious Quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of Greatness in it that surprizeth : The Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *St. Peter's*, and the *Palazzo Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain. All these, I say, are noble Decorations, that carry Usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended, and give a much greater Idea of those who have taken such Care to supply this City with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out Millions merely to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diversion.

There is an universal Civility reigns among all Sorts of People at *Rome*, which, in a great Measure, flows from their Government ; for every Man being capable of all the Advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the *Monsignori*, may thence come to be a Cardinal, and so be chosen Pope ; this makes every Man behave himself towards all other Persons with Exactness of Respect ; for no Man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Profes-

sions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscuously to all Sorts of Persons, that one ought not to build much on them. The Conversation of *Rome* is generally upon News ; for though there is no News printed, yet in the several Anti-chambers of the Cardinals, one is sure to hear all the News of *Europe*, together with many Speculations upon what passes. At the Queen of *Sweden's*, all that relates to *Germany*, or the *North*, is ever to be found ; and that Princess, that must ever reign among all that have a true Taste either of Wit or Learning, hath in her Drawing-Rooms the best Court of the Strangers ; and her Civility, together with the vast Variety with which she furnished her Conversation, makes her the Chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*. I will not use her own Words to myself, which were, *That she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome*. The Ambassadors of Crowns, who live here in another Form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the several Nations, that all meet and center here, make more News in *Rome* than any where ; for Priests, and the Men of religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters than any other Sort of Men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a Loss of Time that had Need be well recompensed. As for one that studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Musick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the rest of *Europe* ; but if he hath not a Taste of these Things, he will soon be weary of a Place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little Openness practised ; and, by Consequence, where Friendship is little understood. The Women here begin to be more conversable, though a Nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great Liberty in a great City that is composed of Ecclesiasticks, who being denied the Privilege of Wives of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the Wives of others. The Liberties that were taken in the Constable of *Naples's* Palace, has disgusted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no Bounds. But the Dutches of *Bracciano*, a *Frenchwoman*, hath, by the Exactness of her Deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of a noble Conversation, recovered, in a great Measure, the Credit of those Liberties that Ladies beyond the Mountains practise with all the Strictness of Virtue ; for she receives Visits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms ; and by the Liveliness of her Conversation, makes her Court the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians*.

I will not engage in a Description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern ; this hath been done with such Exactness, that nothing can be added to what has been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the Capitol, and sees those poor Remains of what once it was, he is surprized to see a Building of so great Fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a Castle upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*. The *Tarpeian* Rock is now so small, that a Man would think it no great Matter, for his Diversion, to leap over it ; and the Shape of the Ground hath not been so much altered on one Side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other : For *Severus's* Triumphal Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other Side, is not now buried above two Foot within the Ground, as the vast Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three Foot sunk under the Level of the Ground. Within the Capitol one sees many noble Remnants of Antiquity ; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the Tables of their Consuls, which are upon the Walls ; and the Inscription on the *Columna Rostrata*, in the Time of the first *Punick* War, is, without Doubt, the most valuable Antiquity in *Rome*.

From this all along the *Sacred Way*, one finds such Remnants of old *Rome* in the Ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in Portico's, and other Remains of that glorious Body ; that as one cannot see these too often, so every Time one sees them, they kindle in him vast Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on what he learn'd in his Youth with great Pleasure. From the

the Height of the Convent of *Araceli*, a Man hath a full View of all the Extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *Seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the Parts of the City that were most inhabited anciently are those that are now laid out in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which some are half a Mile in Compass. The Vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury is that which passeth Imagination: The prodigious Amphitheatre of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand Spectators: The great Extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the Waters were reserved that furnished *Titus's* Baths; and above all, *Dioclesian's* Baths, though built when the Empire was in its Decay, are so far beyond all modern Buildings, that there is not so much as Room for a Comparison. The Extent of those Baths is above half a Mile in Compass; the Vastness of the Rooms in which the Bathers might swim, of which the *Carthusians* Church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great Pillars, all of one Stone of Marble, beautifully spotted, are Things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looks as mean, being only brick, as the Architecture is bold; for it riseth up in a Vault, and yet at the Top there is an Open left of thirty Foot in Diameter; which, as it is the only Window of the Church, so it fills it with Light, and is the hardiest Piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are also the noblest in *Rome*; they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where, all of one Stone: And the Numbers of those ancient Pillars, with which not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houses are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are such Multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, gives a great Idea of the Profuseness of the old *Romans* in their Buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those Pillars must have cost more than whole Palaces do now, since most of them were brought from *Greece*. Many of these Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jasper, others of granated Marble, but the greatest Number are of white Marble.

The two Columns, *Trajan's* and *Antonin's*; the two Horses that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horses in the Capitol, which have not indeed the Postures and Motion of the other; the Brass Horse that, as is believed, carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the Remains of *Nero's Colossus*; the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of *St. Agnes*, which is the most entire and the least altered of all the ancient Temples. The great Temple of Peace, those of the Sun and Moon, that of *Romulus* and *Rhemus* (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a Place, that, when *Rome* grew so costly, it could not have been left alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Porticos, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus* and *Constantine*, in the last of which one sees, that the Sculpture of his Age was much sunk from what it had been, only in the Top there are some Bass-relieves, that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better Manner: And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all Hands, and run over a vast Distance, are Things which a Man cannot see too often, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the Vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire.

There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great Value, dug up in all the Quarters of *Rome*, these last hundred and fourscore Years, since Pope *Leo X's* time; who, as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so he was the most generous Prince that ever reign'd: And it was he that first set on Foot the enquiring into the Riches of old *Rome*, that lay, till his Time, for the most part hid under Ground. And indeed, if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism, of which neither he, nor his Court, were so much as

ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated Persons of any Age. Soon after him, Pope *Paul III.* gave the Ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family: But I was told, that this large Piece of Ground, in which one should look for the greatest Collection of Antiquities of the highest Value, since this is the Ruin of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, hath never yet been searched into with any Exactness. So that when a curious Prince comes, that is willing to employ many Hands in Digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman* Antiquities. But all this Matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only mentioned these Things, because I can add nothing to those copious Descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any Thing of modern Palaces, or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are Things that carry one so far, that it is not easy to set Bounds to the Descriptions into which one finds himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a Subject. The Number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the Attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his Thoughts. It is true, the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese*, have somewhat in them that leaves an Impression, which no new Objects can wear out; and as the last hath a noble Square before it, with two great Fountains in it, so the Statue of *Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the Gallery above Stairs, are invaluable. The Roof of the Gallery is one of the best Pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carraccio's* Hand; and there are in that Gallery the greatest Number of Heads of the *Greek* Philosophers and Poets that I ever saw together. That of *Homer*, and that of *Socrates*, were two that struck me most; chiefly the latter: Which, as it is, without Dispute, a true antique, so it carries in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*: The flat Nose, the broad Face, the Simplicity of Look, and the mean Appearance which that great Philosopher made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the *Bull*, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the History of it is not well known, so there are such Faults in the Sculpture, that though it is all extream fine, yet one sees it hath not the Exactness of the best Times.

As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the Number, the Vastness, the riches of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting, and other Ornaments, amaze one; so here again a Stranger is lost, and the Convent, that is last seen is always the most admired. I confess the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the Inquisition sits, is that which makes the most sensible Impression upon one that passeth at *Rome* for an Heretick; though except one commits great Follies, he is in no Danger there; and the Poverty, that reigns in that City, makes them find their Interest so much in using Strangers well, whatever their Religion may be, that no Man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary Reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the Liberty that I had taken in Writing my Thoughts freely, of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there; yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all Sorts of People, and in particular among the *English* and *Scottish* Jesuits, though they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the *English* Jesuits, among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that Name is so well known, that they would not expose a Picture with such a Name to all Strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a Name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder-treason as the other: And it seemed a little strange to me, that at a Time, in which, for other Reasons, the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit to deny the Truth of that Conspiracy, a Jesuit, convicted of the blackest Crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their

their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of those emblematical Prophecies relating to *England*, that the Jesuits had at *Rome* near sixty Years, and of which I had sometime ago procured a Copy, which I found was true. I happened to be at *Rome* during St. Gregory's Fair and Feast, which lasted several Days. In his Church the Hostie was exposed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chapel, that was once his House, in which his Statue, and the Table where he served the Poor, are preserved. I saw such vast Numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together: They kneeled down to his Statue, and, after a Prayer said to it, they kissed his Foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw some Virtue from it. I will add nothing of the several Obelisks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chapels that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of *Sixtus V.* and *Paul V.* in *Santa Maria Maggiore*; of the Water-works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati* (for *Tivoli* I did not see.) The young Prince *Borghese*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome*, as well for his Learning, as for his Virtue, did me the Honour to carry me thither, with those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Waterworks in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in *France*; the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunder and Storms that this maketh is noble. The Water-works of the *Ludovisio* and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a Grandeur in them that is natural. And indeed, the Riches that one meets with in all Places within-doors in *Italy*, and the Poverty that one sees every where Abroad, are the most unsuitable Things imaginable: But it is very likely, that a great Part of their moveable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great Value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of *France* presently buy it; so that as that King hath already the greatest Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few Years more carry off the chief Treasures of *Italy*.

I have now given an Account of all that appeared remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall add a very extraordinary Piece of natural History, that fell out two Years before, which I had first from two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined the Matter. There were two Nuns, one in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some Years in a Nunnery, perceived a strange Change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by Degrees to a total Alteration in one; and though the other was not so entire a Change, yet it was visible she was more Man than Woman: Upon this the Matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth itself here is, that these two had been always what they then appeared to be, but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a Disguise, to gratify their Appetites. But to this, when I proposed it, Answer was made, that as the Breasts of a Woman, that remained still, did in a great Measure take off that Objection, so the Proofs were given so fully of their having been real Females, that there was no Doubt left of that, nor had they given any Sort of Scandal on the Change of their Sex: And if there had been any Room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the Proceedings would have been more severe and more secret; and these Persons would have been burnt, or at least put to Death in some terrible Manner. Some Physicians were appointed to examine the Matter, and at last, after an exact Enquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their Vows, and were dismissed from the Obligations of a religious Life, and directed to go in Men's Habits. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman* Marquess when I was there. I heard of this Matter only two Days before I left *Rome*, so that I had not Time to enquire after it

more particularly; but I judg'd it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an Enquirer into Nature.

And since I am upon the Subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I shall add one of another Sort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*. There is a Minister of St. *Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a Daughter sixteen Years old; her Nurse had an extraordinary Thickness of hearing; at a Year old the Child spoke all those little Words that Children begin usually to learn at that Age, but she made no Progress; yet this was not observed till too late; and as she grew to be two Years old, they perceived that she had lost her Hearing, and was so deaf, that though she hears great Noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the Milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and the Child suck'd more moderately the first Year, those Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that Effect on her that appeared after she came to suck more violently; and that her Nurse's Milk, being in less Quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occasioned the Deafness: But this Child hath, by observing the Motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired so many Words, that out of these she hath formed a Sort of Jargon, in which she holds Conversation whole Days with those that can speak her own Language. I could understand some of her Words, but could not comprehend a Period, for it seemed to be a confused Noise. She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she see the Motion of their Mouths that speak to her; so that in the Night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a Candle: Only one Thing appears the strangest; she has a Sister, with whom she has practised her Language more than any other; and in the Night, by laying her Hand on her Sister's Mouth, she can perceive what she says, and can discourse with her in the Night. It's true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that she found out only short Periods in this Manner. Thus this young Woman, without any Pains taken, has, merely by a natural Sagacity, found a Method of holding Discourse, that doth in a great Measure lessen the Misery of her Deafness. I examined this Matter critically, only the Sister was not present, so that I could not see how the Conversation pass'd between them in the Dark.

23. From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a Road as safe as the Harbour; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important Places in the World. All is so well defended, that it is, with respect to Storms or Enemies, the securest that Port can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this Place, though now at the Mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its Situation draws so much Trade to it, that there one sees an Appearance of Wealth greater than I found in any Town of *France*; and there is a new Street lately built there, that for Beauty and Largeness, is the noblest I ever saw. There is in that Port a perpetual Heat, and the Sun was so strong in the *Christmas* Week, that I was often obliged to quit the Key. I made a Tour from thence through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no Account of *Nismes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Garde* near it; which as they are stupendious Things, so they are copiously described by many, and are generally known to the *English* Nation, that if you never went that Way yourself, yet you must needs have received so particular a Relation of them from those that have seen them, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them; nor will I say any Thing of the Soil, the Towns, or other remarkable Things that I found there.

I have a much stronger Inclination to say somewhat concerning the Persecution, which I saw in its utmost Rage and Fury; and of which I could give Instances, that are so much beyond all the common Measures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive Proofs of them, than are now fitting, and the Particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with

the necessary Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons, might be fatal to many that are yet in the Power of their Enemies, that restrains me. In short, I do not think there ever was such a Violation of all that is sacred, with Relation to God or Man; and what I saw and knew there, from the first Hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had from Books, of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the Impression this hath made upon me, shall never end but with my Life. The Applauses that the whole Clergy give this Way of Proceeding, the many Panegyriks that are already written upon it, and the flattering Sermons that are preached upon this Subject, are such evident Demonstrations of their Sense of this Matter, that what is now on Foot may well be termed, the Act of the Clergy of *France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate Part of the *Roman* Communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not so far laid aside human Nature, as to go entirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in Secret, as if it were half Treason; but for the greater Part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate the Dragoons to higher Degrees of Rage: And there was such a Heat spread over the Country on this Occasion, that one could not mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such Effects of it, that it was not very safe for such, as were touch'd with Compassion for the Miseries that the poor Protestants suffered. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*; and it is true, there were not any Rejoicings upon it at *Rome*, no Indulgences, nor *Te Deum's* were heard of: And the *Spanish* Faction being so prevalent, it is not strange if a Course of Proceedings, without Example, was set forth by all that were of that Interest in its proper Colours; of which I met with some Instances myself, and could not but smile, to see the *Spanish* Faction so far forget their Courts of Inquisition, as to argue against Conversions by Dragoons as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion: Yet the Pope was of another Mind; for the Duke *d'Estrée* gave him an Account of the King's Proceedings in this Matter very copiously, as he himself related it; upon which the Pope approved, and expressed a great Satisfaction in every Thing that the King had done in that Matter; and the Pope added, that he found some Cardinals (as I remember, the Duke *d'Estrée* said two) were not pleased with it, and had taken the Liberty to censure it; but the Pope said they were to blame: The Duke *d'Estrée* did not name them, though he said, he believed he knew who they were, and it is very likely that Cardinal *Pio* was one; for I was told that he spoke freely of this Matter. I must add one Thing, that I do not see the *French* King is to be so much blamed in this Matter, as his Religion, which, without Question, obliges him to extirpate Hereticks, and not keep Faith with them; so that, instead of censuring him, I only lament his being bred up in a Religion that obliges him to divest himself of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whenever the Cause of his Church and Religion require it; or if there is any Thing in this Conduct, that cannot be entirely justified from Principles of Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to Death out of Hand, but forces them, to sign an Abjuration, that all the World must see is done against their Consciences; and being the only End of their Miseries, those that would think any Sort of Death a happy Conclusion of their Sufferings, seeing no Prospect of such a glorious Issue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering Deaths, of which they see no End, to make Shipwreck of the Faith: This Appearance of Mercy, in not putting Men to Death, doth truly verify the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the tender Mercies of the Wicked, that they are cruel.

I pass'd the Winter at *Geneva* with more Satisfaction than I thought possible any where out of *England*; tho' that received great Allays from the lamentable Stories every Day from *France*; but there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick Acknowledgments possible for the extra-

ordinary Civilities that I met with in my own Particular; but that which pleased me most was of a publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the Number of the *English* there were such, that I found we could make a small Congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen; so I address'd myself to the Council of Twenty-five, for Liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the *English* Liturgy. This was immediately granted in so obliging a Manner, that as there was not one Person that made Exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in case our Number should grow to be so great that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen *Mary's* Reign; but till then, we might hold our Assemblies as we thought fit: So after that Time, during the rest of my Stay we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common-prayer, Morning and Evening; and at the Evening-prayer I preach'd in a Room that was too large for our small Company: But there being a considerable Number in *Geneva* that understand *English*, and in particular some of the Professors and Ministers, we had a great many Strangers; and the last *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the Way of the Church of *England*; and upon this Occasion I found a general Joy in the Town for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church: And as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of *Great-Britain*, as well as for the King, so in private Discourse they shewed all possible Esteem for our Constitution; and they spoke of the unhappy Divisions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us upon the Account of our Government and Ceremonies, with great Regret and Dislike. I shall name only two of their Professors, that, as they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the Persons with whom I conversed the most; one, Mr. *Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and wasted his Strength, amidst all the Affluence of a great Fortune to which he was born: One discerns in him all the Modesty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it; and there is in him such a Zeal for Religion, as the present Conjuncture calls for, with all the Seriousness of Piety and Devotion, which shews itself in private Conversation, and in his most edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment, who has all his Thoughts well digested; his Conversation has a Charm in it, that cannot be resisted; he is a Man of extraordinary Virtue, and of a Readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any Measure: His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that strike the Hearer, as well as edify him; his Thoughts are noble, and Eloquence masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softness of Persuasion; so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no Wonder if Time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left *Geneva* with a Concern that I could nothave felt in leaving any Place out of *Britain*.

From *Geneva* I went a second time through *Switzerland* to *Basil*. At *Avanche* I saw the noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which seems to have been the Portico to a Temple. The Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot square, of the *Ionick* Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or some Sea-God; for on the Fragments of the Architrave, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-Horses* in Bas-relieves; and the Neighbourhood of the Place to the Lakes of *Iverdun* and *Morat* make this more evident. There is also a Pillar standing up in its full Height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one sees the Remains of a regular Architecture in two Ranks of Pillars. If the Ground near this were carefully search'd, no doubt it would discover Remains of that

that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this Side of it is a Chapel full of the Bones of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this Place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great Army before it, entirely cut off by the Besieged. The Inscription is very extraordinary, especially for that Age: For the Bones being so piled up, that the Chapel is quite filled with them, the Inscription bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's* Army having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui monumentum reliquit*, left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagine how it was possible for a Town so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a Prince, and so great an Army, that brought Cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basil*, except that I staid some time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this second Time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *D'Erlach* gave Order to shew me the original Records of the famous Process of the four *Dominicans*: Upon which I have retouch'd the Letter I wrote to you last Year.

25. *Basil* is the Town of the greatest Extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in Proportion to its Extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it, and the Town is situated on a rising Ground, which hath a noble Effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looks like a Theatre. *Little Basil*, on the other side of the *Rhine*, is almost a fourth Part of the whole. The Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is exposed on many Sides, and hath now so dreadful a Neighbour within a Quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Hunningen*, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindered its being better peopled than it is: The Advantages of the Burgership are such, that the Citizens will not share them with Strangers, and by this Means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the last War, that *Alsatia* was so often the Seat of both Armies, *Basil* having then a Neutrality, it might been very well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happiness to all the Cantons, if they could have different Degrees of Burgership, so that the lower Degrees might be given to Strangers for their Encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher Degrees, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the State, might be reserved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Basil* is divided into sixteen Companies, and every one of these hath four Members in the Little Council, so that it consisteth of Sixty-four: But of those four, two are chosen by the Company itself who are called the Masters, and the other two are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus, as there are two Sorts of Counsellors chosen in those different Manners, there are also two chief Magistrates.

There are two Burgo-masters, that reign by Turns, and two Zunft-Masters, that have also their Turns, and all is for Life; and the last are the Heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the Stadt-house is ancient. There is a very good Painting in Fresco upon the Walls. One Piece hath given much Offence to the Papists, though they have no Reason to blame the Reformation for it, since it was done several Years before it, viz. in the Year 1510. It is a Representation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell, and among these there is a Pope and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is believed, that the Council, which sat so long in this Place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the Town into such a Hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the Beginning of the Custom in *Basil*, of the Clocks anticipating the Time a full Hour, to the sitting of the Council: And they say, that in order to the advancing of Business, and the shortening their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set for-

ward an Hour, which continueth to this Day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber, where the Council sat, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room.

Erasmus's Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great Brass Plate. There are a great many of *Holbein's* Pictures here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to King *Henry VIII*. The two best are a *Corpo*, or *Christ* dead, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World. There is another Piece of his in the Stadt-House (for this is in the publick Library) of about three or four Foot square, in which, in six several Cantons, the several Parts of our Saviour's Passion are represented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at Ten thousand Crowns. It is on Wood, but hath that Freshness of Colour still on it, that seems peculiar to *Holbein's* Pencil. There is also a Dance that he painted on the Walls of an House where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except Shapes and Postures; but these shew the Exquifiteness of the Hand. There is another longer Dance, that running all along the Side of the Convent of the *Augustinians*, which is now the *French* Church, and that is Death's-dance. There are above threescore Figures in it at full Length, of Persons of all Ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meanest Sorts of People, and of all Ages and Professions, to whom Death appeareth in an insolent and surprizing Posture: And the several Passions that they express are so well set out, that this was certainly a great Design. But the Fresco being exposed to the Air, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best Painter they had, to lay new Colours on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead Shadows of *Holbein's* Pencil, than this coarse Work.

There is in *Basil* a Gunsmith, that makes Wind-Guns, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own Invention, that he can discharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot, at once, to give a home Blow. I confess those are terrible Instruments, and it seems the Interest of Mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to assassinate Persons so dexterously, that neither Noise nor Fire will discover from what Hand the Shot cometh. The Library of *Basil* is by much the best in all *Switzerland*. There is a fine Collection of Medals in it, and a very handsome Library of Manuscripts. The Room is noble, and disposed in a very good Method. Their Manuscripts are chiefly the *Latin* Fathers, or *Latin* Translations of the *Greek* Fathers; some good Bibles. They have the Gospel in *Greek* Capitals, but they are viciously writ in many Places. There is an infinite Number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without Number. All the Books that were in the several Monasteries, at the Time of the Reformation, were carefully preserved; and they believe, that the Bishops, who sat here in the Council, brought with them a great many Manuscripts which they never carried away.

Among their Manuscripts, I saw four of *Huss's* Letters, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the Day before his Death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The Manuscripts of this Library are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick Library there. They are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that I ever saw. But it is a noble Collection of all the ancient *Latin* Authors. They have some few of the best of the *Roman* Times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred Years old. There is in *Basil* one of the best Collections of Medals that ever I saw in private Hands, together with a noble Library, in which there are Manuscripts of good Antiquity, that belong to the Family of *Fesch*, and that go from one learned Man of the Family to another: For this Inheritance can only pass to a Man of Learning; and when the Family produceth

duceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In *Basil*, as the several Companies have been more or less strict, in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, so they retain their Privileges to this Day. For, in such Companies, that have once received such a Number that have not been of the Trade, as grew to be the Majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Interest. But some Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade; so that they retain their Interest still in the Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one; so that there are always four Butchers in the Council. The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the Little Council thinks fit to communicate any important Matter to them. There are but six Bailiages that belong to *Basil*, which are not Employments of great Advantage; for the best of them affords to the Bailiff only a thousand Livres a Year. They reckon that there are in *Basil*, three thousand Men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton; so that the Town is almost the half of this State, but the whole making thirty Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a Spirit of more free and generous Learning stirring there, than I saw in all those Parts. There is a great Decency of Habit in *Basil*; and the Garb of the Counsellors, Ministers, and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is venerable and august. The Appointments are but small, for Counsellors, Ministers, and Professors have but one hundred Crowns a-piece: It is true, many Ministers are Professors, so this mends the Matter a little; but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the Number of Professors, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the Rule of *St. Paul* better observed than at *Basil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their Heads, that is so folded, that it comes down so far as to cover their Eyes, and another Folding covers also their Mouth and Chin, so that nothing but their Nose appears; and then all turns backward in a Folding that hangs down to their Mid-leg: This is always white; so that there is such a Sight of white Heads in their Churches, as cannot be found any where else. The unmarried Women wear Hats turned up in the Brims, before and behind; and the Brims of the Sides being about a Foot broad, stand out far on both Sides: This Fashion is also at *Strasburg*, and is worn there also by the married Women.

26. I mentioned formerly the constant Danger to which this Place is exposed, from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*: I was told, that at first it was pretended that the *French* King intended to build only a small Fort there; and it was believed, that one of the Burgomasters of *Basil*, who was thought not only the wisest Man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men asleep, and to assure them, that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them, was of no Importance; but now they see too late their fatal Error; for the Place is great, and will hold a Garrison of three or four thousand Men. It is a Pentagon, only the Side towards the *Rhine* is so large, that if it went round on that Side, I believe it must have been an Hexagon. The Bastions have all Orillons, and in the Middle of them there is a void Space not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built so thick in the Vault, that it is Proof against Bombs. The Ramparts are strongly faced; there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortin, in the Middle of the Ditch, there runs a Horn-work, which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the Bottom of the Rampart, there goes a Vault to this Horn-work, for conveying Men for its Defence. Before this Horn-work there is a Half-moon, with this that is peculiar to those new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-moon in an Angle, and maketh one Half-moon within another: Beyond that there is a Coun-

ter-scarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a cover'd Way, and a Glacis designed, though not yet executed. There is also a great Horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge Way with its Outworks towards *Basil*. There is likewise a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Island in the River where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that fills and strengthens it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thousand Men: The Works are not yet quite finished, but when all is complete, this will be one of the strongest Places in *Europe*. There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Bastions, and there are Half-moons before the Bastions; so that the *Switzers* see their Danger now, when it is not easy to redress it. This Place is situated in a great Plain, so that it is commanded by no rising Ground on any Side of it. I made a little Tour into *Alsace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extreme rich, but it hath been so long a Frontier Country, and is by Consequence so ill peopled, that it is in many Places overgrown with Woods. In one Respect it is fit to be the Seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I saw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there, except that the Sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which saves much Money; so I will not stand to describe them.

The River *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both Sides so covered with Woods, that one, that comes down in a Boat, hath no Sight of the Country. The River runs sometimes with such a Force, that nothing but such Woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite; for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many Places those Trees lie along in the Channel of the River. It hath been also thought a Sort of a Fortification to both Sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which makes the passing of Men dangerous, when they must march for some Time after their Passage through a Defilé. The first Night, from *Basil*, we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable Town; but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West Side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of *Brisac* riseth on a Hill, which is a considerable Height. There were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is so well levelled with the Ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was. All the Ground about, for many Miles, is plain; so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the Help of a Perspective, all the Motions of an Enemy in Case of a Siege. The Fortification is of a huge Compass, above a *French* League, indeed almost a *German* League. The Bastions are quite filled with Earth; they are faced with Brick, and a huge broad Ditch full of Water round them: The Counterscarp, the cover'd Way, which hath a Pallisade within a Parapet, and the Glacis, are all well executed: There is a Half-moon before every Cortin; the Bastions have no Orillons, except one or two, and the Cortins are so disposed, that a good Part of them defend the Bastion. The Garrison of this Place, in Time of War, must needs be eight or ten thousand Men. There hath not been much done of late to this Place, only the Ditch is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the Flanks of the Bastions.

But the noblest Place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburg*; it is a Town of a huge Extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it; the inner Wall is old, and of no Strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a *Faussebraye*, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen Foot above the Ditch: The Counterscarp is in an ill Condition, so that the Town was not in Case to make any long Resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Citadel built on that Side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, and is much such a Fort as that of *Hunningen*; and on the Side of the Citadel towards the Bridge there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great

great Way with Out-works belonging to it. There are also small Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alsace*, by which the City is so bridled, that these can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in case of a Revolt. The Bridge is well fortified; there are also Forts in some Islands in the *Rhine*, and some Redoubts; so that all round this Place there is one of the greatest Fortifications in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation, with relation to Religion, hath been well kept; and there is so small a Number of new Converts, and these are for the greatest Part so inconsiderable, not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-fashion'd Missionaries *à la Dragonne*, the old ones are not like to have so great a Harvest there as they promised themselves, though they are Jesuits. The *Lutherans*, for the greatest Part, retain their Animosities almost to an equal Degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their Church, where, if the Musick of their Psalms pleased me much, the Irreverence in Singing (it being free to keep on or put off the Hat) did appear very strange to me. The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Passages of our Saviour's Life are represented, but there is no Sort of religious Respect paid them: They bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the Name of Jesus; but they have not the Ceremonies that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* use, which Mr. *Bebel*, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great Happiness; for a Similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant People to change too easily. I found several good People, both of the *Lutheran* Ministers, and others, acknowledge, that there was such a Corruption of Morals spread over the whole City, that as they had justly drawn down on their Heads the Plague of the Loss of their Liberty, so this having touch'd them so little, they had Reason to look for severer Strokes.

One sees, in the Ruin of this City, what a mischievous Thing the popular Pride of a free City is: They fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an Imperial Garrison come within their Town; for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that small Number would not have been able to have oppress'd their Liberties, so it would have so secured the Town, that the *French* could not have besieged it without making War on the Empire: But the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, which as it exhausted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak for their Defence when the *French* Army came before them. The Town begins to sink in its Trade, notwithstanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it; but when that is at an End, it will sink more sensibly; for it is impossible for a Place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thousand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a flourishing State. There was a great Animosity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the Burgo-master, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him; but he turned the Tide, and got such an Advantage against *Obrecht*, who had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels against the Government. His Son is a learned Man, and was Professor of the Civil Law; and he, to have his Turn of Revenge against *Dietrick*, went to *Paris*, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always look'd on as one of the chief of the *French* Faction, though he had been at first an *Imperialist*, so it was thought that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion; but he was an ancient Man, and would not pay his Court at that Rate; so without any Reason given, and against the express Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of *France* (as I remember, it was *Limosin*;) And thus he that had been thought the chief Cause of this Town's falling un-

der the Power of the *French*, is the first Man that hath felt the Effects of it.

The Library here is considerable; the Case is a great Room very well contrived; for it is divided into Closets all over the Body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery, and in these Closets all round, there are the Books of the several Professions lodged apart: There is one for Manuscripts, in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say Nothing to you of the vast Height and *Gothick* Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is so vast a Variety of Motions; for these are well known. The Bas-relieves upon the Tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing; for this being a Fabrick of three or four hundred Years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession: There is also an Ass standing before an Altar, as if he were going to consecrate; and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox; and the Trains of all that go in this Procession are supported by Monkies. This seems to have been made in Hatred of the Monks, whom the secular Clergy abhorred at that Time, because they had drawn the Wealth and the Following of the World after them; and they had exposed the secular Clergy so much for their Ignorance, that it is probable, after some Ages the Monks falling under the same Contempt, the secular Clergy took their Turn in exposing them in so lasting a Representation to the Scorn of the World. There is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood lying along, and a Fryar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nun's Habit, and the Nun's Feet are shod with Iron Shoes. I confess I did not look for these Things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble Friend Mr. *Ab-lancourt* view'd them with great Exactness while he was the *French* King's Resident at *Strasburg*, in the Company of one of the Magistrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

The Habits of the People here, but more especially of the Women, are very singular, and surprize Strangers greatly; they are without Doubt very antique, and there is good Reason to believe that the Tyranny of Fashion has never born hard upon these honest People. They are strongly of Opinion, that as Cloaths are intended to hide Nakedness, so the Manner of Cloathing ought to be suitable to the Condition; and upon this Principle it is, that you see every body regulate their Dress here; so that when you are once acquainted with their Custom, you may distinguish by the Garb of every Woman you meet what Condition of Life she is in. As for Instance, a Country Farmer's Wife wears short Petticoats, a Kind of Boddice, and over these a Sort of long Jacket, which in the Winter Time is lined with Lambs-skin for Want of better Furs. Her Hair is curled with her best Skill, and upon her Head she wears a Hat deck'd with Flowers. The lower Sort of Country People wear a Kind of Coif, under which their Hair is gathered up tight. A Tradesman's Wife in Mourning makes a very solemn Figure; her Petticoats are long, she has a stiff-bodied Gown, close Sleeves, with Cuffs that turn up almost to the Elbows, and a Piece of fine Cloth turns up under the Chin over their Mouths, so that between that and a very close round Cap, you see Nothing but their Nose and their Eyes. A Burgher's Wife is still a more extraordinary Spectacle, for she has a white Robe that covers all her Cloaths, a Hood and Fore-head-cloth upon her Head, the Corners of which are stiffened and stick out on both Sides, so that a stranger Figure can hardly be seen. Ordinary Women mourn in Black, but with a white Veil before them, which reaches up to their Mouths, and below their Knees. A Doctor's Wife has a Garb not easily express'd, her Petticoats are very long, her Sleeves flounc'd upon her Shoulders, close on her Arms, and

Elbows, straiter at the Wrists with Cuffs of white Linnen, and Rings and Bracelets in Abundance. The Body of the Gown is very stiff with Wings that rest upon their Shoulders, a round Ruff about their Necks, and a monstrous large Head-dress, beyond the Size of a Turbant. Their young Women, however, have a more agreeable Habit, their Sleeves are open, they wear very fine Linnen, stiff-bodied Gowns, their Necks close covered, Petticoats so long that Nothing appears under them but the very Points of their Shoes, and on their Heads they wear very large Hats, like those before described in speaking of the Women of *Basil*. These Dresses will be better comprehended by seeing them in a Print, than by any Description that can be given, and this is the more reasonable, because now there is nothing of this Kind to be seen, the *French* Customs generally prevail, and Strangers can discover no Difference between the Habits of the Women at *Strasbourg*, and those of other Frontier Towns in the *French* Dominions.

27. From *Strasbourg* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburg*, which lies at a quarter of a Mile's Distance from the River; it is but a small Place, and the Bastions are but little; there is a Ravelin before almost all the Cortins; and there lie such Marshes round it, that in these consist the chief Strength of the Place. The *French* had begun a great Crown-work on that Side that lies to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue their Works quite round the Town, and to make a second Wall and Ditch all round it, which would have enlarged the Place vastly, and made a Compass capable to lodge ten thousand Men; and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Master-piece in *Charles-Lewis*, the late Elector *Palatine*, to engage the Empire in this Siege: He saw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*; so that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorraine's* Camp so well supplied with all Things necessary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the least Uneasiness. From thence, in three Hours, we came to *Spire*, which is so naked a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the least Resistance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and is subsisted chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that sitteth here, though there is a constant Dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Privileges; for the Government of the Town pretends, that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are subject to them; and so about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Prison: On the other Hand, the Judges pretend, that their Persons are sacred. It was the Consideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the last War. I thought to have seen the Forms of this Court, and the Way of laying up and preserving their Records, but it was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look more like the Halls of some small Company, than of so great a Body; and I could not see the Places where they lay up their Archives. The Government of the City is *Lutheran*; but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several Convents of both Sexes, and the Jesuits have a College there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the *Gothick* Manner, of the worst Sort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are singular only for their Meanness, they being barely great Flag-stones laid on some small Stone Ballisters of a Foot and an half high: There are also the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related; yet since they have taken such Pains to preserve the Remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the Gate, all along the Nave of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Choir, four round Plates of Brass, above a Foot Diameter, and at the Distance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the Pavement; on the first of these is engraven *O Clemens*, on the second *O Pia*, on the third *O Felix*,

and on the fourth *Maria*! The last is about thirty Foot distant from a Statue of the Virgin; so they say that *St. Bernard* came up the whole Length of the Church at four Steps, and that those four Plates were laid where he stepp'd; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is engraven on the Plate; and when he came to the last, the Image of the Virgin answered him, *Salve Bernarde*; upon which he answered, let a Woman keep Silence in the Church; and that the Virgin's Statue has kept Silence ever since. This last Part of the Story is certainly very credible: He was a Man of Learning that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a Mind to make me believe it; and I asked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there? He told me, that one had lately writ a Book to prove the Truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jesuit: He acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, so I was satisfied.

28. There is in the Cloister an old *Gothick* Representation of our Saviour's Agony in Stone, with a great many Figures of his Apostles and the Company that came to seize him, that is not ill for the Time in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The *Calvinists* have a Church in this Town, but their Numbers are not considerable. I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral; but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I addressed myself, being, according to the *German* Custom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them, for he kept one of the Keys. The lower *Palatinate* is certainly one of the sweetest Countries in all *Germany*; it is a great Plain till one comes to the Hills of *Heidelberg*; the Town is ill situated, just in a Bottom, between two Ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended. I need say nothing of the Castle, nor of the prodigious Wine-cellar, in which, though there is but one celebrated Tun, that is seventeen Foot high, and twenty-six Foot long, and is built with a Strength more like that of the Ribs of a Ship, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious Bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary, if this vast one did not eclipse them. The late Prince *Charles-Lewis* shewed his Capacity in the Peopling and Settling this State, that had been so entirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four Years time he brought it to a flourishing Condition: He raised the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country; all Men's Estates were valued, and they were taxed at Five *per Cent.* of the Value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the Rigour, but with such Abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of Subsidies; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to Two *per Cent.* of the real Value, the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in *Germany*, that is more absolute than the Elector *Palatine*; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any Forms of Government. And here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince; for they swear Allegiance singly to the Elector, without any Reserve for the Emperor; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under some Ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Professor there, explained those Words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the *Romans*, which had respect only to the Princes of the Empire, and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no Place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than here.

29. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with Relation to those warm Controversies that have occasioned such Heat in the Protestant Churches reigning in the University there, which is in a great Measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper

Temper of Mind of *D. Fabritius*, and *D. Miek*, who, as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous Largeness of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the *English* Divines. Prince *Charles-Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was mark'd out by Nature to be the most important Place of all his Territory, it being situated in the Point where the *Neckar* falls into the *Rhine*; so that those two Rivers defending it on two Sides, it was capable of a good Fortification. It is true, the Air is not thought wholesome, and the Water is not very good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a noble Citadel, with a regular Fortification about it; and he designed a great Palace there, but did not live to build it. He saw of what Advantage Liberty of Conscience was to the peopling of his Country; so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there; he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire, to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the *Church of the Concord*, in which the *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and *Papists* had, in the Order of which I have set them down, the Exercise of their Religion; and he maintained the Peace of his Principality so entirely, that there was not the least Disorder occasioned by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be look'd on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself. He had a wonderful Application to all Affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the Work of many.

But I were unjust, if I should not say somewhat to you of the princely Virtues, and the celebrated Probity of the present Prince Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of so many Princes, that in this Age compos'd the most numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince, as he is in many Respects an Honour to the Religion that he professes, so he is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion; in which he has not (even in the smallest Matters, broke in upon their establish'd Laws; and though an Order of Men that have turned the World upside down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the establish'd Religion, and to those sacred Promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World, that he does not consider those, as so many Words spoken at first to lay his People asleep, which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit, but as so many Ties upon his Conscience and Honour, which he will religiously observe. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has set a noble Pattern to all the Princes of *Europe*, so his Exactness to his Promises is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary Instance has been communicated to me since I came into this Country. The Elector had a Procession in his Court last *Corpus Christi* Day; upon which one of the Ministers of *Heidelberg* preached a very severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular taxed that Procession perhaps with greater Plainness than Discretion. This being brought to the Elector's Ears, he sent presently an Order to the Ecclesiastical Synod to suspend him: That Court is compos'd of some secular Men and some Churchmen; and as the Prince's Authority is delegated to them, so they have a Sort of an Episcopal Jurisdiction over all the Clergy. This Order was a Surprise to them, as being a direct Breach upon their Laws, and the Liberty of their Religion; so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reasons that hinder'd them from obeying his Orders; which were heard with so much Justice and Gentleness, that the Prince, instead of expressing any Displeasure against them, recalled the Order that he had sent them.

30. The Way from *Heidelberg* to *Francfort* is, for the first twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifullest Piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a Ridge of little Hills that are all covered with Vines; and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and enclosed with Rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was

in *Lombardy* again, but with this Advantage, that here all was not of a Piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the Hills, as they made a pleasant Inequality in the Prospect, so they made the Air purer, and produced a pleasant Wine. The Way near *Darmstadt*, and all forwards to *Francfort*, becometh more wild and more sandy. There is a good Suburb on the South Side of the *Maine* over-against *Francfort*, which hath a very considerable Fortification. There is a double Wall and a double Ditch that goes round it; and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a considerable Height. The Town of *Francfort* is of a great Extent, and seem'd to be but about a third Part less than *Strasburg*. The three Religions are also tolerated there, and though the Number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have also several other Churches, and some Convents there. There are several open Squares for Market-places, and the Houses about them look very well on the Outside. Among their Archives they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in *High Dutch*, without any Beauty answering to its Title; and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it; for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called *St. Katharine's*, in which there is as much Painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church; and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other Places of the Church; the Pulpit is extreme fine, of Marble of different Colours, very well polished and joined. I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing; but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasburg* and here, that at the End of Prayers there was a considerable Interval of Silence left, before the Conclusion, for all People's private Devotions. In the House of their publick Discipline they retain still the old *Roman Pistina*, or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Mill-stones go. There is a great Number of *Jews* there, though their two Synagogues are very little, and by Consequence, the Numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the most tawdry Embroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the Top and the Bottom there was a Border above a Hand's Breadth of Embroidery. The Fortification of *Francfort* is considerable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a Countermine that runneth along by the Brim of the Ditch, but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many Places it is in an ill Condition: The Cover'd Way and Glacis are also in an ill Case. The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly situated. Not far from thence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the best Wine of those Parts. Since I took *Francfort* in my Way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry.

I had a great Mind to see that Place where *Luther* made his first Appearance before the Emperor and the Diet; and in that solemn Audience express'd an undaunted Zeal for that glorious Cause in which God made him such a blessed Instrument. I had another Piece of Curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a Mind to see a Picture, that, as I was told, is over one of the Popish Altars, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of Transubstantiation, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which some Priests take up to give to the People. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can swallow Transubstantiation itself, will digest this likewise.

31. *Mentz* is very nobly situated, on a rising Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Maine*; it is of too great Compass, and too ill peopled,

peopled, to be capable of a great Defence. There is a Citadel on the highest Part of the Hill that commands the Town; it is encompassed with a dry Ditch that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified; but the Counterscarp is not faced, so all is in a sad Condition, and the Fortification is the weakest on the Side of the Elector's Palace. There is one Side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the Germans still retain somewhat of the *Gothick* Manner. It is of a great Length, and the Design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which does not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an absolute Prince; his Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient Demefne of the Electorate is about forty thousand Crowns, but the Taxes rise to about three hundred thousand Crowns; so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*. There are twelve thousand Crowns a Year given the Elector for his Privy-purse, and the State bears the rest of his Expence. He can arm ten thousand Men, and there is a Garrison of two thousand in *Mentz*. This Elector has three Councils; one as he is Chancellor of the Empire, consisting of three; the other two are for the Government and Administration of Justice in his Principality; He and his Chapter have Months by Turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the Month of *January* he names, if any die; and they, such as die in *February*, and so all the Year round. The Prebendaries, or *Dome-beers*, have about three thousand Crowns a Year a-piece. When the Elector dies, the Emperor sends one to see the Election made, and he recommends one, but the Canons may chuse whom they please; and the present Elector was not of the Emperor's Recommendation. Besides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those Parts of *Germany*.

The Cathedral is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a Cupola in the West End, and there the Choir singeth Mass. I could not learn whether this was done only because the Place here was of greater Reception than at the East End, or if any Burying place and Endowment obliged them to the West End. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chapel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Brass Gates with a long Inscription, which I had not Time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor *Lotharius's* Time. There are a vast Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and thinly inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an *English* Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach*, there are a great Number of very considerable Villages on both Sides of the River. Here the Rats-tower is shewed, and the People of the Country all firmly believe the Story of the Rats eating up an Elector; and that though he fled to this Island, where he built a small high Tower, they pursued, swimming after him, and eat him up: And they told us, that there were some of his Bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary Death makes me call to Mind a very particular and unlook'd for Sort of Death, that carried a poor Labourer off the Ground a few Days before I left *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his Cattle, as he was Ploughing, struck into a Nest of Wasps, upon which the whole Swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little Time; and his Body was prodigiously swell'd with the Poison of so many Stings.

But to return to the *Rhine*: All the Way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both Sides of the River, hanging Grounds, or little Hills, so placed, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rhenish* Wine. They are indeed as well exposed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined; and the Ground in those Hills, which are in some Places of a considerable Height, is so culti-

vated, that there is not an Inch lost that is capable of Improvement; and this brings so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable Villages. *Coblentz* is the strongest Place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the Situation is noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the Side of the Town. It is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterscarp high, and the Cover'd Way is in a good Condition: Both Walls and Counterscarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelins before the Cortins. But on the Side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the End of the Stone-bridge that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lies quite open on that Side, which seems a strange Defect in a Place of that Consequence: But though the Fortifications of this Place are very considerable, yet its chief Defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanstan*, which is built on the Top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and which commands this Place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is always Master of *Coblentz*. This belongs to the Elector of *Triers*, whose Palace lies on the East Side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over-against the Point where the *Moselle* falls into the *Rhine*; so that Nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the Ground begins to rise just at the Back of the House with so much Steepness, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House makes a great Show upon the River, but we are told, that the Apartments within are not answerable to the Outside. I say, we were told; for the German Princes keep such Forms, that, without a great deal ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless when they are abroad themselves: So that we neither saw the Inside of the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanstan*.

32. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Cologne* keeps his Court. The Place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but though the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterscarp is in so bad a Condition, that it is not able to make a great Defence. This Elector is the noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and besides *Cologne*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hildesheim* which are all great Bishopricks. He hath been also six and thirty Years in the Electorate. His Palace is mean, consisting but of one Court, the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court. The lower Part of the Court was a Stable; but he hath made an Apartment here, that is well furnished with Pictures; where as there are some of the Hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many Foils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Sign-Posts.

The Elector has a great many Gold Medals, which will give me Occasion to tell you one of the most extravagant Pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was, which happened to be found out at the last Siege of *Bonne*; for while they were clearing the Ground for a Battery, they discovered a Vault, in which there was an Iron Chest, that was full of Medals of Gold, to the Value of one hundred thousand Crowns, and of which I was told, the Elector bought to the Value of thirty thousand Crowns. They are monstrously large, one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was of the Fineness of Ducat Gold: But though they bore the Impressions of *Roman* Medals, or rather Medaillons, they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extreme ignorant to be deceived by them. Some few that seem true, were of the late *Greek* Emperors. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon such Metal, and in so vast a Quantity, and then bury all this under Ground, especially in an Age in which so much Gold was ten times the Value of that it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred Years ago.

The Prince went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore Horse well mounted; so we saw the Palace, but were not suffered to see the Apartment where he lodged. There is a great Silver Casket gilt, set with Emeralds and Rubies, that though they made a fine Appearance, yet were a Composition of the Prince's own making. His Officers also shewed us a Basin and Ewer, which they said were of Mercury, fixed by the Prince himself; but they added, that for many Years he has not wrought in his Laboratory. I did not easily believe this; and as the Weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quicksilver, so the medicinal Virtues of fixed Mercury (if there is any such Thing) are held to be so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A Quarter of a Mile without the Town, lies the best Garden of those Parts of *Germany*, in which there is a great Variety of Water-works, and very many noble Alleys in the *French* Manner, and the whole is of a very considerable Extent. But as it hath no Statues of any Value to adorn it, so the House, about which it lies, is in Ruins: And it is strange to see, so rich and so great a Prince, during so long a Regency, hath done so little to enlarge, or beautify his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and small Towns. *Cologne* is three Hours distant from *Bonne*: It is of a prodigious Extent, but ill built, and worse peopled in the Skirts of it; and as the Walls are all in an ill Case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a Compass, as this Town makes, as it ought to be, without a Charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State.

The *Jews* live in a little Suburb on the other Side of the River, and must not come over, without Leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no Exercise of the Protestant Religion suffered within the Town, but those of that Communion are suffered to live there, and they have a Church at two Miles Distance. The Arsenal here is suitable to the Fortifications, that is, very mean and ill furnished. The Choir of the great Church is as high in the Roof as any Church I ever saw; but it seems the Wealth of this Place could not finish the whole Fabrick, so as to answer the Height of the Choir, for the Body of the Church is very low. Those, that are disposed to believe Legends, have enough here to overset even a good Degree of Credulity, both in the Story of the three Kings, whose Chapel is visited with great Devotion, and stands at the East End of the great Choir; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thousand *Ursulins*, whose Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a vast Number of Bones, that are piled up in Rows about the Walls of the Church. These Fables are so firmly believed by the Papists there, that the least Sign of Doubting of their Truth, passeth for an infallible Mark of an Heretick. The Jesuits have a great and noble College and Church here. And for *Thauler's* Sake, I went to the *Dominicans* House and Church, which is also very great. One grows extreme weary of Walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of Entertainment in it. The present Subject of their Discourse is also very melancholy. The late Rebellion that was there is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A Report was set about the Town by some Incendiaries, that the Magistrates eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruin the City. I could not learn what Ground there was for these Reports; for it is not ordinary to see Reports of that Kind fly through a Body of Men, without some Foundation. It is certain, this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible Disorder occasioned by it. The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the Storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular Fury, some of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long. But within this last Year, after near two Years Disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and Diet to judge the Matter, having threatened to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had stood longer out, were received, and have put

the Magistrates again in the Possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapp'd in Prison. Many have already suffered, and a great many more are in Prison. They told us, that some Executions were to be made within a Week, when we were there.

Dusseldorp is the first considerable Town below *Cologne*: It is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburgh*, eldest Son to the present Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old, and *Gothick* enough; but the Jesuits have there a fine College, and a noble Chapel, though there are manifest Faults in the Architecture. The Protestant Religion is tolerated, and they have a Church built here within these few Years, that was procured by the Intercession of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who observing exactly the Liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had Reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in Favour of his own Religion. The Fortifications here are very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few Foot high with Brick. But *Keiserwart*, some Hours lower on the same Side, which belongs to the Elector of *Cologne*, though it is a much worse Town than *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification: The Walls are considerably high, faced with Brick, and so is the Counterscarp, which is also in a very good Condition. The Fortification of *Orsoy* is now quite demolished. *Rheinberg* continues as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth, so that it is not capable of making a great Resistance. And *Wesel*, though it is a very fine Town, yet it is a very poor Fortification; nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast Expence; for the Ground all about it being Sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon Pilotry. In all these Towns one sees another Air of Wealth and Abundance, than in much richer Countries that are exhausted with Taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined, so that here is a rich and a populous Country; that hath at present very little Defence, except what it hath from its Situation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the Situation and Prospect are charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came to *Nimeguen* in three Hours.

I will not say one Word of the Country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needless to you on many Accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the Stadt-house puts me in Mind of the most perfect Book of its kind that is perhaps in Being; for Sir *William Temple*, whose Picture hangs here at the upper End of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimeguen*, hath indeed set a Pattern to the World, which is done with such Life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it; since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of other Places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the noblest Parcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless Thing, unless it were for Diversion; since one finds no farther Occasion for his Curiosity in this Country, than what is fully satisfied by his rare Performance: yet I cannot give over Writing without reflecting on the Resistance that this Place made, when so many other Places were so basely delivered up; though one does not see in the Ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make so long a Resistance; yet it was this Town stemm'd the Tide of a Progress that made all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little Time to the *Dutch* to recover themselves out of the Consternation, into which so many Blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a Change, that though it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy Conjunction of another Prince hath drawn after it with so much Excess, that all the Topicks of Flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to Posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History, and that which may be well matched with the Recovery of the

Roman State after the Battle of *Canne*. When a young Prince, that had never before borne Arms, or so much as seen a Campaign, who had little or no Counsel about him, but what was suggested from his own Thoughts, and that had no extraordinary Advantage by his Education, either for Literature or publick Affairs, was of a sudden set at the Head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many Losses, and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it, and the most powerful Enemy in the World, surrounded with a victorious Army that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within Sight, and settle his Court in one of its best Towns, and had at the same Time the greatest Force, both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its Destruction: When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other Occasions is the most dreadful to them, and to drown so great a Part of their Soil for the Preservation of the rest; and to complicate together all the Miseries that a Nation can dread; when to the general Consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a Distraction within Doors seemed to threaten them with the last Strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost thirty Years Continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their Preservation, was, like a great Paralytick Body, more like to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable Assistance: When, I say, a young Prince came at the Head of all this, the very Prospect of which would have quite damp'd an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the Scene; he animated the publick Councils with a generous Vigour; he found them sinking into a Feebleness of hearkening to Propositions for a Peace that were as little safe as honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such infamous Terms.

His Credit also among the Populace seemed to inspire them with a new Life: They easily persuaded themselves, that as one WILLIAM, Prince of ORANGE, had formed their State, so here another of the same Name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it: It was this Spirit of Courage, which he derived from his own Breast, and infused into the whole People, as well as into the Magistracy, that preserved this Country. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the People were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that Time with relation to Peace and War, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his Hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the Advantages that were offered to himself (in which you know that I write upon sure Grounds) he refused the Offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors, with so much Glory, and being justly sensible how much the breaking-in upon established Laws and Liberties is fatal even to those that seem to get by it: He thus began his publick Appearance on the Stage with all the Disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was visible he had nothing to trust to but a good Cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: Nor was Success wanting to such noble Beginnings; for he in a short Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recover'd this State out of so desperate a Distemper, took some Places by main Force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Success against more numerous and better-trained Troops; and if the Want of Magazines

and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not post his Army and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to Action with a Haste that his Necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the Beginnings of a Victory out of the Hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an Engagement; and, in short, the forming the *Dutch* Army to such a Pitch that it became visibly superior to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests; and the continuing the War till the Prince, that had sacrificed the Quiet of *Europe* to his Glory, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemy's Country, and in this very Place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of some, and the Jealousies of other Princes: All these are such Performances, that Posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the Ideas of what an imaginary Hero could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a Time, and in such a Manner. And in Conclusion, every Place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored, these Provinces now see themselves, under his happy Conduct, re-established in their former Peace and Security. And though some Scars of such deep Wounds may still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all Hands as the Bulwark of Christendom against the Fears of a new Monarchy, and as the Preservers of the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere Historian, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyrics of mercenary Pens: But a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible Advantages, when a true one of a great Value needs only to be shewed, in order to have that Value known.

If one was to offer a proper Manner of writing Voyages to the Consideration and Example of those that travel, I do not conceive, that a better Model could well be found, than these Letters of Bishop *Burnet's*. The great End of Travelling is to form right Notions of the Countries one sees, and of the People who inhabit them, and this End our Prelate plainly proposed to himself, and to the honourable Person to whom he wrote, who was likewise a great Judge of the Truth and Fidelity with which he wrote, since he had himself travelled through these Countries, and resided a considerable Time at *Geneva*. But at this Distance of Time we are better judges of his Penetration and Sagacity; for as he represents the Constitution and political Affairs of the *Swissers* impartially, so he very truly foresaw the Disorders that have since happened in that Country as well as at *Geneva*. As those Disorders justify his Political Capacity, so they fully convince us of the Truth of the Maxim by him laid down, That Ambition will produce the same Effects, let the Object of it be great or small, and the Desire of Governing a Bailliage will have just the same mischievous Consequences in a small Republick, that the Thirst of presiding over a great Province has in a larger State. So that in all Governments thus constituted, the very Principles of their Grandeur are also the Seeds of their Destruction, if these Governments are not yet dissolved; this is owing to the Care of their Neighbours, and to some other Accidents; but that they should be torn by Divisions, and once in a Century brought to the Brink of Dissolution, is very natural, and what has really happened within the Compass of our own Memory, when the State of *Geneva* was saved by the Interposition of *France* and the *Swissers*, the Government brought back to its first Principles; and the Government set right another Age at least.

His Prediction with Respect to *Lombardy*, and the other *Spanish* Provinces in *Italy*, have been also fulfilled. The late King *Philip V.* entered into the quiet Possession of them as Successor in the *Spanish* Monarchy, and was supported in the Possession of them, not only by the Forces of that Crown, but also by those of *France*; and

and yet in a very few Campaigns he was deprived of them by the *Germans*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, and himself and his Grandfather were glad to enter into a Treaty for the total Evacuation of *Italy*. It is indeed true, that this very Measure contributed not a little to the Preservation of *Spain*, of which he had been likewise deprived, if, by ending the *Italian* War in this Manner, he had not secured a new Body of Auxiliaries for its Defence. The Entrance which the *Spaniards* since have gained into that Country, in virtue of the Succession of the Queen Dowager as Heiress of the House of *Parma*, afforded a new Proof of the Solidity of his Conjecture; for we have seen *Milan*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and all the strong Places in *Italy*, which made such a Figure in former Ages, taken and retaken in successive Campaigns; so that as he rightly judged, the modern Art of War has made a great Alteration in Things, and we have no Reason to expect that any Sieges for the future will resemble those of former Times, any more than that of *Troy*. A regular Method of attacking, and a large Train of Artillery, soon does the Business, in Spite of numerous Garrisons and the strongest Fortifications.

His Observations in respect to the Territories of the *Venetians*, and other States of *Italy*, have been also verified. That they still continue declining, all modern Travellers agree: That the great Cities which were rich and populous while free, are now falling to Decay, and in a Manner become Deserts, as well as the Districts about them, is not to be disputed; and that it cannot be long before they are either swallowed up by their powerful Neighbours, or change their Masters by some sudden Revolution, is a Thing morally certain; an Event which it is highly probable the present Generation will see. For tho' political Bodies resemble natural ones in many Circumstances; yet in some they differ, for the latter are often worn out and perish by Consumptions; yet this happens very rarely to the former, where the Dissolution of one Government, generally speaking, makes Way for another; so that it may be truly said, a State has many Lives, or which is the same Thing, though it perishes in one Form, it is again revived in another, because the Country, and some Inhabitants at least, remain in Spite of all Revolutions; and as in one Age we see small States destroyed and conquered by great Monarchies; so in succeeding Ages also those great Monarchies sink under their own Weight, and their Dominions crumble again into separate States. Thus the true Politician sees through all these Changes, penetrates their Causes, sees the greatest Events at a considerable Distance, and is never subject to Admiration or Surprise, which are Weaknesses incident only to limited Understandings and narrow Minds.

The Account he has given us of the deplorable State of the People who dwell at present in the finest Countries in *Europe*, serves to give Credit to the Accounts we daily received of their Poverty and Distress, which would otherwise surpass all Belief. It is however worthy of Notice, that within these few Years, the Popes themselves, as well as other Princes of *Italy*, begin to be sensible of the Evils resulting to their Subjects, from their Bigotry to their Religion, which they have endeavoured to remove, or at least to soften in many Respects. The late King of *Sardinia*, one of the wisest, and greatest Princes of his Time, began this, and thereupon some Differences arose between his Majesty and the Court of *Rome*. The Memorials he sent thither on that Occasion opened the Eyes of the late Pope, and some of the most intelligent Cardinals, who thenceforward became willing to make use of the same Methods that Monarch had practised for the Ease and Emolument of the Inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical State; but the natural Slowness of that Court in all its Motions, and the Fear of the Consequences that might attend any Relaxation of religious Discipline among a People, naturally so corrupt as the *Italians* generally are, has hitherto retarded so good a Work, though the Thoughts of it are not quite given up, the Pope having lately attempted to suppress not only many but almost all the Holidays peculiar to his Church, which however has not been

found easy to carry into Execution. The very Attempt however sufficiently shews, that in the Opinion of the Papists themselves, their Faith becomes a political Grievance, against which they are obliged to use such Precautions as are suggested by Reason, which sufficiently distinguishes between that Part of their Religion which is grounded on Revelation, and what is no better founded than on the Authority of the Church, or in plain *English*, the Invention of Priests. For evident it is, that God will command Nothing that is not for the Good of his Creatures; and as Reason teaches, so Experience justifies this Truth; for the Christian Religion, in its most essential Points, flourishes no where better than in those rough and barren Countries, where our Prelate observes, that the People are both happy and rich in Spite, as it were, both of the Soil and Climate; but in the Countries, where Popery is predominant, neither Soil nor Climate can contribute to render them populous, or the People that are left in them happy. The Inference I would draw from this is, that by Degrees it is more than probable, this great Evil will cure itself. For as the Papal Dominions feel it most, and as it is well known, that the best Politicians in *Europe* are generally found at *Rome*, for Reasons which our Prelate has very judiciously assigned, it seems highly likely from thence, that the Reformation of these Abuses, when they come to be intolerable, will be begun here; and when once this is brought about, there is no Room to question, that Precautions of the like Nature will be freely taken by all the Princes of the same Communion, who as they have suffered themselves to be lead wrong, will be, no doubt, as ready to be set right by the Example of this Court. Thus the temporal Interest of the Pope may prove the Means of redressing the Disorders occasioned by his spiritual Authority.

There has been an Observation made by Travellers of all Nations, who have passed through all *Italy*, that the People grow worse and worse, as you advance, and better and better as you come back, which is another Proof of the Principles before advanced; since in those distant Parts of the Country, but more especially in *Naples* and *Sicily*, the People are universally under the Dominion of their Priests, and indeed the Clergy are the Proprietors of the greater Part of the Lands of those Countries, which is the principal Reason that there is no Trade in Places that seem the fittest for it; and that those Countries are left uncultivated, which are naturally the most rich, and the most fruitful. But when-ever it shall happen, as happen it certainly will, that *Naples* and *Sicily* shall fall under the Dominion of an independent Prince, who will study only the Benefit of his Subjects, and the Advantage of his Family, these Grievances will be taken away, and the People put in Possession of those mighty Privileges, which seem to have been intended them by Nature. For it is impossible to consider the convenient Situation, the rich Commodities and the several Ports that are in these two Kingdoms, I mean of *Naples* and *Sicily* without standing amazed, that they are no better peopled; that they have so few Ships belonging to them, and that all the valuable Commodities they produce, are carried away by Foreigners at an under Rate, and manufactured and exported afterwards to enrich the Inhabitants of other Countries.

The great Dutchy of *Tuscany* is since fallen into a worse Condition than when it was visited by our Author. The Princes of the House of *Medicis*, always retain something of the Merchant; and though they wanted not Ambition, and were studious enough for the Advancement of their own Interest, yet they kept always in View the Good of their Subjects, as being truly sensible, that a Prince could never be great or rich if his Dominions were thinly inhabited, or his People poor. It was with this View, that by the Assistance of Sir *Robert Dudley*, an *Englishman*, Son to the great Earl of *Leicester*, that took so much Pains to build the Town, and open the Harbour of *Livorno*, which we taking our Pronunciation from our Sailors, call *Leghorn*, and which they afterwards declared a free Port. In this, and in other Measures of the same Nature,

ture, they pursued the Maxims that had been laid down while *Florence* remained a free State; but there was this Mischief attended the Change of the Government from a Republick, that its Fate depended no longer upon itself, but upon that of the reigning Family, which has brought it into the Circumstances we see it at present, which are very extraordinary, since it no longer is the Inheritance of that Family, or of the Heirs of that Family, but by Way of Exchange has been given to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who is at present Emperor, and thus labours under two additional Misfortunes; for as it had lost its Liberty before, so now it has not only lost its Native Princes, who were always the Parents of their People, and fallen under a foreign Yoke, but has actually no Prince at all, and is become a Province lying at a great Distance from the Residence of its Sovereign. These are, without Doubt, very grievous Misfortunes, the Consequences of which will be seen daily more and more.

The other States of *Italy* have also suffer'd much since they were visited by our Author; the Dutchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Guastalla*, are no more; and it is doubtful whether the same Thing may not be said of *Modena* and *Mirandola*. The Republick of *Genoa* is certainly undone, if not subverted; and the two last general Wars have gone farther in depopulating distressing, and impoverishing *Italy*, than all she suffered in the two Centuries before, and yet in that Time her Sufferings were not small. But notwithstanding all this, and though it is scarce possible for a Country to be more wretched than this really is at the Time we are writing, there is no Doubt that a few Years of Peace, and the rising up of good Princes, might still recover it to as good a State as ever it was in for these five hundred Years. The Reader will from hence discern the true Reason, why the maintaining a Balance of Power in this Country is so much the Interest of all the Princes and States that are its present Possessors, and why the rest of the Crowns of *Europe*, and the maritime Powers more especially, have also an Interest in maintaining that Balance, which is of so great Consequence to the Commerce of *Europe*, which can never be well regulated if that Balance should be overturned, and, by Addition of Conquests, the greatest Part of this Country fall under the Dominion of any Prince much more powerful than the rest. We may also see how wise and how right an Expedient it would be, if all the *Italian* Powers would unite in a Confederacy for preserving the Peace of that Country, by establishing a perpetual Neutrality, which, as it would prejudice no one Power in *Europe*, so if those concerned would go about it heartily, there could be no Doubt of their succeeding; and this might not only lay a Foundation for their particular Happiness, but prove a very good Precedent for establishing the universal Tranquility of Christendom; which if it be a Blessing that we have small Hopes to see, we may however have Leave to wish, and please ourselves with the Prospect of what would certainly prove the greatest and the most universal Good.

Thus we have taken Pains to accommodate the Accounts, Observations, and Remarks of Bishop Burnet, made threescore Years ago, to the present Times, at least with respect to *Italy*. It is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us a larger Account of his Journey through *France*, notwithstanding the Reasons assigned by him for omitting it. He shews himself very impartial in attributing the Persecution of the Protestants, to the Religion of the *French* King, rather than to the Haughtiness and Cruelty of his Temper, and perhaps there was something of Justice in this, because

it is certain, that in other Respects, this Prince was very far from shewing himself of a Blood-thirsty Temper, for there was but one Man of Quality put to Death, during his whole Reign, the Chevalier *de Rohan*; and the King banished his Mother for not demanding his Pardon, which at the same time he declared he would have granted. It is very remarkable that our Queen *Mary*, who was a most violent Persecutrix, was also a Woman of a mild and gentle Temper; which shews, that the best Princes are capable of doing as bad Things, as the worst, when under the Influence of bad Counsels. But perhaps it may not be amiss to inform the *English* Reader, that the *French* Memoirs of this Reign, suggest a very different Reason for this Persecution, and though they do not lay it upon the King, they lay it as little upon the Priests; for the Account they give of it is this. *Lewis XIV.* was very desirous to see the Protestants converted, as he called it, and for that Reason gave great Encouragement to such of the Clergy as applied themselves to this Work. This gave Occasion to the Archbishop of *Paris*, and the King's Confessor, Father *le Chaise*, to have frequent private Audiences of his Majesty, which lasted an Hour or two at a Time. This gave such Umbrage to one of his Ministers, Mr. *Louvois*, that he determined to put an End to it at any Rate, which induced him to propose the new Method of converting by Dragoons, as the shortest and the most effectual. If there be any Truth in this, as indeed there is too great Reason to believe that this was the real Secret of that bloody Business, then it plainly shews, that both Princes and Priests are liable to be imposed upon, and made the Tools of wicked and ambitious Statesmen, who consider Nothing but their own Interest, and stick at Nothing that may promote it. It was the same Person that filled the Head of that Prince with those dangerous and destructive Views, that were so fatal to the Peace of *Europe*; the Pretence was his Master's Glory, and the Interest of the Crown of *France*, but the true Cause was the Sense he had, that it was impossible for him to preserve his Power, or make himself necessary to his Master, but in Times of War and Confusion, which therefore he made it his constant Study to promote. The Surprising of *Strasbourg*, and the erecting of *Hunningen*, were both his Schemes, and in short, so were all the bad Schemes in his Time. Besides, he first taught the *French* Ministers how to practise upon the *German* Princes, which they have continued to do ever since; and he made it his Boast, that in a Time of full Peace he had added more to the Dominions of *France* than the greatest of her Generals in Time of War by their Conquests: And indeed this was so true, that he brought four of the Electors to become in a Manner dependent upon that Crown, equally to the Disgrace and to the Danger of the Empire. But Reflections of this Kind may lead us too far, and therefore we will put an End to them here, and with them to this Section, that in the next we may carry the Reader into *France*, and give him a short View of a Country, which in Point of Situation, Climate, and Produce, scarce yields to any in *Europe*; the Monarchs of which are the less excusable for aiming at universal Dominion, since the Possession of it would hardly put more into their Power, than by quietly enjoying their own Territories, and attending only to the Welfare of their Subjects, they might, without Envy, Trouble, or Danger, find within their Reach. But Ambition is a Perspective that diminishes Objects that are near, as much as it magnifies those at a Distance, and consequently, shews both in false Lights.

SECTION V.

TRAVELS through the *Low-Countries*, and *Germany* towards *Italy*, interspersed with curious Observations, Natural, Topographical, Moral, Physiological, Philological, &c.

By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. JOHN RAY, F. R. S.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Author and of his Performance, in order to shew the Difference between it and other Books of Travels.*
2. *A Description of Calais, Dunkirk, Gravelin, Newport, and other Places in the Spanish Flanders.*
3. *An Account of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Louvain, and Antwerp, with occasional Remarks on whatever is singular or worthy Notice in any of those Cities.*
4. *The same Observations continued, with a copious Description of the Nature of Foreign Universities.*
5. *A Description of Fort Lillo, the City of Middleburgh, Flushing, Ter-Veer, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Dort, and Rotterdam.*
6. *The Description of Delft, with the Monumental Eulogies of William I. Prince of Orange, and Admiral Van Tromp.*
7. *A Description of Leyden, with an Account of the University, and of the Grove of Sevenhuys, and the Method of making Turfs.*
8. *The great City of Amsterdam described, with a very exact Account of its Government.*
9. *The Author's Journey from thence to Utrecht, with an Account of the remarkable Places in its Neighbourhood.*
10. *Bois-le-Duc, Haumont, Maastricht, and other Places, described.*
11. *The Manners, Customs, and peculiar Disposition of the Dutch Nation, together with the curious Observations made upon that Subject by Mr. Barnham, Secretary to the Lord Hollis.*
12. *A large Description of Liege, with the Monumental Inscription of Sir John Mandeville.*
13. *An Account of Spa, Limbourg, and Aix la Chapelle, including the Antiquities and Form of Government of the last mentioned City.*
14. *An Extract from Dr. Francis Blondel's Observations upon those Baths, esteemed the best Account ever published of them..*
15. *A Description of Juliers, and of the City of Cologne, and an Account of the Government of that Place.*
16. *Andernach, Coblenz, and many other Places described, with a particular Account of the Country.*
17. *A Description of Mentz, Francfort, Worms, and Frankendahl.*
18. *An Account of Spire, Mannheim, and Heidelberg, including the Description of the Palatinate.*
19. *Philipsbourg, Strasbourg, Brisac, and the Country adjacent, described.*
20. *The City and University of Basil described, with various Critical and Historical Observations thereon, and on the Places adjacent.*
21. *Zurich, Schaffhausen, Constance, and the Country about them, described very exactly.*
22. *An Account of Lindaw, and other Towns in Bavaria.*
23. *A Description of Munich, Augsborg, and Donawert.*
24. *The Country of Anspach, and the City of Nuremberg, described.*
25. *A Description of Regensberg or Ratisbon, Straubingen, and Passau.*
26. *A large Account of the Country of Austria, with a particular Description of the Capital City of Vienna.*
27. *An Account of the Author's Journey from thence to the Frontiers of Italy.*

IT is impossible to have a just Notion of the Nature and Value of the following Travels, without having some Account of the learned Person who wrote them, whose Name will always do Honour to this Nation. His Father was a *Blacksmith*, at *Black Notley* in *Essex*, where Mr. Ray was born and died. The first of these Events happened the 29th of *November*, 1628. He received his first Education at the Grammar-School at *Braintree*, and from thence was removed to *Cambridge*, where he distinguished himself by his indefatigable Diligence in his Studies, and his particular Turn to *Botany*, which was the principal Cause of all his Travels. In 1658, he made the Tour of *Wales* and the West of *England*; in 1661, he visited the North, and examined the best Part of *Scotland*; in 1662, he made another Journey to *Chester*, and from thence through *Wales*, into *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, and returned to *London* through *Berkshire*. In 1663, he travelled with Mr. *Willoughby*, Mr. *Skippon*, and Mr. *Bacon*, through the Countries which will be mentioned in the following Pages; and after his Return to *England*, he made many other Journeys into different Parts for the Sake of Botanical Observations, of which he left behind him very large Accounts, that hitherto remain unpublished. In 1677, he returned into his native Country, and built a House in the Parish of *Black Notley*, where he passed the Remainder of his Days. He wrote and published a great Number of very learned and valuable Pieces, which are too well known for us to give any Account of them. He was justly esteemed one of the honestest and most conscientious Men of the

Age in which he lived; he suffered in his Youth for not taking the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and lost his Living after the Restoration, because he would not take the *Abjuration Oath* then imposed in relation to that *Solemn League and Covenant*, which declared it not binding on those who did take it; and thus he was generally esteemed a *Nonconformist*, though always not only a Member, but a Deacon and Priest of the Church of *England*, in which Communion he died, *January* 17, 1705. His Travels are written in a very peculiar Style, and in a very singular Manner; he is generally copious, and always exact, but at the same Time there is hardly any Thing to be met with in his Accounts that hath been recorded by others; so that though he describes the same Places with many other Writers, yet the Reader will meet with very few or no Repetitions, which was the principal Reason of our inserting his Travels in this Collection, which have been always, and still are very justly admired, and generally esteemed. One Thing more it is necessary to observe, which is this, that we have omitted his Catalogues of Professors, the Times and Subjects of their Lectures in the several Universities through which he passed, as being long ago out of Date, and so tending neither to the Entertainment, nor Instruction of the Reader; and we have likewise left out his Catalogues of Plants, because foreign to our Purpose, though they will always add considerably to the Value of the larger Collection published under his Name, which being grown scarce, has been reprinted within these few Years.

2. We went in the Packet-Boat *April* 18th, 1663. from *Dover* to *Calais*, formerly belonging to the *English*, since to the *Spaniards*, and soon after surrendered to the *French*, in 1598. Its Situation is very advantageous, and the Fortifications of Earth, with a deep Ditch and Citadel to the Land-side. It exceeds *Dover* in Bigness, and the Market-place is a very spacious Square; the Government of the Place being administered by a Major and four Aldermen.

April 21. We continued our Journey, by Way of *Gravelin* to *Dunkirk*; the first is a Place but indifferently built and peopled, seated in a watry Country, and enclosed with a good Number of Out-works and broad Ditches: The second may be compared for Extent to *Cambridge*, being very populous and well fortified. It is one of the four Port-Towns of *Flanders*.

We travelled along the Sea-shore from thence to *Ostend*, taking our Way by *Neuport*: This last is another of the *Flemish* Ports, having a capacious and secure Harbour, but will admit of no Ships of any great Burthen; the Streets are broad and uniform, but the Houses are low, and built of Timber. *Ostend* is another of the Harbours of *Flanders*, considerable both for Strength and Conveniency; being capacious and secure against the Violence of the Winds, and capable of receiving Ships of considerable Burthen; the Buildings are likewise but low here, yet pretty uniform, and the Streets regular and streight, being built all at once, after the famous Siege of three Years, before it could be taken by the *Spaniards*. *Sluys*, is another Sea-port Town of this Country, but under the Jurisdiction of the United Provinces; its Harbour exceeds all the before-mentioned for its Capacity, but is growing daily shallower, and will in Time be choaked up.

3. *April* 24. Having taken us Places in the Track-boat, bound for *Bruges*, and drawn by Horses, we came about a League and an half from *Ostend*, to one of those Locks (called *Softegni* by the *Italians*) which are generally made at a great Declivity of a Fall of Water, to keep up the Water, and thereby render a River navigable, which either wants Water, or has too steep a Descent. Such there are in *Guildford* River in *Surry* in *England*. The City of *Bruges* is about four Leagues distant from *Ostend*, well built, and of a great Circumference, having been formerly a very considerable City for Trade. Here, when we saw Pieces of Linnen fastened to the Ring of the Doors, where Women were lying in; it put us in Mind of what *Erasmus* had taken Notice of upon this Head in his *Colloquies*. But what delighted us much, was a certain Engine made use of here, for the drawing up of Water in great Quantities for the Use of the City. This is perform'd by Means of a Chain, unto which are fastned Cylindrical Buckets of Iron; the Chain being round in form of a Wheel-band, and put over a large *Axis*, deeply furrowed, from whence hanging down into the Well below it, and being turn'd about by the *Axis*, the descending Buckets have their Mouths downward, take up the Water as they pass through the Well, which afterwards ascending with their Mouths upwards (yet a little inclining from the Chain outward) they carry up to the *Axis*, to which as soon as they are come, they must, by Reason of their Position, turn it out into a Trough placed lower than the *Axis*, by which it is conveyed into a Cistern, and thence by Pipes through the City. The deep Furrows in the *Axis* are made to hold up the Buckets, without which, the Chain would be apt to slip back, by Reason of the Weight of the ascending Buckets. I have seen many of this kind in *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*. This City has but Seven Parish Churches, but Convents in a great Number: In the Church dedicated to *Our Lady*, you see the Monument of *Charles*, surnamed the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who (as the *French* Inscription tells you) was slain in the Battle of *Nancy*, 1476. and his Body translated thence by the Emperor *Charles V.* We saw here a very tall Fellow, and well-shap'd; from his middle Finger to his Elbow 25 Inches, the Length of his Hand to the Wrist 11 Inches, his middle Finger 7 Inches,

and the rest of his Limbs proportionable: He was afterwards shown in *England*.

According to *Boetius*, a Native of this Place certain subterraneous Woods are digg'd up ten or twelve Ells deep in the Earth, with the Trunks, Boughs, and Leaves so apparent, that the several kinds of them may be easily distinguish'd. The like I have been inform'd, are found in *Friesland* and about *Groningen*, especially in the fenny Ground, where they dig for Turfs. In *England* they are called *Moss-wood*, and are likewise found in moorish and boggy Grounds: It is very probable, that in most ancient Times, before all Records, these Places were Woods on the Continent, and being overwhelm'd by the Sea, continued under Water, till the Rivers and Floods brought thither so much Earth and Mudd, as by Degrees cover'd these Trees, and rejoined them to the Continent. As for the Seas often encroaching upon the Continent, it is manifest on our Coast of *Suffolk* about *Dunwich*, there being very ancient and authentick Records, which mention a certain Wood a Mile and a half to the East of *Dunwich*, which is now a great Way in the Sea. And, as to what concerns the filling up of such Places, I have some Reasons to believe, that if not all, at least a great Part of the *Low-Countries* have been thus gained from the Sea. I remember that *Varenus* mentions, that at the sinking of a Well in *Amsterdam*, of 100 Foot deep, they met with a Floor of Sand and Cockle-shells, a convincing Argument that the Bottom of the Sea lay there in former Ages, and that in Process of Time, these hundred Foot of Earth were accumulated and brought thither by some considerable Rivers which deposited the Sands its Stream had washed from the high Grounds hereabouts. Of this we have divers other Instances in the Flats about *Venice*, and in the *Camarg*, or the Isle of the River *Rhose*, near *Aix* in *Provence*, where (as we were credibly informed) the Watch-Tower had been three Times removed nearer to the Sea, within the Memory of some People, by Reason of the Accession of Land on that Side. Some object concerning the Trees digg'd up in *England*, that, as they are generally taken for Firs (a Tree that never grows well in *England*) this Argument will not hold in respect of our Country; but till we are better convinced that the Trees they speak of are really Fir Trees, the Solution of this Objection meets with no great Difficulty.

We travelled *April* the 27th, by Water, from *Bruges* to *Ghent*, a City which stands on a great Tract of Ground, but scarce half built. It has only Seven Parish Churches, but Fifty-five religious House.

From hence we continued our Journey, *April* the 30th, to *Brussels*, by the Way of *Alost* (a fortified Town) the first being the Capital City of *Brabant*, and the Residence of the Governors of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*. The Inhabitants here, as well as in divers other Cities of the *Low-Countries*, have Dogs to draw their little Wheelbarrows or Carts, in which they sell Fruits and other small Commodities.

May 2. We came to *Louvain*, a City which for its Circuit exceeds that of *Ghent* by three Rods, but contains, like that, abundance of void Ground, and is but indifferently built; the Town-house, which is very stately, being the only Structure worth mentioning. It has 43 Colleges, but does not now make the Figure it did.

The Students are distinguish'd by their Habits, according to their Professions, the Divines wearing constantly Gowns and square Caps, which the rest are not obliged to, except at publick Exercises; yet none are allowed to wear Swords in the City. In the four *Pædagogies*, Philosophy only is taught by two Professors; the first is stiled *Primarius*, the other *Secundarius*. The *Primarius* reads in the Morning, from half an Hour after six till half an Hour after seven, and from ten to eleven a Clock. The other in the Afternoon, from half an Hour after one, till half an Hour after two; and from half an Hour after four, till half an Hour after five. They take the Professors Lectures; (which are divided into *Dictata* or *Theses*, and Propositions, and *Annotata*,

or Objections and Solutions) in certain Note-Books. The Gentlemen Students are placed in a peculiar Form, called *Scamnum Nobilium*. As soon as the Students come to the University, they must enter their Names, with the President of their College; every time they are absent from a Lecture, they pay a Penny, for each Time of Absence from a publick Exercise, three Pence, and if they miss when they are to perform a publick Exercise themselves, twenty Pence. The Professors of each *Pædagog* chuse every Year twelve of their best Scholars, and after they have been publickly examined, out of their Number twelve are selected to be *Burses*, and to have their Lodgings, Diet and a good Stipend in what College each of them pleases, and to choose what Profession they like best, and it is out of these commonly the Professors are chosen. Their Degrees here are *Batchelor*, *Licentiate*, and *Doctor*. After two Years standing in Divinity, they may be created *Batchelors* or *Baccalaurei currentes*, and at one more *Baccalaurei formati*, but can't be *Licentiates* till seven Years after; these immediately after their Creation, are reputed Gentlemen, and have Liberty to choose a Coat of Arms. Doctors are seldom created till they are 50 Years of Age, unless they have given more than ordinary Proof of their Abilities.

May 4. We took a Walk for half a Mile from *Louvain*, to take a View of the Duke of *Areschot's* Palace, and the Convent of the *Celestines* adjoining to it. At *Louvain*, we saw three Things we had not met with before, *viz.* Storks, Women Porters, and Troopers begging on Horseback.

May 5. Leaving *Louvain*, we travell'd to *Mecklin* (*Malines*) a very neat Place, being the Seat of an Archbishop, and Capital of one of the Seventeen Provinces under the Name of the *Lordship of Mecklin*, tho' it has not above nine Villages under its Jurisdiction. The Inhabitants are very industrious in their Manufactories; and among the rest, there are three whole Streets full of Tanners. We continued the same Day our Journey to *Antwerp*, by Boat, which some compare to *Florence*, but exceeds it in my Opinion for Beauty. It is encompass'd with Fortifications of Earth, faced with Free-Stone, of a considerable Thickness, and a broad and deep Ditch, which together, with its Situation in a level Ground, makes it very strong. The Citadel built by the Duke of *Alva*, is a Pentagon. The Houses are generally lofty, and of Brick; the Chapel of the Jesuits very rich and stately; and the Steeple of St. *Mary's* Church a curious piece of Architecture, as is also the Town-house. Our *Royal Exchange* of *London*, was built after that of *Antwerp*, but the Copy much exceeds the Original; this City being much fallen from its Traffick since the vast Encrease of Wealth in the United Provinces. *Plantin's* Printing-House is the best of that kind I ever met with.

4. May 15. We embark'd on board a small Vessel at *Lillo* Fort, upon the *Schelde*, three Leagues below *Antwerp*, belonging to the United Provinces: Having a favourable Wind and Tide, we made 54 *English* Miles, and arrived before Sun-set at *Middleburgh*, the Capital City of the Province of *Zealand*: In our Passage we saw several Sea Calves upon the Sands. This City is seated in the very Center of the Isle of *Walcheren* (whence it derives its Name) being of a large Compass, well fortified, populous and wealthy. It has a Channel reaching from the Town through that Part of the Isle which looks towards *Antwerp*, capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen, which are brought into the very Streets of the City. It has about 20 Churches, the *Lutherans*, *French*, *Protestants*, *Anabaptists* and *Jews*, having also the publick Exercise of their religious Worship allowed them here. This is one principal Cause of their Wealth and Trade. We took a Walk thence to *Flushing*, about three *English* Miles; It is neither so large nor so handsomely built as *Middleburgh*, the Streets being much narrower; but the Convenience and Goodness of its Harbour, together with its Strength and Riches, make it very considerable.

May 19. We took a Walk to the *Ter-Veer*, about the same Distance from *Middleburgh* to the North; it doth not come near to *Flushing* in Bigness, yet has two very good Harbours, and several Wharfs and Keys: As we pass'd along, we found the Banks of the Sea-shoar covered with a Kind of Matting of Rushes or Flags, staked down as high as the Tide commonly rises, to prevent their being washed away by the Strength of the Current.

May 20. We pass'd in a Boat from *Middleburgh* to *Bergen-op-Zoom*; and in our Way went by the strong Fort call'd *Rammekens*, situate at the Entrance of the Channel leading to *Middleburgh*, a Place remarkable for its Fortifications, which are strengthened by many Half-Moons, Horn-works, &c. and is look'd on as one of the best Fortresses in this Country.

May 21. We travelled to *Breda*, eight Hours from *Bergen*, which makes about 24 *English* Miles; it being the Custom of the *Dutch* to measure their Miles by Hours. This Place may stand in Competition with most in those Parts for its Strength, Bigness, and Number of Inhabitants, being enclosed by very good Fortifications, and two broad Ditches, one of which is always fill'd with Water. It belongs to the Prince of *Orange*, whose Palace is seen here, and there is a good Garrison in the Town.

May 22. We continued our Journey by the Way of *Gertrudenburg* (a small but well fortified Place, belonging to the *Dutch*) to *Dort* or *Dodrecht*, a City rich, populous, large, and for its Buildings, to be compared with *Antwerp* itself; the Streets being very neatly pav'd (as in all other Cities of *Holland*) with Stone in the middle, and on each Side with a peculiar kind of yellow Brick, set Edgeways. The *English* enjoy great Privileges here, and have two Churches, whereas the *French* have but one. We saw the Room in the *Gunners-Hall*, in which the Synod, held in this City 1611, was assembled, the Seats thereof being still preserved.

6. May 23. We pass'd in one of their *Trackschoots* or Boats drawn by Horses, to *Rotterdam* in five Hours. This City is of a triangular Figure, and, next to *Amsterdam*, vies with all the other Cities of the United Provinces, not excepting *Leyden* itself, having been considerably augmented of late, by the Addition of many new Streets. Not far from St. *Lawrence's* Church, you see a small House, which having given Birth to the learned *Erasmus*, his Picture is set over the Door, with this Distich on one Side of it; much inferior in Merit to its Subject.

*Ædibus his ortus mundum decoravit Erasmus
Artibus ingenuis, religionem, fide.*

And another thus:

*Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus,
At Desiderium tollere non potuit.*

His Statue in Brass stands in the great Market-place, with a Book of the same Metal in his Hand. As the Inhabitants of *Rotterdam* enjoy the Convenience of a very good Harbour, so Ships of great Burthen are carried into the very Streets, and they addict themselves chiefly to Naval Commerce. Their Civil Government is administred by a President, four Burgermasters, and twenty four *Aldermen* or *Senators*, which they call the *Vroetschap*: These continue in their Stations during Life, choose all the publick Officers out of their own Number, and if any one dies, have the Privilege of choosing another in his Room; so that the Government here, as well as in other Cities of the United Provinces, is a Kind of *Aristocracy*, with this Difference only, that in some, the Number of those who compose this *Vroetschap* is more, in others less.

5. May 25. We went into one of their *Trackschoots*, which go every Hour in the Day from hence to *Delft*, where we arrived in two Hours. This City is also very large, with fair Streets and Water-Channels in them

as in most other Places in *Holland*. The *Stadthouse* is a stately Structure, and the old and new Churches are very large. In the middle of the Quire of the last of these, you see the sumptuous Tomb of *William* Earl of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, who was assassinated by the *Spaniards*, as this following Inscription tells you :

D. O. M.
Et
Æternæ memoriæ
Gulielmi Nassovii,
Supremi Arausionensium Principis,
Patr. Patr.
Qui Belgii fortunis suas posthabuit,
Et suorum.
Validissimos exercitus ære plurimum privato
Bis conscripsit, bis induxit ;
Ordinum auspiciis Hispaniæ tyrannidem propulit :
Veræ religionis cultum, avitas patriæ leges
Revocavit, restituit :
Ipsam deniq; libertatem tantum non assertam
Mauritio Principi,
Paternæ virtutis heredi filio,
Stabiliendam reliquit ;
Herois vere filii, prudentis, invicti ;
Quem Philip. II. Hisp. R. ille Europæ timor, timuit,
Non domuit, non terruit ;
Sed empto percussore fraude, nefanda
Sustulit.
Fæderat. Belg. Provinc.
Perenne memor. monum.
Fec.

In the Quire of the old Church is the Tomb of the famous *Van Tromp* with this Inscription :

Æternæ Memoriæ,
Qui Batavos, qui virtutem ac verum laborem amas, lege
ac luge.
Batavæ gentis decus, virtutis bellicæ fulmen hic jacet, qui
vixit nunquam jacuit, & imperatorem stantem debere
mori suo exemplo docuit ; Amor civium, hostium terror,
Oceani stupor, Martinus Harperti Trompius : Quo no-
mine plures continentur laudes, quam hic lapis capit
sanè angustior ; Et cui Schola Oriens & Occidens, mare
materia triumphorum, Universus Orbis theatrum gloriæ
fuit : Prædonum certa perniciēs, commercii felix assertor,
familiaritate utilis non vilis, postquam nautas ac milites,
durum genus, paterno & cum efficacia benigno rexit im-
perio, post L. prælia, quorum Dux fuit aut pars magna,
post insignes, supra fidem, victorias, post summos, infra
meritum, honores, tandem bello Anglico, tantum non
victor, certe invictus, X. Aug. Anno Æræ Christianæ
M.D.C.L.III. Ætat. LVI. vivere ac vincere desiit. Fæ-
derati Belgii Patres Heroi optime merito M. P.

Over his Arms was written the following Distich.

Urbs * Phœbi cineres jactat, sed currus || honores
Ingreditur quoties egrediturque mari.

* i. e. Delphi. || Phœbi nimirum seu solis.

One Mr. *Mere* an Apothecary of that City had a fine *Musæum* of natural and artificial Rarities, and among the rest, the *Dens Hippopotami* (though I question whether there be such an Animal) the Horns of the *Hircus Bezoardicus*, and the *Cornua & Pedes Alcis*, call'd the *Elk* in *English* ; the same I suppose, which in *New-England* and *Virginia*, is call'd *Moose* ; a Species of Deer of a tall and large Size, the Horns being without Brow-Antlers, but only a broad Palm of several Shags upon it. I saw one of those Horns at *Lewes*, at Mr. *Holney's* an Apothecary, that weighed twenty five Pounds, and the Skin of an *Elk* stuff, in the *Great Duke of Florence's* Gallery. In the Anatomical Theatre we also saw many Rarities, too many to be inserted here. *Delft* is famous for its Earthen Ware, which is made in great Plenty there, in Imitation of *China*. The Government is administer'd by a *Prætor* or *Schout*,

two *Burgomasters*, seven *Eschevins*, and forty *Senators*, which they also call the *Vroetschap*.

May 28. We pass'd by Water, in less than an Hour's Time, to the *Hague*, being rather a Village than a City, and not enclosed with Walls or any thing else ; but for the Fairness of its Streets and beautiful Houses, and Number of People, may challenge the Preference before many Cities. The Grove which is near it, is exceeding pleasant, and here I first saw the *Monophyllum* grow wild, as I found at *Scheveling*, a Village on the Sea-side, near the *Hague*, a Species of *Spartum maritimum*, much larger than our *English* kind. Whilst we were at the *Hague*, we took the Opportunity of viewing the Burial Place of a certain Lady of *Zealand*, in the Church of *Lausdun*, a Village about five or six *English* Miles from the *Hague*, who, as the Inscription tells you, was *Margaret* the Wife of *Herman*, Earl of *Hennenbergh*, and Daughter of *Florentius*, Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Sister to *William* King of the *Romans*, &c. This Lady being about 40 Years of Age, and meeting with a poor Woman that had Twins in her Arms, told her that she must have been dishonest to her Husband, as not believing that two Children could be begot at once ; at which the poor Woman being highly concerned, wish'd that she might bring forth as many Children at a Birth, as there were Days in the Year ; which was fulfilled in 1276, when at one Birth she was brought to Bed of 365 Children of both Sexes, who were baptiz'd by *Guido*, Suffragan of *Utrecht*, in two Brass Basons, the Sons having the Name of *John*, and the Daughters that of *Elizabeth* given them ; and soon after died all in one Day, as did also the Mother, and were buried in this Church of the Village of *Lausdun*. This Inscription is to be seen in *Latin*, over the two Basons, in which they say, these Children were baptiz'd, and beneath it this Distich :

En tibi monstrum nimis & memorabile factum,
Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.

7. May 31. We went in one of their Passage-boats in three Hours from hence to *Leyden*, being, next to *Amsterdam*, the largest City in *Holland*. The great Church of *St. Peter* contains many Monuments of learned Men, and in the *French* Church is among others, that of *Joseph Scaliger*. The Schools for publick Lectures is a Structure of three Stories high, of Brick, having two Rooms on a Floor ; the two lower being assign'd for Divinity and Physick ; middlemost for Law and Philosophy ; and the uppermost contains the Printing-House, so well known by the Name of *Officina Elzeviriana*. Every Year a Catalogue is printed in *Latin*, and affixed to the School-Gates, containing the Names of the Professors, and what publick Lecture each of them is to keep the Year following. Behind the School-Yard is the Physick-Garden, which encloses about an Acre of Ground in the Square, and has a considerable Number of exotick Plants ; the Catalogues of which are also frequently published here. They have no more than two Colleges here, in the Nature of Hospitals, for the Sustainence of poor Scholars, the rest of the Students living upon their own Purse, without any Gowns or Caps, but walk the Streets with their Swords, and appear in the Schools, and perform their Exercises in them, with their Heads uncover'd. Those that have a Mind to be Members of the University, apply themselves to the *Rector Magnificus* (resembling the Vice-Chancellor of our University) who enters them into the Book, and gives them a Seal, by which they are freed from paying of Excise, yet under a certain Limitation. Besides the publick Lectures, each of the Professors allot certain Hours for reading in private (which they call *Collegia*) for which the Auditors pay a Gratuity. Degrees (of which they have only those of *Master of Arts* and *Doctors*) are conferr'd here, without the least respect to the standing of the Candidates. He that is to commence in any Faculty, proposes only certain Theses upon a selected Subject in Print, which he is obliged to maintain against all Opponents, every one having

having the Liberty (after Leave ask'd from the Professor that presides) to oppose the Candidate. Each of these Professors have a Salary of 200 and 300 *l. per Annum* allowed them. Besides the University, there is a great Manufacture of Woollen Cloth settled in this City. For the rest, the Houses are very well built, with very steep Roofs on Purpose to cast the Rain Water into Cisterns, wherein it is preserved for Use. Its Streets are for the most part very broad, large, and streight, furnish'd with Water Channels. In the Night time certain Watchmen go about the Streets, and making a Noise with a Rapper, tell every Hour what Time of Night it is. In the anatomical Theatre, we saw many Skeletons of Men and Beasts, and among other Rarities, a Box, containing the Skeleton of the Head of an *Indian* Creature, half a Stag's, half a Hog's-head; many Leaves of the *Betle*, not unlike the great *Satyrion* Leaf; an *Ant-Bear*; and in the Library, the Manuscripts of *Joseph Scaliger*. *Leyden* is enclosed with a good Earth Wall, and a Ditch, which being surrounded by Rows of Lime-Trees, make very pleasant Walks.

Before we parted from *Leyden*, we took a Turn to a Village call'd *Sevenbuys*, about four Leagues thence, to view a very pleasant Grove near it, excellently well stor'd with wild Fowl, such as *Scholfers*, call'd *Shags* in *England*, being not unlike *Cormorants*, but somewhat less; we were much surpris'd to see them build upon Trees. *Lepelaers*, call'd *Plateæ* and *Pellicani* by *Gesner*, some call them *Spoonbills* in *England*. *Quacks*, call'd *Night-Ravens* by the *Germans*, because they always make a Noise in the Night Time, and *Reyers* or *Hérons*. Besides which this Wood affords vast Numbers of *Ravens*, *Wood-Pidgeons* and *Turtle Doves*. By the Way, we took Notice of *Lyfimachia lutea flore globoso*, and the *Arum sive Dracunculus* growing in the Ditches. All the Grounds between this Village and *Leyden*, are low, fenny, and full of Pools. We saw the Country People hereabouts busied in making of Turf: They rake with a Kind of Hoop-net, fastened to a Pole, the Mud up from the Bottom of a standing Pool, wherewith having laden a Boat, they throw this Mud with long Shovels on an even Piece of Ground, making of it a Bed of an equal Bigness as near as they can guess; this, after it has lain long enough to dry, they tread with pieces of Boards fastned to their Feet, to make it close and smooth; then they cut the whole Bed with a Spade into Pieces of the Bigness of a Brick, and pile them up in Stacks or Ranks, so that one may see through them, to give a free Passage to the Air and Wind, to dry them further, and afterwards are laid up in Barns, the Sides of which are made up with wooden Bars at some Distance from one another, to make them fit for Firing.

June 6. We continued our Journey in one of the Boats that go from this Place to *Harlem*, where we arrived in four Hours; being a populous, strong and pleasant City; provided with very fair Channels in several of its Streets: It has most delightful natural Groves on that Side where it looks towards *Leyden*. In the Garden of the Prince's House is a Summer-House, where you see the Picture of *Lawrence Coster*, in a furr'd Gown, holding the Letter A in his Hand, with this Inscription over it:

M. S. Viro Consulari, Laurentio Costero *Harlemensi* alteri Cadmo, & Artis Typographicae circa Annum Domini MCCCCXXX, Inventori primo.

The Statue and Inscription which was on his House in the Market-place, are no more to be seen, the House being sold. The chief Trade in this City is in Weaving of Silks, Damasks, Velvets, Sattins, Linen Cloths, &c. The Sea Coast near *Harlem*, and all *North Holland*, are covered against the Sea with green Downs.

8. June 8. We went hence in two Hours by Boat to *Amsterdam*, where we met at the Gate no more than two Soldiers, one without, the other within: This City, as it is the biggest of all the Low-Countries, so for Riches

and Traffick may compare with any in *Europe*. At that Time I look'd upon the Extent of it to be the same with *Venice*, and consequently less by one half than *London*, but as they were then busied in enclosing a very large Tract of Ground with a strong Wall and deep Ditch (which I hear is since fill'd up with stately Houses) it will bid fair for being numbered among those of the first Rank for Bigness. The chief publick Buildings here are, the *Stadtthouse*, a most magnificent Square Pile of Buildings, fac'd without with Free-stone; the Foundation of which, as they told us, cost 100000 *l. Sterling*, the Structure being built upon 13659 great Piles or Trees driven into the Ground. The Exchange a large oblong Square, frequented by vast Numbers of all Nations. The *Admiralty-House*, a noble Structure, with fair Rooms. The *Magazine* and various *Hospitals* and *Houses of Correction*. In this City is also a publick School, in which are kept Lectures in several Faculties, by six Professors, especially in the Summer Time. The *Jews*, who are richer here than in any other Place, amount to twenty thousand: In this City are also tolerated most other Religions (not excepting the *Roman Catholick*) but none, except those of the establish'd Religion, are permitted to erect any Steeples, or to make use of Bells for the assembling of the Congregation. In that stately Structure, called the *New Church*, you see a very fair Monument, erected to the Memory of *John van Galen*, with this Inscription:

Generosissimo Heroi
Johanni à Galen
Essensi

Qui ob res fortiter & feliciter gestas, sexies uno anno *Dunkirk*anorum prædatorum navem captam, & à Barbaris opima spolia reportata, Ordinum Classi in *Mari Mediterraneo* Præfectus, memorabili prælio ad *Livornam*, Deo auxiliante, Anglorum navibus captis, fugatis, incendio et submersione deletis, commercium cum dicti maris accolis restituit, idibus Martii Anno M.DC.LIII. Et uno pede trauncatus, nono post victoriam die, annos natus XLVIII. obiit, ut in secula per gloriam viveret.

Illustriss. & Præpotent. Fæderati Belgii
Ordinum decreto,
Nob. & Pot. Senatus Archibthalass.
Qui est *Amstelodami*
M. H. P.

The Pulpit of this Church is valued at ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and there are twenty four established Ministers belonging to this City.

The Government is administer'd here by the *Prætor* or *Schout*, four *Burgomasters*, nine *Eschevins*, and thirty six Counsellors or Senators, which they call the *Vroetschap*. The *Prætor* has the first Place upon the Bench of the *Eschevins*: He is elected by the *Burgomasters* (with the Approbation of the *Vroetschap*) for three Years, but may be continued in his Office from Time to Time: He is not eligible to this Dignity unless he has been a Freeman seven Years. His Business is to make Laws in Conjunction with the *Burgomasters* and *Eschevins*, to apprehend and imprison Criminals, and he presides as Chief Justice in civil as well as criminal Causes; and with the Approbation of the *Burgomasters* and *Eschevins*, determines all Matters before them, and pronounces Sentence against Criminals, and sees it put in Execution. In other Cities, the *Prætor's* Concern reaches no farther than to apprehend and prosecute Malefactors. The whole Number of *Burgomasters* consists of twelve, but four only are regent at a Time, which is a Year: They must at the Time of their Election be forty Years of Age at least. For every Year, the *Burgomasters* that have been *Eschevins*, chuse by the Majority of Votes, three out of the twelve to be Regents, which three select one out of the four that reigned the Year before, a fourth, who tenders them the Oath, and officiates as President the first three Months. The remaining eight *Burgomasters* are employed in other great Offices, such as Treasurers, Masters of Hospitals, and one is sent in Quality of Deputy to the Assembly of the States at the *Hague*, one for a Member of the Council

of the Admiralty of *Amsterdam*, &c. The Office of the *Burgomasters Regent* is, to take Care of the Government and Peace of the whole City, to determine Differences between private Persons, to be Surveyors of the Fortifications, Streets, and publick Buildings. If one of the twelve *Burgomasters* happen to die, it belongs to the *Vroetschap* to chuse another. When the *Eschevins* are to be elected, the *Vroetschap* proposes fourteen Persons, out of which the *Burgomasters* select seven; but one Condition is, that they must not be near of Kin either to the *Schout*, or any of the *Burgomasters Regent*. Unto those seven the new and old *Burgomasters*, together with the new elected *Eschevins*, by the Majority of Voices, add two out of the Number of the *Eschevins* chosen the last Year, which two for that Year have the first and second Rank among the *Eschevins*, who are Judges both in civil and criminal Causes. The Council of thirty six, or *Vroetschap*, continue in their Places for Life, and as often as one of that College dies, the rest chuse another in his Place, but no body under twenty five Years of Age is admitted. They not only have the Power of presenting the fourteen Persons out of whom the *Eschevins* are chosen, but are also called together by the *Burgomasters*, when any Thing of great Moment is to be debated or resolved upon; so that the supreme Power seems to be lodged in them. Not many Years ago, according to the Constitution of this City, no Body could be *Burgomaster*, unless his Father had been a Freeman a Year and six Weeks before he was born; but now any who will pay five hundred Guilders, may be made a Freeman, and after seven Years is qualified to be a *Burgomaster*; but such as do not aspire to this Dignity, may be made Free for fifty Guilders. The City Trained Bands consist of fifty four Companies, divided into four Regiments, of eleven Companies each, one hundred and fifty Men in a Company, which amounted to 8250. Two Companies are drawn out every Night to guard the City, which makes them fit for Service.

9. June the 16th, we prosecuted our Journey to *Utrecht* by the ordinary Passage-boat, where we arrived in six Hours. This is the capital City of the Province of the same Name; a large Place, surrounded with a good earthen Wall and deep Ditch; but its Streets are not comparable for Neatness or Cleanness to those of the Province of *Holland*, though the Water-channels are also conveyed through several Streets. The University here was established by the States General in 1636; the Professors of which, as well as those of *Leyden*, publish a yearly printed Catalogue of their Names and intended Lectures. For the Administration of the Government, they have an Upper and Lower *Schout* and four *Burgomasters*, two of whom are new chosen every Year.

Hence we passed by Boat to *Vianen*, resembling the *Mint*, a Place for Refuge belonging to the Lord of *Brederode*. We saw here a certain Engine for the Weaving of Tape by the Motion of many Shuttles at a Time, at once curious, expeditious and profitable.

We continued our Journey the same Day thro' *Leerdam*, (about three Hours distant from *Vianen*) and the 19th of June, through *Asperen*, below which we crossed the River *Wale* or *Vabalis* in a Ferry-boat, and came to a very pleasant walled Town called *Bommel*, seated in an Island; a small Distance thence we ferried over the *Maese*, and passing in Sight of two strong Forts near the River side, one called *Greveceur*, and the other *Engelen*, came in four Hours to *Hertogenbosch*, *Sylva Ducis*, or *Bois-le-duc*, as the *French* call it, and by which Name it is generally known. As this City is seated upon a Kind of a Hill, surrounded with Fens of a large Extent, the greatest Part of which was then (and is generally) covered with Water, we passed upon Causeways through a Moat, and over two Draw-bridges, before we entered the Town. Besides which, being strengthened by a good Wall and deep Ditch, and defended by a regular Citadel, this, with its Situation, seems to render it impregnable, and yet it has been taken in the late Wars. In the Choir of the Church of *St. John*, are to be seen the Arms of many of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and over the upper Stalls

an Inscription in *French*, importing, That *Philip*, surnamed the Good, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lorraine*, and *Brabant*, had, in 1429, instituted in the City of *Bruges*, an Order of Honourable Knights, unto whom he had given the Name of *Knights of the Golden Fleece*, limiting their Number to twenty four, their Chief to be the Duke of *Burgundy*, or Supreme Lord of the *Low Countries* for the Time being. The Houses here are for the most Part covered with Boards on the Outside; the Marshes about it produce great Abundance of Wild-fowl, and the sandy gravelly Banks the *Herniaria hirsuta*.

10. June the 20th, we travelled in a Kind of Waggon in six Hours to *Eindhoven*, and thence in four Hours more to *Haumoyt*, both small but walled Towns, the last of which belongs to the Bishop of *Liege*.

June the 21st, we travelled for three Hours through Heaths to *Bry*, a small walled Town, and afterwards ascending the Hills, had a full View of *Maefricht*, and the River *Maese*, where we arrived that Evening, after seven Hours riding. It is a strong well fortified City, strengthened with very good Out-works. The Magistracy here are half *Protestants* and half *Romanists*, and of the last are the greatest Part of the Inhabitants; though the *Dutch Protestants* have also three Churches, and the *English* and *French* one, which they use by Turns. The *Catholics* have twenty Convents here, and are allowed the publick Exercise of their Religion. Most of the old Houses are of the same Fabrick with those of *Hertogenbosch*, but many new Brick Houses have been built of late Years. They were then also building a very stately square Structure, intended for their Town-house. The River *Maese*, which divides the City into two Parts, is joined to both by a large Stone Bridge, sustained by nine Arches, and the lesser Part on the other Side is called the *Wick*, being not inferior in Strength to the other Part.

As to what relates to the common People of *Holland*, it must be confess'd they are surly and ill-bred, which is the Reason that no Strangers that know the Country will deal with Inn-keepers, Waggoners, Boatmen, Porters, and such-like, without bargaining before-hand. The Men are generally very large boned and bulky, and these, as well as the Women, are constantly eating as they travel. At their common Entertainments, a Sallad leads the Van, a Kind of stew'd Meat is the main Part of the Dinner, and it concludes with some boil'd and butter'd Herbs. The chief Food of the ordinary People is Cod-fish and pickled Herring, which they cure better than the *English*. In the publick Houses you commonly meet with smoaked Beef, cut in thin Slices, good Bread and Butter, and four or five Sorts of Cheeses. Their strong Drink (they call it *Dick Beer*, and very properly, for it is seldom clear) is sold for three Pence a Quart; the Dearness of which arises partly from the heavy Excise laid upon this, as well as all other Provisions; partly from the Plenty of Money in those Provinces, which makes Land sold here at between thirty and forty Years Purchase. Most of their Beds are made close like Cabins, narrow and short, and yet you pay an excessive Rate for them in the Inns. Their Houses are kept exceeding neat, even to the Outside of Pots and Pot-hooks, nay, the very Tiles of the Pent-houses; yet has it been observable, that in dressing their Meats, they are not so clean and curious as the *English*. They use Organs in most of their Churches, collect Money for the Poor in Sermon-time, with a Purse fastened to a Stick, and a Bell hanging to it. The Psalms to be sung are set down upon Slates, hung upon the Walls of the Church for that Purpose. They seldom travel on Horseback, but generally in Waggon, some cover'd, others not, but most by Water; and this on Sundays as well as other Days. Beggars are very seldom seen in *Holland*, notwithstanding the vast Multitude of People, this Province containing no less than twenty four walled Towns and Cities, six of which (besides *Amsterdam*) are bigger than any in *England*, except *London*. And upon this Occasion, I cannot but give you the Heads of some Observations made by *Francis Barham*, Esq; who was in *Holland* with my Lord

Lord Ambassadour *Hollis*, which have been esteemed sensible and curious.

II. " There is, says he, a continual Watch kept on the Steeples in all the Cities of the United Provinces: The Differences arising among Boatmen and Waggoners, who shall go first, are decided by casting a Die. They gather the Rain Water by Pipes from the Houses, and preserve it in Cisterns, as they do in *Venice*. The *Dutch* stand much in Awe of their Superiors, because Justice is done there without Delay. They are strangely addicted to Novelties, and mightily taken with any thing that is gay. They are extremely greedy of Profit, yet very just in their Bargains. The Knowledge how to get Money, is what they esteem above all other Things, and scarce ever apply themselves to any Thing besides that and Politicks, in which they are generally well versed; the meanest of them being qualified by his Birth-right to become a *Burgomaster*. They fight bravely at Sea, though naturally they are of a phlegmatick Temper, and consequently not fit for brave Exploits by Land. They allow of Liberty of Religion, but keep a watchful Eye over them to secure the publick Peace; which is the Reason that it is more difficult to hatch a Plot here, than in other Parts; though at the same Time, the People say and print almost what they please, the same being included within the general Notion of Liberty. Most of them have little Sense of Honour or Generosity, being guided merely by the Prospect of Advantage or Interest. They don't prosecute Murder with so much Violence as Theft. The *Dutch* are always careful to solemnize any great Action done by them, with all the publick Marks of Honour and Rejoicings, to imprint into the common People an Idea of the Ability and Wisdom of their Governors; which is the Reason they frequently erect Monuments to those who have deserved well of the Common-wealth. The ordinary Sort of Women (if not all) seem to be more pleased with obscene Discourses than the *English* or *French*; they have also the Reputation of making not so severe an Account of Chastity before Marriage, but of being very faithful to their Husbands. Even the better Sort of Women are not backward of admitting Men, though of very little Acquaintance, to a Salute; and Kissing passes current here, not only at Parting and Returns, but also in Frolicks and familiar Conversation. Most Women are let into all the Actions of their Husbands, who seldom undertake any thing without their Knowledge and Approbation. They have abundance of Chimney in their Cities, and vast Multitudes of Storks building their Nests upon the Tops of the Chimneys. This however is not only observable in *Holland*, but also at *Lowain*, and in other Towns of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, as well as in several Places belonging to sovereign Princes in *Germany*, which contradicts that commonly received Opinion, that those Birds never build their Nests but in Common-wealths."

June the 22d, We went from *Maestricht* to *Liege*, four Leagues distant. As we passed up the Hills, we observed at some Distance from *Maestricht* an arched Passage into a Vault, but being by the wet Season prevented from taking a View of it ourselves, I will here give you the Sense of our *Royal Society* concerning it. This Quarry, say they, lies within a Cannon-shot of *Maestricht*, being cover'd with twenty five Fathoms of Rock or Earth; its Length along the River towards *Liege* being of some Miles, and having one Entry near the River Side, Carts can, with a great deal of Ease, unload the Stones upon the Banks of the River, the Quarry within lying parallel to the Horizon or Level, and very little elevated above the River. After you have entred the Vault with Torches, it affords a most surprizing Prospect to the Beholders, who see some thousands of square Pillars in spacious level Walks, generally twenty Foot (and some more) high, so regularly wrought, that one would imagine that the whole was designed for one of the subterraneous Palaces of the ancient *Roman Emperors*; whereas the whole is no more than the Effect

of the Miners, Labours, who come here to get Stone. This noble Quarry has another remarkable Use, serving People for a Retreating-place when Armies are marching that Way, being able to hold forty thousand Men, who by the many Pillars and Labyrinths, are able to defend themselves with their Fire-arms, against any Power that may attack them.

Further upon the Downs, we observed three or four more of those Passages, and came before Night to *Liege*, a City, though very large, yet for Beauty and Riches not comparable to any of those of *Holland*; the Houses being cover'd on the Sides either with Boards or Clay, and the Streets narrow and very ill kept. The River *Maese* divides itself, and runs through the Town in two or three Branches, which are joined by several Bridges. It is however very pleasantly situated, but surrounded with Hills, on one of which stands the Citadel, the Sides of those Hills cover'd with Orchards and Vineyards. Provisions are very cheap here, and the People very courteous: The Women are not so fair as in *Holland*, and do a great deal of Drudgery. They have Coal-pits near the Town, some of which are an hundred and fifty Yards deep. The Cathedral Church dedicated to St. *Lambert*, has sixty Canons or Prebendaries, who must be all of noble Extraction, except that they admit a few Men of Learning among them. These elect the Bishop of *Liege*. Besides these, there belongs to it twelve *Canonici mediocres*, and twelve more stiled *minores sive parva Mensæ*. The three States of this Diocese, composed of the Clergy, Gentry, and Commons, have a considerable Share in the Government, no Tax being to be imposed, or other Matters of great Weight transacted without their Concurrence and Approbation.

This City is in a Manner filled up with Religious Houses: In the *English* Jesuits College Garden we saw several Dials, the Invention of the ingenious *Franciscus Linus*; and in the Cloister of the *Williamites*, without the Walls, the Tomb-stone of our Countryman Sir *John Mandeville*, with this Inscription:

HIC JACET VIR NOBILIS DNS JOES DE MANDEVILLE AL' DICTUS AD BARBAM MILES DNS DE CAPDI NATUS DE ANGLIA, MEDICINÆ PROFESSOR, DEVOTISSIMUS ORATOR, ET BONORUM LARGISSIMUS PAUPERIBUS EROGATOR, QUI TOTO QUASI ORBE LUSTRATO, LEODII DIEM VITE SUE CLAUSIT EXTREMUM ANNO DNI M^o. CCC^o. LXXI^o. MENSIS NOVEMBRIS DIE XVII.

On the same Tomb-stone was also to be seen the Figure of an armed Man treading on a Lion, with a forked Beard; and his Hand lift upwards in a Blessing Posture, with these Words going out of his Mouth, *Vos ki passeis for mi, pour l'amour Dieu preyes por mi*; which being old *French*, signifies, *You that pass over me, for the Love of God pray for me.*

13. We left *Liege* the 26th of June, and travelling for seven Hours over hilly and rocky Places, arrived at the *Spaa*, a pleasant little wall'd Place, situate in a deep Valley. It is very well built, by reason of the Concourse of many Strangers here, for the drinking of Mineral Waters, of which there are four several Springs.

We pursued our Journey, June the 28th, to *Aken*, through *Limburgh*, three Hours from the *Spaa*, a Place of great Strength for its Situation, being situate on the Side of a very difficult Access, but it has but one Street, and the Houses only of Wood. *Aken*, or *Aix la Chapelle*, as the *French* call it, to distinguish it from *Aix* in *Provence*, is a large and strong Place, and a free Imperial City, being strengthened by a double Wall, and adorned with no less than thirty Churches. The Chair wherein the Emperor sits when he is crowned here, has its Sides of Ivory, and they say, that the Bottom is made of a Piece of Wood belonging to *Noah's Ark*. The Government of this City is administered by a Major, two *Burgomasters*, fourteen *Eschevins*, and one hundred and twenty Counsellors. The Major has the

Presidence

Presidence among the *Eschevins*, is put in by the Duke of *Juliers*, and continues in his Place *quam diu se bene gesserit*. The *Burgomasters* are elected by the Majority of the Companies of the City, and administer this Office two Years, a new one being chosen every Year. The *Eschevins* officiate in Quality of Judges, during Life, another being chosen in the Place of him who dies. The Counsellors are also chosen by the several Companies (of which there are fourteen or fifteen). The Territories belonging to this City are very large, comprehending near two hundred Villages, enclosed on all Sides with Mountains; which producing abundance of *Lapis Calaminaris*, this is employed here in great Quantity to turn Copper into Brass. But what renders this Town most famous, are the *Mineral hot Baths*, some of which are within, the rest without the Town, at a Village called *Borcet*; these latter, both in Heat, and in Abundance of Water, much exceed ours in *England*, being so hot, that one may boil an Egg in them. Their Taste was saltish, and they were used both inwardly and outwardly. One Day as we were walking to *Borcet*, we saw a certain Pool whose Waters were lukewarm, by reason of a small Stream of one of the Springs of the hot Baths passing through it; they told us that it bred very good Fish, but that they were obliged to put them into cold Water for two Months before they eat them. Of the Nature, different Kinds, Ingredients, and Uses of those Baths, both within and without the City, *Francis Blondel*, M. D. has treated admirably, as well as at large, in his Epistolary Discourse, published in *French*, of which the Substance follows:

14. *An Extract from Dr. Francis Blondel's Discourse concerning the Baths of Aix la Chapelle.*

Not to trouble the Reader with the various Opinions of ancient and modern Philosophers concerning the Cause of the actual Heat of natural Baths, our Author's Account thereof in Reference to these of *Aken* is in Brief as follows.

These Waters (saith he) passing through a certain argillaceous Earth, pregnant with a kind of nitrous Salt, almost of the same Taste with the Waters of the Baths (which is to be found in good Quantity in the Lands about this City) charge themselves therewith, and so become a *Menstruum* capable of dissolving such mineral Metals as are contained in the Veins of the Earth thro' which they run. This Solution he conceives is made by piercing and corroding the Minerals after the same Manner as Spirit of Nitre and other *Aque Stygie* are wont to do, which usually causes a great Ebullition and Heat. So then the actual Heat of these Springs proceeds from the Mixture and Encounter of their Waters (impregnated as is before intimated) with the mineral and metallic Substances, Juices, and Spirits contained in the Veins of the Earth through which they have their Course. The nitrous Salt beforementioned may perhaps be the *Hermetic Salt* of Monsieur *Rochas*, or the *Esurine Salt* of *Helmont*. Now the Water once heated, being contained in the Vaults of the Mountains as in a Stove, continues hot a long Time, the Eruption thereof being, it is likely, at a good Distance from the Place where it did at first conceive its Heat.

At the long Continuance and Duration of the Heat of these Waters, for so many Ages past, no Man need Wonder: For *First*, It is generally taken for granted, that all Sorts of Mines grow and increase purely by Addition, converting the more refined, subtile part of the Earth, and which hath a seminal Disposition to such a Change, into their own Nature. *Secondly*, The nitrous Salts, the first Ingredients of these Waters, are also restored in their *matrices*, after the same Manner as we see it happens in the *Caput mortuum* of Vitriol, which though the Vitriol hath been once or twice extracted from it, will, by being exposed to the Air, again recover more and more; whether it be by Conversion of its *Matrix* into its own Nature, by a kind of Aggeneration and Transmutation, or by imbibing and retaining those

subtile and volatile saline Exhalations, which continually ascend out of the Earth, or wander up and down in the Air.

As for the Ingredients of these hot Waters in general, he saith, that besides a threefold Salt-nitre *fixed, volatile*, and mingled, or *Armoniack*, they partake of a fixed and volatile Sulphur, a Manna of Allum, some Vitriol, divers Metals, as Copper and Iron, a very little volatile Earth, a certain *Argilla*, Sand and Calaminary Flowers. That they participate of Copper he proves, in that, the Territory of *Aken* abounds in divers Places with *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is, as it were, the Aliment of Copper: For being mingled in the Furnaces with red Copper, it augments it by the Addition of thirty Pound Weight *per Cent.* and gives it a yellow or golden Tincture. As for Iron, the many ferrugineous Springs, that are found within and without the City, are an evident Testimony that there are Plenty of Iron Mines hereabout; and therefore most likely it is, if not certain, that these hot Waters charge themselves with that Metal. That they contain a three-fold nitrous Salt, he proves from their natural Evaporations. *First*, The fixed is found in the Wells, of *Borcet*, and the *Emperor*, chrySTALLIZED into small shining Square Grains, mingled with a little Flower of Sulphur, sticking to the Covers of those Wells, which have not been of a long time opened. It may be also found in the chemical Examination of the Waters by Evaporation or Distillation. *Secondly*, The *volatile* is carried up by the volatile-Sulphur, as it is hereafter shew'd in the Description of the first Sort of these Baths. *Thirdly*, The *Mingled*, or *Armoniack*, is daily seen in all the Waters of the City, and of *Borcet*, swimming in little Cylinders on the Surface of the Waters, and this is that Cream, or Scum, which is ordinarily found upon the Waters in the Basons. That they contain the rest of the beforementioned Ingredients, shall be shewn in the Description of the particular Baths: The Waters whereof our Author reduces to four Sorts.

First, *Nitro-sulphureous*, such are those of the *Emperor's* Bath, the *little* Bath, and *St. Quirin's* Bath. *Secondly*, *Sulphureo-nitrous*, such are those of *Compus*, or the *Poor-men's* Bath, the *Rose*, and *St. Cornelius's* Bath. *Thirdly*, *Sulphureo-nitro-vitriolic*, such is another Bath of the same *St. Cornelius*. *Fourthly*, *Salso-alumino-nitrous*, viz. those of *Borcet*, a Village adjoining to *Aken*.

First, As for the *Nitro sulphureous* kind, those of the *Emperor's* Bath, and the *little* Bath, are but one Water, coming from the same Source, and collected in one and the same Well. That Part reserved in the *Emperor's* Bath is divided into five great Basons, or Receptacles: That in the *little* Bath into three. All which might be renewed daily, if Time would permit, the Spring is so copious. But by reason of the excessive Heat of the Waters, it is necessary oftentimes that they stand in the Bason sixteen or eighteen Hours to cool, before they be fit for the Patient's Use. Notwithstanding when they are come to a just Temper, one may bathe in in them, and endure them a long time, as those of *Borcet*, without any Inconvenience. This Source hath this Quality peculiar to itself, that in its Well one may find distinctly a Quantity of Nitre coagulated, and good Plenty of Flowers of Sulphur very light, purely fine, and well scented. The Nitre sticks to the Sides of the Well, and so do the Flowers of Sulphur above that: The which sometimes, whether by the extraordinary boiling up of the Fountain, or by the Impetuosity of the ascending Vapours, or by their own Weight are broken off, and fall back into the Source; from whence being no more dissolved by the Water, they come forth intire into the Basons. If you take of this Water, and let it stand in a vessel certain Days, it will precipitate of these yellow Flowers of Sulphur, to the Bottom of the Vessel. Besides these *volatile* Flowers, these Waters contain also fix'd Flowers of Sulphur, a competent Quantity of Nitre both *volatile*, *fix'd*, and *mix'd*, or *Armoniack*, a little Allum, less Vitriol, the Spirits and Principles of Copper and Iron, a very little *volatile* Earth, *Argilla* and Sand: No *Bitumen*, for let them stand

stand as long as you please, you shall find no fatty Substance swimming upon them, as upon the *Spaw* Waters. The volatile *Sulphur* evaporates so strongly, that it carries up with it a Quantity of *Nitre*, as one may see after the Solution of the Vapours, congealed and frozen in Winter time, when it remains incorporated upon the Walls, in the Places where the Icicles were. These Waters are in Weight equal to those of the *Spaw*; coming fresh out of the Source, they appear whitish, or bluish, but having stood a-while and grown cold, greenish. They are very pure, and leave no kind of Mud, or *Lutum thermale*, behind them; in cooling they yield a small Scum or Cream of *Nitre*. Far from their Source, being wrought upon by the Air, they let fall a little whitish Sediment as those of *Borçet* do a blackish one. They preserve the Colour of Roses put into them, and cause them not to wither, as doth common Water. The Vapours ascending from them make Silver Plate black, as those of *Borçet* make it white. The other Source of *St. Quirin's* Bath differs from these in no other Respect, save that the Water thereof is cooler. It is reserved in three Basons. In this Well you find neither *Sulphur* nor *Salt-petre* sticking to the Sides, probably because it is open or uncovered.

II. The second, or *sulphureo-nitrous* Sort of *Compus*, &c. though they spring up in several Places, and have different Wells, yet is the Nature of them all, their Composition, and mineral Ingredients the same. The *Poor-Men's* Bath hath one great Bason or Receptacle, the *Rose* Bath four, whereof two only are used, and *St. Cornelius's* Bath of this Mine two. These Waters are fit for use at all Seasons, being of a temperate Heat, more efficacious, and of greater Force in their Operations, than the first Sort; they weigh two *per Cent.* more than they, and are of a stronger Scent. In these is never found any *Sulphur* condensed, no not in their Wells, though they be covered: But when they are emptied, and new Water let in (as in the *Rose* Bath) the Water running down along the Walls and Seats, into the Bottoms of the Basons or Conservatories, the external Air prevailing upon it, so spread, and in such little Quantity arrests, fixes and condenses its *Sulphur* all along the said Walls and Seats, refreshing the Eyes of the Spectators with its Beauty and Lustre. But the Water rising in the beforementioned Basons, and covering the Seats and Walls, the Sulphur again unites and incorporates with its Dissolvent, and disappears and hides itself therein. The Water of these Sources contains great Quantity of Sulphur, very fine and sweet, less nitrous Salt, a little Vitriol, and less Allum, more of the other Minerals and Metals, than of the first Sort, or those of *Borçet*. So that they are more compounded, oleous and bituminous, than any of the other Sources; and though they come out of the Earth very temperate, as to actual Heat, yet can sick Persons hardly endure them for any long Time, for the most part scarce half an Hour.

III. The third Sort, which I call *Sulphureo-nitro-vitriolic*, and is also of *St. Cornelius*, differs from the Precedent, in that the Taste is a little more acid, the Smell sweeter, and liker that of Spirit of Vitriol, and the Touch less oily. It is of less Efficacy in Use than the second Sort, and of more than the first. Of this Source there are three Basons, which, with the two others of *St. Cornelius* beforementioned, make five in this House. These Waters agree much in their Composition with the Precedent. They are very pure and clear, especially in their Wells; and though they seem troubled in their Basons, yet taken in a Glass, they appear clear.

IV. The *fourth*, or *Salso-alumino-nitrous* kind, are those of the Neighbourhood, or *Borçet*. These come out of the Earth extream hot, and in great Abundance, are all of the same medicinal Quality, have several Wells, and are reserved in ten or twelve Houses, each whereof hath two Basons, or Receptacles; besides which, there is a common Bath exposed to the Air, for the Use of poor People. These Waters cast off a copious Excrement or Tartar, which yet is not Stone, but only a Sand mingled with, and united to the ni-

trous and aluminous Salt of the Water, coagulated by the Beating of the cold Air on its Superficies, to which also concurs the Cold of the Walls exposed to the same Air. These Excrescences are found in the subterranean Conduits, not only of these, but the other Baths in the City; being held to the Fire, they soon become friable, and are nothing but a pure round Sand like the common. The higher Houses and Basons have the more of this Tartar, yet is it so little, that it is not to be seen or perceived in the Water. These Waters are of a different *Species*, Virtue, and Operation, from those of the City, are very easy to suffer, and serve often for Divertisement and Recreation to Persons that are in Health. The Contents of them are a great Quantity of Sea-Salt and Allum, less nitrous Salt, very little Sulphur, and not much of metallick Substances.

Concerning the Virtues and Effects of these Waters inwardly taken, he discourses to this Purpose:

These Waters taken inwardly are very available in the Phthisick, *Asthma*, or Difficulty of Breathing, occasion'd by tough Phlegm lodging in the Branches of the Wind-pipe; against the Weakness of the Stomach, Indigestion, Crudities, Flatulencies, Vomiting, Hiccoughs, and inveterate Cholicks. They dissipate and dry up all Manner of Catarrhs and serous Defluxions; and are very proper to be drunk by those that are troubled with the Palsy, before the Use of the Baths. They quicken the Appetite, cleanse the Blood, and open the Obstructions of the Mesentery. They are of excellent Use against hypochondriacal Maladies, especially in such as have weak and cold Stomachs. They mollify the Hardness of the Liver, Spleen and Mesentery. They dissolve and bring away the Gravel of the Reins, and lesser Stones: And here he produces many Examples of such as voided Stones upon the Drinking these Waters, and among the rest, of some that had drank the *Spaw* Waters, and came from thence without receiving any Benefit. They cleanse the Ulcers of the Bladder, dissolving not only the gross, phlegmatick and viscous Humours which coagulate the Stone, but even the Stone itself, whilst it is yet tender. They have sometimes cured intermittent Fevers of long Continuance, and scrophulous Tumours. They dry up and heal the Itch, Leprosy, and other Affections of the Skin. They stop the immoderate Flowing of the *Menses* in Women, and cure the Jaundice, the Pale-ness and Discolouring of the Skin in Virgins: And finally they give Ease and Relief in the Gout. Of all these Faculties, he brings Instances and Examples of Persons that have been cured. Particularly, that these Waters drunk may have a Power of dissolving the Stone, he proves by this Experiment: Taking a Stone voided by a Man about two Years before, and infusing it in Water hot from the Fountain, for the Space of three Days, we found it (saith he) mollified and reduced into a soft Phlegm. Which Virtue of the Waters was further confirmed to us by a late Accident: For opening the Vault of a Well, there was found a certain Glue or Mucilage, which, it is to me probable, came from the Solution of the Mortar of Lime and Sand in long Time, by the volatile and dissolvent Spirits of the Waters; especially there being found no other Cement between the Stones, and in that this same Glue or Mucilage mingled itself intirely with the Waters of the Fountains, without any Appearance of Scum or Fat swimming on the Top, as Gum of Cherry, or the like is wont to do in Water, and being cast into the Fire burnt not, but dried up. These Experiments and Observations were made upon Occasion of a Burgo-master of *Riga* (who being afflicted with the Stone, drank these Waters) his passing his Urine through a Linen Cloth, and finding therein a certain thick Phlegm left behind, which, being kept a while upon Paper, harden'd into a stony Substance.

15. From *Aken* we continued our Journey to *Juliers*, five Hours thence, a small but neat City, the Houses low, but of Brick, the Streets are somewhat narrow, yet it has a fair Market-place. Its Fortifications are considerable, but the Citadel, in which is the Ducal Palace, may compare for Beauty, Bigness and Strength,

with any of *Europe*. The chief Employment of the Inhabitants here is the making of Malt. June the 30th, we went hence towards *Cologne*, and passing thro' *Berchem*, a little walled Town, met by the Highways, among the Woods and Hedges; with *Mezereon Germanicum*, *Mollugo montana latifolia ramosa*, *Pulmonaria maculosa*, *Galeopsis sive Urtica iners flore purpurascens majore, folio non maculato*, and among the Corn, with *Vaccaria Germ.*

Cologne, dignified with the Title of an Archbishoprick, is a free Imperial City, and perhaps the biggest in all *Germany*, in which however are included three hundred Acres, planted with Vines, besides many other empty Spaces. The middle Part of the City is very well built, having two handsome Market-places: The Walls are lofty and of Stone, with two deep Trenches and several Out-works. In the Cathedral of *St. Peter* are preserved the Bodies of the three Wise Men, that came to bring their Offerings to our Saviour, enclosed in a Chest of Gold. The Number of the Noble Canons belonging to this Church, consists of fifty four, besides eight Canons Presbyters; these sixty two, in Conjunction with the Dean (who has two Voices) and two Burgomasters Regent (who have four Voices) of this City, chuse the Archbishop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of six Burgomasters, seven Eschevins, and one hundred and fifty Councillors; they all continue during Life; but of the first two are only Regents at a Time for a Year: The Eschevins are chosen by the Archbishop, as the Counsellors are by the Companies of the City, and fifty only are in Power yearly, so that it returns to the same Persons every third Year. If a Burgomaster dies, the Counsellors have Power to chuse another in his Room. The Inhabitants are generally *Roman Catholics*, yet have the *Lutherans* a Church within the Walls, but the *Calvinists* are obliged to go to Church on the other Side of the *Rhine*. At *Cologne* we took a Boat, drawn by Men, which carried us up the *Rhine* to *Vidich*, an inconsiderable Village; hereabouts we found among the Corn, *Delphinium flore purpureo-ceruleo vulgare*, and *Nigella arvensis*; and in the barren Grounds adjoining to the River, *Stachas citrina Germanica latiore folio*.

16. Next Morning we pass'd by *Bonn* upon the same River, the ordinary Residence of the Electors of *Cologne*, and lodged at Night at a poor Town called *Brisaca*. July the 6th, we pass'd by *Rhineck* to our Right, and came to *Andernach*, over-against which is the Castle of *Hammerstein*, belonging to the Elector of *Treves*. Further we pass'd betwixt two Castles belonging to the Count de *Weets*, that on the right Hand being seated upon a high Rock, with a Cloister adjoining to it. Two Leagues from *Andernach* we pass'd by *Engers*, and the same Night came to *Coblentz*.

This City, which is the most considerable belonging to the Archbishop of *Treves*, is called in *Latin*, *Confluentes*, from its Situation at the Conflux of the Rivers the *Moselle* and the *Rhine*; over the first of which there is a Bridge here of thirteen Arches, as there is over the *Rhine* a Bridge of Boats to the strong Castle of *Hermanstein*, situate upon a Rock, with a very sumptuous Palace below it, belonging to the same Archbishop. Not far from *Coblentz* are the mineral Springs, near *Helffenstein* Castle, of which Kind there are several in those Parts; as for Instance, one at *Anthony's Stone*, four Hours from *Andernach*, and another at *Zwolbach*, four Miles from *Francfort*; they are generally drank mix'd with Wine, unto which they give a pleasant Taste and purging Quality, but I did not observe in them what *Dr. Blondel* affirms, that they smook, or are hot when they are mixed with Wine.

July the 7th, we pass'd by several Castles and small Places upon the *Rhine*, as the Town and Castle of *Rodesheim* on the Left, and *Capelle* on the Right Hand; next the small Town of *Rens* and *Browbach*, *Boppard* on the same Side, and the Castle of *Bornholm* on the Left. Taking up our Quarters in the Village of *Hertsnach*, we came, July the 8th, in the Morning, to *St. Goer*, a pretty small Town, under the Jurisdiction of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, who has a very handsome Castle here,

built upon a Rock. The Magistrates and most of the Inhabitants are *Calvinists*, yet the *Lutherans*, as well as the *Catholics*, have each their Church. Just opposite to *St. Goer* you see the Town and Castle of *Wellnich*, and further to the Right, the Town and Castle of *Wesfel*, under the Jurisdiction of the Elector of *Treves*; and higher up on the Left Hand, the Town and Castle of *Cub*, the latter upon a Rock belonging to the Elector *Palatine*. The next Place of any Note we came to was *Bacharach*, a walled Town, adorned with many Towers, famous for the Excellence of its Wine, as is likewise a certain Tract of Ground about *Rhingaw*, a Town near *Mayence*. Our Boatmen paid Toll in this, as well as several other Places on the *Rhine*. We pass'd the same Day in Sight of some mean Towns and Villages, and July the 9th, by *Aspithouse* Castle, and immediately after by the *Mouse-Tower*, built in a little Island of the *Rhine*. Further up the River on the Right Hand we left *Bing*, a tolerable good Town, and passing by *Rhodes*, *Gison*, *Elveldt*, and *Wallop*, to the Left Hand, arriv'd the same Night at *Mayence* or *Mentz*.

From *Cologne*, as far as to the Village *Vidich*, the River is very broad, but thence up to the *Mouse-Tower* much narrower, from the many Hills and Rocks on both Sides, some of which are cover'd with Woods, others with Vines and Orchards. The Vines are ty'd to Poles much lower than those we use in our Hop-gardens. The City of *Mayence* (or as we now call it *Mentz*) is very large and well fortified; but the Houses are very old, the Streets narrow and ill paved: The Cathedral of *St. Martin's* has twenty four Canons, all Noble, who chuse the Archbishop. The Arms of this Archbishoprick is a Wheel, which they derive from *Willigesus*, a *Saxon*, their first Archbishop, who being a *Wheelright's* Son, gave this Wheel for his Arms. Near this Place, the River *Maine* joining its Current with the *Rhine*, we went up the first of these two Rivers in a Boat, and passing by *Rudshheim*, a well-built Fort on the Right-hand, belonging to the Landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, and another walled Town called *Hochst*, to the Left, arriv'd the 13th of July at *Francfort*, five Leagues distant from *Mayence* or *Mentz*.

This City is very rich and populous, and not ill-built, though most of the Houses are of Timber: Its Fortifications, which consist in divers strong Bastions and a deep Ditch, are very considerable and well kept: The River *Maine* dividing the City into two Parts, that which lies opposite to *Francfort* is called *Saxonhausen*, which are joined by a very noble Stone Bridge, sustain'd by fourteen Arches. In the great Market-place are three noble Fountains. The Emperors are in our Days chosen here in the Senate-house, and crown'd in the Church of *St. Bartholomew*.

I had the good Fortune to get Sight of the *Aurea Bulla* or *Golden Bull*, of the Emperor *Charles IV.* which instead of a Seal had a large golden Medal hanging on it, with the Effigies of *Charles IV.* on one Side, with this Inscription, *Carolus quartus, divina favente clementia, Romanorum Imperator semp. Aug.* on the Reverse the City of *Rome*, and underneath, *Aurea Roma*, and round it this Verse, *Roma caput mundi regit orbis fræna rotundi.* The Government of this City is in the Hands of a *Prætor*, twelve *Burgomasters*, fourteen *Eschevins*, and forty two Councillors. The whole Senate is divided into three *Scamna* or Benches, First, *Sabinorum*, Secondly, *Literatorum*, and Thirdly, *Opificum*: When a Place happens to be vacant in the Bench of the *Eschevins*, it is supplied out of the second Bench of the *Literatorum*; but the *Scamnum Opificum* rises no higher. The Senate has the Power of choosing yearly two *Burgomasters* out of their own Number. The *Jews*, of whom there are great Numbers here, have their peculiar Quarters assigned them, from whence they dare not stir in the Night-time; they wear a Piece of yellow Cloth to distinguish them from other People. The Magistracy and most of the Inhabitants are *Lutherans*, unto whom belong five Churches. Yet have the *Romans* the free Exercise of their Religion here, and are possess'd of two Convents for Men and one for Women;

men; but the *Calvinists* have their Church a good Way from the Town; the *English* Church, first establish'd here under the Reign of *Queen Mary*, is fallen much to decay, as well as the *English* House, which is turned into a Store-house. In the Country hereabouts, which is exceeding pleasant, we found growing wild, *Gramen amoris dictum*, & *Ischemon vulgare*, *Portulaca sylvestris*, and in the Hedges, the *Aleine baccifera*, which I met with no where else in all my Travels.

July 17. We took the Post-Coach going to *Frankenthal*; we had scarce left *Francfort* half an Hour, when we travelled all that Day, for three *German* Leagues, through Pine-Woods, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Geirsheim*.

July 18. We ferried over the *Rhine* at *Kernsheim*, and at six Leagues End came to *Worms*, a large and ancient City, but much decayed. The Canons of the Cathedral (who are twenty in Number) choose the Bishop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of the *Lutherans*. From hence we came, after an Hour's travelling, to *Frankenthal*, a Place chiefly considerable for its Strength, being situate in a Plain near the *Rhine*, and provided with good Walls and Out-works. It is under the Jurisdiction of the Elector *Palatine*; and has three Churches; one *High-Dutch*, another *Low-Dutch*, and the third *French*.

July 20. We travelled along the Banks of the *Rhine*, by the Way of *Obersheim* to *Spire*, two Leagues and a half distant from *Frankenthal*. *Spire*, though dignified with the Title of a Bishoprick, yet is an imperial City, under the Government of its own Magistrates. The Houses here are generally large, but not very convenient, and of Wood: The chief, if not the only Thing that makes this Place considerable, is the *Imperial Chamber*, which is kept here, consisting of an Imperial President and thirty six Assessors, besides three other Presidents, chosen by the Emperor out of the Delegates; each of the Electors, as well as the ten Circles, sending two Delegates or Assessors. There is such another Chamber belonging to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, either of which (without any Appeal from one to the other) determines Controversies arising betwixt the Princes and States of the Empire, and betwixt them and their Subjects in some Cases: But the Elector *Palatine* enjoys the Prerogative, *Jus non appellandi*, of not being cognizable by these Tribunals.

July 21. We pass'd the *Rhine* to *Manheim*, seated upon the very Conflux of the *Rhine* and *Neckar*; it belongs to the Elector *Palatine*, strongly fortified, and now strengthening by a new Citadel, almost finish'd. Who was the Founder of this City, you will see out of the Inscription over the *Neckar Gate*:

*Quod felix faxit Jehova,
Fredericus III. Elector
Palatinus Rheni, Dux Bavariae,
E veteri Pago Manhemio
Ad Rheni Necrique confluvium
Iusta spatiorum dimensione
Nobilem Urbem molitus,
Vallo, fossa, muro clausit,
Portam bonis civibus aperuit,
Anno Domini M. DC. X.*

From hence we continued our Journey to *Heidelberg*, where we pass'd over the *Neckar* into the City by a wooden Bridge, covered over with a *Tectum* to preserve the Timber. *Heidelberg*, is not a very large, but a neat and populous City, the Capital of the whole *Palatinate* and Residence of its Princes; the Houses are of Wood, but handsomely built; it is seated at the Foot of a Hill, on the right Side of the River *Neckar*, and is divided into five different Jurisdictions, independent of one another, *First*, *Aulica*, under which are all the Princes and Noblemen; the Martial of the Court sits here as President. *Secondly*, *Cancellaria*, under which belong all Councillors, and other Officers of the Courts, Advocates, Doctors, &c. *Thirdly*, *Bellica*, for the Soldiers where the General presides. *Fourthly*, *Academica*, for the Students, the *Rector Magnificus*, or Vice-Chan-

cellor for the Time being, is their President; and *Fifthly*, *Civica* for the Citizens. The Members of each of these Jurisdictions are not obliged to appear before any other Court but their own. The City is also divided into four Wards, under the Government of a *Prætor* and *Burgomaster*.

About the middle of the Ascent of the Hill call'd *Königsthal*, stands the Royal Palace, a large and stately Structure, enclosed with a Wall and deep Ditch, hewn out of the Rock, which they may fill with Water when they please; here the Prince keeps his Court. According to the Inscription in *High-Dutch* upon the Gate, it was begun to be built by *Lewis V.* in 1519, but several Pieces have been added since, one of which is called the *English Building*. In a Cellar under one of the Towers belonging to this Castle stood the famous great Tun of *Heidelberg*, containing 132 Fudders, one of which is equal to four of our Hogsheads; but this Tun is taken to Pieces of late and a new one Building, which is to contain 150 Fudders or 600 Hogsheads. We were invited to dine in the Palace, where we observed every Thing to be done with great Regularity, and after Dinner the Elector was pleased to shew us the Curiosities of his Closet, and among the rest, a Purse made of *Alumen plumosum*, which being made red hot, received not the least Harm, but appear'd the same it was before, after it was cool'd: Two Unicorn's Horns of eight or ten Foot long, wreathed, and hollow to the Top being the Horns of a Fish, and not a Quadruped, as the ancients vainly imagin'd. An Imperial Crown and Globe, belonging to the Emperor *Rupert* (who was of this Family) richly set with precious Stones: A choice Collection of ancient and modern Coins and Medals; and among the rest a Copper *Swedish Dollar*, of the Bigness of a square Trencher, with the King's Arms and Effigies stamp'd at the four Corners. The great Church (which formerly contained the famous Library of this Place) as also that of the *Franciscans*, have several very noble Monuments of the Princes of this Family, as that of *St. Peter* shews many of learned Persons.

The University of *Heidelberg*, was founded, *A. D.* 1346. and has three or four Colleges for the Subsistence of poor Scholars. The whole Management of it is committed to the *Academical Senate*, composed of Sixteen Professors, *viz.* three for Divinity, four for the Law, three for Physick, and six for Philosophy, but no more than four of them sit in the Senate, for Fear they should make too strong a Party. If a Professor dies, the Senate presents two Persons to the Prince, out of whom he chooses one. The Senate also chooses every Year a *Rector magnificentissimus*, a Honorary Title, not unlike that of Chancellor of our University, as the *Rector Magnificus*, the chief of the Senate is equivalent to Vice-Chancellor; besides which, they elect two or four more Officers out of their own Number, to manage the Concerns of the University. The Senate hath its own Jurisdiction, and unlimited Power in criminal Cases, extending to Life and Death, the Prince reserving to himself only the Prerogative of Pardoning after Sentence pass'd. In Philosophy they have no other Degrees but Masters, and those but few of late Years; In Law and Medicine they create both *Licentiates* and *Doctors*; and in Divinity, *Batchelors*, *Licentiates* and *Doctors*. They have not the least Regard to the standing of the Candidates, all they have to do being to undergo two Examinations, one of which is called the *Examen tentatorium*, before the Faculty, in which he is to commence, and in the Presence of the *Rector Magnificus*; the second the *Examen rigorosum*, before the whole Body of the Professors and the *Rector Magnificus*. After all this, he is to hold a publick Disputation *sub Præsede*, to make a Lecture in his own Faculty, and a Speech. The Ceremony is performed with a great deal of Pomp, and concludes with a sumptuous Feast, at which are present all the Professors, and sometimes the Prince in Person, or else he sends the Marshal of his Court to represent his Person, which is the Reason that oftentimes, when the Candidates have not very strong Purfes, two or three join to save Charges.

Charges. Here also the Professors publish an annual Catalogue of their Names and intended publick Lectures.

The Elector Palatine is absolute in his Dominions, having also the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which formerly belonged to the Bishop of *Spiers*, but since the Reformation the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction has been annexed to the Sovereignty: He is the universal Patron of all vacant Benefices, tho' he permits the Ecclesiastical Council, (composed of two Clergymen and two Laymen) to present unto him two, out of whom he chuses one. The Generality of the Palatinate are of the Reformed Religion, and divided into three *Præfectures* (the biggest of which is subdivided into less) each of which has an Inspector, who is one of the Pastors of that *Præfecture*, and differs not from the other in Rank or Power, but hath only a larger Salary. Each considerable Town has also a peculiar *Præfecture*, or Presbytery: Thus that of *Heidelberg* is composed of five Ministers of that City, two Deputies from each of the before-mentioned Jurisdctions, except the *Aulica*, and two from each of the four Wards of the City, making in all twenty one, in which the Laymen have equal Voices with the Ministers, these enjoying no other Prerogative in this Point, than that one of them presides always in his Turn. They can't inflict any Church Censure, unless it be making the Transgressor submit to a publick Confession at the Church Door, and to promise Amendment, the rest is left to the Determination of the Civil Magistrate. As the Elector is universal Patron, so he is Master of all the Tithes, which for Conveniency sake, he allows to some Ministers in certain Places, but provides settled Salaries for the rest out of the Church Revenues.

19. July 25. We hired a Coach, which was to carry us in three Days to *Strasburgh*: We had scarce travelled three Leagues, but we pass'd in Sight of the celebrated Fortrefs of *Philipsburgh*, seated in a Plain near the *Rhine*; a League further we pass'd through *Grafte*, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Linknom*.

July 26. After a Journey of four Leagues, we baited at *Raspach*, two Leagues further passed through *Stolboven*, and a League more through *Lichtenaw*, all in considerable Places; we lodged that Night at the Village called *Sertz*.

July 27. We cross'd the *Rhine* over a Bridge laid over the two Channels, made of Fir-trees laid close together, instead of Boats, and soon after came to *Strasburgh*. In our Journey thither we saw Abundance of *Indian* Wheat planted, as also some *Lathyrus sativus*, and *Carthamus*, or bastard Saffron. The *Blattaria*, *Solidago* *Saracenica*, are wild hereabouts, and in the adjacent Meadows of *Strasburgh*, *Carduus* *Pratensis* *Tragi*.

Strasburgh is a free Imperial City, rich and populous, of a great Circumference, and well fortified with regular Out-works. It is govern'd by two Councils, one consisting of seventy one, in which are six *Burgomasters*, as many *Stadtmaisters*, fifteen *Patres Patriæ*, and thirteen selected out of the Militia. The greater Council is composed of three hundred Citizens, chosen by the several Companies of the City. The Women are generally handsome, and the Inhabitants *Lutherans*, though the *Roman Catholics* have also a Church and four Convents, two for Men, and two for Women. The Reformed have their Church at some Distance out of the Town. It is an Episcopal See; the Bishop has a Palace in the City, but is not allowed to stay there above three Days at a Time, but may continue in an Inn for eight Days together. The Armory or Arsenal here, may compare with any in *Germany*, and is not much inferior to any I saw elsewhere. The publick Granaries, Store-houses, and Wine-cellars, are worth seeing. The *Domo*, or Cathedral Church, is a noble Structure, with a Pair of folding Doors of Brass at the West End. Here is the famous Clock described by several Authors, which is a Piece of most excellent Workmanship, made by a Citizen of this Place, whose Name was *Isaac Harbrecht*. But what is most remarkable, is the Steeple, the highest that ever I met with, and curiously built of carved Stone, having six hundred sixty two Steps from the Bottom to the Top; we went up six hundred and forty Steps to a Place

they call the *Crown*, from whence we took a View of the adjacent Country at a great Distance.

About ten Hours distant from *Strasburgh*, towards the Side of *Stutgard*, are very good acid mineral Springs, the Waters of which they drink here and in other Cities with Wine. In this, as well as other Imperial Cities in those Parts, the Inhabitants, but especially the Women, adhere still to an odd Way of Dressing, which yet is very different one from another, each having their peculiar Habits; so that their Condition may be distinguished at Sight. July 31. We continued our Journey towards *Basil*, passing the same Day through the Village of *Tivelsheim*, and August 1, through *Marklesheim*, and two Leagues thence in Sight of the strong Town and Fortrefs of *Brisac*, seated upon a Rock, and lodged that Night at *Lodesheim*.

20. Aug. 2. After a League and a half riding, we arrived at *Basil*, a large and noble City, well built of Stone, the Houses very high, and painted for the most Part on the Outside. It is divided by the River *Rhine* into two Parts (that on the North-side being called *Little Basil*) join'd together by a Bridge sustained by fourteen Arches. The chief Ornaments of this populous and rich City are its Fountains, of which it has above three hundred. It is one of the XIII. *Swiss Cantons*, its Territories comprehending above one hundred Villages. The Bishop of *Baden* has not the least Jurisdiction in the Town, being not suffered to lodge here one Night, but keeps his Residence at *Broudint*. The Government is administered by a greater and lesser Council; the last consists of sixty four Persons, chosen by the fifteen Companies, and the greater, of all the Magistrates and the lesser Council. The University of this Place was founded by Pope *Pius II.* in which are seventeen Professors, three of Divinity, three of Law, three of Physick, and eight in Philosophy and polite Literature. They keep Lectures every Day in the Week in Term-time, except *Thursdays* and *Saturdays*, but have very small Salaries. The Ecclesiastical Government is in the Hands of three Professors of Divinity, four *Scholarchæ*, and the Ministers. The Senate have the Power of nominating three Persons to any vacant Benefice, out of whom the Ministers chuse one. In these Cities the Ministers live upon their yearly Salaries, but in the Country they have half in Tythes and the other half in Money. The Ministers here are at Liberty to change their Profession and become Laymen when-ever they please. They are of the Reformed Religion, as are all the other Protestant Cantons.

Erasmus lived Part of his latter Days, and ended his Life in this City; his Monument, which is of Marble, on the North Side of the Communion Table in the great Church, being to be seen to this Day. He was the Founder of a College in *Basil* for twenty Students of Divinity (in which Number are however comprehended the the Beadle and a School-master) ten of whom are to be Natives of *Basil*; they may stay there as long as they continue unmarried, though the Magistrates have a Power to command any of them thence, if they think it convenient. They are under the Inspection of a Regent, without whose Leave none of them dare stay out of the College one Night. In the same Church where *Erasmus* lies inter'd is also his Library, commonly called *Bibliotheca Amberbachiana*, because *Erasmus* gave it by his last Will to one Mr. *Amberbach*. I saw the said Testament written with his own Hand in half a Sheet of Paper, bearing Date 12 Feb. 1536. In this Library are also several very curious Pieces of Painting, done by that famous Master *Johannes Holbenius*, a Native of this City; some Diplomata of the Pope to *Erasmus*, his Seal and Ring, a fine Gold Medal sent to him by the King of *Poland*, besides other good Coins and Medals, both ancient and modern; three Rappers of Copper (worth about a Farthing a-piece) turned into Gold, as they say, by that famous Alchymist *Leonard Turmitius*, who transmuted the famous Nail of *Florence*; several ancient *Entaglio*; some Manuscripts of *Amberbach*, containing the Antiquities of *Augusta Rauracorum*, anciently a great City, but now turn'd into a Village called *Augst*, near *Basil*. The Professors and Ministers wear Ruffs, and a Kind of Caps painted like Sugar-loaves (in

(in which they are imitated by the graver Sort of the Inhabitants) and Gowns which reach just below their Knees. The Women wear their Petticoats very short, and Caps not unlike the young Scholars at Cambridge, with a Tin Girdle. We took also a View of the *Museum* of Dr. *Platerus*, where we met with many both natural and artificial Curiosities of Minerals, Stones, Metals, Animals preserv'd, &c. The famous Phana-tick *David George* ended his Days in this City. We found divers Plants growing wild about *Basil*, the chief of which were, *Scrophularia*, *Ruta canina dicta*, and *Passerina Tragi*, among the Corn, *Phalangium par-vo flore ramosus*, *Blitum minus album*, among the Hed-ges, *Cymbalaria Italica hederacea*, on the Town Walls near the *Strasburg Gate*, *Stæbe major calyculis non splen-dentibus*, in the Grounds betwixt *Frankenthal* and *Basil*, *Polium montanum Lavendula folio*, *Consolida media Genève-sis* & *Cneorum Matthioli seu Thymelæa minor Cordi*. But of these and other Plants growing about *Basil*, see *C. Baubini Catalogus Plantarum*.

We went hence, *August* the 10th, towards *Zurick*, and in our Way, about a German League from *Basil*, passed through *Augst*, supposed by *Ambachius*, to be the ancient *Augusta Rauracorum* of the Romans, where we saw the Ruins of an Amphitheatre. We travelled afterwards in Sight of a wall'd Town upon the *Rhine*, and many Hills covered with wild Fir-trees, and passing through *Bruck*, a pretty handsome well built, but small Town, lodged the same Night at the Baths of *Baden*, about six German Leagues from *Basil*; here we first got Sight of small green Tree Frogs. These hot Baths, about Sixty in Number, are not above half an English Mile from *Baden*, a City seated upon the River *Limagus*, on the Side of a Hill, famous for the general Meetings of the *Swiss Cantons* here.

21. From hence we continued our Journey *August*, the 11th, along the *Limagus* on one, and very fair Vine-yards on the other Side, to *Zurick*, another City be-longing to the *Swiss Cantons*, scarce so big, but much more populous than *Baden*. Its Fortification is extraor-dinary pleasant, near the *Zurick-Sea* or Lake, being di-vided by the River *Limagus* (which owes its Rise to this Lake) into two Parts, which are joined together by two Bridges, one for Foot-Passengers, the other for Carria-ges, and very broad. The Houses here, though of Timber and Clay, yet are well built, handsomely paint-ed, and lofty; the Streets indeed are none of the broadest, but very well paved, and the whole Body of the City enclosed with a strong Wall and many Out-works of Earth, after the modern Way; the River *Sele* (which below this City falls into the *Limagus*) serv-ing for a Ditch on the South-side. The Inhabitants, are Protestants, much addicted to Commerce, and gene-rally rich. What is worth a Traveller's Curiosity here is, the Colour of the *Zurick-Sea*, which is green ap-proaching near that of Sea-water, though it has not the least brackish Taste, to which in Sea-water this Colour is commonly ascribed. Finding afterwards the Water of the Rivers and Lakes near the *Alps* of the same Colour, we could not attribute it to any other Cause but the melted Snow of those Mountains, with which they are (at least the higher Parts of them) covered for six Months in the Year, which containing a nitrous Salt, may be suffi-cient to give the Water this Colour, though not to affect our Taste.

The Government of this City is administred by two Councils, viz. *The greater* and *the lesser*. The last is com-posed of fifty Members, viz. twenty four Tribunes, chosen by the twelve Tribes or Companies of the City, two out of each: These they call the *Twelvers*, because twelve of them have only their Share in the Govern-ment at a Time; twelve Senators, viz. one out of each Company, chosen by the *lesser Council*, as *Simler* tells us, but according to our Information, by the *great Coun-cil*, six Members more taken indifferently out of the Commonalty, and those likewise chosen by the *great Council*, as we were credibly told; but according to *Sim-ler*, by the *lesser*; four Tribunes and two Senators cho-sen from among the Gentlemen, and two *Burgomasters* elected by the *great Council* of 200. Half this Council

governs by Turns, and that part which rule, is stiled *Concilium novum*, or the *new Council*, as that which goes out is called *Concilium vetus*, or the *old Council*: Yet if any Decree be to be made, the same is dated in the Presence of both, for which Reason the whole Fifty meet once a Week; For the rest, one half of this Council is chosen every half Year, viz. at *Midsummer* and *Christmas*, and as the *Concilium vetus* goes out, it chooses the *Concilium novum*, composed for the most Part of the same Persons that were chosen before.

The whole Council of Fifty determines civil Actions (though *Simler* says, no more than eight selected out of their Number) as the new Council judges in criminal Cases alone. The *greater Council* is composed of 200 Per-sons, viz. Twelve out of each Tribe, making in all forty-four, eighteen chosen by the Gentlemen, from among themselves, twenty-four *Twelvers*, four *Tribuni nobilium*, two *Senatores nobilium*, the six before-mentioned chosen by the great Council out of the People. These choose Governors (call'd by them *Landvoghts*) and are always consulted upon any Emergency, which relates to the whole Commonwealth. They also chuse four *Proconsuls* out of the twenty-four Masters of the Companies; and two Treasurers, either out of the Number of the twelve Senators, or of the twelve Tribunes of the *new Council*.

August 12. In our Way from *Zurick* to *Schaffhausen* we pass'd by a Cataract or Water-fall of the *Rhine*, which is so dangerous for the many Rocks that lie under Water, that the Vessels must unload here, and by the Way found the *Orobis sylvaticus purpureus vernus*, the *Hepatica nobilis*, and *Ulmaria major sive Barba capri*, growing wild. The City of *Schaffhausen* is situate up-on the River *Rhine*, over which is a Bridge, half of Wood, half of Stone, and so are most of the Houses, very well built; especially in the two great Streets, which are handsomely paved. The Citizens of this Place, as well as of *Zurick*, wear Swords constantly: Those of the first being divided into twelve Companies, each of these elect two *Tribuni Plebis*, and these twenty-four make up the *lesser Council*, having each a yearly Allowance of fifty-two *Florins*, and nine Measures of Corn.

The *great Council* is composed out of those twenty-four, and sixty more, (viz.) five chosen out of each of the Tribes. These elect every Year two *Burgomasters*, two Treasurers, one *Proconsul*, and one *Ædilis*, but for the most part the same Persons: A Father and Son, or two Brothers, cannot be chosen at the same time into this Council.

From hence we travelled to *Constance*, *August* the 13th, a free imperial City, in a small Plain near the *Rhine*, at the End of the *Boden Sea*, or Lake of *Constance*, known anciently under the Names of *Lacus Brigantinus*, and *Lacus Aconius*, over which is laid a very long Bridge, part of Wood, and part of Stone: The Streets here are very regular and handsome, and the Buildings of Stone. But what makes this Place most famous is the Council that was held here, 1417. in which the Doc-trine of *John Hus* was rejected, and he condemned to the Fire. It is very strong by Situation, having the Lake on one, and the Fens on the other Side, but its Fortifications are very old and inconsiderable.

22. *August* 15. We passed over the Lake in a Boat, to the City of *Lindaw* (in Sight of the strong Town of *Oberlingen*) situated in the Middle of the Lake, and sur-rounded by its Waters on all Sides, being join'd to the Continent by a Bridge of two hundred and ninety Paces long, one half of which is of Stone, the other, viz. that to the Town-side, of Wood, so that it may be taken down in case of Necessity. This Place, besides its na-tural Strength of Situation, is fortified with strong Bul-warks, and Stakes driven into the Ground to prevent the Approach of any Boats. It is for the most part handsomely built, and the Streets are adorned with Fountains, yet these last are not so spacious, or their Buildings so lofty as at *Constance*: It has on one Side a double Wall, be-tween which is enclosed a large Space of Ground planted with Vines, which produce commonly, as we are told, about three hundred English Hogheads per Annum. They have eight Villages belonging to their Jurisdiction.

August 17. Taking Post-horses at *Constance*, in order to our Journey to *Munich*; we changed our Horses at *Lindau*, an Imperial City, two German Leagues thence; at *Laykirk*, another Imperial City, two Leagues further; at *Memmingen*, both for Strength and Bigness, one of the chief of the Circle of *Suabia*, and dignified with the Title of a free Imperial City, and at *Mindelsheim*, where we lodged that Night. From hence we travell'd to *Landsberg*, four Leagues further, a very fair Town, with a handsome Fountain in the Market-place; after which, without meeting with any considerable Town, we pass'd by the Lake of *Ammersee*, in Sight of the *Alps*, to *Munchen* or *Mitnich*.

23. This being a strong and well fortified City, and the ordinary Residence of the Electors of *Bavaria*, no Strangers are permitted to enter the Gates without the Consent of the Governor: *Cluverius* is not in the wrong, when he calls this City the fairest of all *Germany*, the Splendor and Beauty of its Buildings, both publick and private, especially of the Electoral Palace (which may compare with any in *Europe*) and of several magnificent Churches and Convents, being such as surpasses any Thing in *Germany* for its Bigness, its Streets being the broadest and most regular I have met with. Among other Varieties, you see in the Electoral Gardens a vast Number of *Aloe-trees* (for such they may be called by reason of the Bigness of their Stalks, which shoot up in one Year) the like perhaps all *Europe* can't produce in Number both for their Stalks and Flower. Here also we met with a Convent of *English* Nuns, and found in their Churches Pews and Seats, as is customary in *England*, whereas otherwise, the *Romanists* make use only in their Sermons of moveable Chairs and Benches, and clear the Churches so soon as Sermon is over.

We took a Turn from hence to *Augsbourg*, and passing by the Abby of *Bernardines* called *Pruck*, and the little Town of *Fridbergh*, arrived there the 21st of *August*.

This is a stately and strong City, seated upon the River *Lech*, being about eight *English* Miles in Compass: Its Houses are well built, its Streets fair, and beautified with many Fountains. Its Arsenal consists of twelve Rooms, not inferior to that of *Strasburgh*, as its Town-house may challenge the second Rank next to that of *Amsterdam*; the upper Room especially being very remarkable for its Loftiness, Gilding, and Paintings, in which it exceeds any I have yet seen. The Inhabitants are partly *Romanists*, partly *Lutherans*, but the last are double the Number of the first, though these are in Possession of seven Convents here, among which there is one *English*: Some *Calvinists* there are here, but few. It is a free Imperial City, under the Jurisdiction of its own Magistrates; yet seems somewhat decayed of late Years, the Number of its Inhabitants being scarce proportionable to its Bigness; in the Plains near *Augsburgh*, leading to *Munchen*, we saw many rare Plants.

August 28. We left *Augsburgh*, and travelling three Days out of our Way, in order to take a View of the famous City of *Nurembergh*, we cross'd the *Danube* the first Day, about six Leagues from *Augsburgh*, at a Place called *Donawert*, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*, where there is a wooden Bridge over that River. The 29th, we passed through *Manheim* and *Papenheim*, two pretty wall'd Towns, and having made five German Leagues that Day, lodged at *Weissenbergh*, an Imperial City, inhabited by *Lutherans*; near which is also a strong Fort upon a Hill, belonging to the Marquess of *Anspach*, a *Lutheran* Prince.

24. The 30th, We passed through a small Town called *Pleinfeldt*, and after a Journey of three Leagues further, close by another little walled Town called *Rotte*, and so, after two Hours Riding more, arrived at *Nurembergh*, which we were no sooner in Sight of, but we highly applauded the Epithet *Cluverius* bestowed upon it, when he styles it *Germanicarum superbissimam*, it being beyond Question, that for its Buildings, which are very stately, it exceeds all, and for its Bigness may compare with any in *Germany*; and were its Houses, which are of Free-stone, as uniform as the Buildings in the Low-Countries, would even out-vie them for Beauty; be-

sides, that under its Dominion, are at least an hundred Towns and Villages. It is true, the Ground where it is situated is very barren, and the River upon which it stands but very small, and not navigable; notwithstanding which, by the Industry of the Inhabitants, who are generally very excellent in all Sorts of Handicraft Works, this City is very rich and populous. They are generally *Lutherans*, and their Churches more adorned and beautified after the Fashion of the *Romanists*, than ever we saw in any other Place where this Religion is profess'd. The *Roman Catholics* have one Church allowed them, but the *Reformed* none. Their great Market-place, and the Town-house, are worth a Traveller's Observation; it is fortified with a good Wall and Ditches: Their Senate and their whole Government is said to approach very near that of the *Venetians*, being for the rest a free Imperial City.

September 3. We set out from *Nurembergh* towards *Ratisbon*, and came to *Altorff*, a Town and University under the Jurisdiction of *Nurembergh*. It has a very good Physic-Garden, the Catalogue of the Plants therein, as well as another of what Plants grow wild hereabouts, the World stands indebted for to Dr. *Maurice Hoffman*. Over the Cloister of the College, in which are maintained thirty six Students, at the Charge of the City of *Nurembergh*, you see an Inscription in *Latin*, giving a short Account of the Foundation of this University and College, viz. That the said College was founded by the Senate of *Nurembergh* in 1575, under the Reign of the Emperor *Maximilian II.* that in 1578, under the Reign of *Rodolph II.* a *Gymnasium* was established here, which in 1633, under the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* was dignified with the Title and Privileges of an University.

Dr. *Hoffman* shewed us several *Cornua Ammonis*, or Serpent-stones, besides many Cockle and Mussel-shells found near *Altorff*, of which we also saw some the next Day in our Way to *Nieu-markt*; upon which Occasion I can't forbear to give, by way of Digression, a brief Account, (1.) In what Places they are found. (2.) The different Opinions concerning them. In *England*, those petrified Shells are found at *Whitby* or *Whitebay*, in the North-riding of *Yorkshire*; at *Huntley-Nab*, more Northward on the same Coast; at *Alderley* in *Gloucestershire*; at *Cainsham* in *Somersetshire*, not far from *Alderley*; at *Farnham* in *Surry*; at *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*; and in several other Places; as for Instance, at *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, *Adderbury* in *Oxfordshire*, at *Brickworth* in *Northamptonshire*, about *Daventry*, *Verulam* in *Hertfordshire*, *Shuckborough* in *Warwickshire*, nay, even the Peak of *Derbyshire*. Besides these petrified Shells, other congenerous Bodies are found in several Parts of *England*, viz. 1. The *Star-stones*, called by some *Astroites*, *Lapis stellaris*, and *Stella judaica*. 2. *St. Cuthbert's Beads*, or *Trochites*, and, 3. The *Capstone*, or *Echinites*, called *Lapides Brontiae* by some, and considering that Sharks are often taken upon our Coast, it is a Wonder that no *Glossopetrae* should be found in *England*. As for the *Star-stones* (so called from their five Angles resembling so many Rays) they are found at *Shuckborough* in *Warwickshire*, at *Cassington* near *Gloucester*, and *Belvoir Castle* in *Lincolnshire*. The *Trochites* are to be met with on the Western Shore of the *Holy Island*, and in the Chinks of some Stones found in the Bottom of the Channel of the River *Tees*, the common Boundary between *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*; these are of a rotund Figure, and not angular like the former. The *Echinites* or *Brontiae*, are found in divers Places of *England*, of several Magnitudes and Shape; and beyond-sea, at *Brescia* in *Lombardy*, upon the Banks of the River *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*, four Miles below *Aste*, but especially in the Isle of *Malta*, where are also many *Glossopetrae*, resembling Sharks-teeth, petrified.

As for these last, *Boetius* says, they are found near *Deventer*, in the Province of *Overysse*; and in *Germany*, in the *Alum-mines* near *Lunenburgh*. *Gropius Becanus* tells us, that they were digged up in the Ditches of *Antwerp*, and are found in great Numbers on a Hill near *Aix la Chapelle* in *Germany*, which he uses as an Argument, that they can't be real Sharks Teeth petrified.

fied. *Georgius Agricola* affirms; that the petrified Cockles, and other Sea-Shells, are found in the Stone Quarries of *Galgenbergh*, and in those beyond Mount *Maurice*, in the Bishoprick of *Hildesheim* in Germany. (2.) At *Alfeld*, a Town of Saxony. (3.) At *Hanover*, in the Lime-Pits, and near the Village of *Lindaw*. (4.) In a Village called *Rabschytz*, near the Rivulet of *Trebitia* in *Misnia*. (5.) At a Place called the *Rose-Garden* in *Prussia*. (6.) Near the Castle of *Spangenberg* in *Hassia*. (7.) In a Mountain of *Italy* near *Verona*. (8.) On the Banks of the River *Elfa*; and (according to *Pausanias*) in the Quarries near *Megara*, and they are also found in *Theffaly*, *Macedonia*, and the Mountains of *Calabria*. *Bernardus Palissius* says, that those petrified Shells are found in *France*, near the Suburb of *St. Martial* near *Paris*; in the Mountains of the Forest of *Arden*, but especially about *Sedan*, in the Provinces of *Valois*, *Xantogne* and *Champaign*, and in the Mountains near *Soissons*.

Joannes de Laet tells us also of a Rock near *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, and speaks much of the Fields about *Sauvignac*, upon this Account. Besides the beforementioned Places of *Italy*, they are found in the Mountain of *Nicani*, in the *Modenese*, and in the Channel of a Rivulet near *Udine* in *Friuli*; *Geropius Becanus* names *Limburgh*, *Liege*, *Namur*, *Tournay*, and divers other Places in the *Low-Countries*: Besides all which Places, there is not the least Question, but that, if strict Observations were made in the other Parts of the World, the same might be discovered there as well as in *Europe*.

We will now proceed to give you a short Hint of the Opinions maintained concerning them. The first, and which was generally received among the Ancients, was, That they were originally the natural Bones or Shells of living Creatures, bred in the Sea, which by Deluges, Inundations, Earthquakes, or other such like Means, being cast up into those Places, being filled with Clay, and some petrifying Water or Substance, were in Tract of Time, hardened into the same Shape and Figures they bore before; this Opinion they support by divers Experiments, as the finding of a petrified Pearl-bearing Shell, in *Tuscany*, with the Pearl yet sticking to the Shell: Of a Piece of the greater Sea-nacre (*Pinna marina*) in which the silk-like Substance within the Shell being consumed, the Colour of that Substance remained in the Clay that had filled the Shell. Another Experiment is, that about the City of *Voltterra*, there are many Beds of Earth not stony, but full of true Cockle-shells, which have not undergone the least Alteration, though they have lain there at least three thousand Years, from whence they would evince, that *Tuscany* was in former Ages cover'd by the Sea, and consequently so might those other Countries in which those petrified Shells are found. Against this Opinion are two considerable Objections, not easily to be resolved.

The first is, that at this Rate the whole Body of the Earth must once have been covered with Water, since these petrified Shells are found at a vast Distance from the Sea, nay, even upon the very Tops of the *Alps*. Some pretend to answer this by the general Deluge; but as that proceeded from the Rains, these were more likely to carry off into the Seas those Shells, than to bring them in. What some argue from the Words of the Scripture, (*The Fountains of the deep were broken up*) will not answer the Point neither; for supposing that by the breaking in of the Rivers and Seas, those Shells were brought, the same must of Necessity have been scattered indifferently over the whole Surface of the Earth. Others are for solving this Difficulty, by referring the same to some particular Inundations, alledging, That those Places, where they are found now, might, in most ancient Times, have been low Places, which, by Earthquakes, have been raised up to Mountains; but tho' this, perhaps, may take Place in respect of some inconsiderable Eminencies or Hills, it is not applicable to those mountainous Bulks, such as the *Alps*, *Pyrenees*, *Apennines*, it being evident from the most ancient Records, that though the Face of the

Earth may have undergone some Change; yet the same Mountains, Islands, Promontories, Rivers and Lakes of any Note, are still remaining, without any Removal in their ancient Stations.

The second Objection against this Opinion is, That among all these petrified Cockles or Shells, there are many Sorts not to be found any where now; nay, some go farther, that among all our Shell-Fishes, there are none found like those petrified Shells; unto which, if it be answered, that those Species are lost, it is a Thing which will scarce be admitted by many, for though it might be granted, that some few Species were lost, yet it seems next to an Impossibility, that a whole Genus, of which there were so many Species scattered in so many far distant Places from one another, should be utterly extinct. As for Instance, of the *Serpentine Stones*, or *Cornua Ammonis*, I have myself seen at least six several Species, and some of them of a Foot diameter, being much beyond the Bigness of any Shell-Fish now living in our Seas. Hence it is; that many of our modern Naturalists have attributed these Bodies to the Effects of a plastic Power in the Earth, and that they are produced and framed after the same Manner as precious Stones, Crystals, and coagulated Salts, by shooting up into divers Figures. What makes for their Opinion is, that in the Earth are found many figured Stones, such as the *Lapides Lyncurii*, *Belemnites*, *Lapides Judaici*, *Trochites*, and others, which have not the least Resemblance to any Shells, Bones, Roots, or Fruits; to salve up which, no other Recourse is to be had, than to the before-mentioned Loss of those Species out of the World.

I cannot but mention, upon this Occasion, what I was told by a very credible Person, viz. That he had seen a Stone resembling a Cockleshell, found in the Stomach of an Ox, which, if it be admitted, there is not the least Doubt, but that the like may be so generated in Quarries and other Places. These two different Opinions have given Occasion to a third, viz. That some of those Shells have been truly petrified, and that others are really Stones formed by some Plastic Power in the Earth, imitating the others in their Shapes and Figures. But as this seem to be rather a Shift than a Dissolution of the Objections to be made against either of the two former Opinions, I am inclinable to adhere to the first, as seeming to me more consonant to the Nature of the Thing, though at the same Time I should be very glad to hear the Objections made against it, more solidly answered than they have been hitherto. The Academical Senate of *Altorff* was composed at that Time of thirteen Professors, three in Divinity, as many in Law, two in Physick, and five in Philosophy, who publish every Year a printed Catalogue of the Lectures they intend to keep the next ensuing Year.

25. September 4. We set out from *Altorff* for *Regenspurgh*, or *Ratisbon*, and passing through *Nienmarkt* and *Heinmaw*, two little walled Towns, came to *Ratisbon* the 5th at Night, by a fair Bridge built here over the *Danube*. This City, which receives its Name from the River *Regen*, which here joins its Current with the *Danube*, is very large and well-built with Stone-houses, the Roofs of which are flat, after the *Italian* Manner. It is well fortified, but the Streets somewhat narrow. As it is an Imperial City, it is under the Government of its own Magistrates; who, as well as the greatest Part of the Inhabitants, are *Lutherans*, though their Bishop is of the *Romish* Religion, the Members of which have some Convents here, and a College of Jesuits. It is chiefly famous for the Imperial Diet, which is usually held here.

September 11. We took Boat for *Vienna*, and passed on the Left-hand of the River, by a Village and stony Castle on the Hill called *Thonastein*, and three Leagues and a half below *Ratisbon*, in Sight of the Castle of *Wert*, seated at the Conflux of the River *Wisent*, and the *Danube*, belonging to the Bishop of *Ratisbon*; we took up our Quarters one German League and a half thence, at *Straubingen*, a handsome wall'd Town, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*.

September 12. In the Morning we passed by Pogen, and four Leagues below Stranbingen, under a wooden Bridge laid over the Danube, somewhat lower we saw the small City of Dreckendorf, belonging to the Elector of Bavaria, and having pass'd by the Mouth of the River Iser, and in Sight of Osterhoven on our Left-hand, and the Castle of Hilkersberg on the same Side, we lodged that Night at a little wall'd Bavarian Town called Vilshoven.

September 13. We came to Passau or Passovia, four Leagues distant from Vilshoven, a City considerable for its Strength, Bigness, and noble Buildings, the last of which were very near all consumed by Fire, about nine Months before our Arrival. It is under the Jurisdiction of the Archduke of Inspruck, situate at the Confluence of the Rivers In and the Danube, over the first of which is a Bridge to the Town of Instadt. Below Passau, the Danube being streightned by Hills and Rocks on both Sides, begins to run with a much swifter Stream than before; seven Leagues below Passau, passing by the Castle of Newhouse, we took up our Lodgings at the Village of Asb, on the right Side of the River.

26. September 14. Passing through an open Country on both Sides, for four Leagues together, we came to Lintz, a City neatly built after the Italian Manner, with a square spacious Piazza, adorned with two noble Fountains, the Imperial Palace standing upon a rising Ground, from whence you have a fair Prospect of the Danube and adjacent Country. Three Leagues below it we passed by a very fine Village called Matbause, and in Sight of the City of Intz, seated on our Right-hand upon the River Ens, seven Leagues below Lintz, the Country begins to be hilly again on both Sides of the Danube, near the Castle of the Prince of Lichtenstein, by a Village called Greine; a little below which Place we passed a Kind of Cataract, the Current being nearly enclosed between the Rocks on both Sides, and render'd boisterous by those under Water; and something lower a Whirlpool is made there by the jetting out of Rocks into the River. Afterwards, passing by a small Town called Ips, we lodged that Night at the Village of Morpatch, about eleven German Leagues from Lintz.

September 15. Early in the Morning we passed in Sight of the rich Convent called Melk, on our Right-hand, and about six Leagues further the Seat of Count Dietrichstein on our Left, within Sight of the rich Abby of Ketwein, famous for its stony Situation, and the brave Resistance it made against the Swedes. Nine Leagues from our last Night's Lodging, we passed under a wooden Bridge, near the City of Stein, not far from whence we came to Krembs, a very handsome, strong, well-built City, seated at the Foot of a Hill. From hence, being an open Country, the Channel of the River began to be much broader. Six Leagues below Krembs, we passed by a small City called Deuln, and in Sight of the Castle of Greitenstein, situate upon a Hill, at some Distance from the River, on the Left-hand, and we saw also the City of Cornburgh. Here, and afterwards in other Places, we saw Abundance of Mills in Boats, the Wheels lying betwixt two Boats, placed at a convenient Distance one from another; so that the Stream being by Degrees streightned between the Boats, forces the Wheel to turn. One of the Boats is with Chains, or strong Cables, fastened to the Bank. Within a League and a half of Vienna, we passed by the noble and rich Abby called Cloyster Newburg, with a little wall'd Town of the same Name belonging to it; and having by the Swiftness of the Current made nineteen German Leagues that Day, arrived at Vienna, the Capital of Austria, and now the Capital of the Empire.

This City, which, in Proportion to its Bigness, is the most populous we had seen yet in our Travels, is the ordinary Residence of the Emperor, seated upon the Danube, though it receives its Name from the River Wien, which below it, viz. on the East-side, falls into the former. The Body of the City is not above four or five English Miles in Compass, but the Suburbs are very spacious, some of the Houses of which were lately pulled down, upon the Approach of the Turks towards

Presburgh (not above forty English Miles from thence) after the taking of Newbeusel. Vienna has a most regular Fortification, the Wall of Earth, but very high and thick, faced with Bricks, strengthened by a broad and deep Ditch, and defended by many Half-moons and Horn-works. The Houses are lofty and well-built, with flat Roofs, after the Italian Way: The Markets very well furnished with Provisions, but the Streets none of the broadest. The Emperor's Palace, the Cathedral, and other publick Buildings, are very magnificent. The Emperor himself (Leopold) is low of Stature, of a very dark Complexion, black Hair, and thin visaged, with a thick hanging Under-lip, not unlike his Effigies on his Coin. In the Market we first met here with the Fruit of *Sorbus legitima*, with Tortoises, for Six-pence a-piece, found here in muddy Places; and here we also saw the *Silurus*, or *Sheat-fish*, the biggest of all fresh Water Fish I ever saw, some of them weighing near an hundred Pounds.

27. September 24. We took Coach for Venice, and lodged that Night at a great Village called Trayskerk, four Leagues thence; by the Way we saw great Store of *Absinthium Austriacum tenuifolium*, Claus.

The 24th, after we had travel'd four Leagues, we came to Newstadt, (*Neapolis Austriaca*) a pretty strong square Town, well built, but of no great Extent; having a fair Market-place, and very regular Streets. At three of the Corners it is defended by so many Bastions, but on the fourth it has a Castle or Citadel. Near this Place I met with the *Asperula cerulea*. After we had travel'd two Leagues beyond Newstadt, we began to enter among the Hills, and lodged that Night at Glacknitz, four Leagues from Newstadt.

The 26th, We had scarce made two Leagues, when coming to the Village of Shadwin, our Coachman hired ten Oxen (which were ready at hand for that Purpose) to draw the Coach up the steep Hills, which are the common Boundaries betwixt Austria and Stiria. After we had travel'd for some Time among the Hills, we pass'd through Mertzsuchlag, a small City seated upon the River Muercz (where we saw many Mills) and afterwards through Langenwang and Kriegla, each of which have a Castle built on Hills. We cross'd the River near the last, and passing through a pleasant Valley surrounded with woody Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village of Kimberg, six long German Leagues from Glocknitz.

The 27th, We continued our Journey through the same Valley, through the Valley of Kapsberg, in Sight of several Villages, Castles, and Country-Seats upon the Sides of the Hills, and at three Leagues End came to the City call'd Pruck en der Mure, i. e. Pons Mura, a neat Place, defended by a Wall, having a spacious Market-place: The Inhabitants are mostly concerned in Iron-work. Here we pass'd the River Mure twice, and after we had left Lewben, pass'd over a Hill, and so following the Course of the River among the Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village called St. Michael. Here it was we saw many Men and Women with large Tumours hanging down under their Chins and Throats, some of which were single, some double, call'd in Latin, *Bronchocoele*, and by some English the *Bavarian Pokes*. This, it seems, is a Disease natural, and of old belonging to the Alpine Inhabitants: *Quis tumidum guttur miretur in Alpibus?* Though the Grisons inhabiting the highest Parts of these Mountains, are either not at all, or at least not near so much subject to this Distemper. Some attribute the Source of this Evil to the Snow-water which comes from the Alps; others to the virulent mercurial Particles which are mix'd with these Waters; but as this Distemper is not frequent among other Nations inhabiting mountainous Countries, where the Snow lies as long as here, nay, where their Waters are nothing but melted Snow, neither among the Hungarians and Transylvanians, (where they abound in Minerals, and especially in Mercury) we had better suspend our Judgment, till some ingenious Physician, residing in those Countries, shall assign us the true Cause and Cure of this Distemper. We also saw more Idiots and delirious Persons here than any where else, which

I attributed chiefly to the venomous and malignant mercurial Vapours, which will, beyond all Question, affect the Brains and Nerves; as is obvious in Goldsmiths, Gilders, Miners and Painters; though they generally attribute this to the Use of Snow-water, and of the vast Quantity of Cabbage, which is their daily Food here.

The 28th, We continued our Journey for three Leagues along the River *Mure* to *Knittelfeld*, a small City, and then passing through a Valley in Sight of many Noblemens Seats and Castles, lodged that Night at the Village of *St. Georgio*, upon the *Mure*, four Leagues from *Knittelfeld*. The 29th, We continued our Journey along the River *Mure*, through the same Valley, as far as *Newmarket* four Leagues from *St. Georgio*, and following the Tract of another River, which near *Volckmarck* falls into the River *Drave*, we passed through *Freisach*, a considerable City in those Parts, seated in a little Valley betwixt high Hills, and after a League's travelling further, lodged at *Heirt* in *Carinthia*.

The 30th, For three German Leagues after, we travell'd still through rocky Valleys as far as *St. Veit*, where the Emperor has a Mint: Three Leagues further we came to *Vilkircken*, a Town of Note, but quite ruined by an accidental Fire three Years before. *October* the 1st, We passed over rugged Rocks, and Mountains all along the Lake *Ostfukersee*, at the further End of which Count *Dietrichstein* has a strong Castle built upon a Hill. After that, passing through a pleasant Valley, we cross'd the River *Drave*, which begins to be navigable here, and washes the Walls of *Villach*, a Town of Note in this Country, three Leagues from *Vilkirck*. At some Distance from *Villach*, we pass'd the River *Guile*, which joins its Current with the *Drave*. Hence we travelled again over very rocky Mountains to *Orlesteiana*, where we lodged that Night.

October the 2d, We travell'd on for two Leagues through the Mountains to *Klein Tarvis*, and thence to the River *Timent*, which exonerates itself into the *Adriatick-Sea*, and took up our Quarters that Night at *Pontieba*, the last Place in the Emperor's Territories, Part of it being subject to the Emperor, from whence it is called *Pontieba Imperiale*, as that Part which belongs to the *Venetians* is thence called *Pontieba Veneta*; here we were obliged to take a Bill of Health. Between this Place and *Klein Tarvis* observing several Herds of Goats following the Goat-herds like Dogs, it put us in Mind of what our Saviour says, *And he goeth before his Sheep, and they follow him, for they know his Voice*; which proves that the same was usual in those Days in *Judea*. *October* the 3d, we passed the River *Timent* by a Bridge, which here parts *Carinthia* from *Friuli*. About a German League thence, we came to a small Fort, called *Clausen*, where they stopped us till we delivered our Bill of Health. As we travell'd on along the River, we saw many Timber Trees floating down the Stream, which being fell'd in the *Alps*, are brought to the next Rivulet or Brook, and when the next strong Rain Shower falls, forced down into the greater Rivers. We passed the same Day through *Vensonga*, a pretty little City, and lodged that Night at the Village of *Hospitaletto*, and so entred *Italy*.

The Circumstances of this worthy Gentleman, at the Time of his going Abroad, were of a Nature that qualified him to enter into such Enquiries, and to make such Sort of Observations as are most worthy of a Reader's Attention, as being most likely to convey to him the Advantages of Travelling, without the Fatigue of it. Mr. Ray was in the Flower of his Age; he had reaped all the Advantages of a learned and general Education. He had seen the greatest Part of his own Country before he went into foreign Parts, and the sole Reason of his going thither, was, for his own Improvement. It is very natural, therefore, to expect from such a Man, Remarks and Reflections, very different from those of other Travellers; and the Reader will find, that his Expectations in this Respect are fully answered. All his Remarks are curious and important, most of his Reflections are very sensible and judicious; he did not

dwell on the Superficies of Things, but went to the Bottom. He knew before he went Abroad, all that was worth knowing of the Countries he visited from Books, and he made it his Business to prepare the Materials for his Enquiries, before he came to the Places where they were to be made; so that we find him sometimes commending and sometimes correcting the Authors that he had read; which enable us to judge of other Books as well as his own, as it also enabled him to bring together, in a very narrow Compass, an infinite Number of curious and learned Observations. It is indeed true, that this gives an Air of Singularity to his Writings, which differences them extremely from most other Books of like Titles; but this is so far from being any Way prejudicial to, that in the Opinion of the best Judges, it adds greatly to the Merit of his Performance.

Another Advantage Mr. Ray had beyond most Travellers, which was derived from the Company in which he travelled; and in Order to place this in a proper Light, it becomes necessary for us to say somewhat of his Fellow-Travellers. *Francis Willoughby*, Esq; Ancestor to the present Lord *Middleton*, was a Gentleman no less distinguished by his eminent Virtues and Knowledge, in all Degrees of Learning, than by his Descent from an ancient and honourable Family, and his Possession of a large hereditary Estate. He was from his Childhood addicted to Study, and when he came to the Use of Reason was so great a Husband of his Time, that he suffered no Opportunities of improving himself, to slip unemployed; and though he had a Tincture of most other Sciences, yet those that were the chief Objects of his Affections were the Mathematicks and natural Philosophy. In order to cultivate these, he undertook this Journey with Mr. Ray, in which he kept his Pencil continually in his Hand, and drew with great Exactness whatever offered itself to his View, worthy of Observation. His accurate History of Birds, his noble Specimen of the History of Fishes, both of which were published after his Decease, by the Care of his learned Friend, are the lasting Monuments of his Fame and Learning, together with Abundance of curious and learned Essays that are to be met with in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and these will appear to us the more extraordinary, when we reflect that he died but a young Man, on the 3d of *July*, 1672, at the Age of Thirty seven. As to Mr. *Skippon*, afterwards Sir *Philip Skippon*, who was also a Companion with Mr. Ray in these Travels, we shall have Occasion to mention him more particularly, when we come to speak of his Journey through *Spain*, and therefore it is only requisite to observe here, that his Talents, his Industry, and his Accuracy, were not inferior to those of his Companions; from whence we may safely collect, that though these Gentlemen had each of them his particular View, to which he chiefly attended, yet their Conversation contributed not a little to help each of their Enquiries, and enabled them to push their Discoveries much farther than they could have done, if they had travelled alone, or if they had travelled in Company, where, while some were engag'd in serious and solid Studies, others had pursued only sensual Pleasures, or trivial Amusements.

It must be acknowledged, that many Passages in this Section, and many more in the succeeding Sections, relate to Places already mentioned and described, and therefore it may seem somewhat unnecessary, more especially considering how much we are straitned for Room, to suffer these Repetitions. But to this, several Answers may be made, as for Instance: There is such a Connection runs through the whole of Mr. Ray's Travels, that the Reader will very easily discern there was no Choice left for us to make, but whether we would receive or reject all; and he will certainly see good Reason to think that he had been very ill treated, if the latter had been our Resolution. It must be also observed, that his Observations are of a very different Nature from those of *Misson* or *Burnet*, more especially as we have taken Care to leave out a few Passages, which it was impossible should not be the same in Re-

lations respecting the same Places; so that by this Means, Repetitions are for the most part avoided, at the same time that the Connection, necessary for understanding Mr. Ray's Narrative of his Travels, is maintained throughout. *Lastly*, it contributes not a little to the Variety and Entertainment, as well as the Utility and Instruction of a Work like this, to bring together as great a Diversity of Travels as is possible, because as the old Proverb says, *Many Men, many Minds*. One Traveller makes his Remarks in one Manner, another in another; one shews himself an Antiquary, another is an Historian, a third a Critic, a fourth a Politician, a fifth a Philosopher; and in reading their several Remarks, we profit by them all. Besides, it ought to be remembered, that as Travellers differ in their Notions, so Readers vary also in their Sentiments of Things. Such as have a View to traverse these Countries themselves, cannot avoid setting a high Value upon *Misson's* Manner of Writing; such as have a Taste for History and Politicks, must be charmed with *Burnet's* Method; and those again, who are in Love with philosophick Enquiries, moral Reflections, and Discoveries that are

useful to Society, will very probably prefer the Accounts given by Mr. Ray, to *Misson* and *Burnet* both. General Readers who grasp at all, will receive Satisfaction from comparing these different Methods, and find in Variety, what they would have missed, if we had given them the very best Relation that could have been selected, and that in its utmost Extent. It was our Business to gratify the Desires of every Reader, and this alone is a sufficient Apology for the Method that is here taken. A Library of Voyages and Travels implies that such Method should be taken, and it always has been, and shall be our Study to fulfil the Title of this Work, to make it as far as we can all that we have promised, so as to leave no Room for objecting, that we have been sparing in our Pains to accomplish what we proposed, and to comply with the Expectations of the Publick, which in all Cases is unjust, and in ours would be highly ingrateful, considering the kind Reception we have hitherto met with, and which as it encourages, so it lays us under an Obligation to use our Endeavours at least, to deserve it.

SECTION VI.

The TRAVELS of the Reverend Mr. JOHN RAY, through the Dominions of the State of *Venice*, *Lombardy*, *Tuscany*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Islands of *Sicily* and *Malta*, the Ecclesiastical State, the Bishoprick of *Trent*, the Country of the *Grisons*, *Switzerland*, &c.

Interspersed throughout with Historical, Political, Philosophical, Physical, and Moral Reflections, together with an Account of Abundance of Curiosities seen and examined in the Course of the Author's Voyages and Travels, and many other entertaining and instructive Particulars.

1. An Introductory Account of what is to be expected from the following Section.
2. Observations on the Situation, Extent, Number of People, Revenues, &c. of Venice.
3. Some curious Remarks on the Government of that Republick.
4. Curiosities of different Kinds seen by the Author there, with a very distinct and particular Account of the Art of making Venice Soap.
5. A succinct Description of Padua, and of the Hot Baths at Abona.
6. An Account of Vicenza, and of the chief Commodities in the Country round it.
7. The Cave of Custoza described, together with the Manner of making Venti-ducts.
8. The City of Verona, and the Country about it described.
9. Some very curious Remarks on the State of Mantua.
10. Ferrara and Bologna described, with an Account of the Country and Trade.
11. Some Remarks on the Dutchy of Modena, and of the reigning Family.
12. The Cities of Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, described, with many useful Remarks.
13. An Account of Brescia, Bergamo, and of the Country about those Cities.
14. Remarks upon Milan, and the Curiosities the Author saw there.
15. A Description of Turin, and of the Country of Piedmont.
16. A very large and accurate Description of the City and Republick of Genoa.
17. The Author's Journey from thence to Leghorn, including a Description of the principal Places in the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany.
18. The Author's Voyage to Naples, giving an Account of that City and Kingdom.
19. A Description of the principal Places in the Island of Sicily.
20. The Author's Voyage from thence to the Island of Malta, and a Description of that Place, its principal Commodities and Manufactures.
21. An Account of the City of Valetta, of the Knights of Malta, together with various Remarks on the Country and Inhabitants.
22. The Author's Return to, and farther Observations in, the Island of Sicily.
23. His Voyage from thence to Naples, with some curious Remarks on the different Provinces of that Kingdom through which he passed.
24. A Description of Florence, with some historical Notes as to the Family, Power, and Revenues of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.
25. The Author's Journey from Florence to Rome.
26. His Observations on the principal Edifices in that famous Capital.
27. A succinct Description of the Place, and of the Country adjacent.
28. The Author's Journey from thence to Ancona, with Remarks upon such Places as he passed through in his Way.
29. An Account of his Journey continued from Ancona to Trent.
30. A Description of that City, with the Copy of a remarkable Inscription relating to the last General Council held there.
31. Several Remarks of our Author on the Country, Produce, and Manufactures of Italy, and on the Disposition, Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants.
32. Observations on the Swiss-Cantons, and on the City of Geneva.
33. Conclusion of this Section, and Remarks.

THE Design of this Section is to extract so much of Mr. Ray's Travels through *Italy*, as may inform the Reader, in many Particulars, that were either omitted by, or did not occur to the Authors whose Works have been already inserted, as also to enlarge the Accounts already given, with the Descriptions of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, the Islands of *Sicily* and *Malta*, and many other Places thro' which he passed, and which were not mentioned by the former Writers. The Reader will also observe, that in regard to the Curiosities of Art and Nature which are mentioned in these Travels, they are more closely and thoroughly examined than in those of *Misson*, *Burnet*, or indeed any other; because they were what these Gentlemen particularly sought after, and perfectly understood; neither may it be improper to take Notice, that in Consequence of many useful Discoveries made by them in their Travels, and communicated to their Countrymen after their Return, several useful Trades were set up, and new Manufactures introduced in this Kingdom. It were to be wished, that the same beneficent and publick Spirit was more common among modern Travellers, and that they would accustom themselves to think of bringing home some valuable Invention, in Return for great Sums of Money spent in their Travels, and which must be considered as intirely thrown away, by such as carry their Views no higher than bare Amusement. But let us now return to our Author, and continue the Story of his Travels as near as may be in his own Words.

October 4, Quitting the Mountains, we entred the Plains of *Friuli*, passing by *Limonia*, situated at the Foot of the Mountains, and some Leagues further through *St. Daniele*; after which we forded the River *Timent* in several Places, though in Time of Rain, or when the melted Snow comes down from the Mountains, it is of a considerable Breadth. The first Time we passed the River we came to *Spilemberg*, seated upon a Cliff, where we saw Cloisters under the Houses on both Sides of the Streets (a thing common in *Lombardy*) and after ten *Italian* Miles travelling, took up our Lodgings in the Village of *St. Avogio*.

October 5, We travell'd for ten Miles to a walled Town call'd *Saribe*, encompass'd by the River *Livenza*, which divides itself into two Branches. We travelled for two *German* Leagues, and lodged at *Conegliano*, a small City, seated on a Ridge of a Hill. Whilst we travelled in *Italy*, we met rarely with any wheaten Bread, that which we used, being made of *Sorghum*, a certain Grain, the Blade of which grows seven or eight Foot high, of the thickness of a Finger, bearing a large Pannicle on the Top, the Seed being bigger than Wheat, of a dusky Colour.

October 6. A *German* League from hence we ferried over the River *Anaxus* (*Piave*) and ten *Italian* Miles further came to the large and famous City of *Treviso*, the Capital of the Province call'd *Marca Trevisana*. Hence we continued our Journey through a fertile Country to *Mestre*, a small Place, seated near the *Lagunes*, or Flats about *Venice*, which are dry at low, but covered with Water at high Tide. From whence we pass'd in a Boat to *Venice*. Throughout the greatest Part of *Friuli*, the *Marca Trevisana*, and *Lombardy*, we saw the Corn-fields planted with Trees as thick as our Orchards, against each Tree a Vine, the Branches of which draw from Tree to Tree in Rows, and make a kind of a Hedge; their Soil being so rich, that it suffices for the Production of Corn and Grapes, the Trees not giving the least Hindrance to the Corn, either by their Droppings or Shadow, because little Rain falls here in the Summer, and the Leaves keep off the scorching Heat of the Sun, which notwithstanding this suffices to bring it to Maturity. This part of *Italy* has for its Beauty and amazing Fertility, justly deserved the Name of the *Garden of Europe*.

2. The famous City of *Venice* is built upon several little Islands in the middle of Shallows, surrounded by the Sea, called by them *Lagunes*. These *Lagunes* are separated from the Gulph of *Venice* by a certain Land-

bank (which they call the *Lido*) about thirty-eight or forty Miles in Extent, and resembling the Space contained in a bent Bow, supposing the first to be the Continent, and the String the *Lido*. *Venice* itself is at an equal Distance of five Miles from each: The *Lido* serves as a Fence against the Violence of the Sea, and has seven Inlets or small Harbours, two only being capable of receiving Vessels of any great Burthen, viz. Those of *Malamocco* and *Lio*. Not far from the *Lagunes* most of the considerable Rivers of *Italy* discharge themselves into the Gulph, viz. *Padus* the *Po*, *Atthesis* or *Adige*, *Meduacus major* or *Brenta*, *Meduacus minor*, or *Bacchilione*, *Tiliaventum* or *Tajamento*, *Liquentia* or *Livenza*, *Silis* or *Sile*, *Anassus* or *Piave*; and these carrying along with them a vast Quantity of Earth, may in Time fill up the *Lagune*; for *Gianotti* tells us, that in ancient times the City of *Venice* was ten Miles from the Continent *Oriago* (*Ora lacus*) then lying upon the Shoar of the *Lagune*, which is now five Miles from *Fusina*, where they take Boat for *Venice*. The first Origin of *Venice* may be traced as far as the Irruption of the *Huns* into *Italy*, under *Attila*, when many of the best Families fled for Shelter into these Islands, and at last erected here a noble City. Certain it is, that this City has maintained its Sovereignty these 1200 Years, though it be not strengthened by any Fortification, but what the Sea affords it, no great Ships being able to approach nearer than the Harbour of *Malamocco*; those Inlets where small Vessels may pass, being defended by strong Forts; besides, the Channels are so difficult to pass, that none but their own Pilots dare venture to navigate through them. The Circumference of *Venice* (taking in the *Giudecha*) is of about eight *Italian* Miles, being divided into two Parts by the grand Canal, which passes through the middle of it in the Form of the Letter S. Each Side is subdivided into three Wards, called by them *Sestieri*, viz. *Castello*, *St. Marco*, and *Canarejo*, on one Side, and *San Paolo*, *Santa Croce* and *Dorso duro* on the other Side. In the whole it contains 70 or 72 Parishes, and 67 Convents, according to a Survey taken in the Year 1581. according to which there were then in the City, of Noblemen 1843, Women 1659, Boys 1420, Girls 1230: Of common Citizens, Men 2117, Women 1936, Boys 1708, Girls 1418: Servants 3732, Maids 5753: Of Artisans, Men 32887, Women 31617, Boys 22765, Girls 18227: Of Beggars, Men 75, Women 112, Monks 945, Nuns 2508, Priests 516, Poor of the Hospital 1290, Jews 1043. The Sum total of which amounts to 134,871. *Sanfovino* makes the Number of Souls in his Time to have been 180,000 in which I suppose he comprehends the Suburb of *Murano* and some other small Islands. Some of our modern Writers have increased this Number to 300,000, but without much Probability, nothing being more common than to magnify the Number of Inhabitants of great Cities; thus I have heard say frequently, that in *Paris* there is a Million and a half of People, whereas there is scarce half a Million. The whole City is divided into many Islands, by small Channels, thro' which you convey yourself and Goods by Boats from one Place to another, there being no Use of Carts, Horses, Coaches, Litters, or Asses, except that they employ now and then Porters in the Alleys, which run a-cross the City for the Passage on Foot, for Conveniency of which 450 Bridges are built cross the Channels of one Arch each, and most of Stone. The Bridge call'd *Ponte di Rialto*, is built over the grand Canal, excels all the rest. The Number of Boats for the Convenience of Carriage in the Canal, some make amount to 10,000, some swell them to 12,000, some to 15,000. The Buildings here are generally lofty and beautiful, especially those along the grand Canal, and the Noblemen's Palaces, which though not very spacious, yet are very handsomely contrived; they all stand upon Piles of Wood, like the Houses of *Amsterdam*. The Arsenal of *Venice* has above two Miles in Circumference, containing a great Store of all Manner of warlike Provisions, 20000 Pieces of great and small Cannon, and Arms for 250,000 Men. Here they build and lay up their Gallies (of which, as they say, they have 200) and

and among the rest the *Bucintauri*, in which the Duke of Venice every Year espouses the Sea at three Miles distance from the City, by casting into it a Ring, with these Words, *I espouse thee in Token of perpetual Dominion*. In this Arsenal are maintained at the Charge of the Publick, 1550 Workmen of all Sorts, such as Shipwrights, Carpenters, Smiths, &c.

This City, according to its Epithet, *Venice the Rich*, once surpassed in Wealth all the Cities of Europe, till the Passage to the *East Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope* was discovered, at which Time they were not the sole Masters of the *East India* Trade only, but were also in Possession of all *Lombardy* and *Friuli*, of *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, on the Continent, besides the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, *Zant*, *Cephalonia*, *Corfu*, and several other Isles in the *Archipelago*: But since the Loss of that Trade, and their heavy Wars with the *Turks*, (in which they lost *Cyprus* and *Candia*) their publick Treasure has been much exhausted, yet the Inhabitants, who have never been subject to any Ravages or Change of Government, are very rich, and the Government remains still in Possession of the following Dominions, viz. 1. the *Dogado*, in which is the City of Venice. 2. The City and Territories of *Padua*. 3. Of *Vicenza*. 4. Of *Verona*. 5. Of *Brescia*. 6. Of *Bergamo*. 7. Of *Crema*. 8. *Marca Trevisana*, under which are comprehended the Territories and Cities of *Feltre* and *Belluno*. 9. *Friuli*. 10. *Istria*. 11. The Territory of *Rovigo*, formerly belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara*; the whole extending 250 Miles in Length, and 125 in Breadth. Out of Italy they are possessed of Part of *Dalmatia*, the Islands of *Zant*, *Cephalonia*, and *Corfu*, beside others of less Note. We were credibly informed, that the ordinary annual Revenue of the whole Republick amounted to 5,320,000 *Venetian Ducats*, one of their Ducats, being somewhat less than a *French Crown*: Of which Venice produces 1,400,000 yearly, *Brescia* 1,000,000, *Bergamo* 140,000, *Padua* 140,000, *Vicenza* 200,000, *Verona* 230,000, *Bergamo* 140,000, *Crema* 100,000, *Rovigo* 70,000, *Istria* 150,000, *Il Friuli* 100,000, *La Marca Trevisana* 190,000, *Gli Stati di Mare* 450,000, *La Zecca* 150,000.

Venice abounds in Provisions of all Sorts, especially Fish and Water-fowl, and excepting fresh Water, which must be brought from the Land, and their rain Water they preserve in Cisterns. The Air of Venice is very sharp in Winter by its Vicinity to the *Alps*. This City is famous for the best Treacle, for Paper, Turpentine, Needle-work Laces, Soap, and above all, for the best Drinking and Looking-glasses; these are made at *Murano*, a Town of three Miles in Circuit, in an Isle about a Mile distant from Venice.

Women of any Fashion are kept in great Restraint here, seldom appearing abroad, except it be at Church, when they are sure to have an old Woman for their Guardian. Their Daughters are put at seven or eight Years of Age into some Nunnery, where they are educated, and seldom stir from thence till they are married.

3. The Government is *Aristocratical* in respect to the whole, the common People having not the least Share in the Government, but in reference to the Nobility may be called *Democratical*, every one pretending to his Share in it, the *Doge* or *Duke* being no more than an empty Title, without any princely Authority. The whole Administration of the Government is in the Great Council, the Senate, or Council of *Pregadi*, the College, the Council of Ten, and the *Signoria*; besides several other Magistrates for the Administration of Justice; all which, together with their Method of chusing by Lot, and other Ways of transacting publick Affairs, are particularly described by *Contarini*, *Giarotti*, and *Sanfovino*. The Procurators of *St. Mark*, though not to be number'd among those who have the Administration of the Republick, yet are in great Reputation in this City, this Dignity continuing for Life, and since its first Establishment, there having been but few Dukes who were not first Procurators of *St. Mark*. In ancient Times there was but one Procurator of *St. Mark*, whose Business was to provide for the Church of *St. Mark*, and the Treasure belonging to it, which encreasing by De-

grees, one more was added, and *A. D.* 1270, a third, and not long after a fourth, till their Number was increased to six, and afterwards in 1423 to nine, and in 1509 to fifteen.

4. Here we saw, first, the little *Diabolus in Carcere*, as some call it, being no more than an *Incunula*, or Glass Bubble, put into a Cylindrical Glass Tube full of Water, the Bubble having, in the heavier End of it, a little Hole of such a Poise, as just to keep it swimming upon the Water; the Glass-tube being stop'd at one End, they clap their Hand to the Mouth of the Tube, and so pressing down the Air upon the Superficies of the Water, the same presses upon the Air in the Bubble, which giving Way, makes Room for the Water to enter through the Hole in the Bubble, which becoming heavier, sinks to the Bottom, but upon the Removal of the Hand, the Air in the Bubble, by its elastick Power expanding itself, forces out the Water, and ascends again; so, that in proportioning the Force, they can make it descend or ascend, as much or as little as they please. For the further Elucidation of which, I refer to Dr. *Cornelius* of *Naples*. *Progymnasmatum Physica*, in his Epistle *de Circumpulsione Platonica*. Among other Curiosities, we saw here a Boy, who by bending his Head betwixt his Legs to the Ground, charged his Belly with Wind, and afterwards discharged it at Pleasure. A certain noble *Venetian* also shewed us a fulminating Powder, not much inferior to the *Aurum fulminans*, of which he gave us the following Receipt. *R. Salt of Tartar one Part, of common Brimstone two Parts, and Saltpetre three Parts, beat them fine and mix them well*: This Powder put into an iron Vessel or Pan, and held over the Fire, as soon as it melts, will explode with almost as much Noise as the fulminating Powder of Gold.

The same Gentleman introduced us to a Place where we saw the whole Process of making Venice Soap, which is accounted as good as *Castile Soap*. The whole Composition is made of Oil of Olives, and a certain Lye; the last they make thus: Take of the Ashes of the Herb *Kali*, known in England by the Name of *Beriglia*, two thirds; of *Kelp*, i. e. the Ashes of the ordinary Seawrack, one third; these beaten with a Mallet into small Pieces, and well mingled, are ground to a Powder in a Mill, not unlike our Cyder Mills, and being sifted afterwards, they mix some slacked Lime with the Powder, and make it up into Pellets, which they put into Troughs, and pounding Sea-water upon it, (fresh Water would do as well) makes the *Lixivium* or Lye. The Cauldrons wherein they boil their Soap are very large, the Bottoms of Copper, but the Side made of Stone, bound about with iron Hoops, and enclosed in a wooden Case. One third Part of those Cauldrons they fill with Oil, and the remaining Part with the Lye, then putting Fire under it, let it boil continually till the Oil be all boiled away, still filling up the Defect of the Lye as it boils away; by which Means Part of the Oil, uniting itself with the Salt of the Lye, rises up to the Top in Form of a Scum, which condensing by the Coolness of the Air, produces that which we call Soap. The Trial they make of the Strength of the *Lixivium* is, when an Egg will swim in it. The Crust or Soap they take from the Surface of the Liquor, they spread upon a Floor, whereon Lime Dust is strewed (to hinder the Soap from sticking to it) then smooth it, and let it dry in a Bed of about the Thickness of a good Brick. This, when dry'd, they cut in lesser Pieces, and having cleansed them by paring the adhering Impurities, seal them with a Seal.

N. B. That *Beriglia* alone would make the Soap too soft, as the *Kelp* alone would render it too brittle. The green Colour (of which the Germans are very fond) is given by putting a certain Quantity of Juice of Beet into the Cauldron, with the Oil and Lye.

5. *Padua*, watered by the two Rivers *Brenta* and *Bacchilio*, is of great Antiquity, and if we credit *Livy*, who was born here, owes its Foundation to *Antenor*, after the Destruction of *Troy*, which is also confirmed, not only by *Virgil*, but also by *Martial*, when he addresses himself to *Valerius Flaccus*, a Poet, and Native of *Padua*, in these Words, *Antenorei spes & alumne laris*. Notwithstanding which, some will have the City of

Altinum

Altinum to be founded by *Antenor*, and *Padua* by *Patavius*, a King of *Veneti*. This City, after having born its Share in the Devastations made by the *Huns* and *Lombards*, and having obtained its Liberty under the Emperor *Otho I.* was governed by its own Magistrates, till *Ezzellinus* the Tyrant, and not many Years after the *Carraresi* lorded it over them, and at last, in 1405, fell under the *Venetian* Jurisdiction. It is surrounded by two Walls, the first is called to this Day *Antenor's* Wall, though of a far later Structure, being about three Miles in Circumference, the outward comprehending, with all its Fortifications and Ditches, a Compass of six Miles, built by the *Venetians*, at the Time of the League of *Cambray*, as may be seen by the *Latin* Inscription over the Gate of *All-Saints*.

Hanc antiquissimam Urbem literarum omnium Asylum cujus agrum fertilitatis semen natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit: Senatus autem Venetus his belli propugnaculis ornavit, Leonardo Lauredano Duce Venetorum invictissimo, cujus Principatus varias Fortunæ vices excipiens quam gloriose superavit.

However, this City is neither rich nor populous, in any Proportion to its Bigness, containing, according to my Opinion, not above thirty thousand Souls, though some say, thirty eight thousand. There is a large and fertile Plain belonging to this City, so that their Bread is both very cheap and good, according to the *Italian* Proverb, that *Bread of Padua, Wine of Vicenza, Tripe of Treviso, and Courtezans of Venice, are the best in their Kind*. No Trees are allowed to be planted within a Mile of its Fortifications, the Ground which they call the *Waste*, being preserved for Corn; for as there is little Ground near this Place for Pasturage, Milk is excessive dear here. For the Use of the Poor, they make Bread of *Indian* Wheat, and of *Sorgum*.

It has several goodly publick Structures, as, 1. The *Palazzo della Ragione*, or Town-hall, where the Courts of Justice are kept, being two hundred and fifty six Foot long, and eighty six broad, unto which you ascend by many Steps, having Shops underneath it; some will have this to be the largest Room in *Europe*, tho', according to our Eye-sight, we thought it not quite so big as *Westminster-Hall*. 2. The publick Schools. 3. The Church of *St. Anthony*. 4. The Church of *St. Justina*, with the Convent of *Benedictines*. 5. The Palace of the *Arena* or Amphitheater. 6. The Magazine of Corn and Ammunition. 7. The *Ponte Molino*, where there are about thirty Mills together upon the River *Brenta*. 8. The Palace of the *Capitano*. 9. *Antenor's* Tomb, as they would make us believe, for the particular Description of which, I refer to *Schottus* and others. There is one remarkable Building here near the *Domo*, called *Mons Pietatis*, where they tell you a Stock of Money of forty thousand Crowns is kept for the Use of such poor People as have Occasion to borrow upon Pawns, for which, if the Sum be small, they pay no Interest, if it be considerable, they allow only Five per Cent. which defrays the Charges of the Clerks, and other Attendance, the Overplus, if any, being distributed among the Poor, the Bank always remaining entire. The like Foundations are in many other Cities of *Italy*.

But what renders this City most famous is its University, which acknowledges the Emperor *Frederick II.* for its Founder, *Anno 1220*, for a compleat Account of which, I will recommend the *Gymnasium Patavinum* of *Thomassinus*. Such is the outrageous Temper of the Students here, that no Inhabitant or Stranger dare appear in the Streets in the Night-time, which if they happen to do, and meet with a Troop of those Nocturnal Vagabonds, they cry to them, Who goes there? and if they answer, they bid them turn back, which if they do not instantly, they must expect to be saluted with their Pistols they carry with them; nay, Nothing is more common, than if two Parties of those Students happen to meet, they retire behind the Posts of the Portico's or Cloisters, which are on both Sides, and so let fly one at another.

The Physick Garden is well stored with Simples, but its Fame is chiefly owing to those excellent Men which have had the Management of it, as *Aloysius Mundella*,

Aloysius Anguillara, Melchior Guilandinus, Jacobus Antonius Cortusus, Prosper Alpinus, and Joannes Veslingius.

The Government of *Padua* is administer'd by a *Podestà* or Major, and a *Capitano*, the first for Civil, the second for Military Affairs. They are both sent by the *Venetians*.

6. From *Padua* we took a Turn to *Albano*, anciently *Apona*, five Miles hence, to view the hot Springs there which arising in a rocky Hillock, consisting of a porous Stone, furnish such plenty of Water, that one of them drives an overshot Mill; and by the Porosity of the Rock and the Salt it contains, washes off certain small Particles of the Stone, which by Degrees it lets fall again, and precipitates to the Bottom of the Channels through which it runs, so that they pick Abundance of Stone of a dark grey Colour off the Mill-Wheel every Month. The Water is so hot, that in one of those Springs the Inhabitants scald their Hogs to get off the Hair, being full of white Salt, which coagulates upon the Surface of the Water. The Waters of *Albano* are used only for Bathing.

February, 3. We continued our Journey to *Vicenza*, a City not quite so big, but more populous than *Padua*, its Compass being no more than four Miles, but containing between thirty and forty thousand Souls. It is seated upon the River *Bacchilio*, and watered by the *Rero* or *Eretenus*, as also by two Rivulets called *Asticello* and *Seriola*, but is of no great Strength, being surrounded only by a Brick Wall. It is inhabited by Nobility and Gentry, of which there are said to be above two hundred Families here. I will not pretend to give an exact Account of the several Changes of their Government, referring my self as to this Point to *Schottus* and *Leander Albertus*. I will only add, that after they had recovered their Liberty, they submitted voluntarily to the Protection of the *Venetians*, which is the Reason they enjoy greater Privileges than any of the neighbouring Cities. The Theatre of the Academy, called the *Olympic*, is a very neat Structure, the Inhabitants live chiefly by Silk-worms, and winding, twisting, and dying of Silks. Their Wines hereabouts are both rich and agreeable, especially what they call *Dolce & Piccante*.

7. Hence we travelled six Miles to the famous Cave of *Custoza*, being six hundred and fifty Perches, or four thousand Foot long, and four hundred and ninety Perches, or three thousand Foot broad, and about three Miles in Circumference. The whole seems to be Nothing else but a Cave left from the Digging of Stones, as *Trissinus* has very well observed, it being certain, that the ancient Buildings of *Padua* and *Vicenza* are of the same Stone, and the Roof of this Cave is at Distances sometimes greater, and sometimes lesser, supported by above one thousand huge Pillars of the Quarry, of three Perches square; besides, that to this Day, you see great square Pieces of Stone cut round about, and the Tracks of Cart Wheels, whereas there has been no Cart there in the Memory of Man. We saw great Numbers of Bats clinging to the Roof and Sides of the Cave, and some standing Waters, with a Kind of Fish, or rather Insect, in them, called by them *Squillæ Venetianæ*, though they properly were the same called by the Naturalists *Pulices marini*, or *aquatici*, i. e. *Sea-flees*, or *Water-flees*.

In the same Village we had also a Sight of the famous Ventiduct belonging to a Nobleman of *Vicenza*, contrived for the Coolness of his Palace during the Heat of the Summer: To effect which, Channels are cut thro' the Rocks, from a spacious high-roof'd Grotto to the Palace, so that when they intend to let in the cool Air, they shut up the Gate at the Cave, and by opening a Door at the End of the Channel, convey the *Fresco* into the Rooms of the Palace, each of which has a Conduit or Hole to receive it.

8. From *Vicenza* we went to *Verona*, seated upon the River *Atbesis* or *Adige*, which being very broad here, has a Stone Bridge built over it, reckoned among the fairest of *Europe*, besides three lesser ones. Its Circumference (without the Suburbs) is seven Miles, and is very populous and strong both by Nature and Art, being defended by good Bastions, Towers, and deep Ditches water'd by the *Adige*, besides which, it is strength-

ned by three Forts. We saw here, among other Things, the Collection of Rarities of an Apothecary, one *Ma-pheus Cusanus*, consisting of many *Aegyptian* Idols, petrified Shells, Coins and Medals, and among the last, a *Maximilian* and *Dioclesian*, with this Inscription on the Reverse, *Veronæ Amphitheatrum*.

Another we saw of *Muscardo*, a Gentleman of *Verona*, who had Abundance of Lachrymal Urns and Lamps, Shells and Fruits petrified, Ores and Gems, but especially of *Roman* Medals, among which he shewed us an *Otho* of Gold, telling us at the same Time, that those of Brass were all spurious. But a Description of this Collection being already published in *Italian*, I will not insist upon the further Particulars thereof, or of the *Museum* of *Mario Sala*, an Apothecary here, which contains only certain Remnants of the Collection of *Calceolari*, published long ago.

The Amphitheatre of *Verona* is a Structure worth a curious Traveller's Observation, being both stately and spacious, and in outward Appearance, not inferior for Beauty or Capaciousness to that of *Titus* at *Rome*. Of the outward Wall is left only a small Piece, from whence you may make an Estimate of the whole. But the Remainder of the other Buildings is kept in very good Repair; the *Arena* being thirty four Perches (each of which is something more than six Foot) long, and twenty two and an half broad, surrounded by forty two Rows of Stones Benches, raised above one another in the Nature of Steps, capable of containing twenty three thousand Persons. For the more ample Description of which, I will refer my self to *Schottus*, *Torellus Saraina*, and *Lipsius*. This City, as well as *Padua* and *Vicenza*, after many Changes of Government, was at last forced to submit to the *Venetians*. Here are excellent White-wines, especially that they call *Garganico*. The Air is very serene and healthy, but sharp in the Winter, from the Vicinity of the Mountains, among which *Baldus* has got the greatest Reputation, not so much for the Variety of the Simples that grow there (for the *Alps* are not inferior in that Point) but chiefly by the Industry of the *Paduan* Herbalists, who, but especially *John Pona*, an Apothecary here, have, in Respect to them, obliged the World with a perfect Catalogue. Near *Verona* is the Lake *Lago di Garda*, (*Lacus Benacus*) which affords great Quantities of Fish, but especially Trouts, some of which were a Foot long.

9. We travelled from *Verona* to *Mantua*, *February* the 9th, being twenty four Miles, through several good Villages, but not any Towns of Note. Six Miles on this Side of *Mantua*, we saw the Duke's Palace at *Marmirola*, a neat Structure, and well furnished with Pictures, and adorned with Statues: This City it self is very ancient, and strong by Situation, being seated in the Middle of a Lake, and well fortified. It is about four Miles in Extent, but not populous in Proportion, containing scarce fifty thousand Souls; it has no less than eight Gates. A little Way from this City is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke called *Pelazzo del Te*, wherein you see a square Room, the Roof arched in the Nature of a Cupola, called the *Gyants-hall*, in which, if two Persons stand in the opposite Corners, one having his Ear to the Wall, may hear what the other whispers, with his Face to the Corner; which he that stands in the Middle, or in the Corner of the same Side of the Room, shall not. They told us the Duke of *Parma* had such another Contrivance in his Palace of *Caprarola*, but our Whispering-place in the Cathedral of *Gloucester*, is of a different Nature. *Virgil*, the great *Latin* Poet, was born at *Andes* (now *Petula*) a Village near *Mantua*. Here are two Academies of *Virtuosi*, called the *Accesi* and *Timidi*. This City, after many Changes of Government, was at last brought under Subjection in 1328, by *Lewis Gonzaga*, by the Favour of the common People, from whom the present Dukes descended, this Title being conferred upon *Frederick Gonzaga* in 1530, by the Emperor *Sigismund IV*. The Revenue of the Duke is about 400,000 Crowns a Year; but as the Expences of the Dukes have exceeded their Incomes, they are much indebted to the *Venetians*. The common Peo-

ple have this peculiar Custom, that their Children have an equal Share in their Parents Estates, especially such as are personal: A Widow, after the Death of her Husband, takes her Dowry back; but if she dies first, the same is divided Share and Share alike among her Children: If she dies without Issue, one half of her Dowry falls to her Husband, the other to her next Kin. If a Woman has Children by a former Husband, and marries another, and has likewise Children by him, one half of her Dowry goes to the Children of the first Marriage, the other to those of the second.

Taking Boat here for *Ferrara*, we passed by the Way of the Lake into the Channel of the River *Min-cio*, which coming out of the *Lago di Garda*, near a strong Fort of the *Venetians* called *Peschiera*, and coming to *Mantua*, spreads itself into a Lake of five Miles in Length, and at sixteen Miles End, coming to a Bridge and Sluice at a Place called *Governo*, entered the River *Po*, and passing down the Stream, came by *Ostia*, ten Miles from *Governo*, and ten Miles farther by *Massa*, both on the Left-hand, and seven Miles lower to *Stellata*, a large Village belonging to the Pope: Eight Miles lower we came to *Il Ponte*, where leaving the *Po*, we passed through an artificial Channel of four Miles long to the very Gates of *Ferrara*, a City considerable both for its Bigness and Strength, it being reputed, for its Bigness, the strongest in all *Italy*, being not only defended by strong Fortifications, and a deep Ditch, but seated also in a fenny Plain. It was formerly under the Dominion of its own Dukes, but now under the papal Jurisdiction. From hence we went by Boats towards *Bologna*, and having shifted our Boat seventeen Miles from *Ferrara*, at a Place called *Mal-Albergo*, reached another Channel, viz. *Rhenus Bononiensis*, and passing through nine Locks, arrived at *Bologna*, distant by Water from *Ferrara* forty five Miles, the greatest Part of the Country between those two Places being fenny, not unlike the Isle of *Ely* in *England*.

The City of *Bologna* itself is seven or eight Miles in Circumference, of a rotund Figure, the Houses not very lofty, but adorned with fair Portico's, on each Side of them, to the Streets. Many of their Houses, though not promising much on the Out-side, yet being very neat and convenient within: Its Inhabitants are computed to be eighty thousand Souls. The Sauages, Wash-balls, and little Dogs of *Bologna*, are famous all over *Italy* and other Parts. Their chief Trade is in Silk, and they have the most convenient Engines for winding and twisting of it, that I ever saw. The University of *Bologna*, for its Antiquity, may compare with any in *Europe*, being chiefly famous for the Study of the Law, though it has a great Number of Professors also in other Faculties, as may be seen by their annual printed Catalogue of such Lectures, as each of them is to keep the following Year. Here we had the Opportunity of seeing the ancient Exercise of Tilt-ing, still practised here in the Carnival Time: Those who enter the Lifts are mounted on Horseback, and armed Cap-a-pee, adorned with Plumes and Scarfs, with Launces in their Hands, with which they run at one another a full Gallop, aiming at a particular Part of the Body; he that hits nearest to it carrying the Prize. We saw several Launces broken, but no body was either hurt or dismounted.

Dr. *Ovidio Montalbano*, one of the Professors here, shewed us the *Museum* of *Aldrovandus*, left as a Legacy to this City, and kept in the Cardinal Legate's Palace. What delighted us most, were ten Volumes of the Pictures of Plants, and six more of Birds, Fishes, and other Beasts, drawn in Water Colours. The same Person also introduced us to *Jacobus Zenoni*, an Apothecary, and very curious Herbalist, who, among other Rarities, shewed us three Pieces of Rock Crystal, with some Drops of Water, enclosed in the Middle of them; as might plainly be discovered by the Motion of the Crystals.

The same Day we visited the famous Chymist *Gioseppe Bucemi*, who shew'd us the Effects of the *Phosphorus*, a Composition, which if exposed for some time to the

the Air, and afterwards put in a dark Place, will appear like a burning Coal for some time, till by Degrees its Light slackens and quite vanishes at last, till exposed again to the Air. The crude Stone which he shew'd us was like a kind of Sparre, which as he told us, acquired this Quality by being calcined in a small Furnace, the pieces of Stone being laid upon an Iron Grate over a Wood-Fire; but whatever he told us, we could not make some of those Stones, which he sold us, shine, though we calcined them exactly according to his Directions. The *Phosphorus* does by Degrees entirely lose its shining Quality, as we found by Experience, in those we brought along with us.

11. February 22. We continued our Journey towards *Modena*, by the Way of *Castel Franco*, a strong Castle, belonging to the Pope, upon the Frontiers of *Modena*, about twenty Miles distant from *Bologna*, a Place of no great Extent, but very populous, being the Dukes usual Residence, and tolerably well fortified with a thick Wall, a broad Ditch, and some Outworks. In this Place, as well as *Padua*, *Bologna*, and other Places of *Lombardy*, we observed the Houses well built of Brick, but not high, and the Streets cloistred on both Sides, which seems to intimate, that this was the Manner of Building of the *Goths* or *Lombards*, who settled in those Parts. The Duke's Palace is no large Structure, but very neat within, the Rooms being richly gilt, and adorn'd with Hangings, and Pictures of the best Masters. What most delighted us was the Chamber of Rarities, Jewels, ancient and modern Coins and Medals, ancient and modern Entaglia's, curious Pieces of turn'd Works, dried Plants pasted upon Boards whitened with Cerus; and a very fine Collection of Designs of the best Painters. We saw also a human Head petrified; a Hen's Egg, having the Figure of the Sun on one Side; Moss included in a piece of Crystal; Silver in another; and a Fly in a piece of Amber, &c. The ordinary Revenues of the Duke of *Modena*, are computed to 350,000 Crowns per Annum, his Expences not amounting to above half the Sum. About twenty eight Miles from *Modena*, near *Paiuli* Castle, issues out of a Mountain, a Spring of *Petroleum*; and in another Mountain call'd *Monte Nicani*, are found Abundance of petrefied Cockles and other Shells.

12. February 24. We set out from *Modena* for *Parma*, and at seven Miles, having forded the River *Serchio*, and pass'd by a small, but strong Town called *Rubiera*, on the Left-hand, after a Journey of eight Miles further, came to the City of *Reggio*, of equal Bigness and Strength with *Modena*, and belonging to the same Duke, whose Title is Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*. This last being built more at Length than the former, makes a fairer Shew at a Distance, having one long and one broad Street. Here are very good Sculptors and Artizans in carving of Ivory and Wood, for which this Town is celebrated throughout *Italy*. Ten Miles further, passing through a long Bridge over the River *Lenza*, we entered the Territories of *Parma*, and five Miles more, brought us to the Gates of the City of *Parma*, which exceeds *Modena* in Bigness, having broad Streets, but no Portico's.

February 26, In our Way to *Placenza*, we ferried at six Miles distance from *Parma*, over the River *Taro*, and nine Miles farther, came to a Town call'd *St. Domin*, and eight Miles farther, came to a little Town called *Fiorenzuola*, near which, passing the River *Arta*, we came, after twelve Miles travelling, to *Placenza*. This City is well fortified, and defended by a strong Castle; in Bigness it is equal to *Parma*, but its Buildings not so fair. The Dukes Revenues are computed to be 400,000 Crowns per Annum, though some say 500,000; he being, besides *Parma*, and *Placenza*, Master of the Dukedom of *Castro*, and the Country of *Ronciglione*. The 27th, We took Horse for *Crema*, and passing through *Castigno* in the *Milanese*, and two Miles further ferrying over the River *Adda*, and two Miles thence the River *Serio* (which falls into the *Adda*) we came to *Crema*, a Frontier City, belonging to the *Venetians*, about thirteen Miles from *Placenza*, of no large Ex-

tent, but well fortified; its Situation being in a Plain near the River *Serio*.

The 29th, We continued our Journey, and passing through *Osanengo*, three Miles from *Crema*, and by the Castle of *Romanengo*, belonging to the *Spaniards*, came to *Sincin*, a considerable Place in the *Milanese*: Not far hence we ferried over the River *Oy* (*Ollius*) and two Miles further, rode close by a small Town call'd *L'orzi nuovi*, but well fortified, under the *Venetian* Jurisdiction. Two Miles further we pass'd a great Village called *L'orzi Vecchi*, and several others of Note, and so came to *Brescia*, which is thirty Miles from *Crema*. The Country hereabouts was well planted with Flax, very populous, and the Fields fenced with Hedges like our *English* Enclosures.

13. The City of *Brescia*, is not altogether so big as *Verona*, but better inhabited, its Streets being regular and spacious, with Bricks set Edgeways on both Sides (as the Cities in *Holland* are) as are also the Streets of *Parma*, *Placenza* and *Crema*. It has a double Wall, the exterior of which is very strong, and encompass'd with a good Ditch, besides a Castle standing on a rocky Hill, which both defends and commands the Town. The Mountains hereabouts afford very good Iron and Copper Ore, and the Inhabitants are great Masters in Iron Works, but especially in making of Guns, which are in high Esteem all over *Italy*; as is also the Cheese of *Brescia*. As they abound in fruitful Valleys, so their Markets are well stored with Provisions. The Territories of this City extend in Length, from *Moso* near *Mantua* to *Dialengo*, in the upper End of *Val Canonica*, one hundred Miles, and in Breadth, from *Lago di Garda* to *L'orzi nuovi* fifty Miles, being full of Towns and large Villages. This City, like many others of *Italy*, has undergone many Changes of Government during the intestine Broils of the two famous Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*; after which, it fell to the Dukes of *Milan*, till in 1426. they submitted to the Protection of the *Venetians*. On the Sides of the Hill where the Castle stands, we found Serpent Stones, or *Cornua Ammonis*, and other petrified Shells. March the 2d. We continued our Journey through the Villages of *Hospitaletta*, *Cokai* and *Palazzuolo*, the last of which is seated upon the Banks on both Sides of the River *Ollio*.

As we were travelling on to *Bergamo*, we had a full View of the *Alps*. This City is considerable both for its Size and Strength, being situated on the Side of a Hill, encompass'd by strong Walls and a broad Ditch, but without Water: The Castle, though none of the biggest, yet is very strong by Situation. Without the Walls are five large Suburbs, call'd *St. Leonardo*, at the Bottom of the Hill, inhabited chiefly by Merchants, the Suburbs of *St. Anthony*, *St. Catherine*, *St. Thomas*, and that of *St. Godard*. In the Church of the *Austin* Friars, we saw the Monument of *Ambrose Calepine*, the Author of the famous Dictionary. Over his Cell in the Cloister was a *Latin* Inscription, intimating, That he was a Native of *Bergamo*, and a Monk of this Convent, and that he died here, in 1511, in the 71st Year of his Age. This City has also been subject to Changes: They first submitted to the *Venetians*, in 1428; but were in 1509, forced to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the *French*, after they had made themselves Masters of *Milan*, but these being expelled three Years after, it remained under the Jurisdiction of the then Duke of *Milan*, *Maximilian Sforza*, from whom it revolted soon after to the *Venetians*, but was forced to return to its former Obedience, till at last the *Venetians* got once more in Possession of it, in 1516. and have remained Masters of it ever since. They are governed by a Major, a military Commander, Chamberlain, and Governor of the Castle sent hither from *Venice*. *Bergamo* is of so great a Reputation among the *Italians*, that by Way of Proverb they say, *If Bergamo stood in a Plain, it would be a fairer City than Milan*. From hence we went on Horseback to *Calonica*, a Village seated upon the River *Adda*, in the *Milanese*, whence we went by Water to *Milan*.

14. This City, which is one of the four Cities of the first Rank in *Italy*, (*Rome*, *Venice* and *Naples*, being the

the other three) is also firnamed *la Grande*, from its Bigness, having ten Miles in Circumference, and of a circular Figure. It contains eleven Collegiate Churches, seventy one Parishes, thirty Monasteries for Monks, thirty six for Nuns, eight of regular Canons, the Number of Inhabitants are said to be 300,000, but this last is somewhat too large. Provisions are here so cheap and plentiful, that the *Italians* have made it a Proverb, *That they eat well only at Milan*. The Cathedral here challenges the second Place after that of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, both for Bigness and Beauty; being 250 Cubits long, and 130 broad, and of a proportionable Height; but the *Grand Hospital* justly claims the Preference before all others in *Europe*, for its magnificent Structure and Bigness. Among other Courts, it has a Square surrounded with a double Portico, one below, the other above Stairs. Its Revenues are yearly 50000 Crowns, out of which are maintained 4000 poor and infirm Persons. The Monasteries and Churches here are beautified with many Pictures and Statues of the best Masters, and adorned with excessive rich Church Ornaments, for which I will refer myself to *Schottus*, and others. The *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, founded by Cardinal *Borromeo*, is a noble Edifice, filled with excellent Books, unto which Strangers as well as the Inhabitants, have a free Access. But the College call'd *Hermatheneum*, is a truly noble Building, the Court being adorned with a double Row of Cloisters, one above the other, with double Pillars each; the lower of the *Ionic*, the upper of the *Tuscan* Order.

The Citadel of *Milan*, either for its Bigness or Strength, may also compare with any in *Europe*. The ancient Castle has been twice enlarged, first by the *French*, who taking in a considerable Piece of Ground, encompass'd it with a very thick and high Wall, and a deep Ditch; from hence you have a fair Prospect of the whole City and adjacent Country, as well as those Fortifications added by the *Spaniards*, being of a Pentagonal Figure, with a Bastion at each Angle, and a Half-moon between every two Bastions. *Schottus* says, that the Compass of the whole Fortifications (not including the Trenches) is 1600 Paces. We were told, that within the Castle, they have a Water-mill driven by a Spring, which arises within the Circumference of the Castle.

March 6. We saw the Collection of Rarities of *Manfredas Septalius*, Son to *Ludovicus Septalius*, the famous Physician, and among other Things, divers Looking-glasses, which by natural Reflection multiplied the Object almost infinitely. A plain Glass, with spherical Protuberances, which represented the Objects as often multiplied as there were Protuberances, and another Looking-glass of the same Kind; several concave Burning-glasses of Metal; several *Automata* and Clocks, among which, two of a cylindrical Figure, moved without Weight or Spring, only by being placed upon an inclining Plain; so that their Motion proceeded from their own Weight; besides many other Curiosities both natural and artificial; for the Description of which, I will refer my Reader to the Catalogue thereof, published by the Owner himself. There are great Artists in this City in working and engraving Crystals, and other Glasses and Stones. Their Way of Polishing is performed by a Brass Wheel, upon which the Powder *Smiris*, mix'd with Water, is put; and to smooth it, they use the Powder of *Sasse-mort*, or Rotten-stone, as they call it, which is a heavy Pebble Stone, which by lying in the Water, dies by Degrees, first degenerating into a light Pumice, and at last crumbling to Dust. They told us for a Truth, that most Stones, by lying long in the Water, will die in this Manner, except the clear pellucid Pebbles.

March 10. We began our Journey towards *Turin*, along the Bank of the River *Navilio*, and leaving *Biagrasa*, a small Town, to our Left, we lodged at *Bufalora*, twenty two Miles from *Milan*. The 11th, we continued our Journey over *Novara*, a strong Place belonging to the *Spaniards*, to *Vercelli*, under the Duke of *Savoy's* Jurisdiction; a large Place, but neither strong nor populous. The 12th, we travelled eighteen Miles,

as far as *Sian*; and the 13th, being stop'd by the Floods, were constrained to stay at eight Miles Length, at *Chivas*; and the 14th, passing by many Waters, and after we had ferried over at *Orco* and *Stura*, arrived at *Turin*.

15. This City, known to the Ancients by the Name of *Augusta Taurinorum*, and seated upon the River *Po*, is of no great Extent, but very populous, and the ordinary Residence of the Dukes of *Savoy*. The old Buildings are but very indifferent, but one new Street, and several other Houses of late Date, are very handsome and uniform. The Piazza is in the Midst of the Street, being a large Square, with a lofty Cloister on each Side: And at one End of it another Piazza, fronting the Duke's Palace, which is not yet finished. The Citadel has five Bastions. Here we met with some of the Protestants of the Valleys of *Lucern* and *Angrona*, who had lately obtained Liberty of Conscience from the Duke. They told us, that being about fifteen thousand Souls, they inhabited fourteen or fifteen Villages only, their fighting Men (who amounted not to above two thousand, being divided into fourteen Companies) under as many Captains, and that they had killed above five hundred of the Duke's People in the last War, with the Loss only of forty or fifty of their own. They are the only Protestants in *Italy*, having maintained the Purity of their Religion for above these twelve hundred Years. Here is also an University, which challenges the first Introduction of Printing into *Italy*. As the plain Country about *Turin* is very fruitful, so all Provisions are very plentiful and cheap here; it being certain, that *Piemont*, for Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Wine, Fruit, Hemp, and Flax, may compare with the best in *Italy*; and the Inhabitants apply themselves more to Husbandry than Traffick; which according to *Leti's* Observations, makes them live generally well, though none are excessive rich. The Duke's Revenue, if we may believe the same Author, amounts to 1,800,000 Crowns; of which *Piemont* alone produces 1,400,000. His Possessions in *Italy* are, besides the Principality of *Piemont*, the two Marquisates of *Saluzzes* and *Asti*, the Dukedom of *Aosta*, and the Countries of *Nizza* and *Vercelli*. There are three very handsome Palaces belonging to the Duke near the City, called the *Venere*, *Millesiore*, and *Valentine*. The first Invention of oil'd Cloth is attributed to *Giacomo Marigi*, a Citizen of *Turin*.

March 17. Having provided ourselves with a good Guide, we set out from *Turin* for *Genoa*, where we arrived in three Days after. Not above a Mile below *Turin* we cross'd the *Po* (which begins to be navigable here) by a Bridge; and after a Mile's Travelling along the River, we ascended the Hills, under which the River runs, and these are of a very difficult Ascent.

16. Mar. 18. We proceeded on our Journey as far as *Novi*, a pretty large Town under the *Genoese*, twenty seven *Piedmont* Miles from *Aste*; I think they may well pass for thirty five *English*. About four Miles from *Aste*, upon the Bank of the River *Tanar*, (which is there very high) and on the Sands, under the Bank, we found great Variety of petrified Shells, as *Oysters*, *Scallops*, *Cockles*, &c. as also those *Tubili striati*, called by some *Antales*, which Seignior *Rosacco*, a Mountebank in *Venice*, first shewed us; *Belemnites*, and other rare Sorts of Stones. In the Corn Fields, we passed through, we observ'd, *Ornithogalum luteum*, C. B. in great Plenty, now in Flower. This Day we passed by a large Village called *Non*, and another, which had formerly been walled, called *Felizan*, then *Alexandria*, a large Town upon the River *Tanar*, of more Strength than Beauty, the Buildings both publick and private being generally but mean. It was so called in Honour of Pope *Alexander III.* because in his Time it was peopled by the *Milanese*, whose City was then almost quite destroyed and made desolate by the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, for siding with the Pope against him. The River (which seemed to me as large as the *Po*, at *Turin*) divides the City into two Parts, which are joined by a fair Brick Bridge. In our Passage through the Town, we took Notice of a triumphal Arch, erected to *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, upon his Marriage.

19. We

19. We rode from *Novi* to *Genoa*, thirty Miles all over Mountains. About Six Miles from *Novi*, we passed through a handsome little walled Town called *Gavi*, where there is a strong Castle on a Hill over the Town; and about six Miles further onward, another elegant and well built Town called *Voltasio*. From hence we ascended continually for about seven or eight Miles, till we came to the Top of a very high Hill, from whence we had a Prospect of *Genoa* and the Sea. Then we descended constantly till we came to the City. In all this Way, we met with and overtook Mules and Asses going to and returning from *Genoa*, to the Number of five or six hundred or more.

March 20. We viewed *Genoa*, which for the Building of it, is certainly the most stately, and according to its Epithet, *superb*, City in all *Italy*. The Houses are generally stately, scarce a mean House to be seen in Town. The new Street answers the Fame that goeth of it. It is but short, consisting of eight or ten Palaces built of Marble, very sumptuous and magnificent; the meanest of them (as *Cluverius* saith) being able to receive and lodge the greatest Prince and his Retinue. The only Deformity of this City, is the Narrowness of the Streets unanswerable to the Tallness of the Houses; and yet they are made so on Purpose, partly to save Ground, which here is precious, and partly to keep off the scorching Beams of the Sun in Summer time, for the Conveniency of walking Cool, for which Reason I have observed many of the ancient Towns of *Italy* and *Gallia Narbonensis*, to have their Streets made very narrow. This City lies under the Mountains, exposed to the South, so that it needs must be very hot in Summer, as witness the Orange and Olive-Trees, which grow so plentifully here, that they can afford those Fruits at easy Rates, and drive therewith a great Trade; furnishing with Oranges, *Florence* and a good Part of *Tuscany*, and sometimes sending them into *England*. It is built in Form of a Theatre or Crescent, encompassed with a double Wall toward the Land. The exterior or new Wall of a great Height and Thickness, passes over the Tops of Mountains, and takes in a great Deal of void Ground. The famous new Mole, which now makes this a secure Harbour is said to have cost as much as the new Wall. For a Work of that Nature, I believe it is not to be paralleled in the whole World. The Manners of the Inhabitants are not answerable to the Beauty of their Houses, they being noted among their own Countrymen the *Italians*, for proud, unfaithful, revengeful, uncivil to Strangers, and horribly exacting. There goeth a Proverbial Saying of *Genoa*, that it hath *Montagne senza Alberi, Mare senza Pesce, Huomini senza Fede, & Donne senza vergogna*, that is, *Mountains without Trees, a Sea without Fish, Men without Faith, and Women without Shame*. The Number of the Inhabitants must needs be great, they having lost in the last great Plague, as we were credibly informed, to the Number of 80,000 Souls. The chief Trade of the Town is Silks and Velvets; they make also pretty turned Works of Coral.

The Government of it, according to the new Laws made by the Pope's Legate, and the Emperors, and King of *Spain's* Ambassadors, not long after the Time of *Andreas Doria*, is thus settled. There is, 1. A Duke, who continues in Office two Years. 2. Two *Collegia*, one of *Governatori* as they term them, the other of *Procuratori*. The *Governatori* twelve, the *Procuratori* eight, all elected, besides those that of Course come in for their Lives. 3. A greater Council of 400. 4. A lesser Council of 100. 5. A Seminary for the two *Collegia* of 120. The two *Collegia* of *Governatori* and *Procuratori* are, as it were, the chief Senate or Privy-Council, or House of Lords; and are chosen twice a Year, viz. about the middle of *June*, and about the middle of *December*, after this Manner. All the *Seminarium* of 120, have their Names, together with their Surnames, and Fathers Names, written in little Scrolls of Parchment, and put into an Iron Box, which is kept very securely under many Locks. When the Time of Election comes, this Box is brought forth before the Duke,

the two *Collegia*, and the lesser Council. Then a Boy, who must be under ten Years of Age, puts his Hand into the Box, and draws out five Scrolls, which are read, and the three first if they be capable, are *Governatori*, the two last *Procuratori*. If a Man be 100 Miles off the City, he is incapable of being elected for that Time. Likewise two of the same Family cannot be *Procuratori* or *Governatori* together. Therefore, if the two first that are drawn out, or the two second be of the same Family, the first is *Governator*, and the second *Procurator*; if the two last be of the same Family, the first drawn out is a *Procurator*, and the second is returned into the Box again, and the Boy draws out another. So that every six Months, five are chosen into the *Collegia*, and five go out, and every one stays in Office two Years. In the *Collegium Procuratorum* besides the eight, are all those who have been Dukes, and are gone out of Office, who (*modo bene se gesserint*) continue *Procuratori* during their Lives. To supply or make up the *Seminarium* 120 every Year; in the Stead of those who are dead, made incapable, or chosen into the two *Collegia*, the lesser Council chuses a double Number, all which must have three Suffrages of five; and out of these, the greater Council choose half by the major Vote. For choosing the Councils both greater and lesser, the lesser Council in Presence of the Duke, and two *Collegia*, choose thirty Electors, (all which must be of the Nobility) by three Suffrages of five. These thirty choose both the greater and lesser Council, but the lesser out of the Number of the greater, by a like Proportion of Suffrages. The greater Council is assembled upon important Occasions, and with the Duke and two *Collegia* make the supreme Power. The lesser Council takes Care of the lesser and ordinary Concerns of the City and Commonwealth. Those who are capable of being chosen into the greater Council, must be twenty five Years of Age, only the thirty Electors may, if they please, or see it expedient, choose to the Number of Sixty, who are but twenty two Years old. Of the lesser Council, the one half must be thirty Years of Age, the others at least twenty seven, excepting Doctors of Law and Physick, who, if they be well qualified, may be chosen two Years younger. Those who are capable of being chosen into the *Seminarium* must be forty Years of Age.

The Choice of the Duke is in this Manner: The Great Council being assembled, there are put into an Urn ten golden Balls, marked with ten several Letters; one of these being drawn out, is shewn to the Conservators of the Laws, who thereupon put into another Urn standing by the Duke's Throne, fifty golden Balls marked with the same Letter, and fifty silver Balls; these being shaken together, the lesser Council of One hundred, excluding the two *Collegia*, draw out each Man a Ball. He that draws out a golden Ball, shews it to the *Censors* who sit by, and presently writes in a Scroll of Paper the Name of him whom he thinks fit to nominate for Duke, and goes out of the Council. When all the golden Balls are drawn out, the two *Collegia* bring them into Order, and count them over, and if the Number of the Nominated amount to twenty, then they are propounded to the greater Council, who out of them, by major Vote, chuse fifteen. Out of these fifteen the lesser Council chuse six by three Suffrages of five. Out of these six again, by major Vote, the greater Council chuse the Duke. These Suffrages are all occult, that is given by putting of Balls into Ballotting Boxes. If in the greater Council for any Person the negative and affirmative Suffrages are equal, then five by Lot are to be put out of the Council, and the rest to ballot again. Many other Provisions there are in Case of Equality or Disagreement, &c. Nothing can be propounded in Council but by the Duke, who, during the Time of his Regency, lives in the Palace, and hath, according to *Sanjovinus*, a Guard of five hundred *Switzers*. The Office of St. George is, as far as I understand it, nothing but a Company of Bankers, who lend Money to the Commonwealth, for which they are allowed so much *per Cent.* and have assigned to them the publick Gabels and other Revenues; and for

further Security have *Corfica* engaged to them. This Company chuse yearly out of their own Number eight Protectors, who are to take Care of, and manage the Affairs of all the Creditors. Into this Bank Strangers usually put in Money, and so become of the Company, for which they receive yearly Interest proportionable to the Improvement made of the whole Stock of Monies then in Bank. The publick Revenue of this State is said by some to be 1,200,000 Crowns *per Annum*, and yet scarce sufficient to defray the publick Expences. There are many private Persons here very rich. The Republick is thought to be able to raise an Army of 30,000 Men, and to set out to Sea twelve Gallies and twenty Ships of War. They hold good Correspondence with all Christian Princes and States, excepting the Duke of Savoy, by reason of his Pretence to the City of *Savona*.

17. April 2, We passed in a Boat from *Genoa* to *Porto Venere*, and thence cross'd the Bay of *Spezzia* to *Lerici*, where taking Post-horses, we rode to *Sarzana*, a strong Frontier Town belonging to the *Genoese*, and lodged that Night at *Massa*, a small City, but dignified with the Title of a Principality, the Duke being likewise Lord of *Carrara*. His chief Revenues come from the Marble Quarries: He is of the *Genoese* Family of the *Cybo's*.

April 3, We travelled through a boggy Valley near the Foot of the Mountains, a kind of a desolate Country, as far as *Lucca*.

Lucca contains not above three Miles in Circuit, but very populous for its Bigness, the Ease of the Government drawing thither abundance of People. Its Situation is very pleasant, in a delightful Valley; and its Fortifications and Out-works strong, and kept in good Repair. The Buildings are fair, and their Churches, though not very large, yet neat and well kept. The Inhabitants, both of the City and Country, very courteous, and so careful to preserve their Liberty, that they omit nothing which they think may contribute to maintain it. Their Women here are not kept so strict as in other Parts of *Italy*, being allowed to walk abroad with a reasonable Share of Freedom: They are generally handsome enough, and in their Dress affect to follow the *French*. The Administration of the Government is by the Great Council of one hundred and sixty, chosen every Year from among the Nobility, (the rest having no Share therein) these must be twenty five Years old at least; nine *Antiani*, and a *Gonfaloniere*; these last are chosen a-new every two Months, and are stiled the *Signioria*, the *Gonfaloniere* being their Head, but no more than by his Title. The City is divided into three Wards, called *Terzieri*, each of which has its Arms or Banner, called *Gonfalone*, whence the Name *Gonfaloniere*: On the Corners of each Street these Arms are painted, with the Name of the Ward it belongs to, and what Bulwark they are to defend, in case of a sudden Attack. The Council chuses three *Antiani* out of each of those Wards. Their Revenue is computed at 100,000 Crowns yearly. The best Olives in *Italy*, grow hereabouts.

The City of *Pisa*, formerly a rich and populous Commonwealth, is, since its coming under the *Florentine* Yoak, become poor and almost desolate, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Great Dukes of *Florence*, who have erected an University, founded an Order of Knighthood, and built an Exchange there, for the Encouragement of the Inhabitants. Its Situation, which is in a fenny Ground, upon the River *Arno*, renders its Air very unwholesome and obnoxious to Strangers. What we thought worth our peculiar Observation here, were, 1. St. Stephen's Church, dedicated to the Order of that Name, founded here by *Cosmo*, the first Great Duke of *Tuscany*. 2. The College for Students in Law and Philosophy (formerly the House of *Bartolus*) founded by the Great Duke *Ferdinand* in 1596. 3. The Cathedral, being a most magnificent Structure of Marble, the Doors of Brass, curiously engraven, a double Isle on each Side of the Nave, and two Rows of Marble Pillars, beautified with stately Altars, and select Pieces of Painting, the Sides hung with red Velvet, and the Roof richly gilded.

On each Side of the high Altar, you see a Picture, and under each of them an Inscription, giving a short Account of two notable Adventures of this City, which are expressed there.

I. *Templum hoc, ut auctæ potentie ac religionis insigne monumentum posteris extaret, Pisanis ex Saracenorum spoliis captâ Panormo ædificatum, ac Sanctorum reliquiis e Palestina usque advectis auctum, Gelasius II. P. M. solennè pompa consecravit, An. Dom. M.C.XIX.*

II. *Pascale II. P. M. autore, Pisani classe 300 triremium Petro Arch. Pis. Duce Baleares Insulas, profligatis Saracenis in ditionem redigunt, Christianoque nomini adjungunt captaque regia Conjuge ac filio præclaram victoriam illustri pioque triumpho exornarunt A. D. 1115.*

4. The *Baptisterium*, in the Center of which you see a very noble Font of Marble, into which, like a Cistern, the Water runs continually; the Pulpit is also of Marble, with most curious carved Work. 5. The *Campo Santo*, or Burying-place, being an oblong Square enclosed with a broad Portico, well painted, and paved with Grave-stones: The Earth which makes up this Churchyard, is said to be brought from the Holy Land, and to consume Bodies in forty eight Hours. 6. The Steeple, a round Tower, of a great Height, seeming to encline so much to one Side, as if it were ready to fall, which some attribute to the Contrivance of the Builder, others to a Defect in the Building. 7. The *Aquæduct*, which conveys the Water from the Mountains for five Miles into the City, by 5000 Arches, being begun by *Cosmo* and finished by *Ferdinand* I. great Dukes of *Florence*: This Water for its Goodness, is carried in Flasks to *Leghorn*. 8. The Physick-Garden, then but slenderly provided with Plants.

We took Boat here for *Leghorn* (the *Portus Liburnus* of the Ancients) about twelve Miles hence. This Town is not very stately nor large, the Houses being but low, yet uniform, and the Streets regular, with a large Piazza in the middle: It is strongly fortified on the Land side, and since the Great Duke has made it a free Port, much encreased in Traffick and Riches: Its convenient Situation for the Levant Trade having drawn thither great Numbers of Strangers, and especially *Jews*, of the last of which there are computed to be above 5000. Before it was so well inhabited, it was reputed a very unhealthy Place, by Reason of its Situation in a fenny Level, without Mountain, or as much as a Hillock within five Miles of it, but since that time, the Multitude of Fires, and the Industry of the Inhabitants, have, by draining those Marshy Grounds, rendered the Air as agreeable here, as in most Parts of *Italy*.

The Harbour within the Mole is but small, but this Defect is compensated by the Goodness of the Road, where there is safe Anchorage for Ships. Near the Harbour stands the magnificent Statue of the Great Duke *Ferdinand* I. the Pedestal of which is sustained by four Brass Statues of chained Slaves, of a gigantic Stature. The Great Dukes often reside here in Lent, for the great Plenty and Cheapness of Fish, though all other Provisions are here at a dear Rate. We saw many Workmen employed in filling of *Marking-stones*, call'd in *Latin*, *Lapis galactites* & *morochibus*, by the *Italians*, *Pietra Lattaria*; they are found at *Monte negro*, fives Miles from *Leghorn*; of the Dust and Filings of which Stone they make Powder for Hair.

We embarked at *Leghorn*, aboard a *Dutch* Vessel, bound for *Naples*, but the Wind being very variable, we spent five Days in this Voyage. Our Master told us, that it was a general Observation here, for the Wind to blow East in the Forenoon from the Land, and in the Afternoon West from the Sea. We also made this Observation, that the Wind generally was quite laid with Sun-set, and we had but little about Sun-rising. In our Return from *Messina* to *Naples*, and thence to *Leghorn*, we found the Wind contrary, for the most Part, which according to the Seamens Saying, is commonly so here in the Summer. We further observed, that

that the Wind followed the Course of the Sun, it proving generally pretty well for us in the Morning, but in the Afternoon against us, the Land being to the East of us, which confirmed what our Captain had told us. He also assured us, that when they are to make a Voyage from *Holland* to the *West-Indies*, they sail up as high on the South of *Afric*, as the Place whither they are bound in the *West-Indies* lies; and then steer their Course Westward, the Wind blowing constantly from the East, and the Sea running the same Way; whereas, when they return, they go round the Bay of *Mexico*, far to the North, and so pass over to *Europe*; which if true, much strengthens the Opinion of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth.

18. The lovely City of *Naples*, extends in Form of a Cresent along the Sea-side, under the Hills, resembling in Form, that of *Genoa*, except that it is much larger, and more populous; for, though the Circumference of its Walls, exceeds not above seven *Italian Miles*, yet it has very spacious Suburbs. The Houses here are generally lofty Structures, of Stone, flat roofed, and covered with a certain Plaster, which keeps out the Rain to Admiration. Its Situation is so far to the South, and that under Hills, would make the Heat excessive here, were it not for the constant Breezes of Wind about Noon, which so cool the Air, that, except two or three Days, we found the Weather temperate enough, even at our Return, which was in *June*, when it rain'd very hard three several times, though they look'd upon it as extraordinary: For want of Rain, they have a Way of cooling the Streets every Day, by drawing through them a Tun, with Water, in a Cart, which has many Holes in it. The Dialect of the common People here, is far different from the *Tuscane*, and not very intelligible. Provisions, but especially Fruit, is very cheap here, and among the rest, we saw the *Cucurbita anguina*, *Cucumis anguinus*, *Mala insana*, and *Limoncelle*, sold in the Market. All the *Neapolitans*, and generally the *Italians*, drink their Wine and Water snowed, by putting the Vessels in which the Wine is, into another full of Snow or Ice, which is the Reason, that it is not only sold in Stalls all over the Town, but they carry also small Barrels, with Snow Water on their Backs, crying, *Snowed or Iced Water to be sold*.

Beltramus tells us, there are 160 Religious Houses of all Sorts in *Naples*, viz. 121 for Monks, and 39 for Women, which maintain 12421 Persons. This City is defended, or rather bridled, by four Castles, viz. by the *Castle d' Ovo*, built on a Rock in the Sea, with an artificial Causeway leading to it; the *Castle St. Elmo*, seated on a Hill above the City; *Castle Novo*, for the Security of the Harbour and Galleys, which lie near it; and the *Torrione di Carmine*, being only a Tower belonging to a Convent of the *Carmelites*, but famous for its having served as a Retreat to the Rebels, under *Maffaniello*.

Naples is famous for the Beauty of its Churches, which are generally sumptuous, some of them not only paved with Marble, but also the Walls covered with it. Of all Things that ever I saw of this Nature, I never met with any that exceeds the Convent of the *Carthusians*, adjoining to the Castle of *St. Elmo*, having a spacious square Court, with the finest Cloister round it that ever was seen. The Pillars, as well as the Pavement of the *Portico's*, are of Marble of several Colours, so curiously wrought and polished, and so neatly kept, that it cannot but surprize those that behold it. The Granary of *Naples* is also worth the Observation of a curious Traveller, both for its Extent and Conveniences: They told us that there was generally laid up as much Corn, as would suffice the whole City for several Years, in Case of Necessity; and that the Bakers of *Naples* are obliged to buy 25000 *Tomoli* (Bushels) of Corn out of it every Month, at a certain Rate, which indeed enhances the Price of Bread, but makes Room for the laying up of new Corn, which is every Day turned in the Store-house, by a great Number of Men kept for that Purpose.

The whole Kingdom of *Naples* is divided into twelve Provinces; the Nobility are distinguished into five

Seggi or Societies, viz. of *Capua*, *Nido*, *Montagna*, *Porta*, and *Porta nova*; composed of 87 Princes, 122 Dukes, 159 Marqueffes, and seven Earls. It has in all 20 Archbishopricks, and 122 Bishopricks (to 30 of which the King of *Spain* only nominates;) and 148 Cities. (1) The Province of *Terra di lavoro*, (the ancient *Campania felix*) has fourteen Cities, among which *Capua*, *Gaeta*, *Pozzuoli*, *Aquino* and *Aversa*, are the Chief. (2) *Principato Citra*, containing eighteen Cities; among them, *Campagna*, *Capri*, in the Isle *Capree*, famous for the Retirement of *Tiberius Caesar*, *Cappaccia*, *Laurino*, &c. (3) *Principato ultra*, which has fourteen Cities, as, *Benevento*, *Avellino*, *St. Angelo de Lombardi*, *Monte marino*, &c. (4) *Basilicata*, containing eleven Cities, as, *Lavello*, *Polycastro*, *Venosa*, *Monte pelofo*, &c. (5) *Calabria Citra*, which has 12, as, *Mantea*, *Paola*, *Montalto*, *St. Marco*, &c. (6) *Calabria Ultra*, sixteen, as, *Reggio*, (the Ancients *Rhegium*) *Belicastro*, *Montilene*, *Melito*, *Nicoterra*, &c. (7) *Terra d' Otranto*, fourteen, as, *Gallipoli*, *Brindisi*, *Otranto* (the ancient *Hydruntum*) *Castro*, &c. (8) *Terra di Bari*, sixteen, as, *Andria*, *Barletta*, a very strong Place, *Biseglia*, *Polignano* or *Putignano*. (9) *Abruzzo Citra*, has five only, viz. *Chieti*, *Sulmona*, *Benevento*, *Borrelle*, and *Ortona*. (10) *Abruzzo Ultra*, has also no more than five, viz. *Aquila*, *Atri*, *Campoli*, *Civita di Peuna*, and *Teramo*. (11) *Contado di Molisi*, has four, *Bojano Guardia*, *Alferes*, *Ifernina*, and *Trivento*. (12) *Capitanata*, contains thirteen, as *Monte St. Angelo*, *Ascoli*, *Lucera*, *Sancto Severo*, *Manfredonia*, &c. Among this great Number of Cities, are many which can't compare with the best Sort of our Villages in *England*.

Hearth-Money is a customary Tax in the Kingdom of *Naples*, each Hearth paying fifteen Carolines (about seven Shillings *English*) to the King, except the *Sclavonians*, who pay but eleven Carolines a Year, the whole Tax, deducting what is to be abated for privileged Places, amounts to 6,554,873 Ducats and six Carolines per Annum. The Tax, with the Feudatories pay yearly, instead of personal Services, amounts to 120568 Ducats, besides several other Excises and Taxes, the whole Revenue then amounting yearly to 2,996,937 Ducats, three Carolines, and fourteen Grains.

We had the Curiosity to visit the Philosophic Academy of *Virtuosi* at one of their Meetings, which was then every *Wednesday*; in the Palace of the noble Marquis *Arena*, a truly courteous and obliging Person; there were not above fifteen or sixteen of the Members present, but triple the Number of other Persons. They shewed an Experiment of the Waters ascending above its Level, in slender Tubes, upon which, after they had discoursed a-while, three of the Society made an Harangue each had studied on Purpose, upon a certain Subject; upon which some Arguments having been raised *pro* and *con*, they concluded the Meeting. I must confess that I was not a little surprized to see such a Company of learned Men, in a Place, where I was of Opinion, they would scarce allow a reasonable Latitude of Judgment; and I must give them their Due, that they were not only well acquainted with the best and most refined Authors of the immediately preceding Age, such as *Galilei Galileo*, *Des Cartes*, *Gassendus*, *Harvey*, *Verulam*, &c. but also with those surviving in the present Age, as *Mr. Boyle*, *Sir George Ent*, *Dr. Gliffon*, *Dr. Willis*, *Dr. Wharton*, *Mr. Hobbs*, *Mr. Hoek*, *Monsieur Pecquet*, &c.

April 24. We went by Water to *Pozzuolo* called by (the Ancients *Puteoli*) where the Country People brought us Abundance of Shells, dry'd *Hippocampi*, ancient Medals and *Entaglia*, nay, painted Glass to sell, which they said, they had raked out of the Sea. Near this Place you see many Arches of Stone reaching a good Way into the Sea, which has given Birth to that Opinion, that these are the Remnants of the Beginning of *Caligula's* Bridge over the Bay, and that from the Extremity of this Pile to *Bajæ*, the rest of the Bridge was made up of Vessels fastned together, and kept by Anchors on both Sides. But to me this seems to be the Ruins of a Mole or Peer, intended for the Security of the Harbour, because upon every Peer, is to be seen

seen a great Stone perforated, and jetting out to tie Vessels to. Certain it is, as well from the Manner of its Arches, as from the Bricks, that it was an ancient Roman Work. From hence we pass'd cross the Gulph to *Bajæ*, to describe the Antiquities of which Place, would require a Volume alone, for which Reason we will refer the Reader to such, both *Latin* and *English* Authors, as have given us a full Description of them. I will content myself with giving you some Account of the Grots or sweating Places, call'd by them *Bagne* (Baths) *de Tritoli*.

This is a strait and long Passage, like a long Entry, the upper Part whereof is so hot, that should a Man walk long upright, he must be stifled by the hot Vapours which fill up the upper Part of this Vault, whereas the lower Part is passable enough, so that every one is obliged to stoop. What I observed chiefly was, that the lower Part of the Vault, as far as it is tolerably cool, was covered on the Sides with a very solid Stone, whereas the upper Part was an unctuous friable Kind of Clay or Plaster; and what is more observable is, that at the very Partition of the Stones and the Clay, on the Sides of the Bath, the Difference of the Degrees of Heat is very perceivable; so that where you find the Clay reach lower, you must rule the Inclination of your Body accordingly. We found a watry Vapour contained in these sulphureous Steams, as was sufficiently manifest from the Drops, which notwithstanding the great Heat, were condensed on the Sides of the Vault.

In our Return from thence, we took a View of the *New Mountain*, called by some *Monte di Cenere*, (Cinder-Mountain) raised by an Earthquake in 1538, September the 29th, its whole Altitude being now about an hundred Foot perpendicular. We were told that it produced Nothing, yet we found *Myrtle*, *Mastick* Trees, and some other Shrubs there. It is composed of a spongy Earth, which makes a great Sound if you stamp hard. By the same Earthquake the *Lacus Lucrinus* was fill'd up with Stones and Earth, and turned into a fenny Meadow. As we were coming back from *Pozzuolo*, we viewed also the Mountain call'd *Solfatara* (anciently *Campi Philegræi*) which burns continually. On the very Top of it is a very large excavated Hole, of an oval Figure, 1500 Foot long, and 1000 broad, where is the Burning; besides which, there are divers other Holes, which convey the Smoke as out of a Furnace. Out of those Vents I gathered a kind of *Flores Sulphuris*, and *Sal Armoniac*, which stuck to the Mouths of those Holes, and thrusting a Sword into them, or any other Iron, you will find it all bedewed with Drops of Water, an evident Sign that there is a considerable Share of Water mixed with those fiery Exhalations; and what confirmed me the more in this Opinion, was, that those *Flores* would not burn or melt, by reason of the heterogenous Particles mixed with them. The Inhabitants have a Way of separating them from the Brimstone, which lies as thick as a Crust all over the Mountain. As you walk, you hear the Earth sound every Step you make, as it were hollow underneath; and what is more, if every Thing be quiet, you may hear the very boiling and bubbling of the Minerals or other Liquors.

About five Miles distant from *Naples*, is the famed Mount *Vesuvius*, where we found the Ground all about the Sides of it covered with Cinders and porous Stones, which had been cast thus far during the Conflagration: We also perceived great Channels, such as are commonly left after strong and sudden Floods, which they told us were the Effects of the Waters, which at the Time of Burning are thrown out of the Mountain. We found some *Acetosa ovilla* near the Top, and a little lower *Collutea scorpioides*, and some Shrubs of *Poplar*. It was very steep getting up to the Top, where is a vast hollow Pit of a Mile in Compass, occasioned by the breaking out of the fiery Substance, at several Times with great Violence. We observed also some small Vents or Passages for the Smoak, but were scarce considerable enough to threaten an Irruption.

We also took a View of the *Grotto di Cane*, or Dog's Cave, near the Lake of *Agnano*: It is both narrow and

short, and (whatever some may have pleased to tell the World) you may go into it, and continue there for a long Time without Prejudice, some of us staying at the further End of it above an Hour; because the Vapour, whether sulphureous or arsenical, ascending not above a Foot from the Ground, which you may perceive plainly by the Heat in your Feet and Legs, so that if you bend your Head towards the Ground, you will be immediately sensible of a Smell like burning Brimstone, which seizing your Head, makes you stagger, and may stifle one. We took a Dog, and holding his Nose down near the Ground, almost killed him; then throwing him into the Lake to recover him, we found him too weak to swim, and so was drowned. We try'd the same Experiment with a Pullet, which was killed immediately; and afterwards with a Frog, which likewise did not live long; and last of all, with a Serpent, which did not hold out above half an Hour. If you hold a Candle below the Part where the Vapours are, it is extinguished immediately. I am of Opinion, that many more such Grots might be digged hereabouts.

As we were going to this Grot, we passed through the artificial Passage or Vault, through Mount *Paufilipus*, performed by one *Cocceius* in fifteen Days. We judged it about half an *English* Mile long, though some will have it as long again. Where it is lowest, which is in the Middle, it is twelve Foot high, and broad enough for two Carts to pass conveniently by one another. As it is so dark in the Middle (no Light coming in but at the two Ends) that no body can see one another, so those that pass through it, cry always *Alla Marina* if they go to the Sea-side, and *Alla montagna* if they go towards the Country; so that each taking the Left Hand, they prevent the running upon one another.

We observed the Fish-boats out at Sea with Lights at one End, to draw the Fish after it, and so they strike them with a Mole-spear.

19. April 29. We continued our Voyage in the same Vessel, that had brought us hither, to *Sicily*, and arrived, May the 2d, at *Messina*: We sailed by the *Æolides* or *Vulcania insulae*, two of which, viz. *Stromboli* and *Vulcano*, still burn; we saw the first all in Flames as we pass'd by in the Night time. It being no easy Matter to make the Mouth of the Streight, by the *Faro* of *Messina*, by Reason of the Current, which is very violent here, sometimes running towards *Calabria*, sometimes towards *Sicily*; our Master was forced to hire a Pilot for ten Pieces of Eight, who conducted us safely through it.

The Harbour of *Messina* itself is very good, being enclosed by the City on one Side, and on the other by a Neck of Land. As the Houses along the Sea-side are loftily built of Stone, they make a noble Show at a Distance, but are but indifferent within, and the Streets narrow and ill paved, which verifies the *Italian* Proverb, *At Messina you have Dust, Fleas, and Whores in Plenty*. This City stands in Competition with *Palermo*, both pretending to the Title of being the *Metropolis* of *Sicily*, which is the Reason that the Viceroy resides eighteen Months in each, during his Government. The *Messinese* boast of great Privileges granted by *Charles V.* the Emperor, and pretend to the Monopoly of Silk, which was indeed formerly vended at *Messina*, but the *Palermitans* having got a considerable Share of that Trade into their own Hands since, this caused great Jealousies between those two Places, which affects the whole Kingdom, some taking Part with one, and some with the other of those Cities. The Inhabitants of *Messina* are none of the most polish'd, haughty in their Conversation, and very prone to Rebellion. The *Spaniards* are in Possession of four Castles in and about the City, and the *Messinese* of as many; for the rest, the City Gates are open at all Times. The Government of this City is administr'd by six Persons, whom they call *Jurats*, four of which are chosen out of the Gentry, and two out of the common Citizens. Their Government is annual, and though the first have the Majority of Votes, yet can they transact Nothing of Moment without

out the Consent of the others ; though the *Spaniards* have taken Care to reduce their Authority into such narrow Bounds, that there is no great Occasion of Contest among them upon that Score.

May 5, We hired a Felucca to carry us to, and bring us back from *Malta*. May 6, We sailed with a brisk Gale as far as *Catanea*, sixty Miles beyond *Messina*, a little Town, having nothing considerable in it, but two or three good Convents. May 7, We made forty Miles to *Syracusa*, and sailed in Sight of *Augusta*, famous for the Goodness of its Wines. The small City of *Syracusa*, in its present State, is only that Part of the ancient *Syracusa*, called *Nicos*, being but indifferently built, and slenderly inhabited, but very well fortified to the Land-side by the Knights Hospitallers, after they had been expelled *Rhodes* by the *Turks*; but *Charles V.* thought it more expedient to bestow a Settlement upon them in the Isle of *Malta*. About two Miles from the present City, you see the Ruins of the ancient *Syracusa*, and among the rest, the Remnants of an admirable and extensive Amphitheatre.

We were also shown the Grot, commonly called *Dionysius's Ear*, being cut out of the Side of a high Clift; it is high roof'd, but not long, and goes a little Winding. In our Return from *Malta*, we took a View of one of the Burying-places, or Catacombs of the Ancients, of which there are several here and in *Malta*. This belonged to *St. Anthony's Church*, and consisted of many vaulted Walks cut out of the Rock, having on each Hand other Vaults at Right-angles with them, the Floors of which were about two Foot higher than the Floor of the main Walk, hewn into Troughs or *Loculi*, wherein they used to deposit their dead Bodies: In some of those were twenty *Loculi*, more or less. At certain Intervals, you come to round Rooms or Halls in the main Walks, where several of them meet together, so that the whole being of a great Extent, might contain many Thousands of dead Bodies.

20. May 8. The Wind being contrary, we were forced to make use of our Oars, and rowed as far as *Capo Passaro*, anciently called *Promontorium Pachynum*, forty Miles distant from *Syracusa*. Upon the utmost Point of Land stands a little Castle, held by a Garrison of about twenty Men: This Castle stands now in a little Island made so by the Force of the Sea, which not long since brake it off from the Land. The Wind being contrary, and blowing a stiff Gale, made the Sea so rough, that we dared not venture out, but were forced to rest here two Nights. May 10, we put to Sea again, but the Wind still continuing contrary, and the Sea very rough, when we were gotten about half Way over the Channel, we were forced to return back again to the *primo terreno* of *Sicily*, viz. the Castle of *Puzallu*. The Greatness of the Waves not permitting us to come ashore there, we rowed six Miles farther South, and put in at a little Cove called the Harbour of *Punto Cerzicolo*. The Weather continuing foul, we were detained here three Days, having no other Shelter but a small Hut or two, which the two Centinels (who stand constantly at this Point, to watch and give Notice to the Country of the coming of *Corfairs*) had set up for themselves to creep into in stormy Weather. We should have been glad of fresh Straw to lie on, having Nothing in our Kennel but old short Straw, so full of Fleas, that we were not able to sleep in it. Our Diet was the Blood and Flesh of Sea Tortoises, that our Seamen took by the Way, and Bread we brought along with us: Wine we got at a House about half a Mile off our Lodging, but when our Bread failed, we were forced to send eight Miles for it and more Fish, for Flesh we could get none.

May 13, The Wind ceasing, we put to Sea again, and had a very good Passage over to *Malta*. By the Way we saw our Seamen take several Tortoises in this Manner: When they espy a Tortoise floating on the Top of the Water, as they can easily do at a good Distance, with as little Noise as they can possibly they bring their Boat up close to him, then they either catch him with their Hands and draw him up into the Boat, or if they cannot get near enough to do so, one leaps

out of the Boat into the Sea, and turns the Tortoise on his Back, and then with Ease drives him before him up to the Boat, the Tortoise being not able to turn or swim away on his Back. They say, (and it is not unlikely) that the Tortoise, while he floats thus upon the Water, sleeps; which is the Reason why they are so still, and make so little Noise in bringing their Boat up to him. One of these Tortoises which they caught, had two great Bunches of those they call *Bernacle-shells* sticking or growing to his Back, and some of them the largest and fairest of that Kind which we have ever seen.

As for that Opinion of a Bird breeding in them, (which some have affirmed with much Confidence, and of which *Michael Meyerus* hath written a whole Book) it is without doubt false and frivolous: The *Bernacles* which are said to be bred in them, being hatch'd of Eggs of their own laying, like other Birds; the *Hollanders*, in their third Voyage to discover the North-east Passage to *Cathaia* and *China*, in 80 Degrees 11 Minutes of Northern Latitude, having found two Islands, in one of which they observed a great Number of these Geese sitting on their Eggs, &c. as *Dr. Johnson* relates out of *Pontanus*. As for these Shells, they are a Kind of *Balanus marinus*, as *Fabius Columna* proves, never coming to be other than what they are, but only growing in Bigness as other Shells do. All the Ground of this Fancy, as I conceive, is because this Fish hath a Bunch of *Cirri* somewhat resembling a Tuft of Feathers, or the Tail of a Bird, which it sometimes puts out into the Water, and draws back again. We were much surprized to find of this Shell-fish in these Seas, so Southerly, and far from the usual Scene of the *Bernacle* Fable.

The Island of *Malta* is twenty Miles long, twelve broad, and sixty Miles in Circuit, distant from the *primo terreno*, or nearest Part of *Sicily* sixty Miles; from the Cape of *Calipia*, anciently called *Promontorium Mercurii*, the nearest Point to the Continent of *Africa*, two hundred Miles, (as divers of the most skilful and experienced Pilots did affirm to *Abela* for an undoubted Truth); from the Cape of *Spartivento* in *Italy*, but one hundred and ninety; so that upon Account of Vicinity, it is rather to be attributed to *Europe* than *Africa*, especially if we allow *Sicily* to have been of old Time united to, and so Part of the Continent. The Reason why others make it a Member of *Africa*, is because the present Inhabitants of the Country speak a Kind of *Moresko* or *Arabick*.

The old City, called *Citta Notabile*, situate about the Middle of the Island, hath 35 Degrees 15 Minutes of Northern Latitude, and the longest Day there is of fourteen Hours fifty two Minutes. I am not ignorant that *Heylin* and others, who reckon this among the Isles of *Africa*, place it nearer the Coast of *Barbary*, assign it less Latitude, and allow the longest Day no more than fourteen Hours; but I do in these and other Particulars, follow the more accurate Observations of *Johannes Franciscus Abela*, a learned Man, and Native of this Island, in his *Malta Illustrata*, written in *Italian*, and published in *Malta*, Anno 1646, in Folio. The whole Island, from the Shallowness of its Soil there, being in few Places above two Foot Depth of Earth before you come to firm Stone; and from the Lowness of its Situation, not much elevated above the Level of the Water, and having no considerable Hill in it, seems to have been in the most ancient Times, nothing else but a great Rock wholly overwhelmed and covered with the Sea; especially if we consider the Multitude of Sea-shells of all Sorts, Sharks-teeth, Vertebres of Thorn-backs, and other Fish-bones petrified found all over the Island, even in the highest Parts of it, and most remote from the Shore. For that these were formed by some plastick Power in the Stone Quarries, being nothing else but the Effects and Productions of Nature sporting herself in Imitation of the Parts and Shells of these Animals, I can hardly be induced to believe.

Nature (which indeed is Nothing else but the ordinary Power of God) not being so wanton and toyish as to form such elegant Figures without further End and Design than her own Pastime and Diversion. But a

very likely Thing it is, that the Sea being shallow above this Rock for some Ages before, it came to be uncovered, there should great Beds of Shell-fish, harbour and breed in so convenient a Place, and the Water leaving them, their Shells remain and petrify. I confess its hard to imagine, how the Carcasses of so many Sharks should come to be lodged here, as by the Multitude of Teeth, that have been for so many Years past, and are still daily digged up, we must needs grant, unless by Chance they remain, of the Heads of such Sharks as were caught and eaten by the Fishermen, who it is likely, after the Discovery of this Rock, frequented here, and made it a Station for Fishing before it came to be thoroughly and fully inhabited.

To this Difficulty, Mr. *Steno* returns answer in these Particulars, 1. That such Sharks or Sea-Dogs, have each of them sixty Teeth and more, and that all the Time they live they breed new Teeth. 2. That the Sea agitated by the Winds, is wont to protrude those Bodies it meets with towards some one Place, and there heap them together. 3. That Sharks swim in great Troops or Shoals, and consequently that the Teeth of many of them, may have been left in one Place. 4. That in the *Malta* Earth, besides these Sharks Teeth, are found also sundry Cockle-shells, so that if the Number of Teeth should incline a Man to ascribe their Production to the Earth, on the other Hand, the Make of the same Teeth, and the Abundance of them in every Animal, and the Earth, like the Bottom of the Sea, and other marine Bodies found in the same Place, do favour the contrary Opinion. The Soil notwithstanding the Rockiness and Shallowness of it, hath been by the Ancients celebrated for Fertility.

*Fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyra
Insula. Ovid. Fast.*

But undeservedly, if we understand it of Corn, for there is not much Wheat sown here, and that we saw upon the Grounds was but thin and slight. And though Barley be their chief Crop, and of which the Country People make their Bread, yet have they not near enough of that to serve the ordinary Uses of the Inhabitants, so that they are forced to fetch most of their Bread Corn out of *Sicily*. The main Commodities which the Island yields, wherewith the Inhabitants drive a good Trade, and enrich themselves are, 1. *Cumin-Seed* which they call *Cumino agro*, or sharp *Cumin*, of which are gathered about three thousand *Cantares* yearly, one *Cantare* being equal to 116 Pound Weight, *English*. 2. *Anise-Seed*, which they call *sweet Cumin*, of which are gathered and transmitted into foreign Parts, 1000 *Cantares* yearly. These Seeds are sold at seven, eight, or nine Crowns the *Cantare*, and we were told that the Year before our being there, [*Anno* 1663.] were vend- ed 7000 *Cantares* of both Sorts. 3. *Cotton-Wool*, called in *Latin*, *Xylone* or *Gossipium*, of which they send Abroad yearly, 14000 *Cantares* in the Husk. They have of late begun to plant *Indigo*, which my Author saith agrees with the Soil, and thrives there very well. He also mentions a Sort of Excrecence, or Moss, or Scurf, which the Rocks about *St. Maria el Aalia*, and other Places on the North-side of the Island, naturally put forth, called by the Country People *Vercella*, which they scrape off with an Iron Instrument, and having washed it with a certain Liquor, and mingled it with other Ingredients, (he tells us not what that Liquor or those Ingredients are) they expose it to the Sun, and use it to die Wool of a Carnation Colour. This kind of Moss called in *Wales*, *Kenkerig*, and in *England*, *Cork*, or *Arcel*, is gathered and used for the same Purpose in *Wales*, and the North of *England*. *Malta* hath been famous of old, for a Breed of little Dogs, called *Catuli Melitei*, the Race whereof is quite extinct, and now their Cats are as much esteemed. The Roses of *Malta* contend for Sweetness with those of *Pestum*, and the Honey with that of *Hybla* or *Hymettus*: so that some suppose this Island had its Name *Melita* from *Mel*, signifying Honey. The Air is clear and healthful, and the People long lived. Not much Rain falls here, yet

sufficient to supply Water to feed their Springs, of which there are several in the high Grounds, or small Hills, about the Middle of the Island. That these Springs proceed from Rain Water only, my Author doth very well prove, because they are found only at the Foot of little Hills, consisting of a certain porous Stone, which the *Maltese* call *Giorgiolena*, or a chalky Earth, which easily imbibes the Rain: And to speak in general, that all Springs and running Waters owe their Rise and Continuance to Rain, seems to me more than probable.

1. Because I never yet saw any Springing of running Waters breaking out, either on the Top of a Hill, or so near the Top, but that there was Earth enough above them to feed such Springs, considering the Condition of high Mountains, which are almost constantly moistened with Clouds, and on which the Sunbeams have but little Force: And yet I have made it part of my Business, in viewing the highest Hills in *England* and *Wales* to examine this particular. Nor have I yet ever observed such springing and running Waters in any Plain, unless there were Hills so near, that one might reasonably conclude they were fed by them. 2. Many Springs quite fail in dry Summers, and generally all abate considerably of their Waters. I am not ignorant that some make a Distinction between failing Springs, and enduring Springs, and would have the former to proceed from Rain, and the latter from the Sea, but I see no sufficient Foundation for such a Distinction, and do think that both the one and the other are to be attributed to Rain, the failing and enduring being to be referred either to the different Quantity and Thickness of Earth, that feeds them, or to the different Quality, the one more quickly, the other more slowly, transmitting the Water, or some such like Accident. 3. In Clay Grounds into which the Water sinks with Difficulty, one shall seldom find any Springs, but in sandy, gravelly, rocky, stony, or other Grounds, into which the Rain can easily make its Way, one seldom fails of them. 4. They who would have Fountains to arise from, and be fed by the Sea, have not as yet given a satisfactory Account of the Ascent of Water to the Tops of Mountains, and its Efflux there.

For though Water will creep up a Filtre above its Level, yet I question, whether to so great an Excess above its *Equilibrium* with the Air, whereas in Pumps, we see it will not rise above two or three and thirty Foot, or if it should, whether it would there run out at the Top of the Filtre, we not having as yet heard of any Experiment that will Countenance such a Thing. For the Ascent and Efflux of Sap in Trees, I suspect may be owing to a higher Principle, than purely Mechanical. As for the *Sabulum Quellem*, or *Arena bulliens* of *Helmont*, I look upon it as an extravagant Conceit of his, and yet some Ground there is to believe, that there is a kind of Earth lying up and down in Veins, which doth like a Filtre, retain the Water, and carry or derive it along, as it lies from Place to Place, till it brings it to the *Superficies* of the Earth, where it runs out. In other Places there are subterraneous Channels, like the Veins in Animals, whereinto the Water soaking into the Earth is gathered, and wherein it runs as above Ground, out of smaller Rivulets into greater Streams, and where one of these Veins open in the *Superficies* of the Earth, there is a Spring greater or lesser, according to the Magnitude of the Vein. Nor need we wonder that Springs should endure the Length of a dry Summer, for in many Sorts of Earth the Water makes its Way but slowly, since we see that in those Troughs or Leches, wherein our Laundresses usually put Ashes, and thereupon Water to make a *Lixivium*, the Water will be often many Hours before it gets all thro' the Ash, and the Lech ceases to drop, and in many Chymical Preparations which are filtred, it is long before the Liquor can free itself, and wholly drain away from the earthy and feculent Part. Some attribute the Original of Fountains, to watry Vapours, elevated by subterraneous Fires, or at least by that generally diffused Heat, which Miners find in the Earth, when they come to fifty or sixty Fathoms under Ground, and condensed by the
Tops

Tops and Sides of the Mountains, as by an Alembick-Head, and so distilling down and breaking out where they find Issue. And in Reason one would think, that generally the deeper one digs in the Earth, the colder one should find it, since the Urinators affirm, that the deeper they dive in the Sea, the colder still they find the Water, and yet were there such subterraneous Heats, they are not so great, as that it is likely they should elevate Vapours so high, through so thick a Coat of Earth, which it must be an intense Heat indeed will carry them through, which Heat none say is found near the Superficies of the Earth.

Mr. Hook's Account, viz. that Salt-Water being heavier than fresh, by Reason of its Preponderancy, it may drive up the fresh as high above the Surface of the Sea, as are the Tops of Mountains, before it comes to an *Equilibrium* with it, it is very ingenious, and would be most likely, where these continued close Channels from the Bottom of the Sea, to the Tops of Mountains not admitting the Air, which I believe will not be found in many Places. What is said about ebbing and flowing Wells, in Confirmation of it adds no Strength, for none of those ebbing and flowing Wells, that I have yet seen, do at all observe the Motion of the Sea, but reciprocate two or three Times, or oftener, every Hour, excepting one on the Coast of South Wales, in a sandy Ground, by the Sea-side, not a Quarter of a Mile from the Water which observes the Tides; but it is no running Water, nor doth it, I believe, arise above the Level of the Sea. I do therefore shrewdly suspect for fabulous, whatever has been written of Wells remote from the Sea, which in their ebbing and flowing observe its Motion. But for a Reason of the ebbing and flowing of these Wells, I must confess I am hitherto at a great Loss. Whereas some say, that Rain sinks not above a Foot or two deep into the Earth; if they understand it of all Earths, it is manifestly false, for that we see in Coal Delphs, and other Mines, in wet Weather the Miners are many Times drowned out, (as they phrase it) though no Water run down into the Mouths of their Pits or Shafts; and in sandy and heathy Grounds in the greatest Rains, little Water runs off the Land, as on *Newmarket-heath*, *Gogmagog Hills*, *Salisbury Plain*, &c. and therefore it must needs sink in: And out of the Mouth of *Pole-Hole*, near *Buxton*, in the *Peak* of *Derby*, and other Caves in the Sides of Mountains, in rainy Seasons, Streams of Water many Times run out, where in dry Weather and Summer-time there are none.

Neither is this Opinion we defend, any more repugnant to the Scripture than the other. For whereas it is said, *Eccles. i. 7. All the Rivers run into the Sea, yet the Sea is not full; unto the Place from whence the Rivers come thither they return again*; we grant it to be most true, nay we think such a Circulation absolutely necessary to the Being of Springs, only we assert it to be performed not under Ground, but above, that is, the Clouds take up Water out of the Sea, and pour it down again upon the Earth, and from Part thereof falling upon, and soaking into the higher Grounds, arise the Springs.

But to return to *Malta*, the Haven is very commodious and secure, divided into two by a little Promontory or Neck of Land, some 1500 Canes long, and 380 broad, upon which the new City is built. Of these two, that on the West side the City, is called simply, and *per Automasiam*, *Marfa*, that is, the Haven, and is in Length 180 Canes or Poles, often Palms, the Cane Roman Measure, and is subdivided into other Creeks or *Sinus's*. That on the East-side, called *Marfa Moschetto*, is as large as the other, in a little Island, within which is the *Lazaretto*; near it Ships that come from infected Places, keep their Quarantine. The new City called *Valetta* is divided into twenty Streets, eight in Length, and twelve in Breadth, all strait, though they be not paved, yet they need it not, the Town being built upon a solid Rock. They want no Uniformity but being level, which the Place being uneven, up Hill and down Hill, will not admit. The Houses are all Stone, flat-roof'd, and covered with Plaister, which is sufficient here, there falling but little Rain; though they be not

high, yet are they neat and pleasant. Upon the Roofs of their Houses in Summer time, the People set their Beds as at *Aleppo*, and sleep in the open Air. The Number of the Inhabitants of all Ages, according to a Survey taken in the Year, 1632. was 10744, the Number of Houses, 1891, which Sum is I believe since that Time much increased. Over the Gate of this City, leading to the Land, called *Porta Reale*, you have an Inscription giving an Account of the first founding and building of it. It is fortified with impregnable Walls and Bulwarks, especially towards the Land, where one would think there are too many, and yet they are still adding more; within the outmost Wall, or between the two Walls and Outworks, they have enclosed a great Space of void Ground, whether with Design to enlarge the City, filling that Space with new built Houses, or to receive the Country People, in Case the Enemy should land upon the Island, I know not. All the Walls and Bulwarks are mined or vaulted underneath, that so, in Case the Besiegers should get upon them, they might be blown up, and rendred uselefs. The Charge of all these Walls, Castles and Fortifications would be intolerable had they not Stone at Hand, and Slaves to work.

This City is well served with all Provisions, there being every Morning, a Market plentifully furnished with Bread, Flesh, Fish, Poultry, Fruits, Herbs, &c. of the best in their several Kinds, and to be bought at easy Rates. The most considerable Buildings in this City, are, 1. The Church of *St. John the Baptist*, Patron of the Order, wherein are many Chapels and Altar-Pieces, richly gilt and adorned. Here lie buried the Grand Masters that have been, since the Order was translated hither, in a Vault under Ground, several of them having in the Church, Monuments with Inscriptions. This Church is not yet quite finished. 2. The Castle of *St. Elmo*, which stood here before this City was built, on the utmost Point of the Promontory, a strong Place, but of no great Capacity. Here we observ'd the like winding Ascent to the Top, without any Steps or Stairs, as in the Tower of *St. Mark*, at *Venice*.

Upon the Top of this Castle is constant Watch and Ward kept. When they descry any Vessel coming toward the Island, be it great or small, they set up a Flag suitable to the Bigness of the Vessel; if two Vessels, two; if three, three; and so on according to their Number; signifying also by the Place, where they set these Flags, from what Quarter, East, West, North or South, such Vessel or Vessels come, so that the City is presently advised what Vessels, and how many are near the Port. In this Castle are imprisoned such Knights as have committed any Misdemeanour, and held in Restraint, longer or lesser Time, or further proceeded against, according to the Degree of their Fault. 3. Before this Castle are the *Granaries*, where the Provisions of Corn for the City are kept. These are nothing but Caves hewn out of the Rock, in the Form of a *Cupola*, or ordinary Bee-hive, having each a narrow Mouth above. They are constantly provided with Corn enough beforehand, to serve the whole City for a Year. They have also Magazines or Stores of Wine, Oil, and all other Necessaries. 4. The *Alberghs* or Halls of the eight several Nations (*Lingue* they call them) of the Order. The Nations are *French*, *Italian*, *German*, *English*, *Provençal*, *Auvergnois*, *Castilian*, and *Arragonian*.

These *Alberghs* are most of them fair Buildings like Colleges, and in each of them, is a publick Hall, wherein the Knights of each Nation dine and sup as many as they please, the others have their Parts or Demensum, sent to their Lodgings, or dispose otherwise of it, as they see good. The Seignior of each Nation is Superior of the *Albergh*, *Grand Prior* of his Nation, of the great Cross, *gran Croce* they term it, and one of the Privy Council to the Great Master. These are distinguished from the rest, by a great white Cross upon their Breasts made of Silk, sewn into their Garments. Here is an *Albergh* for the *English* Nation, or rather a Piece of Ground, inclosed with the Foundation of an *Albergh*,

Albergh, the Walls being scarcely reared up. This Ground we are told, some of the Citizens would have bought and built upon, but the *Grand Master* and Council refused to sell it, not despairing it seems, that one Day our Nation may be reduced again to the Obedience of the *Romish Church*.

5. The *Armory* [*Sala di Arma*] within the Palace of the *Great Master*, consisting of two Rooms; the one (which they call the Hall) the fairest and largest Room, employed for such an Use that we have any where seen; the other much lesser. In both together are kept Arms for 30,000 Men, so intire, clean, bright, and fit for Use, that we were very much taken with the Sight of them. Here are some of those little Drakes, that may be charged behind a Leather Gun, and other Curiosities, the like whereto we have seen in several Armories.

6. The *Hospital* [*Infirmaria*] a fair Building, which they are now enlarging. The Sick Persons are served by the Knights, viz. Such a Number of Knights are appointed to carry them their Meat daily with Cap in Hand, which Thing we saw them do in this Manner. The Meat was all brought into the middle of a great Room, where many of the Sick lay. Then one of the Knights (the Steward I suppose he was) read the Names of the Sick, one by one, out of the Physician's Bill, wherein was prescribed each Sick Persons Diet. As he read a Name, the Cook took his Part whose Name was read, and Dishing it up, delivered it to one of the Knights, who carried it to his Bedside, where stood a Stool covered with a Napkin, having Bread and Salt upon it. This Duty their very Name intimates to belong to them, viz. Knights, i. e. Servants of the Hospital, and therefore we may be excused, if we have been more particular and circumstantial in describing the Manner of it. If any of the Order falls Sick, he is not to stay in a private House, but presently repair hither, where he is most carefully tended, one or two Knights being appointed to be always by him.

The Palace of the *Great Master*, where he hath several Apartments for Winter and Summer. There is also a Stable of good Horses, in which besides Coach-horses and ordinary Saddle-horses, are kept forty or fifty great Horses. A Thing worth the Noting in this Island, where there is a great Scarcity of Horses, that Knights and Persons of Quality, ride upon no better than Asses. The *Slaves-Prison*, a fair square Building, where all the Slaves in the City lodge every Night, so long as the Gallies are Abroad in *Corso*. At the ringing of the *Ave-Mary-Bell*, which is just at Sun-set, they are to repair thither; when the Gallies are at Home, those that belong to private Persons are permitted to lodge in their Masters Houses. The Number of Slaves now in Town, was about 2000 belonging to the Order, and 300 to private Persons, besides those that were Abroad in the Gallies.

Besides this new City, there are three considerable Towns distant from it, only by the Breadth of the Haven. 1. The *Isola* (as they commonly call it) or Town of *Senglea*, with the Fort of *St. Michael*, seated in a *Peninsula*, made by two Creeks, running out of the principal Haven. It contains 994 Houses, and 4050 Souls. For the stout Resistance it made to the *Turks*, in 1565, it obtained the Name of *Citta invitta*. 2. The *Borgo* (as they call it) i. e. *Burgo del Castello à Mare*, built likewise on a little *Lingua* or Neck of Land, between two Creeks of the same Haven, on the utmost Cape whereof stands the Castle of *St. Angelo*, divided, for greater Strength, from the Town by a Ditch of Water cut cross the *Lingua*. This Burgh contains 782 Houses, and 3065 Souls. For its Valour and Fidelity in holding out so resolutely against the *Ottoman Army* besieging it, Anno 1565, it is deservedly honoured with the Title of *Citta vittoriosa*. Between these two Burghs is a secure Harbour, where the Gallies and most of the other Vessels of the City lie, which in Time of Danger is shut up with a great Iron Chain. 3. *Birmula* rather a Suburb of *Senglea* than a distinct Town, it contains 642 Fires, and 2778 Souls.

May 25. We rode out to see some Part of the Country, passing two great Villages (*Casales* they name them) we came to the old City, called anciently *Melita*, after the Name of the Island now *Citta notabile*, a small Place at present, but well fortified, containing no more than 565 Houses, 2620 Souls. It hath been formerly much greater, and incomparably more populous. The new City, as being more conveniently situate, daily drawing away, and withdrawing its Inhabitants. Here they shewed us the Pillar of *St. Paul* (as they call it) where when he stood Preaching (as they fondly believe, or at least would persuade us) his Voice was heard distinctly all over the Island. 2. The *Grot of St. Paul*. Here out of a small Cave is taken that white Earth, called, *Terra di S. Paolo*, and by some *Terra Sigillata Melitenfis*, which they seal, and sell to Strangers, attributing thereto, great Virtues against all Poison and Infections. This Cavern, though there be continually great Quantities of Earth taken out of it, according to their conceited Tradition, retains still the same Dimensions, becoming no greater than it was at first. That *St. Paul* suffered Shipwreck on the Coast of this Island, and wintered here, and not on that other *Melita*, in the *Adriatick Sea*, on the Coast of *Dalmatia*, now called *Meleda*, I think it sufficiently proved and made clear by *Cluverius*, *Abela*, and others; but that upon Occasion of a Viper fastened on his Arm, he changed all the Serpents of the Island into Stones, and endued the Earth with an alexipharmical Quality, to resist and expel Poison, is a superstitious and ungrounded Fancy.

From the old City we rode to the *Great Master's Boschetto*, where he hath a pretty Palace in Form of a Castle, from the Top whereof we had a good Prospect of the Island. Here are a great Number of Gardens and Orchards, well furnished with all Sorts of Fruits and Flowers, good Water-Works, and a Grove of Trees; indeed this Palace wants Nothing for Conveniency or Delight. The Palace is situated upon a little Hill, and the Gardens lie under it in a hollow or Bottom almost compassed about with Rocks. But to speak of the Island: *Malta* hath been inhabited by several Nations, and often changed Masters.

The most ancient Inhabitants are by *Cluverius* taken to have been the *Phœaces* mentioned by *Homer*, who were expelled by the *Phœnicians*. The *Phœnicians* were most of them driven out by the *Græcians*. After this it changed Masters rather than Inhabitants, being first subdued and held by the *Carthaginians*, then for a long Time by the *Romans*: After that the *Goths* came hither, who were driven out by the *Eastern Emperors*: Next the *Saracens* possessed themselves of it. The *Normans* expelled them, and got the Dominion. Then the *Germans* or *Suevi* became Lords of it; then the *French*, then the *Arragonians* and *Spaniards*; and now last of all, the Order of the Knights Hospitallers. The History of all which Changes, if any Man desire to be fully and particularly acquainted with, let him consult *Abela*. In all these Changes, it followed for the most part the Fortune of *Sicily*, as having little Strength to resist any foreign Power invading. It is now so well fortified and manned, that it would prove a very difficult Matter for the greatest Prince or Potentate in the World to take it by Force, having, when it was in far worse Condition than now it is, resisted and baffled the Arms of one of the greatest Emperors the *Turks* ever had. It is very populous, containing between thirty and forty great *Casales* or Villages, some of them above 500 Houses, more like to great Towns than Villages, and twenty six Parish Churches, beside those of *Gozo*.

The Number of Fighting Men was said to be about 25 000, but I believe there are scarce so many, for according to a Survey taken in the Year, 1632, the whole Number of Souls upon the Island, besides the Knights, was about 501,12, of which we cannot reckon much above one fifth Part to be fighting Men. And though since that Time the Number of Inhabitants be much increased, yet I think scarce doubled.

The

The Language of the Natives is a corrupt *Arabick* or *Morefco*, introduced by the *Saracens*, the ancient Language before their coming in, probably having been *Greek*, with a Mixture of *Punick*; whence I think one may reasonably conjecture, that the *Saracens* did either destroy or drive out the former Inhabitants. Howbeit, the People can generally speak *Italian*, there being no other Language but that and *Latin* used in any of the Courts of *Malta*. The *Great Master* of the Order is now Prince and supreme Governor of the whole Island, which with *Gozo* and the adjacent Isles, after the Loss of *Rhodes*, was granted to this Order by the Emperor *Charles V.* in the Year 1530. The Government is managed with that Prudence and Justice, that the Island is now in a very flourishing Condition, the Inhabitants enjoying a great Deal of Freedom and Security, being also in their Carriage and Conversation among themselves, and to Strangers, since the Coming in of the Order, very civil and courteous, however formerly they have been branded for the contrary; so that few Subjects live more happy than they do. The *Great Master*, when he goeth Abroad, is attended by many of the Knights, and two or three Pages, of which he keeps, (as we were told) about twenty four. The Knights of the Order are always uncovered in the Presence of the *Great Master*, excepting those sixteen which are of the *Gran Croce*: They take Place, of what Birth or Quality soever they are, according to their Seniority, from the Time of their Admission, so that there is never any Difficulty or Question about Precedency.

All the Knights are of noble or genteel Extraction, none being capable of Admission, but such as can prove their Nobility for three or four Descents. The *Great Master* wears a black short Gown, with hanging Sleeves, the rest of the Knights are habited as they please at Home, but when they go in *Curso* (as they call it) upon the Gallies, they wear the proper Habit belonging to their Order. The Number of Knights was said to be between 2000 and 3000, of which, for the most Part, the Majority reside in the City, except when the Gallies are Abroad. The Name of the *Great Master*, at our being there, was *Nicholaus Cottoner*, of *Majorca*, and I suppose he is still living, not having since heard of his Death.

About five Miles distant from *Malta* Westward, lies the Island *Gozo*, called by the Ancients *Gaulos*, twelve Miles long, six and a half broad, and about thirty in Circuit. The Soil, like that of *Sicily*, is very deep and fruitful of Wheat and other Grain. This Island is mountainous, yet all cultivated, furnished with Store of fresh Springs. It maintains upon it 3000 Persons, the Number of Houses being about 500. It was much more populous before the *Turkish Armada* most inhumanly wasted it in the Year 1565, carrying away Prisoners 6000 Persons. In the Streight betwixt *Malta* and *Gozo* lies a little Island called *Comino*, anciently, according to *Cluverius*, *Hephastia*, about five Miles in Compass, and well cultivated, for the Defence whereof the *Great Master Wignacourt* caused a Fort to be built, opposite to that on the other Side the Streight in *Gozo*, to secure the Streight, and hinder any Vessels passing between the Islands without Leave.

That there is great Plenty of Shells and Fish-Bones petrified found in *Malta*, I have already intimated. I shall now therefore only Name those which are not at all, or but rarely found with us in *England*. 1. *Glossopetra*, which are nothing but Sharks Teeth of several Shapes and Sizes. These the *Maltese* call *Serpents Tongues*. 2. The Vertebres of Thornbacks, and other cartilaginous Fishes. 3. *Cats-Heads* (as they call them from their Likeness to a little Skull.) 4. *Serpents-Eyes* of several Figures and Colours, the most of them red and like to those they call *Toad-stones*, the exterior Superficies being a Segment of a Sphere and shining, as if it were polished, so that they are commonly set in Rings. I have seen great Lumps or Masses of these cemented together. That the *Toad-stone* is nothing else but the Jaw-Tooth of a Fish called *Lupus marinus*, by *Schonfeldius*, Dr. *Merrit* in his *Pinax* hath

first published to the World, and I doubt not but these have the same or the like Original. 5. *Serpents-Teeth* which are small, oblong, striate Stones, of a polite Superficies, but no certain Figure; whither to refer these as yet, I know not, as neither 6. those they call *Serpents Eggs*, which are somewhat like the former, but not striate with Lines. 7. *Bastons of St. Paul*, [*Baculi Sti. Pauli*,] having their Resemblance of small snagged Sticks. 8. *Petrified Lentils*, because for Colour, Figure and Magnitude, somewhat like to that Pulse. Besides I found among the Stones I bought there, some exactly figured like the Fore-Teeth of a Man, and doubtless many other Sorts by diligent Search might be found, which have not as yet been named or taken Notice of. There are but few Trees growing upon the Island, the greatest Want they have being of Fewel; to supply which Defect, they have of late begun to make Use of Seawreck, to burn in their Ovens, prepared after a certain Manner, invented by a Peasant of *Malta*, for which he is highly commended by *Abela*, as a great Benefactor to his Country.

Here I first noted the Custom of flitting up the Nostrils of Asses, because they being naturally strait or small, suffice not to admit Air enough to serve them when they travel or labour hard in these hot Countries. For the hotter the Country is, the more Air is necessary for Respiration and Refreshment of the Body, there being less of that *Menstruum* which serves to nourish or continue Fire, and consequently the vital Heat of Animals (which hath great Likeness thereto) in hot Air than in cold; whence we see that Fire burns furiously in cold Weather, and but faintly in hot. Whether it be because the Air is thinner in hot Weather and hot Countries, or because the reflected Sun-beams spend and consume a good Part of the forementioned *Menstruum*, or from both these Causes: That the Air is thinner, and consequently the *Menstruum* also more diffused in hot Weather, is clear in Experience. I need mention no other Experiment to demonstrate it than the Air inclosed in the Shank of an ordinary Weather-Glass, which in hot Weather dilates itself, and in Cold contracts very considerably. So then to give an Account of the Raging of Fire in the coldest Weather, we need not have Recourse to the insignificant Term of *Antiperistasis*, the true Reason thereof being the Density of the ambient and contiguous Air, containing Plenty of that *Menstruum* which nourishes the Fire.

I omitted to mention the ancient *Cæmetria*, or subterraneous Burying-places, called *Catacombs*, of which there be many in *Malta*, because of these we have already had occasion to discourse in our Description of *Syracusa* in *Sicily*. That this Island produces or nourishes no Serpent or other venomous Creature the common People affirm; but because I find no Mention hereof in *Abela*, I give little Credit to their Report; should it be true, it would be to me a great Argument that this was not the Island upon which *St. Paul* was cast, when he suffered Shipwreck, but rather that *Melita* beforementioned; upon the Coast of *Dalmatia*, for which there is also some Ground in the Scripture; for that *St. Paul*, upon the Viper fastening on his Hand, did by his Prayers obtain of God, that all the Serpents in *Malta* should be turned into Stones, and the Island for the future wholly free from all venomous Beasts, is a Monkish Fancy grounded upon the forementioned petrified Fish-Bones, which they fondly imagined were some time Parts of Serpents; whereas in other Places where Plenty of such Stones are found, there is no Lack of Serpents. I confess it is difficult to imagine how Serpents should come at first to breed here, if the whole Island were once (as we conceive) a submarine Rock covered with the Sea; and as there is no spontaneous Generation of Animals, as we also believe, because it can be scarce imagined, that any Man should on Purpose bring over Serpents hither, unless perchance to shew them for a Curiosity.

Whether there be venomous Beasts or no, I am sure there are venomous Insects here, the very Biting or Stinging of the Gnats (with which the City is much infested) being more virulent than in other Places. For

my Part, I do not remember that in *England* the Biting of a Gnat did ever cause a Swelling, or leave a Mark behind it in the Skin of my Face, (though I know in some it doth) but there it both raised a Swelling, and left a Mark behind it, that was not out for a Month after. The *Maltese* easily defend themselves from the Annoyance of this Insect, keeping them out of their Beds by large Linen Curtains, lapping over one another. At first we were not aware of the Trouble these Animals were like to give us, and left our Curtains open; but Experience soon taught us to correct this Fault.

22. In our Return from *Malta* to *Messina*, we staid a Day at *Catanea*, and there took Horses and a Guide to bring us up Mount *Ætna* (now call'd *Monte Ghibello*) the Top of which is reckoned thirty Miles from *Catanea*, and is one continued Ascent; the Grounds through which we passed being very fertile, well cultivated and inhabited, the Cinders which are cast out by the Mountain, being instead of Dung, (after it is dissolv'd by the Weather) which fattens and enriches the Soil. We advanced as far as where the Snow lies, which reached all up to the Top; we could go no farther, however we were near enough to observe, that the very Top or Pinnacle of the Mountain, was surrounded with a Ring of Snow, but had no Snow itself.

As to the *Sicilians*, they have not undeservedly the Reputation of being uncivil and rude to Strangers; and the *Banditti* or Highway-men, are so frequent, that there is very unsafe Travelling here; the worst is, that they are not contented with Robbing you of all you have about you, but carry you away into the Mountains, nor set you at Liberty, till you have paid what Ransom they think fit to impose upon you. They have some peculiar Laws and Customs not easily met with in other Places. If you carry above the Value of ten Crowns in Money out of the Country, it is forfeited if found; the best is, that a little Money makes the Custom-house Officer, let Strangers pass unsearch'd. No Calves are permitted to be kill'd in this Island, so that you see no Veal at the Tables of the *Sicilians*, tho' at *Malta* (whither they carry it by Stealth) is enough of it. No body ought to take above the Weight of an Ounce of Silver, without weighing of it. No young Person under Age, must enter or travel in *Sicily*, without peculiar Licence. To carry Pocket-Pistols about one is a capital Crime, though long Guns are not only allowed, but also carried almost by every Body: The Reason of which is, that by the first a Person may be assassinated before he can be upon his Guard.

After our Return to *Messina*, we took Boat, May 27, over the *Fretum*, to take a View of the ancient *Regium*, (*Rbegio*) which now makes but a very mean Appearance, having scarce any Thing to boast of, except some Gardens, which indeed afford them great Plenty of the best Sort of Fruits: Here is also Abundance of Bricks made, being reckoned the best in *Italy* and *Sicily*. They shew'd us a small Fragment of St. Paul's Pillar that burned, and told us so many Stories of it, that we were sooner weary of hearing than they of telling.

May 29. We went in a Boat as far as *Scylla*, to see the Fishing of the Sword-fish: They place certain Fellows on the Cliffs near the Sea-side, (*Huers* our *English* Fishermen call them) these either by a Signal, if they are out of hearing, or else by their Voice, give Notice to the Fishing-boats, whereabout they spy the Fish: These make what Hast they can towards the Place, whither they were directed, and placing one of the Boats Crew on the Top of the Mast (which have little Steps made for that Purpose) he gives, from Time to Time, Direction to those at the Oars, whither to take their Course, according to the different Motions of the Fish. Being come near enough, they strike him with a Harpoon, and the Fish being wounded, swims up and down, till being spent with the Loss of Blood, they draw him into the Boat. The Harpoon Iron is fastned to a Pole, the Point being sharp, with Beards on each Side, like a barbed Arrow, so jointed, that they go easily in, but resist the drawing of them out. The

Messinese looking upon this Fish as a singular Dainty, buy it at the Rate of Sixpence per Pound at first coming in. In *May* and the Beginning of *June*, they are catch'd on the Coast of *Calabria*, and towards the latter End of *June*, come over to the *Sicilian* Coast, and are taken near *Messina* till *August*. As there are no Rocks near the *Faro*, they are obliged to place their *Huers* on the Top of a very high Mast, set up in a large Boat or *Brigantine*.

They have in the Beginning of *June*, a yearly Festival, call'd the *Feast of our Lady of the Letter*, which is celebrated with more than ordinary Solemnity; for a whole Week together, all the Houses being illuminated with Candles, Wax Tapers, Lanthorns, &c. all the Night long. They call it the *Festival of our Lady of the Letter*, because it is celebrated in Memory of a Letter, pretended to be written to them, by the *Virgin Mary* in *Greek*, of which they shew you the *Latin* Copy (the Original being lost) which runs thus.

Maria virgo Joachim filia Dei humillima, Christi Jesu crucifixi mater, ex tribu Juda, stirpe David Messanensis omnibus salutem & Dei patris omnipotentis benedictionem.

Vos omnes fide magna legatos ac nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos misisse constat: Filium nostrum Dei genitum Deum & hominem esse fatemini; & in cœlum post suam resurrectionem ascendisse, Pauli Apostoli electi prædicatione mediante viam veritatis agnoscentes. Ob quod vos & ipsam civitatem benedicimus, cujus perpetuam protectricem nos esse volumus. Anno Filii nostri XII. Indiēt. I. III Nonas Junii, Luna XXVII, Feria V. Ex Hierosolymis Maria virgo quæ supra hoc chirographum approbavit.

23. *June* 6. We took a *Felucca* at *Messina* for *Naples*, and lodged the first Night at a small Town called *Tropia*, in *Calabria*, sixty Miles distant from *Messina*. The 7th, Lodging at *St. Lucido*, we met there also with the wild *Jejube*. The 8th, We took up our Quarters at *Porto Nicolo*, a small Creek near *Scalea*, which is strengthned by a Castle. The 9th, We lodged at *Chiupo*, and the 10th came to *Salerno*, where having quitted our Boat, we staid the 11th. This City, which is dignified with the Title of an Episcopal See, is at present very inconsiderable, having neither University, nor *Schola illustris*, as far as we could learn. The only Thing worth our Observation here, was the Monument of *Hildebrand* (Pope Gregory VII.) who rendred himself famous by introducing Celibacy among the Priests, and his Opposition to the Emperor. This is to be seen in the Cathedral of *St. Matthew*, in the Porch of which you see many *Roman* Grave-stones, with ancient Inscriptions.

The 12th, We travelled from *Salerno* by Land to *Naples*, and pass'd that Day through *La Cava* and *Nocera*, both Episcopal Sees, and *Scafata*, *Torre d'Annunciata*, *Torre di Greco*. The 30th, We embarked at *Naples* for *Leghorn*, and the first Day advanced no farther than five Miles, to *Nisita*, a small Isle in the Mouth of the Bay of *Pozzuolo*; but the second Day reach'd *Sperlonga*, a little short of *Terracina* (anciently *Anxur*) sixty Miles.

The 3d Day, we pass'd in Sight of the *Monte Circello*, (or *Promontorium Circeum*) deriving its Name from the noted Enchantress *Circe*, who, as it is said, dwelt here: The Cape extends a great Way into the Sea. About two Leagues from the Point of this Cape, directly against it, we observed a great Number of certain Insects, very like the *Cicadæ*, such as we never met with before; our Ship's Crew called them *Gronge*. The *Cicada* is commonly in our *English* Schools, rendred by the Word *Grasshopper*, whereas the same is a quite different Insect, of a rounder and shorter Body, sitting upon Trees, and making a much greater Noise than the *Grasshopper*, which ought properly be call'd in *Latin*, *Locusta*. The *Cicadæ* are frequent in the hot Countries, but seldom to be seen on this Side of the *Alps*. We lodged this Night at *Astura*, where we saw the Ruins of

of an ancient Town, and of the Foundations of certain Buildings in the Water. Not far thence, we pass'd the fourth Day, the new Town of *Antio*, and a Mile distant thence, we saw vast Ruins of the old Town, and of a great Mole belonging to the Harbour. We staid this Night at *St. Michael*, a small Town not far from *Ostia*, near the Mouth of the River *Tiber*.

The 5th Day, we sail'd with a fair Gale to *St. Stephano*, not far from *Orbitello*, passing in Sight of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Porto Hercole*, compassing *Monte Argentario*.

The 6th Day, Being overtaken by a *Borasco*, or Storm of Thunder and Lightning, we rowed 18 or 20 Miles to a little Creek, under the Tower of *Calo di Furno*. On the Sea-shore we saw those *Opercula concharum*, which by some Naturalists, are taken for Stones, and called *Umbilici marini*, by the *Italians*, *S. Lucies Eyes*. The 7th Day, We reached the Isle of *Troia*, and the Wind turning against us, we took Shelter in a small Creek near the Tower of *Lo Molino*.

The 8th Day, passing in Sight of *Piombino*, (a City subject to a Prince of the same Name) *Populonia P. Barreto*, *S. Vincentio*, *Castagneto*, and *Vara*, lodged at the Tower of *Castiglione*. The 9th Day, the Sea was very rough, it having blown hard all the Night before, yet we got safely into *Leghorn* by Noon.

24. *Florence*, surnamed *the Fair*, answers its Character by the Beauty of its Buildings, tho', in my Opinion, were it not for the great Number of Stone Palaces (such as the Great Duke's, the *Palazzo de Pitti*, of the *Strozzi*, *Salviati*, and others) *Antwerp*, and divers other Cities in the Low-Countries, might challenge the Precedency in this Point: For though its Streets are well paved with broad Stones, like those of *Luca* and *Cologne* in *Germany*, yet are they very narrow (to keep off the scorching Heat of the Sun) and the Paper Windows much shatter'd in many Places, are no small Disgrace to the Beauty of this City. The River *Arno* runs through the Middle of it, over which are built four Stone Bridges, among which, the *Ponte Vecchio*, or *Old Bridge*, has Goldsmiths Shops on both Sides. Its whole Circumference is said to be six *Italian Miles*; but of this, the Duke's Palace and Gardens take up at least one Sixth, besides some Hundreds of Acres made into Vineyards. It has forty four Parishes, including the twelve Priorates. The Number of Inhabitants is computed by some at Eighty-five thousand Souls, by others Ninety thousand, nay, an Hundred thousand; but in my Opinion they speak too large. We were told, that it had fifty-six Nunneries, and twenty-four Convents of Monks, and 37 Hospitals, one of which, *viz.* the *Orphanotrophium*, has 70,000 Crowns yearly Revenue, and maintains 900 Persons. The chief Strength of this City consists in, its three Castles, among which, that on the South-side has a good Garrison, and an Armory furnished with Arms for 30,000 Men. Another is a Fort in the Great Duke's Gardens. The third we viewed not.

The Churches of *Florence*, if not in all other Respects, at least in Point of Architecture, are most excellent; the Cathedral of *St. Maria Florida* being accounted the most exquisite Piece that ever was made, especially for the Pillars which support the Nave or Body of the Church, which stands at such a Distance one from another, and are so slender, that they do not obscure the Isles, and afford a fair Prospect at once of the whole Church. The Cupola, (the first and the Pattern of all the rest) both for its Compass and Height, exceeds all in *Italy*, except that of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*. The Choir, which is of an octagonal Figure, is under this Cupola. The Walls of the Church are covered on the Outside with Marble, cut into small Pieces, and chequer'd, of divers Colours. Within the Church beyond the Choir, you see four Inscriptions, 1. Concerning the Building of the Church, the Foundation of which was laid in 1280. The 2d, Concerning its Consecration by Pope *Eugene IV.* March 25, 1436. The 3d, Concerning the Union of the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, under the said Pope *Eugene IV.* in 1438. The 4th, Intimates the Removal of the Body of *St. Zenobius* from *St. Lawrence's* Church hither, by *Archbi-*

shop *Andreas* his Successor. In the same Church I also saw the Monuments of *Marsilius Ficinus*, and of *GiOTTO*, a famous Architect, who first revived Painting in *Italy*, as also of *Philip Brunelleschi*, another noted Architect, who designed the Cupola of this Church and that of *St. Lawrence's*. On the North Wall of this Church is to be seen the Picture of an *English* Knight on Horseback, named *John Acutus*, which makes some think his Name to have been *Sir John Sharpe*, though others would have his Name to be *Sir John Hawkwood*, because *Guicciardin* calls him *Acutus*, and describes him as a great and valiant Captain. Here also you see on a Table, the Picture of the famous *Italian* Poet *Dante*, a Native of *Florence*, but living in Exile, was buried at *Ravenna*.

In the Church of *St. Croce* is to be seen the Monument of that great Man *Michael Angelo Buonarota*, the famous Architect, Sculptor, and Painter; under his Effigies is a Coffin, and under that three Statues sitting, representing Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.

In the Church of the *Annunciata*, you see the Monument of another great Artist, *John Bologna*, in a Chapel behind the Choir, built by himself.

In the Church of *St. Mark* is the following small Inscription on the Tomb of the famous *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus*;

*Johannes jacit hic Mirandula, cetera norunt
Et Tagus et Ganges, forsitan & Antipodes.*

Ob. An. Sal. MCCCCLXXXIV. vixit An. XXXII.

The Church of *St. Lawrence* contains the Tombs of several of the Great Duke's Family, and to this Church belongs the famous Chapel of *St. Lawrence*, which, when finished, will prove the most magnificent in the World, the Insides of the Walls being laid over with Jasper of several Kinds and Colours, *Agate*, *Lapis Lazuli*, Touch-stone, &c. all neatly polished and inlaid, and wrought into various Figures. This Chapel is an Octagon, the Roof of which is a spacious Cupola: One Side of this Octagon is left void hitherto, being reserved for a most magnificent Altar opposite to the Door, the rest of the Sides being for the Statues and Monuments of such as have been Grand Dukes; the first, beginning on the Left Hand of the Door, being intended for *Alexander*, who was only Duke of *Florence*, was not yet made up; the rest have their respective Names set over their Effigies, each of which stands in a Nich, some of Stone, some of Brass, and underneath a Coffin or Cushion, with a Ducal Crown lying upon it, with the following Inscriptions in this Order:

*Franciscus Mag. Dux Etruriæ II. vixit ann. XLVI.
ob. XIX. Octob. M. D. LXXXVII.*

*Cosmus Mag. Dux Etruriæ II. vixit ann. LV.
ob. XI. Kal. Maii, MDLXXXIV.*

*Ferdinandus Mag. Dux Etrur. III. vixit ann. LX.
ob. VII. Id. Feb. CIO IO CIX.*

*Cosmus Mag. Dux Etrur. IV. vixit ann. XXX.
ob. XXVIII. Feb. CIO IO CXX.*

There is one Side remaining for *Ferdinand II.* the fifth Great Duke, who died since our Departure; the present Great Duke's Name being *Cosmus III.*

Betwixt the Tombs are the Arms of two of the chief Cities under their Jurisdiction. There are so great a Number of Towers, Pillars, Fountains, and Statues of Brass and Stone, and most excellent Pictures, at *Florence*, that I will not pretend to enter upon a particular Description of them here, contenting myself with mentioning only the two *Statuæ Equestres* in Brass, much greater than the Life; one of *Cosmus I.* upon the great Piazza; the other of *Ferdinand I.* in the Piazza of the *Annunciata*; and so proceed to give you a short Account of the Great Duke's Gallery in the Palace, a very handsome Structure, having the Stables under Ground, and above them fair Portico's to walk in; over these, the Shops of all the Artificers that are employed by the Great Duke; above them is that they properly call the Gallery, where in a Walk free for any to come into, you

you see many ancient, and some modern Statues; and on each Side of the Walk, the Pictures of Princes and other great Persons. Here we saw, among the rest, the Pictures of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, Oliver *Cromwell*, and of the before-mentioned *Johannes Accutus*.

The Rarities which we saw were preserved in four Closets, the chief of which were, a very large terrestrial Globe, and a *Sphæra Armillaris* bigger than that; several Stone Tables curiously inlaid with Fragments of precious Stones of various Colours, representing Flowers, Fruits, Birds, Beasts, and Insects, so naturally, that the best Masters of *Europe* could scarce have drawn them more exactly. One of those Tables (the richest I ever saw) was set with many Rubies and Pearls, and valued at 100,000 *Florence Scudi*, (a *Scudi* being somewhat more than an *English Crown*;) several very excellent Cabinets, the best of which being valued at 500,000 *Scudi*, was set with Gems of the first Magnitude; a Pearl of an enormous Size, but not perfectly round; with several Topazes about the Bigness of Walnuts, large Rubies and Emeralds, besides other Stones of less Value, &c. Here also they shewed us the Nail, half of Gold, half Iron, Part of which they pretend was transmuted by *Thurnbaufferus*, an Alchymist of *Basil*, into Gold, but the Iron and Gold was so coarsely join'd, that it easily discovered the Imposture. Besides many ancient *Roman* Idols and Lamps of various Shapes, and Pictures and Statues made by the best Masters.

In the Great Duke's Armory we took Notice of the Armour of many great Persons, and, among the rest, of a Headpiece pretended to have belonged to *Hannibal*, having many *Moresco* Characters on it; *Scanderbeg's* Sword; the Hair of a Horse's Mane seven Yards long, and the Skin of the Horse stuffed up; a long Gun and a Pistol, the Barrels of beaten Gold; several round Bucklers, on one of which was painted a *Medusa's* Head, by *Michael Angelo*, valued at a high Rate; *Italian* Locks for Women; a Thong cut out of the Hide of a Buffalo, 250 Yards long; a great many *Turkish* Arms, &c. The *Argentaria* or Wardrobe contains twelve Cupboards, full of rich Plate; one is fill'd with all Sorts of Vessels of beaten Gold; another has an Altar of Gold, set with Diamonds and other precious Stones, with this Inscription in Capital Letters made up of Rubies, *Cosmus II. Dei gratia magnus Dux Etruriæ ex voto*.

If I should enter upon a Description of the Great Duke's Palace, with its Gardens, Variety of Trees, Fruits, Shrubs, Walks, Fountains, Waterworks, &c. it would require a Treatise by itself; the Choice Plants we took Notice of *in transitu* were, *Dictamnus Creticus*, *Quamoclit Indorum*; *Tragoriganum*; *Stramonium peregrinum* Ger. i. e. *pomo spinoso rotundo*; *Pisum cordatum*, *Balsamina cucumerina*, *Chamærrhiphes*, &c.

In the Duke's *Theriotrophium* we saw a *Lion*, *Tyger*, *Leopard*, *Bear*, *Wolf*, *Porcupine*, *Wild Boar*; the Snout of the last being longer than those of tame Hogs, the Ears not quite so long, of a black Colour, as were the Feet and Tail, the rest of the Body being of a grisly or Iron-grey Colour, which is constantly the same; it being observed, that most of the wild Animals, whether Birds or Beasts, keep the same Colour.

Most of the Palaces of *Florence* are built *à la maniera rustica*, as the *Italians* call it, that is to say, of rough hewn Stones, even protuberating above the Superficies of the Wall: For the rest, this City is in a decaying Condition, in respect, I mean, of what it has been formerly, proceeding partly from the great Declension of their Silk Trade with *France*, as also from the heavy Impositions laid upon them by the Great Duke, who being absolute, receives the tenth of its yearly Value of every House, as well as the tenth of what Lands or Houses are sold; eight *per Cent.* of the Portion of all Women that are married; two *per Cent.* out of every Law-suit, according to the Sum sued for; for every young Heifer that is sold, a Crown; and on all other Provisions, even to the very Eggs, an Excise in Proportion: Nay, he farms the Monopoly of fine Bread (call'd *Pane di Bocca*) to the Baker, who furnishes his Table, and pays 1000 *Scudi* yearly: Besides these

Impositions, as they render the Generality of the Inhabitants poor, (there having not been a new House built in forty Years) so it makes the Prince very powerful, whose ordinary Revenue is computed at one Million and a half, and by some two Millions of Crowns *per Annum*; whereas his annual Expences do not amount to above half the Money, being very thrifty in his Court, keeping his Servants at Board-Wages, and being at a set Rate with his Cook, Baker, &c. one of the chief Maxims of State being to amass great Treasures; for which Reason the late Great Duke would often say of our King *Charles* the First, *That Want of Money ruined him!*

Very few Gentlemen here, but what sell their own Wines by Retail; not within Doors, but by a Hole made in the Cellar-Wall, where they take in and return the Flasks or other Vessels: Instead of a Signpost, they hang out Pieces of broken Flasks at their Palace Gates. Notwithstanding this, they look upon it as a great Disparagement to breed up their Children to the Profession of Physick; but as for Commerce, it is so well look'd upon here, that from the Great Duke himself to those of the lowest Rank, they all apply themselves to it vigorously. Besides that they call the *old State*, comprehending the Territories of *Florence* and *Pisa*, and the *new State*, comprehending the Territory of *Siena*, the Great Duke is Master of part of the Isle of *Elba* (likewise a Fief of *Spain*) part of *Grassignana*, purchas'd from the Marquesses of *Malaspina*; the Earldom of *St. Fiora*, bought of the *Strozzi*; the Marquisate of *Scanzano*, and the Earldom of *Pitigliano* and *Sorano*, once belonging to the *Ursini*; and some other small Places which he holds from the Emperor, as he is Feudatory to the Pope; for *Radicofani* in *Tuscany*, and *Borgo san Sepulchro* in *Umbria*. He has generally the Reputation of maintaining his Fortresses in a better Condition than any other Prince in *Europe*, for the Defence of which he maintains, in Time of Peace, Five thousand Men in constant Pay. The Guard of his Body are *Germans*. They have an odd kind of Race at *Florence*, especially in the Summer time, when a certain Number of the swiftest Horses are let loose, and so run full Speed through one of the Streets, (which thence is call'd *Curso*) without Riders. To make them run, they fasten small Pieces of Leather stuck with Pricks upon their Backs.

The Ecclesiastical Revenue in all the Duke's Territories did, according to a Survey taken thereof 1645, amount to 765000 Crowns *per Annum*.

It is a constant Practice, among the Gentlemen as well as Citizens, of any Note here, to put their Daughters to board in the Nunneries as soon as they come to the eighth or tenth Year of their Age, looking upon this as the cheapest and securest Way to educate them till they are married.

The red *Florence* Wine (deeper than ordinary Claret) is a Wine much esteem'd both in *Italy* and elsewhere; it acquires this deep-red Tincture by the letting it stand longer than ordinary upon the Husks or *Vinacea*, the interior Pulp of the Grape being white.

Sept. 1. We set out again from *Florence* towards *Rome*, and passing through *Castiano*, eight Miles from thence, after we had travelled four Miles further, left the ordinary Road leading to *Siena*, rode through *St. Buco*, to a poor wall'd Town call'd *St. Donato*, sixteen Miles from *Florence*, and fourteen from *Siena*, whither we continued our Journey by the Way of *Castellina di Campi*, and had a Prospect of *Siena* ten Miles before we came at it, the Country hereabouts, as well as all over *Tuscany*, being mountainous and barren. *Siena* (being about four Miles in Compass) is a very fair City, the Piazza of which resembling the Figure of a Cockle-shell, is adorned with stately Buildings: The Cathedral is a most magnificent Structure of Marble, with a most noble Front, and adorned with the Heads of all the Popes, placed in the Wall, round about the Church; some part (*viz.* about the Front part) of this Church is pay'd with Marble inlaid, or rather a most curious Piece of *Mosaick* Work, containing part of the History of the Bible, done by *Micherino Sanese*: If it had been

been finished according to the first Project, it would have exceeded any Thing of that kind in the World; as, the Painting of the Library Walls in this Church, containing the History of *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II.* half by the Hand of *Peruginus*, and half by *Raphael Urbin*, is one of the best that ever I saw, being as lively now, as if it had been done but a few Days. From the Tower called *Torre di mangio*, we took a full Prospect of the whole City, which is of a triangular Figure, and encloses a great many Gardens and Vineyards within its Walls: It is situate upon a Hill, which, together with the Pavement of the Streets, (which is of Brick set Edgeways, as they do in *Holland*) keeps them very clean, and affords them this further Conveniency, that having good Cellars, they make little Use of Snow or Ice to cool their Drink. There is a Room in the Palace of the *Podesta*, the Roof and Walls whereof are so excellently painted by *Micherino Sanese*, that it is justly valued more than the whole Palace besides. This Place is pretty much frequented by Strangers, for its temperate Situation in the Summer time; and as the Inhabitants speak the *Italian* in its Purity, so they are very obliging to Travelers, and all Manner of Provisions are at a reasonable Rate here.

25. Sept. 23. We left *Siena*, and passing through *Lucignano*, *Buon Convento*, and *Tornieri*, came to *St. Quirico*, (*St. Cyriaci Opidum*) where I met with abundance of Lavender Cotton. Hence we rode unto *Radicoferani*, thirty four Miles from *Siena*, situate upon a high Hill, and provided with a Garrison of three hundred Men, being a well fortified Frontier Town of the Great Duke. In this Day's Journey we saw great Plenty of *Abstinium Romanum*, Cæs. between *St. Quirico* and *Radicoferani*, *Cynara silv.* and two other Species of Thistle, one I guess'd to be *Carduus tormentosus* Lob. the other I knew not; *Acarna flore purpureo-rubente patulo*; *Veronica spicata cærulea*; *Winter Savory*; *Aster luteus* *Linariae folio*; *Colchicum* all over the Pastures.

Sept. 4. We continued our Journey from hence to *Viterbo*, being thirty eight Miles; and we had scarce travelled ten Miles, when we passed over a small River near a Place called *Ponte Argentino*, which on this Side is the common Border of the Pope's and Grand Duke's Territories; and travelling on four Miles further, came to *Aquapendente*, a large old Town, so called from its Situation upon the Top of an Hill, from whence the Water falls down perpendicularly. We observ'd all the Villages and Towns of this Country to be built on Hills, for Coolness Sake: And no sooner were we entered the Ecclesiastical Territories, but we found the Fields full of Trees, intermix'd with pleasant and fruitful Valleys, whereas all that Part of the Great Duke's Country through which we pass'd was very craggy, without Trees, and appear'd to us very barren. From *Aquapendente* we went on to *Lorenzo*, a small Place at the Edge of the Lake of *Bolsena*, (anciently of *Volsinii*) and travelling for five Miles along the Lake, came to *Bolsena*, and thence mounted up to *Monte Fiascone*, where having refresh'd ourselves with that most excellent Wine that grows here, we travell'd for eight Miles, through a fertile Plain to *Viterbo*, a Town very spacious, and well situated, but indifferently built; we observ'd only two or three handsome Fountains, and one Tomb of Pope *John XXI.* in the Dome or Cathedral. The hot Springs hereabouts we had not time to take a View of or enquire about.

From *Viterbo* we travell'd, September 5, through *Roniglione*, (a pretty Place belonging to the State of *Castro*) to *Baccano*, being twenty two Miles. September the 6th, We went forward, travelling that Day sixteen Miles, to *Rome*: We ascended a Mountain not far from *Baccano*, from whence having a large Prospect of the *Campania* of *Rome*, being covered all over with a thick Mist, appeared to us at a Distance like a huge Lake. About three Miles on this Side of *Rome* we saw an ancient Monument they call'd the Sepulchre of *Nero*, the like we had met with before at *Modena*. About a Mile short of *Rome*, passing over the *Tiber* by the *Ponte Mollè*, (the ancient *Pons Milvius*) came upon

the *Via Flaminia*, a well-pav'd straight Way, having on both Sides many Country Houses and Gardens, which brought us to the *Porta del Popolo*, one of the Gates of *Rome*.

26. So many Authors have employed their learned Pains in the Description of *Rome*, both ancient and modern, I shall be very brief in the following Account of it. The Antiquities worth the Observation of the Curious, are chiefly the Ruins and Remainders of *Pagan Temples*, *Theatres* and *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, *Baths*, *Aquæducts*, *Obelisks*, *Triumphal Arches*, *Pillars*, *Fora*, *Mausolea*, *Statues*, *Altar* and *Grave-stones*, and other Stones, with their Inscriptions; *Medals*, *Entaglias*, or *Gems* engraven with Figures, *Sacrificing Vessels* and *Instruments*, *Sepulchral Urns*, *Lachrymal Urns*, *Ancient Lamps*, *Weights*, *Rings*, &c. Among the ancient Temples, which are still entire, we have remaining some Part of them: 1. The *Pantheon*, commonly call'd *Rotunda*, from its circular Figure, now dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and *All-Saints*, is 144 Foot high, and as many broad, the Roof being vaulted in Form of a *Cupola*, having no other Light, but that it receives through a round Hole on the Top, of nine Foot Diameter. Its Porch consisted of sixteen tall and massive Pillars of speckled Marble, call'd Oriental Granite, each Pillar having but one Stone, of which there are only thirteen remaining now. Upon the Architrave of this Portico you see these Words insert'd in very large Letters:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT.

This Temple was covered with Copper, till Pope *Urban* the VIIIth removed it thence, and to appease the Grumbling of the People, order'd the four famous wreath'd Pillars and Canopy of the high Altar in *St. Peter's Church* to be made of it; the *Clavi trabales*, or Nails which fastned the Tiles of the *Portico*, weighing no less than 2800 Pounds, out of which was cast a great Cannon, which is still to be seen in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, with this Inscription, *Ex clavis trabalibus Porticus Agrippæ*, and the Figure of one of those Nails engraven upon it. The whole Body of this Temple remains entire, being despoiled only of its Ornaments and Statues, among which was the famous *Minerva* of *Phidias*. After its first Building, it had seven Steps upwards, which surrounded the whole Structure, whereas now you must descend eleven Steps to go into it; a convincing Proof that a great Part of the ancient *Rome* is involv'd in Rubbish under Ground. Those that shew'd us the Church were very careful to tell us, That the Lintel and Side-posts of the great Door of this Church (which indeed is exceeding large in all its Dimensions) were all of one entire Stone; which we thought fit rather to believe, than to give ourselves the Trouble of examining it. In this Church is to be seen the Tomb of that great Architect and Painter *Raphael Urbin* with an elegant Inscription.

2. *Templum Fortune virilis*, or the Temple of the Moon, as some will have it, but rather of the Sun and Jupiter, now call'd *S. Maria Ægyptiaca*, where the *Armenians* have their Service. 3. The Temple of the Sun, or of *Vesta*, as some affirm, or as others, *Templum Herculis Victoris*, standing not far from the Precedent, viz. by the *Tiber* Side, near the broken Bridge, and is now call'd *La Madonna del Sole*, or *St. Stefano allo carrozze*; a small round Structure, with a Gallery of striate Pillars round about it: It receives its Light like the *Pantheon*, through a Hole on the Top. These two last remain entire. 4. *Templum Dianæ Aventinæ*, now call'd *St. Sabino*, is very large, twelve striate Pillars on each Side, dividing the Nave from the Isles. 5. *Templum Herculis Aventini*, now the Church of *St. Alexius* and *Bonifacius*, near the former, on the Top of Mount *Aventine*. 6. *Templum Jani quadrifrontis*, in the Cow-market. 7. The Temple of *Concord*, or rather its Remains, being only a *Portico* sustained by eight great Marble Pillars of one Stone each, at the Foot of the *Mons Capitolinus*. 8. The Temple of *Saturn*, now *St. Adrian's Church*, the Frontispiece of which is only the Remainder of the ancient Temple; it stands near *Severus's Arch*, at the Foot

of the Capitol. 9. The Temple of *Antonine and Faustina*, now *St. Lorenzo in Miranda*; of this remains entire the Portico, with its Inscription, and some of the Walls built of maffy Stones, the Marble Pillars which support the Portico having a Grain lying one Way, all cleave like Wood. 10. The Temple of *Romulus and Remus*, since dedicated to *St. Cosmo and Damiano*, has scarce any thing remaining of its ancient Structure. 11. *Templum Iſidis & Serapidis ſive Solis & Lune*, now *St. Maria nuova*; the few Ruins remaining of the old Church are behind the Cloyſter, the preſent Church being no Part of it, neither ſtanding in the ſame Place. 12. The Temple of *Peace*, the Founder of which was *Veſpaſian*, exceeded all the other ancient Temples of *Rome* in Bigneſs, as may be ſeen by the Foundation, the Ruins of which may eaſily be diſtinguiſh'd; for the reſt, there are no more than Part of three Arches left ſtanding: The ſtriate Pillar, ſet up before the Church of *St. Maria maggiore*, the greateſt of one entire Stone now in *Rome*, was taken hence, being one of the eight which ſupported the Nave or Body of this Temple. 13. *Templum Jovis Statoris*, three Pillars now to be ſeen in the *Campo Vaccino*, were Part of this Temple. 14. *Templum Jovis tonantis*; of this three Pillars, for the moſt Part under Ground, are ſuppoſed to be Part; on the Architrave whereof are to be ſeen theſe Letters, *ESTITUER*, on the Left Hand of the *Clivus*, as you go from *Severus's Arch* to the Capitol. 15. The Temple of *Faunus*, now called *St. Stefano rotundo*, from its circular Figure: This large Structure is ſuſtained by two concentric Circles of Pillars, the outermoſt Pillars being leſs than the innermoſt, the firſt containing forty four Pillars, and the other exactly half the Number; beſides that, the Pillars of the inner Circle ſtand at the ſame Diſtance from one another as thoſe in the outer. 16. *Templum Herculis Callaici*, now *Galuzo*, of a diagonal Figure, its Roof being a Cupola not much leſs than that of the *Pantheon*; it has two Doors directly oppoſite one to another, and on both Sides betwixt them, eight Niches for Statues. 17. *Templum Bacchi extra portam Piam*, now the Church of *St. Coſtanza*, without the Walls: This is alſo a round Structure, having a concentric Circle of twelve Pillars of a leſs Circumference within. Here you ſee an ancient Monument of *Porphry* reſembling a large Cheſt, having a Stone to cover it; it is curiouſly engraven with Branches of Trees, Boys treading of Grapes, of Birds, &c. In ſeveral Places of the Roof are Pictures of Bunches of Grapes, and other Things belonging to Vintage, but the Freſhneſs of the Colours, and Rudeneſs of the Figures, makes me ſuſpect them to be no *Roman Workmanſhip*. They call this the Monument of *Bacchus*. 18. The Temple of the *Sun*; of this there remains only ſome great Marble Stones in the Garden of the *Columna's*, ſome of them curiouſly engraven. 19. The Temple of *Romulus and Remus*, now dedicated to *St. Theodore*; it is of a circular Figure, into which you deſcend by Steps, like as into the *Pantheon*.

Of the ancient *Roman Theatres* and *Amphitheatres*, there are remaining only ſome ſmall Footſteps of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, near the Church of *St. Croce in Gieruſalemme*, and ſome Part of the Walls of the Theatre of *Marcellus*, upon which the Palace of the *Savelli* is built: But of the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, now called the *Coliſeo*, great Ruins are to be ſeen to this Day, being round without, and of an oval Figure within: It is capable of containing conveniently 85,000 Perſons. Of *Circi*, there are only ſome ſlender Remnants of that of *Antoninus Caracalla*, without the City, and of the *Circus maximus*, of which you may juſt diſcern the Figure. Of the *Circus Agonalis*, (now the *Piazza Navona*) and of the *Circus* of *Nero* in *Campo Vaticano*; as likewiſe of the *Circus Flaminius*, nothing is left but their Names. Of *Roman Baths* very conſiderable Ruins are to be ſeen, viz. thoſe of *Diocleſian*, which had Seats for three thouſand two hundred Perſons to bathe, without ſeeing one another; of *Antoninus Caracalla*, which had ſixteen hundred Seats all of poliſh'd Marble; the *Thermæ* of *Titus*, of *Agrippa* near the *Pantheon*, of *Conſtantine* near *St. Sylv'eſter's*, of *Nero* near *St. Euſtachi's Church*, of *Paulus Æmilius* at the Foot of *Monte*

Cavallo, called, *Magnanapoli*; beſides many others, of which ſcarce any Footſteps are to be ſeen now.

Among the ancient *Aquæducts* of *Rome*, there are only four that have ſomething remaining now, viz. the *Aqua Martia*, conducted thirty ſeven Miles; the *Aqua Claudia*, brought thirty five; and the *Aqua Appia* and *Aqua Virginis*, both brought eight Miles; the laſt of which being repaired by Pope *Nicholas V.* is uſ'd now-a-days, and known by the Name of *Fonte di Trivio*. Beſides theſe, there are two new *Aquæducts* built by late Popes, of which the following Inſcriptions will give you a ſatisſactory Account.

I.

Sixtus V. Pont. max. Picens
Aquam ex Agro Columnæ
Via præneſt. ſiniſtrorſum
Multarum collectione venarum
Ductu ſinuſo à receptaculo
Mill. XX. à Capite XXII.

Adduxit:

Fælicemque de nomine
Ant. Pont. dixit.
Cæpit anno I. abſolvit III.
MDLXXXVII.

II.

Paulus V. Pontifex maximus aquam in agro Braccianenſi ſaluberrimis è fontibus collectam, veteribus aquæ Alſeatine ductibus reſtitutis novisque additis XXXV. ab Urbe millario duxit, Anno Domini MDCXII. Pontificatus ſui ſeptimo.

There are eleven *Obeliſks* remaining, but we took Notice only of nine: 1. That which anciently ſtood in the *Circus maximus*, but being broken, was by *Sixtus V.* ſet handſomely together, and placed upon a fine *Pedeſtal* in the *Piazza* within the Gate called *Porta del Popolo*, having on each Side an Inſcription, and two ancient ones on the oppoſite Sides in the ſame Words.

Imp. Cæſar Divi F.
Augustus
Pontifex maximus
Imp. XII. Coſ. XI. Trib. Pot. XIV.
Ægypto in poteſtatem
Populi Romani redact.
Soli donum dedit.

On the other two Sides are modern Inſcriptions. It is engraved on each Side with three Rows of *Hieroglyphicks*. 2. The *Obeliſk* which now ſtands in the *Piazza* before *St. Peter's Church*, was taken out of the *Circus* of *Caligula* and *Nero*, and at the Charge of Pope *Sixtus V.* placed here, as were alſo thoſe of *St. Maria maggiore* and *St. John Lateran*. This *Obeliſk* is ſeventy two Foot high, beſides the *Pedeſtal*, in all one hundred and eight. It has no *Hieroglyphicks* upon it. Of the Manner of its Removal, a peculiar Treatiſe is written; as the four modern Inſcriptions on the *Pedeſtal*, and the ancient one on the *Obeliſk* itſelf, may be ſeen in *Roma antica & moderna*. 3. That of *St. John Lateran*, having three Rows or Files of *Hieroglyphicks* on each Side of it; this is one hundred and twelve Foot high, beſides the Baſe, where it is nine Foot and an half thick one Way, and eight Foot the other. It is the greateſt *Obeliſk* in *Rome*: From the following Inſcription it appears by whom it was brought to *Rome*, and ſet up.

Fl. Conſtantiſ Aug. Conſtantiſ Aug. F. Obeliſcum à patre loco ſuo motum, diuque Alexandriæ jacentem trecentorum remigum impoſitum navi mirandæ vaſtitatis per mare, Tiberimque magnis molibus Romam conveſtum in circo maximo ponendum curavit S. P. Q. R. D. D.

4. That of *St. Maria maggiore*, without *Hieroglyphicks*, and much leſs than any of the former, was removed hither out of the *Mauſoleum* of *Augustus*. 5. That of the *Piazza Navona*, taken out of the *Circus* of *Caracalla*, by Pope *Innocent X.* It has but one Row of *Hieroglyphicks*, and much leſs than the laſt mentioned; of this
Atbanas.

Athanasius Kircher has written a whole Treatise. 6. That of *St. Mabuto*, near the Jesuits Church, is only a Piece of the Top of an Obelisk, placed upon four rude Stones; it has some Hieroglyphicks. 7. That in the Garden of *Medicis*, is also no more than a Piece of the Top of an Obelisk, full of Hieroglyphicks, placed upon a Base, without an Inscription. 8. That in the Garden of the *Mattei* is but very small, and broken in two Pieces; the uppermost has to the Top Hieroglyphicks, but the lower Piece none. 9. In the Court of the Palace of the Prince of *Palestrina*, you see an Obelisk lying upon the Ground, broken in three Pieces, with Hieroglyphicks; it seems to have been much longer. 10. *Roma antica* makes Mention of an Obelisk standing at the Foot of the Stairs in the Palace of the *Ursini*, in the *Campo di flore*, but we did not see it. 11. We were also credibly informed, that an Obelisk, bigger than any of those erected already at *Rome*, and supposed to be entire, was lying under a Row of Houses in the *Campus martius*.

Among all these Obelisks, those that are engraven with Hieroglyphicks are of the same Kind of Stone, viz. of a hard Marble of a mingled Colour, red and white, which in so many Ages has not undergone the least Alteration by the Weather: Their Figure is taper-wise, lessening by Degrees from the Basis to the Center, yet so as that they don't terminate in a Point; but when they are come to that Degree, as to be too small to have any Hieroglyphicks engraven upon them, the Tops are made in the Form of an obtuse Pyramid. It is the general Opinion, and not without a great deal of Probability, that the Hieroglyphicks upon these Obelisks, from the Bottom to the Top, are by Degrees greater and greater, which makes the uppermost appear of the same Bigness with the lowermost.

Of Triumphal Arches are yet remaining that of *Septimius Severus*, that of *Titus Vespasian*, that of *Constantine* the Great, that erected in Honour of *Antoninus*, *Septimius's* Son, and that of *Gallienus* and *Salonica*, called the Arch of *St. Vito*. We could not find out the Arch in the *Via Flaminia*, called *Arco di Portugallo*, in *Roma antica*, where you may see the Inscriptions and Places of those Arches.

There are four Pillars yet remaining, viz. the *Columna milliaria*, which anciently stood in the *Forum Romanum* in the Center of the City, this being the Mark from whence they used to count their Miles by a certain Stone set up at every Mile's End, this Statue being, toward the Top, marked with the Letter I, of a considerable Bigness, as the second Stone at the first Mile's End was marked with II, and so further; so that *ad secundum lapidem* signified at one Mile's Distance from this Pillar, *ad tertium* two, and so on. It is of no considerable Bigness, and now placed on one Side of the Area of the Capitol. The *Columna rostrata* in the *Forum Romanum*, erected to *C. Duilius*, in Memory of the Victory obtained over the *Carthaginians* at Sea; the old and long Inscription, which was much defaced, is supplied in many Places.

The Column of *Trajan*, of white Marble, which remains standing ever since its first Establishment, being one hundred and twenty eight Foot high, and the Base twelve; within it you ascend to the Top by a Pair of winding Stairs of one hundred and ninety two Steps, having forty four small Windows to give Light; the whole Fabrick is composed of no more than twenty four entire Stones, each Stone having eight Steps. An Helical Area compasses the Pillar from Top to Bottom, in Manner of a Screw, on which are carv'd the Actions of *Trajan* in his Expedition against the *Dacians*. The Pedestal, which was buried under Ground, was laid open again by Pope *Paul III.* and has the following Inscription:

S. P. Q. R.

Imp. Cæsari Divi Nervæ F. Nervæ Trajano Aug. Germ. Dacico, Pont. maximo, Trib. Potest XVI. Imp. VI. Cof. VI. PP. ad declarandum quantæ altitudinis mons & locus tantis operibus sit egestus.

The Column of *Antoninus*, much like the former, is

one hundred and seventy five Foot high, has two hundred and six Steps within, and fifty six small Windows; Being miserably broken and defaced, Pope *Sixtus V.* mended and restored it.

There are but two *Mausolea* remaining, viz. that of *Augustus*, and the Moles of *Adrian*, now called the Castle of *St. Angelo*. Of Altar-stones, Grave-stones, and other Stones with Inscriptions, there is vast Variety all over the City: And of ancient Medals and *Entaglie*, there are dug up daily, which are sold in the Shops and Stalls in the Market-places, and great Numbers of them are preserv'd in the Collections of the *Virtuosi*; where, as well as in the Gardens and Palaces of Persons of Quality, you may see great Quantities of sepulchral Urns of different Shapes and Bigness, some of Stone, others of Earth.

Among the Antiquaries of *Rome*, who have considerable Collections of these before-mentioned Things, as well as of sacrificing Vessels and Instruments, Lachrymal Urns, ancient Lamps, Rings, *Fibulae*, *Tesseræ hospitalitatis*, Weights, &c. *Leonardus Augustinus*, the Pope's Antiquary, and *John Petro Bellori*, deserve to be prefer'd before the rest; that worthy and ingenious Gentleman Cavalier *Carlo Antonio del Pozzo*, shewed us twenty Volumes in Folio, containing the Figures of most of the Antiquities in and about *Rome*, drawn by the Hand with great Exactness; and among the rest, we took Notice of the *Crepundia Veterum*, being Nothing else but little Images of Earth resembling Children, Apes, Hares, &c. found in Urns. Of Weights, we saw some in the Collection of *Leonardus Augustinus*, made of a dark-red Stone well polish'd, of the Shape of a *Holland Cheese*, of divers Magnitudes, marked on one Side with the Number of Ounces or Pounds it contained. Of these Weights, I saw two as big as a large *Holland Cheese*, in the Church of *St. Maria in Cosmedin*, called *Schola Græca*, and two more in the Church of *St. Maria in Trastevere*, of which they have a Tradition, that they used to tie them to the Martyrs Feet, to stretch and torment them. In the last-mentioned Collection, we saw also a Medal, with the Figure of a *Talus* on one Side, and this Inscription on the other; *Qui ludit arrham det quod satis sit*: The *Fritillus*, or Dice-box of the Ancients, like ours; the *Strigiles*, a Medal that used to be hung about the Slaves Necks, having on one Side the Figure of a She-Wolf giving Suck to *Romulus* and *Remus*, and on the other, in three concentrical Circles, these Words, *Tene me ne fugiam, & revoca me in foro Trajani purpuretica ad Pascasium Dominum meum*. A Drinking-glass like a *Priapus*, of which the Poet, *Vitreo bibit ille Priapo*. The ancient Roman Timbrel, not unlike our modern ones.

27. *Rome* is near thirteen Miles in Circumference, but did to us appear not to be so populous as *Venice*, *Milan*, or *Naples*, as comprehending a great deal of waste Ground: The Number of its Inhabitants is generally believed to be 120,000 Souls, without Strangers, of which there are great Numbers here; it extends nowadays below the Hills into the Valley by the River-side, being generally well-built, the Streets streight, and beautified with many Palaces, Monasteries and Churches, of which, they say, there are above three hundred. Provisions are not so cheap here as at *Florence* or *Naples*, yet have they great Plenty of them, and exceeding good, their Beef being not inferior to ours in *England*. Before they kill their Beasts, they hunt them as we do our Bulls. Their sucking Veal they prefer before all of that Kind in *Europe*; and their Kid or *Caprette*, and Pork, is also excellent good Meat; but their Mutton is tough and dry. For tame Fowl they may compare with any Part of *Europe* both in Quantity and Goodness, viz. Hens, Capons, Turkeys, tame Pigeons, &c. Geese they have in no great Plenty, but wild Fowl is very cheap, and that of the best Sort, such as Partridges, of two Kinds, the common and red-legged ones, Woodcocks, Snipes, Duck and Mallard, Wigeon, Teal, Quails, Plover, &c. besides what is sold in the Small-bird Market, of Thrushes, Black-birds, Larks, &c. nay, even Robin-red-breasts, Finches, Wag-

Wagtails, Grays, &c. Besides these before-mention'd, you may see sometimes in the Poulterers Shops, Cranes, Wild-geese, Shelldrakes, *Avosetta*, Water-hens, Berganders, and even such Birds as are not eaten in *England*, as Kites, Buzzards, Spar-hawks, Kestrels, Jays, Magpies and Wood-peckers. Neither are they in any Want of Sea or River Fish, though sold at a dearer Rate than Flesh: Of Fresh-water Fish, Pike, Carp, Tench, Trout, Eels, Barble, Chevin, and Dace, are the most frequent; I don't remember I ever saw a Perch at *Rome*. Of Sea-fish, they have the *Mullus antiquorum*, now *Triglia*, called *Rouge* by the *French*, from its Colour; in *Cornwall* we call them *Surmullet*: *Spiegole*, or the *Lupus marinus*, a Fish not known in *England*, *Orate*, Gilthead; *Cephal*, the *Mugil* of the Ancients, we call it a *Mullet* in *English*; *Sarde*, or the Sprat; Conger or Lamprey; Sole, Plaife, and others of the flat Kind; *Merluzzo*, we call them Hakes; sometimes small Sturgeons, Dog-fish, as also Tuny and Sword-fish.

Wild Boar and other Venison you scarce ever miss in the Market, but their wild Deer (or *Capreole*) is generally very lean: Sometimes you meet also with Porcupine to be sold. Oranges and Lemons are very cheap here, but large Pears and Apples dear, being sold by Weight all over *Italy*. Their Bread is very cheap, good, and light, though they use no Yeast to raise it. Of Wines they have greater Variety than in any other Place of *Italy*; as *Greco*, *Lacrime* of *Naples*, *Languedoc*; Wine of *Syracusa* and *Augusta* in *Sicily*, *Orvietano*, *Jensana*, *Monte Pulciano*, *Monte fiascone*, *Castelli*, *Romano* and *Albano*, more frequently used than all the rest. Most of their Wines are sweet (which they call *Abbccati*) and so strong bodied, that they will bear half Water. Rough Wines they call *Asciuti*, though none of theirs are so harsh as our Clarets, *Florence*, or red Wines, which are also to be had here. Their Olives, though small, are exceedingly good and sweet; of Walnuts, Hazlenuts, and such other Fruits as are frequent among us, great Plenty; but our Apples and Pears excel all the rest for Goodness.

Rome is also noted for various Commodities and Manufactures; as, the best Viol and Lute-strings in *Europe*, perfum'd Gloves, Combs made of Bufflers Horn, Womens Fans, Vitriol, Essences; and as for Musick and Pictures of the best Masters, this City may deservedly challenge the Preference before all other Places in *Europe*. At this Time Cavalier *Barberini* was the most noted and the only excellent Sculptor here, and *Pietro de Cortona* the most eminent Painter.

The *Villa's* or Country-Seats of the Princes and other Persons of Quality of *Rome*, for Flower-Gardens, Groves, cut Hedges of Cypress, *Alaternus*, Laurel, Bay, *Phillerea*, *Laurus tinus*, and other *semper-virent* Plants, close and open Walks, most excellent Orchards of Fruit-trees, Labyrinths, Fountains, Waterworks, Statues, Bird-cages, and other Ornaments, but especially in their Bigness, (some being three or four Miles in Compass) exceed most of the Gardens in *Christendom*; the chief of those, (1.) The *Villa Borghese*, esteem'd the best of all about *Rome*, though inferior in Bigness to the (2.) *Villa Pamphylia*, which lies on the *Janiculum*, without St. *Pancras's* Gate, being four Miles in Compass. (3.) The *Villa Ludovisia*, belonging to Prince *Ludoviso*. (4.) The Pope's Garden, called *Belvedere*, at the Vatican. (5.) The Pope's Garden at *Monte Cavallo*. (6.) The *Villa de Medici*, or the Great Duke's Garden. (7.) The Garden of *Montalto*. (8.) The Garden of the *Mattei*. Each of these have their little Pillars, beautified with most excellent Statues, *bassi relievi*, Pictures and other Curiosities, for the Description of which I refer myself to others; neither will I pretend to enlarge upon their publick Structures, but can't altogether pass by in Silence the Church of St. *Peter*, being in my Opinion, the most sumptuous and magnificent Structure that ever was placed upon the Face of the Earth, exceeding in all its Dimensions the most famous Temples of the Ancients, being 520 Foot long, and 385 broad, which though it be not so long as St. *Paul's* at *London*, yet as it is much broader, so this renders it more regular and proportionable to its Length.

The *Cupola* is of that stupendious Height and Compass (having the same Diameter as that of the *Rotunda*) which sustaining on the Top a very large Lanthorn, encompass'd with great Stone Pillars, this renders it the boldest and most stupendious Piece of Architecture the World ever beheld. The Roof is arch'd and divided into spacious Squares or Panes like Wainscot, the Ribs and transverse Borders terminating those Pannels, being richly gilt, and the *Area* of each Square fill'd up with a large gilt Rose. The oval Portico encompasses a large *Area* before the Church, consisting of four Rows of great Stone Pillars, so close together, that at a Distance they resemble a Grove of large Trees. To be short, the lofty Porch to which you ascend out of this *Area* by twenty four Steps, the covering of some part of the Walls with Marble, finely polish'd, the excellent Statues, magnificent Altars, most curious Pictures, and other Ornaments, render this Church the most majestick and most admirable Pile of Buildings in the Universe.

Whilst we staid at *Rome*, we took a Tour to *Frescati*, twelve *Italian* Miles thence, anciently call'd *Tusculum*, where *Cicero* had a Country-house, of which they shew as yet some Remnants: At present it is famous for three *Villa's*, viz. that of *Borghese*, with its Palace call'd *Mondragone*; the *Villa Aldobrandina* or *Belvedere*, belonging to Prince *Pamphilio*, and the *Villa Ludovisia*; all which for Walks, Groves, Labyrinths, and other Ornaments, may compare with the best near *Rome*; and for Waterfalls and other Waterworks, exceed them. That which pleas'd us most, (having never seen the like before) was the Imitation of a Tempest, with a Storm of Thunder and Rain, which artificial Thunder they call *Girandola*. We also took a View of *Tivoli*, the Ancients *Tibur*, eighteen Miles from *Rome*; how much *Horace* delighted in this Place, is evident out of his Verses. Its Situation is, as well as *Frescati*, on the Brow of a Hill overlooking the *Campania* of *Rome*. Here are to be seen the Ruins of ancient Temples and other Structures, and a remarkable Waterfall of the River *Aniene* or *Teverone*. And the *Villa* of *Este*, for its Gardens, Orchards, Walks, Groves, the *Girandola* and other Waterworks, may compare with those of *Frescati*. Not above five Miles from *Tivoli*, we pass'd over the Sulphur River, the Water whereof we found of a bluish Colour, and nauseous Smell, not unlike to that of our Sulphur Well at *Knaresburgh* in *Yorkshire*; the Channel in which it runs is encrusted with a whitish kind of friable stony Matter, which being congeal'd in many Places in the Shape of Sugar-plumbs, they call *Confeiti de Tivoli*, and sell them in whole Boxes full at *Rome*. About *Frescati* we saw growing wild Abundance of *Styrax arbor*, which we found no where else beyond the Seas.

The *Campania* of *Rome* is generally very fertile, but being marshy, and full of standing Pools, the Unwholsomeness of the Air makes that Country but thinly inhabited. One thing more we observ'd very well worth mentioning during our Stay at *Rome*, viz. that the Water the Servants brought us in frosty Weather to wash our Hands, was so hot, that we thought it had been warm'd on Purpose by the Fire; which Phenomenon having been denied by many of our modern Philosophers, who were not satisfied with the *Antiperistasis* of the Ancients, and yet could not give sufficient Reason for it, we thought fit to be satisfied of the Truth, by making an ocular Inspection into the Fountain itself, the Water whereof we found of an equal Heat with what was brought us. For the rest, the frequent Rains that fall hereabouts make in some Measure Amends for the excessive Drought and Heat of the Summer: And as *Rome* has sufficient to entertain People of all Tempers, so it is a Place well fitted for the Reception of Strangers. As for the Inhabitants, they approach now-adays, in their Furnitures and some of their Manners and Customs, more to the *English* than any of the *Italians* besides. To enlarge here upon the Court of *Rome*, the Ecclesiastical State and Government, with that of their Churches and Ceremonies, &c. as it would require an entire Volume, so without insisting any

any further upon those Particulars, we will proceed in the Account of our Journey.

January 24, 1664. We left *Rome*, and taking our Way towards *Venice* along the *Via Flaminia*, pass'd the *Tiber* again by the *Ponte Molle* (*Pons Milvius*) and at seven Miles Distance from *Rome*, through a small Village called *Prima porta*, which some suppose to have been the ancient Boundary of the City on that Side. From thence we travell'd eight Miles further, to *Castel novo*, where we took up our Lodgings. All this Afternoon we kept along the *Tiber*, upon the *Via Flaminia*, which reaches as far as *Rimini*, and is all along pav'd with broad Flints and Pebbles, having on each Side a Border of Stone, and in that Border, at every second or third Pace, a Stone standing above the Level of the Border. In the Fields, as we pass'd along, we found abundance of Vernal Crocuses in Flower.

Jan. 25. We continued our Journey to *Ariano*, eight Miles, where leaving the *Via Flaminia*, we rode round a high Hill, for nine Miles, to a little Town call'd *Civita Castellana*, now standing on a Hill, not far from whence we had a Prospect of the Duke of *Parma's* Palace of *Caprarola*, which seem'd to be no more than two or three Miles off, but was, as they told us, at least ten or twelve. After we had travel'd four Miles further, we pass'd the *Tiber* a little below *Borgetto*, over a Bridge called *Ponte Felice*, begun by Pope *Sixtus V.* and finished by *Urban VIII.* At a small Distance from the River Side we pass'd under the little Town of *Magliano*, built on the Top of a Hill, and travelling for four Miles along the Bank of the River, came to *Utricoli*, now standing upon a Hill, though the Ruins which remain shew the ancient *Otricoli* to have extended, at least for some Part, to the River. From hence we rode, for five Miles, over mountainous and rocky Ways, and a Mile before we reach'd *Narni*, upon the Brink of a most dreadful Precipice, extending along the River *Nera's* side. *Narni* (the *Nequinum* of the Ancients) has borrowed its Name from the River *Nar*, which passes below that steep Rock, upon the Ridge whereof this City is built: It was formerly a *Roman* Colony, and none of the least considerable ones, but is now very poor and mean. Here you see the Brass Statue erected in Memory of *Gattamelata*, the famous *Venetian* General, on Horseback, who was a Native of this Place. Near it you see the Ruins of vast Stone Arches, which some would have to be the Remnants of a Bridge, others of an Aquæduct over the River from one Mountain to another.

Jan. 26. We travell'd thence through a very delightful and fertile Valley, environ'd with Mountains, and well cultivated, to *Terni*, anciently *Interamna*, from its Situation, a neat little City, in the Piazza of which stands a Church which seems to have been an ancient Temple. About four Miles further is the famous Waterfall from the Lake *di Pie di Luco*. Beyond *Terni*, at the further End of this Valley, and on all the adjacent Hills, we saw whole Forests of Olive-trees, and the Country People busy in gathering them. From *Terni* we pass'd over the Mountains to *Tritura*, and thence descended to *Spoletto*, the Capital of *Umbria*, thence call'd *Ducato Spoletano*: The Walls of this City are of considerable Extent, and the Houses well built: Here are to be seen the Ruins of many ancient Buildings. From hence we pass'd through a most spacious and pleasant Valley, enclos'd with Mountains in the Form of an Amphitheatre, the Valley being planted with Trees and Vines after the Manner of *Lombardy*, and the neighbouring Hills full of little Towns and Houses. About four Miles short of *Foligno*, we pass'd under *Trevi*, a little Town seated on a round Hill. *Foligno* (*Fulginium*) is a very pleasant and handsome Town, famous chiefly for Confectioners and good Sweetmeats. Beyond it, at the Extremity of the Valley of *Spoletto*, we saw such another Plantation of Olive-trees as before.

Jan. 27. We ascended from *Foligno* to a Mountain, by a Way cut out of the Rock, having a terrible Precipice on our left, and below a Valley surrounded with high and steep Hills, into which falls a small River

called *Dale*, which drives some Paper-Mills. After we had thus travell'd four or five Miles, we reach'd the Top of the *Appennine*, the Mountains round about us being covered with Snow: On the Top we came into a small Plain, having a little Lake or Pool near a Village called *Col fiorito*, a very delightful Place in Summer. No sooner had we pass'd this Plain, but we began to descend, and passing through the Village of *Serravalle*, situated at the Entrance of a narrow Valley, fourteen Miles from *Foligno*, we continued our Journey through the Mountains, and lodg'd at *Valcimarra*. Jan. 28. We travelled thro' *Tolentino*, nine Miles from *Valcimarra*, a pretty little Town, famous for the Birth-place of that great Critick, *Franciscus Philelphus*, who was the first Inventer of the Word *Stapes*, for Stirrops, which had before no Word in *Latin*. From hence we rode on ten Miles to *Macerata*, a large and populous City, the Capital of the *Marca Anconitana*, and Residence of the Cardinal Legate. From hence we travel'd thro' *Recanati* to *Loretto*. At *Recanati* we saw a Statue in Brass of the Virgin *Mary* in *basso rilievo*, with a Table having an Inscription upon it giving Thanks to her, that she was pleased to settle her House in the Territory of this City.

Loretto itself is no more than a small City, seated upon a Hill, consisting only of one Street within the Walls, and such another without, which makes the Suburb: The Church and College of the Canons stand at one End of the Street; and before the Church is a small Piazza, having a Cloyster on one Side, where the Canons have their Lodgings. In the Midst of the Piazza you see a very fair Fountain, and just before the Church Door a Brass Statue of *Sixtus V.* in a sitting Posture, with an Inscription, intimating, that it was he who gave a Bishop and the Title of a City to *Loretto*. All the Doors of this Church are of Brass cast, with several Histories upon them. The Church is built in Form of a Cross, with a *Cupola* in the middle, directly under which you see standing, the *Santa Casa* or *holy House*, enclos'd in a Case of white *Parian* Marble, curiously engraven with Figures in *basso rilievo*, representing several Histories, done by the best Sculptors of that Age, the full Description of which may be seen in *Turfelinus's* History. The Walls of the House itself are made of a peculiar kind of Stone (as they would persuade the World) resembling Bricks both in their Colour and Figure, but to be found only about *Nazareth*; which if they could prove to be true, would be the best Argument to verify their Assertion concerning the Transportation of this House from thence; but, in my Opinion, they are real Bricks. But to let the Reader know what Arguments they make use of to persuade the World of the Verity of it, I will here insert the whole Relation as given by themselves, which being translated into thirteen Languages, and hung up in the Church, written on as many Tables, runs thus in *English*.

Ave Domina Angelorum.

The miraculous Origin and Translation of the Church of our Lady of Loretto.

“ The Church of *Loretto* was a Chamber of the
“ blessed Virgin nigh *Jerusalem*, in which she was born
“ and bred, and saluted by the Angel, and therein
“ conceiv'd and brought up her Son *Jesus* to the Age
“ of twelve Years. This Chamber, after the Ascension
“ of our Saviour, was by the Apostles consecrated into
“ a Church, in Honour of the blessed Lady: And St.
“ *Luke* made a Picture to her, likewise extant therein
“ to be seen at this very Day. It was frequented with
“ great Devotion by the People of the Country where
“ it stood, whilst they were Catholics; but when,
“ leaving the Faith of Christ, they follow'd the Sect of
“ *Mahomet*, the Angels took it and carried it into *Sclavonia*,
“ and placed it by a Town call'd *Flumen*, where
“ not being had in due Reverence, they again trans-
“ ported it over the Sea, to a Wood in the Territory of
“ *Recanati*, belonging to a Noblewomen called *Loretta*,
“ from whence it took the Name of our Lady of *Lo-*

“*retto*; and thence again they carried it, by Reason
 “of the many Robberies committed, to a Mountain
 “of two Brothers in the said Territory: And from
 “thence finally, in Respect of their Disagreement
 “about the Gifts and Offerings, to the common High-
 “way not far distant, where it now remains without
 “Foundations, famous for many Signs, Graces and Mira-
 “cles; whereat the Inhabitants of *Recanati*, who often
 “came to see it, much wondering, environ’d it with a
 “strong and thick Wall; yet could no Man tell whence
 “it came originally, till in the Year 1296, the blessed
 “Virgin appear’d in his Sleep to a holy devout Man,
 “to whom she reveal’d it, and he divulg’d it to others
 “of Authority in this Province, who determining
 “forthwith to try the Truth of the Vision, resolv’d to
 “chuse sixteen Men of Credit, who to that Effect
 “should go all together to the City of *Nazareth*, as
 “they did, carrying with them the Measures of this
 “Church, and comparing therewith the Foundation’s
 “Remnant, they found them wholly agreeable; and
 “in a Wall thereby engraven, that it stood there,
 “and had left the Place. Which done, they presently
 “returning back, published the Premises to be true;
 “and from that Time forward it hath been certainly
 “known, that this Church was the Chamber of the
 “Virgin *Mary*: To which Christians began then, and
 “have ever since had a great Devotion, for that in it
 “daily she hath done and doth many and many Mi-
 “racles. One *Frere Paul de Sylva*, an Eremite of great
 “Sanctity, who liv’d in a Cottage nigh unto this
 “Church, whither daily he went to Mattins, said, That
 “for ten Years Space, on the eighth of *September*, two
 “Hours before Day, he saw a Light descend from
 “Heaven upon it, which he said was the blessed Vir-
 “gin, who there shew’d herself on the Feast of her
 “Nativity. In Confirmation of all which, two virtuous
 “Men of the City of *Recanati* divers Times declar’d
 “unto the Prefect of *Terreman*, and Governor of the
 “aforemention’d Church, as followeth: The one, cal-
 “led *Paul Renaiduci*, avouch’d, That his Grandfather
 “saw when the Angels brought it over the Sea, placed
 “it in the aforementioned Wood, and had often visi-
 “ted it there: The other, call’d *Francis Prior*, in like
 “Sort affirm’d, that his Grandfather’s Grandfather be-
 “ing 120 Years old, had also much frequented it
 “in the same Place; and for further Proof that it
 “had been there, he reported, that his Grandfather’s
 “Grandfather had a House nigh unto it, wherein he
 “dwelt; and that in his Time it was carried by the
 “Angels from thence to the Mountain of the two Bro-
 “thers, where they placed it as abovesaid.”

By Order of the Right Re-
 verend Monsignor *Vincent*
Cassal of *Bologna*, Go-
 vernor of this Holy
 Place, under Protection
 of the most Reverend
 Cardinal *Moroni*.

I. *Robert Codrington*, Priest
 of the Society of *Jesus*
 in the Year 1634. have
 faithfully translated the
 Premises out of the *La-
 tin* Original hanging in
 the said Church.

To the Honour of the ever-glorious Virgin.

29. From *Loretto* we travel’d, *Jan.* the 30th, to *An-
 cona*, a populous City much frequented by Merchants,
 by Reason of the Conveniency of its Harbour, which
 formerly was the best in all the Gulph, but is much de-
 cayed of late. Here we took particular Notice of the
 Ruins of the Stones which secur’d the ancient Port,
 where you see that renown’d triumphal Arch of white *Pa-
 rian* Marble, erected to *Trajan* by order of the Senate:
 The Stones are of a vast Bigness.

The *Statua equestris* of *Trajan*, which formerly stood
 on the Top of this Arch, is remov’d thence, and set
 up over the Gate of the Exchange. Here we were
 also entertain’d with a Dish of Shellfish, of a very plea-
 sant Taste, call’d *Pholades* in *Latin*, because they live
 in Holes within a soft kind of Stone, or rather Clay,
 which being found in great Plenty at Sea, if expos’d
 to the Air, becomes in Time a perfect Stone: The

Italians call these Stones *Balle di Sasso*, and the Fish
Ballare or *Dattyli de mare*.

Jan. 31. We continued our Journey along the Sea-
 coast for twenty Miles, to *Sinigaglia*, (anciently *Sena*
Gallica) a small Harbour for Barges, but well fortified.

From hence we still pass’d along the Sea-shore for
 fifteen Miles further to *Fano*, (anciently *Fanum Fortunæ*)
 a large and well fortified City: Here is a triumphal
 Arch erected in Honour of *Augustus*, which being some-
 what broken and defaced, they have in the Wall by
 set a Model of it, as it was entire.

Here was the ancient Temple of *Fortune*, now the
 Church of the *Augustine* Fryars, the Brass Statue of *For-
 tune*, which was there ador’d, standing yet in the Pa-
 lace. The City is govern’d by a Senate, consisting of
 seventy Gentlemen, chang’d every third or fourth Year,
 but the Governor of the Pope directs all Matters of
 Moment. This City is by some accounted the best
 situated of any in *Italy*.

Feb. 1. We continued our Journey seven Miles along
 the Shore to *Pesaro*, a very fine City, with a stately
 Piazza surrounded with fair Buildings, and many Stones
 with ancient Inscriptions. The Harbour is almost
 choak’d up, but the Castle and Fortifications in tolera-
 ble Repair. From hence crossing the Country, we
 pass’d through the Village of *Catolica*, ten Miles
 from *Pesaro*, and from thence along the Sea-shore for
 the most Part, till within two or three Miles of *Rimini*,
 when leaving the Shore, we took the *Via Flaminia*.
 The Buildings of the City of *Rimini* are low, but neat,
 with regular strait Streets. Within the Walls of it,
 we pass’d under a high Stone Arch erected to *Tiberius*,
 or according to *Schottus* to *Augustus Caesar*; the Inscrip-
 tion was much defac’d. In the Piazza they shew’d us
 the Stone on which *Caesar* stood when he made his
 Speech to the Soldiers, when he was preparing to march
 to *Rome*: These modern Inscriptions are engraven
 upon it:

*C. Caesar Dict. Rubicone superato civili bell. commilit.
 suos hic in foro Ar. adlocut.*

*Suggestum hunc vetustate collapsum Coss. Ariminensium
 Novembris & Decembr. MDV. Restit.*

In another Piazza stands a Brass Statue of Pope
Paul V. It being Carnival Time, we saw the Gentlemen
 here diverting themselves with Tilting, but they did not
 run at one another, but at a Puppet of Straw, which
 they call *Bamboccio*.

Feb. 2. We made a small Excursion to *St. Marino*, a
 small City and Commonwealth seated on the Top of
 a very high Hill, about ten Miles from *Rimini*, the
 Inhabitants boasting, That they have maintain’d their
 Liberty uncorrupted for above a 1000 Years. All its
 Territories are included in one Mountain about three
 Miles in Length, and nine or ten in Circumference,
 containing four Villages, viz. *Serravalle*, *Fietano*, *Monte*
Giardino, and *Fiorentino*; about eight Corn-mills upon
 the little River *Canova*, and two Powder-mills. The
 Arms of this petty Commonwealth are, three Towers
 upon a Mountain, with this Motto underneath, *Liber-
 tas perpetua*. The Suburb of *St. Marin* is at the Foot
 of the same Hill, whereupon the City is built; here they
 keep a weekly Market every *Wednesday*, especially for
 Swine, of which sometimes 5000 are sold in a Day,
 paying no more than Sixpence Toll for every Drove,
 whether large or small. Besides these weekly Markets,
 they have four great Fairs every Year, the chief of
 which is on *St. Bartholomew’s* Day, where prodigious
 Quantities of Cattle are sold, to the no small Disgust
 of some of the neighbouring Princes, whose Customs
 are considerably impair’d thereby. At this Fair they
 keep a general Muster of all their Forces. From this
 Suburb up to the City are two Ascents, the one pretty
 easy, and winding about to the furthest Gate, by
 which Coaches may upon an Occasion get up; the
 other leading to the nearer Gate being very steep. The
 City is wall’d on one Side, the other lying at the Brow
 of a Precipice, being defended by three Towers in a
 Row;

Row; and the Hill, even on that Side where the Walls stands, is so steep, that it is inaccessible, except by the Ascents; neither are there any Hills near it, except what are much lower than that whereon the City stands. The Streets of the City are narrow, and their Houses but meanly built; they have two Cloysters within the Walls, one belonging to the Discalceate *Franciscans*, the other to the Nuns of the Order of *St. Clara*, and in the Suburb a Convent of the *Capuchins*; besides that, the *Servite* have a very fair Monastery not above a Mile from the City, which has its own Bishop, and has always a Protector at *Rome*, who at present is Cardinal *Barberini*, whom they sometimes present with some Cheeses and *Muscattella* Wine, which grows very well hereabouts, and is in great Esteem with the *Italian* Nobility. They have no Cows, but Goats and Sheep in Abundance. Their Government is administered by a Council of forty five, which they call *Corpo di Principe*; of these fifteen are Gentlemen, (of which they have about twenty Families) fifteen Artisans and fifteen Countrymen, who continue for their Lives, and when one dies, another is chosen in his Stead, by two thirds of the Votes; in the Place of a Gentleman, a Gentleman, and so with the rest.

Feb. 3. We left *Rimini*, and taking our Way to *Ravenna*, passed that renown'd Bridge over the River *Rimino*, begun by *Augustus*, but brought to Perfection by *Tiberius*, the Stones of which, they say, are join'd together without any Cement: Certain it is, that the Sides of it are of vast Stones as high as the Borders, and of a proportionable Breadth, without any Mortar or Cement betwixt them that I could see: It has a large Inscription, intimating when and by whom it was built. About fifteen Miles from *Rimini* we pass'd through *Cesenatico*, and fifteen Miles further thro' *Cervia*, a poor City, having nothing to boast on but the Title of an Archbishop's See. All the Way from *Cervia*, till within two or three Miles of *Ravenna*, we travell'd near a vast Pinewood on the right Hand of us, call'd *Pigneda*, and, if we may credit *Schottus*, bears Fruit enough to serve all *Italy*. The City of *Ravenna* lies enclos'd betwixt two Rivers, *viz.* the *Bedefis* and *Montone*, one running on one, and the second on the other Side. It is of a great Circumference, but meanly built: It has five Gates, and an old Castle of Brick, and three fair Convents, *viz.* the *Classe*, belonging the *Monachi Classenses*; the second call'd the *Porto*, from its being dedicated to *St. Maria Portuensis*, belonging to the *Canonici regulares Lateranenses*; and the third to the *Benedictine* Monks, dedicated to *St. Vitale*, the Church of the last being a double Octagon, the one concentric to and enclos'd within the other; they say it was built by *Justinian*. These Monks shewed us also two Marble Pillars, adding that the *Venetians* had offer'd their Weight in Silver for them: They were produced at first by an Heap of small Flints or Pebbles united into one Body by a Cement petrefied as hard as the Flints themselves, and capable of Politure, which Cement, it is probable, might be the Sediment of the same Stones mixt with a Fluid, and separated from thence. I have seen the like in the Library at *Zurick*, and at *Verona*, in our Ladies Chapel, in the Garden of Signior *Horatia Giusti*. To the same Convent also belongs the little round Church (call'd the *Rotunda*) of the Virgin *Mary*, a Quarter of a Mile without the City, the Roof whereof being fourteen ordinary Paces in Diameter, yet is made of one Stone, having in the midst a round Hole to let in the Light: Upon the Top of this Church stood in former Ages the Monument of *Theodoricus* a *Gotbick* King, of *Porphyry*, who is suppos'd to have built it; this Monument is as yet to be seen in the Wall of the Monastery of the *Succolanti* or barefooted *Franciscans*, with this Inscription:

Vos hoc Porphyriacum ol. Theodorici Gottor. imp. cineres in Rotunda apice recondens, huc Petro Donato Cæsio Narnien. præfule favente translatus ad perennem memoriam Sapientes Reip. Rav. PP.C. MDLXIII.

This Convent is one of the fairest I met with belonging to this Order; and their Church dedicated to

St. Apollinaris is remarkable, both for the double Row of Marble Pillars brought from *Constantinople* by *Theodoricus*, and the ancient *Mosaick* Work in the Walls. Of the same *Mosaick* Work we saw the Figures of the Archbishops of *Ravenna* in the Cathedral, eleven of them having a Dove standing upon their Heads, being chosen by a Dove alighting upon their Heads, if we will credit *Schottus*. Not far from the Convent of the *Franciscans* you see the Arch erected in Memory of the famous Poet *Dante*, with his Effigies under it, and two Inscriptions in *Latin* Verse underneath, said to have been made by himself, but so slenderly done, that had he not compos'd better in *Italian*, he could scarce have challeng'd a Place among the famous Poets. This City has scarce any Thing to boast of now but its Antiquity, being very ill peopled, ill serv'd with Fish, notwithstanding its Vicinity to the Sea, ill provided with Inns, and worse with Water, which verifies the old Saying of the Poet, *Sit cisterna mihi quam vinea malo Ravennæ*, the Water being all brackish. In this Journey from *Rome* to *Venice* we were very sensible of the Difference in the Air on both Sides of the *Appennine* Mountains, being very warm on the other, whereas on this Side we found it as cold as it is in Winter with us, which that it proceeded not from any Change of Weather, we were sufficiently assur'd of, not only by Enquiry, but also because we found Snow lying in many Places in the low Grounds, which was melted even on the Hills of the other Side: The true Reason of it, I think is the Height of this Ridge of Mountains, which reaching above the lower Region of the Air where the Sun-beams are reflected, hinders the Mixture of the warm Southerly and Western, with the cold Northerly and Eastern Air; and stops the free Passage of the South and West Winds on one Hand, which would carry the warm Vapours into the other Part, as they prevent the cold North and East Winds from tempering the Heat beyond these Mountains; in the same Manner as some Travellers relate of a certain mountainous Ridge in the *East-Indies*, on one Side whereof it is Summer when it is Winter on the other.

Feb. 5. We travelled from *Ravenna* along the Bank of the River *Montone*, till within four or five Miles of *Faenza*, which is twenty long Miles from *Ravenna*. *Faenza* is a little neat City, surrounded with a strong brick Wall, but somewhat out of Repair, it is famous for the best Earthen Ware in *Italy*. On *St. Thomas's* Day yearly all the Gentlemen meet to chuse Magistrates, *viz.* nine Senators and a President whom they stile Prior for every Month, so that they have twelve different Senates throughout the Year. From hence we travell'd ten Miles to *Imola*, half a Mile short of which we ferried over the River *Senio*. *Imola* (*Forum Cornelii*) is not so big as *Faenza*, yet has a fair Piazza with a Cloyster on one Side. From hence we continued our Journey upon the *Via Æmilia* to *Bologna*, *Feb. 6.* Here they have a Way of boiling their Wines, to keep them better than if left cold. The first which they call *Vino Cotto*, appear'd to us much stronger than the other which they call *Vino Crudo*.

Feb. 7. Taking the *Florentine* Procaccio's Boat to *Venice*, we passed through nine *Sostegni* or Locks to *Mal Albergo*, where we shifted our Boat, going down from a higher to a lower Channel, which brought us to *Ferrara*, forty five Miles distant from *Bologna*. From *Ferrara* we were tow'd by a Horse through an artificial Channel as far as *Ponte*, where entering the River *Po*, we chang'd our Boat again, and were row'd down the Stream twenty seven Miles to *Corbola*, where entering the *Venetian* Territories, we were oblig'd once more to change in Order to take a *Venetian* Boat. We had scarce gone two or three Miles further down the *Po*, when striking into a Channel to the Left, we passed a Sluce near *Lo-reo*, and proceeding fifteen Miles further, pass'd near to *Chiozza*, and *Palestrina*, a large Place built among the *Lagune*, standing upon the *Lido*, entering into the *Lagune* at the Haven of *Malamocco*, and arrived at *Venice*, *Feb. 9.* of which we have given an Account already.

March

March 13. We set out from *Venice*, on our Journey to *Geneva*, taking our Way through *Rhætia* and *Switzerland*. To *Mestre* we went seven Miles by Boat, from thence twelve Miles further by Coach to *Treviso*, where taking Horse, we spent two Days and a half in travelling to *Trent*, being eighty Miles. The first Day, after twelve Miles riding, we passed through *C. Franco*, and thence through a fair champaign Country to *Bassano*, a handsome City upon the River *Brenta*, where there are Abundance of Silk-weavers. No sooner were we pass'd *Bassano*, but we came among the Mountains, extending for fourteen Miles along the River-side: We lodg'd that Night at *Pont Sigismund*. The second Day we still kept along the Bank of the River, and about two Miles from *Pont Sigismund*, pass'd thro' a Gate, where we paid the first Duty to the Duke of *Inspruck*. At this Pass we saw, hewn out of the Rock, a small Castle called *Cauolo*, unto which there is no Avenues, both the Soldiers that keep Garrison there, and their Provisions, being drawn up by Ropes and Pullies. It has a Fountain of fresh Water in it, and belongs to the Archduke of *Inspruck*, though the *Venetian* Territories extend four or five Miles beyond it. After having travelled sixteen Miles further, we came to a small Town called *Borgo*: and thirteen Miles more, to a rich and populous Borough called *Berzine*, not above five Miles on this Side *Trent*. Upon the River *Brenta* we saw divers Saw-mills, and Abundance of Timber floating down the Streams; and as soon as we enter'd the Mountains, we found Stoves instead of Chimneys.

30. March 16. We got to *Trent* in very good Time, a little but handsome City, seated upon the River *Athesis* or *Adda*, at the Foot of the Mountains which almost surround it, were it not for the Valley where the River runs. It belongs to the Archduke of *Inspruck*, but the Inhabitants speak *Italian*. On the Front of the Choir is to be seen the following Inscription, giving a short Account of the Council held in this City.

Sacrofanctum postremum Oecumenicum generale Concilium fuit in hac celeberrima civitate celebratum; & quidem sub Papa Paulo III. Anno MDXLV, 13 Decembris pro felice Inchoatione fuit facta Processio generalis per totam Urbem, ab Ecclesia Sanctissimæ Trinitatis ad hanc Ecclesiam Cathedralē, quā finitā primus Cardinalis Præsidens, qui postea fuit Papa Julius III. [prout etiam alter Card. Præsidens fuit Papa Marcellus II. nominatus] in hoc loco eminentiore, tunc magis amplo, ad celebrandum Concilium & Sessiones faciendas deputato, ad altare S. & gloriosissimi Martyris Vigili hujus Ecclesiæ patroni celebravit missam de Spiritu S. Ac reliquis ceremoniis peractis fuerunt sub D. Paulo III. celebratæ octo publicæ Sessiones cum decretis, & aliæ tres ob vastam pestem in hac Urbe grassantem Bononiæ, ubi nihil fuit decretum, Anno MDXLVII. Postea cessante peste & Bellis fuit reductum hoc Concilium, & in hoc eodem loco fuerunt sub Papa Julio III. celebratæ aliæ publicæ sex Sessiones cum Decretis Annis 1551, 1552, quibus interfuerunt tres Serenissimi Principes Ecclesiastici, S. R. I. Electores Archiepiscopi, *Moguntinus*, *Treverensis*, *Coloniensis*, 1 Die Septemb. 1551. hanc urbem ingressi; prout etiam Serenissimus Elector Brandenburgensis duos oratores huc ablegavit. Demum sub Papa Pio IV. Anno 1561 & 1563. fuerunt celebratæ ultimæ novem publicæ Sessiones cum Decretis in Ecclesia S. Mariæ majoris hujus Urbis, istius Ecclesiæ Reverendissimo Capitulo incorporata, sicuti etiam Ecclesia S. Petri. Et nihilominus ad pedes Sanctissimi Crucifixi tum in hoc loco existentis & nunc alio translati pro Decretorum corroboratione semper fuerunt publicata omnia dicti Concilii Decreta. Interfuerant sub dictis summis Pontificibus celebrationi Cardinales Legati 13, inter quos *Christophorus Madrucius*; Non Legati 4, inter quos *Ludovicus Madrucius*: Oratores Principum totius Europæ 29: Patriarchæ 3: Archiepiscopi 33: Inter quos Archiepiscopus *Rossaniensis*, qui postea fuit *Urbanus VII.* nominatus: Episcopi 233: Abbates 18: Generales Ordinum 12:

Theologiæ Doctores 148: Procuratores 18: Officiales Concilii 3: Cantores 9: Notarii 4: Cursores Papæ 2.

Sacrofancto Spiritui S. omnium Conciliorum directori sacratissima Die Pentecostes, Anno 1639. dicatum.

The Inclinations, Manners, and Customs of the Italians.

31. The *Italians* are, by the general Confession of all that write them, ingenious, apprehensive of any thing, and quick-witted. *Barclay*, who is not too favourable to them in the Character he gives them, saith, they have *animum rerum omnium capacem*; and again, that there is Nothing so difficult, *ad quod Italici acuminis præstantia non tollatur*. They are patient and assiduous in any thing they set about or desire to learn, never giving over till they master it, and attain the Perfection of it. They are a still, quiet People, as being naturally melancholly, of a middle Temper, between the fastidious Gravity of the *Spaniard*, and unquiet Levity of the *French*, agreeing very well with the *English*, as the *Scots* are observed to do with the *French*, and *Spaniards* with the *Irish*. They are very faithful and loving to their Friends, mindful of a Courtesy received, and if it lies in their Way or Power, for one good Turn will do you two. This I had from a very intelligent Person, who hath lived and conversed long enough among them to know them thoroughly. *Barclay* himself confesseth, that where they do truly love, *omnia Discrimina habent infra tam humani fœderis Sanctitatem*, understand it of the better Sort; for Shopkeepers and Tradesmen are false and fraudulent enough, and Inn-keepers, Carriers, Watermen and Porters, as in other Places, horribly exacting, if you make not an explicit Bargain with them before-hand, in so much that in many Places the State hath thought it necessary, by publick Bando and Decree, to determine how much Innkeepers shall receive of Travellers for their Dinner, and for their Supper and Lodging. They are not easily provoked, but will bear long with one another, and more with Strangers than their own Countrymen. They are also very careful to avoid all Occasions of Quarrel, not to say or do any thing that may offend any Person, especially not to abuse any one by Jestings or Drollery, which they do not like, nor can easily bear. No People in *Europe* are more scrupulous and exact in observing all the *Punctilio's* of Civility and good Breeding, (*bella Creanza* they call it) only methinks the Epithets they bestow upon mean Persons are somewhat extravagant, not to say ridiculous, as when they stile a Mechanick or common Tradesman, *Signor molto magnifico*, and the like; when they are in Company together, they do not only give every Man his Turn of Speaking, but also attend till he hath done, accounting it a Piece of very ill Breeding to interrupt any Man in his Discourse, as hating to be interrupted themselves; contrary to the Manner of the *French* and *Dutch*, who make no Scruple of interrupting one another, and sometimes talk all together. As careful are they not to whisper privately one to another, when in Company, or to talk in an unknown Language which all the Company understands not. They do also shew their Civility to Strangers in not so much as asking them what Religion they are of, avoiding all unnecessary Disputes about that Subject, which are apt to engender Quarrels; which Thing we could not but take Notice of, because in *France* you shall scarce exchange three Words with any Man before he asks you that Question.

It is not easy for a Stranger to get Acquaintance and Familiarity with the *Italians*, they not much delighting to converse with Strangers as not knowing their Humours and Customs; yet is their Conversation, when gotten, pleasant and agreeable, their Discourse profitable, and Carriage obliging. Most of them, even of the ordinary Sort of People, will discourse intelligently about politick Affairs, and the Government and Interest of their own Country, being much addicted to and delighted in politick Studies and Discourses. Most of them are very covetous of Liberty, especially such Cities as have been formerly Common-wealths, Discourses

or Treatises of that Subject making deep Impressions on their Minds; so that in some Places, not only Books, but also Discourses about former Revolutions, are prohibited. *Barclay* also saith, that they are *gloriosæ Libertatis cupidi, cujus adhuc imaginem vident*. Hence the Princes of *Italy* build so many Castles and Citadels in their Territories, not so much to defend themselves against their Enemies, as to bridle their Subjects, and secure themselves against Tumults and Insurrections. A strange thing it is, that of all the People of *Italy*, the *Neapolitans*, who never tasted the Sweetness of Liberty, nor mended their Condition by their Commotions, but always (as we say) *leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the Fire*, should be the most tumultuous, and given to rebel against their Princes.

Leti tells us of one of those petty subordinate Princes of *Naples*, called *Thomaso Ferrari*, who governed his Subjects, not like Vassals, but with that Sweetness and Gentleness, as if they had been his own Children; yet some of these Fellows taking Arms, came into their Presence, and said to him, *Sir Prince, We are come to drive you out of your Palace, and burn all your Moveables*. Why, (answers the Prince) *Can you find Fault with my Government? Are you aggrieved in any Thing, and it shall be redressed?* No, (replied they) *But because we understand that many of our Countrymen have revolted from their Lords, we also, to shew that we love Revolutions, are resolved to rebel against you*. The *Italians* are greatly delighted in Pictures, Statues, and Musick, from the highest to the lowest of them, and so intemperately fond of these Things, that they will give any Price for a choice Picture or Statue.

Tho' all of them cannot paint or play on Instruments of Musick, yet do they all affect Skill and Judgment in both; and this Knowledge is enough to denominate a Man a *Virtuoso*. Many of them are also curious in collecting ancient Coins and Medals. They are great Admirers of their own Language, and so wholly given to cultivate, polish, and enrich; that, they do in a great Measure neglect the *Latin*, few of them now a Days speaking or writing well therein, but mingling so many *Italian* Idiotisms with it, that you have much ado to understand what they speak or write. As for the *Greek* few or none have any tolerable Skill in it the Study thereof being generally neglected and laid aside. They are very temperate in their Diet, eating a great deal of Sallet, and but little Flesh. Their Wine they drink well diluted with Water, and seldom to any Excess. We saw only one *Italian* drunk for the Space of a Year and half, that we sojourned in *Italy*.

Whether it be, that in hot Countries Men have not so good Stomachs as in Cold, or whether Meat, as being better concocted, nourishes more, or that the *Italians* are out of Principle, Temper or Custom more sober and temperate than other Nations. Their Herbs seemed to me more savory and better concocted than ours. Their Water also was not so crude. But for Flesh, ours, in my Judgment, much excels theirs, being much more succulent and sapid; yet in *Rome* have I eaten Beef not inferior to ours. But I suppose it might be of *German* Oxen; of which (as we were informed) there are many driven thither, and for sucking Veal, the *Romans* (as we have already noted) think theirs preferable to any in the World. The *Italians*, especially those of inferior Quality, are in all Things very sparing and frugal, whether it be because they are so educated and accustom'd, or because the Gabels and Taxes, which they pay to their Governors are so great, that they cannot afford to spend much on themselves, or because, naturally loving their Ease, they had rather live nearly than take much Pains.

The Nobility and great Persons choose rather to spend their Revenues in building fair Palaces, and adorning them with Pictures and Statues; in making stately and spacious Orchards, Gardens and Walks, in keeping Coaches and Horses, and a great Retinue of Servants and Staffier, than in keeping great Houses and plentiful Tables, giving board-Wages to their Servants and Attendants, which, in my Opinion, is the better Way of spending Estates, these Things finding poor People

Employment, so that the Money comes to be distributed among them according to their Industry; whereas the other Way maintain'd in Idleness such Persons for the most part as least deserve Relief, those that are modest and deserving choosing rather (if possible they can) to maintain themselves and their Families by the Labour of their Hands, than hang about great Houses for a Meal's Meat. Besides that, great Housekeeping is very often, not to say always, the Occasion of great Disorder and Intemperance. Were I therefore God's Steward for a great Estate, (for such all rich Men are or ought to be) I should think it more Charity to employ poor People, and give them Money for their Work, than to distribute my Estate among them freely, and suffer them to live in Idleness: I mean such as are able to labour.

The inferior Gentry affect to appear in Publick with as much Splendor as they can, and will deny themselves many Satisfactions at Home, that they may be able to keep a Coach, and therein make the *Tour à la mode* about the Streets of their City every Evening. The *Italians* when they call, speak to, or of one another, use only the Christian Name, as, *Signor Giacomo, Signor Giovanni, &c.* unless it be for Distinction's Sake; so that you may converse among them perchance some Months, before you hear any Man's Surname mentioned. The *Italian* Gentry live for the most part in the Cities, whence it is that the Cities are so splendid and well built, so populous and rich, and the Country so poor and thinly inhabited; yet are the Noblemen's Palaces rather great and stately than commodious for Habitation.

In many Cities the Paper Windows (which are for the most Part tattered and broken) disgrace the Buildings, being unsuitable to their Magnificence. The Houses are generally built of Stone, thick wall'd and high roof'd, which makes them warm in Winter, and cool in Summer, but they contrive them rather for Coolness than Warmth, and therefore they make the Windows large to give them Air enough. Of the Gentry in *Italy*, especially in *Venice*, if there be many Brothers of one House, only one usually marries, and that the eldest if he pleases; if he be not disposed, then any other, as they can agree among themselves, the rest do what they can to greaten him that is married to uphold the Family. The Brothers that marry not keep Concubines or Whores, which, though it be a Sin, yet their Confessors can easily absolve them of it.

In most of the Cities and Towns of *Italy* there are Academies or Societies of *Virtuosi*, who have at set Times their Meetings and Exercises, which are for the most Part Proflusions of Wit and Rhetoric, or Discourses about moral Subjects, curious Questions, and Problems or Paradoxes, sometimes extemporary, sometimes premeditated. These have their Head, whom they call Prince, and a certain Number of Academists who are chosen by Ballotting, but they seldom refuse any that offer themselves to Election. Many of these Academies assume to themselves conceited or fanciful Names, and take a suitable Impress or Coat of Arms; as for Example, the Academists of *Bergamo* call themselves *Eccitati*, and their Impress is the Picture of the Morning. In *Mantua*, the Academists called *Accefi*, have taken for their Emblem, a Looking Glass, reflecting the Sunbeams; those called *Timidi*, a Hare. As for the other Cities of *Italy*; in *Rome* there are three Academies, the *Humoristi*, the *Lyncei* and the *Fantastici*: In *Padua*, three; the *Ricovartia Infiammati* and *Incogniti*: In *Bologna*, three; *Ardenti*, *Indomiti* and one *Innominate*: in *Venice*, two; *Discordanti* and *Gussoni*: In *Naples*, two; *Ardenti* and *Intronati*: In *Luca*, two; *Oscuri* and *Freddi*: In *Florence*, *La Crusca*: In *Sienna*, *Intronati*: In *Genoa*, *Addormentati*: In *Vicenza*, *Olympici*: In *Parma*, *Innominati*: In *Pavia*, *Affidati*: In *Milan*, *Nascosti*: In *Ferrara*, *Elevati*: In *Rimini*, *Adagiata*: In *Cecena*, *Offuscati*: In *Ancona*, *Caliginosi*: In *Fabriano*, *Disunito*: In *Perugia*, *Insensati*, In *Viterbo*, *Ostinati*, in *Brescia*, *Occulti*, in *Faenza*, *Philoponni*: In *Treviso* *Perseveranti*: In *Fermo*, *Raffrontati*: In *Verona*, *Philharmonici*: In *Macerata*, *Catenati*: In *Alessandria*, *Immobili*, In *Urbino*, *Afforditi*.

Most of the *Italians* of any Fashion wear black or dark colour'd Cloaths, and for the Fashion of them follow the *French*, but not too hastily, excepting those Countries which are subject to the King of *Spain*, which use the *Spanish* Habit. As for their Vices, they are chiefly taxed for three. 1. *Revenge*, they thinking it an ignoble and unmannerly Thing to put up or pass by any Injury or Affront. Many Times also they dissemble or conceal their Displeasure and Hatred under Pretence of Friendship, that they may more easily revenge themselves of whom they hate, by poisoning, assassinating, or any other Way; for nothing will satisfy them, but the Death of those who have injured them; and there are Bravo's and Cut-throats ready to murder any Man for a small Piece of Money. Besides, which is worst of all, they are implacable, and by no Means to be trusted, when they say, they pardon. Hence they have a Proverb among them, *Amicitie reconciliat & menestre riscaldat non furono mai grate*. The Women also provoke their Children to revenge the Death of their Fathers, by shewing them the Weapon where-with they were murdered, or Cloaths dip'd in their Blood, or the like; by which Means Feuds between Families are maintained and entailed from Generation to Generation. These are the Qualities for which we usually say an *Englishman* *Italianate* is a Devil incarnate. 2. *Lust*, to which the Inhabitants of hot Countries are, by the Temper of their Bodies, inclined. Hence it is, that all Cities and great Towns do so swarm with Courtezans and Harlots; and, to avoid worse Evils, the State is necessitated to give them publick Toleration and Protection. As for masculine Venery and other Works of Darknes, I shall not charge the *Italians* with them, as not having sufficient Ground so to do, and because, (as *Barclay* saith) *Hæc scelera tenebris damnata & negari facilius à consciis possunt, & ab æmulis fugi*. 3. *Jealousy*, which strangely possesses this People; so that for every little Suspicion they will shut up their Wives in a Chamber, and carry the Key with them, not suffering them to stir Abroad, unless themselves accompany them. To salute an *Italian's* Wife with a Kiss is a stabbing Matter; and to call a Man *Cornuto*, or Cuckold in good Earnest, is the greatest Affront or Disgrace you can put upon him. The married Women in *Italy*, by this Means, have but bad Lives, being for the most Part confined to their Houses, except when they go to Church, and then they have an old Woman attending them; the Doors of their Houses shut up at Dinner and Supper; all Visits and familiar Discourses with Men denied them; neither can they speak or smile without Suspicion. One Reason of this, among others, may be, because the Husbands knowing themselves to be so dishonest and false to their Wives, they presume, that had they Opportunity, they would not be more true to them. And yet for all this Guarding and Circumspection, are not the *Italian* Dames more uncorrupt than the Matrons of other Nations, but find Means to deceive their Husbands, and be dishonest in Spight of Jealousy.

To these I might add *Swearing*, which is so ordinary among all Sorts, the Priests and Monks themselves scarce abstaining from Oaths, that I believe they account it no Sin. It is a general Custom all over *Italy* to sleep an Hour or two after Dinner, in Summer-time; so that from Two of the Clock till Four in the Afternoon, you shall scarce see any body stirring about the Streets of the Cities. Indeed if one sits still it is very hard to keep his Eyes open at that Time. Either this Custom did not prevail when the School of *Salerno* wrote their Physick Precepts, or that Direction *Sit breves aut nullus tibi Somnus meridianus*, was calculated for *England*, to whose King that Book was dedicated. And yet still the *Italian* Physicians advise People, either not to sleep at all after Dinner, or, if they must sleep, to strip off their Cloaths and go to Bed, but only to take a Nod in their Chair sitting.

In many Cities of *Italy* are Hospitals where Pilgrims and poor Travellers are entertained, and have their Diet and Lodging for three Days, if they have Reason

to stay so long, *gratis*, besides a Piece of Money when they go away. There are Hospitals also to receive exposed Children, if I may so term them, that is, without any Exception, that shall be brought and put in at a Grate on Purpose, where, upon ringing a Bell, an Officer comes presently and receives the Child, and asking the Party that brought it, Whether it hath been baptized? carries it to a Nurse to give it Suck, and there it is maintained till it be grown up. The Place where it is put in is so strait, as to admit only Children new born, or very young. This I look upon as a good Institution in great Cities, taking away from Women the Temptation of Murthing their new-born Children, or destroying their Conception in the Womb to hide their Shame. I know what may be objected against it, *viz.* That it emboldens them to play the wanton, having so fair a Way of concealing it, *sed ex malis minimum*. In *Rome*, *Venice*, and some other Cities of *Italy*, they have a Way of exercising Charity, little used among us; several Confraternities of well-disposed Persons raise Sums of Money by a free Contribution among themselves, which they bestow yearly in Portions for the marrying of poor Maids, which else might want Husbands, and be tempted to dishonest Practices to maintain themselves.

This I look upon as well-plac'd Alms, and worthy of Imitation, it being very convenient, and in a Manner necessary, that new-married People should have somewhat to furnish their Houses and begin the World with, and no less fitting that young Persons should be encouraged to marry, as well for multiplying of People, wherein the Strength of the Common-wealth chiefly consists, as for the preventing those Evils to which young and single Persons are strongly tempted and inclined. It is a troublesome Thing to travel with Fire-arms in *Italy*, you being forced in most Cities to leave them at the Gate with the Guard, who give you a Tally or Token; and when you leave the City, you bring your Tally, and receive your Arms. This is done to prevent Assaults and Murders, which are so frequent in many Cities of *Italy*. For this the Great Duke of *Tuscany* is much to be commended, there being no such Murthers and Outrages committed in any of the Cities under his Dominion, as in other Places; so diligent is he in searching out, and severe in punishing Bravo'es, Cut-throats, Assassins, and such Kind of Malefactors. As much might be said for the Pope in the City of *Rome*, but in other Cities in his Territories there is killing enough.

When you depart from any City, you must be sure to take a *Bill of Health* out of the Office that is kept every where for that Purpose, without which you can hardly get to be admitted into another City, especially if it be in the Territory of another Prince or State. If any one comes from an infected or suspected Place, he is forced to keep his *Quarantain* (as they call it) that is, be shut up in the *Lazaretto* or Pest-house forty Days, before he be permitted to come into the City, so scrupulously careful are they to prevent Contagion.

In *Rome*, and other Cities of *Italy*, we have often observed many Labourers that wanted Work standing in the Market-places to be hired, whither People that want Help usually go and bargain with them; which Custom illustrates that Parable of our Saviour, recorded in the Beginning of the Twentieth Chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, wherein the Housholder is said to go out about the third Hour, and see others standing in the Market-place. Verse 8; and in Verse 6, he is said to find others about the eleventh Hour, and to say to them, *why stand ye here all the Day idle?* and Verse 7. they answer, *Because no Man hath hired us*. In *Italy*, and other hot Countries, so soon as they have cut down their Corn, they thresh and winnow it usually, or at least a great Part of it, on a Floor made in the open Air, before they bring it into the House. Hence in the Scripture we read of threshing Floors as open Places without Roof or Cover. Such, I suppose, was that where *Boaz* winnowed Barley, *Ruth* iii. 3. Neither is it any Wonder

der that he should lie there all Night, for at *Aleppo*, and even in *Malta*, in Summer time, they set their Beds upon the Roof of their Houses, and sleep *sub Dio*, in the open Air. One Custom we have in *England*, which (as far as I could observe) is no where used beyond the Seas, and that is, for Children to beg their Parents and Godfathers Blessing upon the Knee. One Custom which prevails generally in foreign Countries, that is but little used in *England*, that is, to salute those that sneeze, by vailing the Bonnet, and praying God to bless, assist, or defend them, &c. There is a kind of Sport or Game much used to this Day by the *Italians*, called, *Gioco di mora*, which seems to have been used by the Ancients, and called *micare Digitis*. It is for the most part between two, who put out just at the same Time each of them, as many Fingers as they please, and also name each of them what Number he thinks fit, and if either of them happens to be the Number of the Fingers, which both of them together threw out, then he that names that Number wins one.

An Account of the Curiosities and Observations in the several Parts of Italy.

In *Lombardy* and other Parts of *Italy*, *Tartufale*, (as they call them) *i. e.* *Tubera Terræ*, a kind of subterraneous Mushroom, which our Herbalists call in *English* *Trubs*, or after the *French* Name *Truffles*, are accounted a choice Dish, held by Naturalists to be incentive of Lust. The best of all are gotten in *Sicily* and thence sent over into *Malta* where they are sold dear. The Way to get them is to turn Swine into a Field where they grow, who find them by the Smell, and root them up out of the Ground; and set one to follow the Swine, and gather them up. *Snails* boiled and served up with Oil and Pepper, put into their Shells are also accounted a good Dish: I am sure they are sold dear at *Venice*, and elsewhere, especially the great whitish or ash-coloured Shell-Snails, which we had not then seen in *England*, but have since found plentifully upon the the Downs near *Darking* in *Surry*; whither, as we were informed by the Honourable *Charles Howard*, Esq; they were brought from beyond Seas by a Gentleman, whose Name has slip'd my Memory, and is worn out in my Papers. But Mr. *Martin Lister* hath found them on the Banks of that hollow Lane, leading from *Puckeridge* to *Ware*. These Snails before Winter, stop up the Mouth or Aperture of their Shells, with a thick hard, white Paste, like a good Lute or Plaister, and are kept all Winter in Barrels or other Vessels, and sold by the Poulterers. The first Place where we met them to be sold in the Market, was *Vienna* in *Austria*, where they imitate the *Italians*, as well in their Diet, as in the Manner of their Buildings.

Frogs are another *Italian* Viand, which we in *England* eat not. These they usually fry, and serve up with Oil. At *Venice* they eat only the Loins and hind Legs, as also at *Florence*, and that upon Fish Days. In some Places of *Lombardy* they eat their whole Bodies, and besides their Frogs are of a larger Size than ordinary. Their Flesh shews white and lovely as they lie in the Markets, skin'd and ready prepared to fry. Howbeit, even there in *Italy*, *Kircher* in his Book *de Peste*, condemns them as as an ambiguous and dangerous Meat, and I think deservedly; wherefore we do well, having Plenty of better Foods wholly to abstain from them. *Land Tortoises* are accounted with them a better Meat than *Sea Tortoises*, and are commonly to be sold in the Markets; they are eaten by those Orders of *Friers*, whose Rule obliges them to abstain from Flesh, as, *Carthusians*, *Carmelites*, &c. They eat also many Sorts of *Shell-fish*, which we either have not, or meddle not with, as, *Purples*, *Periwinkles* of several Sorts, *Patellæ* or Limpets, *Sea Urchins*, which last are to be found every Day in the Markets at *Naples*. They eat also the *Sea Tortoises*, of which the Blood put into the Stomachs, and boiled is the best Part.

Paste made into Strings like Packthreads or Thongs of white Leather, (which if greater they call *Macaroni*, if lesser *Vermicelli*) they cut in Pieces, and put in their Pots, as we do Oatmeal, to make their *Menestra* or

Broth, of much Esteem by the Country People. These boiled and oiled, with a little Cheese scraped upon them, they eat as we do buttered Wheat or Rice. The Making of these is a Trade and Mystery, and in every great Town you shall see several Shops of them. They scrape or grate Cheese upon all their Dishes, even of Flesh, accounting that it gives the Meat a good Relish which to those that are unaccustomed, makes it rather nauseous or loathsome. *Chestnuts* roasted and the Kernels served up with Juice of Lemon and Sugar, are much esteemed, and by some called the *Pistachio's* of *Italy*. At *Bononia* they grind them and make little Cakes of the Flower of them, which, though eaten by the Poor, are no desirable Dainty to a delicate Palate. Roasted Chestnuts are a great Part of the Diet of the poor Peasants in *Italy*; as we have elsewhere noted. They eat all Manner of *Small Birds* as well as the *Germans*, viz. *Wrens*, *Stares*, *Titmice*, *Butcher-birds*, and several great ones, which we touch not in *England*, as, *Magpies*, *Jays*, *Woodpeckers*, *Jackdaws*, &c. Nay we have frequently seen *Kites* and *Hawks* lying on the Poulterers Stalls, as we have already noted in our Description of *Rome*.

They use several Herbs for *Sallets*, which are not yet or have been but lately used in *England*, viz. *Selleri*, which is nothing else but sweet Smallage, the young Shoots whereof, with a little of the Head of the Root cut off, they eat raw with Oil and Pepper; in like Manner they eat Fennel, Artichoke also they eat raw with the same Sauce (the same Part of it that is eaten boiled.) In *Sicily*, at the highest Village upon that Side Mount *Ætna* that we ascended, they gave us to eat for a Sallet, the Stalks of a tall prickly Thistle, bearing a yellow Flower, I suppose it was the *Carduus Chrysanthenus*, Dod. which the Rankness of the Soil had caused to mount up to that Stature; besides, in most of their Sallets they mingle Rockett, *Rachetta* they call it, which to me gives them an odious Taste. *Curl'd Endive* blanch'd is much used beyond Sea, and for a raw Sallet seemed to excel Lettice itself; besides, it hath this Advantage, that it may be kept all Winter. Many Fruits they eat, which we either have not, or eat not in *England*, viz. *Jejubes* sold by the Hucksters while they are yet Green: *Lazarole*, the Fruit of the *Mespilus Aronia*, of a pleasant acid Taste, both Fruit and Tree, and exactly like the common Hawthorn, but bigger. *Services* or *Sorbes* the true, as big as little Pears; those that grow with us are the Fruit of the *Sorbus torminalis*. Green Figs, both white and blue in great Plenty, a most delicate Fruit when fully ripe, comparable for the Taste to the best Marmalade, and which may be eaten freely without Danger of surfeiting. The Husks or Cods of *Carobs*, called in *Latin*, *Siliqua dulcis*, in *Greek*, *negaria*, the Word used, *Luke* xv. 16. and therefore by some supposed to be the Husks the Prodigal is said to have desired to fill his Belly with. Indeed we thought them fitter Meat for Swine than Men, for though they had a sweet Taste, yet afterwards they troubled our Stomachs, and purged us, but they have not upon all Men the like Effect, for the *Italians* and *Spaniards* eat them ordinarily without any such Trouble, *Love-Apples*, *Mad Apples* both raw and pickled: *Water-melons* which they use to eat, to cool and refresh them, and some Physicians allow sick Persons to eat them in Fevers. They are almost as big as Pompions, have a green Rind, and a reddish Pulp, with blackish Seed when ripe; the *Italians* call these *Cucumeri*, whereas Cucumbers they call *Citrulli*. Several Sorts of Gourds, as, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, and *Cucurbita Flexuosa* five *Anguina*, which eats very well build in Pottage, *Cucumis anguinis*, which is more esteem'd, and indeed better tasted than the Cucumber.

The common People both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, eat green chick Pease raw, as our common People do common Pease. In their Deserts and second Courses, they commonly serve up Pine-kernels, and in Time of Year green Almonds, also a kind of Sweet-meat or Confection, made up of Mustard and Sugar, which they call *Italian* Mustard. To cool and refresh their Wines they use generally Snow, where it may easily be had, else

else Ice, which they keep in Conservatories all Summer. Without Snow they that are commonly used to it, do not willingly drink, no not in Winter. In the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they make a Sort of Cheese which they call *Caseo di Cavallo*, i. e. *Horse Cheese*, for what Reason I could not learn. These Cheeses they make up in several Forms, some in the Fashion of a blown Bladder, some in the Fashion of a Cylinder, and some in other Figures. They are neither fat nor strong, yet well tasted, and acceptable to such, as have eaten them a-while. The Pulp or Body of them lies in Flakes, and hath as it were a Grain one Way like Wood. They told us that they were made of Buffalo's Milk, but we believed them not; because we observed not many Buffalo's in those Countries, where there is more of this Cheese made, than of other Sorts.

In *Italy* and other hot Countries their Meat is not only naturally more lean and dry than ours, but they roast it also till it be ready to fall from the Bones, and there be little Juice left in it. Besides, when they roast their Meat, they draw Coals under the Spit, and let the Fat drop on them, the *Nidor* whereof perfumes the Meat, but not to our Gust, who are not used to it, and what they lose in dripping they save in Fewel. Their Roasting differs not much from our Broiling or Carbonading. I speak this of ordinary Inns, and mean People's Houses; in great Houses and Inns it is otherwise.

The *Italians* count not their Hours as we do, from twelve to twelve, beginning at Mid-day and Midnight; but from one to twenty four, beginning their Count at Sun-set, which is a much more troublesome Way; the setting of the Sun being a moveable Point or Term, and they being therefore necessitated to alter and new set their Clocks every Day; whereas, Midday and Midnight being fix'd Points, the Clocks need no setting a-new. As for *Italy* in general, though the *Italians* imagine it to be the best Country in the World, and have a Proverb among them, that *Italy is the Garden of the World*; yet setting aside *Lombardy*, *Campania felix*, and some few other Places, the rest is mountainous and barren enough: The Earth so parched up by the Sun-beams, that it bears no Grass, and (as *Barclay* saith) seldom yieldeth Grain enough for three Years successively, to supply the Necessities and Uses of its Inhabitants, whatever they may boast of the *Itala gleba*. The Reason why the *Italians* are so conceited of their own Country is because they seldom travel Abroad, and so see not the Beauty and Fertility of others.

I might have taken Notice of the vast and incredible Number of religious Houses there are in *Italy*. I have sometimes thought they might in all of both Sexes, amount to eight or ten thousand. Of these the Gentlemen make Advantage for such of their Daughters as either they cannot get Husbands for, or are not able to give Portions to, suitable to their Birth and Quality, they can in one of these Houses for a small Matter, honourably dispose of, and settle for their Lives. The Institution of such Houses as these, whither young Women of Quality, who, for Want of sufficient Fortunes or personal Endowments, cannot easily provide themselves suitable Matches, might retire and find honourable Provision; would perchance be tolerable, yea commendable, were they purged from all Superstition; the Women not admitted too young, and under no Vow of perpetual Chastity, only to leave the House in case they married. But because of the Danger of introducing Monks; I think it more safe for a Christian State, not to permit any such Foundations. Buffles are a common Beast in *Italy*, and they make use of them to draw their Teams, as we do of Oxen; only because they are somewhat fierce and unruly, they are forced to lead them by an Iron Ring, put into their Noses, as our Bear Wards do their Bears. The *Cicadae* before-mentioned. The *Flying Glow-worms*, which are there every where to be seen in Summer-time. These flying or winged Glow-worms, are nothing else but the Males of the common creeping or unmingled Glow-worm. *Tabuis Columna* relates, that *Carolus Ventimiglia*, of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, having out of Curiosity, kept many

unwinged Glow-worms in a Glass, did put in among them a flying one, which presently in his Sight did couple with them one by one, after the Manner of Silk-worms, and that the next Day, the unwinged ones or Females began to lay their Eggs. That the Males are also flying Insects in *England*, though they do but rarely, or not at all shine with us, we are assured by an Eye-witness, who saw them in Conjunction with the common shining unwinged Glow-worm. Here by the Way it may not be amiss to impart to the Reader, a Discovery made by a certain Gentleman, and communicated to me by *Francis Jessop*, Esq; which is, that those reputed Meteors called in Latin *Ignes fatui*, and known in *England* by the conceited Names of *Jack with a Lanthorn*, and *Will with a Wisp*, are nothing else but Swarms of these flying Glow-worms. Which if true, we may give an easy Account of those *Phænomena* of these supposed Fires, viz. their sudden Motion from Place to Place, and leading Travellers that follow them, into Bogs and Precipices. *Scorpions*, which in *Italy* sting not, or at least their Stings are not venomous, as the learned *Franciscus Redi* affirms, though by Experience he found the Stinging of the *African Scorpion* to be mortal, or at least very noxious.

Tarantula's so call'd, because found about *Tarentum*, (though we have seen of them at *Rome*) which are nothing else but a large Sort of Spider, the Biting whereof is esteemed venomous, and thought to put People into phrenetick Fits, enforcing them to dance to certain Tunes of the Musick, by which Means they are cured, long and violent Exercise causing a great Evacuation by Sweat. These Fits they say do also yearly Return, at the same Season the Patient was bitten. But *Dr. Thomas Cornelius*, of *Cozenza*, before-mention'd, a learned Physician and Virtuoso in *Naples*, diligently enquiring into this generally receiv'd, and heretofore unquestion'd Story, that he might satisfy himself and others, whether it were really true in Experience rejects it. *Cimici*, as the *Italians* call them, as the *French*, *Punaise*. We *English* call them Chiches, or Wall-Lice, which are very noisome and troublesome by their Bitings in the Night Time, raising a great Heat and Redness in the Skin. They harbour in the Straw of the Bolsters and Mattraffes, and in the Wood of the Bedsteads, and therefore in some *Nosocomia* or Hospitals for sick Persons, as for Example, at *Genoa* the Bedsteads are all of Iron. This Insect, if it be crush'd or bruis'd, emits a most horrid and loathsome Scent, so that those that are bitten by them, are often in a Doubt, whether it be better to endure the Trouble of their Bitings, or kill them, and suffer their most odious and abominable Stink. We have of these Insects, in some Places of *England*, but not many, neither are they excessively troublesome to us.

32. We departed from *Trent*, intending for *Coira* or *Chur*, in the *Grisons* Country, called in Latin, *Curia Rhetorum*. We rode up the Valley where the River *Athesis* runs, called *Val venosta*, every five Miles passing through a large Village, and one handsome little Town called *Burgo*, and lodged at a small Town called *Brunsole*. We rode through *Bolzan*, a considerable Town, and for Bigness comparable to *Trent*, and ten Miles further *Maran*, a large Town, and lodged at a Village called *Raveland*. We passed through *Latourn*, *Slach*, *Schlanders*, *Maltz*, all Villages and Towns of Note, and last of all *Cleurn*, a pretty great walled Town, and then struck up on the left Hand among the Mountains, to a Village called *Tavers*, where we lodged. We rode on through the Snow to *Monastero*, where the *Grisons* Country begins, and *St. Maria*, a small Terra, and stopp'd at *Gherf*, a Village at the Foot of the high Mountains. In this Country the People use a peculiar Language of their own, which they call *Romansch*, that is, *Lingua Romana*. It seems to be nearer *Spanish* than *Italian*, though distinct from both: Besides their own Language, they generally speak both *Italian* and *Dutch*, so that after we had lost *Italian* in the Vallies, we wondered to find it here among the Hills. Their Wines they bring all out of the *Valtelline* from *Tirano*, about two Days Journey distant. The Country at this Time

Time was all over covered with Snow, so that they are forced to keep their Cattle within Doors for six Months; yet the People said, that thereabouts the Snow did not lie all Summer, no not on the Tops of the highest Mountains. Here we observed, that to draw their Sleds over the Snow, instead of Oxen they made use of Bulls, one Bull drawing a little Sled. About *Tavers* we observed them sowing of Dust upon the Snow, which they told us was to make the Snow melt the sooner: I suppose it was rather for Manure. They use Stoves in all Places, and good Reason they have, the Country being very cold. A great Number of *Chamois* or *Gemps*, [*Rupi capræ*] are taken all over these Countries upon the high Hills, as though the People had not told us, we must needs have gathered, from the Multitude of Horns we saw stuck up in the Houses where we lodged. Bears there are, and Wolves enough, among the high Mountains, but not very many. The Men generally wear Ruffs, and long bushy Beards. All the People (as far as we had Experience, or could judge of them, in that short Stay we made among them) we found to be honest, hearty and civil, and the common Sort very mannerly. Their Houses are built of Stone, and covered with Shingles of Wood, the Walls thick, and the Windows very small, to fence against the Cold. They have no strong Holds or fortified Places among them, nor will they permit any to be erected, having so much Confidence in their own Valour, that they think they need no other Defence: Indeed their Country is such, as one would think, none of their neighbouring Princes should covet, unless for the Security of his own Territories. We passed the Mountain of *Bufalara* in seven or eight Hours. In the Top of the Mountain in the Midway, between *Cherf* and *Zernetz*, is an Inn called *Furno*. From *Zernetz* we rode in the Valley of the higher *Engadine*, through *Zuotz*, a great *Terra*, and two other Villages, and lodged at a little Place called *Ponte*.

32. The *Grisons* are divided into three Leagues, each of these subdivided in *Communities*, which have each several Villages, some more, some less: The *Lega Grisa* has nineteen *Communities*; the *Lega della casa Dio*, twenty-one; the *Lega Dieci Ditture*, ten. Each *Community* has its chief annual Magistrate, (whom in some Places they call *Maestrale*, in some Places *Landman*) and a certain Number of Assessors or Judges, call'd *Truader*, by them. Each Village chuses its Judges by Majority of Votes, every Inhabitant, above the Age of sixteen, having his Suffrage. These Magistrates are chang'd every two Years, but confirm'd every Year, and may be deposed by the People. The executive Power and Management of publick Affairs is lodged in the *Maestrale* or *Landman*, who assembles the *Truader*. Every two Years they have two General Diets, one at *Michaelmas* Day, when they chuse Governors of Places; the second at *St. John Baptist's* Day, when they take an Account of all their Officers. To these Diets each *Community* sends its Commissioners, some one, some two, who are to act according to the Instructions given them. Each League has its Head or Chief; as for Instance, the Burgomaster of *Coira* is always Head of the League *della casa di Dio*. From the Diet lies an Appeal to the *Communities*. The *Grisons* pay no Manner of Taxes; the County of *Chiavenna* and the *Valtoline* in *Italy* are subject to them, whither they sent two Bailiffs before *Pluers* was destroyed by the falling in of an adjacent Mountain; now they send but one to *Chiavenna*; these are called *Commissario's*. The *Valtoline* is divided into six Districts or *Præfecturæ*, each of which has its peculiar Governor sent thither by the *Grisons*; their Names are, *Bormio*, *Tirano*, *Tellio*, *Sondrio*, *Morbegno* and *Travona*. The People of the *Valtoline*, and of the Country of *Chiavenna*, pay no other Taxes but only for the Maintenance of their Governors.

March 24. We left *Ponte*, and travelled over very high Mountains, in very bad Weather, it snowing so exceedingly, that we were scarce able to open our Eyes; yet by the Way we took Notice, that the People living among those cold Mountains were of a more swarthy Complexion than those below. *March 25.* We came to *Coira*, the capital City of the *Grisons*, standing upon

a River which falls into the *Rhine* about half a Mile below it. It is encompass'd with Mountains, except on that Side where the *Rhine* passes through a pleasant Valley of very fine Meadows and Pasture-grounds. The Inhabitants of *Coire* are Protestants, except the Bishop and twenty four Canons, who have no Share in the Government of the Town, the Form of which is much like to that of *Zurich* and *Basil*; the Citizens being divided into five Companies, each of which chuses fourteen Senators, who compose the Great Council of Seventy: The same are chosen commonly again every Year on *St. Martin's* Day. The Lesser Council consists of certain Members of the *Great Council*, viz. five out of each Company chosen every Year, and five Masters of the Companies for the last Year, making up the Number of thirty. This Council, with the Burgomaster regent, (whom they call *Stattvought*) judge in criminal Causes, as Actions of Debt are determined by the five Masters of the Companies, and ten Members of the Council of thirty. But from them an Appeal lies to the lesser Council. The *Grisons* have besides *Coire* two Towns more, viz. *Mayfield* and *Eylandts*: Some of their Communities are *Romanists*, some *Protestants*, but most of the last, the Number of which is computed at 17000 Fighting Men.

March 29. We went from *Coire* to *Walenstadt*, seated upon a small Lake called the *Wallenstatter-Sea*: This, as well as *Sargans*, through which we passed, are *Voghtia's* of the seven Cantons. The 30th, we ferried over the Lake to *Wesen*, and from thence travelled to *Glaris*, one of the thirteen *Swiss Cantons*: Here they shewed us the Horns of the *Ibex*, (which they call *Steinbuck*) not unlike, but somewhat longer than Goats-Horns; they told us, that they were found in *Wallisland*, and the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg* in *Germany*; but of the beforementioned *Rupicapræ* or *Gymfes* and *Mures Alpini majores*, called *Marmottoes*, they have great Plenty, as well as of the *Merula torquata* and *Merula aquatica*; of the *Urogallus*, or Cocks of the Wood, and the *Lagopus* a white Bird like a Partridge, feathered down to the very Claws; but of these they have greater Plenty among the *Grisons*. The Inhabitants of the two Cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzel* are mixt, two thirds *Protestants* and one third *Romanists*; for the rest, the Difference of the Government of the several *Swiss Cantons* may be reduced under three Heads; the first of those who have no Cities, where the supream Power is lodged in the People, viz. *Uri*, *Swits*, *Underwalden*, *Zug*, *Glaris* and *Appenzel*; the second of those which have Cities, that were subject formerly to Princes, where the Form is Aristocratical, as *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Friburg* and *Solothurn*; the third of those, which have Cities which were always free, where there is a Mixture of both, being divided into certain Companies, by whom the Magistrates are chosen yearly; of this Order are *Zurich*, *Basil* and *Schaffhausen*.

The Canton of *Glaris* is divided into fifteen *Districts*, some of which elect five, others six Counsellors, some more, others less, which make up the Senate or Council of sixty, two Parts whereof are *Protestants*, and the rest *Romanists*. The Sovereignty is lodged in the People, who meet every Year on the last Sunday in *April*, all above sixteen Years of Age having their Votes to chuse by the Majority of Suffrages, 1. The *Landman*. 2. The *Stadhalter*, or his Lieutenant. 3. A Treasurer. 4. A Standard-bearer. 5. The Head Captain, and in Time of War a Lieutenant. 6. The Head Ensign. 7. Three Secretaries. 8. The Apparitor. Each of which has his particular Station and Share allotted in the Government, with such Persons as are joyned with them in Commission, for the further Elucidation of which, I will refer myself to Mr. *Simler* in his *Swiss Republick*.

The Territory of *Glaris* is about twenty four *English* Miles long, the Number of Freemen, of both Religions, about 2500. In the Cantons of *Basil*, *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Schaffhausen*, *Friburg* and *Solothurn*, the Citizens are only Freemen, the Inhabitants of the open Country being Subjects under the Government of Bailiffs, who in some Places govern two, in others three,

in others six Years. But in those Cantons which have no Cities, each Countryman is a Freeman, as far as they belong to their respective Cantons, for they have also their Subjects govern'd by Bailiffs.

April 1. We travelled from *Glaris* through *Nafels*, and other Villages near the *Lake of Zurich*, and after an Hour's riding ascended a high Mountain, where we found the Ground cover'd with Snow, and the famous Monastery of the *Benedictine* Fryars, call'd *Eynsidle*, where is the Image of our Lady, who has a peculiar Chapel consecrated to her, visited by many Pilgrims. This Abby is under the Jurisdiction of those of *Switz*, unto which Place we came *April* the 2d, being no more than a Village, but comparable to a large Town; its Government is the same with *Glaris*, being divided into six Quarters, each chuses ten Senators, which compose the Senate, consisting of sixty Persons. Their Officers are also the same as at *Glaris*. This Canton, as every one of the rest, sends two *Messi* or Deputies to the general Diet at *Baden*, of which the *Landman* is generally one.

April 3. After we had travelled three Miles along the Lake to *Brunen*, we embark'd for *Altorf*, and having spent three Hours more in our Passage, had a Mile further to *Altorf*, there being no travelling from *Switz* to *Altorf*, unless you will take a Compass of about sixty Miles. It is larger than *Switz*, and has a pretty Church and a Monastery belonging to the *Capuchins*. Here they told us the Story of *William Tell* and the *Lantvogt*; the Statue of the first we saw on the Top of a Pillar, over one of their Fountains, with his Crossbow on his Shoulder, leading his Son by the Hand, and at some Distance a Tower, on which were painted the several Passages of this Story. The Government is the same with *Switz*, the Number of Senators and Manner of Election the same, except that they have a Master of the Artillery, and six Proctors or Councillors besides.

April 4. We return'd to the Lake of *Lucern*, and went by Water within an Hour's travelling of *Stantz*, the chief Village of *Underwalden*, where we lodg'd. Here is a very fair Church, and two Convents, one for the *Capuchins*, and one of Nuns. In this Place, and at *Altorf*, *Switz*, *Lucern*, &c. we saw in the Churchyards, Crosses of Wood and Iron upon the Graves, on some of which hung a little Copper Kettle with holy Water, and many Women coming, with Bunches of Herbs in their Hands, which they dipt in the Kettle, and sprinkled the Water upon the Graves. Such is their Ignorance and Superstition!

This Canton is divided in *Oberwald* and *Underwald*; the capital Village of the first being *Stanner*, as *Stantz* is of the latter. The lower is govern'd by sixty Senators, chosen by eleven Communities, some more, some less. Their Officers and Elections the same as in *Switz* and *Uri*, except that here they change their *Landman* every Year. *Oberwald* has its own *Landman*, Officers, &c. so that they would seem to be two distinct Cantons, were it not that they send but two Deputies to the general Diet at *Baden*.

These three Cantons of *Uri*, *Switz* and *Underwalden* have no Corn fields or Vineyards, but only Pasture-Grounds, being supplied with Wine from *Italy*, which is very dear here; and therefore but little drank. The People are generally very honest and good-natur'd, and keep their Houses very clean, but are much given to eating and drinking, having Plenty of plain Things at small Cost.

April 5. We travelled to *Lucern*, crossing part of the Lake. It is a very handsome City, pleasantly situate upon the Lake of the same Name, and divided in two Parts by a River, which arising from the Lake, is cover'd here with three Bridges, one for Carts and Horses, the other two for Foot-Passengers, covered with a Roof, one being near a Quarter of a Mile long; besides which, it has a fourth Bridge covered like the other, but longer, leading to the Church. The great Church, which stands without the Wall, is a very lofty Structure, over the Western Door of which is the biggest Organ that ever I saw, the Hollow of the greater Pipes being capacious enough for a Man to creep into. They told us, that

their Great Council consisted of an hundred and thirty six, who continue in Office during Life, and when one dies, the rest chuse another in his Place. It has two Presidents, whom they call *Sculteti*, who also continue for Life, but preside in their Turns every other Year. For their Manner of chusing these Senators and other Officers, I will refer myself to *Simler*. All the Inhabitants of the Territories belonging to this City are Subjects, and divided into nineteen or twenty *Presecturæ*, but they pay no more than five *Batz*, or a Hen a Man *per Annum* to the Governor. From *Lucern* we travell'd, *April* the 6th, fifteen Miles to *Zugb*, (*Tugium* in *Latin*) seated at the Side of a small Lake, but it is less by one half than *Lucern*. The Government here is popular, like those of *Uri*, *Switz*, and *Underwalden*; but besides the City, the three Communities of *Eyry*, *Mensingen* and *Baar* have a Share in the Government. Their Magistrates, Officers and Elections the same as in *Uri* and *Switz*. To the General Diet the City sends one, and the three Communities the other Deputy. The Nomination of the *Landvogts* or Governors in the Country belongs once to the City and twice to the Communities.

The Lake of *Zugb* (if you believe the Inhabitants) has greater Variety of Fish than any other of *Switzerland*; those they named to us were, *Eels*, *Carp*, *Perch*, *Trouts*, *Salmons*; which is very strange, by Reason of its great Distance from the Sea; *Esch*, called *Grayling* in English, *Trisea* or the *Eel-pout*, *Pikes*, (of which we saw one weighing thirty Pounds) *White-fish* or *Alberlin*, which is taken also in the Lake of *Bala* in *Merionethshire* in *Wales*, and is call'd there *Guiniad*; and in *Huls-water* near *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and there call'd *Schelly*; *Hafslar*, a Fish I take to be the same with our *Charre* in *Winandenmere* in *Westmorland*, and the *Torgoch* of *North Wales*; *Balla*, *Nase*, (call'd *Nasus* by Naturalists) *Breams*, *Crevises*, &c. and many more. In the shadowy Lakes about *Sant* and *Zug*, we found *Anblatum Cordi*, or *Dentaria apbyllos*. From *Zug* we rode *April* 7. in five Hours to *Zurich*, of which we have given an Account before.

April 13. We travell'd thence four good Leagues to *Mellingen*, a free Town, not far from *Baden*, and passing through *Lenzburg*, lodged at *Arau*, a considerable Town upon the *Aar*, four short Leagues from *Mellingen*. The 14th we pass'd thro' no considerable Place till we came to *Solothurn*, nine Leagues from *Arau*, which, though the Head of a Canton, is not considerable either for its Strength or Bigness. *April 15*, taking a round-about Way out of the ordinary Road to *Geneva*, we took a View of *Bern*, six Hours riding from *Solothurn*, that we might not leave *Switzerland* without seeing it.

Bern is a very handsome City, for though the Houses be not very high, yet they are well built of Stone. The chief Street which is very long, has Cloysters on both Sides; it lies stretched out in Length upon a Hill, resembling a Peninsula, being almost encompassed by the River, that side where it is not being strongly fortified with Bastions and Outworks. The Founder of this City, as also of *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, and of *Friburg* in *Brigow*, was *Berchtoldus* Duke of *Zerin*, unto whom they have erected a Monument in the great Church, one of the neatest Stone Fabricks in all *Switzerland*. The Territories of this City are of such an Extent, as to comprehend one third Part of all the Country of the *Swiss*, being divided into sixty Bailiages, besides four others they have in common with *Friburg*. The *Landvogts* or Bailiffs continue in their Stations for six Years, which makes them very rich without exacting upon the People. They keep here five or six Bears in a Pit, which are often climbing up and down the Fir-Trees that grow in the Pit. The Arms of *Bern* is a Bear, alluding perhaps to their Name, this City being the first that coin'd the Money call'd *Batze*, (signifying a Bear's Paw) from the Figure of a Bear stamp'd upon it, which was afterwards imitated by all the rest of the Cantons.

April 17. We travelled from *Bern* to *Friburg*, a very handsome City and likewise the Head of a Canton; its Situation

Situation is much the same as *Bern*, upon a Hill, almost surrounded with a River, and encompass'd with Hills, except on that Side where it is joined to the Land.

April 18. We travel'd from *Fribourg* through *Maul- ton* to *Lausanna*, a great Town and an University; and April the 19th continued our Journey by the Way of *Morges*, *Rolle* and *Nion*, considerable Towns upon the Lake of *Geneva* and *Verfoy*, a small Place on the Lake near *Geneva*, belonging to the *French*, and came the same Day to *Geneva*, where we staid for three Months.

The Governments of *Solothurn*, *Bern* and *Friburg*, are much the same as that of *Lucern*. In *Solothurn* the Great Council consists of One Hundred and Fifteen, the Lesser of Thirty-five; if one happens to die, the Thirty-four remaining chuse another out of the One Hundred and Fifteen, and his Place is supplied out of the Citizens. In *Bern*, the greater Council is composed of Two Hundred, and the lesser of Forty-two. In *Fribourg* the greater Council is of Two Hundred likewise, and the Lesser of Twenty-four. All these Cities have two *Scouts* or *Consuls*, who rule every other Year each in his Turn. He that desires a more ample Account of the Government of these and all other *Helvetic* Cities, may consult *Simler de Rep. Helvet.* Each of the Protestant Cantons acknowledge a certain Saint for their Patron, whose Image they stamp upon the Reverse of their Money. The Protestant Cantons are, *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Basil*, *Schaffhausen*, and Part of *Glaris* and *Appenzel*. That which breeds frequent intestine Differences among the *Swiss*, is the Business of the common Bailiwicks; for the Popish Cantons, being more in Number than the Protestants, they send Bailiffs to those Places twice to the Protestants once, who are often oppress'd and injured by the Popish Bailiffs, and the *Switzers* being very jealous on both Sides in their Religion, *hinc ille lachrymæ*. On the other Hand, the Protestant Cantons, though fewer in Number, yet are the more powerful: Besides that, their Land is better, very like ours in *England*. The *Romanists* are accounted the better Soldiers, and good Reason they have, being more exercised in War, serving the *Spanish* and *French* Kings, as being of the same Religion. Besides, the *Zurichers*, who anciently had the Reputation for Valour, are now much given to Merchandize, and to accumulate Riches, and so taken off from Martial Studies and Exercises. The *Bernese*, though they have far the greatest and best Territory of all; (so that it is said they can arm as many Men as the Dutchy of *Milan*, send into the Field 100,000 Soldiers, and leave enough at Home to till the Land) yet have they no Reputation for Soldiers: They lost their Credit quite in the late Skirmish with the *Lucernese*, who account them rather *Savoyards* than *Switzers*. All the Cantons of *Switzerland* coin Money, except *Appenzel*, *Underwald* and *Glaris*, of which *Glaris* formerly hath coined, though now it doth not. All the *Switzers* in general are very honest People, kind and civil to Strangers: One may travel their Country securely with a Bag of Gold in his Hand. When we came to our Inns, they would be troubled if we distrusted them so far as to take our Portmanteaus into our Lodging Chambers, and not leave them in the common Dining-Rooms. They keep their Houses very clean and polite, like our Housewives in *England*. For Plants, going from *Zurich* to *Mellingen*, we observed common Goosberry in the Hedges and by the Way-sides very plentifully, and in some Places Barberries. *Sigillum Solomonis* and *Herba Paris* are the most common Plants that grow in this Country in the Woods and Hedges every where; *Anonymus flore Coluteæ* on the Mountains near *Zurich*; from *Aarau* to *Solothurn*, *Helleboraster Maximus* on the Hills Sides, as also *Christophoriana*, not to mention *Fumarica Bulbosa* every where growing in the shady Lanes.

Geneva is pleasantly seated at the lower End of the *Lacus Lemanus*, now called *Geaffer-zee* or the Lake of *Geneva*, upon a Hill-side respecting the Lake; so that from the Lake you have a fair Prospect of the whole

Town. It is divided by the River *Rhodanus* or *Rhofne* into two Parts, which are joined together by two wooden Bridges, one of which hath on each Side a Row of Houses, after the Manner of *London Bridge*, only they are low. The two principal and indeed only considerable Streets in the Town are, the Low Street, *i. e.* *Rue bas*, which runs along by the River and Lake-side, and the High or Great Street, *i. e.* *Rue Grand*, which runs up the Hill. The City is indifferently strong, and they have lately been at great Expences to fortify it, *à la moderna*, with Ramparts and Bastions of Earth. Though it be small, yet it is very populous, being supposed to contain 30,000 Souls. *St. Peter's Church*, formerly the Cathedral, is handsome and well-built; and in it is a stately Monument for the Duke of *Roban*.

The Citizens are very busy and industrious, subsisting chiefly by Trading, the whole Territory of this Republick being not so great as some one Nobleman's Estate in *England* for Extent of Land. All Provisions or Victuals are very plentiful and cheap at *Geneva*, especially Milk, Meats, the neighbouring Mountains feeding Abundance of Cattle. The Tops of *Jura Saleve*, and other high Mountains of *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, and the *Alps*, where they are bare of Wood, put forth very good Grass so soon as the Snow is melted off them, which usually is about or before the Middle of *May*: And then the Country People drive up their Cattle to Pasture, and feed them there for three Months Time. Upon these Hill-tops they have here and there low Sheds or Dairy-houses, which serve the Men to live in, and to make their Butter and Cheese in so long as they keep their Beasts above. The Men I say, for they only ascend up thither, and do all the Dairy Work, leaving their Women to keep House below it, as being too toilsome for them to clamber up such steep Hills. By Reason of these Cottages, it is very convenient Simpling upon the Mountains; for if a Man be hungry or thirsty, he may soon find Relief at one of them. We always found the People very kind and willing to give us such as they had, *viz.* Brown Bread, Milk, Whey, Butter, Curds, &c. for which we could scarce fasten any Money upon them. For the Temper of the Air, in respect of Heat and Cold, *Geneva*, I think, is very like *England*, there being no great Excess of either Extreme. The City is well governed, Vice discountenanced, and the People either really better, or at least more restrained than in other Places, though they do take a Liberty to shoot, and use other Sports and Exercises upon the Lord's Day; yet most of their Ministers disallow it, and preach against it.

33. We shall now take our Leave of these Parts of *Europe*, with the Satisfaction of having given the Reader such Accounts of them as cannot fail, with any reasonable Degree of Attention, to furnish him with just Ideas both of Places and Persons; of the Country of *Italy*, of the principal Cities and remarkable Places therein, and of their Inhabitants. We might, indeed, have given him later Travels, but against these we had several Objections, some of which it may be proper to mention. Modern Travellers commonly visit *Italy* for some particular Purpose; one is an Antiquary, and his Business is to consider Monuments, transcribe Inscriptions, collect Medals, and write tedious Accounts of them. Another has a Taste for Painting, and every City that he passes through, furnishes him with a fine Catalogue of Pictures, and which is no less valuable, an Opportunity of discovering to how great a Degree he is a *Connoisseur* by his Remarks upon it. A third, perhaps, is furiously addicted to the Classics, and his great Point is to shred out by *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, &c. and where-ever he comes, gives you their Description instead of his own. A fourth, it may be, is a Politician, and he entertains you with a Recital of the several Families through which every little Principality has passed, before it fell under the Power of the House of *Austria*, the Kings of *Spain*, the Pope, the *Swiss* Cantons, or the State of *Venice*. A Fifth, possibly, may be a *Virtuoso*, and insists entirely upon Curiosities,

so as to render his Book a Collection of Discourses or Dissertations upon a vast Variety of Subjects extremely agreeable to a few, and absolutely useless to all the rest of the World.

I would not be understood to censure these Writers in a dictatorial Manner, or to prejudice my Readers against them; each and all of these Books may be useful, instructive and entertaining; but they are not fit for a Collection, because, if we take one we must take all, in order to render the View complete; and this would swell our Work not only beyond its due, but beyond all Limits; and, after all, answer the Purpose but indifferently: Besides, in most of these modern Books of Travels, you will find continual References to the Authors that we have used, because such Writers are themselves satisfied, that they cannot give better or more exact Descriptions; and this being the Case with respect to those Things that the Generality of Readers desire most to be acquainted with, it follows for this very Reason, such Travels ought to be preferred in a Design of this Nature, and the Treatises of modern Travellers left to the Perusal of such as, from their having a like Taste to this or that Writer, incline not only to read but to study his Performance.

In regard to the principal and general Ends of visiting Foreign Countries, in order to take a View of the most remarkable Places in them, to examine their Situation, Excellencies and Defects, the Nature of the adjacent Territories, and their Produce; to observe the Governments, Number of People, Revenues, the Condition, Inclinations and Manners of the Inhabitants, and to take Notice of the Particulars for which they chiefly distinguish themselves from other Nations; these, as they are the profess'd Intentions of the Authors we have inserted; so it must be allowed, that they have executed them with great Diligence, Fidelity and Spirit. Wherever their different Circumstances, different Qualities and different Manner of Travelling, may be supposed to have given them an Opportunity of making different Observations or Remarks upon different Places, we have been careful to supply the Reader with their several Works; so that all their Discoveries are united in this Body of Travels, with as little Repetition as it is possible.

As for Instance, *Misson*, *Burnet*, and *Ray*, all travelled through *Switzerland*; and yet their Accounts are very different from each other: The first confined himself chiefly to the Road, and describes only the Places through which, in their ordinary Rout to *Italy*, most Travellers must visit. The Second having greater Leisure, and a Mind of another Turn, is less solicitous about Places, and more concerned about Persons; so that from him we receive as clear and distinct Informations, as to the Tempers and Manners, their Notions in Religion and Politicks, as if we had passed as much Time as he did among the *Swiss*. The Third differs from them both, speaks of Places and Persons too, and takes in besides Abundance of Points, that from their Attention to their particular Views had escaped the other two; so that this may be justly reckoned a Kind of Supplement to the other Travels; and, by comparing all three, the Description may be render'd compleat.

Again, As to *Loretto*, and the holy House there, it is mentioned by each of our Travellers, and yet there is little or nothing of Repetition in their Accounts; but there is one Thing very singular in Mr. *Ray's*, that instead of entering into a long Detail of all that he saw and heard there, and from thence remarking upon and pointing out all the Absurdities and Inconsistencies of that extravagant Fable, he contents himself with transcribing, which neither of the other two had done, the authentick Account of honest Father *Codrington* in plain *English*; which furnishes us with such a History of Things, as renders Reflections and Remarks entirely needless. His Travels through *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Malta*, are in respect to those who have gone before, absolutely new, and carry us to the very Frontiers of *Europe* on that Side; and with respect to the last mentioned Island, I very much doubt, whether

there is a better Description extant in any Language. It must be, indeed, acknowledged, that he runs sometimes into very long Digressions upon Points of natural History; and the Reason that I did not lope off these Digressions was, their being of general Use, and serving to illustrate the same Points, where-ever they occur; so that considered in this Light, they are very useful as well as very entertaining.

It was the Design of Mr. *Ray* and his Company to have taken a View of all the Provinces of *France* that lay in their Way to return Home, and to have examined them with the same Diligence and Accuracy as they had already practised in their Travels through *Italy*: But this Scheme of theirs was defeated by the Difference that happen'd between the two Crowns, the *French* having thought fit, in the first *Dutch War* in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, to declare for that Republick against *Great Britain*; and, in Consequence of that Declaration, order'd all the Subjects of the *British* Crown to quit the Territories of *France* within a certain Time. This obliged Mr. *Ray* and his Company to alter their Intention and Manner of Travelling; so that instead of looking into and enquiring after every Thing, they were constrained to make their Journey in the common Way, and to confine their Acquaintance entirely to the publick Houses where they lodged, and the People to whom they applied for Bills of Exchange, and other necessary Purposes, excepting some few Places, of which Mr. *Ray* has left us some Account, and Mr. *Skippon* a larger, which shall follow in the next Chapter.

It may not be amiss to take Notice here, that Mr. *Skippon* kept also a distinct Journal of his Travels thro' the *Low Countries*, *Germany* and *Italy*; but as most of the Particulars in them, is different from what we meet with in Mr. *Ray*, are either honorary or monumental Inscriptions or Accounts of Engines and Machines, we were unwilling to intersperse them with Mr. *Ray's* Observations, because they would not only have lengthen'd this Section beyond due Bounds, but also have afforded the Reader very little that is new, since they are already included in another Collection. But it is now Time to finish these Remarks, in order to open the next Chapter, which relates to the two great Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*.

But before we come to this, we shall take the Liberty of suggesting, that if modern Travellers through the *Low Countries* would examine the new Manufactures that since these Gentlemen visited them are introduced there, and are exported from thence not only into *Germany* and the North, but also into the several Kingdoms of *Europe* and the Plantations in *America*, dependant upon them, it would be a prodigious Service to this Country. In *Germany* also there are many Enquiries to be made, that would be highly useful and in their Consequences very beneficial in respect to Mines more especially, since we are well assured, that as most of the Discoveries, in relation to the Working them to Advantage, have hitherto been brought from thence, by the Care of the *Crawley* Family, and others interested in Iron Works here; so there are still several Methods practised there, which are not yet known, or at least not generally known to our People.

In *Italy* also there are many Things relating to the Silk Manufacture that deserve to be enquired into, and we may very well guess at the Importance of such Enquiries, by the Reward given to Sir *Thomas Lombe* for bringing over that celebrated Invention, which has been so successfully executed in the Machine erected at *Derby*. But exclusive of the Manufactures, it would be of great Consequence to the Publick, if any Method could be found to open new Markets for Raw Silk; the obtaining which, in the Channel whereby it now comes, stands the Nation in vast Sums; of which, whatever could be saved, would be so much clear Gains, and consequently the general Balance of our Trade would be much more in our Favour.

The Trade of *Naples* and *Sicily* also is very capable of being extended and improved, since it is certain, that the *French* draw very considerable Sums from those Kingdoms

Kingdoms for Commodities and Manufactures which they might receive from us, and though some People entertain a Notion, that since those Countries fell under the Dominion of the House of *Bourbon*, we are put under greater Difficulties in dealing with their Inhabitants; yet it is very certain we have still a great Advantage over the *French*, which might be rendered of higher Consequence than hitherto it has been; I mean, the trading with these People for their own Goods and Manufactures, which, as on the one Hand it would give us the Preference with respect to them, so on the other Hand it would increase the Shipping employed by us in this Part of the World, and likewise enable us to export their Commodities into several Parts of *Europe*, as well as to our Colonies in *America*.

To speak the Truth, travelling with a Commercial View, though so visibly advantageous to us, has hitherto

been very little practised, more especially of late Years; and yet one would think Enquiries of this Nature may prove very satisfactory, and even as entertaining as the looking after fine Statues, the Pictures of great Masters, Medals, Bronzes and other Curiosities; searching after which take up so much of the Time of most of our Travellers. Not that I am by any Means an Enemy to Taste, but that I think in our present Condition, some Respect should also be had to our Interest, and that in Proportion, as our Expences are increased by the Share we take, and are long like to take, in the Affairs of the Continent, so we should contrive, if possible, to make ourselves some Amends, by enlarging and promoting our Commerce, which, whatever Way those Affairs turn, is the only Means by which we can ever be made the better for them.





CHAPTER IV.

Containing TRAVELS through *Spain, France and Navarre*, with Descriptions of the several Provinces and lesser Districts of those great Countries; of the chief Cities and Ports in them, and of the Commodities and Manufactures, for which they are principally famous.

SECTION I.

The Travels of Francis Willoughby, Esq; through the Kingdom of Spain; with Observations on the Climate and Soil, as well as Produce of the Country; Accounts of natural Curiosities, remarkable Inscriptions, principal Commodities and Manufactures, and of the Temper, Genius and Customs of the Spanish Nation. Interspersed with some Remarks by another Hand.

1. An Introductory Account of what is to be expected in the following Section.
2. The Author begins his Journey from the County of Roussillon, and enters the Kingdom of Spain through a very barren and desert Country. A large Description of the Manner of Gathering, as also an Account of the Uses and Value of Coral.
3. The Country of Catalonia described, as also the remarkable Mine of Amethysts, at the Hill of St. Sigminont.
4. Of the Salt Mines both white and red in this Province; and of the famous Dutchy of Cardona.
5. An Account of the Lead-Mines in Catalonia, and of the poor living and wretched Condition of the Inhabitants. The City of Tortosa, the Jasper Mines, and other Things remarkable in the Author's Journey to the Banks of the River Ebro.
6. A curious and copious Account of the City and Kingdom of Valentia; the University there, and of the very low State of Learning therein.
7. An Account of the Sugar Works at Olives and at Gandia, and of the great Fertility of the adjacent Country.
8. Observations made by our Author in his Travels through the Kingdom of Murcia, the Poverty of the Country, and gross Ignorance and Superstition of the People.
9. A Description of the Kingdom and City of Granada, and of the most remarkable Places in its Neighbourhood.
10. The Author proceeds to the famous City of Sevil, an Account of the most remarkable Things there, with two famous Inscriptions to the Honour of Ferdinand the Wise, and the Family of the great Columbus.
11. Of the Country from Sevil to Madrid, including a Description of the City of Cordova, and several other Places.
12. The Author's Arrival at, and Description of Toledo, his Journey from thence to the capital City of Madrid, with an Account of what he saw most remarkable there.
13. His Journey from thence to Burgos, and from that City to the Province of Guipuscoa.
14. An Account of the Principality of Biscay, and a particular Description of the strong Town and Port of St. Sebastian.
15. A very large and entertaining Account of the Disposition, Manners, Customs, Peculiarities, good and bad Qualities, &c. of the Spaniards.
16. Some additional Remarks by another Hand.
17. Conclusion of the Section, and some Observations on the most remarkable Passages therein.

THE great Desire Mr. Willoughby had to travel through and examine such Countries as were least like his own, that his Observations and Remarks might furnish him with a greater Variety, was the Occasion of this Journey into *Spain*, in which he parted from Mr. Ray, and the rest of his Company, and joined with some other *English* Gentlemen who were resolved to make the Tour of that Country. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that, from the Time of King *Charles's* Voyage to that Country, while Prince of *Wales*, in Hopes of Marrying the *Infanta*, the *English* Nation had acquired so strong, and so universal a Dislike both to the Country, and to the People, that very few of our Gentlemen that went Abroad, inclined to visit it; so that we had but very indifferent Accounts of what was remarkable there, as may be seen, by consulting the Books of Geography, printed here of an elder Date. After the Restoration

a very different Spirit prevailed, King *Charles* the second, during his Exile, had travelled much, and among other Countries visited this, and frequently discoursed of the Singularities he had seen there, and of the odd Humour and uncouth Disposition of the People. These Discourses of the King's, raised the Curiosity of many, and excited in them a Desire of viewing Places they had otherwise never wished to see, and conversing with People for whom they had long had both an Aversion and Contempt. But besides there were other Reasons that induced Persons of very different Tempers to think at this Time, a Journey through *Spain* might afford Matter of Instruction, as well as Amusement, which was the Case of Mr. Willoughby, who had heard that there were various Mines and Manufactures, as well as a Multitude of natural Curiosities in that Country, which might very well justify the spending a few Months in surveying and committing to Paper, an Account of them,

them for the Improvement of others as well as his own Satisfaction. If the short Time that he spent in his Passage through this Kingdom, did not allow him to search into and after every Thing, in as diligent a Manner and with as much Exactness as he desired; yet it must be allowed, that he has given us a very judicious and accurate Account of all that he saw, so as to afford a true, if not a pleasing Picture of *Spain* and its Inhabitants, at the Time he visited them; the Reading of which will enable us to form a very just Notion of the Places and the People, which is the great End of Travelling, and the highest Advantage that can result from the Perusal of Books of this Kind. I have met with a Copy of these Travels, which formerly belonged to Sir *Philip Skippon*; and in which there are contained some Explanations and Additions, which are here taken in, and consequently render these Travels more curious and valuable. The Necessity of keeping within Bounds, renders it improper to extend this Introduction farther, and therefore we will now proceed without Ceremony to the Travels themselves.

2. *August 31, 1664.* We left *Bagnols* in the County of *Roussillon*, being the last Town belonging to the *French*, and at about three Fourth's of a League's Distance came to a great Stone erected here for a Boundary between *France* and *Spain*, and passing very bad Way among desolate Mountains, after many Hour's riding, we came to *Lansa*, the first Town of the King of *Spain's* Country. All along these Mountains grow *Rosemary*, common *Furze* or *Gorse*, and *Agnus castus* of two Sorts, the one with a carneous, the other with a blue Flower. From *Lansa* we went on the same Day as far as *Cande Creux*, five Leagues or twenty *English* Miles from *Bagnols*. Among these Mountains we met with no Brooks, and scarce any Water. *Sept. 1.* We intended to have seen the Coral Fishing here; but the windy Weather hinder'd us. The Sea must be very calm and smooth, else it is impossible for them to fish for it. It grows downwards (as the Urinators told us) under the hollow Rocks, and not upwards as Trees. I believe rather, that it grows indifferently, either upwards or downwards, according to the Situation of the Rocks. The Engine they make Use of for getting Coral is, a great Cross of Wood with a considerable Weight of Lead fasten'd at the Center, to which also a strong Rope is fixed, and at each Corner there are stout Nets made of small Cord: They go out in little Boats, and let down this Cross; and when they have found a Rock at the Bottom of the Sea, he that manages the Rope, thrusts it into the Hollows, getting in one or two of the Corners; and if there be any Coral, it entangles in the Nets at the End of the Cross, by which it is torn off and brought up. The natural Colour of the Coral, while it is alive and growing to the Rocks, is a pale carneous; but when the Scurf (which answers to the Bark on Trees) is rubbed off, it is red. The Coral, that dies or is broken off from the Rocks, looses that carneous Scurf or Bark in the Sea, and becomes red, though sometimes it gets a greenish white Rust. They say it is fifty Years before it comes to its full Growth; but that, I conceive, is an ungrounded Conjecture; they sometimes, but very rarely, find Branches of three or four Pounds Weight. It rots, dies, grows light, Worm-eaten, and full of Holes like Wood. They all affirmed it to be hard and not soft, as it grows under Water, contrary to the current Tradition of the Ancients, *Mollis fuit herba sub undis*. I believe the outward Scurf or Bark may be soft, it easily crumbling off afterwards, which might give Occasion to the Fable. They told us, that a Piece of Coral having the carneous Scurf upon it (wetted) is just the same as when it is first taken out of the Sea. The best Coral, rude as it is found, is worth a Pistole the Pound, or two or three Pieces of Eight: Polished and wrought into Beads, Bracelets, &c. at *Marseilles* it is sold for thirty, forty, and sometimes sixty Sols, (*i. e.* so many Pence) the Ounce. They find here white Coral also, but very rarely.

To this Account of our Author, the following Particulars may be added

The Opinion of the Ancients was clearly that it was a Plant, but this Notion was afterwards questioned by several very learned and great Men; but at this Time of Day, when Opinions in Matters of this Kind are not so much regarded; we are satisfied from Variety of Experiments, that the old Notion is a Matter of Fact, that it is really a Plant which is petrified, or render'd hard by the Sea-water, that it produces Flowers which are actually visible; that in the Flowers there are seed, though entangled in such a Manner in a thick clammy white Juice as not to be discerned. It does not grow either at the Bottom of the Sea, as *Kircher* thought, or on the Sides of Rocks, as our Author and most learned Men have believed, but at the Top of Rocky Caverns, shooting directly towards the Center of the Earth. It is not true that it has any Root, for it is fixed to the Rock by a thin small Plate, and never spreads itself by darting Fibres upwards, but grows by attracting its proper Nourishment from the Sea-water, though its Pores, which are visible enough, its Seed are carried by the Waves and the thick glutinous Liquor in which it is contained, sticking to the Rock, affords it thereby the Means of growing; but the Structure of it is such, that it cannot grow but vertically in the Manner before-mentioned.

The principal Coral Fisheries are those in the *Persian* Gulph; in the *Red-Sea*, in the *Sicilian* and *Neapolitan* Seas, upon the Coast of *Africa*, upon the Coasts of *Minorca*, *Corfica*, and *Provence*; but it is agreed that no Place yields either better, brighter, or greater Plenty of Coral, than at Cape *Quiers* in *Catalonia*, which is the very Place our Author speaks of: The Time in which they fish for it, is from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*. The best Account we have of any Coral Fishery, is that managed by a *French* Company, at a Place called the *Bastion of France*, on the Coast of *Africa*; and as Experience has taught all that are concerned in this Trade, to pursue it in the same Manner, or at least very nearly in the same Manner, one Description will serve as well as many. When we say that these are the principal Coral Fisheries, we do not mean that there may not be others; for we know there are both in the *East Indies* and the *West*, but they are small and inconsiderable in Comparison of those that we have mentioned, in Respect as well to the Coral which is gathered, as to the Quantities that are gathered; and perhaps it might be worth while to consider, why Coral grows plentifully in some Seas, rarely in others, and in many not at all. But at present let us speak of the Manner in which this Commerce is carried on.

The Coral Fishers, or as our Author calls them, *Urinators*, come a little before the Season begins, to the *Bastion of France*, without either Tackle or Tools, without Vessels, and without Money. The first Thing they do is to separate into Crews. The Crew of a Coral Fishing-boat may consist of seven, but it is generally composed of eight. The Patron, or Master of the Boat, the Man that throws the Cross, and six Seamen that manage the Boat and assist in dragging the Machine aboard. Upon applying to the Company, they are furnished with a proper Vessel, which the *French* stile *Satteau*, that is a long sharp Boat with very large Sails, so that they go at a great Rate, and are not easily taken. They are likewise furnished with all Kind of Tackle and Provisions upon Credit. Then they enter into Articles for the Price of the Coral, which is generally fixed at a *French* Crown a Pound, or thereabouts. They likewise engage to sell all that they take at that Rate, upon Pain of corporal Punishment if they are detected in a clandestine Commerce. Thus equip'd, they proceed to Sea, but they are not obliged to deliver their Coral till the Season is over. Then each Boat's Crew brings their Stock on Shore, where it is divided into thirteen equal Parts, of which the Master of the Vessel has four, he that manages the Machine two, and each of the Crew one; the thirteenth Part belongs to the Company, and goes in Discharge of the Equipment. In a good Season, a Boat will bring twenty five hundred Weight of Coral, from whence the Reader may judge of the Profit which attends this Fishery; and if he desires to be informed of the total Value, it is enough

to say, that it is thought a very flourishing Season, when two hundred of these Vessels are employed. The Business of Coral fishing is both laborious and dangerous, it requires great Skill and Dexterity to heave the Crops, and no small Labour and Diligence to get it on board again, besides the great Risk they run from Storms, Accidents in their Fishing and Pyrates, all which taken together, keep the Coral Fishers so poor, that the Company never wants Servants.

As for the Uses of Coral, one may safely reckon three. First, those for which it serves in Physick, and there want not many Writers who have raised these very high, and suggested, that Wonders might be done by Tinctures, Elixirs, Magisteries, and other Preparations of Coral, which in Process of Time, however, have been exploded, and are grown altogether out of Use. But from the Powder and Salt, and some other Medicines more easily made, and of as great Efficacy as the former, since Coral can only operate as a Sweetner, and as an Absorbent, it is still a good Thing in this Respect, and great Quantities of it are continually vend- ed. The second Use it is put to, is for Toys, such as Necklaces, Bracelets, adorning Rock and Shell-Work, and other Purposes of the like Nature. Lastly, it is exported into the most distant Parts of the World, where it is in very high Esteem, particularly in *Persia*, and among the *Tartars*. But the best Market in the World (if it could be got thither) is *Japan*; where it is esteemed beyond all precious Stones whatever, Emeralds, Rubies and Diamonds themselves not excepted; and this for the best Reason in the World, because all these Jewels they have, but Coral they have not. The Coral that is commonly brought to Market is either red or white, the former is employed in Toys, and the latter sold to the Apothecaries; but besides these, there are some Pieces of a flesh Colour, and some Green, but this comes from *America*. When it is wrought into Beads and Necklaces, it sells in the *Levant* for about five Shillings an Ounce, sometimes for more. It has been already observ'd, that large Pieces of Coral are a very great Rarity, and this the famous Mr. *Lemery*, and some other learned Persons ascribe to the Nature of the Plant, but without any kind of Reason, except this may pass for one, that Coral is of a very slow Growth, and that must be allowed to be the true Reason. For Coral requiring many Years to reach a large Size, and the Coral Fishers pursuing their Trade constantly every Season, it must necessarily follow, that scarce any large Coral can be obtained, because they never suffer it to grow. Besides this, as the Coral Fishers are paid by Weight, without any Distinction between great and small Coral, they are not at all solicitous as to the Size, Colour or Quality, but are barely taken up about the Quantity of Coral, that they can take and bring to Market. These seem to be the principal and most material Points that relate to the History of the submarine Plant. It would be equally useful and curious, if we could enter into, and furnish the Reader with as copious, and as distinct Accounts of the other Curiosities that occur in our Author's Travels. Where this is in our Power we shall not fail to do it, but in the mean Time, let us return to his Narration, which we shall again pursue in his own Words.

Near *C. de Creux* upon the Mountains, they find a kind of *Selenitis*, which may be cut or slit into very thin Plates like the common *Muscovy* Glass. Upon the Shore are thrown up *Conchæ venereæ* of several Sorts, and Magnitudes, and other small Shells of Affinity to them, which they call *Porcellane*. These they put in the Juice of Lemons or Citrons, and set them out in an open Bottle all Night. The Dew mingling with the acid Juice, dissolves the Porcellane: This Liquor they use for a Cosmetic. They catch Fish about *C. de Creux* as at *Naples*, by hanging a Firebrand or other Light at the End of the Boat, which intices the Fish into the Boats. This Day we passed by *Roses*, a strong Garrison, *Villa sacra*, and lay at *Figera*.

3. September 2. We passed *Crispia*, *Basalon*, *Argelagues*, and lay at *Castel Foulet*, five Leagues. All the Way we observed Abundance of Pomegranate Trees.

Castel Foulet is a small Garrison. On the 3d we passed by *Aulot*, where we saw a *Bufalore*, of which there are divers in that Town. It is a Hole or Cave, out of which continually issues a cool Air. They keep Bottles of Wine, Fruit, &c. in a little House built over the Cave. The Wine here kept drinks as cool as if it were kept in Ice or Snow. They say that it is the Water running and falling down under the Ground that makes these *Spiracula*, which is not unlikely. They are all on the Left-side of the River, as you go to *Viêt* on the Right. This Day also we passed *Rhoda*, and lay at *Viêt*, seven Leagues. On the 4th we went to the Hill where the Amethysts, or Violet Stones, are found, distant two Leagues from *Viêt*, called *Sigminont*. On the Top of the Hill is an Hermitage and Place of Devotion, where *Sigminont*, a *Burgundian* King, did Penance. The Amethysts are found lower in the Side of the Hills. Viscount *Jacque* is Lord of the Soil, and whoever opens a Mine, pays him a Pistole and a half *per Menssem*. They find the Stones by following a Vein of reddish or black Earth, or a Vein in the Rock so colour'd. They are all hexangular, and pointed like Chrystal. There are of three Sorts, the best are the blackest or deepest Violet; others are also quite white; some, but very rarely, are found tinged with yellow. They sometimes stick a great many together to the Rock, like *Bristol* Diamonds, but those are never good, the best are found loose in the Chinks of the Rock, in a fat, yellowish, or reddish Earth. They scrape out this Earth with long narrow Knives that enter into the Chinks, and then crumble it in Pieces with their Fingers to feel for the Stones. They are afterwards ground and polished upon Leaden Moulds, after the same Manner as Chrystal is. First they use the Dust of *Smiril* or *Emery*, and at last of *Tripoli*. All along the Way to this Hill we saw Abundance of *Arbutus*, and *Rhus Coriariorum*, called *Rbondo*. In this Country they use not Bark of Oak to tan their Leather, as we do, but the Leaves and Branches of this Shrub, which they first bruise with a perpendicular Stone, and then mingle with Water, and heating the Water lukewarm, steep the Skins in it three or four Days. In these Mountains are also found Emeralds, Gold, and other Sorts of Minerals and Stones, but it doth not turn to Account to search for them. Topazes are found in a Lake called the Lake of *Silees*, not far from *St. Colonna*, near *Girona*. They find them upon the Shore of the Lakes. At *Viêt* there is a great Market-place, and a Church at a Convent said to have been built by *Charlemagne*, when he had discomfited the *Saracens*, and driven them out of *Catalonia*. This Night we lodged at *Moia*, having travelled only three Leagues. On the 6th we rode within Sight of *Montferret*, broken at the Top into Rocks, standing like the Teeth of a Saw, from whence it took its Name. There is a Chapel of our Lady, a Place of great Devotion. This Night we lodged at *Casa della Pobla*, a single Inn, five Leagues.

We came to *Cardona*, two Leagues. All the Way as we rode, the Rocks and Stones were full of round Holes, just like those in the Stones at *Ancona*, in which the *Pholades* harbour, and there is no Question but these Holes have been made by some Animal before the Stones were hardened.

4. On the 8th, we viewed the Mountain of Salt, where were three Officers, one to weigh the Salt, another to receive Money, and the third to keep Accounts. The Revenue of this Salt amounts yearly to about 30,000 Pieces of Eight. For every Quintal, that is 104 Pounds, they pay ten Reals. The Salt is hard and transparent, like Chrystal, and when powdered white as Snow. They hew it out with Axes and Mattocks, and make Chaplets, Boxes, &c. of it. They say there is no End of it, but that it reaches to the Center of the Earth. Near the Place where they work, there are two Caves within the Rock of Salt, to the End of one of which they durst never venture. Not far from this there is another Mountain of Salt, where the Salt sticks to the Rocks, and is most of it tinged with red. Of this red Salt they make broad Plates like Tiles, which they call *Ruggiolas*; these they heat before the Fire, but

but never put them into it, and use them to take away Aches, strengthen the Stomach, keep the Feet warm, &c. Well heated on both Sides, they will keep warm for twenty four Hours. Amongst this red Salt there is a kind of *Selenitis* (which some call *Ising-glass*, and the *Italians*, *Gesso*, from the *Latin* Word *Gypsum*, signifying Chalk, because when burnt, it is turned into a white *Calx*) which naturally roches into *parallepipeda*, of the Figure of a Lozenge. Of which Sort of Stones are found in several Places of our Nation. About these Mountains of Salt grows great Plenty of *Halimus* and *Limonium*.

Cardona is a Dukedom, containing three or four Villages besides the Town. The Duke thereof is one of the richest *Grande*s of *Spain*, having three Dukedoms, four Marquises, two Earldoms, &c. The Name of his Family is *Folke*. He lives, for the most Part, at *Madrid*, but sends every three Years a Governor. The King of *Spain* hath nothing at all to do with this City, and the Duke never imposes any Taxes, but enjoys only all the Tithes of the Corn, Wine, &c. There is a Council of Thirty-six, changed every Year, and he that has been of the Council, must wait three Years before he can be chosen again. The last Thing the Council does is, to chuse a new Council for the Year following. This new Council is divided into four Ranks, not equally, but as the old Council shall think fit, and their Names are put into four Boxes; out of every Box a Child takes out one to be Consul. He that is drawn out of the first Box is the first Consul, and so in Order. Near the Town is a Castle, and in the Castle a Tower, said to be built by *Charlemagne*. Every Duke hath an Oath given him by the Consuls, wherein is an Article, that he must reside in the Castle, which is never kept.

5. September 9. We passed through *Kalab*, and lay at a lone Inn a League and a half further, four Leagues and a half distant from *Cardona*. On the 10th we passed through *St. Columba*, *Rocoafort*, and lay at *Sirreal*, five Leagues and a half. Sept. 11. We passed by *Pobla*, a famous ancient Monastery, about two Leagues distant from *Sirreal*. In the Church, there are a great many Monuments. They told us thirteen Queens and eleven Kings lay interred there. Then we passed *Praves*, and lay that Night at *Coulnouvil*, five Leagues. All over *Catalonia* they reckon a League two Hours, and make Account that four *Catalonian* Leagues are equal to six *French*. We heard that there were *Amethysts* also found about *Praves*.

On the 12th, we passed by *Falsot*, two Leagues from *Coulnouvil*, where are a great many Lead Mines. The Ore is very rich, and they melt it just as it is taken out of the Mine, without beating it to Powder. They sell the Ore for forty Reals of *Ardif* the Quintal, a Quintal being 122 Pounds. Five Quintals of Ore usually yield four Quintals of Lead. This Town, and the Mines about it, belong to the Duke of *Cardona*. They told us, that the Vein of Metal lay always *East* and *West*. The best and finest of this Ore they grind to Powder, and thereof make Varnish to lead earthen Pots and Vessels with, sprinkling the Powder upon the Pots. This Night we lay at *Tivisa*, four Leagues. On the 13th we passed *Venu-falet*, *Tivians*, and lodged at *Tortosa*, six Leagues. All along the Way we saw a great deal of *Palma humilis Hispanica non spinosa*. The Fruit grew up in Bunches out of the Ground, like the Berries of *Arum*, and was not much bigger. Those that were ripe were of a reddish Colour, of an oblong Figure, and divided into four Quarters; those that were less ripe were yellowish; the Skin and Pulp very thin, and did but just serve to cover the Stone. It hath the Smell and Taste of Dates. The Stones being broken, are not at all hollow, but have a hard white Kernel or Pearl within them. We observed also Abundance of *Garoffus* (as they call it) *i. e.* *Caroba sive Siliqua dulcis*, the Cods whereof they give their Mules instead of Provender. The *Spanish* Soldiers, at the Siege of *Barcelona*, had nothing but these *Siliqua* and Water to live upon. All over *Catalonia* the People are generally poor. They use neither Glass nor Paper in their Windows, but only Shutters of Wood.

Tortosa is a very poor and desolate Town: There is a Bridge of Boats over the River *Iberus*, now called *Ebro*, in Sight of which we rode all along from *Tivisa* hither. At *Tortosa* they were wont to make Salt-fellers, Mortars, Bowls, Beads, &c. of a Kind of Marble of a mingled Colour, red and yellow, found near the Town, which they call *Jasper*, and of another greenish Marble spotted with black, brought from *Genoa*.

We went to the Jasper Mine, about two Miles from the Town, with one of the chief Workmen. We saw there vast Pillars hewn out and wrought for a Church in *Palermo*. He told us, that all the Veins of Marble, Jasper, &c. went from East to West; that they sawed those Stones to make Tables, &c. with only Water and Sand; that when there was not enough red in the Stone, they made little Holes, and set in red Stones; that the Cement they used for all Stones in *Mosaick* Work, was made of one half Mallich and one half Greek Pitch; that in building, they joined the Stones together with ordinary Lime, but on the Outside they filled up the Chinks with a Cement made of the Powder of the Jasper mingled with Sulphur and *Mangra*; to make it more white they put in more Sulphur; to make it more red, they put in more *Mangra*. The Jasper was hewed out with Chizzles and Hammers, just as Stone in our Stone Pits: It is afterwards polished with *Armoril*, *i. e.* the Powder they use to polish Armour with, and to give it a Lustre, so that one may see his Face in it with the Powder of the Cinders of the best Tin. This Day we set out towards *Valence*, passing *Ebro* by the Bridge of Boats, and lodged at *Galera*, a small Village two Leagues distant from *Tortosa*.

6. Sept. 16. We passed by *Tregera*, whereabouts seemed to be the Ruins of an old *Roman* Way, *Mattheau*, *Salsandail*, and lay at *Lescouvas*, seven Leagues Near *Lescouvas* we found Store of *Oleander* with a red Flower. On the 17th we passed *Cabanos*, *Pobletta*, *Buriol*, *Villareale*, *Annules*, seven Leagues. This Journey we saw a great many Rivers quite dried up, and for above a Month together had scarce any Rain, that little that was always came just from the Sea. On the 18th, we passed *Cbinces*, *Almenara*, *Moulvedere*, *Massa*, *Magril*, *Abalade*, and arrived at *Valence* seven Leagues. Near *Valence* the Country is very populous, and well cultivated; Abundance of Mulberry-trees are planted in Rows all the Fields over. As we passed through the Market-place at *Valence*, all the People houted at us, and threw Parings of Melons, &c. on our Cloaks. It seems they are not used to see Strangers and Travellers there. This was the first Place in *Spain* where we were searched. In this City is an University. I heard a Professor read *Logick*. The Scholars are sufficiently insolent and very disputacious. One of them asked me, *Quid est Ens universale?* and whether I was of *Thomas Aquinas's* Opinion? Another, *Quid est Genus?* None of them understood any Thing of the new Philosophy, or had so much as heard of it: None of the new Books are to be found in any of their Booksellers Shops: In a Word, the University of *Valence* is just where our Universities were an hundred Years ago.

In the Kingdom of *Valence* the King of *Spain* is not absolute; but to impose Taxes, raise Soldiers, &c. he must have the Consent of the three Estates, *i. e.* 1. the Clergy, 2. the Nobility, 3. the Cities and Villages; and if one of these refuse to consent, nothing can be done. These three Estates have six Deputies, two for each, who are changed every third Year. Of the two for the Cities, one is for the City of *Valentia*, and the other for all the rest. Each City chusing a Syndic, one is taken by Lot to be a Deputy. The six Deputies have the Care and Government of the Militia. Upon any urgent Occasion, the Deputies must assemble the three Estates, *i. e.* the chief of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Syndics of the Cities. The City of *Valence* is governed by Six Jurats or Consuls. They are taken by Lot out of six Urns or Burfes, two out of each: In the first Urn are the Names of all the better Sort of Nobility that have the Title of *Dons*, in the

Second Urn, the Names of all the lower Rank of Nobility that have not the Title of *Dons*; in the Third, the Names of all rich Citizens that are not Gentlemen: They must have at least four hundred Crowns yearly Rent, besides what their Wives bring. Besides these, there is a Rationel and two Syndics changed every third Year, six Advocates for their Lives, and forty Plebeians changed yearly. The City being divided into fifteen Trades or Companies, each Company chuses two, which make thirty; the other ten are chosen, two by the Rationel, and eight by the six Jurats, and two Syndics, each chusing one. Of all these Officers and the Forty Plebeians consists the Senate. But nothing can be done, unless there be Twenty-nine of the Plebeians present at least. There is also, 1. a Judge for criminal Causes, taken by Turns out of the three Urns, and changed yearly. He hath an Advocate to assist him, who is changed yearly, but so that all the Advocates in the City have the Place by Turns: And a *Lieutenant Criminal* taken by Lot out of the Forty Plebeians. 2. A *Mustafa*, who has the Care of all Kind of Victuals, Corn, Weights, Measures, &c. He is taken by Lot out of the three Burfes, as the Criminal Judge is, and hath also a Lieutenant out of the Forty. There is besides, a Judge for Civil Causes, taken out of the three Burfes, who has an Advocate like the Criminal Judge: But he cannot decide Causes of above fifteen Crowns.

The University is govern'd by the Town, who every third Year chuse a *Rector* that must be a Canon. The other Officers are, a Beadle, a Serjeant and a *Puntadore*, who is to take Notice when any Professor fails to read. There are eight *Præpositi* in this University, four for Divinity, two for the Canon Law, and two for the Civil Law, who have each 500 Crowns yearly. There are also four Readers for Philosophy, seven for Physick, one for the Greek Tongue, one for the Hebrew, and two for the Mathematicks. These have but small Stipends; but all their Scholars, who come to hear their Lectures, pay somewhat yearly. If a Professor promote three rich Scholars, that are able to pay the Fees to any Degree, he may promote a Fourth that is poor for nothing. The Degrees are the same with those in our Universities, viz. 1. Batchelor after they have finished a Course in Philosophy; which Degree costs about twelve Crowns. 2. Master of Arts, which costs eighty. 3. Batchelor in Divinity, Law or Physick, which costs sixteen. 4. Doctor, which costs one hundred and fifty. They may be Masters of Arts presently after they are Batchelors, if they will; and in like Manner Doctors. In the Market at *Valence*, and all *Spain* over, they divide Hens and Chickens into Pieces, and sell them by Quarters; they make great Vessels of Goat Skins to put Wine and Oil in; and lesser Bottles, which they call *Boto's*. The Women paint, laying it on so thick, as if one daubed *Minium* upon a Wall. No Garrison nor Soldier here.

7. Sept. 24. We set out from *Valence*, and passing by *Masanessa*, *Cataregi* and *Seille*, and lodged at *Mussafes*, three Leagues. Coming out of *Valence*, we were forced to give Money at three Places to avoid Searching. We passed *Cullera* where we ferried over a great River, called *Xucar*, and lay at *Gandia*. There is a College and an University, as appears by this Inscription upon the Wall of the College. *Sanctus Franciscus à Borgia Dux Gandiæ, 4, Præpositus generalis Societatis Jesu 3, hoc Collegium & hanc Universitatem a fundamentis erexit. A.D. 1546.* At *Cullera* the Wine first began to be sweet, and three Leagues off at *Gandia* the Plantations of Sugar Canes began. 2. Whether the Nature of the Soil that was fit to nourish the Sugar Canes did not also contribute to the Sweetness of the Grapes? At *Gandia* we first found Raisins of the Sun (as they are called in *England*;) in *Spain* they call this kind *Panfas*, and they seem to be the *Duracina* of the Ancients. They are all white, round and have a tougher Skin than other Grapes. They gather them when fully ripe, and dip them in a boiling *Lixivium* of Water and Ashes, just dipping them in, and taking them out again, and then dry them upon Boards in the Sun, taking

them in by Night, or in foul Weather. The Name Raisin comes from *Racemus*. Figs are dried just as they are gathered not being dipp'd in any *Lixivium*.

On the 26th, I went to *Olives* where and at *Gandia*, are the Engines for Sugar Works; the best are at *Olives*. By the Way we saw the Sugar Canes growing in several Places. They are planted in low wet Grounds well mucked and dressed, divided into the Beds or Hillocks and Furrows. They cut the Canes close to the Roots in *November* and *December*, and cutting off the slender Tops, which afford no good Juice, keep them under Ground till *March*, and then prick them into these Hillocks or Beds. Out of every Talea or Cut, shoot four, five or six Canes, which will be ripe the next *December*. The Knots or Joints of the Cane at the Bottom are very close together, scarce an Inch asunder; but upwards the Distance is more, as the Cane grows slenderer. Within is a white Pulp or Pith, full of Sap sweet as Honey. They sell them at *Gandia* to eat, and cutting them into Pieces just in the Middle, between two Knots, suck the Pieces, at both Ends: To make Sugar after Canes are cleansed from the Tops and Leaves, and cut into Pieces they are first bruised, either with a perpendicular Stone, running round as Apples to make Cyder, or Olives to make Oil, or between two Axes strongly capp'd with Iron, horizontally placed, and turned contrary Ways, and then pressed, as Grapes or Olives are. The Juice thus pressed out is boiled in three several Cauldrons one after another. In the third Cauldron it becomes thick and black, and is then put into conical Pots, which at the Bottom have a little Hole stopped only with coarse and foul Sugar; Mr. *Ligon* saith, with Plantain Leaves. These Pots are covered, when full, with a Cake of Paste made of a kind of Earth call'd in *Spanish*, *Gritty*, and found near *Olives*, which is good to take Spots out of Clothes; which Cap or Cover sinks as the Sugar sinks. Mr. *Swift* told me, that the Clay they use with us is Tobacco-Pipe Clay, or very like it, and that the Water in the Clay served to wash down and carry away the *Molasses*, at least the Clay helps the Separation and Precipitation of it. These conical Pots are put into other Pots, into which by the Hole at the *Vertex*, the Juice drains down through the coarse Sugar at the Bottom. It drains so for five or six Months, in which Time the Sugar in the conical Pots grows hard and white, all the Juice being either drunk up by the Lute or run out by the Hole at the *Vertex*. The Juice is boiled again so long as it is good for any thing, but at last it makes only a foul red Sugar, that will never be better. The conical Loaves of Sugar, after they are taken out, are set to drain over the same Pots for fourteen or fifteen Days. To make the Sugar more white they must boil it again, but about one Sixth is lost every Time. A Pound of Sugar of twelve Ounces is sold at *Olives* for three *Sous* and a half, refined for five or six *Sous*. The Sugar Juice is strained through Strainers of Linnen, as it is put out of one Cauldron into another. They take it out of the first and second Cauldrons so soon as it begins to boil, but in the third Cauldron they let it boil till the Scum rises, and then take off only the Scum with a Scummer, and put it into a long Trough to cool, and when it is cool, put it into the conical Pots. One Scum rises after another in the third Cauldron. The Scum when it is taken off is white, but turns to a black Liquor in the Trough. They never refine the Sugar more than three or four Times. They use for the refining of it, Whites of Eggs, putting in two or three Dozen into a Cauldron. They use but one Cauldron for refining. When it is refined it grows white and hard in nine or ten Days. The Juice boiled up is eaten with Bread toasted as Honey; the Juice of the refined Sugar is much better than the first Juice. The Duke of *Gandia* sends Presents of this refined Juice to the Queen of *Spain*. When they refine it they put a little Water into the Cauldrons, to dissolve it the better. But for a more exact Description of the whole Process of the Sugar Works, I refer to *Piso* in his natural History of *Brasil* and *Ligon*, in his Description of *Barbadoes*. The Sugar of *Olives*, is better than the
Sugar

Sugar of *Gandia*. At *Mentria* in *Granada* they also make a great deal of Sugar. About *Valence*, *Gandia*, &c. the Earth is always wrought, and never lies fallow or idle. They reckon five *Raccolta's* or Crops in one Year. 1. Of Mulberry-Leaves for Silk. 2. Wheat and other *European* Grain. 3. *Darfi*, i. e. *Maiz* or *Indian* Wheat. 4. Grapes. 5. Olives, and 6. At *Gandia*, Sugar Canes. After the Wheat is cut they presently sow the *Indian* Wheat. They complained that lately for a great many Years together, they had very bad *Raccolta's*, for Want of Rain, which had almost ruined *Spain*.

8. On the 27th, We passed *Benegana*, and lay at *Chativer*, six Leagues and a half. *Chativer* is an ancient Town of the *Moors*, and was once Head of one of their little Kingdoms. About a League from the Town began a very remarkable Aqueduct made by them. It was just over a River along the Side of a Hill in most Places, not above a yard or two under Ground, and had a great many Funnels like the Tops of Chimnies, to give Vent, and let out of Water when there should be too much. The Tops of these Funnels were made of a red Clay and pebble Stones. The Water came almost to the Top in all of them, but run over in one. On the 28th, we passed in Sight of *Montesa*, a Castle belonging to the Knight of *Montesa*, that wear a red Cross, *Ortemente*, and lodged at *Beebert*, six Leagues. On the 29th, near *Alicant* among the Mountains, there is a very good Breed of Falcons. In the Plains near *Alicant* grows Abundance of *Gramen spartum Plinii sive Sportularum Officinarum*. *J. B. i. e.* Mat-weed, of which the Frails, wherein they put Raisins and other Fruits are made. This in *Spain* they call *Spar*, at *Marseilles*, *Anffe*. The Women hereabout gather Abundance of this, and steep it in Sea-water till it be well softened. Then they dry it, and carry it by Sea to *Marseilles*, where they sell it at eight Crowns the Milliere: Every Milliere consists of ten Pachieres; every Pachiere of one hundred *Manado's* or Handfuls. Of this they make Cables for Ships, Baskets, &c. In this Day's Journey we saw a great many Fountains covered with long Arches to hinder them from being dried up. We passed *Elda*, *Novelda*, *Aspe*, *Clavillente*, *Albitella*, and lay at *Orivola* eleven Leagues.

On the 30th, We came to *Murcia*, four Leagues. Near *Orivola* (which City is an episcopal See) we observed many Turpentine-trees, some with Flower, and some with ripe Berries. Near *Elda* they dig up a Sort of *Selenite*, which they put into Wine to clarify it. About a League from *Orivola* began the Kingdom of *Murcia*; two Leagues from *Orivola*, we were forced to give Money to avoid Searching. *Murcia* which gives Denomination to this Kingdom, is a pitiful and desolate Town. The Fish-Market here is shut up in a Cage or Grate, as at *Genoa*, the People crowding about it, and thrusting in their Baskets as there. October 1. we travelled through a miserable desolate Country to *Mula*, seven Leagues. On the 2d, we passed through *Caravacca*, where they drive a great Trade of making little Crosses of Silver, Brass, Wood, &c. After that Pilgrims, &c. have bought them, they carry them to the Castle to touch them by a famous Cross, which according to their fabulous Legend, descended miraculously from Heaven, which forsooth infuses a wonderful Virtue into them. We lay this Night at a lone House, four Leagues off *Caravacca*, having travelled in all ten Leagues.

On the 3d, We pass'd by *Venta nova*, and came to *Huesca*, eight Leagues. At *Huesca*, we first saw a yellowish White-wine like Sack. The Kingdom of *Granada* began about four Leagues before we came to *Huesca*. The Town of *Huesca* belongs to the Duke of *Alva*. On the 4th, we passed by *Basa*, and rested at *Venta* eight Leagues. We travelled to *Guadix* an episcopal See, and ancient Roman Colony. Upon the Gates we took Notice of this Inscription. *Recepti Colonia Accitana Gemeliensis Provinciae caput prima omnium Hispanicarum fidem, Christi Jesu, rejectis idolis evangelizantibus sanctis Torcato & sociis, Anno Salutis 70. Pontificatus S. Petri, 37. imperii Neronis 13. Urbs Accis patrona suo sanctissimo. D. D. 1593.*

Honorati sunt Amici tui Deus.

9. On the 6th, We travelled to *Granada*, six Leagues distant from *Desinos*, where we lodged the Night before. Here we saw the Castle called *La Lambra*, the Seat of the Kings of *Granada*. Within the Walls of the Castle live Abundance of People, which dare not live in the City for Debt, or other Causes. There is a fair Palace begun by *Charles V.* and yet unfinished; the Outside of it is square, but it is round within, having two Rows of Cloisters, one above another, round about the Court. Adjoining to this is the ancient Palace of the Kings of *Granada*; within there is all the same kind of *Moresco* Work, wrought in Mortar and Stone, with Gold and Painting. The Cloisters are supported by long slender Pillars. In this Palace is an octagonal Chamber, vaulted at the Top with eight Doors, one in every Side. If one stand in one Angle, and whisper to another who stands in the Angle diametrically opposite, the Voice is conveyed, as in the Whispering Place at *Gloucester*: But if you stand in an Angle that is not diametrically opposite, you hear nothing. The Reason of conveying the Voice, is the Vault above, and the Corners being streightned into a very sharp Angle or Channel. In *Granada* are two great Market-Places, one called *Plaza nova*, the other *de villa Rambla*. In the great Church are two Monuments, one for *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, with this Inscription, *Mahometica secta prostratores Hereticæ prævicaciæ extinctores Fernandus Aragonum & Helisabetha Castillæ, vir & uxor unanimes, Catholici appellati marmoreo clauduntur hoc Tumulo*. The other is of *Philippus I.* and of *Joanna* Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, without an Inscription. In the River *Daro*, that runs by *Granada*, they find Gold among the Sand. In the Mountains of *Sierra nevada*, near *Granada*, are said to be divers Sorts of Minerals, which are not at all looked after. Near *Motril*, at the *Capo di Gatto*, there is a Mine of *Granates* covered with the Sea. They are pointed as *Amethysts* and *Chrystal*, but the best come from *Africa*; we saw that Day *Monte sacro*, a Place within half a League of the Town, of great Devotion. In *Castile*, *Granada*, &c. the greater Cities have a *Corregidore*, and the lesser an *Alcalde*, who administers Justice, and are appointed and sent by the King to govern the Towns. All over the Kingdom of *Castile* they eat Flesh upon *Saturdays*, and observe only *Fridays*. On the 12th, we left *Granada*, and passing by *Santa Feda*, travelled to *Lotta*, eight Leagues. 13. At *Lotta* we were troubled with Soldiers, that came from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to take up their Winter Quarters. There had been of this Party 2600, but this Summer at *Alcantara* they were reduced to 900, the rest being slain, or dead of Diseases. We passed this Day by *Archidona*, *Lalameda*, *Laronda*, and lay at *Pedreira*, ten Leagues.

10. On the 14th, We passed by *Offuna*, *la Pobra*, and lay at *Elazabel* ten Leagues. This Country was the best we saw since we came into *Spain*, the Land being for the most Part well planted and cultivated. On the 15th, We passed by *Gandula*, and arrived at *Sevil*, seven Leagues. Between *Gandula* and *Sevil* there are Abundance of Olive-trees. Here we first saw the greater Sort of Olives, which are usually eaten in *England* for a Sallet, called the great *Spanish* Olive; all that we had seen in *Italy* or in *Spain* before, being of the lesser Sort. Here is a brave Aqueduct of Brick, which conveys Water from *Carmona*, six Leagues distant: Under the Arches there are *Stalactites*, as at the Aqueduct of *Pisa*. The Galleons bring nothing Home from the *West-Indies*, but Plate; the Merchant Ships are loaden with Leather, *Cocoa*, Sugar, *Lana di Vigonna*, &c. Of the *Cocoa* Nut, they make *Chocolate*, thus, first they toast the Berries to get off the Husk, then pound the Kernels to Powder, and to every Milao, i. e. three Pound and a half of Powder, they add and mingle, two Pound of Sugar, twelve *Vanilla's*, a little *Pimentone* or *Guiny* Pepper, (which is used by the *Spaniards* only) and a little *Accbiote* to give a Colour; but these two last may be omitted. They melt the Sugar, and then mingle all well together, and work it up either in Rolls or Leaves. *Sevil* hath of late decayed very much, and doth continually Decay more and more, the Trading Part being most removed to *Cales*; the Reason

Reason whereof is, because they pay about twenty-seven *per Cent.* for all Merchandizes at *Sevil*, and but four or five *per Cent.* at *Cales*. The chief Places to be seen in *Sevil* are, 1. The great Church. 2. The King's or Vice-roys Palace. 3. The Archbishop's Palace. 4. The Steeple of the great Church like *St. Mark's* Tower at *Venice*, which you ascend almost to the Top without Stairs, by gently inclining Plains. 5. The *Franciscan* Convent. 6. The *Longba*, where the Merchants meet about the Affairs of the Flote. 7. The Convent of *Notre Dame del Peuple*. 8. The Bridge of Boats over the *Guadalquivir*, i. e. the River *Batis*. The Town on the other Side this River is called *Triana*. 9. The Inquisition or Castle of *Triana*, just over the Bridge. 10. An old Tower called *Torre d'Oro*, where *St. Ferdinand*, that recover'd *Sevil*, kept Money made with Leather. 11. The Aqueduct. 12. The old Palace and Garden of the *Moors*. Near the Bridge, along the River Side, they come every Night with their Coaches, to take the *Fresco*. In the great Church, between two Altars, are three Monuments for *St. Ferdinand* the Wife, his Wife *Beatrice* and his Son *Alphonfus*. The same Epitaph in *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, *Greek* and *Latin*.

Hic jacet illustrissimus Rex Fernandus Castellæ & Toleti Legionis, Gallicæ, Sibillæ, Cordubæ, Murciæ, & Jabeni, qui totam Hispaniam conquirit fidelissimus, veracissimus, constantissimus, justissimus, strenuissimus, devotissimus, liberalissimus, patientissimus, piissimus, humillimus, in timore & servitio Dei efficacissimus; qui contrivit & exterminavit penitus hostium suorum proterviam; qui sublimavit & exaltavit omnes amicos suos, qui civitatem Hispalem, quæ caput est & metropolis totius Hispaniæ de manibus eripuit Paganorum & cultui restituit Christiano, ubi solvens naturæ debitum, ad Dominum transmigravit ultima die Maii, Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1252.

In the same Church is *Ferdinandus Columbus*, the Son of *Christopher Columbus*, buried, with this Epitaph.

A qui jace el mucho magnifico Signor Don Hernando Colon. el quel expleo y gasto toda su vida y facenda en aumento di los Lettras y en juntar y perpetuar en esta ciudad todos los libros di todas las sciencias, qui in su tempo hallo y en ridurlos a quatro libros segun estan a qui senelados. Falle scio en esta ciudad a 12 di Julio 1532. An de su edad 50 an. 10 meses & 14 dies. Fue Hyo del valoroso & memorabile Signor Don Christophoro Colon. primero Admirante, qui descubio las Indias y nuevo mundo en vida di los Catholicos Reys Don Fernando y Donna Isabella di gloriosa memoria a onze de Ottobre dy mill quatrocentos y noventa y dos annos y partio del puerto de Palos a descubrir las contres Carabelas y noventa Personas a tres de Agosto — iuntes — bolbio a Castilla con la vittoria a quatro di Marzo del anno siguiente, y torno despues otras dos vezes a poblar lequale scubrio, y al fin fallecio a Valladolid vente de Maio de mill y quinientos y seys annos, Roged al Sennor por ellos.

Chocolate is sold at *Sevil* for something more than a Piece of Eight the Pound. *Vanillas*, which they mingle with *Cocoa* to make *Chocolate*, for a *Real di Plato*. *Acchiote*, which they mingle with the other Ingredients, to give a Colour, is made of a Kind of red Earth brought from *New Spain*, wrought up into Cakes: It is sold for a *Real di Plato* the Ounce. All the Oil and Wine they have in the *West-Indies* goes from *Spain*, they not being permitted to plant Vines or Olive-trees, that they may always have a Dependence upon *Spain*. At and near *Sevil* we paid two *Reals de Quarto* for a Bed; Bread, Wine, Flesh, and all other Commodities excessive dear, excepting only Olives and Pomegranates, which were better here than in any other Part of *Spain*. There had lately been a great Plague in *Sevil*, which had very much depopulated and impoverished, indeed almost ruined the City.

11. I set out from *Sevil* towards *Madrid*: The first Day we travelled to *Carmona*, where the Aqueduct before-mentioned begins, six Leagues in all; which Way we saw no Houses, but a great many Aloe-trees. We passed *les Fontes*, and lay at *Euia*, a great Town of above 20,000 Inhabitants. Between *Carmona* and *Euia* is a very good Country, with Abundance of Corn and Olive-trees. *Offuna* is within four Leagues of *Euia*,

where the Duke of *Offuna* hath a Palace. We travelled this Day nine Leagues. We passed over the River *Xenil*, that runs into *Guadalquivir*, baited at *Arrostitb*, and lodged at *Cordova*, eight Leagues. About a League from *Cordova* we passed another little River that runs into *Guadalquivir*. Before we entred *Cordova*, we rode over a great Stone Bridge that here crosses the *Guadalquivir*. In the Middle of the Bridge stands a Statue erected to the Angel *Raphael* with this Inscription.

Beatissimo Raphaeli angelorum proceri, custodi suo vigilantissimo, qui ante annos 300 sub Paschale antistite populum peste depopulante se medicum tantæ cladis futurum prædixit, qui subinde anno 1578 venerabili Presbytero Andree de las Roelas S. S. M. M. exuvias evulgavit, & tandem patefecit Corduensium tutelam sibi a Deo demum datam. Quare ut justa gratitudo diu staret S. P. Q. Cordubensis hanc lapideam statuam cautus & pius erexit, multâ procuratione Domini Josephi de Valdacanas & Herera & Domini Gundesalvi de Cea & Rios senatorum pontifice Innocente X. Hispan. rege Philippo IV. episcopo domino fratre Petro de Tapia, prætore domino Alphonso de flores & monte Negro, Anno 1651.

The most considerable Places in *Cordova* are, 1. The Bishop's Palace. 2. The *Cavallerisca*, where the King keeps a great many Horses. 3. The Ruins of *Almansor's* Palace, the last King of the *Moors*. 4. *Plassa di Corridera*. 5. The Church of the *Augustine* Fryers. 6. The great Church, which was anciently a Mosque. It is large, but very low, supported by a great many Rows of Pillars, in a quadrate Order, sixteen Rows one Way, and thirty another. Upon many of the Pillars are *Moors* Heads carved in the Stone, and one or two with Turbants on. In the Middle of this Church is the great Chapel, where are several Bishops interred. In one of the Chapels, that is now dedicated to *St. Peter*, in the *Moors* Time was kept a Thigh of Mohammed; round about the Cornish of this Chapel, and that Part of the Church next it, is an *Arabick* Inscription. The People complain grievously, that *Cordova* is quite ruined and undone by Gabels and Taxes. On the 27th we left *Cordova*, and, after a League or two riding, entred the *Sierra Morena*, a miserable desolate mountainous Country, and lodg'd at a little Village called *Adamus*, six Leagues. On the 28th, we travelled all Day through the *Sierra Morena*, and lay at a Village called *La Conquista*, nine Leagues. 29th; In this Day's Journey we saw Abundance of Galls upon the *Ilices*, which were of like Bigness, Figure, Colour, Consistency, and other Accidents with those that grow upon Oaks. This Day we first met with red Wine again, which they call *Vino tinto*. We got safe out of *Sierra Morena*, and came to *Almedovar del Campo*, a tolerable Borough nine Leagues. About the Middle of *Sierra Morena* are the Bounds of the *Castilia nova* and *Andaluzia*. On the 30th, we passed by *Caraqol*, *Cividadreal*, and lay at *Malagon*, ten Leagues. Between *Malagon* and *Cividadreal*, we passed over the River *Anas*, now called *Guadiana*, which was there but a little Brook. In this Day's Journey we met with a great many great Flocks of Sheep and Goats, going towards the *Sierra Morena* out of *Castile*; it being the Custom all Summer to feed their Sheep upon upon the Mountains of *Castile*, and in Winter in the *Sierra Morena*. On the 31st, we passed by the Ruins of an Aqueduct, about four Leagues from *Malagon*, then *Xvenas*, a good sizeable Village, and lay at *Orgas*, ten Leagues.

12. November 1, We passed through *Toledo*, and lay at *Esquinas*, eleven Leagues. As soon as ever we passed the *Sierra Morena*, we felt a great Change of Weather, the warm Air that comes from *Afric* and the *Mediterranean* Sea being stopped by the Interposition of the Mountains. This Day there was here a hard Frost, and pretty thick Ice. The most considerable Things in *Toledo* are, 1. The Bridge over the *Tagus*, consisting of but two Arches, one great one, and one little one. 2. The Shambles, where notwithstanding the Coldness of the Day, I saw Abundance of Flies; which confutes the Story, that there is but one great Fly there all the Year. 3. The great Church, where there are many Monuments of Bishops, but without Inscriptions: In the

the *Capella Maggior* lie interred two Kings, and in the *Capella de los Res*, four Kings. 4. The King's Palace. 5. The Ruins of a famous Engine to raise up Water to the King's Palace. There is so little of it remaining, that it is impossible thence to find out all the Contrivance and Intrigue of it. Between *Toledo* and *Madrid* the Country is very populous, and the Soil very good. All along the Road, from *Sevil* to *Madrid*, the common Fare is Rabbits, red legg'd Partridges, and Eggs, which are sufficiently dear. We arrived at *Madrid*, six Leagues; near the Town we passed over the River *Xarante*. *Madrid* is very populous, well built with good Brick Houses, many have Glass Windows, which is worth the noting, because you shall scarce see any in all *Spain* besides. The Streets are very foul and nasty. There is one very fair Piazza or Market-place, encompassed round with high and uniform Houses, having five Rows of Balconies one above another, and underneath Portico's or Cloisters quite round. The chief Things to be seen in *Madrid* are, 1. The Prison. 2. The Piazza just now mentioned. 3. The King's Chapel. 4. The Palaces of several Noblemen, as that of the Duke of *Alva*, that of the Duke of *Medina de los Torres*, &c. 5. The King's Palace, where there is the King's *Cavallerisca* and the Queen's *Cavallerisca*. 6. A great Piazza before the Palace, where are Abundance of Coaches always attending. 7. The *English* College of *Theatines*. 8. *El Retiro*, out of the Town, the *Escorial* and *El Pardo*.

13. On the 5th, I set out from *Madrid* for *Port St. Sebastian*. We passed within Sight of the *Escorial* and *El Pardo*, and lay that Night at *St. Augustin*, six Leagues. On the 6th we passed *Butrago*, and lay at *Samoserra*; all the Way a barren, miserable, mountainous Country, eleven Leagues. On the 7th we passed *Frecedille*, and lay at *Aranda*, having crossed the River *Durius* or *Duero*, eleven Leagues. On the 8th we passed *Babalon* and *Lerma*, where is a Convent of *Dominican* Fryers, and a Palace of the Duke of *Lerma's*, and came that Night to *Burgos*, twelve Leagues. The most considerable Things in *Burgos* are, 1. The Bridge over the River *Relarzon*. 2. The Gate at the End of the Bridge, where are the Statues of *Charles V.* of *Janus Calvus*, of *Diego Porcellero*, of *Fernandez Gonfales*, of *Nuncio Pasures*, of *Don Carlote*, all famous Men of *Burgos*. 3. The Market-place. 4. The great Church, in which are a great many Monuments of Bishops and Canons, two great Monuments of *Pedro Fernando di Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, and his Wife *Mercia di Mendoza* Countess of *Haro*. This Night we lodged at *Quintora Villes*, five Leagues. On the 10th we passed by *Pancorva*, a Place very famous for good Water; *Miranda*, a great Town, where there is a good Bridge over the River *Iberus*, and after that we had passed two other Rivers, *Bais* and *Sadurra*, and lay at *Erminian*, eleven Leagues. At *Miranda* there is a great Market for Wheat.

On the 11th, We travelled to *Vittoria*. Over one of the Gates is the Statue of King *Bamba*, and inscribed in Gold Letters, *Hæc est Vittoria quæ vincit*, four Leagues. *Vittoria* is the chief City of all the Country called *Alaba*. We passed this Day by *Salines*, the first Town of *Guipuscoa*, and lay at *Æscarias*, nine Leagues. In *Guipuscoa* they pay no Taxes or other Duties to the King, without the Consent of the whole Country. The whole District is more commonly called *Provincia* than *Guipuscoa*; it is canton'd out into a great many Corporations and Villages, every one of which sends one, two, or three Representatives to the general Meeting, when there is any publick Business. All Offices are annual, and chosen diversly, according to the differing Customs of the Town. The chief Officer in each Town to determine all civil and criminal Causes is the *Alcalda*, but from him they may appeal to the Governor of the Province, sent by the King every third Year, and from the Governor to the King's Council at *Valladolid*. Next to the *Alcalda* are two *Regidores*, to look after the Prices of all Commodities, a *Bolser* for the Treasury, a *Medino* for the Prison, *Argozils* or Serjeants, &c. They boast that they are the Walls of *Spain*, and therefore have many

Privileges. *Guipuscoa* is under the Bishop of *Pampelona*. In *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay* they have a peculiar Language of their own, and therefore send their Children to School to learn *Spanish* (which, they call *Romance*) as we do ours to learn *Latin*. The Searchers having hindered us, we were forced to travel a great Way in the Night; we were lighted by *Tiafor Teas*, which burnt as well, and gave as good a Light as Torches. When they went out, they tossed them up and down in their Hands, which kindled them again. These *Teas* (so called, doubtless from the *Latin* Word *Tæda*) are very commonly used in this Country, and are nothing else but Bastons of Wood hacked and cleft, (but so as the Pieces hang together) and afterwards soundly dried in an Oven or Chimney. Along the Middle they use to cleave them almost quite asunder. They are made of several Sorts of Wood of *Robla*, i. e. Oak; *Haia*, i. e. *Beach-Tree*, but the best of *Avellana*, i. e. *Hazel*. I wonder much at this, unless they have some Way of preparing the Wood by steeping it in Oil or inflammable Matter. The *Tædæ* of the Ancients were made only of the Trunks of old and sappy Pines.

14. On the 12th, We passed by *Mondragone*, where there is a *Fabrica* of Arms for the King, *Oniate*, *Legaspa*, *Villa real*, and lay at *Villa Franca*, seven Leagues. We left *St. Adrian*, which is the ordinary Road, a little on our Left-hand. This Country is very populous and wooded, all the Hills being covered with Oaks. They use no Ploughs, but turn over the Ground with Tridents of Iron; four or five of them working together, and thrusting in their Tridents all together, turn up a Yard or two of Earth at a Time, which they afterwards dress and level, like Beds in a Garden. The People are something better conditioned than the *Spaniards*, richer and far more populous; 1. Because there is a better Government, and greater Liberty. 2. There is Abundance of Wood and Iron. 3. More Rain than in the other Parts of *Spain*. On the 13th, We passed *Tolosa*, and arrived this Night at *St. Sebastian*, having travelled eight Leagues. The most observable Things in *St. Sebastian* are, 1. The Walls and Guns. 2. A great Convent of *Dominican* Friars, in which there is a famous Pair of Stone Stairs, each Step being of one intire Stone, and supported only on one Side. 3. The Haven. The Government of *St. Sebastian* consists of a great Council of all that have one or more Houses, and are married, but none can bear Office unless he have two Houses; of these there are not above 150 or 200, though the Town be very populous, containing about 24,000 Souls. Once in a Year all the Names of this 150 or 200 are put into an Urn, and a Child takes out eight to be Electors. Every one of these eight chuses his Man. The old Magistrates that are just then going out, divide these eight, that the Electors have chosen, into four Pairs, fitting them as well as they can, v. g. an old Man and a young together, &c. These four Pairs are put into an Urn. The first Pair that are drawn out, are the two *Alcaldas* for that Year, the second Pair the Deputy *Alcaldas*, the third Pair the two *Regidores*, the fourth Pair the two Deputy *Regidores*. In much the same Manner they chuse two Jurats, one Syndick or Attorney-General, one Treasurer, &c. All these Officers make a lesser Senate, but in Businesses of Importance the whole Number meets. There is no Distinction of *Nobiles* and *Plebeii*, but all that are descended from *Guipuscoans* that are married, and have one House, are in a Capacity to be Electors; all that have two Houses to be Magistrates; the Jurats Places are most desired, there being a great many ecclesiastical Preferments belonging to the Town, the Disposition whereof, when they come to be vacant, is in them, who usually bestow them upon their Relations and Friends. Every Winter there are several Whales caught upon this Coast, they coming hither in Winter, and frequenting here, as they do upon the Coast of *Greenland* in Summer. They catch them by striking them with a Harping Iron, after the same Manner as they do Sword-fish upon the Coast of *Calabria* and *Sicily*. Abundance of Cyder made about *St. Sebastian* and *Bayonne*. On the 14th, From *St. Sebastian* I travelled through *Orogna*, *Irim*, on the Left

Hand of which is *Fontarabia*, a strong Fort just on the Frontiers of *Spain*. About half a League from *Irim* is the River that parts *France* and *Spain*. In the middle of this River is an Island where the Kings of *France* and *Spain* met, when *Lewis XIV.* the present King, married *Philip* the IV's Daughter. The Island was divided just in the middle, and a House built, so that at the Table where they sat to eat, the King of *France* sat in *France*, and the King of *Spain* in *Spain*.

15. *Spain* is, in many Places, not to say most, very thin of People, and almost desolate. The Causes are, 1. A bad Religion. 2. The tyrannical Inquisition. 3. The Multitude of Whores. 4. The Barrenness of the Soil. 5. The wretched Laziness of the People, very like the *Irish*, walking slowly, and always cumber'd with a great Cloak and long Sword. 6. The Expulsion of the *Jews* and *Moors*, the first of which were planted there by the Emperor *Adrian*, and the latter by the Caliphs after the Conquest of *Spain*. 7. Wars and Plantations. In all the Towns, especially in the South and West Parts of *Spain*, a great many Ruins of Houses are to be seen. Within a Quarter of a League of a Town you begin to see Ground ploughed, otherwise all a wild Country, and Nothing but Rosemary, *Cistus*, Juniper, Lavender, Broom, *Lentiscus*, &c. growing in the Fields and on the Hills. Little or no Hay any where in *Spain*, they feeding their Mules and Horses with Straw: At least one half of *Spain* is mountainous. The *Spaniards* are not so abstinent as some People take them to be, eating the best they can get, and freely enough, if it be at another Man's Cost, and in Inns never refusing Partridges, Quails, &c. for the Dearness. Laziness and Sloth makes them poor, and Poverty makes them pinch their Bellies and fair hardly.

They seldom mingle Water with their Wine, it being a common Saying among them, *Vino poco et puro*, though all over *Spain* the Wine is very hot and strong. They delight much in *Pimentone*, i. e. *Guiny* Pepper, and mingle it with their Sauces. In roasting of Meat they never use a Dripping-pan, but draw the Coals just under the Meat, which though it be not so cleanly, yet is the quicker and more thrifty Way for saving of Fewel. They tear Rabbits in sunder with their Hands, when they are almost roasted, and stew them in a Pot with Water and *Pimentone*. To toast Bread they throw it upon the Coals. They long and ask for every Thing they see, to avoid which, a Merchant that travelled with me was wont to put something into his Victuals which they did not love. They take Tobacco much in Snuff, and if one take out a Box of Snuff, he must give some to all the Company. The best Person in the Company, at Table, cuts and tears the Meat in Pieces, and gives to every Man his Share. They are most impertinently inquisitive whence you come, whither you go, what Business you have; most horribly rude, insolent, and imperious, uncivil to Strangers, asking them, What do you come into our Country for? We do not go into yours; i. e. this is to be understood of the middle and inferior Sort of People, many of the Gentry being very civil and well bred.

Their Children are the most unmannerly and ill-bred of any in the World. The Sons of *French* Fathers and *Spanish* Women, when they are grown up, often turn their Fathers out of Doors, having many Privileges above them for being born in *Spain*. They are extremely given to Lying; *Almuzzos*, and such Kind of Fellows, not to be believed or trusted in any Thing they promise. They ride altogether upon Mules, and carry their Portmanteaus before them, for fear they should be lost or stolen from behind them; they lie between a high Pommel of the Saddle and an Iron Hook. Instead of Stirrups, Persons of Quality use great Clogs of Wood, of the Shape of Shoes without Heels. They cut away the Mules Hair close to the Skin under the Saddles and Portmanteaus to avoid Gallings. Of this Bastard Breed of Animals, the Males are usually bigger than the Females. 2. Whether the Reason be that they are always bred of a Mare and an He-Aff. They piss very often. 2. Whether the Reason be the Sharpness of their Urine, or the Smallness of their Bladder?

They piss almost always when they go through Water. They shoe them with Shoes a deal broader than their Feet, to prevent, I suppose, the breaking of their Hoofs. Under the Mouths of their Mules of Burthen, they usually hang a Net with Provender in it. These Beasts are better at climbing of Mountains than Horses, have a greater Courage to endure long and hard Travel, and, besides, are maintained at less Charge.

The *Spaniards* seldom ride alone, but stay for a Troppas, as they do for a Caravan in *Arabia*. The common Phrases or Forms of Salutation, when they meet or pass by one another, are, *Guarda Dios vuestros*, i. e. *vous autres*, i. e. God defend you. *Adios*, i. e. Adieu. *Vaga con Dios*, i. e. God go along with you. When they are angry, *Cornuto*, i. e. Cuckold, is the first Word, and sometimes *Cornutissimo*. When they speak to their Mules, or Boys they send of Errands, they say *Anda Cornuto*, i. e. Go, Cuckold. When they refuse a Courtesy or Complement to drink first, go first, or the like, they say, *Nanper vita mea*, i. e. no, by my Life. At any Thing strange or ridiculous, they cry out, *Cuerpo di Dios* or *di Christo*, i. e. Body of God or Body of Christ. When they call to one to make him hear, instead of *Escoutes* in *French*, or *Senti* in *Italian*, they cry, O yes, just as Criers do in *England*. When they put off a Beggar, not giving him an Alms, they say, *Voltes perdonné*, i. e. Good Friend, pardon or excuse me. As for their Religion, the *Spaniards* are the most orthodox and rigid *Romanists* in the World, it being a Saying among them, *Faltando in uno punto a Dios*, i. e. If you leave the Church in one Punctilio; God be with you; you must needs be damned. All over *Spain* there are Abundance of pitiful wooden Crosses set up in the Middle of Heaps of Stone. Under all the Pictures of the Virgin *Mary* is written, *Concebida sin peccado originale*, i. e. conceived without original Sin. At the *Ave Mary* Bell, they all fall down upon their Knees; whereas in other Countries they are contented only to pluck off their Hats. When they have done their Devotions, as also after their Meals, when they take away, and when they go to Bed, they say, *Sia lodato il santissimo Sacramento*, i. e. praised be the most holy Sacrament.

For Fornication and Impurity, they are the worst of all Nations, at least in *Europe*; almost all the Inns in *Andalusia*, *Castile*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, &c. having Whores who dress the Meat, and do all the Business. They are to be hired at a very cheap Rate. It were a Shame to mention their Impudence, Lewdness and immodest Behaviour and Practices. In *Catalonia*, *Guipuscoa*, and some other Places, they are not so bad. They are so lazy, that in their Shops they will say they have not a Commodity, rather than take Pains to look for it, not to be hired to carry a Portmanteau, go of an Errand, &c. but at an excessive Rate. Mercers never tie up any Thing they sell, and if they allow Paper, they only rudely mumble up the Commodities in it. Of their fantastical and ridiculous Pride, and that too in the extreme Poverty, all the World rings. If there be any Employment that you would set them about, which they think themselves too good for, they presently say, Send for a *Frenchman*. Indeed, the *French* do almost all the Work in *Spain*. All the best Shops are kept by *Frenchmen*, the best Workmen in every Kind are *French*, and, I believe, near one Fourth or one Fifth Part of the People in *Spain* are of that Nation. I have heard some Travellers say, that should the King of *France* recall his Subjects out of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* would hazard being all starved to Death.

Bread is very scarce and very dear in many Places of *Spain*, because of the Barrenness of the Soil, and Want of Rain, but chiefly because of the Sloth of the People in letting a great deal of Ground lie untilld, and in not taking the Pains to fetch Corn and Bread from those Places where there is Plenty. So that in a Day's Journey the Price of Bread will be trebled, and in another Day's Journey fall as much again. This Summer there was a Tumult at *Madrid*, the poor People gathering about the King's Palace, cried out, Let the King live, but let the ill Government die; let Exactors die,

die, &c. just as they did at *Naples* under the Rebellion of *Masaniello*. Upon which the King sent to all the Towns about for Bread Corn, and in two or three Days Bread was very plentiful and cheap. All over *Catalonia* Bread is very cheap. The *Spanish* Bread is commended for the best of the World; and well it may be, if, as we have heard, they pick their Wheat Grain by Grain. At my being at *Madrid*, there was an Engineer there, sent by the Emperor, that had invented a Plow, called by the *Spaniards* a *Sembrador*, to sow Corn at equal Distances, and one Grain in a Hole; the Description whereof hath been since published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

In all Kind of good Learning the *Spaniards* are behind the rest of *Europe*, understanding nothing at all but a little of the old wrangling Philosophy and School Divinity. The People are much discontented all over *Spain*, complaining of Taxes, evil Counsellors, &c. but they have a good Opinion of, and are generally well affected to their King, whose Intentions they say are very good. As for their Habit and Dress, in that they are to be commended that they are constant to the same Fashions, though they be not the most convenient that might be devised. To change for the better, I think it rather commendable than blameworthy; but to change out of meer Levity, or an apish Imitation of others, is foolish and unreasonable.

They wear great Hats with broad Crowns, and the Top broader than the Bottom. Their Hair most commonly, and especially when they travel, they tie up in a Knot behind, and sometimes braid like Women's. Their Bands lie upon black Collars just of the same Bigness, or a little bigger. They are joined to the Collar, and put on Band and Collar together. They wear very much Cambrick Half Shirts, and have their Sleeves open before and behind, both Winter and Summer: They have great Skirts upon their Doublets; their Breeches are very strait and close to their Thighs, and button'd down on each Side, and reach a little lower than the Knee. They wear very slight wrought black Silk Stockings, that the white Linnen Stockings which they wear underneath, may be seen through them. Their Shoes just fit their Feet, very light and thin, with low Heels. Over their Doublets they wear a close Coat or Jerkin, with open Sleeves like the Doublet, and for the most Part with hanging Sleeves, like Childrens, yet never reaching lower than their Skirts, a very long Sword and a short Dagger hanging just behind them; and at last, over all, a Cloak with a great Cape. The Women wear great Fardingales, standing so far out on each Side, that to enter in at an ordinary Door, they are forced to go Sideways; when they go Abroad are covered with a Veil of black, having only a Hole left for one Eye.

The poor People wear Shoes made of Packthread. The most noble Sport in *Spain* is the *Jeu de Tarreau*, or Bull-Fighting, practised at *Valentia*, *Madrid*, &c. At *Madrid*, three times in the Year, where in the Market-Place, a brave Don on Horseback, and a great many Pages on Foot, fight with a wild Bull; when one Bull is killed or much wounded, they turn in another. Seldom but some of the Pages are killed; and with these cruel and bloody Spectacles the People are much delighted, as were the *Romans* of old in the Time of Heathenism.

16. We see very plainly from Mr. *Willoughby's* Account, that *Spain* is not naturally so poor a Country as is commonly imagin'd. The Climate is excellent, the Soil very far from being bad, and what Corn is produced in *Spain* may be truly call'd the best of its kind in *Europe*. The only thing that is wanting is, a right Government, for this would encourage Industry, render the Country more populous, and make the People willing to work hard, in order to fare well. It is highly probable, that the Reader will incline to know what are the principal Faults of this Government, whence it comes to pass that they have subsisted so long, and are like so much longer to subsist, and what might be reasonably expected in Favour of the *Spanish* Nation, if proper Remedies were applied to these Evils.

In the first Place then, with Regard to the Government, the King, though he seems absolute enough, wants Power to take those Steps that may appear necessary for the Good of his Subjects. In *Spain* Forms are not only regarded, but revered as sacred. There is not a single Nobleman in *Spain* but has very great Rights and Privileges in his own Lands; on the other Hand, there are very few of the great Nobility that have not considerable Towns upon their Estates; to which they have granted Immunities; and in Respect to either of these, there can be no Innovation made, though ever so much, or ever so apparently, for the Advantage of the Subjects in general. Thus it appears that there is a great deal of Liberty in *Spain*, and the People are very tenacious of it. The King also has great Power, more especially in the Countries that hold immediately of the Crown; he therefore favours them in Point of Trade, and in other Respects; but the Crown of *Spain* has been so long at an exorbitant Expence, both of Treasure and of Men, that it wants Force to rid itself of old Inconveniencies, at the same time that, from its present Weakness, new ones are continually growing. It must indeed be owned, that the Cortes, or Assembly of the States, might remove many of these Evils, but Princes, if they can avoid it, are unwilling to borrow Powers from their People and Ministers, much more unwilling to have their Management of Power looked into and examined. To secure the Peace of the Kingdom, the Descendants of the *Moors* were banished; this depopulated the Kingdom of *Granada*, then the richest and most fertile Part of *Spain*; and now for want of those industrious People, the most barren. Upon a Mixture of religious and political Principles, the Jews were also driven out, and with them went all Industry in the low Arts of Retailing and Pedlary, as well as in the superior Branches of the mercantile Business. In a Word, to express the Thing as clearly as possible to an *English* Reader, the first Measure was calculated to destroy the Land, and the latter effectually ruined the Money'd Interest.

The plain Remedies for these Mischiefs must be the bringing all the Kingdoms in *Spain* under one Constitution and Form of Laws, as they are subject only to one Prince. The raising Men and Money ought to be restrained to Cases of Necessity, and then it should be done as equally as possible; for when every Body suffers alike, it very seldom happens that any Body complains. Titles of Honour, and the Privileges annexed to them, should be connected with Property, as well as with Descent, which amongst the People, naturally proud, would prove the greater Spur to Industry. The Trade of the new World ought to be laid open to all the Subjects of *Spain*, under Restrictions that may be complied with, and those Restrictions ought not to be relaxed; as it stands at present, this Commerce is so far in the Hands of the Crown, as to hinder it from being beneficial to the People; and yet there is such a universal Corruption reigns amongst the Officers employed by the Crown, that greatly abridges the King's Profits. If Strangers settled in *Spain* had the Means of acquiring Property, and the Privileges that ought to be annexed to Property, Manufactures would rise of themselves, and the Produce of *Spanish* Commodities would remain in *Spain*, whereas now all the Advantages arising from Trade are collected as it were in a Sieve, so that as they come in they appear to be very great, but they speedily leak through, and that to such a Degree that little or nothing is left behind.

The Want of Attention to these plain Maxims has rendered the Government weak and infirm; the pursuing Schemes directly opposite to these Maxims has increased this Weakness into a kind of galloping Consumption, and this has enervated the Monarchy to such a Degree, that without a speedy Reformation, it must crumble to Pieces by its own Weight; and that this is not a Conjecture but a Fact, appears plainly from the miserable State of *St. Domingo*, *Porto Rico*, and other *Spanish* Settlements; but if such a Reformation were to take Place, the Kingdom of *Spain* has in itself vast Resources. There are in it many fine Ports which would

would enable its Inhabitants to carry on an extensive Commerce, and the Means of carrying them on are also in the Hands of the Inhabitants. We will give a few Instances, which at the same Time that they inform, cannot fail of pleasing and entertaining an intelligent Reader.

To begin then with the Wooll. All the World knows that *Spain* produces as good, some, who are well versed in that Commodity, say better, than any in *Europe*; of this the *English* use a vast Quantity, and of late the *French* and *Dutch* a much greater. Their Wine is also a very considerable Article; so long ago as the Year 1690. it appeared by their Custom-house Books, that they exported sixteen thousand Pipes annually from *Malaga*, *Alicant*, *Port St. Mary's*, *Porto Real*, *St. Lucar*, and *Rota*. They make vast Quantities of Oil in the Island of *Majorca*, and in the Country about *Sevil* and *Malaga*. *Castile* Soap is another great Article, and besides this, Pot-Ashes for the Use of Glass-works, and the Whitening of Linnen, a Commodity that deserves Notice.

They have great Quantities of the very best Sort of Salt, of which they sell a great deal at present, but nothing in Comparison of what they might sell. In the Principality of *Biscay*, and in the upper *Navarre*, they have large Quantities of Iron, and that Iron is justly esteemed excellent. From *Bilboa* and *St. Sebastians* they carry on two or three kinds of Fisheries, and these might be extended vastly. We will add to these Articles, that of Fruits, which is very considerable, such as Oranges sour and sweet, Raisins of the Sun, and many others; besides all the Drugs that they derive from the *West-Indies*, which are at once the richest and most saleable, such as, *Cochineal*, *Indigo*, *Vanilla's*, *Jalap*, *Sassa Parilla*, *Jesuits Bark*, &c. The Tobacco Trade, Skins and Hides, and a Multitude of other Things might be added.

All this plainly shows, that if *Spain* is very thin of People, it is entirely owing to Errors in Government, since the Country would have wherewithal to maintain its Inhabitants, if it was ever so populous, and it might be filled with Inhabitants from other Countries, if some idle foolish Customs were taken away; for these Customs make Strangers leave *Spain*, as soon as they have acquired Fortunes in it, which is doubly disadvantageous to the State; first by the Loss of so many Subjects, and next by the great Sums they carry off. We may judge of this from the Balance that is said to arise to *France*, from what is acquired by itinerant Labourers, that go to *Spain* in the Spring, and return before Winter, which has been computed, and not extravagantly neither, at half a Million Sterling; yet such is the Folly of the *Spaniards*, that instead of regretting this Loss, they value themselves upon it, and believe, that in Comparison of the *French*, they are a rich and great People, to whom others willingly submit themselves, for the Sake of getting Bread by them, without considering that these Strangers whom they despise, eat that Bread which they want, and go Home rich into their own Country, while those who call themselves their Masters are left to starve. If this Fact was not evident and undeniable, it would certainly be incredible.

Give me Leave also to observe, that as *Spain* is a very large Country, and composed of Provinces that differ very much from each other in Soil and Climate; so those, who seem to be less happy in these Particulars, are by much the best cultivated, and fullest of Inhabitants: As, for Instance, the *Upper Navarre*, for the Lower belongs to *France*, is very cold and mountainous; yet *Pampeluna*, which is the Capital, is a fair well-built City, and has a good Trade: The People there, and throughout the whole Country, are active, frugal and industrious, civil to Strangers, and generally speaking, free from most of those Vices that are commonly imputed to the *Spaniards*. It is the same Thing in *Biscay*, where, though the Land is also far from being fertile; yet the People are never in Want; their Farms require Labour and Manure; the Owners bestow it cheerfully; and there is more Trade carried on, in Proportion to the Extent of this District, than

in all the Kingdom beside. The People also of *Biscay* and *Navarre* are the best Soldiers, not only as they are robust in their Constitutions, and very hardy, but as they are active, diligent and very capable of bearing Fatigue. The *Biscaneers* also are excellent Seamen; their Barks are well built; they are well victualled, and well manned; they fish for Cods on the *Newfoundland Banks*; they have a Share in the *Greenland Fishery*; and whereas the *Spanish* Seamen in general are slow and awkward, these are as brisk and as capable in every Respect as ours. But in *Valentia*, *Murcia* and *Granada*, Countries that were formerly very rich, and produced vast Quantities of Grain, the Land lies untill'd, and the People are poor and starving, merely because they are idle and will not work. In *Andalusia*, indeed, which may be stiled the Paradise of *Spain*, there is great Plenty, and the Country has a fine Appearance; but even here vast Improvements might be made, if the Inhabitants were more industrious, and did not think four Hours Labour in twenty four an intolerable Fatigue.

That the *Spaniards* have Genius and Parts is certain, and yet both are commonly misapplied; for as our Author observes, they are a Hundred Years behind the rest of *Europe*, in almost all Branches of Literature; not because they want Abilities, but because they are attach'd to their old Notions, and had rather go on in the Paths of their Forefathers, though ever so rugged and uncooth, than dishonour them so far, as to strike out into better Roads that are new. In Poetry, Romances, Novels, and such Kind of Writings, they show a Spirit and an Invention, that is a clear Evidence of their falling short in other Things, merely from Want of Attention and Application: Yet with all this, their Reverence and Regard for Authority, they want not a strong Propensity to Liberty; and though no People in the Universe are more loyal to their Princes, yet they are far from being blind to the Errors in their Administration; which, however, they ascribe constantly to their Ministers, never to themselves. When they meet in the Evenings, as they commonly do in the great Squares of *Madrid*, and other Cities, they discourse very frankly upon all Sorts of Subjects, and spare their Superiors as little as in the freest Countries in *Europe*.

In these little Cabals, the secret History and Policy of *Spain* may be very truly learned, at the same Time that it gives you a very natural Picture of the real Genius and genuine Disposition of the People. The Birth, the Rise, Progress and Summit of every Minister's Fortune, are here fairly discussed; his private Life, as well as his publick Administration, canvassed, and the Consequences of his Mistakes either predicted before they happened, or traced to their true Sources afterwards. It must be owned, that these Politicians are but very low People; a Taylor, perhaps, or a Shoemaker, is one of the most enlightened Members of this Society; but they are strangely mistaken, who shall persuade themselves from thence, that nothing great or sensible passes in these Conversations. The very contrary is strictly true: This Custom has reigned so long in *Spain*, that the whole Nation are become Statesmen, at least, to such a Degree, as to form a right enough Judgment of a Minister's Behaviour in Domestick Concerns; and therefore the famous Conde-Duke de *Olivarez*, had always his Spies amongst them, whose Reports he committed to Writing; and it was against the Charge drawn from them, that he wrote his famous Justification, which is beyond Controversy the best Apology that ever fell from a Minister's Pen. The King, at the Time he wrote it, was strongly inclined to restore him to his Favour, but the Mob Politicians of *Madrid* pronounced him undone; as soon as this excellent Piece appeared: *A Favourite*, said they, *can never rise again, after showing that his Master was in the Wrong to let him fall.*

Now we are upon this Chapter of Politicks, I cannot help adding a Thought of my own, which is this, that the indulging the People of *Spain* in these extraordinary Liberties has been the great Secret by which they

they have been kept constantly loyal, without an armed Force; for the Kings of *Spain* are neither crowned, as other Monarchs are, nor do they keep any Guards: The first they think unnecessary in an hereditary Kingdom; and as for the latter, *Philip* the Third said truly, *that Guards might protect Tyrants, but a just Prince needed no other Guards than his own Subjects.* The People being thus indulged in Freedom of Speech, and making Use of this Freedom openly, never enter into secret Cabals; sometimes, indeed, they assemble in Crowds before the Palace, and represented their Grievances in very round Terms; but they began and ended with this Exclamation, *Let our good King live for ever, but let the wicked Administration go to the Devil.* A little Condescension, and the Redressing a few of the most notorious Grievances, always quieted them so, that their Monarchs have never thought themselves in Danger; and their Ministers know, upon such Occasions, how to purchase Peace upon reasonable Terms. [The Reader is to observe, that all that is here advanced relates to the Old *Spanish* Monarchy under the Kings of the House of *Austria*; for since the Accession of the *Bourbon* Family, the King of *Spain* has not only had Guards, but a very formidable Body of Household Troops. The long War, occasioned by the Accession of the late King *Philip*, gave him an Opportunity of establishing these; and it is not probable that he or his Successors will ever part with them.]

17. We cannot have, for the Time in which they were written, better Accounts than those given us by Mr. *Willoughby*; nor are the Additions less curious, more especially with respect to the Coral Fishery, our former Relations being very little to be depended upon. There was likewise, in the same Book, as large and particular a Detail as to Lead Mines; but the Writing being befaced, it was impossible to pick it out. But there is one Objection to which this Collection would be liable, if we inserted no other Travels but these, *viz.* that they are many Years old; that Things are much changed since, and that People would be glad to know how they look nearer their own Times. In order to guard against this, and at the same Time to supply another Deficiency, which is the Leaving several Provinces untouched, we shall, in the next Section, present the Reader with the Travels of an *English* Gentleman, not only through *Spain*, but *Portugal* also; later in Point of Time by about thirty Years, than those which have been already given, and which are written with great Plainness and Perspicuity. It is, indeed, to be wished, that we had a better Acquaintance with their Author, since this would very probably give us a better Opinion of the Work itself; but as we have not, we must be content to take it the other Way, and esteem the Author for the Sake of his Work, which will appear more pleasant to a modern Reader, as it is writ-

ten in the Language of these Times. We might, indeed, have smoothed those of Mr. *Willoughby*, and render'd them more graceful in the Eyes of many People, by taking them out of their ancient Garb; but against this we had many Reasons.

It seems but just, that a Man, and especially a Man of his Quality, should tell his Tale in his own Language, and after his own Manner; especially if there be nothing in it barbarous or uncouth. It is very far from being an easy Matter to give precisely the Sense of an Author, who writes in our own Tongue, in any other Words than his own; for either we fall short of, or exceed his Ideas; and to be convinced of this, we need only make a Tryal. There is a great Beauty in seeing these Variety of Stiles, which is also heighten'd by its Propriety. In a Treatise of Geography, or even in a History of Voyages, Uniformity is requisite; but it is otherwise in a Collection, and those have been always esteemed most, that have been the exactest in this Respect, such as *Ramusio* in *Italian*, *Thevenot* in *French*, and *Hackluyt* in our own. This last is a very proper Instance, for by comparing him with his Successor *Purchas*, we may easily discern the Inconveniences that attend a finical Nicety, in an Editor who prefers his own Manner of Writing to that of all other Men. The Reverend Author we have last mentioned, consider'd himself, and was consider'd in his own Times as a Wit; that is to say, he had a Humour of playing upon Words, and introducing Burlesque Remarks upon very serious Subjects; which has brought him into Discredit with the present Age, when a chaster and more correct Stile is grown into Fashion.

But though I do not think it expedient, that an Editor should always new cloath his Author; yet I must admit, that there are Cases where this is not only allowable, but necessary; and in those Cases, according to the best of my Judgment, I have never failed using this Freedom. But if there be a Beauty in such Variety of Stiles, there is likewise a very great Utility; for by seeing the different Methods which Travellers make use of, we learn the Excellencies of some, and the Deficiencies of others, and know from thence how to copy the one, or to avoid the other, when it becomes our own Turn to write. But these Reflexions have, perhaps, carried me a little out of my Way, and made the Conclusion of this Section a few Lines longer than it ought to be. The Reader will consider, that all People are fond of talking of their own Trades; and that perhaps Authors are more liable to fall into this Error than others. The best Amends I can make, after confessing my Foible, is to atone for it; and as I have already said all that is necessary to be said of the Person to whom we are indebted for the following Section, we will proceed to it without any Introduction.

SECTION II.

TRAVELS through *Portugal* and *Spain*, with a distinct Description of the principal Cities in both Kingdoms; particularly, *Lisbon*, *Coimbra*, *Porto*, and *Braga*, in the former; *Madrid*, *Valentia*, *Alicant*, &c. in the latter: With a curious and correct Detail of the Curiosities in the *Escorial*, and a succinct Description of the other Royal Palaces of their Catholick Majesties.

By an ENGLISH Gentleman.

1. The Author's Voyage to *Lisbon*, and Thoughts of the Portuguese upon his first Arrival there, with some other Particulars.
2. A distinct Account of the City of *Lisbon*, and the Country adjacent.
3. The City and University of *Coimbra* particularly described, and more especially the famous Convent of

- St. Austin. 4. *A Description of the Town of Aveyro, and the Country about it.* 5. *An Account of the famous City of Porto, and of the noble River upon which it is seated.* 6. *The Author's Journey from thence to Braga, with a View of that City, and of the Towns of Viana and Camena.* 7. *A Description of Valentia (in Portugal) and of the Frontier Country towards Spain.* 8. *An Account of the Spanish Province of Galicia, and of the Towns of Radontella and Ponte Vedra.* 9. *His Return into Portugal, and by another Route back to Lisbon.* 10. *His second Journey into Spain, with a Description of Estremoze and Elvas.* 11. *His Journey through Badajos, Merida, Trukillo or Truxillo, to Toledo.* 12. *The Author's Description of Madrid, and of the Palace of the Buen Retiro.* 13. *An Account of the City and University of Compostella, one of the most famous in Spain.* 14. *The celebrated Palace and Convent of the Escorial described, the Reliques, Riches, and Ornaments enumerated.* 15. *An Account of the Pantheon, or Place of the Royal Sepulchres.* 16. *A View of the old Chapel and Royal Palace of their Catholick Majesties, and a Recapitulation of the remarkable Things in this celebrated Place.* 17. *An Account of Aranjuez, and other Places on the Road.* 18. *A Description of the Town and Castle of Alicant.* 19. *The Manners, Customs, and Behaviour of the Inhabitants of Valentia.* 20. *Some very singular Instances of the Ignorance and Superstition of the Spaniards in general.* 21. *Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

I IN the Year 1693, I embarked on board a Merchant-ship for *Portugal*, where we arrived without any Accident but such as are ordinary at Sea, in the River of *Lisbon*, in which City staying several Months, I will give you the best Account I am able of what I observ'd during my Stay.

It is seated on divers Hills, which make the Streets very uneasy and unpleasant; besides, the Dirt and noisome Smells arising from the Filth that runs from their Kitchens (which are all above Stairs) into them, and by Reason of their Narrowness can't be dried by the Sun, makes them so offensive, that no body cares much to pass through them.

Arriving there in *Lent*, I was entertained with the Sight of their monstrous Processions, wherein I observed some of the true Penitents lash themselves with that Severity that they frequently die of it; for which Reason it is that the Priests are obliged to declare to them, That such as procure their Death by this Excess of Folly, are the Occasion of their own Damnation. But among these true Devotees are to be seen many others, hired on Purpose by the Religious Societies, to increase the Number of the Penitents; a Thing so scandalous, that even the foreign Catholicks residing here blush at it, there being scarce any but the most profligate and debauch'd Wretches that will expose themselves to such dangerous Mortifications for Lucre-sake: Among the rest, they had at that Time employed a certain lewd Fellow, who us'd to serve as a Porter to the *English* residing there.

They have a vast Number of Churches and Convents, but few that are magnificent, the *Domo*, or Cathedral itself, being neither large nor handsomely built: Their chief publick Structures are, the Royal Palace, seated upon the River *Tagus*, the Model whereof was designed much larger than it is. It has a Cloyster behind adjoining to it. The Palace of the Archbishop of *Lisbon* is a spacious Structure, with some good Statues upon the Stairs, the only Kind of Furniture the *Portuguese* delight in, there being even in the King's Apartments nothing to be seen but white Walls. Their Houses are generally very high and pretty cool, but the Streets so narrow, that instead of Coaches they are forced to make use of Litters, carried by Mules, which are very strong and large in this Country.

It is an odd Sight to see the *Portuguese*, both young and old, appear with large Spectacles fastened to their Ears in the Streets. Their Diet is generally very moderate, and they seldom or never commit any Excess in Wine: Their predominant Vice is the Conversation of lewd Women, unto which the Heat of the Climate seems to incline them more than Extravagance. The Women paint here very young, and are consequently obliged to follow it as they grow more in Years. The Men are exceeding jealous, and a Suspicion of Incontinency in a Woman puts her in Danger of her Life; hence they are seldom allowed to stir abroad, except when they go to Church on Sundays, Holidays, or their Eves.

The Women of Quality wear their Fardingals here larger than those of *Italy* or *Spain*; they wear Veils to cover their Faces; they look upon it as the greatest Piece of Immodesty to shew their Feet; for which Reason

they wear very long Petticoats, and their Pages or Footmen hold a Piece of Cloth either before or behind them, as they get in or out of their Coaches or Litters, though at the same Time they go both with their Bosom and Shoulders bare. The Men's Habit is a black Coat and a Band of our *Colchester* Bays, which they turn the wrong Side outward in Mourning; this is the general Wear, without any Distinction of Persons or Quality, unto which they are all subject without any Difference, Silver and Gold Laces being expressly forbid among them. The *Inquisition* makes them all appear good Christians, though it is generally believed there are many conceal'd *Jews*, as their swarthy Complexion and fiery revengeful Temper are the Remnants of their *Moorish* Ancestors.

2. The Situation of *Lisbon* upon the River *Tajo* or *Tagus*, makes it a Place of considerable Traffick; for, not to mention their Commerce in the *East Indies* and *Brasil*, they trade with most Nations of *Europe*, but especially with the *English*, who take in Salt there for *Newfoundland*, and bring back to them dry'd Cod; besides that, they exchange many of their Woollen Manufactures for the Wine and Fruits of *Portugal*.

The Extent of the *Tagus* into a great Part of the Country, affords them likewise a most commodious Carriage of their Wines, Oils, Fruits, and other Products of the Country: Their Salt, especially that of *St. Ubes*, is transported into most Parts of *Europe*, and used in vast Quantity in *Sweden*.

They abound in Fish at *Lisbon*, but have some Scarcity of Flesh, especially of Beef and Mutton, the adjacent rocky Mountains affording Food only for Goats; however, their tame Fowl, when well fatted, are very good, and their Pigeons both very large and well tasted.

About *Lisbon* are many Summer-houses, and Gardens well planted with Orange-trees, the agreeable Scent whereof perfumes the Air at a considerable Distance: A Friend of mine had one of these Summer-seats at *Luz*, about four Miles from *Lisbon*, with a well planted, pleasant, walled Garden, of three Acres of Land belonging to it, which among other Advantages, had this Conveniency belonging to it, that we could go thither in a Coach, a Rarity among those craggy Mountains. I spent a great Part of the Summer there.

During my Stay here, I took particular Notice, that even in the hottest Season, we were constantly, toward Evening, refresh'd with a cool Sea-breeze, a Thing I afterwards observ'd in most Places about *Lisbon*.

From this Country-seat I used frequently to take a Walk to the once so much celebrated Nunnery of *Odevalla*, but much restrained of late Years both in its Revenues, and the free Conversation allowed to that Order in some of their Convents.

3. Leaving *Lisbon*, May 6. 1694, I travell'd towards *Porto*, to take a View of the Country on that Side; I pass'd the first Day through a rocky Country to *Sacca Veina*, and thence two Leagues further to *Alucrea*, and in the Afternoon through *Aliandra*, *Villa Franca*, *Povia* and *Cassinora*, where I lodg'd that Night, but

but badly enough; the next Morning early I pursued my Journey through the Villages of *Villa Nova de Remo*, *Ambosia*, and *Castesia*; after Dinner I travell'd on near *Sancta Terrena*, through a plain and most delightful Country, abounding in Wine, Oil and Corn, and so came to *Pausinio*, where I took up my Lodging for that Night; the next Day I continued my Journey in a no less pleasant and delightful Country, over *Campo de Galligong*, (a delicious Plain, abounding in Corn and Olive-trees) through *Alla nerosa*, *Pialva*, and *Jandemasans*, to *Peruchio*, where I lay that Night, and the next Morning over *Arujon*, *Pulga*, *Tobosal*, &c. getting to *Coimbra* that Night, after four Days Journey in a Horrelitter, being none of the quickest in these Countries.

Before I entred the Gates of *Coimbra*, I cross'd the River over a Bridge very remarkable for its Length, as having no less than twenty nine Arches, and its being built upon another Bridge, which is swallow'd up in the Sand, the River being so shallow now that 'tis fear'd it will in Time be quite choak'd up. On this Side of the Bridge stands a Convent and a Nunnery, both belonging to the *Franciscan* Order, the first dedicated to *St. Bartholomew*, the other to *St. Clara*. The City itself is computed to contain about 30,000 Souls, and its Situation is like most of the great Towns of this Country, upon Hills; it has sixteen Colleges and Convents.

The *University* has but two Colleges, viz. those call'd *St. Peter's* and *S. Paul's*, adjoining to each other like one Building. Their Schools make no great Show, though they keep publick Lectures in them in all Sciences; and I was told they had a good Library. I saw a *Fidalgo* (or Gentleman's Son) perform his Exercise for his Degree of *Doctor in Law* in the Hall, which is a handsome large Room, common to both the Colleges, hung about the Walls with the Pictures of the Kings of *Portugal*. As the Number of Students here is computed at no less than five thousand, (because they are admitted as soon as they can well read, and are distributed accordingly in different Classes) so none but the Children of Persons of the best Rank can have their Chambers in the Colleges, the rest being dispos'd in the Town as they best can.

The chief of their Convents is that of *St. Cruz*, being all Noblemen, and of the Order of *St. Austin*. The Church belonging to this Convent is a large Structure, with Altars richly gilt, and adorn'd with Silver Candlesticks of great Value: They preserve here many Relicks, but as they are very shy of shewing them to Strangers, I obtain'd this Favour by the Assistance of an *Irish* Father; they shew'd me the Sword of King *Alphonso*, wherewith he kill'd five *Moorish* Kings; they tell you that King *Sebastian*, when he was just upon going to the Wars in *Barbary*, borrow'd this Sword of the Convent, and that the Sword being lost there, together with the King, they instituted publick Supplications for the Recovery of this Sword, which was one Day found by a Friar upon the high Altar, as he was going to officiate there. But the chief Repository of their Relicks is in a Chapel at the End of the *Dormitory*; here they shew'd a golden Cross set with precious Stones, which (they say) contains a Piece of the true Cross, and used always to be fix'd on the royal Standard in their Wars against the *Moors*; half of one of the Thorns wherewith our Saviour's Head was crown'd; a Bone of *St. Stephen*, another of *St. Austin*, a Finger of one of the Innocents slain by *Herod*, *St. Peter's* Chains with large thick Iron Links, a Bone of *St. Paul*, a Leg-Bone of one of the eleven thousand Virgins sent out of *England* to the *Indies*, to marry and encrease the *Christians* there; an Arm-Bone of *St. Blazius*, a Bone of *St. Sebastian*, the Bones of *Theotoni* in a Silver Chest, the Bones of five Martyrs put to Death by the *Moors* in *Barbary*, whither they were sent to convert them to the *Christian Faith*, likewise in a Silver Chest; a Bone of *St. Lawrence*: Most of these, besides many others, were brought out of *England* immediately after the Dissolution of the Monasteries by King *Henry VIII*. They were so cautious in shewing them, and that at such a Distance, that I could scarce distinguish what they were,

which made me never enquire any further about any such Things as *Relicks* in this Country.

4. After a Stay of three Days I left *Coimbra*, taking my Way towards *Aveyro* through a pleasant Country, though somewhat mountainous and rocky: I found my travelling upon a Mule as tedious as in a Litter, for you go no faster than your Guide, who is on Foot. *Aveyro* is a very handsome Town, with clean and pleasant Streets, govern'd by a Justice, as are most Country Towns here; it has three Convents, of *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, and the Order of *St. Anthony*; and four Nunneries, of *St. Anthony*, *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, and *Carmelites*; and four Parish-Churches: Each of the Nunneries contains above a hundred Persons, including Servants; and the whole City about fifteen or sixteen thousand Souls. The Duke of *Aveyro* lives in *Spain*, under Pretence that the Family of *Braganza* has usurp'd the Crown of *Portugal*, so that his Estate being seized upon for the King's Use, his Palace is bestow'd upon the *Carmelite* Nuns. The Town is fenc'd about with a Wall after the *Moorish* Fashion, and has great Plenty of good Fish and Fowl: The River is of such a Depth that Vessels of seventy or eighty Tun may ride safe at Anchor under the Town, to which belong above four thousand Boats, employed for the most part in carrying Dung from thence into the Country, where the Ground is barren, and wants much more manuring than the Soil about *Lisbon*. Much Salt is also made hereabouts, which is carried into the Country, and into *Galicia*.

From *Aveyro* to *Porto* is ten Leagues; the first five I went by Water, for taking Boat at twelve at Night, I came the next Morning to a little Village called *Varr*, whence I travelled the other five on Horse, through a barren Country, to *Porto*, the River of which affords a safe Harbour, being so environ'd with Hills, as to protect Ships against the Violence of any Winds; the Ships may ride under the very Walls of it, which are very high, but at that Time the City was without a Garrison.

5. The City of *Porto* itself is very handsomely built, and the Streets neatly pav'd, though seated upon Hills. On the other Side of the River called *Sarra*, stands a Convent of *Austin Friars*, a spacious Structure, containing about forty five Brothers, who call themselves *Dons*: Their *Dormitory* I found to be two hundred and fifteen Paces long, and five broad. Near it is a Nunnery of *St. Dominick*. Somewhat lower, on this Side of the River, at a Place called *Gaia*, (famous in ancient Times for the Palace of the *Moorish* Kings) is another Convent of twenty eight Friars, of the Order of *S. Antonio*. In the Convent of the *Serra* they shew'd me a pair of Crutches of a lame Child, which was cured by a certain little Image of our Lady in *Basso relievo* in the same Church: The like you see in several other Churches, as also wooden Legs and Arms, nay, sometimes the Pictures of the Persons pretended to be cur'd near the Saints Image that is said to have wrought it.

This City has four Parish-Churches, the Cathedral, which is but small in Comparison of others of that Rank, the Church of *S. Nicholas*, of *S. Vittoria*, and *S. Peter*; they appear'd to me richer and better gilt than those of *Lisbon*: Seven Convents of Friars, viz. the *Franciscans*, *S. John Novo*, *S. Eli*, (dress'd in Purple) the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, *Benedictins*, and the *Tanograpes*, an Order following the Discipline of the *Jesuits*, and upon that Score in much Repute here. They have also a College of *Jesuits* and four Nunneries, viz. of *S. Munchecha*, *S. Bento*, *S. Clara*, and the *Recollettes*, an Order peculiar to this Country, and seldom to be met with but in Seaport Towns, being intended for Seamen to bestow their Wives in till their Return; Orphans are likewise educated here till they come to Years of Maturity to chuse either Marriage or a religious Life; Widows are also permitted to enter into this Order after the Decease of their Husbands, provided they vow Chastity for the Future. The whole City is reckon'd to contain fifty thousand Souls, including the Suburbs, in one of which is another Parish-Church dedicated to *S. Alphonso*. It is a Place of vast Trade,

Trade, the River (which supplies them with great Quantities of Provisions, Wines, Oyl, Corn, Fruits, &c. out of the Country for Transportation) having from its Conveniency got the Name of *The Golden River*. The Bar, through which the Ships come in, is a very narrow Passage, with Rocks on both Sides. Over against it, near the Village of *St. John*, is a Fort kept by a small Garrison.

The Episcopal Palace near the Cathedral seem'd to be a magnificent Building, but was not inhabited then, because the Bishop, being at Variance with the Clergy of his Diocese, was at *Lisbon*.

6. From *Porto* I travel'd to *Gamarains*, over steep and rough Hills; it is a pretty neat Town, well built upon a Level of a considerable Compass; it has five Convents of Monks, viz. the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites*, *Capuchins*, *Franciscans*, and *Austin* Fryars; and three Nunneries, *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Dominicans*, but no more than two Parish-Churches. The whole Place is enclosed by a strong and high Wall, and there are to be seen here the Ruins of a Castle, said to be built for one of the Kings of *Portugal's* Brothers.

From hence I continued my Journey the next Day to *Braga*, the most ancient Archbishoprick of *Portugal*, and which to this Day disputes the Precedency and Primacy with the Archbishop of *Toledo* in *Spain*.

Braga is a spacious City, well wall'd according to the Fashion of this Country. The Cathedral is something bigger than in most other Places in *Portugal*, and strongly built, as are most of their Structures; for they have hereabouts a Kind of very durable tho' coarse Marble, and their Loam very white and fine, and consequently exceeding binding, as may be seen by their old Buildings. In this Church is a Monument of the Duke of *Bayonne*, (a Thing the *Portuguese* do not much regard) who being met upon the Road to this City by a great Number of People to honour his Entry, and dying there soon after, order'd by his Will a considerable Revenue to be employ'd for distributing a certain Allowance to the Poor every Morning in the Cloysters of the Church; adding, That *since he was not able to feast them, he would take Care they should not go without a Breakfast*. The Tomb, which is about a Yard and a half high, stands in the Isle of the Church, being all of Brass, with his Effigies at full Length, which appear'd to have been gilt formerly; the Grates about it hinder'd my reading the Inscription. Not far from the Dome stands the Archiepiscopal Palace, an old Pile of Building, which made but an indifferent Shew on the Outside, being not then inhabited by reason of the Death of the Archbishop.

The next Place I came to in this Journey was *Viana*, one of the pleasantest Towns in *Portugal*, seated on the Sea-side, so that from the Key you may see any Ships that sail along the Coast: It is well paved, the Streets upon a level, with very good Buildings. Its Strength consists only in a small Castle on the Sea side, which commands the Harbour, but they had at that Time a Garrison of a thousand Foot and two Troops of Horse, and in the Castle about thirty-seven Great Guns mounted: There was lately built a Magazine for the King, containing Arms for about twenty thousand Men, and some Accoutrements for Horse. They shew'd us a small low Building within the Precinct of the Castle, said to be built for the Imprisonment of King *Alphonso*. For the rest, this is a Place of pretty good Trade, tho' the River is not navigable far, by reason of the Sands which choak up the Channel.

From this Place I travel'd for three Leagues very pleasantly along the Sea-side to *Camena*, seated in a Plain; and though the Frontier Town on the Borders of *Galicia*, it is of no great Strength, but commonly provided with a good Garrison; there stands, however, upon a Rock near the Entrance of the River, a little Fort, commanding the Passage toward the Harbour, but it was guarded only by six or eight Country-Fellows at that Time, and had not above three or four Guns mounted; within it is the Convent of *St. Anthony*. This Place has some little Trade, two Parish-Churches, two Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, and one Nunnery of *Dominicans*.

7. If you intend to go from hence into *Galicia*, you must cross the River, which is the common Boundary between *Spain* and *Portugal* on this Side.

I went from *Camena* to *Villa nova de Silvero*, an ancient Town in the Road betwixt *Camena* and *Valentia*; as it is a Frontier Town, so it hath a Wall after the Manner of this Country, with a Garrison.

Valentia, likewise a Frontier Town, upon the Borders of *Galicia*, advantageously situated for being made a strong Place, but almost without Defence, though so near to *Spain*; it is true, some Works it had, but without Men or Arms to defend them, all the Defence they have being the Fort *Lovelio*, about a Mile from the City, in Opposition to which, the *Spaniards* have one or two on their Side of the River. At this Place the King's Officers make strict Search, whether you carry more Money with you than is allow'd; the same is done on the Borders of *Galicia* by the *Spaniards*, in your Return hither, which they do with Severity enough, unless you make them civil by a little Money. Here you must also give Security for the Return of your Mule.

8. The first *Spanish* Town you come to after you have crossed the River, is *Tine*, an Episcopal Seat, but meanly built, which made me without any Stay continue my Journey to *Vigo*, a Sea-port Town in *Galicia*, seated upon a River, and accounted one of the best Harbours of *Spain*, formerly the Rendezvous of the *Spanish Armada* or Fleet, when they made a much better Figure at Sea than they do now. Here their Galeons, and the *French* Squadron commanded by M. *Chateaurenand*, were destroyed by the *English* and *Dutch*, in the Year 1702. For the rest, the Town is of no considerable Traffick, few inhabiting here but Fishermen, which makes their Houses appear very mean. It is reckon'd among the garrison'd Towns of *Spain*; but this Garrison consists only of sixty Country Fellows, who are summon'd out of the adjacent Country, for the Defence of some slight Works provided with a few Guns, and are changed every Day. It has one large Parish Church, but meanly built, and two Convents, one of Friers, the other of Nuns, both *Franciscans*. About three Leagues down the River you see the Isles of *Bayonne*.

From hence I pass'd for three Leagues down a noble River towards *Ponte Vedra*, lined on both Sides with Hills and pleasant Valleys, and some little Redoubts opposite to one another, for the Defence of the River. As you pass along this River, you see *Raduntella*, a stately Town, built upon the Bank of the River, in the Middle of which is an Island, with a Convent of *Franciscans* upon it, the Gardens of which being planted with Fruit-trees, made a pretty Show at a Distance. At the End of this River you must travel a League and a half by Land before you come to *Ponte Vedra*, thro' very rough and uneven Ways. *Ponte Vedra* is a large but meanly built Town, though the River (which discharges itself into the Sea) affords them some Conveniency for Traffick. The chief Thing worth taking Notice of, is the Church of our Lady, a large Fabrick, and adorn'd on the Inside with some curious Wrought Work on the Ceiling, and the Pillars, which are Marble, a Thing seldom observed in the Churches of *Galicia*. The Front of this Church hath also some very fine *Relievo-work*; among the rest, our blessed Lady on her Death-bed, with the Apostles and some of the ancient Fathers about her.

The Archbishop of *St. Jago's* Palace here is a large Structure, but appear'd much decay'd: It has two Parish Churches and three Convents, two of *Franciscans*, and the third of *Dominican* Fryers, one of Nuns, and a Jesuits College. The Magazine here had also some good Brass Guns, and some Small-arms.

9. *Galicia* appear'd to me a Country very like *Portugal*, as well in respect of the Soil, as of the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, who also differ but very little from the *Portuguese*, even in their Habit and Language; and as there is scarce any Footsteps of Industry or Husbandry among them, so you see nothing but Poverty where-ever you turn your self.

The indifferent Usage I met with in all those Places thro' which I pass'd, made me soon alter my Resolution

of going further that Way; so I return'd to *Porto* the same Road I came, but took another Way from *Porto* to *Lisbon*; for, after having pass'd *Aveyro*, instead of going to *Coimbra*, I took the Road of *Fygera*, a small Maritime Town, yet not without some Trade in Salt and Oyl, Ships of about a hundred Tons being able to come up the River hither: They have a Castle with some Guns for their Defence. The Salt is made near this River, and the adjacent Country affords great Abundance of Olives.

Betwixt *Aveyro* and *Fygera* is the Town of *Mira*, much celebrated for vast Store of wild Ducks thereabouts, which they take in a peculiar Manner, without either Nets or Guns, by throwing Sticks at them as they rise and take Wing, which they do with such Dexterity, that they knock down several at a Time.

I pass'd the River near *Fygera* the 25th of *July*, which being on a *Sunday*, and *St. James's Day*, I had scarce travel'd two Miles to *Lavos*, where meeting with an *Irish* Priest, he would fain have engaged me to go about four Leagues with him, to a Chapel dedicated to *St. James*, where (he told me) was a Family which had this Peculiar to itself, that on this Day, when the People of the adjacent Country came to pay their Devotions to the said Saint, and are regaled with a large hot Cake by the Town; any of them can go to the Oven, though never so hot, and turn the Cake without the least Danger; but I thank'd him for his Care, and told him, that having no great Faith in such Matters, he must excuse me, if I did not go so far out of my Way. I came the same Day to *Lazia*, the Seat of a Bishop, whose Palace is a noble Structure: For the rest, the Town is but indifferently built; it hath three Parish-Churches, the Cathedral, *St. Diago*, and *St. Peter's*; the first appear'd to be a large handsome Fabrick, but I did not view the Inside of it: They have four Convents of *Austin* Fryars, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Capuchins*, and a Nunnery of *Dominicans*. Near it, upon a very high Hill, you see a Castle belonging to the King, which at a Distance appear'd to be a noble Building.

In my Way from *Lazia* to *Terena* I pass'd by *Batalia*, where is said to be the best-built Church in all *Spain*, perfected by some *English* Workmen; it contains the Sepulchres and Tombs of the *Portuguese* Kings. The Steepness of the Rocks, over which I was forced to pass, together with the Length of the Way, made this the worst Day's Journey I ever had, which made me not get to *Terena* till late at Night; and having fourteen Leagues to *Lisbon*, I set out early in the Morning, and after I had rode two Leagues, embark'd on the River, (sending my Mule by Land) which brought me the same Day to *Lisbon*. I observed a great deal of Poverty in the Country through which I pass'd, the poorer Sort living for the most part upon *Brow* and Water. This *Brow* is a Kind of coarse yellowish Bread, made of a certain *Indian* Corn called *Millio*; certain it is, that many hundred Families live upon this, without ever tasting Meat in all their Life-time. The Country, through which I pass'd, affords scarce any Wood for Timber, the Oaks, which are but few, appearing no bigger than Shrubs here; Olive and Cork-trees they have in Abundance, and I saw some pretty large Groves of Pines.

The Author's Journey from Lisbon to Madrid.

10. I set out, *Sept. 1, 1694*, from *Lisbon* for *Madrid*; I went three Leagues by Water on the other Side of the River to *Allegalego*, whence, continuing my Journey the next Day, I travel'd for eight Leagues through a barren Country to *Vento Novo*, and the next Day by the Way of *Monte Major* (a very good Village) to *Ryolio*, a small ruined Town with an old *Moorish* Castle, which affords a fine Prospect into the adjacent Country. The next Day I travel'd on to *Estreimoze*, a Place noted for Earthen Ware, then garrison'd with eight Companies of Foot, and three Troops of Horse. Thence I went to *Elvas*, the last Frontier Town of the *Portuguese*, bordering upon *Spain* on that Side, a Place of good Strength, and famous for the six Months Siege it sustained against the *Spaniards*, in their last Wars. Near

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it is a most noble Aquaduct, three Leagues and a half in Length, and of a vast Height in some Places where the Ground is low; where, for a considerable Way together, there were no less than four Arches built upon one another with vast Expence. Not above two *English* Miles beyond *Elvas* you come to a small River, which being the common Boundary betwixt *Spain* and *Portugal* on that Side, you are no sooner pass'd it, but you come to the *Campo* or *Plain*, where was fought that memorable Battle betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* in their last War, with the Loss of seven thousand *Spaniards*; in which Action the *English* had a considerable Share, acting as Auxiliaries on the *Portuguese* Side.

The first Town belonging to the *Spaniards*, on this Side, is *Badajos*, a strong Place, into which you enter over a Bridge of twenty-six Arches. The next Day I travel'd to *Merida*, into which you must pass over a Bridge of above sixty Arches: This Place affords some Entertainment for curious Travellers, as the Ruins of some ancient *Roman* Buildings, a spacious Castle, now turn'd into a Prison, a noble Arch of vast Stones joined without Mortar, the Work of *Julius Caesar*, a curious Pyramid by *Augustus Caesar*, the Remnants of some ancient *Roman* Aquaducts, and another modern one, by which the Water is convey'd into the Town a great Way. From hence I travel'd to *Trukillo*, through a woody and mountainous Country: The Town itself is very well built, with several goodly Structures belonging to Persons of Quality; it has five Parish-Churches, as many Convents of Fryars, and four Nunneries: The Villages upon the Road were most of them very large, but the Dwellings only of Mudd; however, I took Notice by the Way of one spacious and noble Palace belonging to the *Conde de Lopezo*: I lodg'd at *Telaveyra de Royna*, a very handsome Country Town, having eight or nine Parish-Churches, thirteen Convents of Monks, and five Nunneries.

From hence I travel'd five good Leagues out of my Way to take a View of the City of *Toledo*, a magnificent Place, nobly built, and adorn'd with stately Churches, very rich in Plate and Jewels. The Image of our Lady in the Cathedral has a Garment cover'd all over with Pearl and precious Stones of an inestimable Value: The Paintings are answerable to the rest. It is the Metropolis of all *Spain*, and the Archbishoprick is accounted the most considerable for its Revenues in *Christendom*, though that of *Braga* disputes the Priority with it. The *Castilian* Language is spoken here in its Purity, and several great Councils have been held there. The present Archbishop is a Cardinal. The King's Palace or Castle is a spacious Pile of Building, and the Stables belonging to it are capable of containing at least five hundred Horse.

12. *Madrid* is only a Village, but may deservedly be called the largest of that Kind in *Europe*; the Soil round about it is not so mountainous as in *Portugal*, but very fruitful, which agrees best with the slothful Temper of the *Spaniards*. This Place, though the ordinary Residence of the Kings of *Spain*, is not seated in a very wholesome Air, occasioned, questionless, by the adjacent River, which is often dry: This River is a Branch of the *Tagus*, rising near *Toledo*, whence it continues its Course as far as *S. Terence*, fourteen Leagues beyond *Lisbon* in *Portugal*. The Buildings here are generally very good, of Brick, and some of the Streets regular, spacious and noble, but very dirty, nauseous, and full of Filth. Their Churches are for the most Part very fine. The Palace of the *Almirante* of *Castile* is highly remarkable for its excellent Pictures, in the Collection whereof the *Spanish* Lords spare no Cost; among the rest I took Notice of one done by *Titian*, representing *Ixion* embracing the Cloud; it was pawn'd to this Lord for five hundred Dubloons, much less than it was worth.

In the King's Summer-house, a little Way out of the Town, called *Buen Retiro*, I took Notice of many curious Pieces of Painting by *Titian*, *Raphael Urbin*, *Bor-donna*, *Annibal*, and *Vandyke*, but has nothing else remarkable either within or without, being built only of Brick, except that in the Garden you see the Statue of

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King

King *Philip IV.* on Horseback, finely done in Brass, placed on a Marble Pedestal. On the Canals are Pleasure-Boats, and some Summer-houses for the Musicians to divert the King; whilst he takes his Pleasure in these Boats upon the Canals. At the Entrance of the outer Court are the King's Stables, that for the Saddle-horses had at that Time about sixty, chosen out of all Nations; in those for the Coach-horses were three Setts of Black, as many of light Grey, all of *Flanders* Breed, one of dark Grey, and two Setts of very fine Duns, besides six Setts of Mules. Adjoining to these is the Armoury, a spacious handsome Room, fill'd with many curious Suits of Armour, belonging formerly to their Kings: Here they shew you divers Suits, once used by the great *Charles V.* with a Sword presented him by the Pope; his Armour is easily distinguished from others by our Lady's Image he always wore engraved on his Breast-piece; a large polish'd Steel Plate the said Emperor used instead of a Looking-glass when he put on his Armour, and an easy Chair, in which he slept, eat, drank, and dispatch'd Business when in the Camp; several other Suits of *Philip II.* *Philip III.* *Philip IV.* and among the rest, one for the late King *Charles II.* though it is certain he never wore any; it is double gilt, and set with precious Stones: Here you see also the Armour of that warlike Cardinal *Ildefonso*, and several Trophies and Colours taken from the *Turks*.

The outward Court of the Palace is a large Square, with Cloysters on both Sides, the Stables and Armoury fronting the Palace itself; it consists of two Quadrangles, with Cloysters both above and below; one of these Quadrangles is allotted for the King, the other for the Queen's Lodgings, but are not to be seen unless when the Court happens not to be there.

I passed through three or four indifferent Rooms (as far as they would let me go) to see the King at Dinner; the Dining Room was large, but indifferently furnish'd, the Room before it was less, but crufted over on the Walls with fine Jasper and Marble. The King has always twelve Dishes at Dinner, and eight at Supper, serv'd up in as many Silver Plates, and attended by as many Halberdiers, who make every one uncover as the Meat passes by. There is a glorious Appearance at Court every Day, as well of Coaches as a great Number of People, the Reason is, because all the chief Courts of Justice, belonging to the several Provinces under the *Spanish* Dominion are kept in the Palace.

Many of the Streets of *Madrid* have Fountains, but such as have nothing extraordinary in them. The *Placa Major*, where they keep their *Bull-feasts*, is a noble Square. The *Prado* of *S. Hieronimo* is sprinkled every Evening with Water out of the many Fountains placed there for the Conveniency of the Coaches that take the *Tour-a-la-mode* there. Cross the Water the King has another House, call'd *Casa del Campo*, where he refreshes himself sometimes in the Heat of the Summer under the cool shady Walks, the chief Conveniency of this Seat.

13. From *Madrid* I took a Turn to *Alcala de Henares*, or *Compostella*, in Latin *Complutum*, the greatest University (next to *Salamanca*) in *Spain*, founded by Cardinal *Ximenes*. The Buildings of the City itself are none of the best: The University-College, where all publick Exercises are kept, acknowledges the great Cardinal *Ildefonso* for its Founder; the other Colleges are, that of *Madre di Dios*, of *Malca*, the *Trilingue*, the King's College, that of *Mena*, of *Manrique*, of *S. Clement*, of *Lugo*, that of *Arragon*, of *Verdes*, of *S. Ambrose*, of *S. Catharine*, of *S. Dennis*, that of the *Russians*, and *S. George's* College, built and well endow'd by a *Portuguese* Count, for the Use of thirty *Irish* Students; but the Count dying before it was quite brought to Perfection, the King seiz'd on the greatest part of the Revenues, leaving only a slender Allowance for the Maintenance of eight Students, who are obliged by Oath, after seven Years Stay in the College, to preach the Gospel in some of the Northern Parts. There are besides these the Colleges of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and that of the *Grammarians*.

Their Convents of Monks are, those of the Order of *S. Austin*, of *S. Thomas*, *S. Basil*, *S. Bernard*, and that

for the *Complutenses*, the *Carmelites*, the *Oratory*, the *Jesuites*, two of the *Trinitarians*, the *Discalceats*, two of the *Mercenaries*, the *Minims*, the *Agonizants*, the *Austin Friars* *Discalceats*; the Convent of the Angels of *S. Diago*, *S. John de Dios*, and that of *Leon*, besides ten Nunneries. I heard one of their Disputations, and it seem'd very odd to me, that the Respondent, after having repeated the Opponent's Syllogism, did not answer in *Latin*, but in his native Tongue. Just before the high Altar in the Chapel of the University College stands a white Marble Tomb, containing the Body of the beforemention'd Cardinal *Ildefonso*, his Effigies in a cumbent Posture, all excellently done, and encompassed with Brass Grates; *Mahomet's* Lamp, and some *Turkish* Colours taken by him from the *Turks*, are hung up in the same Chapel.

The Cathedral here is a spacious and noble Fabrick, in which (among others) I took Notice of a white Marble Tomb with a *Latin* Inscription, erected to the Memory of *Dr. J. Gonzales*.

This City stood formerly on the other Bank of the River, at the Foot of an high Hill, but being laid desolate by the *Moors*, it was afterwards rebuilt in the Place where it now stands.

Over the Water, on an high Hill, in a little Chapel, they preserve a red Cross, which (they say) was sent down from Heaven and put into the Hand of one of their Kings, as he lay encamped against the *Moors*, who were entirely routed. In the Cathedral they shew you a miraculous Stone, which formerly afforded such Abundance of Oil, that they supplied all the Lamps of the Church with it; but those who look'd after it making a Gain of it, by selling it for other Uses, the Miracle ceased.

14. During my Stay at *Madrid*, I made another Excursion to take a View of the *Escorial*, that Wonder of the World, built by King *Philip II.* pursuant to a Vow he made before the Battle at *St. Quintin* against the *French*, and having obtain'd the Victory, he dedicated the Convent adjoining to the Palace to *S. Lawrence*, (it being his Day when the Battle was fought) and placed in it two hundred Friars of the Order of *S. Jerome*, under a Prior nominated by the King, and a College or Nursery for young Students. It is seated about seven Leagues from *Madrid*, among the Mountains in the Kingdom of *Toledo*, having to the East and West very delightful Plains watered with many Rivulets and Springs. Its Form is a large Square, each Side whereof is 2630 Foot long, with a fine Tower on each Corner; the Materials are a Sort of very hard Stone, spotted with grey; the greatest Part of the Architecture is of the *Dorick* Order, with some of the *Ionick*, *Corinthian*, *Composite* and *Tuscan*: The whole Fabrick is subdivided into four lesser Squares, which have sixteen Gates; the chief Entrance is on the West Side, through three Gates, over which stand the Statues of *S. Lawrence*, the Patron of this Fabrick, and in the Middle the Arms of *Spain*.

The first Quadrangle is two hundred and thirty foot long, and a hundred and twenty six broad: The Front of this inner Court is adorn'd with six Pillars of the *Dorick* Order sixty eight foot high, upon which are placed six Pedestals, and upon them as many Statues of the Kings of the old Testament, viz. *David*, *Solomon*, *Josias*, *Ezekias*, *Jehoshaphat* and *Manasses*, with Crowns of Brass on their Heads weighing a hundred Pound each, and the Scepters (of the same Metal) fifty Pound each; *David's* Harp, likewise of Brass, weighs no less than three hundred seventy five Pounds. Under each of these Kings are the following Inscriptions:

David	Solomon	Ezechias
Operis	Templum	Mundata
Exemplar	Domino	Domo
A Domino	Edificatum	Phase.
Recepit.	Dedicavit	Celebravit.
Josias	Jehoshaphat	Manasses
Volumen	Lucis	Contri
Legis	Ablatis	tus
Domini	Legem	Altare
Invenit.	Propagavit.	D. Instau
		ravit.

You enter into the *Church* by five Arches twenty eight Foot high and fourteen broad; the Length of the *Church* is three hundred sixty four foot, and its Breadth two hundred and thirty; its whole Height, from the Floor to the Cross on the Top of the *Cupola*, is three hundred and thirty foot; the Architecture is of the *Dorick* Order; it has six Isles, two of which make a Cross, the other four meeting into a Square; it has besides this twenty four noble Arches, fifty large Windows, and thirty nine Galleries with Silk Curtains: There are here also no less than twelve noble Crosses of Jasper-stone, set over so many Chapels, and forty Altars, in their peculiar Chapels, beautified with excellent Pictures of the Saints.

The Floor of the Church is pay'd with grey and black Marble, and the Isles are illuminated with a vast Number of large Silver Lamps; the Middle Isle alone has fourteen Balconies of two Yards three Quarters in Length. The grand Chapel is magnificent beyond what can be imagined, its Length is twenty Foot, the Breadth fifty, and the Height an hundred; you ascend into it by the middle Isle, by twelve Steps of the finest Jasper of Fifty three Foot long; the Chapel is parted from the Body of the Church by curiously wrought Rails of Brass gilt; the Paintings are very excellent here, suitable to the rest: It contains four Sorts of Architecture, which are ninety three Foot high, and forty nine broad, the first of the *Dorick* Order with six Pillars, the second of the *Ionick* with as many, the third is *Corinthian*, and the fourth the *Composite*, with two Pillars sustaining the Roof and Arches; they are all of the best Jasper, curiously polish'd, the Bases and Capitols of Brass gilt: In one of the Pillars of the *Dorick* Order is the *Custodia* or Place where the Sacrament is kept; on each Side is an Original of *Perugino* an *Italian*, one representing our Saviour's Birth, the other the Adoration of the three *Eastern* Kings; the four *Evangelists*, in Brass gilt, stand on the Sides of the Pillars: In the *Ionick* Order is painted S. *Lawrence's* Martyrdom, by the same *Perugino*: On the Sides are two Originals, one of Christ tied to a Pillar to be scourg'd, the other representing Christ bearing the Cross, by *Frederico Zuccherò*, and four Statues of Brass of as many ancient Fathers of the Church: In the *Corinthian* Order you see the Assumption of our Lady, and on the Sides the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, all Originals, painted by the same Hand: Between two Pyramids are two brazen Statues of S. *Andrew*, and S. *James* the Patron of *Spain*; the *Composite* Order has but two Pillars, and in the Middle of them our Saviour on the Cross, S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* on the Inside, and the Virgin *Mary* and S. *John* on the Outsides; they are all four of Brass, gilt, and thirteen Foot high each.

The *Custodia* or Box wherein the Sacrament is kept, is of a round Figure, made of various Stones; its Height is sixteen Foot, and its Diameter seven and a half, supported by eight Columns of *Diaspore*, imitating the Rainbow in their various Colours; they say, that this Stone is not to be wrought but by Diamonds, and that the Workmanship of this cost eighty thousand Ducats. Over the *Custodia* you see the Statues of the twelve Apostles, and at the Top the Resurrection of our Saviour. You enter into this Chapel (called the *Segrario*) by two Doors of Jasper, one on each Side, and ascend to the Altar by ten Steps of the same Stone, which also furnishes the Materials for the Floor; it has its Light through a curious Crystal Window on the East side with Iron Bars gilt; it is beautified with Pictures representing the Mystery of the Eucharist, with a Rainbow and many Angels over it. On the right Side of the Altar you see five Statues in Brass upon their Knees, of the Emperor *Charles V.* his Daughter, and two of his Sisters; on the other Side are placed the Arms of *Spain*, with five Statues underneath corresponding to the others, viz. one of King *Philip II.* of his Queen *Anne*, of two of his former Wives, and of his Son *Charles*. Under this Altar is the *Pantheon* or Burial-place of the Kings of *Spain* of the *Austrian* Family, of which more hereafter. This Church has re-

ceiv'd much additional Beauty by the excellent Paintings of the sacred History by the rare Hand of *Luquesto* an *Italian*.

15. Among their Relicks (of which, they say, they have something of every Saint) they shew some of the Hair of our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, as also some of their wearing Apparel, some Thorns of his Crown, and one of the Nails wherewith he was nail'd to the Cross, some Remnants of his purple Habit, divers Relicks of St. *John* the Baptist, of the Apostles, Martyrs, and the entire Body of S. *Lawrence*, the Head of S. *Jerome*, and the Heads of several other Saints. They tell you, that they have no less than five hundred and fifty *Pixes* and *Chalices* of Gold, Silver and Chrystal, among which they shew one said to have been offered to our Saviour by one of the three Eastern Kings. In the Middle of the Isle is the *Choir*, fronting the Chapel, its Length is ninety six Feet, its Breadth fifty six, its Height forty eight, the Floor cover'd with the same Marble as the Church, and the Walls painted with the Martyrdom of S. *Lawrence* and S. *Jerome*, the first by *Romulo*, the last by the just mention'd *Luquesto*, who has also painted the Glories of Heaven on the Top: It is illuminated by a Chrystal Branch of twenty eight Lights, the Present of the late King *Charles II.* and has two Orders of Seats curiously wrought with precious Wood: On each Side is an Organ, with cross Galleries gilt, and in the Church are six more, one of Silver, the Gift of *Charles* the Fifth.

The Sacristy is a hundred and eight Foot long, and thirty broad, the Pavement of Marble of divers Colours, and the Cieling and Walls painted with the best Originals (thirty four in Number) of sacred History, the Gift of *Philip IV.* by the greatest Masters in that Art, viz. *Titian*, *Raphael Urbin*, *Paulo Veronese*, *Tintoret*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *de Bordonon*, *Guido Bolognese*, *Annibal*, *Caracche*, *Van Dike*, and others. Near the Sacristy you descend by Steps of the best Marble into the *Pantheon*, containing the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Spain* of the *Austrian* Family, being esteem'd the finest Piece of this kind in *Europe*. Over one of the Gates, (which are of Brass gilt) underneath the Arms of *Spain*, you see upon a black Marble this Inscription in golden Letters:

D. O. M.

Locus Sacer mortalitatis exuvils

Catholicorum Regum.

A Restauratore Vitæ, cujus Aræ Max.

Austriaca adhuc pietate subjacent.

Optatam Diem expectantium.

Quam post suam sedem sibi & suis

Carolus Caesarum Max. in votis habuit,

Philippus Ildus Regum Prudentissimus elegit,

Philippus IIIus verè pius inchoavit,

Philippus IVus

Clementia, Constantia, Religione Magn. Auxit,

Ornavit, absolvit; M. D. C. LIV.

The Arms of *Spain*, cut in precious Stone and richly gilt, are placed here between two Statues of Brass gilt, one representing the Fall of Man the other the Hope of a Resurrection. This Door brings you by the beforemention'd Steps of the finest Jasper and Marble into the *Pantheon*, which is overcrusted with the same, and most artificially polished; its Form is round without, and octagonal within, in each of the Squares being repositied the Urns for the Royal Bodies, four in each Square; there were then in all twenty six of these Urns, of grey Marble, supported by four Lion's Paws of Brass gilt; of the same Metal there is an oval Figure in the middle of each of these Urns, containing the Names of such royal Persons as are interr'd there, in black Letters. In the Square fronting the Door stands the Altar, and upon it a large Cross of Brass gilt, fixed within another of black Marble, of which also the whole Altar is compos'd, except that it has some curious Ornaments of the choicest *Porphyry*: On each Side of the said Cross stands a Pillar of

of green *Genoua* Marble, with brass Bases and Capitols gilt. On the Gospel-side of the Altar lie inter'd the Bodies of *Charles V.* *Philip II.* *Philip III.* and *Philip IV.* and on the other Side such of their Queens as brought them forth Issue, such as die without being not admitted to be buried here, but in another Sepulchre allotted for the Branches of the Royal Family. The *Pantheon* is enlightened by a curious Branch of Brass gilt, with twenty four Lights; the Floor is cover'd with the same Stone as the Walls, and wrought into the Figure of Stars.

The Convent has no fewer than five Cloysters, the biggest being no less than eight hundred Foot square, painted all about with the Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our Saviour. The old Chapel affords three excellent Pieces, that of *St. Lawrence* on the Gridiron in the Middle, and on both Sides the Offering of the three Eastern Kings, and Christ's Sepulchre, both by *Titian*, besides divers other Originals of sacred History of the best Masters: They boast here of one of the Innocents Bodies entire, of one of the Waterpots in which Christ turn'd Water into Wine at the Wedding of *Canaan*, and of one of the Bars of the Gridiron on which *St. Lawrence* was broil'd; but these are not to be seen by Hereticks. In the Refectory you see a celebrated Piece, by *Titian*, of the Lord's Supper, brought hither from *England* during the Exile of King *Charles II.* and pawn'd for 15,000 *l.* Sterling.

I had no Opportunity of seeing the Royal Palace, which is not very large, and was told it contain'd little of Moment except the Paintings; but the Library must be own'd a noble lofty Structure, two hundred Foot long and thirty six high, the Stalls of the Books (which are all letter'd on the Back) being of Cedar and other precious foreign Woods: it has seven Pillars of the *Dorick* Order, the Floor is cover'd with white and grey Marble, and the Ceiling with curious Paintings representing the Arts and Sciences, and the most celebrated Authors, by *Perugino*; but those Histories of Arts and Sciences you see under the Cornishes, are of the excellent Hand of *Bartholomew Carducho*. In the Middle of the same Room stand seven Tables of Jasper and Marble, and two of *Porphyry*, with Globes and Spheres placed upon them. They preserve also some ancient Medals and Writings on the Bark of Trees; their most valuable Manuscripts are, *De Baptismo Puerorum* of *St. Austin's* own Writing, a Piece of *St. Chrysostom*, *Apocalypsis de Sancto Amadeo*, four Books writ by *St. Theresa*, a Letter of *St. Vincent*, the Original of *St. Lewis Beltram* of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, with divers other Pieces of *St. Gregory*, *St. Anastase*, and *St. Chrysostom*.

The most excellent Paintings on the Ceiling of the Church, and over the great Stairs, by that great modern Artist *Luca Giordano* a *Neapolitan*, and but lately finish'd at the late King's Expence, are no small Addition to the Beauty and Glory of this stupendious Fabrick, which I was told contain'd, with every Thing belonging to it, above thirty-six Leagues in Circuit; certain it is that there belong to this Structure fifteen Cloysters, eleven Courts, twenty-five Fountains, thirteen Statues of Stone, and thirty eight of Brass gilt; the Number of original and other choice Pictures is computed at 1602, besides 540 more on the Walls; the Copies of Landships, Fruits, &c. are not to be number'd: It has besides this nine Refectories, five Infirmaries, two fine Apartments for the Reception of Strangers, and nine Kitchens; it was twenty-four Years before it was finished, and cost King *Philip II.* six Millions wanting only two thousand Ducats, unto which adding the Charge of the *Pantheon* and other additional Buildings, and the Reparations made after the Fire happen'd in 1671, the whole Charge has been computed at no less than eight Millions of Ducats. I have nothing to add to the Description of this wonderful Piece, except the curious Walk of double Rows of Elm-trees, leading from the little Town below to this Royal Foundation.

17. I left *Madrid*, Dec. 3, 1694, and lodg'd the first Night at *Valdemore*, whence I turn'd somewhat out of the Road the next Day to go to *Aranjuez*, moved

with a Curiosity to view the King's Palace there, the Situation of which among Woodlands (a Rarity scarce ever to be met with in this Country) put me in Mind of my native Country *England*. For the rest, the House is but ordinary for a Royal Palace, the Gardens and Walks not very large, yet better contriv'd than any I ever saw either in *Spain* or *Portugal*; here are many excellent Statues and Fountains, brought hither from all Parts by the Emperor *Charles V.* and those that are more modern are very good ones; the great Number of these Statues, of Brass and Marble, together with the pleasant Fountains all along the shady Walks and Arbours of large Elms, and some Oak and Ash, (great Rarities here as well as in *Portugal*) render this Place very delightful, its Situation being between two Hills, upon the very Banks of the River *Tagus*, from whence some Walks run up the Hills for a League together, yet the Air is esteemed not extraordinary healthful. Here the King keeps his best Male Asses for Breeding.

I lodged the next Night at *Ocanno*, a Place noted for the best *Castile-Soap*, and the following Night at *Corral de Almoguer*. As the Road betwixt *Madrid* and *Alicant* is passably good for a Coach, so the Country is generally fertile in Corn, Oil and Wines, and the rocky Parts produce Abundance of Rosemary, Thyme, and such-like Sweet-herbs, wherewith they feed their Sheep and Goats. The next Place I came to was *Albarzete*, noted for good Knives, Daggers, and Scissars; notwithstanding this the extream Poverty of the Country-People, and consequently the ill Accommodation one meets with upon the Road, (where you are oftentimes destitute of Provender for your Horses, a Bed, nay, Bread and Wine) renders Travelling very difficult and tedious in *Spain*; however, I got at last safe to *Alicant*, the 13th of *December*, after a Journey of ten Days in a Calash.

18. The Town of *Alicant* is pleasantly seated betwixt Hills along the Sea side, where there is a continual Passage of Ships bound to or from the *Mediterranean*; it suffered much in the late War with the *French*, who with three Bomb-Vessels threw in about 4700 Bombs, and destroy'd six hundred Houses; they told it as a great Miracle, that above three hundred of the *French* Bombs fell upon the Cathedral dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, of which one only pierced through the Roof, whereas the whole Miracle was only to be attributed to the strong *Cupola's* and *Arches* which cover it. The *French* bombarded the Town with incredible Dexterity, throwing their Bombs even over the Castle, that stands a good Way above the Town, upon so high an Hill, that I had enough to do to get up to it, though when I came there I found nothing worth the Trouble I had taken, except a fine Prospect, the whole *Spanish* Garrison consisting of only five or six Guards, and perhaps as many Guns. *Alicant* is of no Strength, and the People so unfit to defend it, that at the Time of the *French* Bombardment they all retir'd into the Mountains, not excepting the Officers themselves, and had certainly deserted the Place, had not one Mr. *Newland*, an *English* Merchant, ply'd the *French* with two Guns from the Mole, and by his Example encourag'd some of them not to leave the Place to the *French*.

19. The Gentlemen here of *Valentia*, both in their Dress and Actions, much more imitate the *French* than the *Castilians*; they are of a hasty, vain and base Temper, and so bigotted to their foolish Niceties, or *Spanish Punctilio's*, that upon a very slender Occasion they will either murder one another themselves, or hire others to do it, there being many of that Sort of Mercenaries in this Country, who will sacrifice any Man for a few Pieces of Eight, which they commonly perform by Shooting. These Murthers produce sometimes no small Disorders, the Friends of the murder'd Party thinking themselves oblig'd to revenge his Death, go in strong Parties, some a hundred in a Body, arm'd each with five Guns, (one Fussee, and four lesser ones in the Girdle) and so going into the Field, surprize one another wherever they can, it being their Principle not to attack their Enemy but upon a manifest Advantage; I was told there were

at that time two such Parties in the Mountains of forty on a Side each, and I was credibly inform'd, that not long ago two such-like Fellows were executed at *Valentia*, who confess'd that one of them had murdered thirty three Persons, and the other no less than seventy seven. The Government of the Kingdom of *Valentia* is administred by a *Viceroy*, but the Town of *Alicant* has its peculiar *Governor*, who commands also the Garrison when they have any, all their standing Forces thereabouts consisting in a few Troops of Horse, and some Foot Militia, for the Defence of the Coast.

The City contains betwixt thirty and forty thousand Communicants; their Civil Administration is by a Justice, like our Mayors, and some Aldermen; it has six Convents of religious Men, viz. the *Jesuites*, *Dominicans*, *Austin Friars*, *Carmelites*, *Franciscans*, and *Capuchins*; two Nunneries, the *Monges de la Sangue* and *Capuchins*; and as many Parish Churches, *S. Nicholas* and *S. Mary's*. For the rest, *Spain* is at present in a very low Condition, through the weak Administration of the Queen-Mother, the King's Want of Education, and the Feuds among the *Grandees*, which has depriv'd them of all their former Strength both by Sea and Land, for Want of Money, Provisions, and all other Things requisite for the Maintenance of a Fleet and Army; and what is worse, without any future Prospect of having these Things redress'd. It is true, the King's Revenues are very great, but being anticipated, little of them comes into the King's Coffers; for the *Spanish Indies* are computed to amount to ten Millions a Year in their Revenues to the Crown, and their Seaport Towns must needs bring in considerable Customs, were it not that the Officers are both remiss and corrupted in their Places.

20. About half a League from *Alicant* is a famous Convent of Nuns, whither there is a great Resort of Pilgrims, to pay their Devotions to the *Sancta Faz* or *Holy Face* kept in this Nunnery; among these are especially many Seamen, who when they leave *Alicant*, frequently make a Vow of performing their Devotions here after their safe Return, which they perform barefooted after a prosperous Voyage. The Story of this *Holy Face* runs thus:

Our Saviour going to his Crucifixion, a certain Woman call'd *Veronica*, who was just then moulding Dough, and had a Napkin girt about her, coming out of her House at the Noise of the People, and seeing our Saviour's Face all dropping with Blood and Sweat, took the folded Napkin and so wiped his Face, the Impression whereof remained upon the three Folds; these the Church has preserv'd as holy Relicks, one whereof (they say) is at *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, the other in a Convent near *Malaga*, and the third here, which (they say) came hither over Sea, and landing in *Valentia*, upon the Confines of two Parishes, a great Contest arose which of them it belong'd to; to decide this Difference it was agreed to blind a certain Person, who should walk for some time with the *Sancta Faz* thereabouts, and that those should be Masters of it in whose Precinct he happened to drop it; which was done accordingly, and it happening to fall in this Place, a Convent and Church was founded for its Preservation. Its Virtue was the first time experienced in a great Drought, when being carry'd in Procession, it rain'd immediately, and that in great Abundance. By Permission of one of the Fathers I had Liberty given me to look upon it a second time, as near as the Glass in which it is enclos'd would allow of, and found it rather to resemble the Face of a Child, than a Man of that Age, as our blessed Saviour, at the Time of his Suffering, which made me look upon the whole as fabulous; and I remember, a certain *Italian Painter* seeing it, did not stick to say, *It was the worst Daubing he ever saw*. Once a Year, viz. the 17th of *March*, there is a great Feast celebrated at *Alicant* in Memory of this *Holy Face*, when 'tis brought into the City, upon which Occasion great Rejoycings are to be seen every where, and the Night generally concludes with Bonfires and a fine Firework. During my Stay at *Alicant*, I had the Oppor-

tunity of seeing divers of their Processions, and among the rest, that on *Corpus Christi Day*, one of the most celebrated in those Parts: The first Pageant represented the History of *Adam* and *Eve*, how the Serpent entic'd her, how they eat the forbidden Fruit, and were threatened by the Angel with a naked Sword: The next, *Abraham's* Sacrifice of his Son *Isaac*, acted by living Persons, who (as we were told) were Fishermens' Children, and had their Lessons taught by the Priests, and their Pay from the Town for their acting. These Pageants are made upon Waggon, with Boards laid upon them, both the Stages and Actors being thus drawn by Men along the Streets; these were followed by certain Giants, to personate the *Gentiles*, after whom came a Serpent representing Temptation, and after this a Dragon with his Mouth wide open, to represent Hunger: Next to these came the several Companies of Tradesmen with their Banners; then the *Capuchins*, *Carmelites*, *Austin Friars*, and *Franciscans*, each carrying the Image of the Founder of their Order, and that of the Virgin *Mary*, splendidly attir'd; then followed some Morris-dancers, and after them some Churchmen of Note, and a few little Children dress'd up like Angels, strewing Flowers before the Bishop, who walk'd under a Canopy, carrying the Host.

21. We have in this Section a very good Supplement to the last, for the Author, who travelled only for his Pleasure, and by Way of Diversion from the Fatigues of Business, enters into no deep political Speculations, but keeps pretty much to the Surface of Things, and tells us in what Light they appeared to him, at the Time of his Passage. What he says of *Portugal* is certainly very just, and we have good Reason to believe that Things are not much mended there at this Day. Yet this Country is justly esteemed the finest Part of *Spain*, if it be considered as having belonged to it, both in earlier Times, and little more than one hundred Years ago. It lies very conveniently for Health, for Pleasure and Commerce, along the Sea-side, several large navigable Rivers running through, and emptying themselves into the Ocean in its several Provinces, and thereby making many, and some of them excellent Ports, at the same Time that the Trade through the Country is by the same Means much facilitated.

The Kingdom of *Portugal* may boast of as fine a Climate, as almost any Country in *Europe*, for though from its Southern Situation it is very hot, yet this is so tempered by Breezes from the Sea, as not only to become very tolerable, but also very pleasant. It may also boast of as much Variety as almost any Country, for the Northern Provinces are mountainous, and this renders them cool and wholesome, though less fruitful than the plain and flat Country about *Lisbon*; and here, as well as in *Spain*, it has been remarked that these Provinces are more populous and better cultivated than where the Soil is more indulgent, which renders the People vicious and lazy, consequently indigent, and in a wretched Condition. In the former Part of this Volume we have treated so largely of *Brazil*, and in our first Volume said so much of the Rise and Progress of the Naval Power of *Portugal*, the Empire she once had in the *East-Indies*, the Manner in which it declined, and the very low State to which it is at present reduced, that there is no Necessity of adding any Thing on those Subjects here. But it may not be amiss to observe, that, how paradoxical soever it may seem, yet there is good Reason to doubt, whether the Diamond and Gold Mines that have been discovered of late Years in *Brazil*, have been so very advantageous to this Country as is generally supposed.

To explain this Notion it will be sufficient to hint to the Reader, that, independent of its Plantations, *Portugal* is very far from being a poor Country, or destitute of the Means of carrying on a very extensive Commerce. The Proportion in Extent between the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal* is, upon a fair Computation, thought to be as six to one, and yet it is believed that the Commodities and Manufactures are very nearly equal, that is to say, though *Portugal* is but a

sixth Part as big as *Spain* yet the Produce of the former is equal to that of the latter. This consists chiefly in Wool, Wine, Oyl, Oranges, Lemons, Raisins, Figs, and other kinds of Fruit, with various other Commodities of less Value. There is likewise in *Portugal* a very rich Silver Mine, by good Judges esteemed the best in *Europe*, from whence there has been sometimes drawn three hundred thousand Pounds Sterling a Year. Yet with all these Advantages, and though there appears to be a vast Trade at *Lisbon*, *Porto*, and other Places, the Advantages which the Inhabitants derive therefrom, are very far from being so considerable as might be expected. The great, indeed almost the sole Cause of this is, their having little or no Turn to Trade themselves; so that, as in *Spain*, the whole is in a good Manner managed by Foreigners.

Immediately after the Accession of the House of *Bragança* to the Throne, it fell almost intirely into the Hands of the *French*, and what little escaped them, was managed by the *Italians*. But the Crown of *France* affecting to treat the late King of *Portugal* with great Haughtiness, that Prince, who was a Man of Spirit and of Parts, took such Measures as threw the Commerce of his Kingdom into other Hands, and upon the *French* King's prohibiting *Brazil* Tobacco and Sugar, he prohibited, in his Turn, most of the *French* Commodities and Manufactures. About the same Time he set up Silk Looms in *Lisbon*, and other Places, which destroyed the Trade of the *Genoese*, *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The *Dutch* became then Masters of this Trade, in which also we had some small Share; which increasing by Degrees, and the late War about the *Spanish* Succession giving fair Occasion to a closer Correspondence between the two Nations, we soon rivall'd, and at last surpass'd the *Dutch*.

But how this Trade stands at present, is a Question I am not well able to determine: Certain it is, that we seem to have still a Superiority over all other Nations, and employ in it a great Number of Ships that export vast Quantities of our own Manufactures. On the other Hand, we import also prodigious Quantities of theirs; and though from Time to Time considerable Sums in Gold come over from thence, which looks as if the Balance was still greatly in our Favour; yet there want not some Suspensions, that a considerable Part of this Treasure arises not from the *Portuguese* Trade, but from the Balance of our Trade with *Holland*, which is paid us in *Portuguese* Gold by the *Dutch*; and, if there be any Truth in this, it alters the Case greatly. But however, let that Matter be as it will, two very important Deductions may be made from thence; the first is, that from their not carrying on Trade in their own Bottoms, the *Portuguese* are immense Losers notwithstanding the vast Cargoes they bring Home annually from *Brazil*; the other is, that the *British* Nation are great Gainers by the Balance of their Trade, whether that Balance arises from the *Dutch* or the *Portuguese*; so that on the Whole we see, that the surest Mark of a flourishing Trade is the Number of Ships employed; for while Navigation increases, Trade increases; and, whenever it declines, Commerce must decline with it.

Our Author's Reflections upon what he saw in his Travels through *Spain*, are very pertinent and natural; and he appears to have represented the Country, the Towns and the Inhabitants, with the utmost Candour and Veracity. It is certain, that he saw *Spain* in the very worst State she ever was, or indeed any Country could be in, which was towards the Close of the Reign

of *Charles II.* when her Councils were weak and distracted, her Treasures exhausted, her People impoverished and distressed, her Armies consumed, and her Armada's, from being the Terror, become the Contempt of all *Europe*. It will appear very strange for a Man to advance it seriously; yet I must confess it is my own Opinion, that the War, occasioned by the *Spanish* Succession, notwithstanding all the Inconveniences that attended it, rather helped than hurt the *Spanish* Affairs. The Nation, at the Time of the Death of *Charles II.* was in a Kind of Lethargy; and though this Accident threw her into violent Convulsions; yet even these were Signs of Life, and in that Light favourable Symptoms. Had there been a Reign or two more of those sleepy Monarchs, their vast Dominions in *Europe*, *Asia* and *America* must have been broke to Pieces; whereas, notwithstanding the War, they remain tolerably whole.

It is indeed true, that their Country became the Scene of Action, which it could not be without suffering from it; but, on the other Hand, this very Circumstance brought great Sums of Money into it, and kept a great Part of their *American* Treasure at Home, Things unknown in *Spain* for two Ages before. It may, indeed, be said, and said with Truth, that a very large Part of the Treasure that arrived from *New Spain*, came into the *French* King's Coffers: But even this was no Detriment to the *Spaniards*, if the Thing be consider'd in its true Light; for, in the first Place, none of these Treasures could have been received, if they had not been escorted by *French* Ships of War; and, in the next, *France* employ'd those Sums, and more, in Supporting the Interest of *Spain*; so that the Nation lost nothing thereby, but was rather helped.

What proves to a Demonstration, that this is not merely a Conjecture, or a political Notion plausibly defended is this, that after the War was entirely over, and the late King *Philip* fixed upon the Throne, both his Armies and his Fleets were in a much better Condition than *Spain* had seen any for a whole Age before; which enabled him to attempt, and would have enabled him to have reunited *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to his Crown, if the *British* Fleet had not interposed and crushed his new-raised Naval Force in the *Streights of Messina*. A very great Stroke, this was esteemed, by those who consider'd it barely as a Victory at Sea; but to Men of another Cast of Mind, who meditate the Revolutions of Power, and the Mutations of Empire, it appeared in a much stronger Light, as it frustrated the Schemes of Cardinal *Alberoni*, and compelled his Master to part with a Minister, whose Genius was capable of restoring the Forces of that Monarchy, and rendering *Spain* almost as terrible under the Government of the peaceable and pious *Philip V.* as it had been under the ambitious and politick *Philip II.*

Since that Time *Spain* has been govern'd by a Kind of second Rate *Genii*, under the Influence of a female Spirit, restless, ambitious, and at the same Time avaritious and intriguing; so that the People are almost in their old Condition; and while they are flatter'd with the Hopes of conquering Principalities Abroad, and giving Laws to *Europe*, they are sinking under the Weight of a weak and arbitrary Government, into Slavery, Poverty, and Distress at Home. If any Thing can save them, it must be a Peace, when King *Ferdinand* the Sixth will find himself in a Condition to act according to his own Inclinations, which are said to be entirely *Spanish*; and that his Desire of settling the Infant Don *Philip* in *Italy*, arises chiefly from their being a Sea between that Country and *Spain*.

SECTION III.

The TRAVELS of *Philip Skippon*, Esq; afterwards *Sir Philip Skippon*, and the Reverend Mr. *John Ray*, through the best Part of the Kingdom of *France*; interspersed with a great Variety of historical, political, philosophical and mechanical Remarks and Observations.

Collected from the JOURNALS of those ingenious Persons.

1. *An Introductory Account of Sir Philip Skippon, and of the Subject of this Section. Their Departure from the Territories of Geneva, and their Arrival in those of France.*
2. *An elegant and exact Description of the City of Lyons, particularly of the Cathedral Church of St. John, the famous Clock there, and the Cabinet of Curiosities belonging to Mr. Servier.*
3. *Their Journey to and Description of the ancient City of Grenoble, and of the most remarkable Things therein.*
4. *A very curious and circumstantial Relation of the Grand Chartreuse, and of the Manner in which the Monks live there.*
5. *Their Journey from Grenoble to Orange, with an Account of the principal Places they met with, and of the Face of the Country between those two Cities.*
6. *The City of Orange particularly described, in the State it was then in under the Minority of the late King William the Third.*
7. *Their Journey from Orange to Avignon: A Description of this last-mentioned City, and of the most remarkable Edifices therein.*
8. *The Country between Avignon and Nîmes described. A full Account of this City, and of the Antiquities there.*
9. *An Account of the City of Montpellier, and the Observations of our Travellers there. The History of the Manufacture of Verdigrease. The Art of Bleaching Wax.*
10. *A particular Description of the Confectio Alkermes. The Method of making Oil from Olives. The Burning Fountain at Peroul.*
11. *Their Excursion from Montpellier to Frontignan. The Method of making Raisins of the Sun, and other Raisins.*
12. *Their Travels along the Sea-Coast, with an Account of what they observed most remarkable in their Journey.*
13. *Another Journey of theirs, with some Account of the great Cities of Marseilles and Toulon. The Method of Planting and Curing Capers.*
14. *Their Journey from Lyons to Paris, and a short Account of the principal Places they passed through upon the Road.*
15. *A Description of Paris by Mr. Skippon, interspersed with many curious Particulars.*
16. *Remarks upon the French Nation, and a particular Account of a very singular Transaction during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.*
17. *The State and Revenue of the Clergy of France.*
18. *Mr. Skippon's Return to England.*
19. *Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. **W**E are now, according to our Promise, to resume the Thread of Mr. Ray's Travels, who, in his Return from *Italy*, passed through the Kingdom of *France*; but for the Reasons which have been already assigned, his Accounts of that Country are far less copious and distinct than those he has left us of *Italy*: Yet this is in some Measure supplied by the Journal of *Philip Skippon*, Esq; afterwards *Sir Philip Skippon*, whom we have mentioned before, and who was the Companion of Mr. Ray, from the Time they left *England* till this Gentleman left him, for the Sake of returning more speedily to *England*, at *Paris*. *Sir Philip Skippon* was a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning, as appears from the excellent Journal of his Travels, which being drawn up with regard to his private Use only, and not for the publick View, is an exceptionable Testimony of his Candour, good Sense, and Impartiality. He was a Man of an ample Fortune, and travelled purely for the Sake of Improvement and Amusement. He was therefore extremely inquisitive, where-ever he came, into all that might furnish him with Knowledge or Pleasure; and he kept so exact an Account of every Thing he saw, and designed with his own Hand, so accurately, every Engine or Machine, that he thought worthy taking Notice of, that one cannot help wondering, considering the Pains he took in viewing Things, how he found Time to describe them so carefully, and to accompany them with his Reflections.

At his Return Home, he led a retired, or at least a studious Life, as appears from the Books which composed his Library, and are now dispersed. In the Title Page of each of them is his Name, and the Year when they were bought or given to him, written in a very fair *Italian* Hand; and many of them have very

learned Notes, judicious Corrections, or pertinent and pleasing Remarks upon their Margins. Thus much I thought due to the Memory of this Gentleman, as having seen many of those Books, and possess'd some. We will now come to the proper Business of the Section, and open it from his Journal, which is much more exact and full than what Mr. Ray thought fit to publish; though nothing can be better than the Accounts of the latter, which he thought proper for publick View; and therefore we have brought both into this Section for the Reader's Convenience, in their Order of Time; so that they are intermixed but not blended, that it may be seen to which of these Authors the Accounts, Remarks and Observations belong.

Wednesday, July 19, (says Mr. Skippon) we hired Horses of the *Chasse Marin*, for four Crowns a Piece, (our Diet included) and allowed for the Carriage of our Portmanteau's two Sols for every four Pounds Weight, above what was allow'd, and left *Geneva* about Eleven of the Clock, then passed over *Pont d'Arve*, where there is a *Geneva* Guard, and over the Bridge is the Duke of *Savoy's* Guard, that searches for Salt, &c. We went through two or three Villages belonging to *Geneva*, and, after two or three Leagues riding, ferried over the *Rosne*, paying five Sols a Man. Half a League further we came through *Coulonge*, a Village where the *French* King's Officers search Passengers, Portmanteaus, &c. Half a League from thence we rode in a narrow Passage between the Mountains, divided by the *Rosne* on the left Hand of us, and passing through a small Port called *Clusa*, (where six or seven *French* Soldiers keep Guard) were examined whence we came, &c. About two Leagues thence we observed the Place where the River *Rhosne*, in the Winter-time, runs under great Stones for about half a Stone's Cast, after it passed through

through a Channel three or four Yards broad. Half a League farther brought us to our Lodging at *Chastillon*.

The 20th, We set forward about Four in the Morning, and rode thro' mountainous Ways, passing by a Fall of Water called *Pisse Vache*, which *Golnitz*, in his Itinerary, says, runs under Ground into a Lake called *la Bougie*, that was on our left Hand. *La Bougie* is divided into two Parts by a Wall, one Part is marshy, belonging to *St. Germain*, the other belongs to *Nantua*, filled with Water and stored with Fish. We travelled through *Nantua*, a long Town with *Portici* like those of the *Rue-bas* at *Geneva*; it is seated at the End of the Lake we had on our Left Hand. This Place is noted for good Needles. It is three Leagues from *Chastillon*. Three Leagues farther we baited at *Cerdon*, having rode between Box-hedges and a hilly Way, making a steep Descent just before we arrived at *Cerdon*, where our *Chasse Marin* changed his Horses. After Dinner, we ascended a rocky Hill, and then enter'd a Plain which continues to *Lyons*. Two Leagues from *Cerdon* we ferried over the River *D'Aine*, and three Leagues thence lodged at *Verbonne*. This Day we took Notice of the Shepherds Huts made of Straw, and placed on little Carts.

2. On the 21st, at Break of Day, we mounted, and, after two Leagues riding, came through a walled Place, and three Leagues thence rode through hilly Ways till we came to *Lyons*, where we first went through a Suburb full of Victualling-houses. At the Gate we received a Billet to lodge in the Town, then made a steep Descent in a well paved Way, and after weighing of our Portmanteau's, we took up our Lodging at the *Ecu d'Or*, or Crown of *France*. This is a very fair City, Part situated at the Meeting of the *Soane* and *Rhofne*, and Part on the other Side of the *Soane*; the Houses are high and well built, only defaced by the Raggedness of their Paper Windows. There is a great Commerce carried on here, and large Shops full of all Sorts of Wares.

We staid at *Lyons* till the 25th of July, and remarked these Particulars: The *Maison de la Ville* is a very handsome Fabrick, having a fair square Piazza before it, with a large Fountain. On one Side of the Piazza is a stately Front erecting. The Rooms we saw here have these Names; *la Chambre Consulaire*, where the Provost and four Eschevins sit; *la Chambre de la Conservation*, where the Merchants sit. In the Great Hall are the Pictures of the fourteen *Lewis's*, Kings of *France*; the Roof painted. Another Hall with the Pictures of the Eschevins; a little Chamber for Banquets, &c. *S. Nicy* is a pretty Church. *La Charitie* is the Hospital, a great Building. *N. Dame de Fourrier* is on the other Side the *Soane*, built on the highest Ground, where there is a small Pyramid erected to the Virgin *Mary*. Here we had a full Prospect of the City. Before another is a small Pyramid, and thereon is inscribed the Name of God, and Unity, and Trinity, in several Languages.

Without *St. Just's* Gate is a large Suburb; the *Car-melites*, that go barefooted, have a pleasant Convent with large Gardens, whence a pleasant View of the Town. The Fryars in this City are very importunate Beggars, coming into Strangers Chambers. The Feast of *St. James* was kept while we were here, and we saw this Procession. First went a great Banner, then a great Cake or Loaf, (called *Pain Benedict*) upon a Fellow's Head; after that two Pipes and a little Drum, which made some Musick in the Interval between the Fryars Singing. *Belle Cour* is a spacious wide Space, where there is a Mall and a pleasant Walk of Trees by it. Mr. *Palmer*, Brother to the Earl of *Castlemain*, was at this Time in *Lyons*, at the Academy Royal, and who lately turned Papist. The Protestants are about 2000 Families in this City, and have a Temple at *St. Romain*, two Leagues up the *Soane*. Monsieur *Moze*, an Apothecary and a Protestant was very civil to us.

The Monument of the two Lovers is on the other Side the *Soane*; it seems to have been some Roman Building, and is built of great Stones. Two Forts, *la*

Pierre Scize on the *Soane* Side; for *St. Jean* is on the same Side with the Body of the City. The *Soane* is a very slow River, and there are cross it one Stone and two wooden Bridges. On one of them a Customer demands a Liard of every one that passes over. *St. Jean* is the Cathedral, which is large, and remarkable for a Clock with Motions like that at *Strasbourg*; every Hour a Cock on the Top claps his Wings twice, and crows twice; after that an Angel comes out of a Door and salutes the Virgin *Mary*, and at the same Time the Holy Ghost descends, and God the Father gives the Benediction. The minute Motion hath an oval Circle, and yet the Handle or Index always touches the Circumference. Invented by *M. Servier*.

We had good Luck in seeing this *M. Servier's* Cabinet, his Humour being very difficult. He was a Soldier in his younger Days; but about twenty-two Years ago he retired hither, and invented many ingenious Pieces of Clock-work, Machines of Water, &c. which he hath described with his Pen, and bound them up together in a thick Folio, and made the Models of them in Wood with his own Hand. These Things we took Notice of, which we had not before seen in *Italy* and *Germany*. The Hand of a Minute Watch moved every Time the Ball springs up; in a certain Engine, a Lizard creeping up a perpendicular Rule, shews the Hour of the Day. A Mouse creeping upon a Rule, placed horizontally, doth the like. These are done by Magnets; An Hour-Glass that turns of itself, when the Sand is run out, and at the same Time the Hour Figure placed over the Glass, is changed. Several hydraulic Machines. An Atlas bearing a Globe, and upon its Equator was shewn the Hour of the Day. The Clock upon a declining Plane does not go when placed upon an horizontal Plane. A Ball put in at the Mouth of a winding Serpent runs through it, and afterwards passes up the Tail of another placed on a moveable Axis, and comes out of his Mouth. A Tortoise put into a Bason of Water, will never stand still till he points to the Time of the Day. A *Balestra* to shoot *Granada's* at a certain Distance. A Circle, with the several Humours of Persons written on it, and if you touch the Gnomon or Index, it will point to the Humour (as is pretended) of him that touches it. A Door that opens both Ways. Two Gates, when one shuts, the other opens. Two Dials, a pretty Distance from one another, moving the Index of the one, turns the Index of the other; but when *M. Servier* took a little Piece of Iron or Load-stone (colour'd white) out of the Point or End of the Index that was moved, the other would not stir. A Cannon to shoot downwards; it is placed on a declining Carriage, an Axis with Cords winds it backwards and forwards, and when the Cannon comes to the further End, a Circle of Lead is round the Mouth. We were told, that the *Germans* living in *Lyons* have great Privileges; that they have distinct Courts to judge Civil and Criminal Matters, and when they make Harangues to the King they speak standing.

3. The 25th, Hiring a Postilion for a *Louis d'Or* a Man, we left *Lyons*, and rode over a long Stone Bridge, cross the *Rhofne*, and then passed through a large Suburb, and entered on a large Plain, where we travelled four Leagues, and after that rode thro' a pleasant Country, cast up into Hillocks, and six Leagues from *Lyons*, dined at *Artas*, having passed through but one Village before. After Noon we came through *Merieu*, *la Bastie*, *Champier*, and at Night lodged in *la Frett*, three Leagues from *Artas*. 26th, We rode a good Way in a level Valley, and at two Leagues from *la Frett* went through *Moyran*; a little from thence we entered between the Mountains, and travelled through a fruitful Valley, planted like *Lombardy*, with Rows of Trees and Vines climbing about them; sometimes we mounted stony Hills, among them passed through *Rives* a Village noted for its Iron Works; four Leagues from *Moyran*, we arrived at *Grenoble*, riding by a double Pall Mall, just before we entered the City. This Night it snowed on the Mountains near *Grenoble*.

Grenoble is a large City situated in a fruitful and pleasant Valley near the Meeting of the River *Drac* with the *Ysere*. The Houses are generally meanly built, and the Streets are not handsome. A long Street (on the other Side of the *Ysere*) joined to the City by a wooden and a Stone Bridge. On the same Side, upon the Top of a high Hill, is a Fort called *la Bastille*; a Wall runs up that Hill. The Arsenal is another Fort guarded now by about 150 Soldiers. The Cathedral is a mean Church. The Jesuits are building a neat Chapel. The Protestants are here about 5000, their Temple is within the Walls, and is of an octagonal Figure, with a tall Roof; within are Seats for Counsellors of Parliament and Persons of Condition, a little Gallery with wicker Windows, where many Times Popish Gentry, &c. sit *incognito*, three Ministers. The Duke of *Lesdiguières*'s Palace has fine shady Walks, and a fair Garden.

The Bishop of this City is a Prince; within the Palace is a Room where the Parliament sits, the Lacqueys will suffer no Swords to be worn here, except you give them a small Piece of Money. Ancient Inscriptions on some of the Gates which are printed in *Golnitz's Itinerary*. Three Liards paid for every Horse that passes the Bridge with Stone Arches. We visited a Garden of Simples belonging to a Counsellor of Parliament, (who was civil to us) and Monsieur *Bernard*, an Apothecary.

4. On the 27th. Paying four Crowns for two Horses and a Guide, we immediately rode out of the City, ascended the Mountains, and at a League's Distance came thro' a Village call'd *Sapene*, and a League and a half further pass'd through the Valley of *Chartreuse* Village. These Valleys, among the high Mountains or Alps are well cultivated, having great Store of Oats, and other Corn and Meadow Ground. At a narrow Passage between two high precipitous Rocks, we passed over a Bridge, cross a Torrent, and knocking at a Gate, were let in by a Servant belonging to the Monastery of the *Chartreuse*; then we ascended a mountainous Way above a Quarter of a League, till we passed by a large Building, where Persons of all Trades live, and who are habited like the Fathers of the *Carthusian* Orders, and work for the Convent. A good Distance farther up we arrived at the *Grande Chartreuse*, where the Porter ask'd us whence we came, and called a Lay-Brother, who introduced us into one of the Halls appointed to receive Strangers in. At the Gate we left our Swords and Pistols. Seven Hours riding from *Grenoble* hither.

This Convent is seated under one of the highest Mountains in these Parts, and discovers far and near into the adjacent Countries. As soon as we came into the Hall, Wine, Bread and Cheese were set before us, and one of the Fathers, a very intelligent Man, visited and discoursed sometime with us about the News of *Europe*, which he was no Stranger to. A Boy guided us up into the Mountains, and shewed us a neat Chapel, dedicated to *S. Maria de Casalibus*, which is prettily adorn'd with the Letters of her Name in Gold, and with Scripture Epithets: Beyond this we saw *S. Bruno's* Chapel, built on a Rock. At Night we had our Supper and Beds prepared for us. We observed the Friars, at Even Song, bowing their Heads as they sat, at the Saying the *Gloria Patri*, &c. Sixty Fathers, and as many Lay Brothers here. No Women but those of the royal Blood can enter this Cloister. There are two Ways more to come to this Convent, besides that from *Grenoble*, viz. one from *Lyons*, and the other from *Chambery*. In their Stable they keep about sixty Horses, besides Mules and Asses.

28th, We saw their Church, a dark and narrow Building; before the Altar stand four tall Brass Candlesticks, within the Choir the Fathers sit, and without sit the Lay-Brothers. The Fathers rise to their Devotions at Midnight, and are in the Choir three Hours, but then they sleep till Seven or Eight in the Morning, when the Masses begin. The Cloister is a very long and narrow Square; we went into one of their Cells which are not kept so neat as those we saw at *Venice*. At

Meal Time several Servants bring Bread, Wine, &c. and open a little Window by the Side of the Cell-Door, and there put in the Provision. On *Fridays* they fast strictly, and this Day we saw what they eat, viz. two or three Spoonfuls of cold Pease boil'd, four or five Pears, and a few stewed Prunes and raw Plumbs, besides a small Pittance of Bread and Wine, and at Night they had no Supper. In the *Refectorium* are two Tables besides the Prior's; at the upper End they dine here together, only on *Sundays* and great Festivals.

In the General of the Order's Lodging, we observed the Pictures of *St. Martin* at *Naples*, the Chertruse of *Pavia*, and the Convent nigh *Avignon*, &c. Places belonging to this Order. In the Chapel is an Altar Piece of great Value. In the Chapter-Room is a large Picture, how seven of this Order were executed for Treason (they say for Religion) in *Henry the VIIIth's* Days, in *England*. Cardinal *Richlieu* professed himself first of this Order. The Lodgings to entertain Princes in are very neat; the Chapel there is within crusted over with Marble; we gave the Cook a *Quart d'Escue*, and having eaten our Breakfast, and written our Names in a Book kept by a Porter, we mounted and rode back to *Grenoble* the same Way we came.

5. We stayed in *Grenoble* till *August* the first, and one Day rode out, and after twice fording the River *Drac* (which makes a great Wash) at a League's Distance, went over *Pont de Clef*, a large Arch cross that River, where we paid one *Sol* a Man; a League further we passed through a large Village called *Vif*, and about a League thence by *S. Bartholomew*, another Village, and *Chateau Bernard*, where we saw Flame breaking out of the Side of a Bank, which is vulgarly call'd *la Fontaine qui Brule*; it is by a small Rivulet, and sometimes breaks out in other Places; just before our Coming, some other Strangers had fried Eggs here. The Soil hereabouts is full of a black Stone like our Coal, which perhaps is the continual Fuel of this Fire.

August the 1st, We took Boat for *Orange*, and went down the Rivers *Ysere* and the *Rhosne*, twenty Crowns was given for a Boat, and the Passengers paid proportionably to the Length of their Journey, some more some less. After we had left *Grenoble* three or four Leagues, we durst not stir from the Banks side, a furious Wind arising and stopping us for the Space of an Hour. Then nine Leagues from *Grenoble*, we arrived at our Lodging in *la Faurie*, a Village on the right Side of the *Ysere*.

2d. At Break of Day, we entered our Boat, and at two Leagues Distance passed under a Bridge with Stone Arches, and a wooden Penthouse over it; *Romans* a great walled Place lay on the right Hand thence. We went three Leagues to the Meeting of the *Ysere* and the *Rhosne*, where we observed for a good Space the *Ysere* kept itself unmingled with the *Rhosne*, which was of a whitish Colour and much troubled, the *Ysere* being much clearer and greenish. A League down the *Rhosne* we landed at *Valence*, a poor City and University, situated on the left Side of the River: Afterwards we went by the *Vivaretz* and *Sevennes*, and passed by *Montlimer* on the left Hand, and *Viviers* on the right, both walled, though mean Places, and at fourteen Leagues from *la Faurie* lodged at *Bourga*, a walled Town on the right Side of the River. Many Peages and Tolls paid by the Boatmen as we came along.

3d. After two Leagues we came to *Pont S. Esprit*, a stately Stone Bridge, with eighteen great Arches, and four little ones; between every Arch is a Window. It is curiously paved with square Stones, a Hand broad, two Coaches can go abreast on it, it is not made strait, but bending out against the Stream. The Town of *S. Esprit* on the right Hand is walled; a League further we landed at a Peage or Toll-Place belonging to *Orange*, (we might have landed a League nearer to *Orange*) where we gave thirty five Sols a piece for a Horse to carry our Things thither. We walked about two Leagues in a level and fruitful Country to *Orange*.

In *Valence*, *Bourg* and other Places, we observed Measures of Corn cut in Stone, and little Portals to let the Corn out of them.

6. *Orange* is but a small and meanly built City, and the Walls are not considerable, but there are Outworks which if well look'd after, would render it very strong, by Reason of its Situation in a Plain. The Castle is built on the highest End of a long Ridge of a Hill; it was formerly of greater Strength, when it had walled Bulwarks round about, which the *French* King, in this Prince of *Orange's* Minority, caused to be blown up with Gunpowder, when at the same Instant, (thirty) all *Roman Catholics* were overwhelm'd in the Ruins. The Governor is Count *de Dhona*, but his Deputy or Lieutenant is a *Frenchman* and a *Papist*. Within the Castle were now about a hundred Soldiers, who civilly admitted us into the Castle, and shewed us many great Pieces of Cannon, and their Armory stored with Arms enough for 5000 Men. In the Middle of the Castle is a very deep Well of good Water, cut out of the Rock. *C. Marius's* Arch, and *la Torre ronde* are Antiquities without the Walls; on some of the Engravings of the Arch was written, *BODUICUS*. The *Circus* is a stately Ruin within the Wall.

The People here are very civil, and of a much better Humour than the *French*; when the *French* King had the City in his Possession, many of the Gentry turn'd *Papists*. The University is not considerable, having about four Professors, and one of them is one *Guy*, I think a *Scotchman*. The *Roman Catholics* have now the Use of the Cathedral: The Inhabitants of this Principality are at least half Protestants, and who were sensible of the Change of Governors. On the Tower of the *Maison de la Ville*, we saw many false Weights nailed to the Wall. The Prince hath a Parliament here of both Religions, and hath passed a publick Amnestia of all Offences, wherein he calls the King of *England*, and the Marquis of *Brandenberg*, his Uncles and Tutors. In a poor Woman's House, we saw an old *Roman* Pavement of *Mosaick* Work, very curious representing a Cat with a Rat in its Mouth; round about were Squares.

7. 4th, Giving four *Livres* and fifteen *Sols* for three Horses and a Guide, we travelled a stony Way two Leagues, in a Country where Thyme, Lavender, Box, &c. grew plentifully, many Mulberry and Olive-Trees planted in the Fields; we passed by *Chateau neuf*, on the right Hand of us, and a League further ferried the River *la Nasque*, paying for each Horse one *Sol* a League, thence riding nigh the *Rhofne*, we entered *Avignon* at Port St. *Lazare*, upon which Gate was written, *Clave Petri tuta*. Having shewed our Bolletins of Health, which we took at *Grenoble*, leaving our Fire-Arms with the Guard, and taking a Note to lodge in the City, we came to a Sign of a Town call'd St. *Flour*, where we lay till Monday the seventh of *August*.

In the Cathedral, a small Church situated on the Rocks nigh the Windmills, we saw an ancient Monument of *Benedictus XII.* Pope, a Miller's Son. The Palace is adjoining, guarded by Soldiers, *Chigi* Cardinal *Padrone* is Legat and Governor, M. *Columnia* Vice-Legat, who (they said) was suddenly to be removed, because he had given some Suspicion to the *French* King, by making a kind of Fort before the Palace Gate, and laying up a large Quantity of Corn. On the Outside of the Palace where the Prison is, are pictured, hanging by the Heels, the chief of the late Rebellion against the Pope; and in the *Bando* 200 Pistoles are promised to any Person that can bring the Head of any one of them; these Rebels live in Safety at *Villeneuve*, a Place t'other Side of the Bridge, just cross the *Rhofne*, which belongs to the *French* King, who hath threatned to burn alive any that shall offer to lay Hands on them. Monsignor *Lomellino* is the new Vice-Legat.

The *Dominicans* Church is a large Building of one Arch. The *Cordeliers* Church is larger in the *Sacrista*; they shewed us a round leaden Box with a leaden Medal, plain on one Side, and on the other the Figure of *Laura*, and these Letters, M. L. M. J. which is interpreted by some, *Madonna laura morta jace*. This Me-

dal with *Italian* Verses on her, written by *Petrarch*, in a neat Character was found in that Box, lying at her Breast, when *Francis I.* took up her Body, who also made Verses on her in *French*, which are kept with the others. In an obscure Chapel we saw her Tomb-Stone.

In St. *Martial's* Church we searched for *Casimir* King of *Poland's* Monument, but could not be informed where it was; nigh the Altar is a very stately Tomb that reaches almost to the Top of the Church, and below lies the Figure of a Bishop, and over him our Saviour and the Apostles Effigies, and so upwards are many Marble Figures. The *Celestins* Church hath a Marble *relievo* Altar, which they say is but of one Piece, having many Figures in it: The Picture of a Skeleton drawn by King *Renatus*, who gave the Altar. In the Middle of the Choir is a handsome Monument of *Clement VII.* Pope. In a long Chapel adjoining, is the Legend pictured of S. *Peter* of *Luxembourg*.

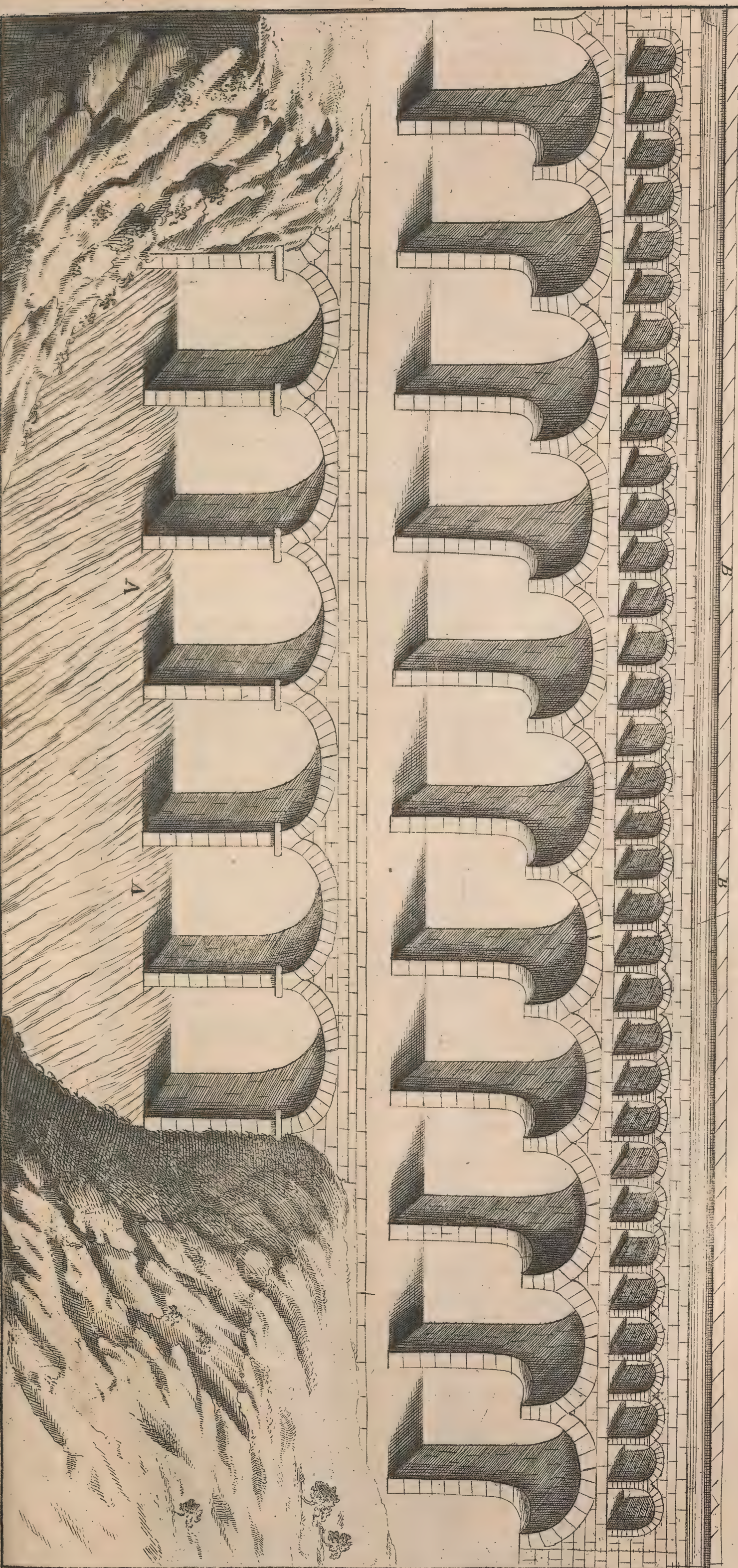
The Coining-house is opposite to the Palace, and has a new fair Front. The *Jesuits* have a pretty Chapel, and an indifferent *Studium*; in the *Area* of it are Dials, with Directions to know what it is o'Clock; in such Cities as are under Kings, and in such as are under Commonwealths, the one is called *Horologium Regium*, the other *Aristocraticum*, in which they have placed *Geneva*. The Gate on the *Rhofne* Side is open every Day, but besides that, there is but one more open at a Time, and that they change every Week. About 700 *Italian* Soldiers in the City. Here are some Palaces and good Houses, but the Generality of the Buildings are mean, and the Streets narrow; the Inhabitants are in Fear every Night that the Rogues should creep in at their Windows.

8. The 7th, Giving fifteen *Livres* of *France*, we hired three Horses and a Postilion, who guided us first over the long Bridge at *Avignon* cross the *Rhofne*, which Bridge is entire on the City Side, but broken on the Side of *France*, and repaired with Wood. It seems to have been a *Roman* Work, is built of Stone, and paved (though now much defaced) like that at St. *Esprit*, and it is more bending against the Stream. Some Way on the Bridge stands a Centinel, and the *Avignon* Searchers lodge there, to stop and enquire into Merchants Goods. When we were almost over the Bridge, our Postilion paid about one *Sol* a Horse. At the End of the Bridge is *Villeneuve*, a Village, and a little Way thence on the River Side, S. *Andre*, a strong Place of the *French* King's. Leaving these Places behind us, (without entering them) we rode among some Vineyards, and then travelled a stony Way over little Hills, till we came by *Remoulin*, a small walled Place, about a short *English* Mile thence; we arrived at *Pont du Gard*, a stately Antiquity, well designed by Dr. *Bargrave*, and described in *Golnitz* and *Deyron's* Antiquities of *Nismes*. A League from hence we dined at *Sesignan*, a small Village; and in the Afternoon rode a direct and level Way between Olive Fields, (the Olive-Trees were much mortified by the Extremity of the last Winter) and after three Leagues riding, arrived at *Lutzenbourg*, a good Inn without the City of *Nismes*.

We saw the Amphitheatre, the Outside whereof is very entire, and is two Stories high, the Steps or Seats are ruined, and the *Arena* filled with Houses. Over the great Entrance are two half Bulls in Stone, and on the Outside is a Wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*; also a *Triple* and *Priapus*, or *Penis* winged, and the Figure of a Woman holding by a Bridle. In a private House we saw Eagles excellently well made in Stone; a double Statue of a Woman having two Bodies and four Legs, it was made without a Head, but now they have fixed on it, the Head of an old Man; some will have this to be the Statue of *Geryon*, but *Deyron* contradicts it. A small Piazza call'd *Place de Salamandre*, from a Pillar with a Salamander upon it. *La Maison Quarre* is a fair Antiquity within the City, being one Pile of Building, adorn'd with Statues, Pillars, &c. Within the Port de la *Couronne* are many old Inscriptions, and an ancient Statue with his Hands upon his Head.

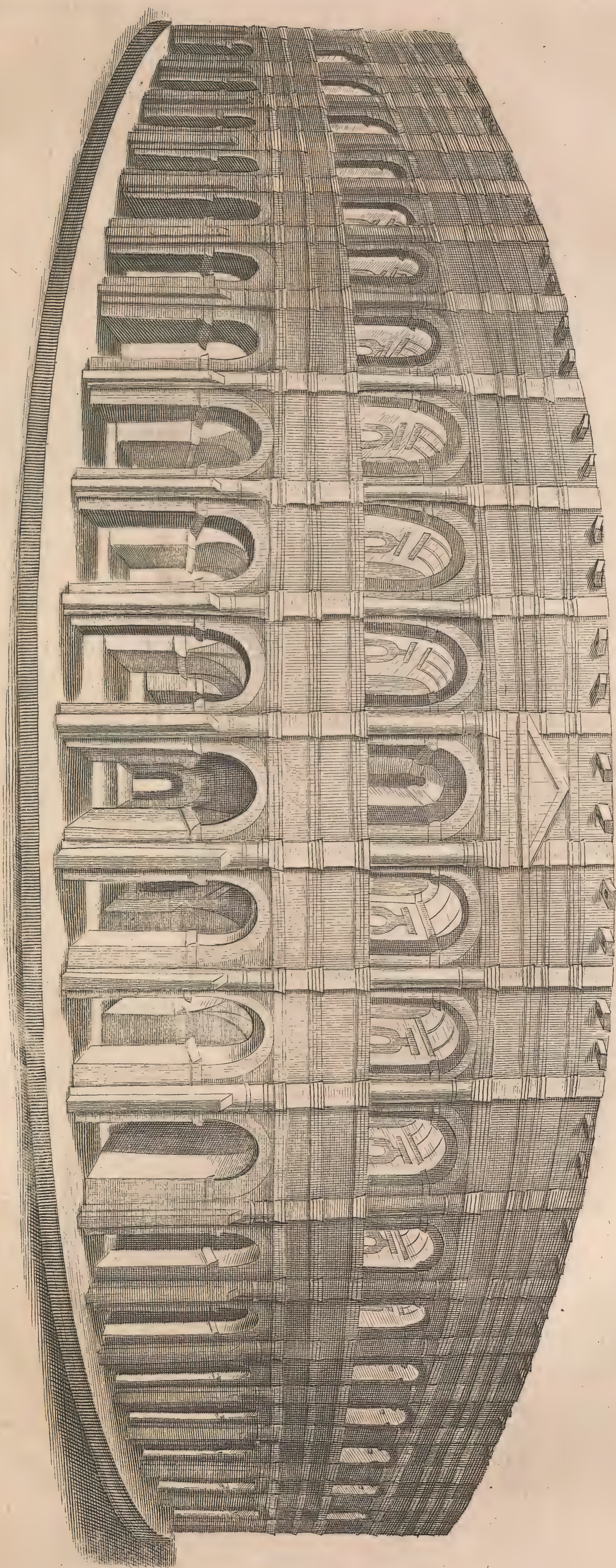
After

*PONT-DU-GARD about Four Leagues from Nismes a Stately Antiquity
One Hundred and Eighty Six Feet high from the River A A to the Top of the Aqueduct B B.*



*An outside View of the Amphitheatre at Nismes in L A N G U E D O E
of Sixty Arches and Pillars in each Story.*

Vol. 2. pa. 728.





After a little Walk without the Town, we saw the Ruins of the Temple of *Diana*, which is under the Side of a Rock, and close by is *Fons Dianæ*, which first makes a deep Pond, and sends Water enough to furnish all the Gardens of the City ; in Winter, or any rainy Season it overflows very much. *La Torre Grande*, on the Top of a Hill, is a ruin'd Tower of the old Roman Wall ; in other Places are seen the Ruins of the old Wall. The Circuit of this City was but 2000 Paces less than *Rome*, and was built formerly upon seven Hills. The Front of the Cathedral is adorn'd with ancient Carving. A large Plain or Level round the Town, except on one Side, where several Hills run along in a Hill. The *Splanade* is an open Walk without Port *de la Couronne*, sometimes frequented by a great deal of Company. In the *Maison de la Ville* are kept two or three Crocodiles, (dead) which are the Arms of *Nîmes*, and signify their Founders came out of *Egypt*.

In a Court of this *Maison de la Ville*, is erected on two Pillars against the Wall the Monument of *Dandalo* the General of the Protestants. The Protestants of this City are three Parts out of four, and they had two Temples, but one is lately pulled down : Every Morning they have a Sermon, and in the Afternoon Prayers : On *Sunday* they have four Sermons ; they have three Burying-places without the Walls, and they had a College and Professors, but now the Jesuits are Masters : The Protestants have a Bell to ring them to Church.

Thus far we have followed Mr. *Skippon's* Journey, who, as we observed in the Introduction, suffered nothing to escape him. Whatever he saw remarkable, he committed to Writing immediately, and the Description of it to his Journal ; whatever was particularly curious, he examined more closely, and the Result of his Examination was also committed to Writing. In like Manner he recorded whatever was communicated to him that deserved Notice. All this however was done in a hasty and unpolished Manner, for the Assistance of his own Memory, and not at all with a View, or even with a Suspicion that it should one Day appear in Print.

It was otherwise with Mr. *Ray*, who, though he kept such a Journal as Mr. *Skippon*, yet revis'd and improv'd what he set down in it, and where he had an Opportunity, compared it with the Notes of his Friend Mr. *Willoughby*. He begins his Description of *France*, with an Account of the City of *Montpelier*, to which this Introduction was requisite ; but now we are arrived at a more copious and polished Account of Things, we shall make Use of Mr. *Ray's* Travels so far as they go, and shall then take up with Mr. *Skippon's* Journal again, in Order to supply the Deficiencies that would otherwise appear in the Course of these Travels, and which has hitherto rendred Mr. *Ray's* liable to the Censure of being somewhat abrupt and unconnected. Thus he writes :

9. *Montpellier* is a round Town standing upon a Hill, in the Midst of a stony Country, somewhat bigger than *Geneva*, but not so populous, the Number of Inhabitants at present being about 25000, of which two thirds are Papists, and one Protestants. The Protestants have two Churches (Temples they call them) in Town. The Streets of this City are very narrow, short and crooked, without any Uniformity or Beauty at all, so intricate, that its half a Year's Work to understand them all, and learn the Way from Place to Place. The Houses are many of them, well built of free Stone, which were they set well together in order, would make three or four handsome Streets. No larger Piazza or Market-place in Town. The Number of *Apothecaries* in this little City is scarce credible, there being thirty Shops, and yet all find something to do ; their *Cypress* Powder, sweet Bags, *Cassiolets*, Treacle, Confection al *Kermes*, and *Hyacintha*, having a Name all *France* over. The Queen of *Hungary's* Water (as they call it) made here, is likewise much bought up. It is nothing but common Spirit of Wine, in which *Rosemary* Flowers have been macerated and distilled from the said Flowers. The Wines hereabout are very strong, and bear Water well.

Their Vineyards are of dwarf Vines, without any Support, the Standards, when the Branches are pruned

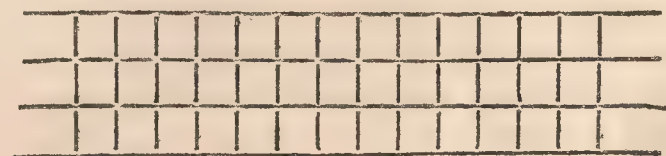
off, being like the Standards of our Oser Gardens. At *Montpellier*, the best Verdet or Verdegrease, *Viridi æris*, is made. They told us that so good could not be made elsewhere, though they used the same Method and the same Materials ; whether it be to be attributed to the just Temper of Heat, or the Nature of the Wine they use, or some other unknown Quality. The Manner thus ; First, they take Grape Stalks well cleansed from the Raisins, and from all Filth, and putting in the Bottom of a Pot, a Quantity of the best red Wine, they set Sticks cross, a little above the Wine, and upon them lay a Quantity of Grape Stalks, first also drenched in Wine, and let them alone about fifteen Days, more or less, according to the Season, till they come to make (as they call it) a Rose, that is, the Outfides become to Appearance dry, and the Middle only wet.

These Grape Stalks being thus prepared, they put in the Bottom of a large earthen Pot of the best red Wine, that begins to be sour, but is not yet come to be Vinegar, to the Quantity of about two or three Inches Depth ; somewhat above the Wine they set Sticks cross the Pot, and having ready many little Plates of Copper, they lay upon the Cross-sticks, first a Layer of the prepared Grape-stalks, then a Layer of Copper Plates, and so alternately, S. S. S. i. e. *Stratum super stratum*, till the Pot be full. In the Middle of the Pot they usually leave a Hole all along, for the Vapour of the Wine to ascend, neither are the Copper Plates laid near together for the same Reason ; when they have filled up the Pot, they cover it, and set it in a Cellar, and after some five or six Days turn the Copper-plates, letting the Pot remain in the Cellar three or four Days more. In eight or ten Days, according to the Season, the Verdet will be come.

Then they take out the Plates, and laying them six or seven on a Heap, put them in a Trough, and sprinkle the Edges of them with the same Wine, for three or four Days ; next they press them with heavy Weights for four or five Days, and last of all, scrape off the Verdet with Knives, and moulding it with a little Wine, dry it and sell it. The same Plates are again put into Pots, and used as before. So then the Verdet is nothing but the Rust or Scurf of the Copper, calcin'd by the Vapour of the Wine.

Here also we saw the Manner and Process of Blanching of Bees-Wax. First, they melt the Wax in a great Copper Cauldron, then they have ready a Mould or Form of Wood, of the Figure of a Sugar-Loaf, or the Block of a Steeple crown'd Hat, which having besmeared over with Slime of Snails, they dip into the Wax thus melted. This takes up a Skin or Film of Wax, as Candles upon Dipping do.

This they smooth with their Hands, and dip in Water, and when it is cold take it off the Form, from which, by Reason of the anointing the Form with the forementioned Mucilage, it will readily slip in the Form of a Cone or long crucible. These Cones (so let me call them) are set in a Garden in Ranks, singly one by one, supported with Canes or Reeds, crossing one another on this Fashion.



Round about they set Pots with Water, wherewith they sprinkle the Wax often, to keep it from melting. In Summer Time, when the Sun lies hot upon it, some six or seven Times a Day, otherwise but three or four Times. In fourteen or fifteen Days, the upper End of these Cones will grow white, and then they turn them to whiten the other End. In a Month's Time, more or less, according to the Weather, they will become White all over.

Then they melt the Wax again in earthen Pans like *Metæ* or Scuttles, and run it so melted, through the Neb of a Tin Pot, into Water, and as it runs down into the Water, a Man either breaks it with his Hand into Grains or works it into round Figures like spiral

spiral Wreaths, or *Corella*, and these they expose again to the Weather, in the Garden and Order as before, till they become purely white, and then melt into great Pieces to sell. The Mucilage wherewith they besmear the Forms, is made of Snails taken alive, Shells and all, and pounded in a Mortar, till they become a perfect Pap or Viscus. The Form once besmeared well over with this Pap, will last dipping many Times. Wax whitened is almost twice as dear as yellow Wax. Yellow Wax is solutive, and used where there is an Inflammation, and the Sore not ripe; white Wax, on the contrary very astringent. They say *Montpellier* is a Place proper for the Whitening of Wax; and that the same Workmen coming over into *England*, found the Air of a different Temper, and not convenient for this Trade. At *Montpellier* is made the best *Confectio Alkermes*, as Reason there is it should, the Grain which gives it its Denomination, being in no Country of *Europe* found so plentifully as here.

The Manner of the Preparation of this Grain, for the making the Confection, you may find set down in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N^o XX. p. 362, and I shall therefore here omit. These Grains have formerly been thought to have been proper to the Dwarf or Shrub *Ilex*, called therefore *Ilex Coccifera*, and a by Fruit or Excreescency of the Twigs of that Plant. But my learned and ingenious Friend Mr. *Martin Lister*, who hath been very happy in making Discoveries in natural History, hath found the like Grains here in *England*, upon the Twigs of Cherry and other Trees, and judged them to be the Work of an Insect, and by her affixed to the Twigs for Nests to breed and harbour her young; and indeed to me they appeared to be so, easily receding and falling off from the Wood, when the Young are hatch'd and gone. As for the Grains themselves, they are so like the *Kermes* Grains, that they are scarce to be distinguished, and grow to the Twigs just in the same Places and Manner. But for a more full and compleat History of them, I refer the Reader to Mr. *Lister's* Letters published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

10. At *Montpellier* I observ'd the Manner of making Oil Olive: First, they take Olives, whether fresh gathered or laid awhile on a Heap, it matters not (as they told me) and bruise or grind them to a Paste, as we do Apples to make Cyder, with a perpendicular Mill-stone running round in a Trough. This Paste, or the Olives thus bruised, they put in round thin Baskets, made of *Spartum*, like Frails, having a round Hole in the Top: But both Top and Bottom clapping together, so that when pressed they look like a thin round Cake. Half a Score or more of these Baskets, filled with Olive Pouce, they lay on a Heap in the Press, and letting down the Press Beam, squeeze them at first without any Mixture. Then winding up the Beam they take out the Baskets, and into each one put a good Quantity of scalding Water (which they have always ready) and shaking the Basket mingle it with the Pouce, and then piling them upon one another, as before, press them down a second Time.

This second Operation they repeat again, and then taking out the Pouce, put in new, and proceed as before. The Oil, together with the Water, runs out into Vessels set to receive it. The Water with the *Annurca* sinks to the Bottom, and the Oil swims above it, which they take off with a Copper Dish, like a Fleeting-dish, as good Housewives skim the Cream from their Milk. The Water mixed with the red Juice of the Olive becomes red and thick, not at all mingling with the Oil; so that it cannot easily the least Drop of it, be taken up without perceiving it. It is said, that in *Provence*, they spread their Olives on a Floor, after they are gathered, and there let them rest thirty Days to dry, and for that Reason their Oil is better than that of *Languedoc*. Others lay them on a Heap a-while, to let them sweat as they call it.

It is worth the noting, that, though the Olives be very bitter, and of a very fiery ungrateful Taste, yet the Oil which is drawn from them is sweet, the like is observed in bitter Almonds, and it is very likely might be in all other bitter Fruits, which is a sufficient Proof,

that the Taste of such Fruits doth not inhere in the Oil, at least which is made by Expression; and it deserves Examination, whether the chymical Oil may not also be divested of the Taste of the vegetable, from which it is extracted. Olives when they come to Maturity, change Colour, and become black as some other Plumbs do, but it is very late in the Year first. They are then notwithstanding of an horrid and ungrateful Taste, firing the Throat and Palate of one that eats them. They afford most Oil when full ripe, but best as they told us when gathered and pressed green. Sometimes they pickle ripe Olives, but they will not last; therefore, those which they pickle to send Abroad, are gathered green. The Pickle they use is nothing else but a Brine of Salt and Water.

Near *Peroul*, about a League from *Montpellier*, we saw a boiling Fountain (as they call it) that is, the Water did heave up and bubble as if it boiled. This Phænomenon in the Water was caused by a Vapour ascending out of the Earth, through the Water, as was manifest, for if that one did but dig any where near the Place, and pour Water upon the Place new digged, one should observe in it the like bubbling, the Vapour arising not only in that Place where the Fountain was, but all thereabout; the like Vapour ascending out of the Earth, and causing such Ebullition in Water it passes through, hath been observed in Mr. *Hawkley's* Ground, about a Mile from the Town of *Wigan*, in *Lancashire*, which Vapour by the Application of a lighted Candle, Paper or the like, catches Fire and flames vigorously. Whether or no this Vapour at *Peroul* would in like Manner catch Fire and burn, I cannot say, it coming not in our Minds to make the Experiment.

11. From *Montpellier* we took a Journey of Pleasure to see the adjacent Country, and first we rode to *Frontignan*, a little walled Town by the *Estant* Side, three Miles distant, which gives Name to the so famous Muscate Wine. The Country about this Town, toward the Sea Southward, lies open to the Sun, but toward the Land Northward, it is encompassed with a Ridge of Hills in Form of a Bow, touching the Sea at each End; so that the whole is like a Theatre: In the *Arena*, and on the Sides of the Hills grows the Muscate Grape, of which this Wine is made.

In this Space are contained two other little Towns, the one called *Miraval*, the other *Vich*; this last gives Name to a mineral Water springing near it, much used hereabout. It hath an acid vitriolic Taste, but nothing so strong as our *Spaw* Waters, and therefore I guess the Operation of it is much weaker. At *Frontignan* and other Places, we saw the Manner of making Raisins [*uvæ passæ*], they take the fairest Bunches, and with a Pair of Scissars snip off the faulty Grapes, and tie two Bunches together with a String, then they dip them in a boiling Ley [*Lixivium*] into which they put a little Oil, till they are very plump and ready to crack.

Jo. Baubinus saith that they let them continue so long in the boiling *Lixivium*, *quo ad flaccescant tantum & corrugentur*; but we observed no such Thing, for they did not continue the Bunches half a Minute, but presently took them out again, and washed them in a Vessel of fair cold Water; then they put them upon wooden Poles for two or three Days in the Shade to dry, and after that exposed them to the Sun, taking them in the Night Time, or rainy Weather. *Cyprianus Richovius* describes the Manner of making Raisins in *Spain* thus: There are (saith he) two Sorts of *Uvæ passæ*, or Raisins, the one of those call Raisins of the Sun, of a blue Colour, the other of the *Uvæ passæ Linæ*, which they call frail or Basket Raisins.

In preparing the first Sort they thus proceed; when the Bunch they design for that Purpose begins to grow ripe, they cut the Footstalk of it half asunder, that so the radical Juice or Moisture may be at least in a great Measure detained, and not pass to the Grapes, and so they leave it hanging on the Vine. Then by the Heat of the Sun, the Grapes are by Degrees dried. When they are sufficiently dry, they gather them and put them up in Vessels. The second Sort they make on this Fashion; when they prune their Vines, they

they bind up the Cuttings in Faggots, and reserve them till the Vintage time. Then they burn them, and of their Ashes make a Ley or Lixivium, which they boil in great Vessels, and therein immerse the Bunches of Grapes one by one. Afterwards, to dry them, they spread them upon a paved Floor clean swept, made for that Purpose in the Vineyard, that so they may be more speedily dried by the Sunbeams.

When they are sufficiently concocted and dried, they put them up in Frails or Baskets. After the same Manner they prepare their dried Figs, by dipping them in a Lixivium made of the Ashes of the dried Branches of the Fig-tree, cut off in pruning. But however, they superstitiously observe to make their Lixivium for Raisins, of the Ashes of the Branches pruned off the Vine, &c. I doubt not but the Ashes of any Wood indifferently taken would serve as well for that Purpose.

12. From *Frontignan* we rode to *Balleruch*, to see the hot Waters, which are used as well inwardly as outwardly. At our being there, which was in the Beginning of *September*, the Water was scarce Lukewarm; they told us that in the Winter it was very hot. The Bath is not above two flight Shots distant from the *Estang*, and the Water thereof tastes very salt and brackish, whether by Reason of the Seas being so near it, or because the Water comes from some Salt Mine, I know not; yet the latter seems the more probable, because, should it come from the Sea, the Water straining thro' so much Sand, would probably lose its Salt by the Way, as we have found by Experiment in *England*. At *Gabian*, about a Day's Journey from *Montpellier* in the Way to *Beziers*, is a Fountain of *Petroleum*: It burns like Oil, is of a strong pungent Scent, and a blackish Colour. It distills out of several Places of the Rock all the Year long, but most in Summer-time. They gather it up with Ladles, and put it in a Barrel set on one End, which hath a Spiggot just at the Bottom; when they have put in a good Quantity, they open the Spiggot to let out the Water, and when the Oil begins to come, presently stop it. They pay for the Farm of this Fountain about Fifty Crowns per Annum. We were told by one Monsieur *Beaussofte*, a Chymist in *Montpellier*, that *Petroleum* was the very same with the Oil of Jet, and not to be distinguished from it, by Colour, Taste, Smell, Consistency, Virtues, or any other Accident, as he had by Experience found upon the Coast of the *Mediterranean Sea* in several Places, as at *Berre* near *Martegue* in *Provence*; at *Messina* in *Sicily*, &c.

They make Salt of the Sea-Water drawn into shallow Pools, and evaporated by the Sun-beams, in Summer-time. First, they let the Water into a large shallow Plain, like the Cooler in a Brewhouse, and there being well heated they run it into several shallow Beds, like the Beds of a Garden; when the Sun hath dried up all the Water, they let in more, and so again three or four Times, till the Salt, remaining at the Bottom of these Receptacles, come to be three Fingers thick, and then they take it up with Shovels, and heap it on little Hills; but the whole Process of this Operation being exactly described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Numb. 51. p. 1025.

I shall forbear to enlarge any further concerning it. Now that I have mentioned *Martegue*, I shall add the Manner of making *Botargo* out of Mr. *F. Willoughby's* Notes. At *Martegue* they take Abundance of Mulletts [*Mugiles* not *Mulli*, as one would be apt to think by the *English* Name] in their *Burdigos*, which are Places in the Shallows inclosed with Hedges of Reeds. The Male Mulletts are called *Allettants*, because they shed the Milt, [*Lac piscium*.] The Females *Botar*, of the Rows or Spawn of which *Botargo* is made. They first take out the Spawn intire, and cover it round with Salt for four or five Hours, then they press it a little between two Boards or Stones, then they wash it, and at last dry it in the Sun for thirteen or fourteen Days, taking it in at Nights.

13. *December 7th, 1665*. From *Montpellier* we made an excursive Voyage into *Provence*. The principal Cities and Towns that we saw were, 1. *Lumel* four Leagues

distant from *Montpellier*. 2. *Arles*, a considerable City, once the Head of a Kingdom, called anciently *Arelates* standing upon the River *Rhofne*, which, a good Way above this City, divides itself into two Branches, and makes an Island called the *Camarg*. All this Island is full of *Vermicularis frutex* growing by the Ditch Sides all along. Beyond this City, in the Way to *Marseilles*, we passed over a large Plain or Level, all over covered with Stones, called now the *Craux* or *les Champs pierreux*, anciently *Campi Lapidei*. 3. *St. Chamas*, a large Burgh, standing upon the Ridge, and on each Side a narrow Hill, which is perforated like *Pausilypus*. 4. *Marseilles*, an ancient City, not great but well built, with tall Stone Houses for the most part, and very populous.

We were told that the Number of Souls was about 120,000. The Streets are narrow as in most of the ancient Towns in this Country, to keep off the scorching Beams of the Sun in Summer-time. The Haven is the most secure and commodious that I have seen; the Entrance into it is so strait and narrow, that a Man may easily cast a Stone cross it, but the Haven within large enough to contain 500 Vessels or more; of an oval Figure. On one Side of this Haven the Town is built, which compasses it more than half round, having before it a handsome Kay well paved, which serves the Citizens for a Walk or Promenade. This Haven is not capable of Ships of above 600 Ton.

On the Rocks near this Town, I found growing plentifully, the same *Colutea* I observed at *St. Chamas*: *Valeriana rubra* Dod. *Carduus galaetites*, I. B. By the Sea-side, *Tragacantha*, *Massiliensium* plentifully: *Aster luteus supinus*, I. B. *Tithymalus myrsinites angustifolius*; *Coronopus Massiliensis*, Lob. 5. *Bausset*. 6. *Oliolæ*, two little Towns. 7. *Toulon*, no great Town, but well fortified, and the best Haven the King of *France* hath on the *Mediterranean Sea*, having a large Bay capable of the greatest Vessels, where there is good Riding for Ships. At *Toulon* they make Holes in their Stone Walls at three or four Foot Distance near the Ground, and there plant Capers, the Fruit whereof they prepare and pickle after this Fashion. They gather the Buds or Blossoms of the Flowers before they be explicated, and spreading them thin, lay them in the Shade to wither for three or four Hours, to prevent the Opening of the Flower. Then they put them in a Vessel, and pour Vinegar upon them, covering the Vessel with a Board, and so let them stand for nine Days, at the End whereof they take them out and press them gently, and put them in fresh Vinegar, letting them stand as long as before: This done the third Time, they put them up in Barrels with Vinegar. Some mingle Salt with their Vinegar, which is the best Way, and preserves the Capers for three Years, both for Colour and Taste, as good at the First.

I observed near *Bausset* great Plenty of Myrtle in the Hedges; near *Oliole*, *Acanthus Sativus*; *Althæa frutescens folio rotundiore in cano* C. B. *Fumaria minor sive tenui folia surrecta* I. B. *Acacia trifolia*; *Teucrium vulgare*; *Arisarum latifolium Chrysocome* Ger. 8. *St. Maxime*; near which is the famous Grot of *Mary Magdalen*, called *St. Baulme*. 9. *Aix*, anciently *Aque Sextiæ*, from the hot Baths that are there. This is a very elegant and pleasant City, well built with fair Stone Houses, having broad Streets and handsome Piazza's. 10. *Selonie*, *Selonie*.

In the *Cordeliers* Church lies buried *Nostradamus* the famous *French* Prophet, whose Verses the *Frenchmen* esteemed as Oracles. In the Church Wall is placed a Stone with this Inscription to his Memory.

D. M. Cariss. ossa M. Nostradami unius omnium mortalium judicio digni, cujus pene divino calamo totius orbis ex astrorum influxu futuri eventus conscriberentur. Vixit an. 62. m. 6. d. 10. Obiit Salo MDLXVI. Quietem posteri ne invidete. Anna Pontia Gamella Solonia conjugi optimo. V. F.

11. *Aiguemortes*, a small Town, but of great Strength, near the Sea, in a fenny Place, six Leagues distant from *Montpellier*. From *Montpellier* we returned to *Lyons*, 8 X.

from Lyons we travel'd with a Messenger to Paris, from Paris again to Calais, and so cross the Strait to Dover; whence we at first set out, and began our Journey.

14. Thus we have run through all that Mr. Ray has left us concerning France; but for the Sake of obtaining more Particulars of that Journey, in which Mr. Ray seems to have been less circumstantial than usual, we shall have Recourse to Mr. Skippon's Journal of their Travels from Lyons to Paris, in which the Reader will find very few Repetitions; and many singular and curious Remarks that, for any Thing I can discern, had escaped the Observation of former Travellers, and are not taken Notice of by any that came after them, more especially the Story which he tells us of the Son of Count St. Geran; which he has related very succinctly, and that has since been made the Subject of a considerable Treatise. It may not be amiss to observe, that the young Gentleman, who thus recovered his Title and Fortune, married, and had only a Daughter, who, by the Interest of the Family, was put into a Convent; by which Means the Estate descended very nearly in the same Way that it would have done, if the Fraud had never been discovered.

March 6, We gave forty five Livres a Man, for Horses to a Messenger, who for that Money maintained us from Lyons to Paris, and allowed him five Sols a Pound, for every Pound our Portmanteaus weighed, above six Pound, which he carried on a Sumpter-horse. By the *Cocbe d'eau*, a Conveyance by the River Soane, we sent some of our Things, and paid but three Sols per Pound. Dr. Moulins, Mr. Lister, Mr. Ray and myself, were in Company this Journey with some Frenchmen. We went through a very stony Way, and passed over Hills, and three Leagues from Lyons passed through *la Brelle* and three Leagues further brought us to our Lodgings in *Tarrara*. This Day we observed Oxen shod with Iron. 7th, We mounted before Day, and rode over the Mountain of *Tarrara*, where we found Snow. After three Leagues riding we came through St. Savorin, and thereabouts observed a perpendicular Stone moved by Water, to bruise Hemp, held underneath by two Boys. Three Leagues further we dined at St. Nicholas in *Roanne*, and there ferried over the *Louvre*, each giving two Sols *Marque*. We passed a pleasant Valley, and four Leagues from our Baiting-place, lodged in *Pas de Quandiere* a small Village.

The 8th, We rode, for the most Part of four Leagues, thro' hilly Way, and dined at *l'Escu de France* in *Palisse*, where the Count de S. Geran hath a House. The present Count came thus to his Estate; his Uncle being next presumptive Heir, made a Compact with a Midwife, who delivered the present Count's Mother, but by casting her into a Sleep, the Midwife persuaded her into a Belief she was delivered of a dead Child; when the Midwife conveyed away the little Infant, who was bred up by a Country Woman, and being grown to some Years, the Countess desired, and took him for her Page, on whom she bestowed very good Breeding; and in the mean Time the Midwife, on her Death-Bed, confessed the Cheat, and declared the Page to be the Countess's true Son. This Discovery occasioned a great Suit between the Uncle and the young Heir; but at last it was determined by the Parliament of Paris, in Favour of the Heir the Countess's Son, who is now Count de St. Geran. Four Leagues from *Palisse*, having traveled good Way in a pleasant Country, we lodged at the St. George, without the Walls of *Warene*, a small Town.

On the 9th, we traveled seven Leagues, and dined at the *Three Moors* in *Moulins*, where many Women came to sell their Scissars, Knives, &c. *Moulins* is an indifferent City, which afforded little of Remark, besides the stately Monument of *Montmorency*, who was beheaded in the *Maison de Ville* at *Toulouse*. The white Marble Statues of the Duke and his Lady lay on a Tomb of black Marble; a fair Marble Statue is on each Side, and over them a Marble Urn, and other Ornaments. We rode seven Leagues from *Moulins* in very good Way, (as we did in the Morning) and lodged this Night without the Walls of St. Pierre de Montier. Hereabouts began stony Causeways. On the 10th, we

rode five Leagues, passed a stone Bridge over the River *Loire*, and dined at the *Flower de-lys* in *Nevers*, where the poor People desired us to buy their Bagatells of Glass. This City is meanly built nigh the *Loire* on a rising Ground, and hath an indifferent fair Cathedral, where are several marble Monuments: The Steeple of this Cathedral is handsomely adorned with Statues. After Dinner we continued our Journey about two Leagues and an half, and tasted of an acid Water springing up plentifully in the Middle of a Court, walled about. This Water is much drank in *August*, and is reputed very good for curing the Stone, &c. It is near *Pogue* a Village. This medicinal Well rises in the Level of a Valley. Two Leagues and a half farther we reached *la Charité* a walled Place, situated upon the *Loire*. Over the Gate we entered at is written,

In Varietate Securitas sub Lilio.

Our Inn was handsome, the Sign of the *Croix d'Or*.

On the 11th, we took Horse about Four in the Morning, and rode three Leagues to *Pouilly*, where we drank very good Wine, which that Place is noted for. Four Leagues thence we dined at *Cosne*, a walled Place, noted for Dogskin Gloves. In the Afternoon we travel'd five Leagues to *Bony*, and one League and an half farther lodged in *Briare*, a small walled Town. At this Place begins a Channel cut from the *Loire* to the *Seine*, the Water being kept up by Locks or Sluices. On the other Side of the *Loire*, in *Berry*, and about two Leagues from *Cosne* is *Sancerre*, a Town situated upon a Hill; formerly a strong Place and well defended by the Protestants about ninety Years ago; they held out so long, that they underwent the greatest Miseries of Famine, some Women digging up their Children they had buried three or four Days before. We met on the Road many *Savoyards*, who were Chimney-sweepers at Paris, &c. They come off the Mountains of *Savoy* in the Beginning of Winter, and return thither in the Spring.

The 12th, we rode four Leagues, and dined at the *Escu de France* in *la Bussiere*, a small Village. Seven Leagues further we lodged in *Montargis*, a City where we saw nothing worth our Observation. An indifferent Castle stands here on a Hill: There is an Archbishop of this City, and the King sends a Governor. In the Road we took Notice of many thatch'd Houses, and many Country-houses with high and steep Roofs cover'd with Slate. The 13th, we travel'd about five Leagues, and had on our Right Hand *Pont a Gasson*, a walled Town, and a League thence dined at the *Angel* or *Maison rogue*, a House that stands in the open Fields. In the Afternoon we went over a Plain sowed with Corn, and five Leagues from our Bait passed by *Milly*, a large walled Place on our Left Hand, and one short League thence arrived at *Corrance*, where we lodged. This Afternoon we saw on our Right the Wood of *Fontainbleau*. The 14th, we rode about a League, and passed among Rocks where Travellers are often robbed. About two or three Leagues farther we saw, on our Right Hand, *Corbilly*, a City in a Valley, with many Villages round it. Seven Leagues from *Corrance* we dined at *Juvissii*, at the Sign of the Golden Lyon. Three Leagues thence we passed through *Ville Juifue*, and there, on the Top of a Hill, had a Prospect of Paris, where we safely arrived after we had traveled two Leagues.

15. On our Left Hand we had a fair Hospital; from *Corbilly* to Paris is a Causeway in a strait Line, and well paved with square Pebbles. Nigh Paris we observed several Stone Quarries. This Stone is of very great Advantage to the City of Paris; for were it not thus plentiful, the Buildings would be but indifferent. We staid in this City till April 1, 1666, too short a Time for so great and remarkable a Place; but the French King's Declaration of War against England commanded us out of France, within three Months after the Proclamation thereof, which was on the 1st of February, N. S.

What I could observe during my Stay here, I hastily put

put in Writing, viz. Every *Wednesday* there is a Horse-market in *Fauxbourg S. Victor*, and every *Saturday* at *Port Richlieu*. At *Mount Martre* is made the Plaister called Plaister of *Paris*, and they have this Saying about it, *Il y a plus de M. Martre à Paris que de Paris à M. Martre*. Cardinal *Mazarine* left a great Legacy to build the College of four Nations, *Italian, French, Spanish* and *German*; a good Part of it was now finished; the Front is stately made, like a Theatre, and it looks upon the *Louvre*, being placed on the opposite Side of the River *Seine*. The *Sorbonne* College is a magnificent Structure. The Doctors wear black Gowns; and when Exercises are perform'd, they wear a white Furr, which hangs athwart the Breast. *L'Hôtel de Ville en la Place de Grave* is an old and fair Building. *Pont Neuf* in the Middle is joined to the Island *Notre Dame* Church stands in. The Brass Statue of *Henry IV.* on Horseback, made by *Bologna* (who is buried at the *Annunciata* in *Florence*) stands in the Middle of the Bridge, having Inscriptions and *Bass relievi*, describing his Victories, &c. *Place Dauphine* is a triangular Piazza built very uniform, and just in Sight of *Henry IVth's* Statue. *Rue de Harlay* is behind that Piazza, where all the Houses are of the same Building. *Place Royale* is an uniform Square, very neat, having a green Court railed about, and a small Portico under all the Houses. *Notre Dame* is a fair Church with a handsome Front, adorned with Statues, and two flat Steeples, from which is a good Prospect of the City. Several Colours hang up in this Church, two of them were taken by the *English*. The *Bastile* is like the Tower of *London*, for Prisoners of State, where the King gives them Allowance. It is near Port *St. Antoine*. The Arsenal consists of many Courts, and has fair Walks in a Garden nigh the City Wall. *St. Germain Auxerrois* is a pretty Church nigh the *Louvre*, and is called the King's Parish Church. The *Thuilleries* is the Garden belonging to the *Louvre*, which they would not permit Strangers to see at this Time. The *Louvre* Gallery is 900 Feet long; under half the Length of it are Stables.

Before the *Louvre* Gallery, not far from *Pont des Thuilleries*, stood an old Tower called *la Tour des Anglois*, which was thrown down the last Year. Some say, the preceding Kings durst not throw it down, because of a Prophecy that *France* should be then conquered. The *Louvre* will be a vast Place when it is finished; that Side towards the River, and the End towards the *Thuilleries* is already built. *Donec totum impleat orbem, and Virtuti Regis invictissimi*, inscribed on several Parts of the *Chesteau de Louvre*. In the Jesuits Church *Rue St. Antoine*, is *Lewis* the Thirteenth's Heart kept in a Golden Case, held up by two Silver Angels. In the same Church is a fair Altar, with about four Brass Figures or Statues, being the Monuments of this Prince of *Conde's* Father. I rode out of the City two Leagues to *St. Clou*, where *Madame Henrietta*, Dutches of *Orleans* our King *Charles* the Second's Sister, hath a Palace and Gardens. In the Parish Church of *St. Clou* is a spiral Marble Pillar, and Inscriptions to *Henry III.* whose Heart is kept here. In a Chapel under the Choir is the old Monument of *St. Clou*; two Leagues thence we came to *Verfailles*, a pretty Pleasure-house built by *M. Fouquet*. Here rare Birds and other Animals are kept, but the *Conceirge* would not let us see them, or the Rooms of the House, because we had no Ticket from *M. —*. In the Room, they say, are Cabinets, are Looking-Glasses, &c. curiously adorned with Silver Fillegree-work. Here I saw *Lewis XIV.* and his Queen, attended by a Foot Company of *Swiss*, armed with Back, Breast, and Head-pieces, a Company of *Swiss* with Halberds, and a Company of *French* Foot, besides his Guard in Livery on Horseback, armed with Carbines. The King has also a Guard of Younger Brothers, who serve him voluntarily, and wear whitish Coats with Silver Lace; they carry Muskets. Out of these the King oftentimes chooses his Officers. The Lord *Douglas* was formerly the *French* King's Page, who at this Time commanded a Regiment of *Scots*, which the King of *England* sent for over upon the Declaration of War between *France* and *England*.

Every *Monday* comes out the *Journal des Sçavans*, a Pamphlet written by one *Mr. Galloyer* a *Parisian*, and but a young Man. *M. Jonquet* is Professor in the King's Garden, which is a handsome large Place; but that at *Montpellier* is bigger and more pleasant. *M. Marchand*, formerly an Apothecary, hath travelled some Parts of the *Levant*, and is very skilful in Herbs; he hath the best *Hortus Siccus* that we ever saw, the Plants being neatly fasten'd on with a Glew, which he freely told us was made thus: Take of *Ithyocolla* and *Ξυλονολλα, ana*; cut these small, and then boil them with *Colocynth*, and afterwards dissolve all in Vinegar. Among the dried Plants, *Medica Ciliaris* and *Ferrum equinum, Siliqua multiplici*, are most remarkable. We met accidentally with one *M. Crock*, a Physician in *Amiens*, who seemed to be a very ingenious Person. In a dirty narrow Street, called *Rue de la Ferranerie*, we saw the Well, which *Ravillac* stood against, when he stabbed *Henry IV.* the King's Footmen, going through *St. Innocent's* Church-yard, which is just by. *St. Innocent's* Church-yard hath many Charnal Houses round about, and it is observable, that none of the Graves there are digged much above one Foot and an half deep, and yet the Flesh of the dead Bodies is suddenly consumed by the Earth, which is of a chalky Nature. When they make new Graves, they sometimes met with whole Coffins, but the Flesh quite consumed within them. In *Lent*-time no Butchers can sell Flesh, the Hospital having the Gain of all the Flesh that is eaten at *Paris* in this Season; which must be a considerable Profit, if they always, as they did this *Lent*, sell Beef at eight Sols per Pound.

St. Eustace is a fair and large Church. *Valdegrace* is a new Church building, at the Expence of the late Queen-Mother of *France*; it hath a handsome Ascent up to it, by several Stone Steps, which lead into a Portico in the Front of the Church: It is made after the *Italian* Fashion, and hath a Cupola between the Choir and the Nave. The Queen's Heart is buried here. The *Carthusians* have a great Cloister in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, and have large Walks. *Luxembourg* is a stately Palace, and very uniformly built; it hath fair and large Walks, like those of the *Roman Villa*, where all Persons may walk with Freedom. *Mademoiselle* the Prince of *Conde's* Sister lives here. Every Hour of the Day there passes a Hackney-coach from the *Place Royal* to *Luxembourg-house*; and another Coach goes from *Rue St. Honore* to *Rue St. Jaques*, where the Booksellers live. Every one pays five Sols for his Place, but goes with other Company, and for that Reason it is not usual for Persons of any Quality to go in them. *Palais Cardinal* is a fair Palace with handsome Walks. Here *Madame Henrietta*, Dutches of *Orleans*, lives. At one Side of this House is a publick Stage, where the *Italian* and *French* Comedians act by Turns. I saw here *Il Maritaggio d'una Statua*; a merry Play, where the famous Buffoon *Scaramuccio* acted; three antick Dances pleased the Spectators. The *Quatre Scaramuccie* was another pleasant *Italian* Comedy. We stood in the *Parterre* or Pit, and paid thirty Sols for seeing the first, and but fifteen Sols for seeing the last. We saw a *French* Comedy, entitled, *L'Estourdie*; which was better acted than we expected. We paid for seeing this, and standing in the Pit, fifteen Sols a Man. In the *Marais du Temple* are another Company of *French* Actors, who have Machines to move their Scenes. *M. le Dauphin* hath his Company of Boys, who, they say, act very well. The *Sale des Machines*, in the *Louvre*, is made like that at *Modena*, and by the same Workman *Gaspar Vigarini*; this is larger, and the Roof of the Theatre richer gilt; they say it will hold 5000 People, and that at *Modena* but 3000; one of the Machines moves a Hall with the King and Courtiers. The Sea is well represented in one Machine. Noblemen's Houses are called *Hostels*, and over their Gates are always written the Names of them; as, *Hostel des Ambassadeurs* near the *Luxembourg*. *Hostel de Sully* is in *Rue St. Antoine*; *Hostel de Vendosme* in *Rue St. Honore*. The *Mathurins* are the *Padri di Riscatto*, and are thus called in *Paris*, because *St. Mathurin's* Body

was

was formerly kept here ; which is since carried to the Place where he was born, called *Archant*, a Village in *Gastinois*. In the Cloyster here is a Tomb-stone with a Sphere on it, and round about it this Inscription.

*De Sacro bosco qui compustita Joannes
Tempora discevit jacet hic a tempore raptus
Tempore qui sequeris, memor esto quod morieris,
Si miser es plora, miserans pro me precor ora.*

Clermont College is a square and high Building, that belongs to the Jesuits who teach here, in several Schools, about two thousand Boys, many of whom are Gentlemen's Sons boarded here, having several Halls to dine in, and long Chambers to lodge in. They say about 400 Boys live here in this Manner, and are not suffered to go out of the Gate without Leave. Many of the Scholars wear colour'd Gowns, fashion'd like the Sophisters in *Cambridge*, and have large Velvet round Caps when they learn Logick, and square Caps when they read Philosophy. At a Dispute, we saw the Duke of *Guise*, a young Lad. *Le Palais* is in the same Isle with *Notre Dame*, where the Courts of Judicature sit ; the Lawyers wear black Gowns and square Caps. In the Hall are many Shops and Galleries. One *Varennes* is the only Protestant Bookseller here, who, to signify whether Mass is said or not, hangs out a Pastboard, having on one Side the Letter *N*. and on the other the Letter *O*. for *Non* and *Ouy*. This is taken Notice of by the Protestants that come to the Hall, that they may avoid the Elevation of the Host. *Eschelle du Temple* is a great Ladder that stands in the Corner of a Street not far from the Place where the *Templars* formerly lived. The chief Streets are, 1. *Rue St. Jacques*. 2. *Rue St. Martin*. 3. *Rue Montmartre*. 4. *Rue St. Denis*. 5. *Rue St. Honore*. There are ten *Fauxbourgs* or Suburbs, twenty Gates, eleven Bridges, six hundred Streets in the City and Suburbs, more than thirty-two thousand Houses, and above one hundred Religious Houses or Convents. At the *Gobelins* is a House where Tapestry is made. Nigh Port *St. Honore*, the Lord *Hollis*, the *English* Ambassador, dwelt.

The Fair of *St. Germain* begins the 3d of *February*, and holds all the Lent ; the Place the Fair is kept in, is a large square House with six or seven Rows of Shops, where Customers play at Dice, when they come to buy Things ; the Commodity is first bought, and then they play who shall pay for it. After Candle-lighting is the greatest Gaming ; sometimes the King comes and plays. Here we saw the Picture of our Saviour's Ascension, *St. Peter*, *St. Paul* and two Angels ; it was made by *Antonio Moro*, who lived in *Charles* the Vth Time ; it is valued at 200 Pistoles. The Frame is curiously carved, and very richly gilt. The *Theatins* have a fair Church and Cloister, a Building by the River Side, some Distance below the College of Four Nations. Cardinal *Mazarin* gave a Legacy for the Erecting this Convent. 1. *Pont St. Michel*, 2. *Pont aux Change*, 3. *Pont Notre Dame*, and 4. *Petit Pont*, have Shops on each Side. The *Pont Notre Dame* is a very uniform Street. 5. *Pont Marie*, some Years ago had many of its Houses, at one End, tumbled down in the Night, by a violent Stream of the River. Every one without a Sword pays two Livres that passes over. 6. *Pont de Bois*, which joins the Isle *Notre Dame* Church stands in, to Isle *Notre Dame*, where are new and handsome Streets. An *English* Boat rowed by twelve Men, two of them *English*, in this River, and belongs to the Dutchess of *Orleans*. The King hath one or two Pleasure-boats. Cross several Streets of *Paris* hang little Bells and Chains, which are rung when Thieves break into Houses in the Night-time. The *Chastelet* is a Prison not far from *Pont aux Change*, where Men are clapt up for Debt, and sometimes criminal Matters. Such as are found murdered in the Streets are brought hither, and exposed to View, that they may be known. *Vade in Pace* is a close Prison in Convents, where they keep such as have been professed of their Order, and are turned Protestants. They feed them with Bread and Water, and there let

them lie sometimes all their Days. It is like a Dungeon, having only some Light from the Top, whence their Meat is let down.

16. A *Frenchman*, at the first Sight, is very civil and familiar, and will as suddenly forget his Acquaintance with you ; they will ask you, whether you are of the Religion, *i. e.* Protestant or of the *Eglise*, *i. e.* *Roman* Catholick Religion, the first Time you fall into their Company, and enquire who made your Cloaths, what they cost, and twenty such Questions. If you employ a Porter, &c. and not agree with him before Hand what he shall have, he will go away grumbling, though you give him more than he could have expected if a Bargain had been first made. None but Gentlemen, or such as have been Officers in the Army, can wear Swords, &c. when they travel. The *French* Women are generally bad Housewives, minding their Cloaths, and dressing most, which they will have in the Fashion ; and the Humour of observing Modes must be satisfied in both Sexes, though their Bellies pinch for it ; for in most Families their Diet is both coarse and slender. The Women drink usually Water, and sometimes a little Wine ; they have a Breeding so free, that in *England* we should esteem it immodest, the *Hugonots* as well as popish Ladies, spot and paint their Faces, which, however, some of their Ministers do not approve ; and, in a Word, Women of both Religions, agree but too much in their Morals.

Swearing and Cursing, with the Addition of obscene Words, are customary in both Sexes. Yet there are some Men and Women among the *Hugonots* that are truly religious. Look on a *French* Woman, and you shall see her stare you in the Face, which is a Confidence that better becomes the Men, who seldom or never are put out of Countenance. The *French* are strangely impatient at all Games, especially at Cards, which transport some that lose into a Rage, and they make a dreadful Noise, with Blasphemies, Cursing and Swearing in a horrid Manner. At this Time most People complained of their King's imposing Taxes, &c. yet they seemed to boast of him, and were proud to think themselves Subjects to an absolute Monarchy. Shirking or Sharping is as natural to a *Frenchman* as his Oaths ; and tho' his Carriage be free, yet he is stingy enough of his Purse, and will sooner lose a Friend than a Penny, and small Interests will govern his Affections ; *Exceptis Excipiendis*.

Malefactors receive their Sentences on their Knees, which pronounced, the Hangman presently ties a Rope about their Necks, and conveys them to the Prison ; whence after Confession, they are immediately hauled to the Gallows, so that sometimes they are condemned in the Morning, and hanged before Night. If one hath endeavoured to kill another, and the assaulted Person lives, yet the Justice of *France* will condemn the other to die, taking the Will for the Deed. The Marquis de *l'Ange*, a Protestant, and reputed a stout Man, was divorc'd not long since from his Wife, a very handsome and virtuous Woman. She after some Years complained to her Friends, that the Marquis was not able to get her with Child : This made some Disturbance among the Relations, but at last, when Physicians, &c. had given in their Testimonies, they could perceive no external Fault in either ; it was agreed by both Parties they should prepare themselves, and a Day was appointed by the Physicians to be not far off ; but notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Marquis, it was concluded by a Decree of Parliament, that they might be divorced. The Lady is since married to another, and hath Children by him, and the Marquis hath another Wife, and hath got her often with Child.

April 7. After Dinner, and just as Mr. Howlett, Dr. Ward, Mr. Ray, Dr. Moulins, Mr. Lister and myself, were going out of our Lodging towards the *Chasse Maree*, a kind of a Cart, that fetches Fish from *Calais*, one of the *French* King's Officers, a Captain de Guet, asked for Monsieur Moulins ; and while he exchanged two or three Words with him, he set his Baston, which he had under his Cloak in two or three Pieces, together ; and presently came in eight or ten Musqueteers, who seized

seized on Dr. *Moulins*, and hurried him away in a Sedan to the Bastile; the Captain first read the Order or Warrant commanding him to apprehend one *Moulins* wherever he could find him. Mr. *Howlett*, Dr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Ray* went away this Day for *England*, but Mr. *Lister* and myself not liking that Way of travelling by the *Chasse Maree*, staid a little longer in *Paris*; in which Time we could not learn any Thing concerning the Imprisonment of Dr. *Moulins*'s, only Guesses were made that his chief Crime was, he had lived too long among the *French* Protestants in *Languedoc*; and that the *French* King suspected he might discover the present Inclinations of that Party after his Arrival in *England*, he being very intimate with some of good Quality, that were discontented with the present Management of Affairs in *France*.

When *Oliver Cromwell* was Protector, there happened this Accident at *Nismes*; the Protestants having a Right to chuse Magistrates, the popish Party were resolved to hinder them by Force on the Day of Election, and had some of the King's Guards, and all the Papists in Arms standing ready about the Town-House; the Protestants also armed in great Numbers, and one Protestant Gentleman being nigh the Door that led into the *Maison de Ville*, had a Pistol in his Hand, and being demanded why he stood in that Posture, answered, to defend their Privileges; then they commanded him to deliver up his Arms, which he refusing, the Guard shot him dead; which gave such an Alarm to the Protestants, that they immediately fired at the Guards and others, and killed the Bishop of *Nismes*'s Nephew, and then turned the Guards, and the rest of the Papists out of the City. After that they began to fortify, and had many of their Friends come in daily to their Assistance, from the *Severnes*, &c. But some more considerate Persons consulting what was to be done, at last resolved to send Dr. *Moulins*, then in *Nismes*, into *England*, and acquaint the Protector with it, and to desire his Intercession with the Court of *France*; so Dr. *Moulins* immediately and privately rode away for *Lyons*, in bitter snowy Weather, and in eight Days arrived in *England*, having first waited upon Lord *Lockhart*, the *English* Ambassador at *Paris*. In this Journey, Dr. *Moulins* rode Post with a *Frenchman*, that seeing the Postboy fall down dead with the Extremity of Cold, opened his Codpiece, and rubbed his *Membrum virile*, with Snow, till he recovered him, which he did in a little Time, and the Boy was able again to ride Post. Dr. *Moulins* staid but a very short Time at *London*, and then returned with Secretary *Thurloe*'s Letters to the *English* Ambassador and Cardinal *Mazarine*; the Postscript of the Letter to Cardinal *Mazarine* was written with the Protector's own Hand; the Words were to this Effect: *As you shew Kindness to the Protestants, so you have me your Friend or your Foe.* Dr. *Moulins*'s, upon his Arrival at *Paris*, delivered the Letters to the Ambassador; within a short Time he attended on the Ambassador to the Cardinal's, who read the Letter, and then had some private Conference with *Lockhart*; after which *Moulins* was called in, who heard the Cardinal promise to the Ambassador, the Protestants at *Nismes* should not be meddled with; and added, Mr. Ambassador, *You know France is not in a Condition to deny England any Thing.* Accordingly, Orders were sent exprefs to stop the Troops which were marching against *Nismes*, and within a Day's March of the Place when they received the Orders.

Dr. *Moulins* sent a Note for some Linnen to our Lodging, and Mr. *Lister* returned by the Messenger a little Billet, which only condoled his Misfortune, but the Captain of the Guard at the Bastile tore it in Pieces. All this while we heard of no Crime laid to his Charge. He was kept a Prisoner at the King's Charge, and well dieted and used. After the City of *London* was burnt, the *French* King sent a Courtier, I think *Rouvingny*, to *Moulins*, to acquaint him he should make any Province in *France* his Prison, if he would give Security in a great Sum of Money not to go out of it, which he said he was not able to give. Some Time after the King offered him all *France* for his Prison,

upon the said Security; to which he answered as before. At last the King sent for him and told him, he had done him no Wrong, and then bid him begone out of *France* within a Fortnight. This Relation I had from Dr. *Moulins* after his Coming into *England*.

17. The *Romish Gallican Church* consists at present of fourteen Archbishopricks, which are, 1. *Lyons*. 2. *Ambrune*. 3. *Auchs*. 4. *Arles*. 5. *Tours*. 6. *Rheims*. 7. *Bordeaux*. 8. *Toulouse*. 9. *Bourges*. 10. *Narbonne*. 11. *Aix*. 12. *Vienne*. 13. *Rouen*. 14. *Paris*. Under these Archbishopricks are Eighty five Suffragan Bishopricks, which contain 7000 Parsonages, Priories, and Parishes, above 1140 Commanderies of *Malta*, 157000 Chapels, besides 557 Abbeys of Friars, and above 700 Convents of *Cordeliers*, exclusive of the *Carmelites*, *Jacobins*, *Augustins*, *Carthusians*, *Celestines*, *Jesuits*, *Minims*, and other religious Orders, who possess 14077 Convents. To these Clergy belong 259000 Farms, and 17000 Acres of Vineyards, which are by them leased out in *France*, not reckoning 3000 Acres from which they take the Third and the Fourth. The Revenue of the said Church is estimated at 920,000 Crowns *per Annum*, exclusive of the Reservations in their Leases, which amount to 120,000 Crowns, consisting of three *Livres* each. The said Calculation was made by order of the Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, held in the *Augustine's* Convent, at the End of *Pont Neuf*, in *Paris* the 16th of November, 1635.

18. April the 1st, Mr. *Poley*, Mr. *Lister* and myself gave eighteen *Livres* a Man for our Places in a Coach-Waggon that holds eight Persons; we had in the Coach with us, one of *Geneva*, (a *Genevrite* as they vulgarly call them) who had lived many Years, and married a Wife in *Venice*; but the last Year the Inquisition took Notice of some that were privately Protestants, and clapped two into Prison. This Man had Intelligence of their Design, and therefore presently retired out of *Venice*, and undertook a Journey for *London*, where he resolved to end his Days. We had also in the Coach, a stout young *Swedish* Soldier, who had stolen away a young Woman; and that Morning we set forward, three *Frenchmen* pretending themselves the King's Officers, attempted to get her away, and carry him to Prison, because he had dressed the Wench he sometimes call'd his Wife, in Men's Cloaths; but the *Swede* outvapour'd them, and turned them down Stairs, and went after them, hectoring them all the Way to the Inn-Gate. When I came to *London*, I met with this *Swede*, and asked him in *Italian*, where was his *Bella Donna*, he replied, he had dismissed her; and said, *Jo Tenge una piu bella*, i. e. I have got a handsomer. This Day we rode through *St. Dennis*, four Leagues from *Paris*, and four Leagues further lodged in *Beaumont*, a little Town situated by the River *Loazzo*. We observed some few Vineyards this Day. 2d. We travelled four Leagues, and dined at the White Cross in *Tilliar*, and three Leagues further lodged in *Beauvais*, a large Town, but the Houses low, and built of Wood.

The Royal Manufacture here employs four or five hundred Men in weaving Tapestry, having several Looms in long Chambers; and Painters are invited thither to draw the Pictures that are to be woven. We observed those that weave have the Picture they work just underneath the Tapestry they are weaving. The Cathedral in this City was not finished. The Choir is built like those in *England*, very high and handsome within and without: There is a large Piazza in this Town. On the 3d, after six Leagues riding, we dined at *St. Puy*; then three Leagues brought us to *Pais*, a Village where the Duke of *Crecqui* hath a Castle. On the 4th, we went five Leagues, and dined in *Airaines*, a great Village, and after Dinner rode four Leagues more to *Abbeville*, a large Town with wooden Houses. Good Guns and Pistols made in this City. There are likewise three or four large Piazza's here. *St. Ulfranc* is the chief Church, a lofty stone Building, not finished. The River *Soanne* crosses the City in three Places; little Vessels of 80 Tons come up hither, the Sea being but

three Leagues off. Between *Airaines* and *Abbeville* we passed by a Fort. On the 5th, we rode five Leagues, and dined in *Berneil*, a Village five Leagues thence, and lodged in *Montrevil*, a Garrison Town indifferently built, but well paved and fortified; where we entred, there was a treble Wall, and good Ditches, and where we went out, was a steep Descent into a marshy Ground. On the 6th, we travel'd two Leagues, very bad Way, to *Fran*, a small Village; and after Dinner rode hilly Way five Leagues to *Boulogne*, a City built on a Hill. The Suburbs called the *Basse Ville*, where we lodged; a little Sea-port here. All the Way, in this Journey from *Paris*, we bargained for our Meat before Meals, and at Night did the like, or else bought it out of the Cook's Shops, paying only for our Lodging, Use of Table-linnen, &c. in the Inn. *Piccardy* is a great Corn Country.

On the 7th, we rode bad hilly Way, three Leagues to *Marquise*, a Village, and four Leagues further to *Calais*: Half a League before we came into the Town, we descended into the Fenny Country about it. We passed also by a strong Cittadel, and among many little Cottages, which are used, as some told us, for Pest-houses in Time of Infection. Entering *Calais*, the Guards only examined how many *English* and *French* we were in the Coach. On the 8th, after taking a Passport from the Judge-Major, and our Things searched, we delivered our Passport without the Gate, and entering the *English* Packet-boat, sailed two Hours S. W. to gain the Wind; and in three Hours, without once changing Board, we safely arrived at *Dover*, a Boat fetching us a Shore. The Author concludes his Journal with this Inscription.

*Deo
Omnipotent
Maximas reddit
Gratias
P. S.*

19. These Travels of Mr. Ray and Mr. Skippon may prove both useful and entertaining to the Reader in many Respects, not only though they were written so long ago, but even from that very Circumstance. They show the Condition that *France* was in at that Time of Day, the Size and the Number of the Inhabitants in several of the principal Cities, and above all, the Situation of Things before the Edict of *Nants* was recalled, and the Protestants were obliged to quit that Kingdom: This will afford the Means of making many useful Comparisons to Persons who have their Heads turned for rational Politicks, and ground their Opinions of Kingdoms and States, not upon the loose and general Representations of the ordinary Rank of Writers, but upon Observations of their own, founded in Facts that may with Reason be concluded certain. As for Instance, our Author last-mentioned gives us the State of the Clergy in *France* at the Time he was there: I will also give another short State of it as it now stands, from a Book published with Royal Authority: There are at present, in the Dominions of the *French* King, 18 Archbishopricks, 113 Bishopricks, 770 Abbeys of Men, and 317 of Women, to which the King names: There are besides 250 Commanderies of the Order of *Malta*, which shows not only the Power of the Clergy in that Kingdom; but also the Power and Influence of the Crown over the Clergy.

We may learn likewise, from these Travels, some very curious Circumstances with respect to Manufactures and Commerce. Those Things that appeared so new and singular even to these great Men, are now very common in this Kingdom. We are no Strangers to the Art of making Verdigrease; and, as for the Art

of Blanching or rather Bleaching of Wax, it is not only known, but practised here with as great Success as Abroad; so that the Notions of peculiar Excellencies of the Climate or Water of *France* appear to have had no Foundation in Nature, but were the mere Chimera's of *French* Vanity; and there is no Doubt that, upon proper Experiments, the same Thing will be found true in other Cases. It is, indeed, highly likely that these Travels occasioned our looking into and transferring several *French* Manufactures hither; and therefore this Kind of Writing ought, of all others, to be encouraged.

There was an Attempt made in King *James* the First's Time, to introduce the Silk Trade into this Kingdom, and a Plantation of Mulberry-trees was raised for that Purpose at *Chelsea*; but it failed, not because the Thing was found impracticable from any Faults in the Soil or Climate, but because those concerned in the Project, wanted Steddiness, and those employed under them, Care and Industry; without which, nothing of this Kind can be ever brought to bear. I have been informed, that in *Hampshire* some Trials of the like Nature have been made with great Appearance of Success; but those that were concerned made such a Secret of their Proceedings while living, that the Thing could not be conveniently carried on after their Decease. It has been likewise asserted, that Olive-trees might be cultivated in at least five of our Southern Counties; but we delight, it seems, rather in having Rarities in our Gardens, than Riches in our Fields.

The *French* had that Notion too, as well as we, but *Henry IV.* the very best King they ever had, beat them out of it, and compelled the Inhabitants of the poorest Provinces of *France*, to become wiser and richer in Spite of their Teeth. He made Use of his Power to make his Subjects happy; and desired it, for no other Purpose, as appears from an Answer he made, when it was slyly insinuated to him in Prejudice to the Protestants, that he could do nothing in *Rochelle*, which was then in their Hands. *It is a Mistake*, said the King, *I am absolute in Rochelle, for I can do there just as much Good as I please.* His Successor dragooned the Protestants out of *France*, though the most industrious People in it, because they were not of his Religion; but *Henry IV.* dragooned his Subjects of all Religions into planting Mulberry-trees, and making Silk. One, from a Principle of publick Spirit, obliged People to do what they ought against their Inclinations, because he knew it was for their Good; the other from a narrow and bigotted Spirit, drove People out of his Dominions, who were doing all the Good they could.

But there is no Need of making Use of Force here, another Method would do the Business much better. A Reward of Ten Thousand Pounds for the first Hundred Weight of Silk, or the first Hogshead of Oyl, upon Security given to make the like Quantity annually for twenty Years after, might bestow upon us both Commodities, if it be possible for us to enjoy them; if not, the Reward would never be obtained, and therefore no Hurt would be done.

We find, in these Travels, a remarkable Point of secret History; I mean the Protector's saving the City of *Nismes*, and that from the most authentick Authority, with many other Things which we might look for in vain any where else. But with regard to Matters of a later Date, which come nearer our own Times, and that may better enable us to judge of the present State of *France*, it is necessary that we should have in this Collection, Travels of another Nature, and in another Season, which the Reader will find in the next Section; and, from the Perusal of both, will be more instructed and better entertained than they could have been with either, if it had stood single.

SECTION IV.

TRAVELS through *France*, interspersed with historical, political and medical Observations, made with great Care and Circumspection, in two different Journeys through that Kingdom, the last of which was compleated in the Year 1702, and the Whole revised by the Author a little before his Death.

By Doctor JOHN NORTHLEIGH, of the Royal College of Physicians.

1. *A short Introduction. The Author's Entrance into the Kingdom of France. The Places he passed through in his Journey to Paris.*
2. *A large and curious Description of that City, with an Account of the principal Edifices and other Things remarkable, observed therein by the Author.*
3. *A very copious and circumstantial Description of the University of Paris, and of the several Colleges of which it is composed.*
4. *A Description of some of the principal Churches in this City; also of the Houses belonging to the Jesuits.*
5. *The Abbey of St. Germain's described, with some Account of the Curiosities there.*
6. *The Palais, the Chappel of St. Louis, the Palace of Luxemburg and the Observatory described.*
7. *An Account of the Bridges in Paris, with some historical Remarks.*
8. *The Place de St. Victoire, and the Triumphal Arch erected to the Honour of Lewis XIV.*
9. *An Account of the principal Gates of this City.*
10. *A Description of the French King's Country Palaces, particularly Fountainbleau, St. Germain's, and Marli.*
11. *A more particular Description of Versailles, and some other Palaces not far from it.*
12. *A Description of the Monastery of St. Dennis, where the French Kings are interred.*
13. *The Author's Journey to the Sea-Coast through Pontoise, Roan, Dieppe, Abbeville and Calais.*
14. *The Author's Journey from Paris by Charrienton to the Banks of the Loire, with his Observations in his Passage.*
15. *Nevers, Moulins, and other Places described, with some Account of the Waters of Bourbon.*
16. *A Description of the City of Lyons, of the most remarkable Buildings, and other Curiosities there.*
17. *This Subject continued with an Account of the adjacent Country.*
18. *The Author's Remarks on the French Government and Nation.*
19. *Some Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

I. **WE** are acquainted with very few Circumstances relating to the ingenious Gentleman, who was the Author of these Travels. He was bred at the University of Oxford, as Mr. Wood informs us, and traveled through the greatest Part of Europe, purely for the Sake of Improvement and Information. He entered France from that Part of the Low Countries now under the Dominion of the French Monarchs, having before passed through the Territories of the Republick of the United Provinces, which he has also described; but considering we have inserted Travels through that Country already, we shall not fatigue the Reader with Repetitions, but give him at once our Author's own Account of the Places he passed through in his Way to Paris.

The first Place we came to in France, properly so call'd, (without its Conquests) was *Peronne*, formerly a Frontier Town towards *Cambray*, and well fortified after the old Way, being the first on that Side in *Picardy*. Here the Custom-house Officers searched us as strictly as if we had first set Foot into the French Territories, though we came out of the French Conquests, and had paid Duties there to the same King. It is seated upon a Level on the River *Somme*, not unlike our *Salisbury*, but in Bigness approaching near to *Exeter*, in that Part of *Picardy* called the *Vermandois* or *Sans-terre*; the first being the Situation of the ancient *Veromandue*; *St. Quintins*, which is not far off, being supposed to have been the *Augusta Veromanduorum* of *Cæsar*.

From *Peronne*, passing through the little Village of *Marlipo*, we came to *Roy*, formerly a Town of Note, (as its Ruins sufficiently testify) seated on the River *Moreul* in the *Sans-terre*; then taking our Way through the Village of *Gourney*, surnamed *Sur le Arondeburg*, in the Isle of France, we came to *Pont* surnam'd *St. Maixence*, upon the River *Oyse*, having an old strong Wall, and a good Bridge that brings you to it cross the River. From hence travelling three Leagues further, we came to *Senlis*, a Bishop's See, Suffragan to that of

Reims; some would have it the *Augustomagus* of *Ptolemy*. The Great Church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, is supposed to have been built by the English. The next Town betwixt this and *Paris* is the *Louvre*, seated in the Dukedom of *Valois*, once the Sirname of the Royal Family, before it was swallow'd up in the House of *Bourbon*. *Picardy* has generally a pleasant and fertile Soil.

2. Thence we came to *Paris*, the Metropolis of France, which some have compared with *London* for its Extent, Buildings, and Number of Inhabitants. As for its Circumference, the same is easily discover'd from off the Towers of their *Notre Dame* or *Our Lady's* Church, to be much less than our's, though it lies in a more circular Figure. The Houses, it must be confess'd, look very handsome on the Outside, being built with a fair white Free-stone (found thereabouts) with handsome Sash-windows.

The Number of its Inhabitants is, in my Opinion, best guess'd at, without any further Scrutiny, by the People you meet with in the Streets, especially on the *Pontneuf*, the greatest Passage in *Paris*, and that a very short one, notwithstanding which, you shall very rarely see near so many People there, as you meet every where walking all along from *Tower-hill* to *Westminster-Abbey*: Add to this, that their By-Streets and Alleys are not near so throng'd with People as ours in *London*; and if Trade is the main Thing that renders Cities populous, (as we see in those of *Holland*) it is evident that our Metropolis challenges the Preference upon that Account. What some would alledge in Reference to the Number of Coaches in *Paris* is of no great Consequence, though I am apt to believe we may carry it even upon that Account.

This so much celebrated City is seated in a most delightful Plain; their Houses are generally six or seven Stories high: By common Computation *Paris* has betwixt thirty and forty thousand Houses, and about seven hundred thousand Souls.

The Streets are much handfomer and less dirty than they were formerly, (which gave it the Name of *Lutetia*) and their Squares are exceeding noble; they are enlightned in the Night-time by Lanthorns hung on Lines. The whole Bulk of this spacious City is divided into three Parts; the first is called *la Ville*, containing the four Suburbs of *St. Antoine*, *Du Temple*, *St. Martin* and *St. Denis*, being encompass'd with the *Sein* on one Side, and Walls on the other; the second is call'd *la Cite*, seated betwixt the first and the third, upon what is properly call'd the *Isle*, surrounded by the Branches of the before-mentioned River, and joyn'd to the rest by Bridges, being the most ancient part of the Town; the third Part is called the *University*, seated on a rising Ground, containing the Colleges erected for the Promoting of Learning, and the *Fauxbourgs* or Suburbs of *St. Germain*, *St. Michael*, *St. Jaques*, *St. Marcell*, and *St. Victoire*.

The Suburb of *St. Germain* has the best Palaces and Colleges. For the rest; in all the three Quarters are reckoned forty Parish Churches, forty two Abbeys and Convents, forty Nunneries, twenty four Hospitals, forty eight Colleges, besides seventeen Chapels; so that Charity and Religion seems to take up a considerable Part of this great City. The *Sein* passes through the Middle of it, and the Water is very sweet and fresh here, but has no Tide, like our *Thames* about *London*. So much of it in general. We will now proceed to give you the Particulars. The *Louvre*, were it finish'd according to the first Design, would questionless exceed all Structures in the World, whereas now only two Sides are compleated, *viz.* that towards the *Sein* and *Thuilleries*, the Hotels of *Crequi*, *Longueville* and *Montausier* being since built within the Compass of this Structure, which for this and some other Reasons (amongst which the Siding of this City, with the Malecontents in this King's Minority is none of the least) is suppos'd will never be finish'd, it being certain that the third Part of the Charges employ'd in Building of *Versailles*, would have made this as compleat and magnificent a Structure as ever the World beheld: Some say *Philip the August* was the first Founder of it, above 500 Years ago, but the Fabrick, as it now stands, oweth its Rise to *Francis I.* The Hall call'd *le Salle de Cent Seifs*, formerly the Hall of Audience for Ambassadors, was by *Mary de Medicis* turn'd into a Playhouse. On the Porches you see several Inscriptions, sufficiently demonstrating that the *French* were always good at flattering their Monarchs, though they then did not come up to that Height as they have since, in bestowing the Epithet of *Viro Immortali* and other such-like blasphemous Expressions upon them. Upon this Occasion I cannot forbear inserting three Distichs made by the *French* Poets, exceeding for their Loftiness the Structure itself:

Rex, Regnum, atque Domus, tria sunt Miracula Mundi!
Rex animo, Regnum viribus, arte Domus.

Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ullam,
Urbisve Domum, Dominum nec Domus ulla parem.

Louvre Domus, Dominus Ludovicus, Regia Rege
Digna suo, Cælo est hæc minor, ille Deo.

All the Antiquities and *Roman* Statues, with a most curious Cabinet of Paintings formerly preserv'd here, are transported to *Versailles*; there are however some Pieces left of *le Brun's*, and that celebrated Piece of *Paul Veronese's* Wedding of *Cana*, presented to the King by the Senate of *Venice*; for the *Servi*, in whose Church it stood on the Altar, having sold the same to the *French* King, the Senate hearing of it, to check these mercenary Monks, presented it to the King. Their Academy for the cultivating and improving the *French* Tongue, instituted by the present King's Father, consisting of forty or fifty of the most ingenious Persons of the City, is kept here ever since. Many of the chief Artists belonging to the King have their Apartments in this Palace; their chief Painter then was *M. le Brun*, since dead; their head Graver was *Girardon*; and for Sculp-

tures, Medals and Coin, *M. Rotier*, whose two Brothers have the Honour to serve in the same Employment to the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. And not far from these they shew you another spacious Place call'd the *Guard meuble*, stor'd with all Sorts of Paintings, Tapestries and curious Cabinets.

The *Thuillery* is also a Part of the *Louvre*, where it faces the fine Garden of the *Thuilleries*; it was formerly furnish'd with Abundance of the best Painting, and other Movables of the best Workmanship, which have been carried to *Versailles*: That Part which fronts the Garden is a long beautiful Piece of a Fabrick begun by *Henry IV.* and compleated by *Lewis XIV.* The Theatre in it is exceeding noble, and the Gardens before it not inferior to any in *Europe*, not excepting even *Versailles*; the Walks and Plantations whereof are indeed more costly, but not more delightful and regular. At the lower End of it, stands a noble Statue of *Verity* carried off in the Arms of *Time*, with this Inscription;

Opus Petri à Frankavilla Comeracensis, Ann. 1609.

There are divers excellent Pieces extant of this great Master.

The Royal Palace, call'd *Palais Royale*, does also belong to the King, being the ordinary Residence of the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother, when in Town; it is compos'd of two fair Courts, with a delicious Garden behind it; Cardinal *Richlieu* was the Founder of it, who also built here a Theatre on Purpose for Tragedies, of which he was a great Admirer; but since *Moliere* had Liberty to act his Comedies there, and after his Death the Opera's were acted in the same Theatre. The *Place-Royal* is a vast Square, open towards the Street of *S. Honore*, intended chiefly for the King's Statue, which is to be put in the Middle, for which Reason they have demolish'd the *Hotel de Vendosme*, and ruin'd the Convent of the *Capuchins*.

Near this is another Structure call'd *le Palais Brion*, design'd for a Library, but since turn'd into two Academies, *viz.* for Architecture and Painting; the first erected by *M. Colbert*; *Mansard*, *Perault*, *Blondel* and *Felibien* were Members of it; they meet two or three Times a Week to consult about the most curious Models in Architecture that can be contriv'd. That of the Painters acknowledges *M. Noyers*, Secretary of State, for its Founder, but *M. Colbert* for its Restorer; of this *M. le Brun*, their great Painter, was President. They keep here a good Collection of original Paintings of some of the best Masters, Statues, Busts of ancient *Roman* Sculpture to design by; besides which, they hire every Day some clean-limb'd Man or Woman, who expose themselves naked to their view. The House, known by the Name of the *Cabinet du Roy*, contain'd formerly great Store of curious Pictures, Medals, Agates, and such-like Rarities, as also the *Anticalia* found in *Childeric* the First's Tomb at *Tournay*, with his Library, and a considerable Collection of Manuscripts, among which was *St. Cyprian's* Work, brought thither from *St. Lawrence's* Library at *Florence*; but these are for the most part now at *Versailles*.

The Academy of Sciences was likewise founded by *M. Colbert*; they are employ'd in promoting Mathematicks, Physick, and natural Philosophy, like our *Royal Society*, which exceeds theirs both in the Number of its Members and Advancement of Learning. They have many Nobemen's Houses of Note, call'd by them *Hotels*; that of the great *M. Colbert*, now in the Possession of the Marquis of *Seignelay*, is a very noble Fabrick, and his Library is most exquisite, both for its Number of good Books and curious Manuscripts; they shew you a Manuscript Bible as old as the Reign of *Charles le Chauve*; the famous Historian *M. de Thou* has also left the Publick an excellent Library. Most of their Noblemens Palaces of Note are furnish'd with very good Collections of Original Pictures by the most excellent Hands, which they have purchas'd for the most Part from the covetous *Italians*; among these the *Palais Mazarin*, and the *Hotel de Seignier*, deserve to be particularly remembered;

membered; the first is noble without, and curiously furnished within, with Statues and Paintings both ancient and modern, of the Hands of *Grimaldi* and *Romanelli*, two famous *Italian* Painters, sent for hither upon that Account; the King has taken the best of them, yet there are many Cabinets, Tapestries, and other rich Vessels of Stone and Silver, left. The second was also excellently well furnish'd with all Sorts of Curiosities, and particularly with precious *China*-works of all Sorts, but since sold or distributed.

The *Recolets* have a very good Library, and some excellent Paintings: Hard by is the Hospital of *St. Lewis*, founded for those that are infected with the Plague, by King *Henry IV.*, but at present is made use of for the Sick of the *Hotel de Dieu*. In the Street of *St. Avoye* is an old large Palace belonging to the *Grand Prior* of *France*, but formerly appertaining to the *Knights Templars*; it has a considerable Revenue annex'd to it. In the Street of *St. Lewis* is a noble Fountain, adorn'd with *Tritons* and other such-like Ornaments.

Their *Maison de Ville* or *Townhouse* stands in the Place called the *Greve*, built by King *Francis I.* Neither the Place nor Structure are answerable to the Greatness of such a City as *Paris*; however, there is a noble Way leading to it, enlarg'd in 1675, with Causeway-banks on both Sides.

The *Place Royal* is a magnificent Square, near as spacious as our *Great Lincoln's-Inn-Field*, enclos'd with *Piazza-Walks*, and the Platform with Iron Rails; the Statue of King *Lewis XIII.* set up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, stands in the Middle of it, with several Inscriptions on it in *French* and *Latin*; the Horse is said to be the Work of *Volterre* a famous *Italian*, who made it for King *Henry II.* The said Cardinal's House stands in the same Place, having among other Curiosities an excellent Collection of Paintings.

The *Bastile* is a Place not unlike our *Tower*, surrounded with a plain Wall and eight antique Turrets, and serves for the same use, viz. for a Magazine and a Prison for Prisoners of Quality. There is another very good Arsenal not far from this, a spacious Pile of Building, three great Courts and a Garden; the Portal is supported by Cannons instead of Pillars, with this Inscription in Capitals:

*Ætna hæc Henrico Vulcania tela ministrat,
Tela Giganteos debellatura furores.*

Here many Workmen are employ'd by the King, to cast Statues and other Works in Metal.

The Abbey of *St. Victoire*, in the Possession of the *Canons Regular* of *St. Austin*, is one of the most ancient Foundations in *Paris*; it has a good Library, and some Manuscripts; and Students are permitted to make use of them three Times every Week. The noted Mr. *Santeuil* belong'd both to this House and Order. The *Jardin Royal* or *Physick Garden* (of which Mr. *du Verney*, an excellent Anatomist, was Surveyor) is maintain'd at the King's Charge, and Botanick Lectures are kept there during the best Season for Plants; it is something longer, but not broader, than that of *Oxford*. There also belongs to it a very good Anatomy-School, stored with Skeletons of Animals, and among the rest with one of a very large Elephant. In the King's Laboratory every Body is admitted to see the Operations, and the Medicines made here are bestowed upon the Poor.

Near it is the *Hospital General*, as they call it, a vast Pile of Buildings, finish'd in 1657, by Cardinal *Mazarin*, and containing near six thousand poor People, who are employ'd here in different Sorts of Work, and when sick well look'd after. Another of their Hospitals is that call'd *Hotel Dieu*, a very large Building, but neither handsome nor extraordinary convenient, being sometimes overcrowded with Sick, and too closely built up round about it. As it is the chief Hospital in *Paris* for the Sick, the Nuns of *St. Austin* are oblig'd to tend and look after them, which they do with so much Tenderness sometimes, that they don't care much

to return to the Nunnery's; for, not long before, a certain *Irishman* being recovered by the Care of his pretty Nurse, made shift to carry her away without being ever heard of since: The Danger and Trouble that must needs be the Attendants of this Employment, making the same very meritorious among the *Romanists*, the Ladies of the first Quality sometimes employ themselves in these Acts of Piety; and it was in this Place that (not long before) the Dutches of *Nemours*, Mother to the Dutches of *Orleans*, got the Small-pox, and her Death into the Bargain. Not far thence is the Hospital *de la Charite*, where the Friars of *St. John* perform the same Office as the Nuns do in the former: Each Room has three Rows of Beds.

There is another Hospital in *Paris* they stile *The Incurable*, because only such as are past Cure are admitted into it.

But what exceeds all the rest is, the *Hotel Royal des Invalides*, or the *Royal Hospital* for maimed Soldiers, or those render'd unserviceable by Age, founded upon the same Design as our *Chelsea Hospital*, built at the present King's Charge, from 1670 to 1678. The whole Structure is composed of five Quadrangles, one large one in the Middle, flank'd with two other square ones on each Side, with *Piazza's* and Corridors or Galleries round them all; the whole Fabrick being of fine hewn Stone, makes a very noble Appearance. The Kitchen is very large and handsome, and in their Refectories (where the Soldiers eat) you see most of the Sieges undertaken in the late Wars by the *French*, painted on the Walls. The Apothecary's Shop belonging to this Place is the best contriv'd and as well furnish'd as any I ever met with in all my Travels. The Soldiers are attended here by the Sisters of *St. Lazarus*. Considering the Freedom allow'd to Strangers, to be present at their Operations perform'd in all their Hospitals, the Advantage of their Chymical Lectures, Physick-Garden, and frequent Practise in Anatomy, *Paris* seems the most accomplish'd School for young Physicians, and to be preferred in this Respect to *Leyden*, *Padua*, *Montpellier*, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* itself. The House known by the Name of the *Gobelins*, in the Suburbs of *St. Marcell*, was formerly famous for the making and dying of the best Scarlet Cloths; but now divers Sorts of the best Workmen are employ'd here at the King's Cost and Profit, in making the finest Tapestry, Plate, Mosaic, Iron, Copper and Bras-Works, Statuary, Sculpture, Embroideries, &c. These Suburbs have a Church dedicated to *St. Marcell*, where you see the Tomb of the celebrated *Peter Lombard*.

3. The University of *Paris*, which makes up one third Part of the whole, is worth the Curiosity of a Traveller; they make it as ancient as *Charles the Great*, and say it was he encompass'd it with a Wall; hence it is that they celebrate a certain Day to his Memory, when all the Heads of the University meet at the College of *Navarre*. Formerly the University of *Paris* had more Colleges and Students, the Number of the first (where publick Exercises are perform'd) is at present reduc'd to eight or nine, among which the *Sorbonne*, the College *du Plessis*, that of *Navarre* and of *Harcourt*, are the chiefest: They had also formerly the Privilege of being exempted both from the civil and criminal Jurisdiction of *Paris*, which is now little regarded.

The chief Things profess'd here are Divinity, Physick, Law, and Arts, or Philosophy; for each of these they chuse, four Times a Year, a *Rector* or *Professor*: The *Sorbonne* and the College of *Navarre* are the most considerable for Divinity. The Schools for the Civil Law are in the *Rue de Bauvais*, lately new model'd by the King's Orders. The Physicians have a fair Anatomical Theatre in the *Rue de Bouchiere*; and their College call'd *de quatre Nations*, (i. e. of four Nations) viz. those of *France*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Germany*, is dedicated to their Faculty of Arts.

The *Sorbonne* has got its Name from *Robert de Sorbonne* its Founder, formerly a plain and ordinary Fabrick, but now turn'd into a magnificent Structure, chiefly by the Care of Cardinal *Richlieu*; it has always been famous for its learned Professors, ever since its

first Foundation, which was under the Reign of St. Lewis, as the Inscription on a Brass Plate in the Church testifies ;

Ludovicus Rex Francorum, sub quo fundata fuit Domus Sorbonæ, circa An. Domini MCCLII.

The Professors and Students are lodged in the Apartments about the great Quadrangle.

The Library is kept in a handsome and lofty Room, much increased by the Liberality of the said Cardinal, especially with some Manuscripts, distinguished with his Arms upon them. Among other curious Pieces, they shew you two large Volumes of *Livy*, an old Translation of antiquated *French*, written in the Reign of *Charles V.* embellish'd with Paintings in Miniture on Vellum ; which Art has been lost above two hundred Years ago. They have good Store of Divinity Works, and all Translations of the Bible. The Picture of the Cardinal their Benefactor hangs at one End of the Room, at Length, in his Habit ; and, at the other, stands his Bust in Brass, done by the excellent Hand of *Varrini*. The Fathers and School-Divines are regularly placed one after another, with their respective *Annotators* in the Rows underneath. After they have frequented the publick Lectures for three Years, they are qualified for the Degree of Batchelors, who wear Lambskins and Tippets like our Batchelors of Arts at *Oxford* ; after two Years more, they may be promoted to the Degree of Licentiate, who generally are the Opponents to such as take the Degrees of Doctors. I was present at some of their publick Exercises and Disputations, which were managed with a great deal of Decency and Order. The Subjects on which most generally they exercise themselves are, the Sacrament, the Transubstantiation, Trinity and Incarnation, which in the *Roman Church* being look'd upon as the sole Object of Faith, even in Contradiction to Sense and Reason, I could not but admire to hear the Opponents urge oftentimes such Things as are accounted and declared heretical among them.

The College of *Navarre*, the next in Rank, acknowledges King *Philip the Fair* and his Queen for its Founders, as the Inscription under the Statues testifies. Formerly none but Noblemen's Children were admitted here, but now all Sorts, without Distinction. They have four Professors in Divinity, and the Archbishop of *Paris* is President of it. In 1684. the Magistrates of *Paris* founded an annual Panegyrick for this present King, on St. Lewis's Day.

The College of *Harcourt* is a large Structure near the *Sorbonne*, where continual Exercises are held for inferior Forms of Students in Logick and Philosophy ; they print their *Theses*, and dispute categorically, without confining themselves strictly to Syllogistical Rules. The College of *Plessis* was restored by Cardinal *Richlieu*, being as it were the Nursery of the *Sorbonne*, who always place a Governor of their own College over it. The Faculty of Arts for the four Nations is a different Foundation from the College of the *Quatre Nations*, these Artists having peculiar Houses allotted them, and chuse each, every Year, a President of their own Nation.

The College of the *Quatre Nations* acknowledges the Cardinal *Mazarin* for its Founder ; the Portal hath this Inscription :

*Jul. Mazarin : S. R. E. Card.
Basilicam, & Gymnas.
F. C. A. MDC.LXI.*

It has a double Court, and a good Library of the Cardinal's own Collection, which is open to every body at certain Hours in the Day. The Number intended by the said Cardinal's Will were sixty, viz. fifteen from about *Pignerol* and the adjacent Parts of *Italy*, fifteen for the *Alsatian Youth* of *Germany*, twenty for those of the *New Conquests* in the *Netherlands*, and ten for *Roussillon* and *Catalonia* ; but neither the Structure nor Institution is compleated yet. As the Doctors of

the *Sorbonne* are Governors of this College, so their Books in the Library treat of the Cannon and Civil Law, mixed with Abundance of School-Divinity.

The *College Royal*, founded by *Francis I.* for Law, Physick, Mathematicks, and the Oriental Languages, was carried on farther by King *Henry IV.* *Mary de Medicis*, and *Lewis XIII.* though not brought to Perfection ; the Professors receive their Salaries from the King, without any Dependence on the University. It is seated near St. James's-street and the College of *Cambray*.

4. The *English Roman-Catholics* have a good Nunnery and Convent of the *Benedictines* in *Paris*, founded in 1657. In the Nunnery many young Ladies of Popish Families are educated. Among their Churches, the Cathedral called *Notre Dame* challenges the first Rank, an antique *Gothick Structure*, compleated at several Times, more strong than noble, a very ancient Bishoprick, founded (as they say) by St. *Dennis* not long after the Apostles Time, but made an Archbishoprick so late as 1622, by Pope *Urban VIII.* In the Choir you see divers good Pieces of Painting and rich Tapestry, and Abundance of Gold and Silver Plate for their Altars : It has about fifty Canons belonging to it, among which was once the famous Historian *Paulus Emilius Veronensis*, whose Tomb is to be seen in one of the little Chappels.

The next is the *Jesuits Church* ; on the Front of their College you see these Words in Capitals, *Collegium Ludovici Magni*. This Society was first introduced into *Paris* by *du Pratt*, who presided at the Council of *Trent* for *France*, and afterwards proved a great Benefactor to them, as well as that famous and unfortunate Minister of State M. *Fouquet*. The Library, which was his Gift, is a very good one, both for Number of Books and Manuscripts, among which are many *Protestant* and *Socinian* Authors. These Fathers have another College in the Street of St. *Anthony*, the Church whereof is a magnificent modern Structure, carried on in Part by Cardinal *Richlieu*, under the Reign of King *Lewis XIII.* whose Heart is entombed here, as well as that of *Henry de Bourbon Prince of Conde*.

They have lately built another in the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, called the *Novitiates*, the Church whereof is but small, but the Architecture most excellent ; it was built at the Charge of M. *Noyer*, Secretary of State. The Church of St. *Genevieve*, with its regular Canons, is said to have been founded by King *Clovis*, who has an old Tomb here, which has been embellished of late Years, for they have put on his Head a Crown with a Flower de Luce, whereas those Arms were not till long after used by the Crown of *France* ; just as in some other Popish Countries I have observed our Saviour painted with Beads and a Rosary in his Hands. They have also put a modern Inscription upon the old King's Tomb. But the chief Ornament of this Church is the Tomb of that great *French Philosopher Des Cartes* ; it has two Inscriptions, one in *French Verse*, the other in *Latin*.

The Apothecary's Shop belonging to the Convent, and the Library, are neatly disposed, where they have ancient Busts, Coins, Medals, and other Antiquities : Father *Molinet* has a curious Collection of Rarities of his own ; and the famous Architect Father *Creil* was a Member of this Convent. In the Monastery of the *Jacobins* is to be seen the Monument of *Humbertus*, the last Prince of *Dauphine*, who having no Issue, sold this Principality to *Phil. de Valois*, and, embracing a monastical Life at *Lyons*, became first Prior of this Convent, and afterwards Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as the Inscription tells you.

5. The Church of the *Carmelites* is, for its Antiquity, not inferior to any in *Paris*, being supposed to have been founded by St. *Dennis* ; it now contains the Heart of the *Great Turenne*, and has divers excellent modern Paintings and other Ornaments within. That called *Val de Grace* is both a modern Institution and Structure, after the *Italian*, founded by Queen *Anne* of *Austria*, upon the miraculous Birth (as they stile it) of the present King, after she had been married twenty-two Years : Her Heart, as also that of our *Henrietta Maria* Dutches,

Dutchess of Orleans, lies entomb'd here. The *Altar* and *Cupola* are exceeding fine, and upon the *Portal* you see these Words,

Jesu nascenti Virginique Matri.

All the Nuns are of noble Extraction, and chuse a Lady Abbess every three Years : Madam *la Valliere*, once the King's Mistress, retreated to this Nunnery, to do Penance for her past Miscarriages.

In the ancient Abbey of *St. Germain* are the Tombs of many of their ancient Kings, who us'd to be buried here, before the Time of the Inroads made by the Northern Nations, as of late at *St. Dennis*. That of *Chilperio* has only these few Words, in a very old Character, on a plain Stone,

Rex Chilpericus hoc tegitur Lapide.

But that this was but Part of his Tomb, is evident from the Inscription on a broken Tombstone dug up since in another Place ; which shew how much in those Days, they were afraid of being disturb'd in their Graves.

Hic jacet Chilpericus Francorum Rex.

Ego Chilpericus Francorum Rex precor ut inde in Æternum non auferentur ossa mea.

Queen *Fredigonde*, who died in 601, is also entomb'd here ; and *Clotharius*, and the second Son to *Chilperic*, of the same Name with his Father, with their Wives. Among the modern Monuments chiefly remarkable are that of the Duke of *Vernouil*, Prince of *Bourbon*, natural Son of King *Henry IV*, who was Bishop and Abbot of *St. Germain*, but afterwards relinquishing the monastical State, married the Dutchess of *Sully*. Here is also interr'd the young Duke of *Bourbon*, Son of the present King of *France*, and *Casimir* King of *Poland*, who after having resign'd his Crown, died Abbot of this Place ; their Epitaphs and Inscriptions are too long to be inserted. Here are buried also some of the Family of *Douglas* of *Scotland*. They have a very good Library here, formerly accounted one of the best in *Paris*, and which still has the Reputation of excelling all the rest in Manuscripts, except the King's. They pretend to have the *Psalter* of *St. Germain*, which he generally used at divine Service, and a Missal of nine hundred Years old, written with a Stile on little Tables of Cedar. They shew you a great Volume brought by a *French* Ambassador from *Constantinople*, with Attestations of most of the Bishops of the *Greek* Church, concerning their Belief of Transubstantiation, which they produce as an undeniable Proof against the Opinion of the *Protestants* ; though to speak the Truth, it is very probable that these good Fathers might do much out of Complaisance both to the King and the Ambassador, nothing being more observable among the *Greeks* than to accommodate themselves, both in Discipline and Doctrine, to those among whom they live ; as is particularly remarkable at *Rome* and *Venice*.

The Fathers of this Abbey formerly publish'd a very good Edition of *St. Austin's* Works, from the best Manuscripts in *Europe* ; and Father *Dachery*, of this House, has sent Abroad divers Volumes of his *Specilegium*, containing many Curiosities and Antiquities taken out of their Manuscripts. They tell you, that the Church being built in the same Place where stood anciently the Temple of *Isis*, a Statue of which Goddess remains on Part of the Walls, a simple old Woman was seen to worship it for a Saint, which the Fathers having had Notice of, they broke it to Pieces.

6. Another of their publick Structures is what they call *le Palais*, because in old Times it was the Residence of their Kings, but by King *Philip the Fair* appropriated for the Assembly of their Parliament. The Hall in which anciently their Kings used to perform their greatest Solemnities is very spacious, and arch'd, with the several Courts of Justice in particular Chambers about it ; the ancient Chamber of private Audience is now the Room where the Remainers of their ancient

Parliaments assemble when the King has any Thing of Moment to propose to them ; it opens always on *St. Martin's* Day, when the Members attend in the Great-Hall in their Scarlet Robes. Here is also kept the Court of Aids, which has a separate Jurisdiction from the Parliament ; their *Court of Chancery*, and the *Chamber of Accounts* are the same as our *Exchequer Court* ; they plead by Way of Bill and Answer, Plaintiff and Defendant, but in a more summary Way than in our *Court of Chancery*, much like our Civil Law Courts of *Judicature* ; though at the same Time there are not wanting Instances, that their Suits have been protracted for a great many Years. Here all the *Patents* of the Peers are registred, as well as their *Charters* and other *Records*.

In the Chapel of *St. Lewis*, belonging to the Lawyers, they shew you Abundance of Relicks, which they vouch for authentick ; as, the Sponge dipt in Vinegar and Gall ; the Head of the Spear wherewith they pierc'd our Saviour's Side, and the Purple Robe entire, though at *Rome* they shew with the same Assurance a Piece of it. Near this Palace is the Square call'd *la Place Dauphin*, of a triangular Form, built immediately after the Birth of *Lewis* the XIIIth, which gave it the Name *Dauphin*.

The *Palais de Luxembourg*, or *Palais d'Orleans*, built by *Mary de Medicis*, is one of the most regular and magnificent Structures in *Paris* ; Mademoiselle *d'Orleans* has her Lodgings on one Side, and the Dutchess of *Guise* on the other, in whose is that famous Gallery of Paintings of *Mary de Medicis*, representing her whole Life, from her Nativity to the End of her Government, the Work of the excellent *Paul Reuben*, who, they say, bestow'd two whole Years upon it ; her Meeting with *Henry IV*, just before Marriage, he all in Armour, and she dressed with all imaginable Advantage, and the most beautiful and amorous Looks in the World, is a most exquisite Piece : The same Dutchess has most of her other Apartments curiously furnish'd with the choicest *Italian* Pictures, among these the wandring *David*, by the Hand of *Guido Reni*, is most excellent. The Gardens are suitable to the Magnificence of the Palace, and open for publick Walks.

The *Observatory*, built by the present King for Astronomical Observations, is a vaulted Fabrick, without either Wood or Iron-work, three Stories high ; besides which, you descend by two hundred Steps into a Cave with little Alleys, from whence there is a Prospect thro' the very Top of the House to the Sky, in Order to observe the Motions of the Stars by Day ; but this Contrivance has not answer'd Expectation, no Stars being to be seen there, but the Light only, which they impute to the not passing of any Stars through the *Zenith* of *Paris* ; but it is something strange that this Defect should not have been foreseen by their Artists ; though otherwise the Building is better contriv'd than ours at *Greenwich*.

Near it is the *Tour de Charpente* or the *Timber Tower*, all of *Carpenters-work*, for the fixing of their Tubes and Telescopes ; *M. Cassini* is the chief *Supervisor* of all this Business, the same who was *Professor* of *Bologna*, and made that famous *Meridian Line* in one of the Churches of that City ; he has a very good Salary allow'd him by the King, and deserves that Reputation he is in with the Publick, and if possible a greater.

7. Among the Bridges of *Paris* there are only three worth taking Notice of ; the first is, the *Pont-Royal*, or *Royal Bridge*, a strong plain Piece of Stone-work, but lately built cross the *Sein* to the *Thuilleries* ; in 1685, a Silk Bag of Medals was lodg'd in some of the Masonry of it, to perpetuate the Memory of their *Lewis le Grand* ; it was included in a Cedar-Box, with a blue Sattin, and the Arms of *France* upon it : One of these Medals was very large, of Copper gilt, besides twelve others of Gold and Silver ; one among them had for its Motto, *Germania servata* ; another, *Jussit Quiescere* ; another *Rbeno Batavisque unâ superatis* ; and on another is represented *Jupiter*, with this Motto, *Vibrata in superbos Fulmina*, and underneath, *Genua emendata*. What Vanity !

The

The second is the *Pont Notre-dame*, charg'd with Houses something like our *London Bridge*, but not near so big. The next to this is the *Pont Neuf* or *New-Bridge*, a curious Fabrick, (though not near so large as that of *London*) first begun by King *Henry III.* but finish'd by his Successor *Henry IV.* whose Statue on Horseback stands upon it much beyond the natural Size; it is a most excellent Piece of Workmanship of *John of Bologn*, an *Italian* Artist, but descended from *French* Parentage; it has several Inscriptions about it, relating to some memorable Actions, and the Battles of *Ivry* and *Arque* are represented in *basso relievo* upon the Pedestal, on each Angle of which lie four Slaves of massy Brass.

8. That noble Monument, erected in the Place of *St. Victoire*, to the Memory of their present King, by the Care (if not at the Cost) of the Duke de la Feuillade, is certainly the most excellent Piece of Statuary that can be beheld either in *Italy* or any where else, and the *French* boast, that it exceeds all that ever were made of this Kind, not excepting even those erected to the *Greek* and *Roman Emperors*. The King's Statue is of massy Brass, thirteen Foot high, in his Robes, with a *Victory* standing behind him, of the same Bulk and Metal, crowning him, poised with his Foot on a Globe; under his Feet is a three-headed *Cerberus*, to denote the triple Alliance over which he triumphed, at the Foot whereof you see these Words, *Viro Immortali*, the last of which they explain of the *Immortality* of his Fame. The whole was cast all at once, and weighs above thirty thousand Pound. The Pedestal is twenty two Foot high, which, with that Part of the massy Mould the Statue stands on, being three Foot, and the Statue itself thirteen, makes this superb Piece about thirty eight or near forty Foot high. Upon the Pedestal rest four Slaves of Brass, much beyond the natural Largeness, with *Basso relievo's* of his Battles and Conquests. It stands in a very spacious Square, and to render it the more uniform, they demolished many Houses, and the Duke pull'd down Part of his Palace. The Statue itself is enclosed by stately Iron Grates that environ a Floor of Marble; and a Centinel is always placed near it. The grand Inscription upon it runs thus:

*Ludovico Magno
Patri Exercituum
& Ductori
semper felici,
Domitis hostibus, protectis sociis,
Adjectis Imperio fortissimis populis,
Exstructis ad Tutelam Finium firmissimis Arcibus.
Oceano & Mediterraneo inter se junctis, præ-
dari vetitis toto mari Piratis: Emendatis
Legibus. Deletâ Calvinianâ impietate;
Compulsis ad Reverentiam Nominis
Gentibus remotissimis, cunctisq; summâ
providentiâ, & virtute domi forisq;
compositis.*

*Franciscus Vicecomes d'Aubusson, Dux de la Feuillade
ex Franciæ Paribus, & Tribunis Equitum unus in
Allobrogibus Prorex & prætorianorum peditum
Præfectus.*

*Ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam.
P. D. C.*

Besides this, there are several Verses, some for the Statue, some relating to the historical Part represented in the *Basso relievo's*; as for Instance, that relating to the Statue.

*Tali de ore ferens, orbi & sibi, jura modumq;
Dat Lodoix, famamq; affectat vincere factis.*

There are divers others upon his Passage of the *Rhine*, the Peace of *Nimeghen*, the *Dutch* and the *Germans*, but that on the *Genoese* for Haughtiness exceeds all the rest.

*Vane Ligur, frustra; animis elate superbis;
Justitiam monitus disce, & non temnere Divos.*

The *Triumphal Arch* was, at the Time of my being there, not brought quite to Perfection; but if you will believe the *French*, it is to exceed all of that Nature in *Europe*, whether ancient or modern: It is true, the Design promises something very noble; the Models consist of two Faces of an extraordinary Height, with three Portals, after the Manner both of the ancient and modern *Romans*; the Orders of the Columns are finely designed, and the Captives and Trophies most exquisitely done, by the famous *Perault*, who translated *Vitruvius*. The King's Statue on Horseback is designed to be placed on this Arch.

9. The other Gates of the Town (as many *Triumphal Arches*) are all proud Pieces of Architecture; that of *St. Dennis* (which leads to the Place of the same Name) is above seventy Foot high, and as many over, adorn'd with Columns, *Basso relievo's*, and Trophies, with some Inscriptions relating to the Passing of the *French* over the *Rhine*, and their taking of *Maestricht*. The Gate of *St. Martin* is fifty Foot high, and as many wide, having on each Side an Inscription relating to this King's Actions. The third Gate is that of *St. Anthony*, erected in King *Henry* the Second's Time, but new embellished by the City, with some Inscriptions likewise relating to the present King. The *French* boast, that *Cæsar* makes Mention of this City, and that he laid Siege to it, being then enclosed betwixt the two Branches of the *Seine*, the same that is now called the *Isle*. Some of their Historians add, that *Cæsar*, after the Conquest of *Gaul*, had his Head-Quarters here, and built several Castles on the *Seine*. They all agree in that Point, that the Name of *Lutetia* was given it by the *Romans*, from its Situation in a moist dirty Soil, betwixt the two Branches of the River; the modern Name of *Paris*, being deduced from *Paris*, one of the Kings of the *Gauls*.

This City is much more gay and splendid in outward Appearance than wealthy within, nothing being more frequent than to meet with Beggars that appear in Habit like Gentlemen. It has few or no Pumps, most of their Waters being preserved in Cisterns. I took particular Notice here of two Medals that went about at that Time, made in Spleen to Pope *Innocent XI*; one represented our Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey* strangling, with this Motto, *Jussu Pontificis*; the other had his Holiness's Head or Bust on one Side, and an Altar, Pix and Chalice turn'd topsy-turvy on the other, with this Inscription, *Pontificis quis credat opus?* Another I met with at the same Time no less odd than the two former, having the King's Bust on one Side, and a broken Column on the Reverse, on the upper Part whereof hung a Scroll of Parchment with these Words written upon it, *Edictum Nancii reversum*.

10. *Mezeray* says, that *Paris* was first paved and walled under the Reign of King *Philip II.* surnam'd the *August*; and near it the *French* King has many Palaces, where he resides at Pleasure: That called *Fountainbleau*, seated in the *Isle* of *France* among Woods, is of an irregular Structure; but its convenient Situation for Hunting makes the Court frequently retire thither in the Summer-time. Its Fountains and Canals are very good, and it has one noble spacious Hall, the rest of the Apartments being neither large nor magnificent enough for a Royal Palace, though some very good Paintings are to be seen in them; in the Queen's Gallery the Conquests of *Henry IV.* are excellently well done in *Fresco*; and in the Gallery de *Cerfs* underneath this, you see all the Royal Palaces of *France*, with Landships of the Country round them curiously painted; not to mention the Paintings in the King's and Queen's Cabinets. The Chapel Royal is also a very good Fabrick, and well adorn'd.

In their Play-house is to be seen a curious Marble Chimney-piece, representing the Battle of *Ivry* fought by King *Henry IV.* The Gardens are beautified also with Statues; and formerly a good Library belonged to it, since removed to *Paris*. The most noted Apartment in this Palace, is what they call the *Salle de Conseil*, famous for the Conference occasioned by *M. du Plessis's* Book against the Mass, in which the celebrated

M. Perron

M. Perron (afterwards Cardinal) pretending to shew at least five hundred false Quotations, a Conference was appointed to be held in this Room on May 14, 1600, in the Presence of King Henry IV. the President de Thou, and the famous Isaac Casaubon; the first for the Romanists, and the last for the Protestants: The first Day was spent in examining only nine, and each Party challenging the Victory, the Conferences were discontinued; Du Plessis afterwards publishing a Treatise upon these Debates, the same was answered by Perron.

The Palace of St. Germain, seated on a rising Ground near the River Sein, about four or five Hours from Paris, and one from Versailles, is built in the Nature of a Castle, surrounded with a dry Ditch; a noble Stone Gallery runs round the Middle of the whole Structure, which is of an oval Figure: The Covering of this Pile is of flat Free-stone, each Stone being three Foot long, two broad, and three Inches thick: On one Side of the Garden is a most delicious Terras-walk, with the River running under it, 3350 Paces long; and on the other Side it is flank'd by a most delightful Wood. I found hereabouts the wild *Genista Hispanica*, or *Spartum Hisp. Clus. Chab.* or the Spanish Broom, and the *Onobrychis Spicata*, commonly call'd by us *Saintfoin*, brought from France first, where it grows wild. In the Garden I observ'd, among other curious Plants, the *Agrifol. Odoratum*, a smooth Holly with sweet-scented Flowers.

The Chateau Neuf was built by Henry IV, upon the Brow of the Hill near the other, its Gardens descending by Degrees down to the River; here are to be seen the noble Ruins of Grotto's, Cascades, and Waterworks. About an Hour from hence is Marli, a most delightful Summer-seat, built by the present King (rather gay than magnificent) at the Head of a Canal, with several Houses along the Side of the Water for the Courtiers; they were then busy in cutting a Way to it through an adjacent Wood. Near this Palace, on the Sein, is that so much celebrated Waterwork of Marli, by which the Current of the River is, by the Help of an Engine-mill built upon it, forced over two or three vast Hills, by Iron Pipes of half a Foot Diameter, jointed into one another, and several laid by the Side of one another, every Stroke of the Mill throwing a vast Quantity of Water into the Basons on the Hill, which from these Basons is convey'd by such another Mill higher, over all the Eminencies, when gathering into a small Lake, the same by Aquaducts furnishes with sufficient Quantity of Water both Marli and Versailles.

11. Versailles, the most beautiful Palace in Europe, is seated in a dirty desert Ground; that Side which faces the Stables is not suitable in Magnificence to the rest, as that which fronts the Garden surpasses all that can be imagin'd sumptuous; its Roof glittering with Gold, affords a glorious Prospect at a Distance; and the Garden for Statues, Canals, Groves, Grotto's, Fountains, Waterworks, or what else may be thought delightful, far surpasses any Thing to be seen of this kind in Italy; and its Riches and Beauty within are altogether answerable to its Outside. The Royal Cabinet for Medals, Coins, Painting, and suchlike Curiosities, has the Choice of all Italy could afford. The King's Lodgings are enrich'd with Utensils of massy Plate, even to the Bedsteads, Balusters and Rails: The Gallery towards the Side of the Garden is the noblest that ever I beheld in my Life, for its most delicious Prospect, Statues and Looking-glasses plac'd between the Pannels. The modern Paintings in this Palace are for the most part of Mignard, Poussin and le Brun, among which the Battles of Alexander are highly esteem'd. At one End of the Garden is the Place where they breed all the foreign Beasts and Birds the East and West-Indies afford: And what they call the Trianon is a cool Retreating-Place for the King after his Walks, suitable in all Respects to the rest.

About two Leagues thence M. Louvois, the late prime Minister, had erected a noble Palace with vast Cost, the Ground rising into a pleasant Terras, with fine Gardens behind it. Near Paris there is another of the King's Houses, call'd Madrid, both unfurnish'd and unfinish'd;

they tell you that it was built by King Francis I, who having promis'd to pay his Ransom at Madrid, gave it this Name, and carrying the whole Sum thither, paid the Spaniards with this Equivocation instead of Money.

Hard by it, viz. at Ruel, a small Town, stands a pretty little Palace built by Cardinal Richlieu; it is neither stately nor magnificent, but has very neat Gardens and curious Waterworks.

About two Leagues from Paris, on the Ascent of the Hill of St. Cloud, is another of the King's Houses, where the Duke of Orleans sometimes resides for his Diversion; the Gardens are very pleasant, the Galleries very beautiful, and some of the Paintings very good: It was here that King Henry the III^d was stabb'd, by one Clement a Monk.

12. In our Tour to Roan, Diep, and the Sea-coast, we pass'd through St. Dennis, about a League from Paris, famous for the Sepulchres of the French Royal Race, and the Abbey built by King Dagobert, formerly call'd Catullia, but since dedicated to St. Dennis, the Areopagite, whose Body lies inter'd here; though the Monks of the Convent of St. Emeran, near Ratisbon in Germany, dispute that Point with them, and positively affirm, that they have the whole Body, and those of St. Dennis only a Finger. They boast here of the Sepulchres of several other Saints, as of their King St. Lewis, St. Hilary Bishop of Poitiers, St. Hypolito one of the sanctified Martyrs of the Thebean Legion, and one of the Innocents murder'd by Herod's Command. The most remarkable among the Tombs of the Royal Family are those of Francis I. and Lewis XI. Here you see also the Tomb of the Great Marshal de Turenne, placed by the the King's Order (but at the Charge of his Nephew) in a Marble Chapel built for that Purpose; he lies at full Length, surrounded with Laurels and Trophies in Relief, with a Roman Eagle at his Feet retreating as it were backwards, with display'd Wings at the Sight of his formidable Enemy: For though this Abbey is chiefly design'd for the Sepulchres of the Royal Family, yet by the King's Favour, such of his Subjects as have signaliz'd themselves in his Service are also sometimes interred here. There is a Cross of massy Gold on the Altar seven Foot high, set with Diamonds and the best Pearls, and a Table of Gold, the Altar itself being also plated over with Silver.

13. From hence we pass'd on to St. Pontoyse, an inconsiderable Place, seated upon the River Oyse, which rising in Picardy, runs a little below it into the Sein. The Country of Normandy betwixt this Place and Roan is champaign and extremely fertile, especially in Apples, of which they make excellent Cyder.

Roan is the Metropolis of Normandy, and one of the Cities of the second Rank in France; its Situation is upon the Banks of the River Sein, at the Foot of a Hill, and to the opposite Bank you pass by a handson Bridge of Boats, two hundred and seventy Paces long, which being pav'd, rises and falls with the Tide; below it you see the Pillars of an ancient Stone Bridge, beaten down some Years ago by the Violence of the Current; something lower Ships of about two hundred Tun can ride with Safety: Near the River-side stands a very ancient Castle with Turrets, now the Residence of the Governor. Two other Rivers (viz. the Robbee and Reinelle) run also through this City, which has two Churches remarkable; the Cathedral, dedicated to our Lady, exceeds in Beauty and Regularity that of Paris; here you see the Tomb of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France in King Henry the IVth's Time, but the Monument is not answerable to the Grandeur of so high a Person. The Church of St. Toin is also a lofty Structure, but chiefly famous for its great Bell. The Streets of Roan are narrow, and their Houses for the most part of Wood and Plaister-work; here it was the English burnt the Maid of Orleans; this Place was the Rotomagus of the Romans, and the Residence of the Dukes of Normandy; it is at present a Bishop's See, and was lately a Place of very good Traffick.

From hence we travel'd through a very good Country and bad Road to Diep, a pretty little Sea-port Town,

the Streets whereof are more spacious and regular than those of *Roan*; they are very ingenious here at working in Ivory. The little Harbour lies betwixt two Cliffs, and the River *Arquo* runs into it; anciently it was known by the Names of *Julia bona* and *Deppa*, and then strongly fortified; it has still a good Castle and Wall. From *Diep* we continued our Journey through a little Place called *Eu*, seated upon the River *Bresse*, which being the common Boundary on that Side betwixt *Normandy* and *Picardy*, discharges itself into the Sea about a League below it.

Near the River's Mouth we saw on the Cliffs another small Town call'd *Criel-port*, and so passing through *Franchewille*, came safely to *Abbeville*, a poor old Town, meanly built and extremely dirty, in that Part of *Picardy* they call *Ponthieu*. They are noted here for making Guns and Pistols, but they are rather fine than serviceable. It is seated upon the River *Somme*, which falls into the Sea near *St. Valery*, from whence Barks can come up to this City. Before the *French* had made themselves Masters of the Province of *Artois*, this was a Frontier Town of a considerable Strength, and inaccessible in some Parts, being almost surrounded by the Fens. It is also a Bishop's See.

From hence we travel'd by the Way of *Hesdin* to *Calais*, from whence we could discover the chalky Cliffs of *Dover*; it is of no great Compass, but regularly fortified, and strengthened with a good Cittadel; the Town-house is but small, but the Market-place spacious. Some Antiquaries would have it to be the same mention'd by *Cæsar* in his *Commentaries*, under the Name of *Portus Iccius*, which some again explain of *Boulogn*, others of *Doway*. The Loss of it by the *English* is alledg'd to have been the chief Cause of our Queen *Mary's* Death.

The Doctor's Second Journey.

14. As you travel from *Paris*, in a Kind of *Dutch Treck-schuyt* along the River *Sein*, you pass by *Charenton*, a curious little Place, seated on the Banks of the *Marn* and *Sein*, and once famous for the Privileges the *Protestants* enjoy'd there. Above it is a neat House belonging to *Mademoiselle*. In the next Place is *Corbeil*, of no great Consequence, the *Castrum Corbolum* of the *Latins*, call'd by *Cæsar* *Josedum* or *Metrofedum* on the *Sein*, where its Waters are mix'd with those of the *Juin* or the *Estampes*.

Higher up, on the River, you see another little Place, about four or five Leagues from *Corbeil*, call'd *Melun*, (the *Melodunum* of the ancient *Romans*) which gives Title to the Viscounts of a very ancient Family. Here the River *Sein* dividing into two Branches, makes a little Island, which you pass by two good Bridges. The Barge, which carries you from *Fountainbleau* down the River to *Paris*, being drawn by three or four Horses, runs in ten or twelve Hours, sixteen of their Leagues, or about forty eight *English* Miles. In the Woods thereabouts I took Notice of the *Milysophillum*, *Orobanchæ*, *Rapum Genistæ*, Ger. Park. *Cariophillum olens*, C. B. our *Broom-rape*, *Polygonatum*, *Latifol. vulg.* C. B. the *Solomon's Seal*, besides all Sorts of Spurges of the *Essula* and *Tythimalus* kind.

The next Place we came to from *Fountainbleau* was *Nemours*, having nothing remarkable, except that it gave Title to the ancient Dukes of that Name. Near it is the Abbey of *Surcasson*, of the Order of *St. Bernard*. Here we observed the Women of the Town (even such as were in very good Habit) to come to the Inns to collect Alms from Travellers for the Poor.

From hence we travel'd on to *Montargis*, an old walled Town, but of no great Note, except that being Part of the *Demesnes* belonging to the Crown; it gives Title to the King's Brother, who is Duke of *Orleans* and *Montargis*; it has, however, a very ancient Church, with curious Pillars, and an antique Castle built in the Midst of Ruins: The present King's only Brother has laid the Foundation of a Church here; but it remains unfinished, there being nothing compleated but a small Portico, in which, on a black Tablet of Marble, is a *French* Inscription with Golden Letters, intimating, that

he laid the first Stone of this Church in 1677, in Memory of his Victories obtain'd in the Battles of *Montcassel*, *St. Omer* and *Buchar*.

From *Montargis* we continued our Journey to *Briare*, whither Cardinal *Richlieu* caused a Canal to be brought from *Blesneau*, a Tract of twenty Miles, and thereby made a Communication betwixt the *Loing* (which falls into the *Sein*) and the River *Loir*, so that by the Help of Sluices, Boats can pass through all three; the Banks of the *Loir* lying all along on the Flats, as you see near the Sea-shore, make it a very pleasant River. Near it we found the *Cariophyllus marinus*, Ger. Hob. *Juncus* C. B. or the *Sea-Gilliflower*, which is rarely found in Inland Countries, but commonly in Salt Marshes near the Sea-side.

15. From hence we pass'd through *Cosne*, a little Place noted for the making of Knives, and some Mills for polishing Iron and Steel, and so in Sight of *la Charite*, an inconsiderable Place, to *Nevers*, seated near the Conflux of the *Loir* and the *Nibaire*, the Capital of the Territory of *Nivernios*, though the Houses are but meanly built, representing more of Antiquity than Beauty. It is a Bishop's See, Suffragan to that of *Sens*, and gives Title to the Dukes of *Nevers*, (now in the Family of Cardinal *Mazarin*) *Cæsar* mentions it under the Name of *Nipernum* or *Noviodunum*.

The next Place we came to was *Moulins*, near which are the so much celebrated Waters of *Bourbon*, even in the Time of the *Romans*; they are of the Nature of our *Baths* and those of *Aix la Chapelle*, composed of a bitumenous Substance, impregnated with an Alcalifate Salt; which being mix'd with an Acid, causes a Fermentation and produces the same Effect on Syrup of Violets as the Salt of Tartar, turning it green. Of late they have been much used inwardly against the *Gout* and other nervous Distempers. The above-mentioned Town of *Moulins* is of no great Extent, though once the Residence of the Family of *Bourbon*, who built a handsome Castle here; the Inhabitants are reputed excellent Workmen in Steel and Iron, Knives and Scissars, &c.

Among their Churches and Convents (of which they have several) those of the *Carthusians* and of the *Visitation* are most remarkable, the last containing the Monument of the Great Duke of *Montmorency*, who was sacrificed to the Power of the Cardinal *Richlieu*. The whole Chapel consists only of a small Cupola to cover him; his Canopy and Armour is supported by Angels, with his own Effigies and that of his disconsolate Lady lying by him, in an elevated Tomb, with the Statues of *Pallas*, *Hercules*, *Charity* and *Religion*, all of the choicest Marble, much beyond their natural Grandeur, with this Inscription to his Memory.

Henrico II. Montmorenciaci Ducum ultimo, optimo & maximo, Franciæ Pari, Thalassiarcho, Polemarco, Terrori hostium, Amori suorum.

Maria felix Ursina, ex Romana Stirpe Conjux unica, cui ex immensis viri Divitiis, una amor viventis, & defuncti Cineres, felicissimo post exactos Conjugis Annos XVIII. Marito incomparabili, de quo dolere nihil unquam poterat, nisi mortem bene merenti posuit. Ann. Sal. MDCLII. Sui luctus XX.

It is remarkable, that they were forced to behead him in the Town-house for Fear of the Populace, whose Darling he was; his Dutcheß was so highly afflicted at his Death, that she forsook the World and retired into this Monastery, where she ended her Days in Tears for the Loss of a Husband she loved more than her own Life. I was credibly inform'd, by a Person who was well acquainted in that Family, that her Fondness to the Duke was such, that she would not stick to assist him in his Amours.

We had hitherto travel'd for the most part through fertile Plains; but coming near to *St. Sophorin* and *Bresse*, two small Places, we pass'd through Mountains cover'd with Pines and Firrs, which afforded great Variety of Plants: Those I took Notice of *en passant* were, the *Polygala Lutea*, call'd by *Chabre*. *Polygala vulg. maj. fol.*

fol. angustissimus, a kind of Milk-wort; the *Melisophilum* or wild Baum; the *Bellis Cærulca* Monspel, though growing also in other Parts of France; blue Daisies. In the Woods we observed the several Species of *Orchis*, *Spurges* of all Kinds, but especially the *Tithymalus Cupressifolius*.

16. From *Bresse* we soon came to *Lyons*, the largest City of France next to *Paris*, seated at the Confluence of the *Soan* and the *Rhofne*; the last runs here with a swift Current, and over the first they keep a Chain of Boats link'd together, to prevent Barks from passing by without paying Custom. Its Situation was anciently, as well as now, at the Conflux of these two Rivers, as appears from a Passage in *Seneca*; and that its Name was *Lugdunum* among the Romans, is evident from the following Inscription found at *Gætâ* in *Italy*.

*L. Minutius 2 L. Fil. L. N. L. pro N. Plancus
Cass. Cens. Imper. iter VII. Vir Epulon:
Triumph. ex Rbetis ædem Saturni fecit de manubiis
agros divist in Italia Beneveriti, in Gallia colonias
deduxit. LUGDUNUM & Rauracum.*

Part of the City is built on the Hills of *Tornir* and *St. Sebastian*, the rest along the Banks of the Rivers; the Market-place is handsome, and the Town-house (lately built) a fine Structure. In the *Carmelites* Church is an Altar of *Agate* and *Lapis Lazuli*; the *Capuchins* have all the pretended Miracles of their Saint painted on the Walls of the Cloyster; among which you see one where he pays his Apothecary with Prayers instead of Money.

The Church of *St. John* is their Cathedral, the Chapter composed of Gentlemen of the best Families, and formerly boasted of having had therein several Kings and Princes: They compute, that in the thirteenth Century they had, at the same Time, one Son of an Emperor, nine Sons of Kings, fourteen Dukes Sons, thirty of Counts, and twenty of Barons; there belong no less than three Churches to this Chapter, viz. that of *St. John* before-mentioned, of *St. Stephen*, and of the *Holy Cross*; in the first is to be seen the Clock so much celebrated for the Variety of its Motions and Mechanism. The *Huguenots*, during the Civil Wars, knock'd down many of the Heads of the Saints that were placed to adorn the Front of this Church. Their Theatres and Opera's are not inferior here to those of *Paris*; and the *Jesuits* College upon the *Rhofne* is the finest Structure in the whole City, being a regular Quadrangle curiously painted in *Fresco*, which is somewhat defaced on the East Side, where the West Winds from the Mountains bear upon it: I found them to perform their publick Exercises much after the same Manner as they do at *Paris*. Their Chapel has a fine Altar-piece of *Lapis Lazuli*, and an excellent Piece of Painting by *Blanchard*, who died while we were there. The Apartment for their Library is spacious and handsome, but the Books not extraordinary, and at that Time were all disorder'd, by reason of a late Fire that broke out in the College; they have, however, some Manuscripts of the Bible, but not very old; and *Pliny's Natural History* and *Decades* finely printed on Vellum about two hundred Years ago, all the capital Letters in Miniature, gilt and embellished as we see the old Mass-books. The most valuable Piece of the whole Library is a Manuscript of the same Author's *Natural History*, four or five hundred Years old; many obsolete Words, such as *illud*, *jocondissimo*, &c. demonstrate it to be a Piece of a considerable Antiquity.

The Abbey of *Daisne*, just without the Town, is an ancient Piece of Architecture, with very good Mosaick Work, the Picture of God the Father (excellently done) being almost defaced by Age. This Abbey is the same Place where *Caligula* had erected his *Athenæum* for the Improvement of the Greek and Latin Tongues, (mentioned by *Suetonius*) Rewards and Punishments being proposed to such as did either well or ill; to this *Juvenal* alludes,

*Palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad aram.*

Here they shew you the so much celebrated Buckler of *Scipio*, which, upon due Enquiry, is so far from being his Buckler, that it is rather a Basin or Dish well gilt and emboss'd; for, according to the ancient Form of Armoury, it is too unweildy, and its Concavity within no Way adapted to the Bending of the Arm and covering the Body. Add to this, that all Bucklers both ancient and modern, have their Ornaments of Painting or Gilding on the Outside, and not within the Concavity; and I remember, that talking with *M. Patin*, a great Antiquary of *Padua*, upon this Subject, he was of the same Opinion; it being crack'd, it was cramp'd on the Back with small Iron Bars. They have here a more authentick Piece of Antiquity, I mean the Speech of *Claudius*, who was born here; it is to be seen in the Front-walk of the Town-house, and the Word *illud* for *illud*, and the old Roman Punctuation betwixt every Word, sufficiently shews its Antiquity. They have also some Obelisks, but not so ancient as those at *Rome*; that near the *Jacobins* Church is inscribed $\odot \omega \odot$. $\tau\omega \Theta\epsilon\omega \pi\alpha\nu\tau\sigma\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\nu \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omega \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$.

Their *St. Peter's* Nunnery is a fine Foundation, and the parochial Church of *St. Nieve*, adorn'd with several fine Pieces of Painting by *le Brun*.

17. The Prison of the City is built upon a Rock, unto which they have cut out a Way with vast Charge and Difficulty; but it is probable that this was rather done to make a Way into the Town by the Water-side, it extending, perhaps, before out into the River, which now runs just by the Street that lies under the Rock. This Place being seated on the Confines of *Italy*, was one of the best Magazines of the Romans in *Gaul*; some of the greatest Men of *Rome* have honour'd it either by their Birth or Abode, besides the Emperors *Claudius*, *Germanicus*, *Geta*, *Caracalla*; and here are still to be seen some Remnants of the Roman Antiquities, of their Baths, Aquaducts, and Part of an Amphitheatre. At present the King's Treasury for that Part of France is kept here, and another called the Court of Commerce. Two General Councils have been held at *Lyons* in 1245, under *Innocent IV.* and in 1274, by *Gregory XI*; besides which, they had several Synods here long before, as that assembled by *St. Irenæus* in 197, and another in the Time of *St. Cyprian*, under *Faustinus* Bishop of *Lyons*; it was upon this Occasion *St. Cyprian* writ that Letter to the Pope, which begins thus, *Faustinus Collega noster Lugduni consistens*, &c. In my Walks about the *Carmelites* Church-walls I observed the *Fumaria major scandens*, the large *Fumitory*; the *Muscattellina fol. fumarie bulbosæ* J. B. or the *Radix cava minima*, Ger. the *Muskwood Crowfoot*; *Bellis major*, the *Enneaphyllon* of *Pliny*, or the great bastard *Hellebore*; the *Hypericum vulg.* C. B. *St. John's Wort*. About the City grows also the *Anchusa Lutea*, a Kind of bastard *Gromel* with a yellow Flower.

I was not a little surprized to see so fruitful a Soil as all the Country betwixt *Lyons* and *Savoy* (called *Dauphiny*) almost destitute of Inhabitants, though well enough cultivated in many Places; but upon Enquiry found, that this Part of the Country being allotted for Winter-quarters to the French Horse, the Peasants used to come thither only in the Spring, to sow the Seed, and in the Summer to reap the Product thereof, and so retire into other Parts. This fertile Tract of *Dauphiny* brought us to the utmost Borders of France on that Side, viz. *Pontbeauvoisin*, an obscure Place seated upon an inconsiderable River called *Gyer*, which, however, is the common Boundary here betwixt France and *Savoy*. The chiefest Plants of Note I observed in *Dauphiny* were, the *Valeriana rubr. anguifol* C. B. the narrow-leaf'd red *Valerian*; the *Radix Rodia* or *Rosewort*, in great Plenty; *Linaria fol. Bellidis* J. B. a Kind of *Toad-flax* with a Daisy Flower; *Imperatoria vulg.* or the common *Masterwort*; *Parietaria cærulea quedam*, a Sort of blue *Pellitory*; the *Cataname fol. Cyani Delech. fl. Coronop.* J. B. which *Chabreus* would have the *Sisamoidis minus Matth.* a certain Grass with the Leaves of the *Blubottles* and Flowers of the *Buckthorn Plantain*.

We were no sooner pass'd the Bridge of *Pontbeavoisin*, but we were sensible of the Difference of the Country; for whereas we had left behind us the fertile Plains of *Dauphiny*, the other Side of the Banks of the same River represented to our View the frightful *Alps*, the Precipices whereof would have been more dreadful to us, had not the many Vineyards we found on the first Ascent taken off a great Part of the Horror we had conceiv'd at the first Sight of them.

As you ascend the first Rocks, you see and hear the Cataracts of the River *Guyre* among the Precipices, over which you ride by a Way cut out and supported by Art: Along this terrible Road I found among the wild Hedges the *Oxyacantha*, the *Privet*, *Ligustrum* & *Vaccinia nigra*. From this narrow Passage you proceed further into the *Alps*, where the Duke of *Savoy* has made a Road thro' the Middle of the Rock, near which is erected a Stone with this Latin Inscription:

Carolus Emanuel II.

Subaudiæ Dux. Pedem. Princeps. Cypri Rex. Publicâ felicitate partâ singulorum commodis attentus, breviorē securioremque viam Regiam, à natura oclusam, Romanis intentatam, cæteris desperatam, dejectis scopulorum Repagulis, æquatâ montium iniquitate, quæ Cervicibus imminabant, præcipitia pedibus subternens, æternis populorum Commerciis patefecit. Anno Domini, 1670.

About half-way betwixt this noted Passage and *Chambery* you see a delightful Fall of Water from one of the highest Rocks, which being continued afterwards by three or four more gradual Falls joining into a Current, and from a vast Height spreading itself among the craggy Precipices, produces here a natural, but more pleasant Cascade than all the Art and Expences of *Versailles* are able to afford.

From hence we proceeded to *Chambery* through a Sort of a Valley, (in respect of the other Mountains) a Town not so considerable at present as in former Ages, when it could boast the Residence of the Dukes of *Savoy*, but now has nothing to shew but old Houses and Walls, and a ruin'd Ditch about them; it is the *Cameriacum* of the *Latins*, and still the Capital of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, where there Parliament is conven'd, and the Chamber of Accounts kept: Its Situation is on the little River *Orban*, in a Sort of a Valley surrounded with Mountains; the Churches and Convents, the Town-house, Market-place, and a great Number of Fountains, make some tolerable Show. Here we first observ'd what we afterwards found common over all *Italy*, the Houses built so as to jet out into the Streets, and supported by Pillars, which form a Sort of Alley or Cloyster, under which you may pass secure from Rain and the Heat of the Sun. The Mall without the Town is handsome. Another such Plain brought us to *Montmelian*, a Place of great Strength both by Nature and Art, in *Savoy*, seated on a high Rock at such a convenient Distance from the adjacent Mountains, that though they overlook it, they don't command it; the River *Hero* runs by the Town that bears the same Name with the Castle, with an impetuous Current, and joining with the *Arche*, another rapid River made by the melted Snow, falls into the *Rhosne* at *Arbigny*, a little Place above *Montmelian*, as the *Isere* does at *Grenoble*, the Accession of these rapid Rivers being the true Occasion of the impetuous Course of that River. This Fortress is the Key of the Mountains on this Side, as *Susa* is on the other; but notwithstanding its Strength, it was taken by the *French* in 1691, and is now demolished.

The Country hereabouts being all mountainous, hath a very indifferent Prospect, except some few Valleys, which seem to promise something of Fertility; and the People looking as meagre and dejected as the Soil is barren, they seem to be made for one another, and adapted to that Slavery they are forced to suffer from their Prince, who has model'd his Government after that of *France*.

We had scarce pass'd the River *Isere* at *Montmelian*,

but we came into a Valley much more pleasant than any we had yet met with in *Savoy*, and continuing our Way towards *Argentier*, we met the roaring River *Arche*, which at that Time (it being Midsummer) was so swelled by the melted Snow from the Mountains, that we were forced to leave the ordinary Road near the Waterside, and, instead thereof, climb up a dreadful Precipice, call'd by them Mount *Greny* or *Grezy*, as high if not higher than Mount *Cenis* itself. On the middle Region of this Mountain you see a few small Farm-houses, there being thereabouts some cultivated Ground, which you can perceive below, but when you come to it, you find another Mountain rising upon the former, like *Pelion* upon *Ossa*: The Froth and Sediments which are by the Impetuosity of the River *Arche* forc'd down from the Mountains, make its Waters appear in the Valley as black as Pitch, almost like the Washes of Dyehouses.

We kept however along the Current of this River for some time through *Argentier*, *Esperies*, and *la Chambrey*, inconsiderable Places, and we no sooner left the last, but we were forced to climb up the Mount, by Reason of the Inundation of the River *Arche*, the Descent whereof brought us to *St. John Morienne*, once the chief City of the *Madulli*, and an Archbishop's See, which gave the Title of Earls of *Morienne* to the Dukes of *Savoy*. From hence we went on to *St. Michael*, a low watery Place: On the Top of the Mountain I observ'd as well as I could the *Mentha Cattaria montana*, *Valeriana Alpin. Latifol. Valerian. Alpina Angustifol. the Caryophyll. Alpin. minimus*; the small Mountain *Pink* of the *Alps*; afterwards I found it in great Plenty on another Hill. *St. Michael* was formerly a Convent, but now only a Village, near the Banks of the River *Arche*, which they pass over hereabouts by Bridges of Timber made of the Trunks of young Fir and Pines, laid athwart, which being round and ill joyn'd, tremble under your Feet as you pass them.

The next Place we came to was *St. Andre*, an inconsiderable Town seated among the Mountains; just over against it is such another Cascade or high Waterfall, but not altogether so diverting as that near *Chambery*. The Current of this River, render'd impetuous by various Waterfalls, is almost like the Torrents of our Mill-pools, but more foul and furious. I took Notice hereabouts of the *Absinth. Latifol. Ponticum* or *Rom.* and the *Absinth. tenuifol. minus*, which some would have to be *Absinth. Commune minus* of *Gesner* and *Gerard*. Above *St. Andre* the River *Arche* is, at a Place call'd *Termignon*, augmented by a Channel of Water coming from another Part of the Mountains, which brought us to *Lafnebourg* or *Lansebourg*, a Place that has nothing remarkable, except its Situation at the Foot of Mount *Cenis*: Here crossing the River *Arche*, we took our Leave of it, which rises about two Leagues above this Place with a pure but small Source, and affords in the Neighbourhood as well tasted *Trouts* as our best Rivers. We were now come to the Passage of Mount *Cenis*, (the *Ciniscum* of the Ancients) which we perform'd by the Help of Mules we were furnished with at *Lafnebourg*. This Mount exceeds in Height those of *St. Goddard* and *Sampion*, by which you enter *Italy* from *Switzerland*: Mount *Cenis* being in some Places cover'd with Pine and Fir-trees from the Top to the Bottom, ascending regularly one above another with the gradual Rising of the Mountain, affords the most natural Grove that can either be devised by Art or expressed by the Pencil. About *May* these Mountains open the vast Storehouses of Snow, which melting by Degrees till *October*, (when they begin to harden again) make the Rivers swell hereabouts in the Heat of the Summer, when the Sources of most other Rivers are very near exhausted.

The Passage of Mount *Cenis*, notwithstanding its Height, is not very unpleasant; the Precipices being not perpendicular, gave our Eyes Liberty to look about with less Trouble, and the Slowness of our Cattle (which made me walk on Foot) allow'd me sufficient Opportunity to expatiate a little Way out of the Road, and to take Notice of a great many Plants; but having

ing lost the Collection at Sea, I can only give such as I accidentally remembered and since set down, viz. the *Caryoph. Alpin. minor* in prodigious Quantities; the *German. Columbinum*, and what is more remarkable, the *Geran. Argent. Alpinum*; the Cranes-bill; the *Hyacinth. Caruleus Ger. or Racemosus carul. minor*, C. B. *Funcifol.* toward the Bottom out of Flower; *Calceolus Mariæ*, ad *Ger. Elleborine major*. Park. *stell. flor. rotund.* C. B. About the Bottom, *Helleborine flor. alb.* C. B. or *Damasonium Alpinum* J. B. the little, wild, white *Hellebore*; *Iris fl. albo*; the great white-flower'd *Iris*, or *Flower de Luce* wild; the *Herba Paralysis* or *Paralytica Alpina*, out of Flower; the *Caryophyllat. Montan.* or *Caryophyllat. Alpin. Lutea*; *Casp. B. yellow Mountain*; *Avens, flos Caryophyll. Alpinus pumilio dictus*; the little Dwarf-mountain Pink, or rather a *Lychnis*, agreeing with the Description of *Ger.* who from its *Calix* calls it of the *Lychnis* Kind; *Sedum Alpinum, Exigui fol.* C. B. *Sedum Alpin. minim. flor. carneo*, Schol. Botan. *Helleborus niger*, Lob.; *verus* Park. *Ger. fl. Albo & Atro rubente*; the black *Hellebore*, *Gentian. maj. fl. lut.* &c.

I took this Opportunity to make a strict Examination of the Snow, as it lay incrustated in hard Cakes on the very Top of the Mountains; some of these are such as have lain there for several Years, the Sunbeams not being able to dissolve them quite, by reason of their vast Thickness.

In the Midst of the Top of Mount *Cenis*, near the Road, (which is flank'd by other higher Rocks) you see a pretty large Lake gather'd, questionless, by the melted Snows, as the Coldness of the Water seems to testify; in the Midst of it the Duke has a handsome House, and another just by the Road; one for Devotion (of which the Priests take Care) and the other for his Diversion, which lies almost in Ruins by Neglect. Here it is you take Carriages to descend the Mountain, being only wooden Chairs carried by two Poles: By this Carriage you are convey'd down the rocky Precipices, which are however not so dangerous or dreadful as some have represented them; for though your Horses are led about a further Way, you may descend, for the most part, without much Difficulty on Foot, which I chose rather to do, than be jolted in these uneasy Chairs. Here is also a little Hospital for such as fall sick by the Way, and a small Chapel to bury such as perish in the Snow, from thence called the *Transit*. The Plain on the Top of this Mountain (which is about four Miles long) has also an Inn for the accommodating Passengers, suitable to the Circumstances of the Place: The Ascent is accounted four Miles, but the Descent no more than two. *Novales* has not any Thing remarkable, except its being the utmost Frontier of *Savoy* near the River *Semar*, which joins its Waters with the *Doria* at *Susa*, where begins the Principality of *Piedmont*.

18. Though the *French* live under the most despotic Government in *Europe*, yet are they so fond of it, that they laugh at other Governments, which do not come up to that absolute Power, of which they frame themselves such pleasant Imaginations, that in the Midst of their Slavery they find out an *Oligarchy* in their Council of State, an *Aristocracy* in their Parliaments, and a *Democracy* in their City Governments, administered by Provosts, Mayors and Merchants, and thereby would introduce into the World the most perfect Mixture of a Commonwealth; when, to speak truly, all these different Qualifications make up but one entire Chain of Slavery. They boast of the Policy of *France* as loudly as of their Conquests; and it must be confess'd, that in their Military Affairs they follow, in many Things, the Footsteps of the ancient *Romans*, but want their Honesty and true Generosity. The Body of the People is composed of the Nobility, Husbandmen, Artificers and Traders; the Peasants, being condemned to perpetual Drudgery, furnish the Field with Labourers and Soldiers, for when they are suck'd to the very Marrow by the Gentry and Tax-gatherers, they must either chuse to starve at Home, or seek for a Livelihood (such an one as it is) in the King's Armies. Artificers and Traders are much encouraged in *France*, being the Court-

Sponges, from whence they squeeze out what Juice they have gather'd before by one Means or other. The King commonly picks out the most ingenious among them for his own Service, and the rest are employ'd in converting the Products of *France* into Manufactures exported into Foreign Parts.

The Clergy of *France* has of late been look'd upon with somewhat of a jealous Eye by the Laity, both by Reason of the Encrease of their Number, and several Ecclesiastical Usurpations; these Encroachments of the Clergy at Home, and the pretended Power from the Popes Abroad, has made them revive our Lord Digby's Distinction betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Court of *Rome*, and not to be so fond of the *Jure Divino* Doctrine of the Priesthood, but that the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church, and the *Regale*, have been made to give Laws to both; witness the Synod and the Decrees made there in 1682, against Pope *Innocent XI*; the Profession of the *Protestant* Religion being to be rooted out, some were for attempting it by mild Ways, which were follow'd at first, but soon changed for Fire and Sword, as the most effectual Means, either to make them fly the Kingdom, or to comply with the King's express Commands. This is differently taken among the *French*, according as they are more or less devoted to that unchristian Doctrine of the Extirpation of Heresy.

19. The Remarks of this Gentleman are such as might be expected from one of his Education and Profession; and as he doth not seem to be prepossessed in Favour of the *French*, so there appear on the other Hand no Signs of Prejudice against them. This may be justly esteemed a peculiar and a considerable Advantage to his Writings, for, generally speaking, most of our Travellers take one or other of these Turns. If they are Men of Vivacity, they grow fond of *French* Customs, and of *French* Notions, receive for Gospel every Thing that they are told, magnifying in their Relations both the Country and its Inhabitants, and labour to persuade such as read their Writings, that *France* is the finest Part of *Europe*; and the *French* Nation out of all Comparison the most powerful People in it. Such again as embrace opposite Sentiments, run with equal Violence into the other Extream; they find nothing lovely in the Place, and exclaim perpetually at the Slavery, the Poverty, and the Vanity of the People. Whoever takes his Notions of *France*, and the *French*, as a Nation, from either of these Sort of Writers, will be infallibly misled; and as in the present Situation of Things especially, Mistakes of this kind may be extremely fatal, by tending to inspire an Apprehension, that the Power of the most Christian King is irresistible, and therefore it is to no Purpose to oppose; or to create an Opinion that the Power of *France* is a mere Bugbear, and that at the Bottom; notwithstanding the Noise that is made about it, we have little or nothing to fear. To overturn both these Errors, and to give the Reader as near as may be a true Picture of the present State of that Kingdom, we will enter into a short political Anatomy of it, which, as it could not be expected from Travellers, so it may serve as a Supplement at least for some Time, to whatever has been published of that kind. We have taken a great deal of Pains to become, in some Measure, Masters of this Point, and we shall report what has been the Result of our Inquiries as concisely, as correctly, and with as much Candour as is possible.

It is very certain that in Point of Situation and Extent, the Dominions of the Crown of *France* are very considerable; they lie between the forty second and the fifty second Degrees of North Latitude, in the sixth seventh and eighth Northern Climates; so that they enjoy a very pleasant and wholesome Air, and generally speaking a rich and fruitful Soil, which by the Way however is far enough from being improved to the utmost Advantage. From West to East, that is, from Point *Conquest* in *Britany*, to the City of *Strasbourg* in *Alsace*, they reach pretty near six hundred Miles, and from South to North, that is, from the Frontiers of *Roussillon* to *Dunkirk*, they extend upwards of five hundred Miles.

But there is another Method of computing, which will prove more satisfactory than this to the intelligent Reader. *France*, according to the exactest Computation, contains about a twentieth Part of *Europe*, and is certainly much better peopled than *Spain*, *Italy*, *Russia*, *Sweden* or *Denmark*, but is not near so populous as *Holland*, *England*, or some Parts of *Germany*. If we could depend upon the *French* Accounts, we should reckon there are in it twenty Millions of People, but it is very certain that they are apt to stretch in their Computations, and that according to the established Rules of political Arithmetick, we cannot affirm the Number of its Inhabitants to be above fourteen Millions, and, in my own Opinion, even this Calculation is rather too high, considering that according to their own Reckoning, the Number of Persons in Religious Houses, that is to say, both Men and Women, amount to four hundred Thousand. As to their Secular Clergy, I never saw any just Computation, but I think there cannot be much fewer, and if we take in those, who from other Considerations lay themselves under Obligations of leading single Lives, the Number will not fall much short of a Million, which must be a prodigious Drawback on their Increase as a People.

This great Country is divided into thirty six Governments, of which that of *Paris* is esteemed the first, that is to say, distinguishing it, and the District dependant upon it, from the Isle of *France*. It is said to contain fifty one Parishes, fifty two Monasteries for Men, seventy eight Convents for Women, sixteen Hospitals, fifty Hotels, five Royal Palaces, fifty Colleges, twelve Suburbs, and six hundred and fifty six Streets. 2. The Isle of *France*, which is generally speaking a good Country and well inhabited. 3. *Picardy*, a very fine Province, yielding Plenty of Corn and Fruits; the Capital of which is *Amiens*. 4. *Champagne*, famous for Corn, Cattle and Wine; its Capital is *Troie*. 5. *Burgundy*, a very large, and very fertile Country, its Capital *Dijon*. 6. *Dauphine*, somewhat mountainous, but generally speaking well cultivated, and the Valleys very fruitful; the Capital *Grenoble*. 7. *Provence*, which though it cannot boast of producing much Corn or Grains, it is remarkable for its Wines, Oils, Saffron, and a great Variety of Fruits; the Capital is *Aix*. 8. *Languedoc*, is the largest and by many accounted the best Province in the Kingdom, producing great Quantities of Corn, Fruit, and Wine; the Capital is *Toulouse*. 9. *La Foix*, so called from its Capital, is neither large nor Fruitful. 10. *Bern* and the lower *Navarre* are accounted but one Province; the Capital of the former is *Pau*, and of the latter *St. John Pie de Port*. 11. *Guiene*, is a very fine, and a very rich Province; the Capital of which is *Bordeaux*. 12. *Saintonge* and *l'Angoumois* make but one Government, tho' it has two Capitals, viz. *Saintes* and *Angouleme*. 13. The Country of *Aunis* is very small, but very fertile and well peopled; the Capital is *Rochele*. 14. *Poitou* is a very large Province, about 180 Miles from West to East, but not the finest Country; the Capital is *Poitiers*. 15. *Britanny* is very fertile in Corn and Pastures, has in it many rich Mines, and is well seated for Trade; the Capital is *Rennes*. 16. *Normandy*, which once belong'd to us, is one of the fairest and finest of the *French* Provinces, though it produces no Wines; the Capital is *Rouen*. 17. *Havre de Grace*, a very small Government, taken out of *Normandy* purely on the Score of the important Port which gives a Name to it, and is its Capital. 18. *Maine* and *Perche*; the Capital of the former is *Nantz*, of the latter *Mortagne*, passable Countries both, but nothing extraordinary. 19. *Orleanois*, famous for its Wines; the Capital is *Orleans*, which gives the Title of Duke to the second Son of *France*. 20. *Nivernois*, a very small Country seated on the *Loire*, and consequently both fruitful and pleasant: There are also some Iron Mines in it; the Capital is *Nevers*. 21. *Bourbonnois*, a good Country, which is also full of Wines, and famous also for its Baths near the Castle of *Bourbon*; the Capital is *Moulins*. 22. *Lionnois*, a rich and noble Country; its Capital is the famous City of *Lyons*, remarkable on many Accounts,

but chiefly for its being the Seat of the Silk Manufacture. 23. *Auvergne*, a large Province, in which are found all the Necessaries of Life; and the Inhabitants of which are considered as the best Farmers in *France*; the Capital is *Clermont*. 24. The *Limousin*, a barren mountainous Country, the Inhabitants of which however are very industrious; the Capital is *Limoge*. 25. *Marche*, a small, well watered Country; the Capital of which is *Gueret*. 26. *Berry*; it is said to have the finest Meadows and Pastures in *France*; it produces a great deal of Wool, and therefore most of the Cloth Manufactures are in this Country. 27. *Touraine*, commonly called the Garden of *France*: Few Provinces boast of better, and none has so little bad Land; the Capital of it is *Tours*. 28. *Anjou*, a very fine well watered Country; the Capital of which is *Angiers*. 29. The *Saumurais*, taken out of *Anjou*, a small Country, the Capital of which is *Saumur*. 30. *French Flanders*, the richest and finest Province belonging to the *French* Crown; the Capital is *Lisle*. 31. *Dunkirk*; this Town and District makes a Government, ever since it was sold by us in 1662. 32. *Metz* and *Verdun*; the former is situated at the Conflux of the *Seille* and the *Moselle*, and is now one of the strongest Fortresses in *Europe*. *Verdun* upon the *Meuse* is large, populous, and well fortified. 33. *Toul* upon the *Moselle*; this, with the other two Cities before mentioned, are commonly stiled the three Bishopricks, and were taken out of *Lorraine* before the Whole of that Country became a Sacrifice to the *French* Ambition. 34. *Alsace*, a large, fruitful and rich Country, torn from the Empire with little or no Pretence, and kept, as it was got, by Force; its Capital *Strasbourg*. 35. *Franche Comte*, or, as it is commonly called, the County of *Burgundy*, fruitful in Wine, Corn and Wood; another Conquest without Right; the Capital of which is *Besancon*. 36. *Roussillon*, a mountainous and barren Country, the Capital of which is *Perpignan*.

These Governments were thus established in 1698. by *Louis XIV*. They have suffered some Alteration since, and are liable to the like Changes from the Will and Pleasure of the King, who may if he pleases join two of them together, or separate them if he thinks fit. The Reason we have mentioned them so particularly is, that we may show how they are governed; and by that Means how much *France* is changed from what it was, and how effectually the Power of the Crown is established. In every Province there is a Governor, who is a Person of the first Rank, and his Post is generally for Life; but as it is supposed that he cannot always attend the Functions of his Office, the King appoints a Lieutenant General if it be a small Province, if a large one, two or three, each of which has his particular District, in which his Power is independant. Besides these Lieutenant Generals, there are also the King's Lieutenants, who have smaller Districts; and the Governors of Towns are likewise appointed by the Crown, and are independant of the other Officers. In Places that have Citadels, those have likewise their Governors independant of the Governor of the Town, and by the Help of these Checks it is impossible for those Disturbances to happen, which were so frequent in every Reign before the last. Heretofore it was common for the King to grant the Survivorship of the Government to the Son or next Relation of the Governor; but now another Method is taken, for the Father actually resigns to the Son, who has the Title, but the Exercise of the Office is reserved to the Father by a Brevet, which gives him likewise the Power of resuming the Title, if his Son dies before him. The Administration of Justice in the Province is vested in the Parliament to which it belongs, in which the Governor has a Seat, which however is a mere Point of Honour, and gives him little or no Power. As this creates a new Distribution of the Kingdom, with respect to Parliaments, so there is also a Third in reference to Taxes, by which it is distinguished into Generalities and Elections; and at the Head of these are the Intendants. By this Kind of Policy, which was invented by *Richlieu*, and perfected by his Successors, every Part of the Kingdom is immediately under the Power

Power and Inspection of the Ministers ; and the Princes of the Blood and Great Lords, notwithstanding they have still the Title, Authorities and Revenues of Governors, have nothing of that Kind of Power that was so dangerous in past Times. But with respect to their Lordships, they have still very great Prerogatives ; which though they do not render them formidable to the Crown, give them such a Power over the common People, that without doubt the Peasants in *France* are as miserable as any in *Europe* ; and this is the true Secret why their Infantry, notwithstanding all their Discipline, is not near so good as the *English*, the *Swiss*, or those of some of the *German* Princes ; for Men born and bred under Oppression, have never that true Spirit and Courage that is so remarkable in Freemen. The Artizans and Manufacturers are somewhat better treated, and in the Cities of *France* they have Immunities and Privileges which at first Sight bear a near Resemblance to Liberty ; yet even these give Way upon any Exigence ; so that after all, the King is absolute Master of every Rank of his Subjects, and disposes, in a great Measure, both of their Persons and Properties at his Pleasure, which is the true Reason why so many leave their Country, and settle elsewhere.

We have hitherto in this Account represented Things in general ; and indeed it would require much more Room than we have to spare to enter into Particulars. It may very well suffice to say, that the ruling Maxim of the *French* Government is to sustain and to extend the Power of the Crown, to which every Thing must give Way. The Church, as a State Machine, is managed with greater Address in *France*, than in any Country in the World. *Louis XIV.* was a Bigot in his Practice, but not in his Church Politicks ; for while he dragoon'd his *Hugonot* Subjects, out of pious Regard to the Principle of Unity, he countenanced and approved the nice Distinction between the *Roman* and the *Gallican* Church. For by this Contrivance he procured for himself, and has left to his Successors, two Reins ; by which the Ecclesiastical Machine is governed with Ease. If the Pope is to be managed, and the Influence of the See of *Rome* becomes necessary to the *Eldest Son of the Church*, then one Rein is pulled, and the Royal Power is exerted in Support of the papal Authority : But if some stubborn, long-headed or well-meaning Cardinal is advanced to the supreme Dignity in the popish Hierarchy, who has a greater Regard to the Whole than to any Part, and will not employ either his Credit or his Power to serve the Purposes of the *Gallic* Monarch, then he plucks the other Rein, and makes his Holiness fully sensible, that without his Assuming the Title, he is truly and effectually Head of the *Gallican* Church. It must be confessed that this Sort of Policy is not without its Inconveniencies, and those too that are very evident, and sometimes very troublesome, such as continual Heart-burnings and Struggles, vexatious Disturbances, and a kind of perpetual Persecution, under all which Mischiefs the *Gallican* Church has now laboured near thirty Years : But this gives no Pain to the Ministry ; they look upon it as a necessary Evil, and raise and fall the Tide of Persecution as Interest directs. Thus the greatest Part of the *French* Clergy are obliged to conform to the Court Creed, as well as to the Catholick Faith ; and that Part of his Subjects are now most in the King's Power, which were least so in his Predecessors ; and those Men receive their Instructions from the Cabinet, who, from the Nature of their Office, have the strongest Sort of Influence over the Common People. By this Management also the Government draws a large Revenue from the Church, which in former Times was reckoned impracticable. The Tenths, which are annually paid to the King, amount to about Sixty thousand Pounds ; the Free Gifts, which are now become a stated and regular Revenue, amount to above two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, that is, in Time of Peace ; for in War the extraordinary Free Gifts bear some Proportion to the Exigency of the publick Affairs.

The Ecclesiastical and Civil Government in *France* was reduced by Degrees pretty near the same it stands at present under the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* and the Im-

provements only are to be attributed to his Son and Successor ; but with respect to the Military Establishment, *Lewis XIV.* was its original Founder. Before his Time a few Companies of Guards, and the four old Corps as they are still called, were all the standing Troops of *France* ; neither were they exactly of the same Nature with the Regiments that are now kept up, though this is not a Place to discuss the Difference. It is sufficient for us to observe, that the Prince last mentioned, finding every Thing at home disposed according to his good Pleasure, when he took the Administration into his own Hands, resolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to secure the boundless Authority, of which he was possessed in his own Dominions ; and at the same Time to make himself terrible to his Neighbours. It was to this End that he established first, under the Notion of Guards, a very considerable Force, which is now stiled the Troops of the Household, and afterwards, as Occasion offered, raised Regiment after Regiment, both of Horse and Foot, and kept them in constant Service. It was by the Help of this Standing Army, that he gained so many and so great Advantages over *Spain*, and the rest of his Neighbours, and annexed several conquered Provinces to his Dominions, which at the same Time afforded him an Opportunity of increasing the Number of these regular Troops, and of covering his Frontiers on every Side with Abundance of strong Fortresses. By Degrees other States in *Europe* found themselves obliged for their own Defence to raise and maintain regular Troops likewise, which afforded that ambitious Prince a Pretence for augmenting his to as great a Number as was possible for him to maintain ; and his Example in this, as well as in most other Points, has been exactly followed by his Successor. So that immediately before the Breaking out of the present War, the Standing Troops of *France* consisted of one Hundred and twenty thousand Foot, twenty thousand Horse and Dragoons, and between eight and ten thousand Invalids ; that is, in the whole, to about One hundred and fifty thousand Men. The keeping up so large an Army, and the maintaining so many Garrisons, is as serviceable to the King, as it is burthensome and ruinous to the Kingdom ; inasmuch as it keeps so great a Proportion of able and active Persons in a State of absolute Idleness with Regard to the Publick, at the same Time that heavy Taxes are raised upon the industrious Part of the People for their Subsistence. But it must be allowed, that it finds Employment for the Nobility and Gentry of *France* more especially, as it is become almost an indispensable Custom for them to spend their Youth, at least the first Part of it, in the Service ; by which they are brought insensibly into a Dependence upon the Court, and have their Minds filled with false and slavish Notions of the Glory of their Grand Monarch, which entirely gets the better of the natural Passions that all Men of Birth and Breeding in other Nations, have for the Service of their Country. Thus the Reader sees, that the Church, the Law, the Civil Employments, and the Military, being wholly at the Pleasure of the Court, the far greater Part of the active People in this great Country have their Lives and Fortunes at the Disposal of the Crown, and spend the best Part of their Days in the Maintenance of a System calculated to hold them in irrecoverable and perpetual Servitude.

As for the political Government, it is managed by several great Councils, or rather Committees of Council, of which there are at present four, which are stiled the Council of State, the Council of Dispatches, the Royal Council of Finances, and the Royal Council of Commerce. The first Civil Officer in *France* is the Chancellor, the only Officer that is not removeable at the King's Pleasure ; that is to say, he cannot be turned out without being brought to a Tryal ; but the King may and frequently does take the Seals from him, and put them into the Hands of another Person, who has the Title of Keeper, and the Power of Chancellor, who is removeable at the King's Pleasure. There is generally a Person at the Head of the Ministry, either with or without the Title of prime Minister, and with more or less Authority as the King pleases : At present this

is the Cardinal *de Tencin*. For the Management of publick Affairs there are four principal Secretaries of State, who have each their separate Departments. These are at present the Count *de Maurepas*, who has the Marine; the Count *de Puisieux*, who is Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the Count *de Saint Florentin*, who has the Care of Domestic Concerns; and the Count *d'Argenson*, who is Secretary at War. The principal Officer of the Revenue is the Comptroller General of the Finances, at present M. *de Machault*, who has under him a Multitude of Intendants and other Officers, subject to the Direction of the Council of Finances, of which the Duke *de Betbune* is President. As to the ordinary and settled Revenue of the Crown of France, if we may believe their own Writers upon that Subject, it is not at all increased in its real, though it is considerably augmented in its nominal Value. In 1683, it was computed at 116,873,476 Livres, and in 1730, it amounted to no more than 140,278,473 Livres, which make 5,844,973 Pounds of our Money, which shews that neither the general Wealth of France, nor the Income of the King, are near so great as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, very true, that in Time of War the King levies much larger Sums; but it is very plain, that even these must fall short of what some People would persuade us they amount to, since there must be always a Proportion between the ordinary and extraordinary Revenue; and consequently, if we know the one, we may very easily compute how far the other can be carried, because even under arbitrary Governments, some Measures must be preserved; and some Regard had to the general Income of the People, which is less in Time of War, at the same Time that the publick Expence is greater.

With regard to the Commerce of France, there remains no Sort of Doubt, that it has grown more extensive and more profitable than formerly, when Trade was very little known in this Country. It may seem a little strange, but the Fact is certainly very true, that the Commercial State of this Country is entirely under the Direction of the Crown; and in this there seems to be the less Hardship, because it may be very truly affirmed, that the Commerce of France is as much or rather more the Work of their Ministers, than of their Merchants. When *Colbert* was at the Head of Affairs, he made the Increase of Manufactures, the Facilitating Domestick, and the Improving Foreign Trade, one of the principal Objects of his Ministry. In this he was very successful; he understood Commerce as a great Man should understand it, so as to render it beneficial to a Nation, without consulting too minutely the Profit of private Persons. Upon this Occasion I will venture to relate, after an eminent French Author, a very singular Story: He invited several eminent Merchants to meet in his Cabinet, in order to discourse on the Principles of Commerce, and promised them the utmost Liberty in Conversation. At their first Meeting, a certain Merchant, who was consider'd as the best Head amongst them, made a sett Harangue against the Management of the Duties, and spoke so bluntly, that the Minister rose in great Heat, and bid him hold his Tongue, for that was no Part of his Business. If no Freedom, no Speech, answered the Merchant, we will be going, if you cannot hear, it is impossible you should learn, and if you will not correct what is immediately in your own Power, what are we to expect? *Colbert* bid him sit down, and go on, and from that Time forward never checked any of them, let them say what they would. By this Means, in a few Years, he knew more than them all. *Madam de Maintenon* was likewise a great Politician in Commerce; and it fell out, when the Affairs of Louis XIV. were in the utmost Distress,

that some of his Ministers proposed postponing the Payment of the Sums due to his Bankers for a Year: To which the King seemed inclined. The Lady, who was spinning at the other End of the Room, without quitting her Work, address'd herself to the King in these Words: Sire, If you stop Payment to your Bankers, they will lose their Credit with their Foreign Correspondents, which while they maintain, you are never at a Loss for Money in any Part of Europe. While Things continue in this State, your Distresses are known only to a few; but if you take this Resolution, you will become a Bankrupt in the Eyes of the whole World: Stop therefore your Pensions, the Money destined for Buildings, and other Pleasures, and pay the Bankers punctually, for Credit is the true Basis of Power. The King took her Advice, which was certainly better than that of his Ministers; and it answered the End that was proposed.

By this it appears, as well as by what was said in the former Volume, of the French East-India Company, that the Commerce of France is the Creature of the State; and from thence it follows, that though in particular Branches it may flourish wonderfully, yet, taking in the Whole, it is nothing near so considerable as it might be, nor can it ever be made so under a Government constituted like that which subsists in this Country at present; which is one of the best Reasons that can be assigned, why the ordinary Revenue of France is not higher now than it was many Years ago, and why even very small Sums of Money, in Comparison of what are raised elsewhere, are raised here with so much Difficulty. The Shipping of France is certainly increased, but not in that Proportion that is commonly imagined, much less in the Degree some of our political Writers have asserted, for I have actually seen Computations of the Shipping employed in only one Branch of Trade very confidently laid down, which I could demonstrate to be very near, if not beyond the whole Shipping of this Country; a very clear and incontestable Proof of this, is the present State of their Navy. I have before me a List of it, in the Year 1693. when it consisted of One hundred and fourteen Ships of the Line, but at the Beginning of the present War, they had not forty Sail of Men of War and Frigates of all Sizes: I have likewise before me a Memorial presented by the Merchants of France, to the Count *de Maurepas*, at the Close of last Year, in which the Losses sustain'd thereby, are computed at Two hundred Millions, which makes Nine Millions three hundred thousand Pounds of our Money. In this Memorial it is said, that if the King could maintain Sixty Men of War and Frigates, including the *Brest* Squadron, which is reckoned at twenty Sail, the whole Trade of France might be well protected, which is an Evidence, that it is very far from being protected at present, and that the King has not any such Force as the Merchants think is requisite for that Purpose. While the War continues it is impossible he should, foreign Subsidies, and the Expences of his Land-Forces run away with all, and more than all; so that if our Naval Force was employed in Distressing the French Trade, in every Part of the World, but more especially in the *West-Indies*, there is no Doubt that we might put them back for half a Century, at least; and if at the End of this War, there should remain such a Part of the Sinking Fund, as, would enable us to take off the Duties upon Sugar entirely, I believe their *West-India* Trade could never revive. But I ought to ask my Reader's Pardon for this Digression, and for extending my Remarks to such a Length; but the Desire of shewing, that if France be a *Hydra*, it is not impossible she may meet with a *Hercules*, was what led me thus far, and I hope will serve for a tolerable Excuse.

CHAPTER V.

Comprehending TRAVELS through the remotest Parts of *Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, &c.* to the very Frontiers of *Europe* upon that Side ; interspersed with the History of Mines, Salt-works, Fisheries, and other curious Particulars.

SECTION I.

A Voyage from England to Holland, with a Journey from thence, by Land, through the Electorates of Cologne, Treves and Mentz, the Lower and Upper Palatinate, Bavaria and Austria, to Vienna ; from thence through Moravia, Bohemia and Saxony, to Hamburg ; with many judicious and useful Observations.

By the very learned Dr. EDWARD BROWNE, of the Royal College of Physicians.

1. *Introductory Account of the Author. He embarks at Yarmouth, and proceeds by Sea to Rotterdam. Description of that City.*
2. *A very curious Account of the Hague, Leyden and Harlem.*
3. *A copious and circumstantial Description of what is most remarkable in Amsterdam.*
4. *The like Account of the City of Utrecht, and of the Country about it.*
5. *A Description of Boileduc, Breda and Dort.*
6. *The Author's Passage into the Island of Walcheren, with a Description of Middleburgh and Flushing.*
7. *The Course of the River Schelde, and the City of Antwerp described.*
8. *The Author's Journey continued through Brussels and Maastricht to Cologne.*
9. *His Journey from thence to Bonn, with some very curious Observations.*
10. *An Account of the Author's Journey from Bonn to Frankfurt, and of the Places he passed through upon the Road.*
11. *A succinct Account of Franckfort.*
12. *A Description of the City of Heidelburgh, and of the Palatinate.*
13. *His Journey from Heidelburgh to Nurembergh, with a Description of the last-mentioned City.*
14. *The Country of Bavaria and Austria described, with the principal Towns in them.*
15. *A large and particular Account of the City of Vienna.*
16. *A View of the Emperor's Court, and of that Prince's Manner of living.*
17. *Of the celebrated Library at Vienna, and the Emperor's Collections of Curiosities.*
18. *The most remarkable Things in the Neighbourhood of this City described.*
19. *The Author's Remarks upon the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants in that great City.*
20. *A Description of the remaining Part of Austria and Moravia.*
21. *His Journey through the Kingdom of Bohemia, with an Account of the Silver Mine at Guttentberg.*
22. *The famous City of Prague described, together with an Account of some other remarkable Places in Bohemia.*
23. *A Description of the City of Dresden, and of the Country of Saxony.*
24. *The Author's Journey through Freiberg, Leipfick and Magdeberg ; with an Account of those great Cities.*
25. *A Description of the noble City of Hamburg, with the Author's Remarks upon the German Nation.*

IT is now Time that we should lead the Reader out of *Europe* ; of which, however, many Countries remain yet undescribed ; for the making known of which, we could think of no better Method than digesting, into the closest Order possible, the Travels of the ingenious Dr. Browne through most of those Countries, Accounts of which are still wanting. He was the Son of the famous Sir Thomas Browne of *Norwich*, so well known to the learned World by the many curious and valuable Works he published. As for this Gentleman, he received the first Part of his Education under the Care of his worthy Father ; and having passed through the Circle of School Learning, was removed to the University of *Oxford*, where, after having taken his Degrees regularly, and with much Reputation, he resolved to travel, as he did, through the greatest Part of *Europe* ; and having Recommendations where-ever he came, to Persons the most distinguished for Rank and Learning, acquired thereby va-

rious Opportunities of making deeper and better Observations than is common with Travellers in such hasty Tours. He published two Volumes of his Voyages and Travels, which were extremely well received ; and in the Account given of them by the Secretary of the Royal Society in the Transactions, they are very highly and justly commended. He afterwards took his Degree of Doctor of Physick, and became a Member of the College, Fellow of the Royal Society ; and, in regard to his great Knowledge and Experience, was promoted to the Rank of being the King's Physician. He enjoy'd these Honours, together with an universal and unblemish'd Reputation, for many Years, and was very justly consider'd as an Honour to his Family and Profession. We have taken the Liberty to range his Travels in the Manner most suitable to the Nature of this Collection, and because it was impossible to preserve a proper Connection, without taking in his Account of the *United Provinces*, the *Low Countries*, and some Part

of *Germany*; we chose rather to retain them, though many of the Places had been before spoken of in former Chapters of this Book, than to begin abruptly with his Accounts of *Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.* for the Sake of which they were chiefly inserted; but as all he says is equally entertaining and instructive, we apprehend that this cannot be considered as any Inconvenience.

I went in the Year 1668, from *Norwich* to *Yarmouth*, a Sea-Port in the County of *Norfolk*, at the Entrance of the River *Yare*: Where being furnish'd with Letters of Recommendation by Sir *James Johnson* to *Amsterdam, Francfort, Venice, and Vienna*, I embark'd the 14th of *August* in *Yarmouth* Road, aboard the *Angel Ketch*, Burthen Fifty five Tuns; and set sail for *Rotterdam*. It was not long before we discovered *Goree Steeple*, and immediately after the *Briel*, situate at the Entrance of the River *Mosa*, or the *Maese*; which having its Rise in the Mountains of *Vauge*, or *Vaugesus*, passes by *Verdun, Dinant, Namur, Liege, Maestricht, Ruremond, Venlo*, and several other Places, and here discharges itself into the Ocean. In our Passage up the River we saw many stately Villages, the most noted of which were *Maesland-Sluice, Schiedam, and Delfts-Haven*; and came ashore about Six in the Evening at *Rotterdam*.

Here I had Sight of two of the largest Men of War belonging to *Holland*, viz. the *Crane*, and the *Wassenaer*; the last of which was built in Lieu of that in which Admiral *Opdam* was blown up, as he was engaged against his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*. The Points of the Keys of this City are very fair, and the Channels, which extend into the very Centre of it, so large and deep, as to be capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen. It is very populous, the Houses well built, and the Streets very clean. The Organs of the great Church, the Tower, and the Monument of *M. De Wit*, the Statue of *Erasmus* upon the Bridge, and some other Curiosities, are worth the Observation of a Traveller. It being then Fair-time, we saw some Drolls acted, and some Rarities, viz. Lions, Leopards, and among the rest a Woman of seven Foot high.

From *Rotterdam* we passed forward to *Delft*, passing by the Powder-House (a beautiful Structure at some Distance from the City). The Piazza of *Delft* is very large, the Town-house fronting it at one, and the new Church with its high Steeple at the other End. This Church is famous for the Tomb of *William of Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, together with his Wife and Son, Prince *Maurice*, whose Statue is in Armour, with his Dog lying at his Feet, with four Obelisks supported by ten Marble Pillars: It stands in the Middle of the Isle. The old Church contains the Tomb of the famous *Van Trump*, carved on the Walls, his Effigies lying upon a Cannon, surrounded with Arms and Trophies. In another Church we were shewn the Monument of Admiral *Hein*, who took the *Spanish* Plate Fleet: And in a large House, in a Wall, the Marks of some of the Bullets, by which Prince *William* was murdered, in 1584.

2. The *Hague* is celebrated for being the ancient Residence of the Counts of *Holland*, and now of the States-General; it is about three *English* Miles from *Delft*. It has a very fair Piazza, many well built Houses, and the Pall-mall, the Wood, and the Park, are very beautiful Places; but what surpasses all, is the Way from hence to *Scheveling*, which is paved with Brick for three Miles, with several Rows of Trees on both Sides, as far as to the Steeple of *Scheveling*. The City of *Leyden* (nine Miles distant from the *Hague*,) may for its Neatness compare with any in *Europe*, its Streets being beautified with noble Houses, and large Channels on both Sides: Its Fortifications are after the modern Way. One of the chief Antiquities of *Leyden*, is what they call the *Hengist Castle*, (or the *Berg*,) from its Founder *Hengist* the *Saxon*. On the Top, into which we went by very handsome Stairs, we saw a very fair Harbour, a Labyrinth and Well, and at the Bottom is a very good House of Entertainment. But what surpasses this, are the Ruins of an ancient Fortrefs not far from this City, at the Village call'd *Cat-*

wick, upon the Sea, known by the Name of *Arx Britannica*; which being built by *Caligula*, and afterwards ruin'd by the *Normans*, was overwhelm'd by the Sea at last; yet not so, but that at certain Times, when the Tide is very low, its Ruins have been plainly discovered, and some Antiquities have been found with this Inscription: *Ex Ger. Inf.* that is, *ex Germania Inferiori*. The Stadt-house has a very fair Front towards the Street. In the Anatomy Hall you see many Skeletons, of a Whale, a Horse, Deer, Cow, Cat, and Fox, and two Legs of an Elephant, besides those of Men and Women, some Muscles preserv'd, and one entire Body with the Skin and Flesh.

The Physick-Garden is none of the largest, but abundantly stock'd with Plants of all Sorts. Near it stands the College where the Publick Lectures are kept every Day, and under it is the Printing-House of the University. In the Stadt-house, in the Apartment of the Burgermasters, I saw a most curious Piece done by *Lucas van Leyden*, representing the Day of Judgment. Near the same Place is also shewn the Table of that famous Taylor, *John of Leyden*, upon which he used to work, before he took upon him the Trade of a Reformer, and came to be King of the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*. From *Leyden* I travell'd to *Harlem*, seven *Dutch* Leagues (or twenty one *English* Miles) thence. Its Situation is very pleasant, among Groves of Trees. The great Church surpasses for its Bigness all others in *Holland*, and is full of remarkable Inscriptions. The Pictures of all the Earls of *Holland*, in the Prince's House, are very good Pieces; and in the Summer-House of the Garden is that of *Laurence Coster*, a Citizen of this Place, whom they stile the first Inventor of Printing; whereas others ascribe the same to a certain *German*, named *John Gottenberg*. In the other Rooms you see several excellent Pieces of Paintings of *Hemskerk* and *Goltzius*; but those of *Cornelius* of *Harlem* exceed the rest, especially his History of *Herod's* killing the Children; his Feast of the Gods, in which *Vulcan's* Foot is esteemed most; and his Collation of a Nun and a Monk.

On the other Side you see a Picture of a Ship with Saws, in Memory of the glorious Action done by those of this Town, who under the Reign of *Frederick Barbarossa*, fighting against the *Saracens*, took *Damietta*, entering the Port by Means of Saws fastned to the Keels of their Ships, which cut the Chains of the Harbour. Here is also an Hospital for Sixty aged Persons, and another for the Sick, both very handsome and neatly kept. Here I observed the first Time their Way of Whipping Malefactors with Rods: They tie their Hands stretch'd upward as high as they can, to a Post erected upon a Scaffold, with an Iron round their Waste, and so give them as many Stripes as are allotted them by their Judges. The Lake near *Harlem*, call'd the *Harlem Meere*, is above twenty Miles long.

3. The next Place to *Harlem* is the City of *Amsterdam*, famous throughout the World for its Riches, Trade, Shipping, fair Streets, and magnificent Buildings. Its Situation is upon the River *Ye*, being formerly the Seat only of a few Fishermen; but being favour'd in Time with the Title of a City, by the Earls of *Holland*, was strengthened with a Wall 1470, against those of *Utrecht*; and many Years after, by the Emperor *Maximilian*, honour'd with the Imperial Crown over their Arms, which are three Crosses on a Pale. It is almost incredible how this City is increased of late Years, being now encompass'd with a new Wall, and large Ditch, after the Modern Way of Fortifications. The new Streets especially are very spacious, with large Channels. The River *Amstel* (from whence it has borrow'd its Name) also passes through it, being let in under a very handsome Bridge of eleven Arches, and twenty six Paces broad, which makes part of the Wall. This whole vast Body is built upon Piles of Timber driven into the Earth close to one another, the Foundation of the Tower over-against *St. Catharine's* Church, being said to consist of 6334 great Trees; and I myself was an Eye-witness of the vast Number of Trees

I saw

I saw them drive into the Foundations, where the *East-India* House was to be enlarged; and at another Place, where they were laying the Foundation of a *Lutheran* Church.

The noblest Structure of all this Country, and one of the finest in *Europe*, is their Stadt-house, built of Free-stone, 110 Paces in Front (in which it exceeds *St. Peter's* Church at *Rome*;) and Eighty one Paces deep. At its very Entrance, on the Right-Hand, you see the Hall where Malefactors receive their Sentence; the Marble Statues here hanging down their Heads, as if grieved at what was pronounced. All the Floors are covered with Marble, and the Roofs finely carved, painted, and gilt; *Atlas*, bearing a Globe upon his Shoulders, stands on the Top of it. The Globe is of Copper of ten Foot Diameter, and exceeds, as far as I ever heard or saw, any Ball or Globe of this Nature. That of *St. Peter's* Church at *Rome*, and that of *Florence*, being less; and such as I have seen upon any of the *Turkish* Mosques, don't come near this in Bigness; nay, the largest of those three famous Balls at *Morocco*, are, according to the Report of those that have seen it, inferior to this. The Exchange of *Amsterdam* is very fair, exceeding large, and frequented by an incredible Number of People. Most of their Churches are stately Edifices. The Partition with Ballisters of Brass in the new Church are truly noble; and the Carvings of the Pulpit exceed the rest.

The Tombs of *Van Hulst* and *Hemskerck*, in the old Church, are very well worth a curious Traveller's Observation: The last of these two has rendered himself famous by his successful Expeditions in the *East-Indies*, after their first Settlement there, by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, when they had found the *North Passage* by *Nova Zembla* impracticable. Their House of Correction is also worth Observation; having at its Entrance two Lions bridled with this Inscription:

Virtutis est domare quæ cuncti pavent.

A proper Emblem for the Purpose it was intended, viz. to bridle the Insolencies of such as are riotous in the Streets, or commit Disorders, and the Extravagancies of the Sons of Citizens, who are past the Government of their Masters and Parents. They are employed in Gaining their Bread by rasping *Brazil* Wood; and if they refuse to perform their Task, and become incorrigible by Blows, they (as we were told) put them in a large Cistern, with a Pump by them, and so letting in the Water upon them, force them to work for their Life.

Their *Spin-buis* is intended for the Correction of young Women, such as live loosely, or are taken in the Streets, and other suspicious Places: Sometimes the Citizens send their Daughters hither for Chastisement, and these have Chambers allotted them; I saw above an hundred Women in one large Room, some of which were very well dress'd. In the Hospital for Children are 600 Orphans, well educated and look'd after. The *Dol-buis* is like our *Bedlam*, intended for delirious Persons. The *Gast-buis*, an Hospital for the Sick; as the *Mannen-houze* is an Hospital for old Men. They have besides this, a laudable Custom throughout all *Holland*; which is, that upon the Appointment of any Meeting at a Tavern, or any other Occasion, certain Forfeitures are put into a Box kept in all Publick-Houses, for the Use of the Poor, which is the Reason that scarce ever any Beggars are seen in the Streets.

Their *East-India*-House contains an incredible Store of Spices, and other *Indian* Commodities. Their Admiralty House, where they keep their Stores for Shipping, is surrounded with Water for its greater Security, and near it lie Seventy two Men of War. On the Top of this House (as most of Note of this City) is a Cistern for the Reception of Rain-Water, to supply the Defect of Spring-Water, which is very scarce. At the Entrance of the Gate, we saw the entire Body of a Man preserved from Corruption, enclosed to the Waste in a Canoe, made of Fish-skin, so closely sewed together, that no Water could get in. The handsomest

Streets of *Amsterdam* are, the *Harlem-Street*, the *Cingel*, *Princes Graft*, *Kaisers Graft*, and *Heeren Graft*, as also the *New Island*. Among other Rarities I saw here a Globe, the Workmanship of *Vingbomes*, betwixt six and seven Foot Diameter; it was all of Copper, and very well painted, with all the new Discoveries made in 1641, at 42 Deg. S. Lat. and 170 Longit. those towards the N. W. of *Japan*, about *Nova Zembla*, the *Tartarian* Sea, beyond the Streights of *Voygats*, viz. *New Holland*, *West-Friesland*, &c. Though most of those Discoveries are contradicted by *Martiniere*, who made a Voyage into those Parts in 1653, from *Copenhagen*, especially as to the true Position of *Zembla*, its Coherency to the Continent, the Length of the Streights of *Voygats* (which they make ten, but he thirty five *Dutch* Leagues) and a Passage through it into the *Tartarian* Ocean.

I had the Curiosity to take a Prospect of the City from the Steeple of the Church, which by Reason of the Unevenness of the Houses, did not appear altogether so beautiful as those of *Italy*, which are flat on the Top. Every Day, at Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, there is very good Musick at the Stadt-house, being the Gift of the Earl of *Leicester*. The Chimes, of which there is a Sett in most Steeples here, make also a very agreeable Harmony.

Among other Persons of Note, I got into the Acquaintance of *Dr. Ruish*, who shew'd me many Curiosities in *Anatomy*; such as the Skeletons of Children, and Fœtus's of all Ages, very neatly done; the Lymphatick Vessels preserved, with all the Valves; all the Vessels of the Liver separated from the fleshy Part; many Muscles dissected; and whole Bodies kept entire, without the least Signs of Corruption. *Dr. Swammerdam* shew'd me several of his Experiments, according to his Treatise *De Respiratione*, with a Collection of many Insects. *Glauber*, the noted Chymist, gave me a Sight of his Laboratory. And *Blasius*, famous for his Observations upon *Veslingius*, gave me many Marks of his Civility.

It is to be observed, that the Jews live at *Amsterdam* in more Splendor than in any other Part of the World being provided with magnificent Houses, and a very fair Synagogue, and have among them Persons of Learning, and endow'd with other good Qualifications; some of them having lived under the Notion of Christians in other Places. There was one *Juda Leo*, who had a Model of the Temple of *Solomon*, the Fort of the Temple, the Tabernacle, and many other Curiosities of that Nature. I also saw the Ceremony of the Circumcision of a *Jewish* Child; they thrust a Probe betwixt the *Glans* and *Præputium*, and dilating it so, that both the inward and outward Skin be drawn forward, by a certain Instrument they hold the Skin close to the Instrument; the remaining Skin being put back immediately, the Blood stopp'd, and the Plaister applied: All there present singing all the while, that the Cries of the Infant may be the less heard.

I pass'd from *Amsterdam* to *Utrecht* in seven Hours, in one of their *Track Schuyts*, or large Boats, drawn by Horses, through the artificial Channels which are made for this Purpose in most of the Provinces, as well of *Holland*, as of the *Low-Countries*.

4. *Utrecht*, (anciently *Antonina*, and afterwards *Ultrajectum*;) the Capital City of the Province of the same Name, is very large, and handsomely built. It has been an Episcopal See for near these thousand Years: Its first Bishop was *Willebald*, an *Englishman*. It was made an University in 1636. The great Church has three Steeples one above the other, from whence I took a full View of the adjacent Country, which is very plain, and so populous, that there are no less than fifty one walled Towns, to any of which you may go in a Day's Journey thence. Here is also an *English* Church, in the Middle of which is a Pillar, the Foundation of which was laid upon Bulls Hides, in 1099, with the Picture of a Bull with this Inscription:

*Accipe Posteritas quod per tua sæcula narres,
Taurinis cutibus fundo solidata columna est.*

The Library belonging to this Church has several old Manuscripts, and among the rest a Bible in six Volumes, painted and gilded after a very ancient Way. The two German Idols, bestowed upon this Place by the Emperor Henry IV. are worth taking Notice of for their Antiquity's Sake: As also a Horn said to be made of Ivory. I saw also three Sea-Unicorns Horns, (being an Animal in the Northern Seas) one of which being tipp'd with Silver, served for a Drinking-Cup. They were about five Foot long; though the King of Denmark has two that were taken near Nova Zembla, that have ten Foot in Length: This King's Father had so many of them, that he bestowed above one hundred of them for the making of a magnificent Throne. I myself have seen some fifteen Foot long, and a Walking-Staff, a Sceptre, Scabbard for a Sword, and other Curiosities made of the Teeth of this Animal, but could never be convinced of its Effects against Poison, or any contagious Distemper, though I have given it frequently, and in very great Quantities.

Here I had also the Honour to see Dr. Cyprianus ab Oesterga, Dr. Regius, Voetius, the only Member left alive of the Synod of Dort; but unfortunately miss'd the Sight of the famous Anna Maria Skurman, she being gone into the Country, yet had the good Fortune to see her Picture, drawn by her own Hand, with this Inscription:

*Cernitis hic pictâ nostros in Imagine vultus,
Si negat ars formam gratia vestra dabit.*

I travel'd from Utrecht, in two Hours, to Friswick, and crossing the River Leck to Vianen, where there is nothing remarkable besides the House and Gardens of Count Brederode, accounted the noblest Family in Holland, as that of Wassenger is the most ancient, and that of Egmont the richest. A Mount belonging to this Garden, makes Part of the Rampart of the Place. The Statues of the Twelve Cæsars, of Aristotle, with some Pyramids, Partitions, and Paintings, are Ornaments, suitable to a Traveller's Curiosity.

Hence I pass'd by Boat through the Country of Arkel, and came the same Night to Gorcum, a City situate near the three Rivers, the Ling, the Waal, and the Maese: It has a pretty handsome Market-place, and a Church with a very high Steeple. The Fortifications are of Earth; and over the Water-Gate you see this Inscription:

*Civitas in quâ maximè Cives legibus parent, & in pace
beata, & bello invicta. 1642.*

Which Inscription seem'd to have been fulfil'd in 1672, when the powerful Army of Lewis XIV. King of France, who conquered thirty Cities in one Campaign, did not extend their Conquests beyond this Place. From Gorcum I went to Worcum, on the other Side of the River, and so by the Castle of Lovestein, famous for the Imprisonment of Barneveldt; which, since that Time, has given that Name to the whole Party, which is generally called in Holland the Lovestein Faction.

5. Passing farther up the Maese, we came the next Day to Hertogen Bosche, having left Proye on the Left, and Heusden on the Right Hand. This City, called by some Sylva Ducis, Boisleduc, and Bolduc, is a well fortified City, situate upon the River Disa, or Deeze, which joins its Waters, two Leagues below this Place, with the Maese, being one of the chief Frontiers belonging to the United Provinces on that Side, and strong both by Art and Nature. Its Avenues are only Causeways made through the Marshes, with various Turnings, commanded by six small Forts; besides which, the Town is both commanded and defended by a Citadel, consisting of five regular Bastions. The Market-place here is triangular. In the Cathedral (which is dedicated to St. John) are many of the Arms of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and on the upper Stalls an Inscription containing a short Account of the first Institution of this Order, by Philip surnamed the Good, Duke of

Burgundy, Lorrain, and Brabant. It was made an Episcopal See in 1559, and taken by the Dutch from the Spaniards in 1628.

From hence we pursued our Journey through a plain and sandy Country to Breda, a City situated upon the River Merk. It is very well fortified, with a large Ditch round the Counterscarp, and a Ravelin betwixt each Bastion, joined to the Rampart with-inside of the Ditch; besides a good Number of Half-moons and Hornworks, and a Parapet strengthened with a double Row of Elms. This Place belongs to the Prince of Orange. The Spaniards took it in the Beginning of the Low Country Wars; but the Dutch not long after surprized it, by putting eighty armed Men in a Boat covered with Turf, who thus entred the Castle.

It was taken by the Spaniards in 1625, and afterwards regained again by Frederick Henry Prince of Orange. It has a very fair Church, in which are many good Tombs; and among the rest those of Englebert Count of Nassaw, with his Family; of the Heer Van Horn, and his three Wives; and of Henry Earl of Nassaw, who being the Founder of the Castle of Breda, his Armour is supported by four Warriours upon their Knees: The Gardens, Gallery, Walks, and Dials belonging to this Castle, are worth a Traveller's Observation. From Breda we travel'd by Land to St. Gertruydenberg, the utmost Frontier Place of the Dutch on the North Side of Brabant. It is of no great Extent, but abounds in Fish, which are catch'd in a Kind of a Lake called the Waart, made so by the Falling into it of the Maese, and divers other Rivers. You see here a very fair Church, and the Ruins of a large Steeple. We pass'd hence over a large Water, which had overflow'd the Country, and drown'd twenty-two Parishes, and, passing by the ancient Tower called Murvey House, came to Dort, or Dordracum. This City, which is seated in the Waves of those great Lakes made by the Maese and the Wael, is reckoned the chief Town of South Holland, as having the Privilege of the Mint, and the Staple for Rhenish Wine and English Cloth; we have two Churches here, as the French have one. The great Church has a Steeple of 312 Steps high. I took a View of the Apartment where the Synod of Dort had been held in 1611; which was a very fair one, and had an extraordinary agreeable Prospect into the Country. The large round-bellied Vessels, which stand betwixt this City and Cologne, intermixed with long Liege Boats, afford an odd Spectacle to Strangers.

6. I embarked in a Vessel bound for the Isle of Walcheren, and sailing by most of the Islands of Zealand, and in Sight of the Towns of Williamstadt, Zirickzee, Tergoes, &c. we came ashore at Ter-Vere, where there is a convenient Harbour. It has a fair long Market-place. The Scotch have had a Factory here for above 200 Years; over-against it you see a Steeple, the poor Remainder of a noble Town, which has been swallow'd up by the Sea.

From hence to Middleburg the Way is paved with a Kind of small hard Brick; the same being to be observed in many Places also in Holland. The City of Middleburg is seated in the very Centre of the Isle of Walcheren, being very well built, spacious and populous, the fourth Chamber or Port of the East-India Company; Amsterdam being in the first Rank, Rotterdam the second, and Flushing the third. There is a broad Water within the Compass of the Town, from whence is cut a Channel, which carries Vessels to the Sea. It is very well fortified, and beautified with many fair Churches, and other publick and private Structures. The new Church is of an octogonal Figure, with a Cupolo; the Steeple of the old Church is famous for its Height, the Town-house considerable for its old Statues, and the Piazza of a circular Figure. The Country round it being cover'd with fruitful Gardens. The Zealanders are generally great Lovers of the Family of Orange. Hence I went to Flushing, a strong Sea-port Town, strengthen'd with Stone-Walls towards the Sea, and Mud-works to the Land-side. This being one of the first Places the Dutch took from the Spaniards in 1572, was, together with Rammaken and the

the *Brill*, made a Cautionary to Queen *Elizabeth*, 1585, and restored again to the United Provinces in 1616, by King *James* I. The Mouth of the Harbour is surrounded with Piles driven into the Ground, and these again are secured by Rushes, Flags and Reeds, staked down, intermix'd with Osiers and Hurdles, to break the Force of the Water. The Stadt-House is a noble Structure, standing in the Market-place, and affords a fair Prospect in Front, which is adorned with three Rows of Pillars, one above the other; the lower Row being of the *Dorick*, the second of the *Ionick*, and the Uppermost of the *Corinthian* Order, on the Top of which is a Gallery, from thence you may discover Ships at a great Distance at Sea. We saw here many Ships, and among them some Men of War of considerable Bigness. The Women in the Isle of *Walcheren* are clad for the most Part in red Cloth, and wear Straw Hats. If a Man happen to die here, a great Bundle is laid at the Door, if a Child a little one, if a Male it is put on the right Side, if a Female on the left. When a Woman is delivered, they give Notice of what Sex the Child is of to all the Neighbourhood, by tying a Piece of Lawn to the Rapper of the Door, made up into the Shape of a Puppet, and representing the Sex of the new born Child. I returned to *Middleburgh* by Land, where I embark'd again, and passing down the River by the Fort *Rammaken*, entered the River *Schelde*, and sailing up, pass'd the Fort *Frederick Henry*, and so to the Fort *Lillo*, where we were forced to stay till our Ship was searched. Just opposite to the last of these two Forts, on the other Side of the River, is the Fort called *Lifgens boek*, and on the other Side another call'd *de la Croix*, the last belonging to the *Hollanders*; the *Spanish* Forts to defend this Frontier are, the *Philip*, the *Pearl*, and the *Mary*.

7. The River *Schelde*, mentioned by *Cæsar*, has its Rise in the Country of *Vermendois*, and passing by *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Tournay*, *Dornick*, *Oudenard*, *Ghent*, *Rupelmond* and *Antwerp*, divides itself afterwards into two Channels, whereof the Southern is call'd the *Hont* (Dog,) the other taking its Course from *Bergen-op-Zoom*, falls into the Sea between the Isles of *Zealand*. The next Day we continued our Voyage upon the *Schelde*, and arrived safely at *Antwerp*. This City is of a large Extent; its Walls very broad, with Rows of Trees upon them, faced with Brick and Free-stones, after the modern Way, though the Bastions are none of the largest, but the Ditch is very broad and deep. The Citadel is accounted one of the best Fortifications of five Bastions, in those Parts, very well lin'd with Brick and Stone, and commanding the City, the River and the adjacent Country. There is also another Fort near the *Schelde*. The Exchange of *Antwerp* is supported by thirty six Pillars, each carved a different Way. It stands in the Middle of four Streets, which lead unto it. The *Meer*, the most remarkable Street of the City, has the Water running under it, and here the Coaches meet to take the *Tour-ala-mode*; at one End of it you see a large Brass Crucifix, placed upon a Pedestal of Marble. The *Jesuits* Church exceeds for Magnificence any that ever I met with out of *Italy*. The Front is a noble Piece of Architecture, having the Statue of *Ignatius Loyola* on the Top. The Roof is for the most part painted by *Rubens* and *Van Dyke*; the Carving is most excellent, and the Flower Work done by *Segers* a *Jesuit*. It has a very handsome Library, kept in four Chambers, the Founder of which was *Godfrid Houtappel*, whose Tomb is to be seen in a Chapel on the South-side of the Church. The *Carmelite* Church is famous for the large Statue of Silver of the Virgin *Mary*. The Church of our blessed Lady is the biggest, and the Steeple the noblest and one of the best built in the World, being 459 Foot high. This Church abounds also in many curious Pieces of Paintings, and among the rest, there is one highly esteem'd, done by *Quintin*, who being at first a Smith, made that curious Iron Work of the Wall before the West Door; but afterwards, to gain his Mistress, turn'd Painter, and became famous in this Art. His Head, cut in Stone, is placed near the Church Door, with this Inscription:

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Connubialis amor de Mulcibre fecit Apellem.

I took also a View of the Abbey of St. *Michael*, seated upon the River *Schelde*; among other Rarities I saw here a Glass which represented the Pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, collected from the putting together of divers other Heads: One being represented from a certain Picture, which contained no less than thirteen Faces, and the other from one of twelve. That of the Virgin *Mary* had this Inscription:

Diva nitet variis expressa Maria Figuris.

In this Abbey, which contains sixty three Monks, I saw also the Tomb of a Countess of *Brabant*, who was drowned, and her Statue. Near the Wharf-gate, you see the Church of St. *Walburgis*, an *English* Saint. The Town-house of *Antwerp* is a fine Structure, that belonged formerly to the Eastern Merchants very magnificent and large, but run to Ruin; here were preserved, several Sorts of Musical-Instruments, not known now-a-days. The *Hessen* House has been none of the worst in former Time. The Water which they make use of in Brewing, is conveyed hither from *Herental*, at least thirty Miles, by Means of a Canal. This City produces also many great Collections of Pictures, and some of the best Miniature, done by *Gonsol*; of that kind I saw one curious Piece, done by thirty five several Masters.

8. I went from *Antwerp* to *Brussels* by Water, changing Boat five times, by Reason of the many Locks and Sluices, the Country about *Brussels* being 200 Foot higher than *Antwerp*. There is a Place call'd *Fontaine*, about five Miles from *Brussels*, where three Rivers cross one another, and one of them is carried over a Bridge. The Market-place of *Brussels* is a long Square, having the Town-house at one End, and opposite to it the Royal Palace, near which the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horne* were beheaded. On the Top of the Town-house you see the Statue of St. *Michael*, the Patron of this City, in Brass. In the Church of the *Carmelites*, the Altar is a very noble Piece, and near the Church stands a Statue of a Boy pissing, which serves instead of a continual Conduit. We also took a View of the Armory, which was well furnish'd formerly, but has now only some few Remains, such as the Armour of *Charles* V. of the Duke *d'Alva*, of the Cardinal *Infanta*, and some few others, and divers Bucklers curiously wrought; the Sword of *Charles* V. wherewith he used to make the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*; and some Banners taken at the Battle of *Pavia* from *Francis* I. Before the Court of the Palace stand five Brass Statues, and on one of the Towers a Bird pierced with an Arrow, in Memory of the Shot which the *Infanta Isabella* made. The Park has very pleasant Walks, set with Trees, and intermingled with Grotto's, Fountains, and Water-works; one Piece comes near to *Frascati*, imitating the Sound of all musical Instruments, by a Kind of perpetual Motion. But what is most surprising in this Park is, the Echo, which makes ten or twelve distinct Replies. The Church of St. *Gudula* claims the Preference for Bigness; and two Chapels here are worth the Travellers Observation; in one of which is presented the Host, which bled when stabb'd by the *Jews*. The *Dominican* Church is famous for the Monuments of the Duke and Dutchess of *Cleve*, in *Corinthian* Brass. The *Beguines*, or pious Maids, (a Kind of Nuns) of which there are near 800 at *Brussels*, have also a very fair Church, which is milk-white, and lately built. The *English* have also a Nunnery here. There were at that Time above 300 Houses shut up, infected with the Plague, and marked with this Token,

†
IHS

Which made me hasten away; so that after I had dined at the Fish-Tavern, (noted for its Pictures) I returned to *Antwerp*, and travelling the 4th of *October*,

9 D

through

through an open Country, I took up my Quarters at *Molin bruse*, and entering the Country of *Liege* the 5th, arrived the 6th at *Maastricht*, a strong City, situated upon the *Maes*, four Leagues below *Liege*. It is chiefly considerable for its Out-works, the Wall itself being old. To remedy the Inconveniency arising to the Town from an adjacent Hill on the S. E. Side, they have made an Horn-work within a Musket-shot of it, and a high Bastion answering to it, covers the Town. Under this Hill is one of the best Quarries of Stone in the World. On the other Side of the *Maes* is a Suburb called the *Wicke*, rather stronger than *Maastricht*, unto which it is joined by a Bridge of nine Arches. The Country on that Side is flat: The Houses of *Maastricht* are none of the handsomest; yet the Town-house is a stately Structure, standing in one of the Piazzas; in another Piazza stands the Great Church. This Town was taken by the Spaniards in 1632. October the 7th, I pass'd through *Gallop*, and came the same Night to *Aken*, *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Aquisgranum*, famous for its hot Baths. From hence I pursued my Journey to *Ju-liers*, but being late, we pass'd by it, leaving it to the Right. Not far from this City runs a shallow but swift River, called the *Roer*, at the Confluence of which with the *Maes* is *Roermonde*, the capital City of the Spanish *Gelderland*, seated upon a rising Ground.

9. *Cologne*, *Collen*, or *Colonia Agrippina*, anciently the chief Seat of the *Ubii*, who first inhabited the Country of *Bergues*, were infested by the *Germans*, and, imploring the Protection of the *Romans*, were by them placed on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and settled in this Place by *Agrippa* Lord Lieutenant of *Gallia*, and was afterwards named *Colonia Agrippina*, in Honour of *Agrippina* Daughter of *Germanicus*, and Wife of *Claudius*, whose Birth-place it was. It may for Extent vie with any City of *Germany*, and is fortified to the Land-side with two high Walls and two deep Trenches, and beautified with several Rows of pleasant Trees, and secured on the Side of the *Rhine* by a Wall of Stone; but its greatest Strength consists in some Out-works, Half-moons and Ravelins. The chief Streets are broad, and paved with broad Stones. *Maternus*, who was present at the Council of *Arles*, was their Bishop at least 1350 Years since. Great Part of the Town is taken up with Churches and Monasteries, many of them very well endowed, there being to most of the Houses of the Canons and Prebends, large Gardens and Vineyards. The Church of *St. Kunibald* lies on the North Side of the Town; but the Convent of the *Dominicans* is a very fair modern Structure. The *Jesuits* Church is full of rich Ornaments; and that dedicated to *St. Gereon* (who was martyr'd thereabouts in the Time of *Maximianus*) contains above 1000 Saints Heads. In the Church of *St. Ursula* you see her Tomb, and those of 11,000 Virgins slain by the *Huns*. The Tomb of *Ursula* has this Inscription:

Sepulchrum Sanctæ Ursulæ indicio Columbæ detectum.

Upon many of those Tombs were old Crosses and Lamps. The Church is also full of the Bones and Heads of Martyrs. The Cathedral of *St. Peter* is a large Structure, but remains unfinished. Within the Body of the Church are four Rows of Pillars, and the Choir is very handsomely built; behind it are supposed to be the Tombs of the three Wise Men of the East, or the Kings of *Arabia*, commonly called the three Kings of *Cologne*; *Milchior*, who, as they say, offer'd Gold, *Gaspar* Frankincense, and *Balthasar* Myrrhe. They relate, that their Bodies were first translated to *Constantinople* by *Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine* the Great; from thence to *Milan* by *Eustorfus* their Bishop, whence they were removed above 500 Years ago, viz. 1164. to *Cologne*, by *Rainold* Bishop of this Diocese. All the Canons of this Church must be Noblemen. Upon one of the Ruins in the Street, you see a Tomb made of one Stone, of which Kind many more are to be met with in other Places of this City. Of these I saw a great Number at *Arles* in *Provence*. The Town-house is an elegant Structure; on the Front of which

is a Man in *Basso rilievo*, engaged with a Lion, who, as they relate, was a Burger-master of that City, that having exasperated the Clergy against him, upon some Difference, they sent in a Lion upon him, whom he slew upon the Spot. The Elector of *Cologne*, who is also their Archbishop, has two Palaces here, but by Agreement is not to stay above three Days at a Time. It is a free Imperial City, notwithstanding which it does Homage to the Elector.

The Inhabitants are generally *Roman Catholics*, and the City, by reason of the vast Number of Convents, Churches, and Reliques, is stiled the *Rome* of *Germany*. However, the *Lutherans* have a Church within the Precinct of the Walls, and the *Calvinists* another at *Mulheim*, about two Miles below it, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Just opposite to *Cologne* is the Village of the *Dutz*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*. They speak but a Kind of odd *High-Dutch*; but to recompence this, the *Latin* and *French* are much in Use here. It was made an University in 1388, and has four very good Hospitals, two for young and old Persons that are infirm, and two for the Sick. After we left *Cologne*, we were drawn up the *Rhine* by Horses, and lodged the same Night at a small Village, near which *Julius Caesar* made his Bridge over the *Rhine*.

10. We came the next Day to *Bonne*, the ordinary Residence of the Elector of *Cologne*. It was formerly called *Castra Bonnenfia*, as being the Station of the sixth Legion in Winter, in the Time of *Tacitus*. The Archbishop's Palace is a noble Edifice, stretching a good Way into the *Rhine*. We took our Quarters this Night at the Foot of one of the seven Hills near the *Rhine*, most of which have old ruined Castles upon them. On the 15th we pass'd by a very pleasant Island, with a Convent in it; we saw also the Convent at *Remagen*, built upon a Rock, and fortified with round Towers, and came the 16th in the Morning to *Andernach* or *Antenacum*, one of the *Roman* Fortresses upon the *Rhine*. Some affirm, that this was the Birth-place of *Caligula*, and that *Valentinian* was buried near it. There are divers Mineral Springs hereabouts. The City is only fortified with an old Wall. The Water-passage being grown tedious, we hired a Coach to *Coblentz*, and passing through a very agreeable Country, planted with Walnut Trees, and in Sight of two of the Elector of *Treves*'s Country Houses, we cross'd the River *Moselle*, over a very fine Bridge, sustain'd by thirteen Arches, built in 1344, by Archbishop *Baldwin*. We went immediately to the Convent of the *Dominicans*, very agreeably seated upon the Banks of the *Rhine*; the Prior of which being in our Company, he would needs keep us with him all Night, and entertained us with an handsome Supper, and excellent *Moselle* Wine. *Coblentz* or *Confluentia*, is so called, from its Situation at the Confluence of the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, which make two Sides of it, the Third being a noble Fortification, after the modern Way, from one River to the other, which makes it of a triangular Figure. It has an old Wall within the Works, and is under the Jurisdiction of the Elector and Archbishop of *Treves*, as is likewise the Castle of *Hermanstein*, (*Hermans sterna*) by some called *Ehrenbreitstein*, built just over against it on the other Side of the *Rhine*, being join'd to *Coblentz* by a long Bridge. At the Foot of a Rock just underneath this Castle, you see a very noble Palace belonging to the Elector, having two very large Wings, and a Fort with five Pavilions, facing the *Rhine*. Not far from *Coblentz*, the *Carthusians* have a Convent pleasantly seated upon a Hill.

October the 17th, we continued our Voyage upon the *Rhine* to *Boppard*, a wall'd Town upon the Western Bank, an ancient Fortress of the *Romans*, known by the Name of *Bodobriga*.

The 18th, we dined at *St. Goar*, a Place upon the River, under the Jurisdiction of the *Lantgrave* of *Hesse*, who has a Castle here. On the Outside of the Wall of the Town is fastned a Collar of Brass, given, as they say, by *Charles V.* It is the Custom, that such Strangers as come ashore here, must put their Knees into this Collar, when they are ask'd, *Whether they will be sprinkled*

sprinkled with Water, or Beer, or Wine? If they are for the Wine, they must give an Entertainment of Wine to the Company. The Queen of *Sweden* passing by that Way not many Years before, had presented them with a great Silver Cup, which they commonly drink out of. The 19th, We pursued our Voyage to *Baccharach*, famous for its excellent Wines; under the Elector *Palatine*. Hence we pass'd by a very old Castle, situate upon a Rock in the Middle of the *Rhine*, called *Pfalz*, because hither formerly the Princesses *Palatines* were sent to be brought to Bed. The next Day we pass'd along with a rapid Stream, which is very dangerous by Reason of the many Rocks that lie under Water; and a little above it we had a full Sight of a round Tower, on a Rock in the *Rhine*, commonly call'd *Mouse-Tower*, built by *Hatto*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, who having at a Time of general Scarcity invited a great Number of Poor to present them with Corn, instead of relieving, set Fire to the Barn in which they were enclosed, and whilst they made lamentable Cries, he said, *Hear how the Mice scream*. Soon after, being persecuted with Rats and Mice to that Degree, that he was not able to abide in his Palace, he built this round Tower in the *Rhine*, but being also prosecuted thither by the Mice, he miserably ended his Days. Not far above it, upon the Western Bank, you see the Town of *Bing* or *Bingium*, an ancient Roman Fortrefs upon the *Rhine*, at the Conflux of that River, and the *Navus* or *Naw*, over the last of which is a very fine Stone Bridge. It belongs to the Elector of *Mayence*. From *Bing* we set forward for *Mayence*, and in our Way at *Rudesheim* in the *Rhine* (so famous for the Excellency of the Wine) we were shew'd a Boy, whose Hair was as woolly as any of the *African* Moors, but of a whitish Colour; I took some of the Hair along with me.

Mentz, or *Mayence*, *Moguntia*, by the *Latins*, is situated just below the Confluence of the two Rivers, the *Main*, and *Rhine*, over against it; extending in Length towards the River, abounding with Monasteries, Churches, and publick Buildings; but the Streets are narrow, and the private Houses built after an antick Fashion; the Country round it is extremely fertile. *Mayence* claims the Invention of Printing, but may rather be said to have brought it to Perfection. It is famous for the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, under *Varus*, by the *Germans*, which happened near it; and *Gustavus Adolphus*, the victorious King of *Sweden*, made his publick Entry here, 1631. in great Magnificence, and laid two Bridges, one over the *Main*, the other over the *Rhine*, the first of which is taken away since, but the other remains in the same Station. The Elector of *Mayence* is the first in Rank of the *Electoral* College, and has his Place at the Emperor's right Hand in all publick Assemblies. But his Territories are not suitable to his Dignity, being far less than those of *Cologne* and *Treves*; besides that, they lie scattering in the *Palatinate* and *Franconia*. However his seizing the City of *Erfurdt* has been no small Addition to his Power; where he has built a Citadel on *St. Peter's-Hill*, which serves for an Inlet into *Thuringia*.

11. From *Mayence* we continued our Voyage up the *Main* to *Franckfort*, an Imperial City, call'd *Trajectum ad Mœnum*, because the *Franks* used to pass and repass here, whilst they made War upon the *Gauls*, and to distinguish it from *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, an University belonging to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. The City is very large, divided in two by the River, the lesser of which is called *Saxon-House*, joined to the other by a fair Stone-Bridge, supported by twelve or thirteen Arches. The Advantage of the River *Main*, which passes by *Bamberg*, *Schweinfurt*, *Wurtzburg*, and other Places, and is join'd by the River *Tauber*, and others of less Note, together with its running into the *Rhine*, renders this City very commodious for Trade, as may be seen at the Time of the two great Marts kept there every Year, in *March* and *September*, when there is an incredible Concourse of People of all Nations, who buy and sell their Commodities, but especially Horses and

Books, though at other Times the Booksellers have little Business here.

In *Saxon-house* is a Palace, belonging to the Knights of the *Teutonic Order*, which is a Sanctuary for Debtors and Criminals; for fourteen Days. Abundance of *Jews* live in, and frequent this Place they are distinguish'd from the Christians by their Habits, which is a Ruff for the old Ones, a Bonnet for the younger Sort, and a peculiar Head-dress for their Women. We continued our Journey from *Franckfort* through the *Bergstraet*, and passing by *Darmstadt*, travelled through a very fruitful Country, full of Wall-nut Trees, Vines, Corn, and Tobacco in some Places. Coming to *Heidelberg*, we pass'd the River *Neccar* or *Necarus*, rising in the *Sylva Martiana* or *Black Forest*, and continuing its Current through the Duke of *Wittenberg's* Dominions, joins its Waters with the *Rhine* at *Manheim*. It passes by *Sultz*, *Tubingen*, *Stutgard*, *Hailbrun*, *Heidelberg*, and divers other noble and famous Cities.

12. As for the City of *Heidelberg*, its Situation is betwixt a River and a Ridge of Hills, extending from East to West, which makes it unfit for a regular Fortification. It was made an University, in 1346: It was taken by the *Spaniards* in 1620. when the famous Library that was preserved there in the Great Church, was carried to *Rome*, and added to the *Vatican* Library, where I saw it in 1664 on one Side of the Gallery, opposite to that of the Duke of *Urbins*. This Church, as well as that of *St. Peter*, contains many beautiful Monuments of the *Palatine* Family and other Persons of Note. The *French* have a Church here as well as the *Lutherans*, the last of which is call'd the *Church of Providence*, and the Elector, though a *Calvinist*, laid the first Stone of it: The Electoral Family are now Papists.

The Town-House is remarkable for its Clock, which has several Motions, and represents several Figures of Men, fighting of a Cock, &c. when it strikes. The Elector's Stables are near the River-side, but one half of them has been ruined in the last *German Wars*, as well as the Statues that were on the Outside of the Castle, which being upon an Eminency has among other Things a very large Tower, formerly call'd *Trutzkaysar* or *Defiance to the Emperor*, the Name of which is since changed into that of the *Star-fort*. Near it is a beautiful Garden, adorn'd with Grotto's, Caves and Water-works. But the most remarkable of all are the Cellars, replenished with Vessels of Wine, of a more than ordinary Size, among which, that commonly call'd the *Tun of Heidelberg* surpasses the rest, built in 1664, containing near 200 Tuns; instead of Hoops it is made with large Knee Timber, like the Ribs of a Ship, well carved and painted, and supported by Pedestals likewise carved. On one Side is a Stair-case forty three Steps high, leading up into the Gallery, which is on the Top of this great Vessel.

There is a solitary Place not above a Mile from *Heidelberg*, where you see three very fine Springs come forth out of the Mountain, and after they have fill'd five Ponds, and passed through three Cascades or Falls, carry so strong a Stream through the adjacent Plains, that they turn four Mills within a small Distance one of another. It is call'd the *Wolfs Fountain*, from a certain Princess, who, as they say, was torn to Pieces near this Place by a Wolf. At *Heidelberg* I was visited by two *Englishmen*, Mr. *Villers* and *Timothy Middleton*. These belonged to a certain Monastery call'd *Lobensfeldt*, possessed formerly by the *Jesuits*, but bestow'd since upon the *English*, who, to the Number of about an hundred, leaving their Native Country, in 1661, settled themselves with their Families in this Convent, a few Miles from *Heidelberg*. They call'd themselves *Christian Jews*, maintain'd a Community of many Things, did not cut nor shave their Beards, and observed many other Ceremonies enjoin'd in the Old Testament. Their Head was then one Mr. *Poole* of *Norwich*.

Whilst I was at *Heidelberg*, I took a Turn to *Spires*, and afterwards to *Manheim*. The first (supposed to be *Urbs Nemetum* of the Ancients) is situate in a Plain near the

the Western Banks of the *Rhine*. The *Swedes*, in the last *German Wars*, demolish'd it. The Episcopal See is under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Mayence*; it is well built, and has several good Churches. In the Cathedral, which is beautified with four large Towers, the *Roman Catholics*, *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* preach in their Turns at different Hours. It is very populous from the the vast Concourse of People which attend their Law Suits here. The Imperial Chamber, which was by *Maximilian* establish'd at *Worms*, being since removed to *Spires*, in which, not only private Causes, but also the Differences betwixt the Princes of the Empire, are determined without Appeal. *Manheim* lies at the Conflux of the *Rhine* and *Neccar*, which, from a Village, is in a few Years encreased to a Town, with large fair Streets, walled about and defended by a very strong Castle or Fortrefs. I saw the Model of a Palace the Elector is building, and in that Part which is already built, are many good Pictures, and among the rest, a Landskip, with the History of the *Swiss Confederacy*.

13. In our Way from *Heidelberg* towards *Nuremberg*, we travel'd along the *Neccar* in rocky Ways to *Mospach*; the second to *Poxberg*, where we saw nothing but an old Castle; and the same Day came to *Merkenthal*, or *Mergentheim*, the Residence of the Grand Masters of the *Teutonic Order*. It is a very well built Town, with a handsome Piazza, which has a Fountain in the Centre, and a Statue of one of the Grand Masters of this Order, with a long *Corridore* from the Palace. This Order took its Rise under the Emperor *Frederick I.* who, in his Expedition against the Holy Land, being accompanied by many Gentlemen of *Germany*, in Emulation of the *Knights Templars*, entred into an Order, which being approved by Pope *Celestine III.* they waged afterwards War against the Pagans inhabiting *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and subdued them; of which they remain'd Masters, till they were at first dispossest of these Countries by the *Poles*, and afterwards by the *Swedes*; so that there is nothing remaining now of this Order, but a few Commanderies in *Germany*. They wear a plain black Cross on a white Mantle; and the Dignity of Grand Master (who takes Place of all the Bishops) is generally bestow'd upon one of the first Rank among the Princes of *Germany*.

As we pass'd by *Lauterbach*, we saw a Church, a very noble Structure, on the Top of a high Hill, where the Pilgrims perform their Devotions in great Numbers. The next Place we came to was *Rotenberg*, an Imperial City, situate near the Head Spring of the River *Tauber*; which, after it has pass'd by *Rotiengen* and *Landen*, falls into the *Main* near *Wertheim*. We lodg'd that Night at *Burgperner*, passing the next Day by *Schantzbach*, came before Night to *Nuremberg*. This City may very well claim the Prerogative of being the fairest in *Germany*; most of the Houses being built of Free-stone, very high, and many of them painted on the Outside, and adorned with gilded Balls on the Top; they are generally six or seven Stories; and though the City is at a good Distance from any navigable River, and situated in a barren Country; yet is it very populous, the Industry of the Inhabitants being such, as to be accounted the best Artificers in *Germany*, in Steel, Brass, Ivory, and Wood, which creates a vast Trade here, and retains it.

The three chief Churches are, the *Hospital Church* lately built; that of *St. Lawrence*, which is famous for its Bigness, with two Steeples in the Front; and that of *St. Sebald*, which excels the rest. Here you see a wooden Crucifix so carved, as to be valued at an excessive Rate: Without the Church is another of black Wood. In short, as the *Lutheran Religion* is exercised here in its full Pomp, so this stately Church, and especially the Pulpit, which is excellently carved and gilt, may challenge one of the first Places among those of that Religion. Every Morning Half an Hour is spent in this Church in reading certain Passages out of the Scripture by the Priest, before he preaches to the People. The Senate-House is worth the Notice of any Traveller; the Hall is very spacious, and the Chambers lofty, and adorn'd with many good Pictures,

the Floor being paved with Stones gilt, and intermix'd with several Colours. In one of these Chambers you see the Picture of most of the Great Persons of *Germany*, that were entertained in the Halls; another of the Three Brothers of *Saxony*; an Elephant painted to the Life; a Piece of *St. John*, another of *St. Mark*, and two more of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, both done by *Albert Durer*; but that of *Adam* and *Eve*, by the same Hand, exceeds all the rest, with this Inscription:

Albertus Durer Alman faciebat post Virginis partum, 1507.

There is also another very rare Piece, of *St. Luke* drawing the Picture of our Saviour, and the Virgin *Mary*. As you enter the Shambles, you see a large Ox carved in Wood, and painted over, with this Inscription:

*Omnia habent ortus suaque incrementa, sed ecce
Quem cernis, nunquam Bos fuit hic, Vitulus.*

The Castle of *Nuremberg* is seated upon a Hill. The Emperor's Picture, his Chapel, a very fine Well, and other Pictures of the Electors, are very remarkable. They shew'd us also the Armour of *Hebbele van Gailleingen*, a famous Sorcerer in those Parts, and the Print of his Horse's Feet in the Wall of the Castle; from whence, as they tell you, he leap'd with his Horse over the Town Ditch. They were then busy in making a new Fountain; I must confess, that the Brass Statues intended for it, were excellent Pieces: The Sea Horses were of a very large Size, and the Sea-Nymphs exceeded the ordinary Stature of Women: The Statue of *Neptune*, design'd to be set on the Top, was above ten Foot high.

The small River *Pegnitz* passes through the City, near which are several Stone Bridges; below it joins with the River *Rednitz*, that unites its Waters with the *Main* at *Bamberg*, which last falls afterwards into the *Rhine*. The River *Rednitz* has its Rise at *Weissenburg*, at no great Distance from the River *Altmul*, which falls into the *Danube* not far from *Ratisbon*. This Convenience induced *Charles the Great* to endeavour a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; but after he had advanced about two *German Leagues* in this Work, his warlike Employments, and some other Difficulties, made him give over his Design.

14. Not above four Leagues from *Nuremberg* is *Altorff*, a Town under their Jurisdiction, with an University erected in 1623. They have here a very handsome Physick Garden, containing above 2000 Plants. The Anatomy School is not very large, yet has several Skeletons, of a Hart, of a Horse, of a Man, and of a Bear, bigger than a Horse; besides some very ancient Pictures, as that of *Moses*, and of a *Ninivite*. *Dr. Wagenseyl* (whose Brother travell'd with me from *Heidelberg*) Professor of the Civil Law and History, shew'd me also a good Collection of his own, of Rarities and Coins, which he had gather'd in his Travels through *Europe*. In the University Library I saw a fair *Hortus Eystetensis*, and *Youngerman's* Collection of Plants, by his own Hands.

Leaving *Nuremberg*, we passed through *Newmark* in the *Upper Palatinate*, belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and the next Day by the Way of *Heinaw*, subject to the Duke of *Newburg*, to *Ratisbon*, anciently called *Augusta Tiberii*, and *Colonia Quartanorum*, from the Fourth *Italic Legion*, which had their Quarters assigned them here, as being the chief Place belonging to the *Romans* on those Frontiers. Some are of Opinion, that *Tiberius* settled a Colony here in the Year of our Saviour's Passion; but it owes its chief Increase to the Emperor *Arnulphus*. Near it the River *Regen* falls into the *Danube*, whence the *Germans* give it the Name of *Regensburg*. It has a Bridge of Wood below the Town, and another of Stone, the fairest that is to be seen upon the *Danube*, being supported by fifteen Arches. It is an Imperial City, and tolerably well fortified, and has many stately Buildings, both private and publick. The Cathedral of *St. Peter* is a very fair Edifice, on the South-

South-side of which you see the Picture of *St. Peter* in a Boat, and on the opposite Side the Apostle's first Mission. In the Piazza stands a small but very neat Church; the Convent of *St. Paul*, another of *St. Emmeramus*, Bishop of *Ratisbon*, and a celebrated Saint in those Parts: *Albertus Magnus*, who was also Bishop of *Ratisbon*, has made no small Addition to its Fame. But the chief Glory of this Place is the Diet, or General Assembly of the States of the Empire, which is call'd together here. Upon this Occasion the Vice-Marshal is obliged to take Care that Lodgings are provided for the Persons that are to appear there; that Provisions may be brought thither in Plenty, and sold at a set Rate; that the Place of the Assembly be adorned suitable to so great an Occasion, and the publick Safety be not violated.

In this Place I entred that famous River the *Danube*, which beginning to be navigable in *Suabia*, passes by *Donawert*, *Newburg*, and *Ingolstadt*; it is increased by the River *Licus*, or *Leck*; by which the Commodities of the famous City of *Augsburg* are transported into it. From *Regensburg* we pass'd the first Day to *Thonawstein*, (*Danube-stone*) where is a Castle seated upon a high Rock, and thence to *Pfeter*, famous among the Ancients, by the Name of *Vetera Castra*, now an inconsiderable Place. The Boats made Use of upon the *Danube* are generally flat bottom'd, and broad at the Head and Stern; there is an Apartment for Passengers in the Middle, and they have very large Rudders, the better to command the Boats where the Current is swift. The next Day we pass'd by *Straubingen*, a wall'd Town belonging to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and the same Afternoon by *Swartz*, where we saw a Church upon a Hill, much frequented by Pilgrims; we lodg'd that Night at *Deckendorff*, near which the River *Iser*, or *Isara*, after having pass'd by *Landshut*, *Frising*, and *Munchen*, (the ordinary Residence of the Elector of *Bavaria*) falls into the *Danube*.

Thursday, being November the 15th, we pass'd by *Wilshoven* to *Passaw*, *Passovia*, or *Boiodurum*, a handsome City in the lower *Bavaria*, formerly known by the Name of *Castra Batava* among the Romans, who had settled a Colony there. It is compos'd of three Towns, viz. *Ilstadt*, *Passaw*, and *Instadt*, and seated at the Meeting of the three Rivers, the *Inne*, the *Danube*, and the *Ilz*. It has several very fair Churches, amongst which that of *St. Stephen* exceeds the rest. The Bishop's Residence is a Castle built upon a Hill; his Revenues are very considerable, Part of which arise from the great Lead-Mine at *Bleyberg* in *Carinthia*. It was, not many Years ago, almost laid in Ashes, by an accidental Fire, and as most of the Streets have been rebuilt since after the *Italian* Manner, so this City may now justly claim to be insert'd in the Number of the ten considerable Cities upon the *Danube*, viz. *Ulm*, *Ingolstadt*, *Ratisbon*, *Passaw*, *Lintz*, *Vienna*, *Presburg*, *Strigonium*, *Buda*, and *Belgrade*; the eight last of which I had the Opportunity to see, before the End of my Journey.

Just by a Wall, opposite to the Great Church at *Passaw*, stands a very large Head cut in Stone, the Mouth being two Spans wide, and the rest proportionable. In the River *Ilz*, which comes from the North, they find Abundance of Pearls: And the noble River *Inne* coming from the South, and passing by *Insprung*, is augmented by the River *Saltz*, (upon which stands the City of *Saltzburg*) discharges itself with great Force into the *Danube*, being the largest Stream that hitherto had join'd that River. The River *Inne* rises among the Alps in *Tyrol*. The 16th we arriv'd at *Lintz*, the Capital of the *Lower Austria*, not so considerable for its Bigness as Neatness, the whole Town being built of a white Free-stone, and the Market-place very spacious and handsome. The Castle lies upon a Hill, and is fortified after the modern Way. It has a Bridge also over the *Danube*. When *Solyman the Magnificent* besieged *Vienna*, this was the Rendezvous of the Imperial Army. It was besieged by 40,000 Peasants in *Ferdinand II's* Time; but relieved by *Pappenheim*. Somewhat below *Lintz*, the River *Draun*, which rises out of the *Gemunder Sea* (or *Lacus Felicis*) joins its Current with the *Danube*.

The 17th, we pass'd by *Embs*, or *Anissa*, situated up-

on the River *Anisus* or *Onasus*, which rising near the Frontiers of *Saltzburg*, and being augmented by the River *Saltza*, upon which stands *Maria Cell*, noted for Pilgrimages, divides the *Higher* and *Lower Austria*, and then falls into the *Danube*. Hereabouts stood the ancient *Lauriacum*, a Roman Garrison, where a great many Roman Coins and Antiquities are found. On the North Side of the *Danube* we saw a Seat of the Earl of *Leichtensteyn*, near the Village of *Greim*. Not far below this Village are two dangerous Passages in the *Danube*, called the *Strudel* and the *Wurbel*; the first is a Place where the River being forced among the Rocks, some under, some above Water, the Waves are broken, and render the Current rapid and troublesome, requiring a great deal of Skill to pass through the Ledges of the Rocks, especially when it is low Water; the second is a Kind of Whirlpool, where the Current being forcibly repel'd by a great Rock, turns round with much Violence. Hard by, on the Top of a craggy Rock, you see a large Cross, and at the Foot a Chapel dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, who being look'd upon as Patron and Protector of such as have pass'd safely this Way, a Boat comes thence to receive such Presents as the Passengers are willing to give. We took up our Lodgings this Night at *Ips*, on the South-side of the *Danube*; opposite to which is *Besenbeug* or *Usbium Ptolomaei*. Two German Leagues below *Ips* lies *Pecklarn*, believed by some to be the old *Arlape*, where the River *Erlaph* falls into the *Danube*. A Mile and a half lower you see *Melcke*, formerly the Residence of the Marquesses of *Austria*, which was thence removed; first to *Leopold*, and afterwards to *Vienna*. The City is built along the South-side of the River; the Monastery of the *Benedictines* is seated upon a high Hill; has very great Endowments, and many Monuments of great Personages, and among the rest the Tomb of *St. Colman*. We dined at *Steyn*, where is a stately Bridge over the *Danube*. Near to this lies *Crembs*, a walled Town, and on the opposite Side *Mautern*; not far from whence is the rich Monastery called *Ketwein*. A little beyond it the River *Traissn*, or *Tragisama*, comes from the South. Afterward we pass'd by the famous Town of *St. Pold*; and taking up our Quarters that Night at *St. Eldorff*, went the next Day by *Thuln*, *Stockerau*, and *Cloister Neuburg*, safely to *Vienna*.

15. *Vienna*, called *Wien* by the Germans, and *Beach* by the Turks, is the capital City of all *Austria*, situate in 43° 20', differing not much from the Latitude of *Paris*, the Seat of the Archdukes of *Austria* and the German Emperors. According to ancient Geographers, this City belonged to the *Upper Pannonia*; the Limits of *Pannonia* extending as far as *Kalemberg*, or *Mons Cetius*, about six Miles to the Westward of *Vienna*; beyond which all that lies more Westward, betwixt that Mountain and the River *Inne*, or *Oenus*, which falls into the *Danube* at *Passaw*, was anciently called *Noricum*.

Several of the Roman Emperors, and especially *Marcus Antoninus Philosophus*, have made themselves famous by their great Actions against the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*; the last of which, after he had routed these Nations, fell sick at *Carnuntum* or *Petronel*, and died at *Vindobona* now *Vienna*, situate upon the South Shore of the *Danube*; which is the Reason, that at several Times, but especially in 1662, many Roman Antiquities have been found hereabouts; the last was a Kind of Coffin containing hard Earth and Bones, with a small Gold Coin, a Glass Urn in a Brass Case, an Iron Knife like those used anciently in Sacrifices; a little Roll of pure Gold, clos'd with a Golden Cover at both Ends, with an Inscription; which, according to *Lambecius's* Opinion, was in old *Pannonian* Characters. Not far from the Monument itself, which was under the Foundation of a Wall near the old Palace, they found a Head in Brass, a *Patera*, Lamps, Lachrymatories, and other Vessels of the same Metal, and a Copper Coin of *Antoninus Caracalla*.

This City is not seated upon the Channel of the *Danube*, but only upon a Branch thereof, of which there are several that make divers small Islands. The River *Wien* (which has imparted its Name to the Place) passes by the East-part of the City, and below it falls into the

Danube: Its Floods often do considerable Mischief to the City, though at other Times it is so shallow and narrow, that one may step over it: It divides Part of the Suburbs from the Body of the City, the former are very spacious and full of fine Houses, Gardens, Walks, and other Conveniencies. The Body of the City is well fortified, being separated from the Suburbs by a fair *Espplanade*, descending in an open Ground for 300 Paces. Its Fortifications are after the modern Way, compos'd of ten Bastions to the Land-side, and a very deep Ditch, which though it be kept continually dry, for Fear the Water should spoil the Cellars, which are very deep here, yet they can let the *Danube* into it at Pleasure. It has two Bastions toward the Water, on the North-side of the Town. The Bastions are very large, the whole Fortification of a great Breadth, well faced with Brick, and edged with Free Stone. Besides, which it has an old inward Wall, built with the Ransome of our King *Richard I.* who was detain'd Prisoner there, in his Return from the *Holy War*.

The whole Circumference, Suburbs and all, takes up a great Tract of Ground; but the Fortifications of the City don't exceed three *English* Miles, but is exceeding populous, nothing being more delightful than to see *Turks, Tartars, Greeks, Transilvanians, Sclavonians, Hungarians, Croats, Spaniards, Italians, French, Germans, Polanders*, all in their own Country Habits. It has six Gates, viz. 1. The *Stuben* Gate to the East. 2. The *Carinthian* Gate to the South. 3. The *Castle* Gate. 4. The *Scotch* Gate. 5. The *New* Gate. And, 6. The *Red Tower* Gate, to the Northward, leading to the Bridge over the *Danube*; besides which there is a Port by the Emperor's Palace, towards the Water-side: There is a certain Nunnery in the Town, call'd *Himmel Port*, or the *Gate of Heaven*. The five first of these Gates are vaulted through the Town-Wall, with convenient Draw-Bridges to pass the Ditch. The sixth is a Passage under a Tower, towards the Bridge of the *Danube*: For as that River runs through a low Country, it divides itself into seven small Channels, which are join'd by as many Bridges made of many thousand Trees laid close one to another. There is a very remarkable Bridge at *Vienna* call'd the *High Bridge*, made by the crossing of two Streets by equal Angles; but the Ground in one Street being equal in Height to the Tops of the Houses of the other, they have been forced to build a Bridge or Arch in the lowermost Street, to let the upper pass over it. For the rest, the Houses here are of Stone, for the most Part six Stories high, and flat-roof'd after the *Italian* Manner; the Streets are of a middle Size, neither broad nor narrow: Their Cellars are worth a curious Traveller's Observation; in some of them I found four Cellars one under another, well arched, with two Pair of Stairs to go into them. In some I observed an open Space in the Middle of each Roof, for the Reception of the Air, and from the lowest a *Tube*, to convey the Air into it out of the Street, much after the same Manner as they do in the Mines.

I can't here pass by the Encomium *Aeneas Sylvius* gives of *Vienna*; viz. *That it has Palaces fit for Kings, and Churches which Italy may admire*: Which is much better verified now. For the Imperial Palace is a truly noble Structure, and excellently well furnish'd; it has two Courts, one very large, the other less, where the Emperor's Lodgings are. Over the Gate you see no other Inscription but the five Vowels in Capital Letters, viz. *A, E, I, O, U*; which some have interpreted thus: *Austrie Est Imperare Orbi Universo*; though I am apt to imagine, that this is not the true Sense of these Letters. There is besides the two before-mentioned Courts, another small one, where are the Lodgings of the Pages; where I took Notice of a large rough *Jaspis* Stone, of about nine Foot Diameter, which lay unregarded upon the Ground, though a little Piece that was polished, shewed that it was full of beautiful yellow, red, black, and white Veins: It was a Present of the Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, in whose Territories are noble Quarries, and Stones of several Sorts. Next to this the Palace of the Count *de Draun*, and that of Count *Rotbal*, lately built; with several others, are very considerable. This City

has also noble Churches, and rich Convents; as for Instance: Those of the *Carmelites*, of the *Franciscans*, of the *Benedictines*, and of *St. Nicholas*: In the Church of the last I saw the Tombs of Count *Strozzi* and Cardinal *Harrach*. The Convent of the *Dominicans* is a very fair Structure: The Church of the *Austin* Friars is very large, and has in the Middle a Chapel, the Model of which was taken from the *Holy House of Loretto*; the Top being adorn'd with many Colours taken from the *Turks* and *Tartars*; various of which were not square, but Escutcheon-wise, some full of Circles, with Half-moons within them.

The *Jesuits* Colleges are all very fair and spacious here; the Front of their College, which faces the Piazza, has a Statue, or *Column of Copper*, belonging to it, which stands in the Centre of the Market-place, resting upon a Pedestal of white Stone, with four Angels, Escutcheons, and the blessed Virgin on the Top: It has also divers Inscriptions, by which the Emperor dedicates *Austria* to her Patronage and Protection.

When I came into the *Scotch Convent*, it rais'd no small Curiosity in me to know how the *Scotch* became so considerable here, till I was inform'd, that *Vienna* had been many Ages ago a Receptacle of the *Scots*, in their Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*; and that *Colman*, a Saint in high Veneration in those Parts, was not only a *Scotchman*, but also descended of the Blood Royal of *Scotland*, and barbarously murdered by the Peasants at *Stockerau*, four *German* Miles from *Vienna*; who hung his Body on a Tree, where it remained uncorrupted a Year and a half, and after many Miracles was buried at *Stockerau*, and from thence removed first to *Melk*, and afterwards into *Hungary*, where it was preserved for a long Time after at *Alba Regalis*, or *Stulweissenburg*. The Church of *St. Peter* is highly esteem'd for its Antiquity, being the oldest in the City, and built in the same Place where stood before the Altar dedicated to *Domitian*, called *Ara Flaviana*.

In the Cathedral of *St. Stephen* are many sumptuous Monuments of Princes, and other great Persons: It is a very noble Fabrick, but none of the highest, by Reason of the Paintings of the Glass Windows; it is covered only with Tiles of Wood, yet makes no ill Shew. But what is most worth Observation, is the Steeple and Spire, high, large, strong, and nobly built: It has on the Top, instead of a Weather-cock, a Cross under a Star and Half-moon, well gilded: This Star and Half-moon was, as they relate, put upon this Spire by Order of *Solyman the Magnificent*, who when he had besieged the City, offered to spare the Cathedral, provided they would set upon the Top the *Turkish* Arms, viz. the Half-moon and Star; which the Citizens comply'd with. This Spire has the largest Crockets I ever saw, being above a Yard long, and adorned with Foliage Work. The Steeple is accounted 465 Foot high: I went up half Way by 338 Steps; whence I could see the *Hamburger Hill*, near *Presburg*, and the Course of the *Danube* through a great Part of *Austria*.

In the Room where I was, they had wooden Hammers, which they make Use of from *Good-Friday* till *Easter-Sunday*, the Use of Bells being forbidden during the Time our Saviour was in the Grave. In the last Siege the Crescent on the Top of the Steeple was shot down, and has not been put up again there. Near one of the Doors of the Church is a Stone fix'd into the Wall, which they believe to be one of those wherewith *St. Stephen* was stoned to Death: It looks like a Pebble, and is very smooth, by the frequent Rubbing of the People, who touch it with their Fingers when they go to Church.

I was shewn another Stone, which they said, was one of those that kill'd *St. Stephen* in *St. Saturnine's* Church, at *Thoulouse* in *France*. Besides many Monuments of great Persons, which are in the Church of *St. Stephen*, there are also several Tombs of Men famous for their Learning, as of *Job. Faber*, Bishop of *Vienna*; *Jo. Cuspinianus*, and *Sebastianus Tengnagelius*, the last of which, according to the Inscription, was versed in fifteen Languages.

The University of *Vienna* may also challenge the Preference before most others, in Respect of its Antiquity, the Number of Students, their Accommodations and Privileges. *Albertus* the Third is reputed the Founder,

above

above 300 Years ago; who distinguish'd the Students into four several Divisions or Nations, each of which, besides the General Constitutions, had their peculiar Rules and Privileges; they were *Austrians*, Nations of the *Rhine*, *Hungarians*, and *Saxons*.

To the *Austrian* Division belonged those of *Friuli* and *Trent*, all *Italy*, and other Provinces beyond the Mountains. Under the Nations of the *Rhine* were comprehended the *Suevians*, *Alsations*, *Franconians*, *Hessians*, and the other Provinces, *France*, *Spain*, *Navarre*, *Holland*, and *Brabant*. To the third Class of the *Hungarians*, are joined the *Bohemians*, *Moravians*, *Sclavonians*, and all that use the *Sclavonian* Tongue, as also the *Germans*. To the Class of the *Saxon* Nation, belong the *Saxons*, *Westphalians*, *Thuringians*, *Misnians*, *Brandenburgers*, *Prussians*, *Livonians*, *Lusatians*, *Pomeranians*, with the *Ultramarine* Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Denmark*.

As in these several Divisions all *Europe* is comprehended; so it must be confess'd, that there are in this University Students of many Nations, who sometimes, when any Differences arise among themselves, stand up each for their respective Divisions; but are sure to unite together, if any Contentions happen betwixt the Students and the Citizens, or Jews. As for their natural Philosophy, they have not yet attain'd to our new Way of explaining Things, by Corpuscular Motions, and Experimental Philosophy; though some of them were very inquisitive after our Royal Society, as well here as at *Altorff*; and I have been solicited even from *Cassovia* in Upper *Hungary*, to send the Transactions of our Society thither: A manifest Sign, that if they were once lead into the Path of our modern Philosophy, they would without all Question follow our Footsteps. For the rest, they are well versed here in Languages, History, and Antiquity.

I remember I was present here at a publick Anatomy-Lecture of a Woman, which lasted nineteen Days; perform'd by Dr. *Wolfstregel*, a learned Physician. I observed the *Pyramidal* Muscles to be very plain and large, and the *Uterus* of a Size larger than ordinary; the *Cartilago Eniformis* was double, and the Lungs very black. The Motions of the Eye were very nicely shewn by an artificial one of Ivory, and another of Pastboard, contrived and made by himself; and after the Dissection of the Muscles of the *Pharynx*, *Larynx*, *Os Hyoides*, and the Tongue, he reduced them with an admirable Dexterity into their proper Places, to discover their natural Position. The Anatomy-Theatre was capable of holding a hundred Persons.

16. This University has, among other Privileges, the Power of Life and Death, in respect of their own Members. But what gives the greatest Lustre to this famous City is the Residence of the Emperor *Leopold*, born in 1638. His eldest Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, dying before his Father *Ferdinand III.* *Leopold* succeeded in the Empire, and married *Margareta* Infanta of *Spain*, the Daughter of *Philip IV.* He is the Darling of his People, and equally beloved both by the Soldiery and Clergy. He is of a grave, but graceful Aspect, and has the long Chin, and remarkable Lip of the Family of *Austria*. He is well versed in the *German*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Latin* Languages; and as he takes Delight in Reading, sometimes for several Hours together, so he is always forward in countenancing learned Men. He also delights in Musick, and frequently composes himself; which makes all the Church-men, and others, encourage Musick and Musicians. The Emperor himself has excellent Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental, in his Palace, and some of his own Compositions are play'd in his private Chapel, where eight or ten Pages of the Emperor, Earls Sons, serve at the Altar, with white Torches in their Hands, whilst the Eunuchs are singing.

His Recreations abroad consist chiefly in Hunting, especially the wild Boar. The young Nobility formerly used to encounter a wild Boar, sometimes a single Person alone, but since the unfortunate Accident that happened to Count *Nicholas Serini*, who was kill'd by one of those Creatures, the Huntsmen are always at Hand, when

the Boar is at a Bay, that the Emperor, or others there present, may the more safely kill it. There are great Numbers of these Creatures hereabouts, their Flesh being a common Dish at *Vienna*, and of a delicious Taste; for they feed upon Acorns, Beach-mast, and Chestnuts, and upon the Sprouts of Broom, Juniper, and other Shrubs, as also upon the Roots of Fern; they will sometimes leave the Forests, and range in the Corn-fields and Vineyards. It is the Huntsman's Business to keep a watchful Eye over them; and they are so skilful in that Game, that by the Tread of their Feet, and casting their hind Feet out of the Track of their Fore-feet, they will tell you, whether it be a wild Swine or tame Hog; nay, whether it be Male or Female, Young or Old, Lean or Fat, &c.

The Emperor, as he is a good Huntsman, so he takes a great Delight in Horses: He has a very fine Stable fill'd with manag'd Horses, brought from *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Poland*, *Transylvania*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and *Naples*. It was something surprizing to me, to find in an inland City such considerable Magazines of Naval Stores, as I found at *Vienna*: These are employ'd in the Fleet upon the *Danube* against the *Turks*; being a kind of Gallies, carrying great Guns, and a considerable Number of Soldiers, besides Seamen. They are laid up behind one of the Bastions of the City, and some of them are kept at *Raab* and *Comorra*.

The Imperial Court was at this Time composed of many wise Counsellors, great Generals, and refined Courtiers; such as, *Eusebius Wenceslaus*, Duke of *Sagan*. Prince *Lobkowitz*, Lord High Steward, chief Minister and Favourite of the Emperor, being the Person who discovered the late *Hungarian* Revolt, for which Count *Peter Serini*, and *Nadasti*, paid with their Heads. *Henry William* Count *Stabrenberg*, Marshal of the Court, *John Maximilian*, Count *Lamberg*, Lord Chamberlain, who has near a hundred Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber under him, all Barons and Counts: They wear a Golden Key upon the Breast, as the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber wear one of Steel: Two of each attend every Night. *Gundaker*, Count *Dietrichstein*, Master of the Horse. Count *Zinzendorff*, chief Hunts-Master. The Count of *Aversberg*, chief Falconer, who has twelve others under him. The Count *de Paar*, Postmaster-General. *Leopold Wilhelm*, Marquis of *Baden*, Captain of a hundred *Hartshires*, who are a kind of a Horse-Guard of the Emperor's Body, arm'd with Pistols and Carabines, without the City; but within, the Foot carry Launces and Javelins with broad Points. *Francis Austin*, Count *Wallestein*, Captain of a hundred of the Emperor's Foot-Guard of his Body. Sixty Pages, most of them Counts and Barons. *Raymund* Count *de Montecuculi*, who has signaliz'd himself in *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Germany*; the Emperor's General, President of the Council of War. Next to him was Count *Souches*, a Native of *Roche*; and his Son Governor of *Leopoldstadt*. Count *Lefly*, Nephew to Count *Lefly*, who was sent in the Quality of Ambassador to the Port from the Emperor, is also look'd upon as one of the best Commanders the Emperor has: Besides a great many other brave Officers, who have shewn their Valour upon a thousand Occasions; so that though the Emperor never takes the Field in Person, yet has he been very successful in his Wars, especially against the *Turks*. The Courts of both the Empresses are filled with Persons of great Worth. Among the Clergy, and Men of Learning (of which the Emperor is a great Lover,) the *Jesuits*, *Moelner*, and *Boccabella*, are the chiefest. And to sum up all, it is certain, that *Vienna* is the most likely Place for any Foreigner, whether Soldier or Scholar, to make his Fortune, provided he be of the *Roman Catholick* Religion.

17. It will perhaps be surprizing to some, that upon the utmost Limits of the learned Part of *Europe*, the Emperor is Master of a Library, which both for the Number and Value of Books, gives Way to no other Library in *Europe*. The worst is, that the Receptacle is not suitable to so vast a Treasure; for though it is divided into eight spacious Rooms, in which the Shelves stand so close, that there is scarce an easy Passage left betwixt

betwixt them, yet many Books lie upon the Ground. The Manuscripts have their peculiar Places, distinct from the printed Books, and are divided into six different Classes, viz. *Theological, Juridical, Medicinal, Philosophical, Historical, and Philological*. The Manuscripts of *Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Turkish, Armenian, Ethiopick, and Chinese* Books, are without Comparison the best Collection that is to be found.

The choicest Books of which this Library is composed, (which has been collecting ever since the Time of *Maximilian I.*) are: The famous Library of *Budd*, of *Matthias Corvinus*, Son of *Hunniades*. The choice Library of *Wolfgangus Lazius*; as also 3000 Books of *Johannes Sambucus*. *Augerius Busbequius* made a considerable Addition to the rest; and in his two *Turkey* Embassies, bought a great many choice *Greek* Manuscripts at *Constantinople*, which are mark'd thus with his own Hand, *Aug. de Busbeck. emit. Constantinopoli*. There was also a considerable Number added out of the Library of the learned *Johannes Cuspinianus*, the Emperor's Library-keeper: And the noted Libraries and Mathematical Instruments of *Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Gassendus*, were purchased for it.

But the greatest Addition of all was made by that noble Library of Count *Fugger*, which consisting of 16,000 Volumes, was purchased by *Ferdinand* the Third. Besides which, the learned *Peter Lambecius*, the present Library-keeper, Historiographer, and Counsellor of the Emperor, has brought hither the choicest Books out of the Library of *Inspruck*; and himself is Master of a most excellent one of his own, which will in Time be added to the Imperial Library. I had it from his own Mouth, that there were at least 80,000 Volumes in this Library, which are encreased by the Accession of other Books, which are purchased, especially in the *Turkish* Dominions, where the Emperor keeping a constant Resident, no Opportunity is let slip to buy up any good *Greek* Manuscripts in their Convents. I remember myself, that when I was at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, the Resident, *Seignior de Casa Nova*, was continually enquiring after *Greek* Books in their Monasteries, the present Emperor sparing no Cost to purchase them; and were it only for the Number of Books, it is certain, that by the Right the Emperor has of having two Books of whatever is printed in *Germany*, this Library might soon increase to a vast Number.

As *Lambecius* conferred on me a thousand Obligations, so he was so kind as to give me a Sight of all the rare Copies in this Library, among a vast Number of which, I took an Account of the following: A Letter in the *Chinese* and *Tartarian* Language, from the Emperor of *China*, to the present Emperor *Leopold*, weaved in a very fine Roll. Another Roll written in an unknown Character, but most resembling *Greek*. A Book in the *Runick* Language. A very fair Manuscript of *Ptolemy*, the Maps colour'd. A Copy of *Livy*, the most ancient Manuscript extant, a thousand Years old, in large Letters, without Distinction of Words or Sentences, brought hither from the *Inspruck* Library. A very fair Manuscript in *Greek* of *Dioscorides*, 1100 Years old, in large Characters, without Distinctions of Words or Accents; the Plants finely painted; with the Pictures of *Dioscorides, Galen*, and some other noted Physicians. Two Books of Geometrical Propositions demonstrated in the *Chinese* Language; whereof one with Pictures. An old *Greek* Manuscript in great Letters, without Distinction of Words or Accents. A *Greek* Manuscript 1300 Years old, of the Book of *Genesis*, without Stops or Accents. It contains forty-eight Draughts in Miniature, or Water-colours, relating to the Habits of the Ancients, to the Manner of their Feasting, their Postures at Meals, Attendance of Servants, and Musick. Among other Things, the Execution of *Pharaoh's* Baker is worth Observation, his Head being thrust through a forked Piece of Wood, and his Hands tied behind him. A Book of Painting in Miniature, by *Albert Durer*; and a Sphere with a Globe within it, carved and painted by the same Hand. A Book of *Michael Angelo*; wherein besides many Rarities in Architecture, all the Paintings and Designs of the *Belvedere* are seen in Miniature. A very fair Al-

choran in *Arabick*, with the *Turkish* Explication interlined betwixt it. A Bible in the *Coptick* and *Persian* Languages. *Luther's* Bible, with many Notes, written by his own Hand. A fair *Greek* Manuscript of the *New Testament*, written with Golden Letters upon Purple 1500 Years ago. A Magical Glass of the Emperor *Rudolphus*. Sixteen thousand Pieces of ancient *Greek, Roman, and Gothick* Medals and Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Copper. They pretend to have two Copper Coins of the Emperor *Marcus Otbo*. Being willing to add a few Drops to this Ocean, I presented some Coins, Intaglia's, and Inscriptions, not to be found in *Gruterus's* Great Work; which I met with in the remotest Part of the Emperor's Dominions; which being shew'd to his Imperial Majesty by Mr. *Lambecius*, he was so well pleased with them, that he not only permitted me the Use of what Books I desired, but also granted me a free Pass, in *Latin*, through the Empire, exempting my Goods from being searched; which is no small Convenience, in a Country where a Traveller is to pass thro' so many different Jurisdictions.

After I had taken a full View of this Library, I thought I could not bestow my Time better than in visiting also the Repository or Collection of Rarities made by the Care of many succeeding Emperors; in viewing of which, I spent several Hours; but fully to set down all the rich and magnificent Curiosities I saw here, is much beyond the Compass of this Treatise, (the Catalogue which is kept of them taking up a large Volume in Folio) so I will content myself with mentioning only a few of the best out of a great many, from whence the Reader may be able to give a Judgment of the rest. The Whole is divided into fourteen Cases or Cupboards.

1. Contains many curious Vessels turn'd out of Ivory, Cups of Amber, Spoons, and other Vessels, of Mother of Pearl, fine Works of Coral, a Galley of Ivory, and two Cups, one turn'd by the present Emperor's own Hand, the other by *Ferdinand III.* Several Cups of the Rhinoceros's Horn. In the 2d, An Elephant with a Castle, and many other Rarities of Workmanship on his Back. Two fine Pillars all of Ivory, with *Basso relievo*, and other Varieties in Ivory. A Picture in Oil of *Ganymede*, by *Corregio*. In the 3d, An old Man's Head in Oil, by *Albert Durer*; vast Variety of Watches and Clockwork; a fine Centaur in Silver. The 4th, Also contains Watches and Clocks; a triumphant Chariot; a *Turk* of Quality with his Attendance; a Landskip and a Cupid, by *Corregio*. In the 5th, Are Variety of curious Works in *Filegree*, brought from *Spain* and the *Indies*; and a Basen of *Agate* finely wrought. The 6th, contains an excellent Collection of *Intaglia*, and old *Roman Stones*, of inestimable Value for their Workmanship and Bigness. A large *Agate*, on which is wrought the Victory of *Augustus Caesar* over the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*; it is five Inches long, and four broad, of a very high Value; besides several Heads and Figures cut in *Onyx's*, Shells, and *Sardonyx's*; and a Chain with the Heads of the whole *Austrian* Family. In the 7th, Divers Pieces of Mother of Pearl, curiously wrought. The Head of *Maximilian I.* in Plaster-work, with a Lock of his own Hair, and the Twelve *Cesars* Heads. Another Head, excellently well done in Oil, by *Hans van Ach*. In the 8th, A Vessel made of one Piece of *Chrystal*, of a Yard and a half high; an Urn; several Hands, with other *Chrystal* Works. The 9th, Has a very noble Ewer of *Chrystal*, and another noble Vessel; many curious Crosses, and other Varieties. The 10th, Containing five rich Crowns; the Imperial Crown adorned with precious Jewels, and a large blue Sapphire on the Top. A Model of the Crown wherewith the Emperors are crown'd, much exceeding in Value the Original. A *Paragon Diamond*, weighing 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ Carats. Several very large Rubies. A Sceptre made of Unicorn's Horn, set with precious Stone. A Locket made of very large Diamonds. A most magnificent Sceptre, Globe, Cross, and Crown, valued at 200,000 Crowns. An Opal as big as one's Fist, as it came out of the Mine, with many other very fine Opals, and a very large Emerald. In the

the 11th, A Golden Bafon, used at the Baptism of the *Austrian* Family. Divers Golden Sceptres, Scimeters, Knives, and other Presents from the *Ottoman* Court. Three rich Dog-collars, sent from *England*, with this Mark 3C3C. A great Piece of pure Gold, of the Bigness of one's Fift, as it came out of the Mine. Another Piece of Gold Ore, where you see the pure Gold shooting forth upon a white Stone; besides divers other Bafons of Gold, and Vessels of Coral. In the 12th, Great Store of Vessels of *Jaspis*, *Agate*, *Lapis Lazuli*, *Oriental Granates*, *Cups* of *Onyx* and *Sardonyx*, one very great one of an *Amethyst*, and divers very large ones of *Lapis Nephriticus*. In the 13th, Are divers Flowers made out of precious Stones. A large high Vessel of *Bohemian Topaz*. A Cup made of an *Hungarian Diamond*. A Piece of Ambergrease of the Bigness of a Man's Fift. A very fine *Jaspis* Stone. A large *Agate* Stone on the Outside, and a Bed of large *Amethysts* naturally in it in the Middle, which is look'd upon as a great Rarity. In the 14th, Are many noble Chrysolites, *Jacinths*, *Oriental Granates*, *Beryls*, and *Aquamarines*. A very rich Emerald, or a Cup of that Stone; three great ones having been already taken out, valued at 300000 Crowns. Great Numbers of Gold Vessels, and rare Figures in Coral; *Turkish* Knives, Gauntlets, &c. fine Wax-works, large Bezoar-stones; a Golden Medal of the Emperor's Arms, worth 1000 l. Sterling, a Cup said to be taken out of *Solomon's Temple*; a most curious Bafon and Ewer of carved Ivory; King *Philip II.* of *Spain* in Diamond Armour, set in Gold; a curious Picture of an old Man courting a young Woman, with this Motto:

Arctum Annulum nē gestato.

A very fine Crucifix of Pearl; the Buff-coat of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, in which he was kill'd near *Lutzen*; all the Gospel written and painted; the Head of King *Charles I.* King of *England*, in Marble; Priests Garments set all over with Pearls; an inestimable *Agate* Dish, betwixt three and four Spans Diameter, in which you see in natural Characters *XRIS OS*. Unto which may be subjoin'd that most magnificent Chain of Pearl taken from Count *Teckley* in the late *Hungarian War*, as I have been informed since.

One Day I had the Curiosity to walk up the Hill which lies two *English* Miles from *Vienna*, from whence I had a full Prospect of the City and Country, as far as to the Mountains of *Styria*, covered with Snow; and in my Return took a View of the Empress Dowager's House without the Town, call'd *la Favorita*.

18. Two *English* Miles to the East of *Vienna* are the Gardens of *Rodolphus II.* which are somewhat ruinous now. They consist of an inward and outward Garden, the inward being about 200 Paces square, much of the same Bigness as the *Place Royal* at *Paris*. It has a Cloister supported by forty Pillars of white Stone on each Side; and is covered with Copper, as are also the Pavilions. In certain other Buildings they keep Lions, Tigers, and other wild Beasts, which breed here. Some say that *Solyman* the Magnificent pitch'd his own Tent in this Place, when he besieged *Vienna*.

At two or three Miles Distance from thence, is a Place called *Arnols*, whither many *Devotees* go on Pilgrimage, especially in Lent, with heavy Crosses on their Shoulders. Here you see a House, the Model of which is taken after the Holy Sepulchre of *Jerusalem*, with a very curious Copy of the Picture of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, at full Length; the first is exactly six Foot high, the last two or three Fingers Breadth lower. They are done after the Original in *St. John de Lateran* at *Rome*. I saw one Day the Emperor and Empress go thither on Foot, the Road being very dusty, and were followed by the greatest Part of the Court. Somewhat nearer to the City, is another Place call'd *Itzing*, likewise much celebrated for Devotion. In the Road from *Vienna* to it, the twelve Stations of the Cross are marked out in the same Manner as is observed in the *Via Dolorosa*, near *Jerusalem*, in Memory of our Saviour's going to the Mount *Calvary*. The Em-

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peror has a very fine Park just by *Vienna*, with a House of Pleasure in it: I also took a View of *Luxenburg*, a House of Retreat also belonging to the Emperor; it is an old Structure, not very large; there is also a Summer-House, built in the Middle of a Pond; and an Octagon in the Marsh, from whence they let frequently fly at the wild Beasts. Over the Emperor's Palace Gate you see a Rib and Jaw-bone of an extraordinary Size, which they told me were human Bones, but appear'd to me more like the Bones of an Elephant.

From this Place I took a Progress to *Mannersdorff*, situated near the River *Leyta*; famous for the Bath, call'd the *wild Bath*, over the Spring of which is built a Church: The Water being only Luke-warm, they boil it, and so bath in Tubs: That being judg'd best, from what sticks to the Sides of the Copper when it is a Boiling; it seems to be impregnated with *Sulphur*, *Saltpetre*, and *Chalk*: The Water leaves a *Turquoise* Colour upon the Stones, and the Vapours, which condense and adhere to the Roof and Sides, give it a Tincture of Gold. The Physicians of *Vienna* have publish'd a Treatise in *High-Dutch* of this Bath.

From hence I went to the *Neusiedler-Sea*, or Lake, which is three *German* Leagues broad, and seven long, abounding in Fish, and is encompass'd with a great Number of small Towns and Villages. It has got its Name from *Neusiedle*, a Town situated on the North-side of it, with a Castle upon a Hill. Near this Place is a black Earth, of which they make *Saltpetre*. Afterwards I proceeded four *English* Miles up the *Danube*, to the famous Quarry of *Altenburg*. The Beds or Rows of the Stones don't lie horizontally, but elevated to the North, yet follow the Shape of the Hill in their Situation. I found here a Substance between a Clay and a Stone, call'd by them *Liverstone*, upon many of which you see the Figures of Trees and Leaves, but not so plain as in those of *Florence*.

I pass'd by *Cloister Newburg*, a Town belonging to a rich Monastery of the same Name. Upon one of the Peaks of *Calenbergb*, before-mentioned, live certain *Hermites*, call'd *Camaldulenses*, a very severe Order, living upon nothing but Herbs and Roots. Near their Cells they had paved the Ground with those figured Stones. It being now near *December*, the Branches of the *Danube* were frozen over, and the Ground being covered with Snow, afforded good Pastime for the Ladies, who at this Season take their Recreations in handsome Sledges in several Shapes, viz. *Griffins*, *Tigers*, *Swans*, *Dolphins*, *Scallop Shells*, &c. In one of those Machines the Lady is seated richly attired in Velvet, lined with rich Furs, adorned with Laces and Jewels, and Velvet Caps lined with Sables. The Sledge is drawn by one Horse, adorn'd with Plumes, Ribbons, and Bells; and as this Pastime is commonly performed in the Night Time, the Footmen ride on Horseback with Torches, the Gentlemen sitting on the Sledge, behind the Lady, to guide the Horse.

Christmas they celebrate here much after the same Manner as in *Italy*. On *Christmas-Day* the Emperor dines in publick. Upon *St. Stephen's Day* he went to the Cathedral, where he kneeled upon the Altar, and kiss'd the Plate whereon the *Hostia* had lain. On Twelfth-day they celebrated at Court the old Custom of choosing King and Queen, and the Lot falling upon Count *Leslie* to be King, the Emperor laid the Cloth, and the Empress fill'd out the Wine. Not long before *Christmas* I saw the Solemnity of the Marriage of Count *Serau*, with a natural Daughter of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, where I could not but be surprized at the Splendour in which the Ladies appear'd upon this Occasion. Not long after I saw also a very pompous Funeral, the Corps of Count *Draun*, which was brought from *Italy*, being interr'd in the *Dominican* Church, and a very sumptuous *Castrum Doloris* was raised, set round with a vast Number of Wax Torches and Candles.

During my Stay at *Vienna*, the Election for a King of *Poland* being at Hand, after the voluntary Abdication of King *Casimir*, there pass'd Messengers daily through *Vienna*. The Czar of *Muscovy's* Son, the

Duke of *Newburg* and the Prince of *Lorrain* were Competitors for the Crown; but the *Poles* thought fit to pitch upon *Michael Wisnowitski*, a Native of *Poland*, for their King. I saw also at the same Time at *Vienna*, the *Spanish* Ambassador *Don Baltasar de la Cueva*; the Pope's Nuncio was *Carlo Caraffa*. Besides which, the *Venetians* had their Ambassador at *Vienna*, who solicited Succours for *Candia*, which the *Turkish* Envoy opposed with all his Might. Much about the same Time came an Ambassador from the *Cham* of the *Crim Tartars*, named *Cha Gagi Aga*, who presented the Emperor with several very fine *Tartarian* Horses, in Return of which he was regaled by the Emperor with some Plate, a Silver Basin and Ewer, and a very fine Watch for the *Cham*. They were lusty, strong-limb'd Fellows, but very coarse, their Habit long fur'd Vests and Caps. They took a vast Quantity of Tobacco in very long Pipes.

19. Among the *Greeks*, who live and trade at *Vienna*, I was chiefly acquainted with three considerable Persons; one was an Abbot, who had been forced to quit his Convent for Fear of the *Turks*; another, who called himself *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, being descended of the Royal Blood of the *Cantacuzeni*; the third was a *Greek* Priest, named *Jeremiah*, who having travelled in Quest of a young Man, taken by an *Algerine*, and retaken by an *English* Ship, through *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Low Countries*, and *England*, had retained a most peculiar Kindness for the *English*, who, he said, had treated him more courteously than any other Nation.

The Country about *Vienna* is so fertile in all Things, that People live here in great Plenty; and if any Scarcity should happen, the *Danube* supplies them from remoter Parts. *Hungary*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, furnish them with such Varieties of Wine, that you may drink thirty several Sorts at any good Table in *Vienna*; neither are they destitute of good Beer. *Hallstadt* in *Austria* affords them Salt, from whence the Emperor draws a vast Revenue. Sheep and Oxen they have in great Plenty of their own, yet are they supplied with the last out of *Hungary* and the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions. Wild Boar is a great Dish with them, their Fat being as delicious here, as that of our Venison. Neither do they want Hares, Rabbits, Partridges, Pheasants, a Fowl called in *Latin*, *Gallina Corylorum*, &c. The *Danube* furnishes them with vast Plenty of Fish, such as Carps, Trouts, Tenches, Pikes, Eels, Lampreys of all Sorts, white Fish, and large Crevisses, besides Fish not known to us. Here you meet with the *Scheiden*, the *Silurus Gesneri*, which exceeds the Pike, Salmon, nay, any of our River Fish in Bigness; but the biggest of all are the *Hausons*, called *Hufones*, by *Johnston*, being sometimes twenty Foot long. Some will have this to be the Fish named *Anacetus* by *Ælian*, which he says is catch'd in the *Ister*. I saw them busy in fishing for them in the Isle of *Schutz*, between *Presburgh* and *Comoreea*, for they seldom come up hither, it being supposed that they come out of the *Euxine-sea*. They are not unlike the Sturgeon in Taste, and they eat them both fresh and pickled. It is full of Gristles, having a hollow nervous Chord down the Back, which, when dried, they use instead of a Whip. When they fish for them, they blow a Horn or Trumpet. *Venice* furnishes *Vienna* with Oysters, Sturgeon, and other pickled Fish, with Red-Herrings, Oranges, Limons, and other Fruits. They are much disposed to Jollity in this City; nothing more common than to see them dancing and fencing for Prizes on Holy-Days, and spending their Time in Merry-making, which made me wonder that they have not a Company of Players belonging to them.

Their Way of executing Criminals is commonly done by cutting off their Heads; though in Cases of High Treason, they first cut off the Right Hand, and next the Executioner strikes off the Head with one Fore-blow. I remember I saw one executed in this Manner; and no sooner was the Head separated from the Body, but a Man ran speedily to catch the Blood, which gushed out of the Neck, which he drank, and then ran as

fast as he could: They look upon this as a Remedy against the *Falling Sickness*. I had heard of something like this in *Germany* before, and I well remember, that *Celsus* tells us, that in his Time, some epileptical Persons used to drink the Blood of the Gladiators; yet most Physicians exclaimed against this Remedy, and I did not stay long enough here to learn the Effects of it.

At *Presburgh* they have an odd Way of Execution, (which is also in Use at *Metz*). They have an Engine framed in the Shape of a Maid, which the criminal Person is obliged to salute; but at the second Salute, she embraces him, and cuts him through the Middle.

It must be confess'd, that the Winters are very sharp here, but their Rigour is much mitigated by their sleeping betwixt two Feather-beds, and the Stoves they make Use of to warm their Rooms, as well here as in most other Parts of *Germany* and the Northern Countries. The Citizens of *Vienna* are generally well clad, and wear Furs very much, and the Womens Bonnets, which they wear upon their Heads, are both lined and faced with some Fur or other. The Climate is very healthful, yet have they an epidemical Disease, called *Colica Austriaca*, among them, which is very difficult to be cured. In the Court and City they speak very good *German*, but the Country People speak somewhat thick, and have a different Tone, and divers odd Words. I saw a certain Trick, performed at *Vienna*, which at first Sight somewhat surpris'd me, viz. a middle siz'd Man laid upon his Back, had a heavy Anvil fix'd upon his Breast; upon which two lusty Fellows, with great Hammers, gave at least a hundred Blows, till they had cut an Iron Horse-shoe, about half an Inch thick, asunder.

No other Religion but the *Roman Catholick* is permitted the publick Exercise of Worship here, the Protestants being obliged to go to Church as far as *Presburgh*, forty Miles from hence; for which Reason a Coach goes thither every Day, besides the Convenience of the Passage by the *Danube*; the Exercise of the Protestant Worship being strictly forbid here ever since the Battle of *Prague*, the same being allowed before in the Church of the *Holy Ghost* at first, and afterwards at *Arnolds*, not above an *English* Mile from *Vienna*. In this City are Abundance of *Jews*, but these have their distinct Habitations on the other Side of the Water. They are, indeed, permitted to traffick in a certain Street in the Day-time, but must leave the City before Night. They have frequent Broils with the other Inhabitants, and more especially with the Students. Whilst I was there, these last assaulted the *Jews* Town, where divers were killed on both Sides; the Consequence of which was, that many of the *Jews* were to be banish'd against a certain Day. The Empress being then with Child, they presented her with a Silver Cradle; but as she was their declared Enemy, she would not accept of it, and it was chiefly by her Means that afterwards they were banish'd, not only out of *Vienna*, but also out of all *Austria*; for as they were useful on one Side, for the Sale or Exchange of many Things, and used to furnish the Officers with Accoutrements and other Necessaries; so on the other Hand, they spoiled the Trade of the Citizens, and were accused of holding a secret Correspondence with the *Turks*. The *Jewish* Physicians pretend to more than ordinary Skill in Urines, which makes the common People resort to them, and to look upon their Predictions as Oracles.

20. Being now resolved to take my Leave of *Vienna*, in order to my Journey for *Prague*, I took a Place in the Coach, which goes thither in six Days in the Summer, and eight in the Winter. We pass'd over the great Bridge upon the *Danube* near the Chapel of St. *Bridget*. After we had pass'd the River, we enter'd that Part of *Austria* which lies betwixt the *Danube* and the River *Theya*, and travel'd in Sight of *Cornenbergh*, seated near the Hill *Bisnebergh*, which lies opposite to *Calenbergh*. Hence we came to *Stockeran*, famous for the Death of St. *Colman*: It is seated at the Conflux of the River *Mial* and the *Danube*. From thence, by the Way of *Guntersdorf* to *Koldorff*, which (though on the other Side of the River *Theya*) is reckoned the first Village of *Moravia*, and so farther to *Znaim*. It is observable,

servable, that in this Part of *Austria*, which extends along the North-side of the *Danube*, believed to be inhabited in former Ages by the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, there are not any Towns of Note; the *Romans* having had their Stations and Colonies on the South-side of that River. Yet is the Country well inhabited and full of Villages. I came in Sight of one of the chiefest Places call'd *Crembs* or *Cremona Austria*. *Znaim* is a good Place upon the River *Theya*; the common Boundary betwixt *Moravia* and *Austria*, which, joining its Waters at last with the River *Mark*, thereby opens itself a Passage into the *Danube*. This Town is the Fourth in Rank among those of *Moravia*; *Olmütz*, *Brun* and *Iglaw*, being the other three.

We continued our Journey from hence over *Ulverskirken*, *Paulitz*, and *Moravian Budweisse* to *Zimmaw*, and taking our Way through *Byrnitz*, came to *Iglaw*, upon the River *Iglaw*, a Place pleasantly situate upon a Hill, on the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. Its Fortifications are very strong, after the modern Way, especially on one Side, and the Market-place is one of the largest I ever met with. *Moravia* is a very plentiful and pleasant Country, being irrigated by divers Rivers, among which the *Mora* or *Marck* is the Chief; it rises on the North-side, and passing through the whole Extent of the Country falls into the *Danube* near *Presburgh*. The other Rivers of Note are, the *Theya*, or *Theyfa*, the *Swarta*, the *Schwitta*, which run into the River *Marck*.

21. After we left *Iglaw*, we enter'd *Bohemia*, the first Place we came to being call'd *Stecken*; thence to *Teutchin Broda*, near the River *Saczua*, and so further through *Haberne* to *Janikaw*, famous for the Battle which was fought there, the 24th of *February*, 1643. betwixt the *Imperialists* and *Swedes*; the first had the better of it at the Beginning, but falling to plundering, were defeated by the *Swedes*. In this Town I happened to meet with a Gentleman, who lived at *Schacklitz*, not far from the *Risgeberg*, or *Mountains of Giants*, situate near the Head Spring of the River *Albes* or *Elbe*; I was curious to enquire of him, what he knew concerning the pretended Spirit of *Ribenzbal*, which they say infects that Country, but I could get nothing from him that was satisfactory; all what he told me amounting to no more than that he verily believed there was such a Spirit, but that he had not done any Harm these twelve Years last past. I have heard divers such Reports among the Mountains and Mines of *Germany*. Thus they talk of Spirits in the Silver Mines of *Brunswick*, and in the Tin-Mines of the *Slackenwalde* in *Bohemia*, but they talk of them only.

From *Janikaw* we continued our Journey to *Czassaw*, the chief City in the Circle of that Name. This is reputed the Burying-place of *Zisca*, the famous *Bohemian*, General who forced the Emperor *Sigismund* to quit that Kingdom. From *Czassaw*, we came to *Guttenberg*, about twelve *English* Miles from *Prague*, a very considerable Town, near the River *Elbe*, and famous for the Silver Mines about it. There are in all about thirty of them, but as the Hills hereabouts are not very high, so the Mines are not so deep as those in *Hungary*, and in some other Places of *Germany*; however some are almost seventy or eighty Fathoms, and have been wrought at these 700 Years. I went into one of them which was first digged, called the *Cutten-Hill*, (*Cutten* signifying a Man's Garment) which has got its Name as they say from a Monk, who found a Silver Tree there, which gave Occasion for the Digging of this Mine, which is no more than nineteen Fathom deep: The chief Vein of the Ore, which is about a Foot broad, runneth South. It contains both Silver and Copper, of the first, a hundred Weight yields about an Ounce; of the last, eight, nine, ten, or more Ounces; though some Ore contains eight or nine Ounces of Silver in the hundred Weight. When they meet with a blue Earth in Digging, they are in Hopes of good Ore.

From hence we pass'd through *Colline*, and so by the Way of *Bohemian Broda* (to distinguish it from the *Teutonick Broda*) came to *Prague*, the capital City, and

formerly the Residence of the King's of *Bohemia*. I soon perceived, even at a Distance, that the Walls of this Town enclosed a larger Tract of Ground, than any in *Germany*, but considerable Abatements are to be made for the wide Spaces and Hills encompassed within them. It is situate upon the *Moldau*, a large rapid River, having its Source in the South Part of *Bohemia*, and, before it comes to *Prague*, being augmented by the Rivers *Sarsna* and *Watta*, and to the North of *Prague* by the River *Egra*, at last empties itself into the *Elbe*. This great Body is divided into three Cities, viz. the *Old*, the *New*, and the *Lesser City*.

22. The *Old Town* is seated on the East-side of the *Moldau*, being the most populous Place of the three; and considerable for the University, frequented by a vast Number of Students, this being the only one of the whole Kingdom, though it is not comparable now to what it has been. If we may believe *Lewis du May*, there were, in 1409, when *John Huss* was Rector, above 40,000 Students; and it is credibly reported among them, that when the Emperor *Charles* the IVth, would have retrenched some of their Privileges, 24,000 Students left the Town in one Week, and not long after 16,000 more. This Part of the Town has also several Colleges and Monasteries, and among the rest the *Jesuits*, which is a very handsome one.

The *New Town* is of a very large Extent, encompassing the *Old Town*, together with the River, being divided from it by a Ditch, into which they can let the River. The *Irish* have a Convent of *Franciscans* here, and the *Jesuits* have likewise a noble College. They were then busy in making some Bastions, and a Citadel for the Defence of the Town, but they were not finish'd.

The *Lesser Prague*, is seated on the West Side of the *Moldau*. It is far beyond the *Old Town* in Pleasantness and handsome Structures, being join'd to it by a very strong Stone Bridge, of sixteen great Arches, the whole Fabrick 1700 Foot long, and 35 broad, with two high Gates, under two large Towers at each End. Part of this Town is built upon a rising Ground, on the Top of which stands *Hartschin*, or *Upper Prague*, where the Emperor has a Summer-house, and a most magnificent Palace. In this Part of the City is also the Cathedral Church of *St. Veit*, containing many ancient Monuments. Most of the Houses of the Nobility are also in this Part; among which the Garden and Palace of *Coloredo* excel for Neatness, but it is not very large. The Palace of Count *Wallenstein*, afterwards Duke of *Friedland*, General of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. his Armies, is a very stately Structure, built upon the Ruins of at least 100 Houses, which were pull'd down for that Purpose: The Hall is a very lofty and spacious Room, and the Garden exceeding beautiful, on one Side of which you see the Place where they used to manage his Horses, with a noble Fish Pond near it: On the other Side you see the *Aviary*, beautified with Trees and a Garden; the Model being taken from the *Aviary* of Prince *Doria* at *Genoa*. But what is most surprising are the large Stables, where you see a Marble Pillar betwixt each Horse; every Horse having a Rack of Steel, and a Manger of Marble, fix'd in a Nich of the Wall: Over the Head of each Horse you behold his Picture, as big as the Life, with his Name under it. Thus a Bay-Horse was named *Monte d'Ore*, a Mare *Bella Donna*, but his beloved Horse's Name was *Mas Querido*. The current Language of *Bohemia* is a Dialect of *Sclavonian*, though all the Persons of Quality here, and not a few of the Inhabitants both in the City and Country, speak very good *High Dutch*. The *Lesser Prague* was surpriz'd by the *Swedish* General *Koningsmark*, in the long *German War*, who carried off an incredible Booty.

A Part of *Prague* being inhabited by *Jews*, is thence call'd the *Jews-Town*. They are here in great Numbers, and deal chiefly in Jewels, and especially in those Stones that are found in the Mines of *Bohemia*. I bought some *Bohemian Topazes*, very well cut, of them, at the Rate of seven or eight Crowns a Stone.

John Hus, and *Jerome of Prague*, who endeavour'd to bring about a Reformation in those Parts 800 Years before *Luther*, are not as yet forgotten among the *Bohemians*, who keep Silver Medals to the Memory of these two great Men; upon which Account I cannot help mentioning, what *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II.* says of them two, viz. *That John was more in Tears and of greater Authority, but Jerome excelled in Eloquence and Learning; That they faced Death with unparallel'd Constancy, singing Hymns in the Midst of the Flames.* He adds, *None of the old Philosophers suffer'd any Kind of Death with so courageous a Temper, as these the Flames.*

As the same Author has made a Comparison betwixt the City of *Florence* and *Prague*, I cannot forbear to give you my Observations upon this Head, which I made myself, both from the Top of the *Domo* at *Florence*, and from the Cathedral of *St. Veit*, on the Hill of the *Lesser Town*. I found *Prague* to comprehend a much larger Compass, and to be more populous than *Florence*. The Streets of the first are much longer; and the Windows of the Palace being of very fine Glass, made a much better Show than the ragged Paper Windows of *Florence*. The River *Arno*, which passes through this last, bears not the least Comparison with the *Moldau* at *Prague*; and the great Stone Bridge over this River, bears a full Proportion to, if not exceeds, not only any one, but all the four Bridges of *Florence*. The Emperor's Palace also upon the Hill is a very noble Structure. On the other hand, it must be confess'd, that the Cathedral of *Florence*, built of black and white marble; the Chapel of *St. Lawrence*, and the Great Duke's Gallery and Rarities, exceed any Thing I saw at *Prague*. Upon the *White Hill* near *Prague* was, 1620. November the 8th, fought the famous Battle betwixt the Armies of the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* and *Frederick Elector Palatine*, in which the latter was routed.

23. The Winter coming on, I would not go by Water to *Hamburg* by the *Moldau*, which near *Melnick* falls into the *Elbe*; so that being obliged to travel by Land, I left *Prague* and the *Moldau* to the Right, and pass'd through *Zagethal*, *Wolverne*, and *Budin*, to *Labasitz* upon the *Elbe*. After having cross'd the River *Egra*, (which arising near the City of the same Name, falls afterwards into the *Elbe*) I came by the Castle of *Kriegstein*, seated upon a high Rock, thence to *Ausig*, a small City, and so by the Way of *Nolndorff*, and over the Mount *Kninsberg* to the Frontiers of *Misnia*; taking our Way through *Peterswald*, *Hellendorff* and *Kistbel*, near the last of which are Iron Mines and Works. Having spent nine Days by Coach, from *Inglaw*, on the Confines of *Moravia*, to this Place, not reckoning my Stay at *Prague*, which is computed to be 200 English Miles, the Ways being very bad in some Places, especially in the Winter Season.

As we were going toward *Dresden*, I took a View of the *Bohemian* Rocks behind us, which resembled, at a Distance, the Ruins of an old Wall; but could not be convinced of what most Geographers have told us of *Bohemia*, That it is enclosed in a great Forest, though it is not to be disowned, but that both within the Country, and in some Parts near the Borders, there are considerable Woods, believed to be Part of the old *Sylvia Hercinia*, or *Hercinian Forest*. The *Bohemians* have been at all Times a stout and warlike Nation; and though the common People are somewhat rough, the Gentry are very obliging and polite. They abound in lusty and strong Horses, but since their unfortunate Revolt, they have lost most of their Privileges, and many thousand Families have quitted the Kingdom.

We continued our Journey through *Misnia* to *Dresden*, one of the most remarkable Places in all *Germany*, being the Residence of the Electors of *Saxony* upon the *Elbe*, over which is a stately Bridge, supported by seventeen Arches. The Fortifications of the City are very strong, after the modern Way; the Bastions faced with Stone, surrounded in some Places with a double Ditch. It has three Gates. The Things most worth Observation are, The *Italian* Garden in the Suburbs, the *Hunting-house* in the *Old Town* beyond the River, and

the Electoral Palace, with the House for Wild Beasts, Stables, and *Arsenal*. The Hall in the Elector's Palace is very spacious, and chiefly remarkable for the many Draughts of Cities, Pictures of Giants, and the Habits of several Nations, very well done.

But what is most surprising is, the Collection of Rarities, divided into several Chambers. The first contains all Manner of Mechanical Instruments, made very artificially. In the other Chambers, these following are most worth Notice: A Tube-Glass four Ells long; divers artificial Works of Coral; Bowls and Cups made out of Mother of Pearl; Castles of Gold and Mother of Pearl; a Cup made of a Stone taken out of an Ox's Stomach, of a Foot long; a Stone as big as one's Fist, taken out of a Horse, resembling a *Bezoar-stone*; some very pure Ore out of the Mines of *Freiberg*; a natural Cross of the same Ore; one hundred twenty one Heads carved on a Cherry-stone; a Chrystal Cabinet, sold by *Oliver Cromwell*; *Charles II.* of *England*, on Horse-back, carved out of Iron; King *Charles I.* his Head; an Organ of Glass; several unpolish'd *Topazes*, ten Inches diameter; a Cup made of a *Topaz*; several Emeralds, an Inch in diameter, as they grow in the Rock.

Figures of Fish in Stones, the Stones dark colour'd, the Fish of a Gold Colour; two large fine Pieces of pure Gold Ore; a White Hart as big as a natural one, made of the Filings and Shavings of Harts-horn. Another Chamber contains all Manner of Mathematical Instruments, and a Library of Mathematical Books and Maps; an Unicorn's Horn, which they affirm to be of a Land Unicorn, because it is neither wreathed nor hollow. The most remarkable Pictures, among a great Number, are, the Siege of *Jerusalem*, by *Colier*, valued at a high Rate; two Nuns, by *Lucas van Leyden*; a Picture of *Dr. Luther*. Here is also a rowling Bullet, to demonstrate a perpetual Motion.

Of Clock-works you see a vast Variety: A Cuckow singing, a Horseman riding, a Ship under Sail, an old Woman walking, a *Centaur* running and shooting, and a Crab crawling or creeping upon a Table; all done by Clock-work, to the Amazement of ordinary Spectators. In the Stables, and Chambers thereunto belonging, you see a noble Stable full of Horses, each Horse eating out of a Rack of Iron, and Manger of Copper. Near them is a curious Fountain and Pond, surrounded with Ballisters, where the Horses are watered; a long Walk arched, and painted with very fine Horses; over which is a Gallery, with the Pictures of all the Dukes and Electors of *Saxony*, in their Electoral Robes and Military Habits; two Beds of Marble; a Horseman of Silver, bringing a Cup of Wine in his Hand, moved by a Spring; a Pair of very fine Pistols, with Stories of the *Old* and *New Testament* upon them; a Glass Gun; a Gun, which discharges forty Times without being charged again; a Lock without a Cock. Another Chamber has many rich Sleds and Accoutrements, made Use of in the Winter-time upon the Snow. A White Bear's Skin stuffed; Tigers and Lyons Skins; a *Cassowaries* Skin; very fine Armour for Men and Horses; a Picture of a *Laplander*; a *Lapland Magick Drum*; a Chamber full of all Sorts of curious Hunting Tackle and Arms.

The *Arsenal* is a long Square, a Building containing near 400 Brass Pieces of Ordnance; of Musquets and other Arms a great Quantity; divers Silver Coats of Mail, &c. In the Hunting-house in the *Old Town* are maintained fifteen Bears; Fountains and Ponds are made here for the Conveniency of washing themselves, in which the Bears much delight. Round the Pond you see high ragged Trees or Posts set up, where the Bears climb up and down, and Scaffolds on the Top, where they sun and dry themselves after they have been sporting in the Water. The Horn Gallery here is also worth taking Notice of; out of which you pass through three Chambers, one painted with all the different Sorts of Hunting, the second with Fowl, and the third with all Kinds of Wild Beasts. In the House where the Wild Beasts are kept, was a *Marian*, a four legg'd Beast, which hangs on the Bows of Trees by the Tail.

A wild Mountain Cat of an extraordinary Size; five young Bears, five old black Bears; the Feet, Head and Neck, longer than those of the black, but not so thick; two Lions and ten Lionesses.

The *Italian Garden* and *Summer-house* in the Suburbs, contained two noble Obelisks, two beautiful Fountains, a Theatre and good Landships. They were built by two of the Elector's Eunuchs. It is not many Years ago since *Dresden* has been made a City. The Revenues of the Elector of *Saxony* are very considerable, arising chiefly from his Impositions upon Commodities, Excises upon Beer and Silver Mines. The chief Church of *Dresden* is very fair. They are reputed to speak the best *Hig Dutch* here, and throughout all *Misnia*, which is a pleasant, fruitful and populous Country.

After I left *Dresden*, my Curiosity led me to *Frieberg*, noted for many considerable Mines, which are within two *English* Miles of the Place. Among those I took particular Notice of three; one call'd the *High Hill*, the deepest in those Parts, being Seventy seven of theirs, or Two hundred and eight of our Fathoms deep, which Depth exceeded any of the Mines I saw in *Hungary*. The second Mine I saw was call'd the *Prince of Heaven*, which not many Years ago, produced an Ore so rich, that an Hundred Pounds weight afforded an Hundred and thirty Marks of Silver, or Sixty five Pounds in the hundred; but it is a constant Observation among the Miners, that where the Veins are richest and purest, they are thinnest, and generally not above the Breadth of two Inches. The Ore, as it generally runs, affords not one Ounce and a half of Silver in the Pound; and they work it, if it holds above half an Ounce, which may seem somewhat strange to those who know not, that even in the Silver Mines of *Peru* and *Chili*, they will work the Silver Ore, which affords not above four or five Ounces; and the rich Ore in the Mines of *Potosi* does not commonly produce above ten or twelve Ounces of Silver; though this Hill alone, if we may credit *Alberto Alonso*, has produced in Silver since it has been dug, betwixt four and five hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight. They have here several Ways of opening the Ore to prepare it for Melting; as, by Lead, and a kind of Silver Ore which holds Lead.

The Sulphur Ore also which is found here, after its Calcination, proves no small Addition towards the melting of Metals; as likewise the *Schlich*, or pounded and washed Ore, and the *Schlaken*, being the Dross, Sediment or Scum, taken out of the *Vortiegel* (Pan) which received the melted Minerals, let out into it at the Bottom of the melting Furnace. Their *Treibshearth*, or Furnace of Separating, where the *Litharge* is driven, which I saw here, is more like that described in *Agri-cola*, than those I saw in *Hungary*. Some of the *Litharge* is Green: They wash the purest Ore, and such as is mix'd with Stones or Spars; and they have this Peculiar, that before they melt the Ore in the Melting-Furnace, they burn the pounded and washed Ore on the *Roasting Hearth*, as they term it. They make much Use of the *Virgula divina* or *Forked Hazel*, to find out the Silver Ore, or any other Treasure. I never saw them use it in the Mines of *Hungary*, where I was, but I took particular Notice of the Manner how they use it here; yet as it is amply described in some Books, and is better seen than represented at a Distance, I will not enlarge further upon that Subject.

The third Mine I visited was call'd the *Neckbreaker*, about eighty of our Fathoms deep: The Ore it produces is either Copper and Silver, or Silver and Lead, and sometimes all three; but they work only for Silver. I found the Mines cold as far as the Air could penetrate, but otherwise warm enough. Where they are at the deepest, they are full of Damps; but that which troubles them most, is the Dust, which settles upon the Lungs and Stomachs of the Miners. They have excellent Engines here to prevent the Inconveniencies arising from the Water. But I must not omit a rich Sulphur Ore, hard and stony, that with red Spots being

deemed the best. This is melted in a peculiar Furnace, to separate it from the Ore; some of which yields three Pound of Sulphur out of 100 Weight of Ore, which as it melts runs out of the Furnace into Water, or the Exhalations of the Ore are condensed into Brimstone, by the Coldness of the Surface of the Water placed to receive it. It is purified again, by melting it a second Time. Some of this Brimstone Ore holds Silver, some Copper, but in very small Quantities. The Remnants, after Sulphur is separated from the Ore, is reserved for a double Use; either for the melting of Silver, or the making of *Vitriol*. In the first Case, a certain Proportion of it is cast into the Melting-Furnace of the Silver, which, as the Miners term it, helps to make it Flux. In the making of *Vitriol* or *Copperas*, they take the Ore from which the Brimstone has been separated, and burn it over again, or let it continue to burn in the open Air, then putting it into a large Vessel, pour as much Water upon it as is requisite to imbibe the *Vitriol*; which Water being afterwards boiled to a certain Consistency, is let out into Coolers, where the purest Part of the *Vitriol* adheres to Sticks set for that Purpose, the rest settling on the Sides and at the Bottom. It is observable, that the Ore, after it is deprived of its *Vitriol*, has not the least Virtue left in opening Metals, or rendring of them fluid.

24. The City of *Frieberg* itself is of a circular Figure, surrounded with strong Walls; Its Streets are handsome, and so is the Market-place. The Elector's Palace is a very beautiful Structure; it has five Gates. But what exceeds all the rest, is the Church of *St. Peter*, famous for the Monuments of many of the Ducal Family, among which, that of *Maurice*, Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, excels, being accounted the noblest in *Germany*, raised three Piles high of black Marble, with many fair Statues about it in Alabaster, and white Marble, which is the Reason, that when this Town was surrender'd, *October* the 5th, 1632, to the Imperialists, the Elector of *Saxony* paid 80000 Crowns to save the Tombs of his Predecessors, and the Robes, Jewels, Rings and other Ensigns of Honour, that were buried with them.

There were certain Vaults and subterraneous Passages from the Mines into the City, which are said to have been discover'd first 1189, since which time the Silver Mines at *Schneeberg*, *Anneberg* and *Joachims Dale*, have been found, viz. in 1526. After having taken a View of what I thought most curious in and about *Frieberg*, I travell'd by *Waltheim* and *Coldick* to *Leipsick*, seated upon the River *Elster*, which having its Source in *Vogtland*, passes by this City, and afterwards falls into the River *Sala*.

It is a very rich Place, celebrated for its three Marts or Fairs every Year, when there is a great Resort of Merchants from all Parts. The Houses are generally stately Buildings, being for the most part six or seven Stories high. It has a Castle, but neither this nor the Town are well fortified. The Church of *St. Nicholas* has the Reputation of being within one of the finest *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*.

This City is famous for three Battles fought near it in our Age; the 1st, Between *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and Count *Tilly*, the Imperial General, 1631, in which the last was totally routed. The 2d, Some Years after, betwixt *Torsten* the *Swedish*, and Arch-duke *Leopold William*, the Imperial General. The 3d, about a League and a half from hence, near *Lutzen*, fought between the same King of *Sweden*, and *Wallenstein* Duke of *Friedland*, the Imperial General, in which the *Swedes* were again victorious, notwithstanding their King was slain before the Beginning of the Battle, as he was going to take a View of the Posture of the Enemy. There is also a good University at *Leipsick*, erected there whilst the Troubles continued in *Bohemia*, with the *Hussites*, when 2000 German Scholars came hither at once from *Prague*.

From *Leipsick* I prosecuted my Journey to *Magdeburgh*, through a plain Country, betwixt the Rivers *Sala* and *Elbe*, through *Lansberg*, and near *Petersdorff*, and so

by the Way of *Koebten* (the Residence of the Prince of *Anhalt*) to *Calm*, situate upon the River *Sala*, not far before it falls into the *Elbe*. In this Neighbourhood is the famous Mountains, stiled the *Fichtelberg*, much celebrated for the Mines, Baths, and mineral Waters near it, and for four Rivers, running to the four different Quarters of the World, viz. The *Main* to the West, the *Nab* or *Nabus* to the South, the *Ager* to the East, and the *Sala* to the North; which four Rivers afterwards join the three capital Rivers of Germany, the *Danube*, the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*.

Hence we pass'd through *Saliz* (noted for its Salt-springs) to *Magdeburgh*, seated upon the River *Elbe*. This, which in former Ages was the Metropolitan City of Germany, but now under the Jurisdiction of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, is of a very large Circumference, but scarce half built, since it was destroyed by *Tilly* the Imperial General, who put 56000 Persons there to the Sword. The Cathedral Church is a very fair Structure, built after the Model of our *English* Churches; by the Emperor *Otho I.* and his Empress *Edithe*, the Daughter of our *English* King *Edmund*. Her Effigies in Stone stands still in the Church, with the Representation of eighteen Casks of Gold by her, which she gave thereto. The *Lutheran* Churches are very handsome here, and the *Jesuits* very fine, as indeed they are in all other Places. In the Cathedral Church of *St. Maurice*, I saw the Statue of the five wise Virgins smiling, and the five foolish Virgins lamenting, which were not ill done. Among the rest they shew'd several odd Relicks, viz. The *Basin* in which *Pilate* wash'd his Hands; and the *Ladder* whereon the *Cock* crow'd, after *St. Peter's* Denial of our Saviour. Among the Ruins of the Cloister of the *Austin Friars*, are still remaining *Luther's* Chamber, his Bedstead, and his Table. Upon the Door are certain *German* Verses, which translated into *English* are to this Purpose:

Great *Luther* lodg'd within this little Room,
While as a Monk this Cloister was his Home;
And we in Rev'rence of his Mem'ry keep
The Bedstead upon which he us'd to sleep.

At *Magdeburgh* I began to be sensible that I had left behind the true Purity of the *German* Language, for here you begin to hear another Dialect, generally called the *lower Saxon*, spoken in all the North of Germany, at *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, and other Cities in those Parts. However People of Fashion converse in *High Dutch*, and their Sermons are generally held, and Books written in the same Language. The City of *Magdeburgh* is highly celebrated in Germany, as having been the first where the most famous Turnaments were instituted in the Year 638, by the Emperor *Henry*, surnamed the *Fowler*. The Condition of these Turnaments or Exercises of Chivalry were, That none but of the ancient Nobility, no Bastard, no Usurper, no Person attainted of High-Treason, no Oppressor of Widows and Orphans, none born of Parents, whereof one was of ignoble Extraction, no Heretick or Murderer, Coward, or who had given Offence to Ladies in Word or Deed, should be admitted into the List, and not above one in a Family at a Time. Princes were to come attended with four Squires, Counts and Barons with three, a Knight with two, and a Gentleman with one. He that was desirous to enter the Lists, appear'd at the President's Lodgings, where his Name and Quality being registred in the Presence of three *Heralds*, the Champion deliver'd unto them his Helmet and Sword, and after Confession enter'd the List, attended according to his Quality. Their Horses were to be without Defect, their Furniture according to the Rules prescribed, and the Saddles without any rising behind or before. Having performed all Manner of Exercises, they expected the Sentence from the Judges, and he who obtained the Prize, received it from the Hand of some Lady, or from the Prince who gave it.

But after these Pastimes had continued for some Ages, they were abolish'd upon very weighty Considerations,

these Exercises having caused no small Emulation among the Nobility, so that at the twenty third Turnament, held at *Darmstadt*, 1473, this Animosity rose to such a Height between the Gentlemen of *Franconia* and those of *Hesse*, that seventeen of the former and nine of the latter remained dead upon the Spot. The Winter now coming on apace, I hastened my Journey to *Hamburg*, which I performed in the Stage-Coach in four Days, taking our Way through the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the Dukes of *Lunenburgh's* Territories. In this Road I took Notice of many small Mounts of Earth, the ancient Funeral Monuments of Great Commanders; (which are also found in *England*) and sometimes Rows of great Stones; and in one Place I saw three great massy Stones in the Middle, in a large square, enclosed by other large Stones, set up on End.

25. The City of *Hamburg*, one of the greatest, richest, and perhaps the most populous Cities of Germany, is seated in a Plain, being well fortified after the modern Way, yet are their Works not faced with Stone. But the Territories belonging to it are of no great Extent. It is divided into the *Old* and *New Town*; It has five Gates; the *Stone-Gate*, which leads to *Lubeck*; the *Dyke Gate*; the *Grass-Brook Gate*; the *Dome Gate*, and the *Ellern* or *Altena*, a Town belonging to the King of *Denmark*. Their Buildings are very handsome, with very grand Entrances, and spacious Halls. The Senate House is a noble Structure, beautified with the Statues of the nine Worthies. The Exchange was then enlarging: It is celebrated for its fair Churches, and noble Steeples cover'd with Copper. The Church of *St. Catharine* has a noble Front, and round the Steeple you see a Crown well gilt. The Steeple of *St. Nicholas* is supported by great Globes. The other great Churches are, the *Dome* or *Cathedral Church*, *St. Peter's*, *St. James's* the Great and Less, *St. Michael's* Church in the *New Town*, besides several lesser ones, as of *St. Gertrude*, *St. John's*, *St. Mary Magdalen*, the *Holy Ghost*, the *Blue Coat Hospital Church*, and *St. George's* in the Suburbs. The River or rather Lake call'd *Alster*, passes through it into the *Elbe*, which is just beyond the Town, join'd by another small River call'd the *Bilde*. The Tide passes daily twice through most of the great Streets, through Channels, though the City lies eighteen Leagues distant from the Mouth of the *Elbe*.

As it is excellently well situated for Commerce, so it abounds in Shipping; for besides its Passage into the Ocean, it is but an easy Day's Journey from *Lubeck* on the *Baltick-Sea*, besides, that by the River *Elbe*, they carry on their Commerce by Water with a great Part of Germany, even as far as *Bohemia*. The Conveniency of Trade drives many foreign Merchants thither, among which the *English Company* enjoys great Privileges; it being computed that they vend there about 100,000 Pounds worth of our Woollen Manufactory annually. I left *Hamburg* the 10th of *December*, when embarking in an *English* Vessel, we got that Day to *Stadt* upon the *Zwingh*, which near it falls into the *Elbe*. It belongs now to the King of *Sweden*; and here it was the *English* Merchants resided for some Time, upon some Discontent with the *Hamburgers*.

11th, We pass'd *Gluckstadt*, seated upon the *Holsatian* Shoar, and belonging to the King of *Denmark*: We anchor'd that Night at the Mouth of the River *Oast*, which rising in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, falls into the *Elbe*, a Mile from *Brunsbittel*, on the opposite Side of the *Holsatian* Shoar. 12th, We pass'd *Cook's Haven*, in Hopes to reach the Sea that Night, but being becalm'd at Three in the Afternoon, were forced to Anchor again, between *Thicksand* to the North, and *Newark* to the South, near a Light-House. 13th, The strong Wind forcing us back to *Cook's Haven*, I embrac'd the Opportunity to go a-shore, and took a View of the Castle, which belongs to the City of *Hamburg*. It is a square Fort with a double Ditch, and at high Tide, some Vessels come up to the Channel, which reaches up to the Fort, but at low Water it is dry. Both the Town and Castle are call'd *Reutzbittel*, being not far from the *Lands-End*, and the Governor thereof is always one of the Senate. Within three Days after we

set Sail again with a brisk N. E. Wind for *England*, and scarce were we out of the Mouth of the *Elbe*, but we got Sight of a certain small Isle, belonging to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, called the *Holy Land*, which as it is very high, so it is a safe Direction for Ships, especially those that come from Sea, without which they would be often at a Loss from the Lowness of the Shoar near that River's Mouth. This Island, which is very small, is reputed to have about 2000 Inhabitants, who live for the most Part upon Fishing, and by carrying Lobsters and other Sea-fish to *Hamburgb*, *London*, and *Queenborough*. We chose the main Sea that Night, but the next Day made nearer to the Shoar, and sail'd in Sight of *Ame-landt* and *Schelling*; and in the Evening discovered the Lights at the *Vly* and *Texel*. The next Day, having a fair Wind, we took down our Sails in the Evening, for Fear of coming too near the *Englisch* Shoar in the Night-time, and next Morning discovered the *North-foreland*, came the same Day to an Anchor in *Margaret Road*, and came as safely ashoar on *Christmas Day*.

Now I must confess, that after I had taken so full a View of *Germany*, I found it quite different from the Conceptions I had formed of it myself. For to speak first of its Rivers, they are so noble and great, that they excel those of *Italy* and *France*, it being certain that the *Po*, the *Arno*, *Garigliano*, and other Rivers of *Italy*, bear not the least Proportion to them; and though *France* has four great Rivers, viz. The *Loire*, the *Seine*, the *Rhofne*, *Garonne*, as well as *Germany* has the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, the *Elbe*, and the *Wefer*, yet has *France* none that can come in Comparison with the *Danube* and *Rhine*. 'Tis true, *France* has many fine Cities and Sea-ports, yet they do not come up in Number to those in *Germany*, and I much question, whether it has any Places that exceed *Hamburgb*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Bremen*,

&c. Besides which, the whole Country is full of populous Towns, great Villages, strong Castles, Seats of Persons of Quality, delicious Plants, Forests, and pleasant Woods. Nay, *Germany* affords even under Ground Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Tin, Lead, Quick-Silver, Antimony, Coal, Salt, Sulphur, Cadmia, &c. and is full of the best Artificers to work in them. Add to this the easy Conversation of the People, who are great Lovers of Strangers, and honest in their Dealings: The Women are generally well complexioned, of a sober Behaviour, faithful to their Husbands, and good House Wives.

Besides that, *Germany* affords an inexhaustible Stock of Men, the People being naturally fruitful, not exhausted by long Sea Voyages and Engagements; and by Colonies sent into far distant Countries; the only Consumption of Men being in the Wars; and if they have none at Home, they will seek for them Abroad, being generally inclined to martial Exploits; and their Persons of Quality are always averse to Trade. To conclude, when I consider the present Condition of *Germany*, their great and populous Cities, with the Strength of their Fortifications, the vast Number of their magnificent Structures, publick and private, and their civilized Manner of living in them, and compare all this with the Character *Tacitus* gives of the ancient *Germans*, That they lived poorly, scattered, without Towns or Villages, ignorant of Arts, and such like, I cannot but be pleased with the Expression of a certain learned Person, tho' long ago, upon this Subject, That if *Ariovistus* and the other great Men of *Germany* of those Times, should rise out of their Graves, and take a full View of their Native Soil, they would fancy themselves to be in another World, and never acknowledge this for their own Country.

SECTION II.

A Description of the noble Kingdom of *Hungary*, in which its various Prerogatives and many Excellencies are pointed out; the Nature of the Country, its various and admirable Productions, the Disposition of the People, their Language, Manners and Customs are, from the Knowledge of the Writer, clearly and copiously set forth; interspersed with a Variety of Geographical, Historical, Physicall, Political and Literary Remarks, upon various Subjects.

By the learned Dr. EDWARD BROWNE, President of the Royal College of Physicians.

1. An Introduction, with some Account of the Author's Design in this Treatise. The Climate and Soil of Hungary described. The famous Rivers by which this Kingdom is watered.
2. Of the several Bridges that render this Country famous, particularly the admirable Bridge of Esbeck, the intended Bridge of King Sigismond, and the Ruins of that built by the Emperor Adrian.
3. Of the Islands in, and Fleets upon the Danube; as also of the famous Lakes in Hungary.
4. Of the large Plains in this Country, and how they facilitate Travelling.
5. Of the vast Quantities of all Sorts of Fish, and of some Species peculiar to the Danube.
6. The prodigious Fertility of the Country described, and of the Excellency of its Wines, Bread, Beef, &c.
7. Of the Language of Hungary, and of the adjacent Provinces. The general Knowledge the People have of Latin. The State of Learning there.
8. An Account of the old Hungarian Crown, the vast Veneration the People have for it. The Martial Disposition even of their Ecclesiasticks. The Tomb and Epitaph of the Roman Poet Ovid.
9. The Pyrrhic Dance still understood and practised by the Heydukes. The State of Hungary at the Time of the Author's being there. Account of the Frontier towards the Turks, as it then stood.
10. Of the Roman Stations, Garrisons and Antiquities of this Country.
11. A curious Account of a prodigious Treasure of ancient Greek Medals found at Deva, with Remarks upon some Roman Medals that have been also found in this Country.
12. Of the Habits and Arms of the Hungarians, and the Reasons why they have been imitated by the neighbouring Nations.
13. A succinct Account of Transilvania by another Hand.

1. **A**S we have already given an Account of the Author, we shall only observe, that having spent a great Deal of Time in visiting the different Parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and in the Examination of the Curiosities it contains, Dr. Browne thought he could not do a more acceptable Service to his Countrymen, than by giving them a succinct View of the Result of these Examinations and Inquiries. It is a received Opinion, that the Air in this Country is very unwholesome, which is attributed to many Causes; first, the Flatness of the Country, for where there are no Mountains, there are seldom any Winds sufficient to cleanse and purify the Air. Secondly, the Soil being marshy and full of Minerals, the Vapours rising from thence are supposed to be tinged with Particles far from being Salutory to the human Body. Thirdly, the extream Heat in Summer, and the thick Mists and Fogs in Winter and in Autumn, contribute not a little to draw this evil Report upon the Climate. But after all, it is very certain, that the Natives of Hungary live many of them to a vast Age; and though it be true, that it was formerly stiled at Vienna, *Cemeterium Germanorum*, that is, the Churchyard of the Germans, yet perhaps a candid Judge upon a fair Hearing, would be inclined to acquit the Air of Hungary of the Murder of the Germans, and advise a fresh Indictment against the Wines. The Truth of the Matter seems to be, that in this rich and plentiful Country, Strangers are apt to indulge themselves too much; and in that Case it must be owned, that the Climate is not very favourable, for without vigorous and constant Exercise, the Natives themselves would not be able to maintain such robust Constitutions as they are famed for, considering the Liberties they take in Eating and Drinking.

But except this Charge in Relation to the Air, there seems to be no Impeachment against the Excellency of this Country, which in Time past, and while under the Government of its Native Princes made as great a Figure as any in Europe; and its Inhabitants had the Honour to give the first Check to the Arms of the Mahometans on this Side, as the French did on the other, and prevented them thereby from over-running all Europe. Since it fell under the Dominion of the House of Austria, it has indeed made a less Figure, and grown more out of Knowledge as all Kingdoms do when they become Provinces; and to the same Cause it has been owing that the Turks have made themselves Masters of so great a Part of it, and that it has been so ruined and distracted by intestine Divisions and civil Wars, that for their Severity and Length, there are scarce the like to be met with in History. But these are casual Events common to other Countries as well as Hungary, and which cannot be reasonably urged as derogatory from or destructive of those high Perfections, which it enjoys from Nature, and which ought to render it as much the Object of Attention to Strangers, as any other Country upon the Globe. For if we were to enumerate the several Advantages that distinguish those Countries of the World that are most deservedly famous, we might venture to affirm, that almost all of them may be found here. Since if Germany boasts her fine Rivers, Italy her golden Fruits, Sicily her copious Harvests, France her generous Wines; in short, if the numerous Commodities of Europe, if the luxurious Plenty of Asia, if the various Curiosities of Africa, if the Silver of Mexico, and the Gold of Peru, are fit Objects of our Admiration, Hungary must claim it too; no Country is better watered, none more fertile, none more pleasant, none yields better Fruits, none produces richer Wines, none abounds more with Cattle, none, notwithstanding all these Riches above Ground, can boast a greater Wealth below. But to clear up all this, let us now enter a little into Particulars.

On the East-side it has that noble River *Tibiscus*, or the *Tbeyssé*, rising at the Foot of the Carpathian Mountain, in the Country of *Maromorus*, and being increased by the Waters of the River *Mariscus*, or *Marisa*, and of several others, joins its Current with the Danube between *Waradin St. Peter*, and *Belgrade*. This River carries vast Quantities of Stone Salt from the Salt Mines of Hungary and *Transilvania*, and so by the Danube to all

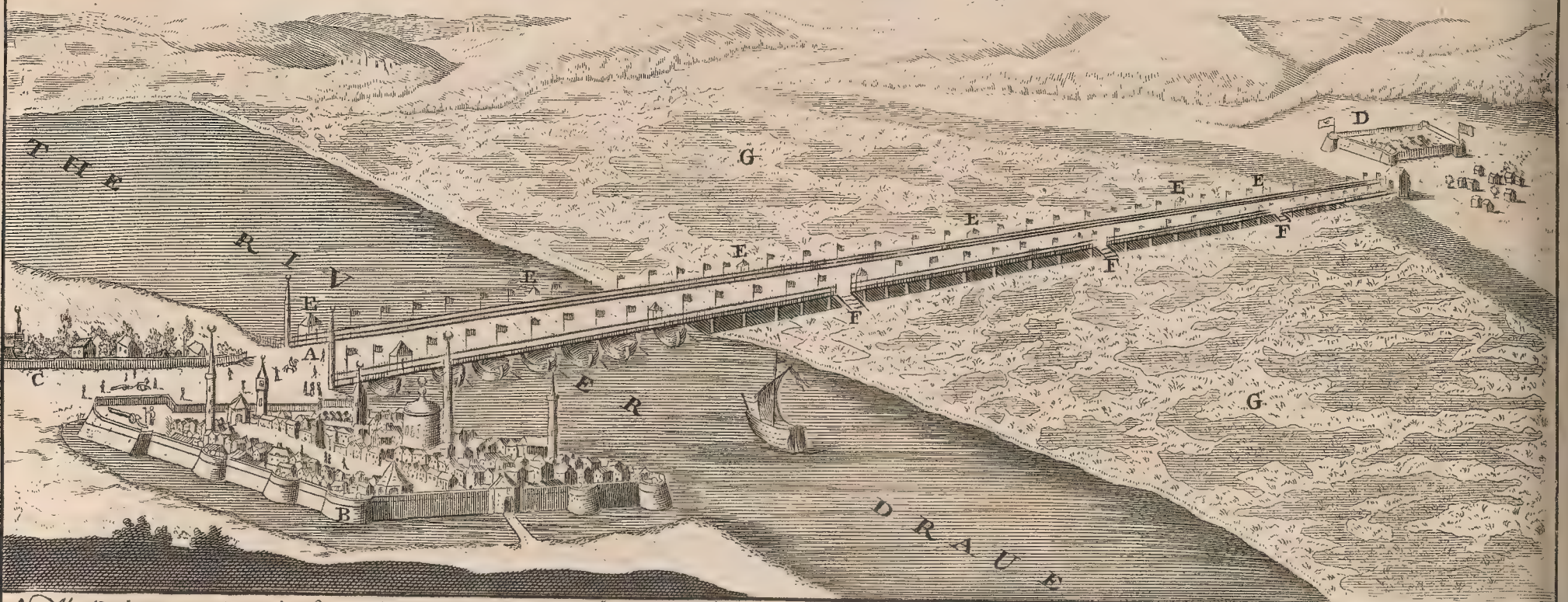
Places as far as *Presburgh*, (it being not permitted to be carried higher, that it may not obstruct the Sale of the Austrian Salt) a considerable Quantity of the same Salt being carried down the Danube, and so by the River *Morava* into *Servia*, and other Countries adjacent. On the West-side is the River *Rab* (*Arabo*) which has its Rise in *Styria*, and being in its Passage augmented by the Waters of the *Lauffnitz*, *Pinca*, *Guncz*, and other Rivers, falls into the Danube near *Raab* or *Jaurinum*. The late Defeat of the Turks at *St. Gotthard* near this River, has rendered its Name famous to Posterity. Upon the South-side are two very considerable Rivers the *Dravus* or *Drave*, and the *Savus* or *Save*. The first has its Source in the Country of *Salzburg*, (Part of the ancient *Noricum*) and after a Course of three hundred Miles through *Carinthia* and *Hungary*, discharges itself into the Danube near *Erdoed* or *Teutoburgum*. At its Entrance into Hungary, it is joined by the long River *Mur*; but a great Way before that, even near its Source, it is a considerable River. The *Save*, the second noble River on that Side, has its Spring in *Carinthia*, and being augmented by the Accession of many other Rivers, after a Course of three hundred Miles, joins with the Danube near *Belgrade*. It is a very beautiful Stream even at *Crainburgh* (*Carnodunum*) an handsome Town not far distant from the Head-spring; which is so considerably enlarged afterwards, that it contains several remarkable Islands, as that of *Metubaris*, on the West-side of *Sirmium*, and that of *Sesseck* (*Segestica*) near *Zagabria*, whereupon was anciently built a strong Fortress, unto which the Romans used to carry their Provisions, and other Necessaries from *Aquileia*, and so by Land to *Nauportus*, for the Use of their Forces in these Provinces. Into the fertile Plains between these two Rivers, viz. the *Drave* and the *Save*, *Solyman the Magnificent* retired from before Vienna, and so farther to *Belgrade*. On the North-side of Hungary are the Rivers rising from the *Carpathian Hills*, which are the Boundaries betwixt that Kingdom and *Poland*, viz. the River *Gran*, which falls into the Danube over-against *Gran* or *Strigonium*; the River *Vagus*, or *Waag*, which joins with the Danube near *Comorrah*: It is generally conceived to equal the *Po* in Italy: This I am sure of, that at *Friestadt* (above fifty Miles before it runs into the Danube) it is already a considerable Stream, and has a long Bridge over it; and another very near to its Source at *Trenschin*, a handsome Town, famous for thirty two Springs of hot and Mineral Waters. Besides these, that great and famous River the Danube passes through Hungary, not any one Province having so large a Share of this River, as this Kingdom: For taking this River from the City of *Ulm* in *Suabia*, (where it begins to be navigable) it passes by *Ingolstadt*, *Ratisbon*, *Straubing*, *Passau*, *Lintz*, and *Vienna*, unto *Presburgh*; from whence it continues its Course for at least three hundred Miles through Hungary, before it comes to *Belgrade*. Not to mention here its smoother Passage along the Shores of *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, and its Division into many Mouths, by which, after it has received into its Channel above sixty great Rivers, and, by a modest Computation, kept its Course for fifteen hundred Miles, it discharges into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*; thence it is visible, that in respect of its different Parts, it might well be mentioned by a double Name by the Geographers, viz. by that of *Danubius*, and *Ister*. *Strabo* ascribes that Name unto it below its Cataract, or Water-fall, near *Axiopolis*, in the Inferior *Mæsia*, or *Bulgaria*; whereas *Appian*, and most modern Authors, begin it, at its Confluence with the *Save*, near *Belgrade*.

Besides these large Rivers, it has divers others, *Fluvii non ignobiles*, as *Pliny* very justly stiles them, viz. The *Sarvizza*, or *Orpanus*, rising near *Esperies*, (*Vesprinium*) and passing by *Stulweissenburgh* (*Alba Regalis*) falls into the Danube. The River *Walpo*, or *Vulpanus*, which has its Rise near a Town of the same Name; we pass'd over it by *Walcovar*, and the River *Bosneth*, or *Bacunthus*, which empties itself into the *Save* not far from old *Sirmium*.

2. Most of these great Rivers are covered with long Bridges.

The Famous BRIDGE & FORTRESS of Esbeck over y^e Drave
on y^e Borders of SCLAVONIA & lower HUNGARY.

Vol. 2.
 p. 761.



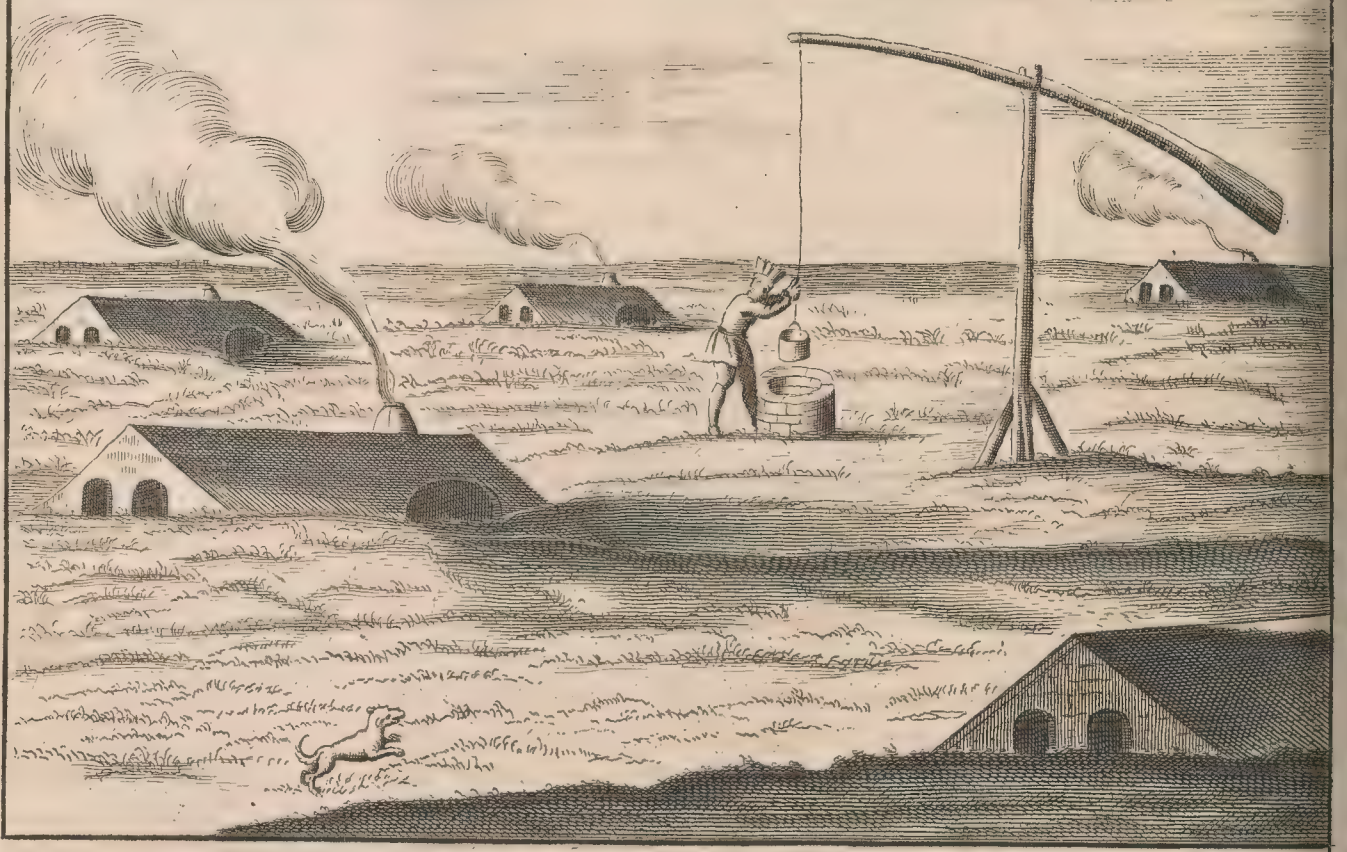
*A The Bridge 8565 Paces in Length & 17 in Breadth. B. The Fortrefs of Esbeck. C. The Town. D. The Fort of Tarda for y^e Defence of the Bridge
 EEEEE. Centinels forguarding y^e Bridge FFF. Stairs to go on y^e Morafs. GG. The Morafs.*

An Hungarian. p. 763.



pa. 769.

Houses under Ground.



Triumphal Arch. p. 766.



pa. 771.

A Mosque.

Larisa.



A Bulgarian Woman p. 769.



Bridges. The Bridge of Boats over the *Danube*, betwixt *Strigonium* and *Barchan*, is the first upon this River after you come from *Vienna*. I saw also the Ruins of a Stone-bridge, upon the Shore of St. *Andrew's* Island; by *Virovichitz*; but the *Turks* now-a-days neglect those Bridges, instead of which they make Use of Bridges of Boats, which they find more useful, and contrive so conveniently, that they may with Ease open a Passage for Vessels that come that Way. Such a Bridge of Boats is betwixt *Buda* and *Pest*, over the *Danube*, being above half a Mile long; and if *Sigismund* had lived to effect his Design of building a Stone Bridge in that Place, no Bridge in *Europe* could, in all Probability, have compared with it.

Colocza, formerly an Archbishop's See, has also a Bridge; and near *Walcovar* is another over the River *Walpo*. But the Bridge of *Esseck* (anciently *Murfa*) built partly over the *Drave*, and partly over the low marshy Grounds and Fens, justly challenges the Precedency before the rest. It is five Miles long, with Towers upon it at each Quarter of a Mile, being handsomely railed on both Sides, and sustained by large Piles of Wood, nine or ten in a Rank for each Arch. Count *Nicholas Serini* burnt that Part of it which was built over the *Drave* in the last *Turkish* War, instead of which, the *Turks* have laid a Bridge of Boats a little below the other, which I pass'd in 1669. Here it was the unfortunate King *Lewis* of *Hungary* engaged with the *Turks* under *Solyman*, which cost him his Life. In ancient Times there were likewise many Bridges over that Part of the *Danube*, known generally by the Name of *Ister*. *Darius* King of *Persia* made a Bridge of Boats over that Mouth of the *Ister* called *Ostium Sacrum*: And, according to *Nicephorus*, *Constantine* built a Stone-bridge over it; but that admirable Bridge built by the Emperor *Adrian*, (if we may give Credit to *Dion* the Historian) surpass'd all the rest. Some of its Ruins are to this Day to be seen near *Severin*, about twenty *Hungarian* Leagues from *Belgrade*. It consisted of twenty Piles of square Stone of one hundred Foot high, besides the Foundation of sixty Foot broad, the Distance betwixt each of them being one hundred and seventy Foot, and joined by Arches with this Inscription:

PROVIDENTIA AUG.
VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTUS ROMANA
QUID NON DOMAT? SUB JUGUM ECCE?
RAPITUR ET DANUBIUS.

And for an everlasting Memorial, many Coins were stamp'd in Silver with this Inscription, *DANUVIUS*.

3. Not any River, that I know of, has such large and well-peopled Islands as the *Danube*; as the Isle of St. *Andrew's*, betwixt *Vicegrad* and *Vacia*: Another lies a little below *Buda*, against the West-side of which stands *Adom*, forty Miles long, and containing many Villages; another opposite to *Mobatz*, and another at the Confluence of the *Drave* and the *Danube*, and another new one near *Belgrade*, where forty Years ago there was not the least Footsteps of an Island to be seen: And if the River *Leyta* be the Boundary of *Austria*, the Isle of *Schutz* (*Insula Cituorum*), excels all the others, being well-peopled, and full of good Villages, besides divers considerable Towns, such as *Comorrah*, *Samarien*, &c. Another Thing is observable in the *Danube*, that no River whatever, at such a Distance from its Mouth, can boast of such considerable Naval Engagements as this; the Emperor keeping his Gallies at *Vienna*, *Presburg*, and *Comorrah*; as the *Turks* do theirs at *Strigonium*, *Buda*, *Belgrade*, &c. It seems not a little surprising, when we read, that *Mahomet* at the Siege of *Belgrade*, appear'd upon the *Danube* with 200 Gallies, and other arm'd Vessels, which were so smartly engag'd by the Christian Fleet, that besides what were taken, the *Turks* were forc'd to set their own Vessels on Fire, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Enemy. The Christians had a Fleet of twenty four Gallies, and eighty other arm'd Vessels, besides Tenders and Ships of Burthen, at the Siege of *Buda*: And when *Solyman* the Magnificent lay before *Vienna*, the Imperial Admiral,

Wolfgang Hodder, did a signal Piece of Service with his Vessels; for coming out of *Presburg*, he sunk the *Turkish* Vessels, which carried the heavy Cannon, intended for the Battering the Walls. *Hungary* is also furnish'd with several considerable Lakes, as the Lake *Balatón*, or *Platsee*, as they call it, (the *Volcæa* of the Ancients) extending a great Length between *Esperies* and the River *Drave*, being guarded with several Forts, which have proved of great Use against the Incursions of the *Turks*. The *Newsidler-Sea*, being seven German Leagues long, and three broad, having borrow'd its Name from the adjacent Town of *Newsidel*, a handsome Place, situate upon a Hill, with a small square Castle. This is the same mentioned by *Pliny*, under the Name of *Peiso*; and the modern *Hungarians* call it *Terteu*, lying just half Way betwixt *Vienna* and *Sabaria*.

4. The vast Plain of *Pampus*, in *Paraguay*, in *America*, is famous for its Extent, being 2000 Miles long; I remember that famous Sea-Captain, Mr. afterwards Sir *John Narborough*, told me, that there is all low Land from the *Plate* River, to the Middle of the Streights of *Magellan*. The great Plains of *Muscovy* and *Poland*, are also famous throughout *Europe*; however, these are intermix'd with Trees; and sometimes whole Woods, whereas the Plains of *Hungary* are clear and open; and, if compared with our *English* Plains, as of *Salisbury*, *Lincoln*, and *Newmarket*, exceed them as far as a full-grown Man does a Child; such are the Plains of *Austria* from *Vienna* to Mount *Simmaren*, upon the Frontiers of *Styria*. I myself travelled from *Vienna* to *Belgrade*, through one continued Plain, for 400 Miles, without any Eminencies, except one inconsiderable Wood near *Bacna* and *Shilberg*, beyond *Dotis*: And this Plain taken from its first Beginning, viz. at Mount *Kalenburgh*, (*Cetius*), two German Leagues Eastward from *Vienna*, and so beyond *Belgrade*, along the North-side of the *Danube*, to the very Frontiers of *Wallachia*, exceeds by much that renowned Passage from *Labor* to *Agra* in the *Indies*. It is true, *Upper Hungary* has Abundance of Woods and Hills, yet are these intermingled with large Plains. The Levelness of *Hungary* proves a considerable Conveniency for Travellers, who are carried in open Chariots, carrying two Men besides the Driver, drawn by two or three, and sometimes four Horses a-breast. *Hungary* has more large Cities upon the *Danube* than any other Province; for among the ten considerable Cities which are seated from *Ulm* unto *Belgrade*, four, and those very large ones, belong to *Hungary*, viz. *Presburg*, *Strigonium* or *Grán*, *Buda*, and *Belgrade*; unto which if you add *Pest*, it makes up the Fifth.

5. All the Rivers and Lakes of this Country furnish them with vast Quantities of Fish: The River *Theisse* is so famous for its Plenty of Fish, that they have a common Saying, *That one Part in three consists of Fish*. And the *Budziack*, which falls into the *Theysse* near *Tockay*, is so full of Fish, that the Country People say, *It smells of Fish*; being to be understood of the dry Summer Season, when its Waters are very low; though (as I was credibly inform'd by a certain Officer) it is thirty Fathoms broad, and 8½ deep; but being of this Figure V, he told me, it could not be well fish'd with Nets. The *Danube* also affords a plentiful Share of Fishes, as *Trouts*, *Perches*, *Carps*, the largest and finest I ever met with; and besides many others, a certain Fish call'd *Coppen*, or *Capito*; a *Biscurne*, a kind of *Lamprey*, a *Grundel*, or spotted kind of *Cobites*, with six Beards, two short, and four longer; another Fish, exceeding in Bigness a Pike, call'd *Scheyden*, the *Silurus* of *Gesner*, and at certain Seasons great Numbers of *Hufones*, call'd by them *Hausons*, which are sometimes twenty Foot long, a delicious Fish, not unlike a *Sturgeon*. There are set Fishing-places, and peculiar Store-Houses for that Use upon this River, the highest thereof is above *Comorrah*, in the Isle of *Schutz*; but the greatest Plenty of Fish is near *Kilia* in *Wallachia*, where they take and salt many Sorts of Fish coming out of the *Euxine* Sea, and send them into the adjacent Countries. These Rivers afford also great

Plenty of Water-Fowl in the Winter, and among the rest *Pelicans*, but I never saw any Swans upon the *Danube*.

6. The Land here affords the like Plenty of Provisions of all Sorts, but especially of Bread and Wine, their Bread being as good as any in *Europe*, made light by kneading for a considerable Time; and that so cheap, that you may buy as much here for Two-pence, as we generally do for Twelve-pence in *England*; the same being to be met with in the *Turkish* Dominions in these Parts. Their Grapes are both large, and of a luscious Flavour, among which those of *Virovichitz*, near *Vacia*, excel the rest; their Vines are very noble, witness those of *Tockay*, which are in great Request; and the pleasant and rich Wines of *Sirmia*, in the Southern Parts of *Hungary*; the Vines of this Province having been planted first by the Emperor *Probus*, near Mount *Almus*, or *Arpataro*. At *Vienna* are no less than thirty Sorts of Wines to be sold. Neither are the *Hungarians* at all negligent in improving their Grounds by Husbandry. I remember that in *February* I saw every Night great Fires in the Country, occasioned by the Burning of the Stubble and old Grass, which rendred the Ground more fertile against the next Season. Instead of our Barns, or Hay, and Cornstacks, they use deep and spacious Caves under Ground, whither they retire also with their Families, in Case of a sudden Inroad from the *Turks* or *Tartars*. They have vast Plenty of Hares and Deer, as also of all Sorts of Poultry, Partridges, Pheasants, &c. vast Store of Sheep, having in some Places long spiral Horns, and long curl'd Wool; of Oxen such prodigious Numbers, that, according to a well grounded Computation, they send to *Germany*, *Italy*, and other Parts, above 100,000 yearly. They have also good Store of Bouffles, which are very useful to them, especially in ploughing some stiff Grounds. Neither do they want Horses, some of which are pretty large, but generally small, though exceeding swift; I saw above 1000 of them belonging to the Village of *Lower Sene*, or *Senia*, near *Comorrah*.

7. Their Language is peculiar to themselves; I heard a Minister praying and preaching in a Church at *Bitchka*, and though he that was with me was very well vers'd in the *Sclavonian*, *German*, *Turkish*, *Vulgar Greek* and *Italian*, yet could he not find the least Affinity in it, with any of these beforemention'd Languages. The same we observ'd in the *Albanian* Language, in the Northern Part of *Epirus*, and West of *Macedonia*, where indeed the *Sclavonian* is used by some, but their own Language in common Conversation among themselves, could not be understood by the best Linguists, both *Christians* and *Turks*, that travel'd along with us. Thus, in some Parts of *Hungary*, the *Sclavonian* is much in Use; I remember that at *Friestadt* (call'd *Colgotz* by the *Hungarians*) I heard them preach in *Sclavonian* in the Church of the Town, but the *Franciscans* preach'd in *Hungarian*. This Remoteness of their Language from others, makes them much addicted to foreign Languages, especially the *Latin*, which most of the Gentry and Soldiery speak fluently enough, and there is scarce a Coachman, or Footman, but what understands as much of it as will serve to make him understood; this makes the *Latin* Tongue very useful through all *Hungary* and *Transilvania*; but beyond *Belgrade* the *Sclavonian* is the universal Language; it being certain that you may travel with the *German* and *Sclavonian* from *Hamburg* to the Frontiers of *Tartary* and *Constantinople* itself; the *Sclavonian* being generally spoken in *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Romania*, and Part of *Macedonia*, besides in many other Parts; so that a Man may make Shift to pass with this Language from the *Adriatick* Shore in *Dalmatia*, unto the *Tartarian Ocean*. It is scarce to be suppos'd, that in a Country so near unto, and so much expos'd to the Violences of a barbarous Neighbour, I mean the *Turks*, there should be any Seminaries of Learning, there being no University in those Parts beyond *Vienna*; and though of old they have had many learned Men, yet these had their Education in Foreign Parts as had of old *St. Jerom*, and *St. Martin*; and those, Persons of Quality in *Hungary*, who intend to breed up their Children to Learning, send them

now-a-days to *Vienna*, *Breslau*, *Prague*, and some other Universities in *Germany*. At present there is a *Gymnasium*, or small University at *Schemnitz*. The *Hungarians* boast however of their once so famous Library of *Buda*, founded by their King *Matthias Corvinus*, the Son of *Hunniades*, about 200 Years ago, consisting of several Thousands of Books, and among them many *Greek* and *Latin* MSS. not to be purchased; Part of it was carried off into *Turkey*, after *Solyman* had surprized that City, and the choicest thereof procured afterwards for the Imperial Library at *Vienna*, when *Cuspinianus* was Keeper thereof; many of these Books being mark'd with the Arms of *Corvinus*, viz. a Crow bearing a golden Ring in his Beak; these, with the succeeding Additions of *Busbequius*, *Wolfgangus Lazius*, *Fugger*, &c. together with the choicest Manuscripts brought thither by *Petrus Lambecius*, the present Library-Keeper, from the *Ambrosian Library* near *Inspruck*, are Part of the 80,000 Volumes mentioned in the Imperial Library; of which I had the Favour not only to see the rarest Manuscripts, and other Rarities, but also to have several of the best Books to my Lodgings; and at my coming away, the same learned Person presented me with a Catalogue of some hundreds of *Alchemical* Manuscripts, with an Offer to have any of them brought to *England*, or to be transcribed at *Vienna*. There were lately about 400 Books (the Remnants of the *Corvinian Library*) left at *Buda*, but carelessly kept by the *Turks*, and were consumed in the great Fire that happen'd there, in 1669.

8. The *Hungarians* have a most profound Veneration for their Crown, which, they tell you, was sent to their King *Stephen* by Pope *Benedict VIII.* being admonish'd by an *Angelical Apparition* to send it to *Stephen*, and not to *Misca* the then King of *Poland*, his Competitor: Hence it is, that they have always been so careful to preserve it, as thinking the Fate of the Kingdom to depend on the Possession or Loss of it. Formerly it was kept in the Castle of *Vicegrad*, but at present in that of *Presburg*. This Crown has also a most peculiar Figure, being a very low Crown, with a Cross upon it, enclosed with four Turnings up like Leaves, one whereof is as large as two of the others. As it is a hard Matter to get Sight of the Original, so I was forced to be contented with the Sight of the Model thereof, in the Treasury of the *German* Emperor *Leopold*, exactly made after the Fashion of the *Hungarian* Crown of Gold, and beset richly with precious Stones, perhaps richer than the Original. Though the *Hungarians* want neither Inclination to or Abilities for Learning, yet have they generally been most addicted to Martial Exploits, even to the Clergy, witness that unfortunate Battle of their King *Lewis* near *Mobatz*, in which six Bishops were slain with that Monarch. Some are of Opinion, that the famous Poet *Ovid* being recall'd from his Banishment at *Tomos*, near the *Euxine Sea*, died at *Sabaria* in *Hungary*, in his Return Home; where they say, his Tomb was found, with this Epitaph made by himself:

*Hic situs est vates quem Divi Caesaris ira,
Augusti Patria cedere jussit humo.
Sæpe miser voluit patriis succumbere terris,
Sed frustra, hunc illi fata dedere locum.*

9. In *Hungary* I also first observed the *Pyrrhical Saltation*, or warlike Way of Dancing, which the *Heydukes* perform by Dancing with naked Swords in their Hands, advancing, brandishing, and clashing the same, turning, winding, elevating, and depressing their Bodies with singular Activity, singing at the same time to their Measures, after the Manner of the *Greeks*.

The great Deeds of *Attila*, King of this Country, and his numerous Armies, together with that memorable Battle fought against the *Roman* General *Ætius*, (who was a *Myrian* or *Servian* by Birth) in which 200,000 were slain, is sufficiently famous in ancient Histories; and how far they extended afterwards their Conquests over their Neighbours, is testified by the Banners carried at the Coronation of their Kings, viz. that of *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Galisia*, *Rascia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Bosnia*, and *Ludomiria*; and it must be confess'd, to the everlasting Honour of the *Hungarians*, that

that of all other Nations they have put the longest Stop to the victorious Arms of the *Turks*; and had it not been for their intestine Divisions, which the *Turks* have known very well how to improve to their Advantage, it is more than probable the *Ottomans* would never have been able to penetrate so deep into this Country as they have done; notwithstanding which, a very considerable Part thereof remains to this Day under the Emperor's Jurisdiction as King of *Hungary*, viz. almost all *Upper Hungary*, from *Presburgh* unto *Tockay* and *Zathmar*; and in the *Lower Hungary* there are still in the Possession of the Christians, (besides divers other Places of Note) the three strong Bulwarks of Christendom, viz. *Raab*, *Comorrah*, and *Leopoldstadt*, of which I took a full View, the last being erected since the Loss of *Newhausel*, and fortified after the same Manner. It is seated on the West-side of the River *Waag* opposite to *Friestadt*; its Fortifications, which were begun in 1665, consist of six regular Bastions and Ravelins, and were not quite finished in 1669, when I was there.

10. These Quarters are famous in ancient Histories for the Presence, Birth, Death, and great Actions of many *Roman* Emperors; not to speak here of *Trajan*, *Caracalla*, *Galienus*, *Constantius*, and others; the Emperors *Aurelianus*, *Probus*, *Gratianus*, and *Maximianus*, had *Sirmium* for their Birth-places; and *Claudius Gothicus* died in or near it. *Jovianus* and *Valentinianus* were *Pannonians* by Birth, and *Ingenius*, Governor of *Pannonia*, was saluted Emperor by the *Mæsan* Legions, as was *Vetranio* in the same Country. When *Photinus* was Bishop of *Sirmium*, a General Council was held in that Place. The *Roman* Armies being so frequent in this Country, no doubt but they brought Abundance of their Copper, Silver, and Gold Coin hither, of which I obtained a good Number at *Petronel*, of old *Carnuntum* in *Pannonia*, and with many more at *Sene*, or *Senia*, near the *Danube*. An *Armenian* Merchant, with whom I lodged at *Belgrade*, furnished me with a good Quantity of *Roman* Coins at my Return, which he had got at *Old Buda* or *Sicambria*, at *Old Sirmium*, in the Country now called *Schremnia*, and at *Mursa* or *Esseck*.

11. Near *Deva*, *Lyfimachus* King of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, is supposed to have kept his Court, in the Neighbourhood of which that unparallel'd Mass of ancient Golden Coins was found, under the Ruins of an ancient Castle: For a strong Current of Water having been forced that Way by long continued Rains, which washed away the Rubbish that had covered those Golden Medals, and the Glance of this costly Metal having drawn thither many of the neighbouring Peasants; they discovered these Medals, weighing two and three Crowns a-piece, having on one Side the Image of *Lyfimachus*, and on the other Side a *Victory*; under these Medals they also found a Golden Serpent, which General *Castalde* sent unto *Ferdinand*, who had also 1000 of these Medals, besides 300 *Castalde* had for his Share; of which there were collected, (after the Peasants had taken up a vast Quantity) to the Value of 10,000 *l.* So that there was scarce a Man found hereabouts, but what had some of them, so infinite was the Sum. This Castle was supposed to have been some Time the Residence of King *Lyfimachus*, and this Coin remained here from that Time; it being a received Custom among the Ancients, for such as buried their Treasure, to place Serpents there, as the Symbol of a faithful Keeper. Among other Medals, there were also found two Medals of Gold, one of *Ninus*, the other of *Semiramis*, which were presented to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. As I pass'd through the old *Roman* Towns, the Inhabitants brought me several Sorts of old Coins, which they term *Heathen-Money*; and in *Bosnia* and *Servia* the *Armenians* drive a great Trade with them, and send them by the Way of *Ragusa* into *Italy*. Among other Coins I found one of Copper pretty frequent here, but not easily found in other Parts. It was a Coin of the Emperor *Julius Philippus*, having on one Side the Head of *Philippus*, with this Inscription, IMP. C. M. JUL. PHILIPPUS. AUG. and on the Reverse a Woman between a Lion and a Bull, with this Inscription, P. M. S. COL. VIM. AN. VII. which may be; *Provinciae Mæ-*

sia Superioris Colonia Viminacium Annona Septimb data; *Viminacium* being a *Roman* Colony in *Mæsia Superior*, (now *Servia*) supposed to be *Singidunum* or *Senderin* upon the *Danube*, at the Mouth of the River *Morava* or *Marosch*. The Lion and Bull seem to declare the Fitness of the Soil for Agriculture, and the Warlike Temper of the People, and by these two Animals sitting peaceably together, the Prudence of *Philippus*. *Annona Septima*, unquestionless, intimated the seventh Distribution of Corn by *Philippus*, the conducting of which was committed to the *Legio XVI. Frumentaria*.

12. The Habit of an *Hungarian*, for its Conveniency, especially in Warlike Exercises on Horse-back, is made Use of by all the neighbouring Nations, as the *Croatians*, *Sclavonians*, and the *Turks* themselves, living near the Frontiers, though otherwise very nice in this Point. The *Hungarians* delight generally in Blue, Yellow, Green, and Purple Cloth, Black being a Colour rarely to be met with here, the Priests themselves being clad in long purple Garments. Two Sorts of Weapons are most common among the *Hungarians*, viz. a Kind of Iron Mace, called *Casshan* by them, with a round Iron Head, with Furrows in it, and Spaces cut away to render it the more light; the other they call *Balta*, being a Kind of a Hatchet, with a Head somewhat like a Hammer, but broader, and at the End makes the Shape of the Letter *Delta*.

13. The Country of *Transylvania* was formerly a Part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but as I propose to give only a summary Account of the Place and its Inhabitants, I shall not meddle with its ancient History. It is bounded on the North by the *Carpathian* Mountains, on the South by the Principality of *Walachia*, on the East by *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, and on the West by the Kingdom of *Hungary*. I believe there is no Country in the World so nearly equal in Length and Breadth, each being about one hundred and forty *English* Miles, it may be very truly stiled a Country of Wonders; for to Travellers, who have seen the rest of *Europe*, it appears altogether astonishing. The Air is temperate, and, generally speaking, wholesome, the Soil wonderfully fruitful, the Water commonly but indifferent, as being frequently tinged with Minerals, or, which is worse, with Allom or Arsnic. There run through it four great Rivers, viz. the *Mariscus* and the *Samos*, both which fall into the great River *Theysse*, the *Aluta*, which discharges itself into the *Danube*, and the *Chrysa*, which the *Germans* call the *Krusch* from its Windings, in which, I verily believe, it exceeds the Meander itself, for one is obliged to pass it thirty Times in half the Number of Miles.

The Country is finely chequered with Woods and Plains, Mountains and Vallies: There are many strong Passes in it, and some of its Cities are naturally so well seated, that with the Help of very small Improvements from Art, they might be rendered impracticable. To speak of its Plenty, is a Theme that might exercise the ablest Pen; for it is extremely difficult to know where to begin, or when to leave off. The Wheat that grows here is the fairest and finest in *Europe*, and so cheap, that, with respect to the Subsistence of an Individual, it has hardly any Value: The Oxen in this Country are large, fat and fine, and their Flesh wonderfully juicy and pleasant; yet I question whether one of them was ever sold for an *English* Guinea, but from twelve to fifteen Shillings is the common Price; and yet, if I may be allowed the Expression, they are the Staple Commodity of the Country, and are bought up for the *Austrian* and other Markets. They want not any other Kind of Cattle; and as for Hogs, they go in Drovers like Sheep, are prodigiously fat, firm and well tasted; so that the Bacon of this Country is truly excellent. All Kind of tame Fowl are here both cheap and good; as for wild, they are so common and in such Plenty, that they scarce bear any Price at all. Fish are not sold in *Transylvania*, nor are you much troubled with the Sight of them, every Man, poor or rich, fishes where he pleases, and with what Instrument he pleases; if he takes more than will serve for a Meal, he throws them in again after chusing the largest and the best, for nobody

nobody will touch a Fish that has been dead an Hour before it is dressed.

They have a very strong serviceable Breed of Horses, and besides these, they have a wild Sort with Manes that reach almost to the Ground. As for their Wines, they are rich, strong, and full bodied, much superior to those of *Austria*, *Moravia* and *Walachia*, but inferior in Flavour to some of the Wines in *Hungary*. Honey and Wax they have in Abundance, and of the former they make a Mead, which, when it is long kept, is richer and stronger than most White Wines. In their Mountains are Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Iron, Lead, Copper, Quicksilver, Salt and Brimstone.

As for the Inhabitants of this Country, to speak of them distinctly would take up a Volume, and that Volume might be filled with Matter very instructive and entertaining. What I have to say however shall be contained in a few Words; there are four Nations that are look'd upon as Inhabitants of *Transylvania*. The first of these are the *Saxons*, who are supposed to be the Remains of the ancient *Dacians*; they have a Language peculiar to themselves, and are governed according to their own Laws and Customs; the Capital of their Country is *Hermanstadt*, which is a considerable Place; and besides this they have six other Cities, and amongst them *Cronstadt* and *Clausenberg* are considerable Places. The Inhabitants of Towns are a civilized and good Sort of People, but the Plains are occupied by the *Heydukes*, who, in the Days of the Princes of *Transylvania*, were a Sort of Militia, and indeed for Strength, Activity and Valour, there are very few Nations that can compare with them. In Time of Peace they are Graziers, and live by Breeding, Feeding, and Selling of Cattle.

The *Siculi* inhabit the Northern Part of the Country towards the *Carpathian* Mountains; they are supposed to be Descendants from the *Huns*, and are as rugged and barbarous as the Country they dwell in; they resemble the Highlanders of *Scotland*, or rather the old *Irish*, for they value themselves upon their Nobility, and the meanest Creature in the Country insists upon it, that he is a Gentleman of Birth. They too have seven Towns, such as they are, are brave to a Degree of Madness, and contend for what they call Liberty, with a Fierceness that no Authority or Force has hitherto been able to tame.

The *Hungarians* have five Counties, and their Metropolis is *Alba Julia*, which is very far from being either a large or beautiful Place. These People were much favoured by the *Ragotski's*, and other Princes of *Transylvania*, which encouraged them to make various Attempts upon the Privileges of the *Saxons*; nor were their Differences less frequent with the *Siculi*, so that no Country was ever more torn or distracted with civil Dissentions than this. Each Nation had its Dyet apart, and, which is still worse, the seven Cantons of the *Saxons* were independant of each other, and their Dyets at *Clausenburg* were in the Nature of States-General.

There is a fourth Nation in *Transylvania*, which live all over it, but without having Land, Property or Government; these are the *Cingars*, in plain *English*, Gipsies; they had great Privileges from the Princes of *Transylvania*, pitched their Tents where they pleased, removed when they pleased, and did almost what they pleased; but the Race of these Vagabonds is almost extinguished, I mean in *Transylvania*, for there are enough of them yet in the *Turkish* Dominions. They are without Controversy the most arrant Scoundrels in the Universe, Atheists by Profession, Thieves by Trade, and have only this single Virtue, that they pretend to none. With all this they are a lively, active and ingenious

People, and, which is still more extraordinary, when there is nothing they can steal within their Reach, they will be very industrious. Like our Gipsies they are very expert Fortune-tellers, and have such Knowledge in Physiognomy, that they never fail to promise every Man or Woman that applies to them, what he or she likes best, and pick their Pockets for their Pains; they are very successful as *Quacks*, very skilful as Farriers, are good Blacksmiths, and the most able Tinkers in the World.

We have now shown the fairest Side of the Picture, let us turn the Reverse. As rich and as fine as this Country is, as healthy, brave and vigorous its Inhabitants, yet, whether they are the happiest or the wretchedest People upon Earth, is a Question one cannot easily resolve. As for Want, that is a Thing unknown, but with Regard to fix'd Property, Lands, Farms, and what we call Estates, they are far from being common. As for the *Saxons*, their supreme Delight is Drunkenness; fat Bacon is the only Dish they desire, upon which they pour as much Wine and Mead as their Stomachs will hold, and then sleep sixteen or twenty Hours till they are sober. The *Heydukes* are the merriest Mortals in the World; they dance with their Swords drawn, and their Targets upon their Left Arm, with inconceivable Agility; and the Strokes of their Bucklers, and the Clashing of their Swords, correspond with the Tune that is played; to which the Gracefulness of their Motion, and the Sweetness and Serenity of their Countenances, add such a surprizing Beauty to the Sight, as renders it extremely delightful. They have Musick always at their Feasts, drink in Tune, and keep Time by clashing their Mugs. An Excursion is their sole Pleasure, and Industry would certainly be very dreadful to them, if they had any Conceptions of it. But as they neither see it or hear of it, they fight, feast, and sleep all their Lives long, in short, they live without Care, and die without Thought.

But if a good Government could be established in this Country, and the People brought under due Regulations, they might certainly become both rich and powerful, as it is not a fifth Part of their Land that is cultivated, nor one Tenth of their Mines wrought. Some Cloth they make, but it is coarse, and only fit for their own Use, but one may guess what Industry would do in this Part of the World, by what one Baron *Lesley* in the Emperor's Service actually did; he employed twenty of his Soldiers as Drovers, and they at proper Seasons of the Year carried Cattle to *Vienna*, by which in five Summers he acquired One hundred thousand *Florins*; and having vested his Stock in proper Commodities sent it to *Venice*, whither he repaired at the next Carnival, where he found his Capital doubled, with which he bought a noble Lordship in *Bobemia*, and being naturally a Man of Economy, and a good Master, made his Vassals happy, and lived himself with all the Magnificence of a Prince.

But notwithstanding all this, the Towns in *Transylvania* are, generally speaking, mean; the common People live in Hutts; their Roads are bad at all Times, in wet Weather impassable; the People save nothing, and will rather abandon their Homes than pay Taxes; in short, they are proud of a Plenty which they abuse, and of a kind of Liberty, which is worse than any Sort of Subjection. They have all Sorts of Religions amongst them without Morality, and, in the Midst of the most valuable and saleable Commodities in the World, have few Manufactures, and little or no Trade. In short, they are Barbarians that think themselves the happiest People in the World, and might be really so, if they would become civilized.

SECTION III.

Travels through *Hungary* into *Thessaly*; a Description of the City of *Larissa*, and of the *Grand Seignior's* Court there, with other curious Particulars; together with a Description of other Parts of *Hungary*, more especially of the Gold Mines, and some Remarks upon the adjacent Countries, then and now making Part of the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*.

By the Learned Dr. EDWARD BROWNE.

1. *Introduction to this Section, including the Motives and Design of our Author's Journey.* 2. *He sets out from Vienna, and arrives at Petronal the Carnuntum of the Romans, with an Account of the Coins, and other Remnants of Antiquity found there.* 3. *A Description of the City of Presburgh, the present Capital of the Kingdom of Hungary.* 4. *An Account of the City of Raab, and the Manner in which it was betray'd into the Hands of the Turks.* 5. *The City of Comorrah described, with an Account of some Antiquities found there.* 6. *A Description of Newhawsel and Senir, with various remarkable Passages.* 7. *An Account of Strigonium or Gran, and of the Castle of Vicegrade, with some other Places in that Neighbourhood.* 8. *A copious Relation of the Baths, and whatever else is worthy of Notice in the Royal City of Buda.* 9. *A Description of Tolnor, Mohatz, and Zygetch, and several curious Particulars.* 10. *An Account of the Town of Esseck, and of the famous Bridge near it, supposed to be one of the longest in the World.* 11. *Observations upon the Country and its Inhabitants from thence to Belgrade.* 12. *A Description of that important City and Fortrefs.* 13. *The most remarkable Passages in the Author's Journey from thence to Lescovia.* 14. *A Description of that Place, and of the famous Mountain Hoemus.* 15. *The Author's Account of Macedonia, with several curious historical Remarks and Observations.* 16. *A Description of the City of Larissa, and the Country about it.* 17. *The same Subject continued, more especially with regard to Mount Olympus.* 18. *A Description of the Grand Seignior's Person and Court.* 19. *Miscellaneous Remarks, and, amongst other Things, of the different Modes of Shaving.* 20. *The Manners of the People, and the Reason of their being handsomer than the Macedonians.* 21. *Of the Produce and Commodities of Thessaly, and of the great Plenty of Provisions.* 22. *Some Remarks on the vast Extent of the Greek Church.* 23. *A Continuation of the Author's personal Remarks in this Country.* 24. *The Manner of Travelling through the Grand Seignior's Dominions.* 25. *Of the great Miseries indured by such as are Slaves among the Turks.* 26. *Of their Manner of Burying, and of the many Tombs that are to be met with on the Roads.* 27. *A very copious Detail of the Customs and Manners of the Turks, with Remarks upon their good and bad Properties.* 28. *The Author's Journey from Comorrah to visit the Mines.* 29. *A large Description of the Mines at Schemnitz, and the Manner of working them.* 30. *Of their Produce, and of the Manner of purifying the Metal, when extracted from the Ore.* 31. *An Account of a Gold Mine lost, and some other curious Particulars.* 32. *The Author's Journey to Eisenbach, with an Account of the Baths there.* 33. *A large and curious Account of the Gold Mines at Kremnitz, their Produce, and Manner of working them.* 34. *The several Methods made Use of for separating and cleansing the Gold.* 35. *An Account of the Quicksilver and Copper Mines.* 36. *The Author's Journey to that of Herrn-graundt, and his Observations there.* 37. *An Account of a Vitriolate Water that turns Iron into Copper.* 38. *A very singular Account of the hot Baths at Stubn,* 39. *A Description of the Salt Mines at Eperies; with some other remarkable Particulars.*

1. **T**HE ingenious Author, in the Collection of his Travels which he published, has regarded rather the Relation between Places, and the natural Connection of Things, than the Order of Time, for with respect to this, his Journey to the Mines was prior to that which he made to *Larissa*. In following this Method, he sought the Reader's Conveniency and Information, to whom it was of little Consequence when he travel'd, provided he was well inform'd of what he saw. While the Doctor lived, his Rank in his Profession, his high Reputation, universal Acquaintance and agreeable Conversation, gave his Travels the Vogue, and every body read them with Applause; but now they begin to grow a little out of Date, merely on the Score of their being made so long ago; and yet we have nothing better, or, to speak the Truth honestly, nothing near so good.

Indeed, it is not at all probable that we shall ever meet with any Thing of the like Kind of equal Value; for in the first Place, Dr. Browne travel'd at a proper Age, not after passing a Year at the University, but after having passed with Applause through both Uni-

versities, and was in his twenty-seventh Year. In the next Place, he was a Man of great Learning, very well skilled in ancient History, and a perfect Master of the Greek Language. We may add to this, that he was also acquainted with Physick, Botany, Anatomy, natural History and Chymistry; which last seems to me to have been his favourite Study. But the main Recommendation of all remains yet behind; he did not travel for the Sake of Amusement, and to kill Time, or as a Trader in Expectation of Gain, or in pure Obedience to a Father, who desired, that Traveling should set a Polish upon his Education; but he travel'd for the Sake of Knowledge, that he might employ his junior Years in procuring Materials fit for the Meditations of old Age; that he might visit those Countries with his Eyes, of which modern Books gave him so bad an Account; and that he might gratify his peculiar Inclination to the Study of Minerals, by inspecting himself the most famous Mines of *Europe*. When he had executed his Design, and found his Head fraught with Knowledge superior to that of other Men, and very conducive to the publick Good, he resolved not to conceal it; and thus the Writing and the Publication of his

Book were both the Effects of that great and generous Turn of Mind, which first put him upon Traveling, not any mercenary Design of Advantage, or a Scheme of making his Court to any great Man by a flattering Dedication.

We cannot help, therefore, reading his Book with Satisfaction, because, on the one Hand, we are certain that his Labours had no other Object than the Discovery of the Truth, and that he was a Man of too much Parts and too much Learning to be imposed upon himself; besides, in the Course of his Narration it appears, that he spared no Pains, and grudged no Expence in order to obtain an exact Acquaintance with whatever he thought it worth his While to enquire about; and as he took Time sufficient to examine all Things carefully, and to set them down circumstantially while he was abroad, so he did not hasten the Publication of his Book at home, till he had thoroughly digested as well as reviewed his large Collection of Materials. In a Word, he had all the Diligence of Sir Philip Skippon, all the Accuracy of Mr. Ray, and seems to have had a more extensive and penetrating Genius than either of them, of which we shall receive indubitable Proofs in the Course of this Section. Thus much I thought due to the Author's Character, as well as requisite to excite the Readers Attention, which having awaken'd by this short and I hope not improper Introduction, we will now proceed to the Doctor's Narrative, as near as may be in his own Words.

2. After having pass'd the Winter at Vienna, I met with a fair Opportunity to see the Grand Seignior's Court, which then, and a considerable Time before, resided at the ancient and famous City of Larissa in Thessaly. As I do not pretend to give you the Names of all Places through which I pass'd, so on the other Hand you will find mentioned some which are not to be found in Maps, at least not in any that ever I met with. Between Vienna and Presburgh, the first Place worth my peculiar Observation, was the Town of Petronel, and Haymburg Hill and Castle: The first is supposed to be the old Carnuntum, one of the strong Holds of the ancient Pannonians, who, one hundred and seventy Years before our Saviour's Birth, bravely repulsed the Romans here, but were forced to submit to the Power of Augustus, who made it a Roman Colony, and the Station of the Legio XIV. Gemina, and of the Classis Istria; and by Degrees arrived to that Pitch of Greatness, that it became the capital City of all Pannonia Superior, comprehending all that Tract on the South Bank of the River Danube, wherein now are Haymburg, Dutch Altenburgh, and Petronelli. Here I met with Variety of Medals, Inscriptions, and the Ruins of a most noble Aqueduct, and the Remnants of a stately Fabrick, which I thought might have belonged to a Temple of Janus, but is generally supposed to have been a triumphal Arch, erected in Memory of a Victory obtained by Tiberius, in the ninth Year of our Saviour, over the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Petrus Lambecius has, besides other Antiquities of this Place, given a Draught of the one Side thereof, and of the back Part I took a Draught myself. In this Place it was that the Emperor Antoninus Philosophus, when engaged in a War with the Marcomanni or Moravians, resided for three Years, and died at Vienna (or Vindobona.) And here Severus was elected Emperor by the German Legions. But this great City was laid desolate by Attila the Hunn, there being nothing remaining now, where the old Carnuntum stood, but some ruinous Foundations of the Houses and Streets, scarce discoverable by the Eye.

Of Roman Coins there have been, and still are, found such Quantities, that even the Peasants bring them to Sale, of whom I bought a good Number; and I remember, that Mr. Donallan an Irish Gentleman, my Fellow-Traveller, as we were viewing the Ruins of the ancient Foundations, struck by chance a Silver Coin with his Foot out of the Earth.

3. Presburgh, Posonium and Pisonium, is pleasantly seated on the North-side of the Danube, ten German Leagues to the East of Vienna, now the capital City of Hungary, under the Emperor's Jurisdiction, and,


since the Surprising of Buda by the Turks, the Place of Convention of the Estates of that Kingdom, and since the Loss of Gran (Strigoniun) the Metropolitan City. Its Castle is very noble and stately, built of white Stone, on the Top of a Hill, where is now kept the so much esteem'd Hungarian Crown. The Garden of the Archbishop is exceeding fair, the Walks, Grotto's, Labyrinths, and Fishponds, very noble, and the Figure of Jeronymo, well worth the Observation of a Traveller. In the Cathedral Church is interr'd the Body of St. Jobannes Eleemosynarius, Bishop of Alexandria. Part of this Church is in the Possession of the Jesuits; the Lutherans have likewise a handsome Church here.

4. Raab or Javrinum, a strong Frontier City, is seated at the Confluence of the Rivers Raab, the Rabnitz, and the Danube. It has two Bridges, one laid over a double Ditch, leading towards Austria, and the other towards Stultweissenburg, or Alba Regalis. Its Fortification consists of seven Bastions and four Cavaliers or Mounts. 1. The Castle Bastion, upon which stands the Governor's Palace. 2. The Water Bastion, on the Side of the Danube. 3. The Bastion of the Holy Hill. 4. The Middle Bastion, to the East on the Land-side. 5. The New Bastion. 6. The Imperial Bastion; and, 7. The Hungarian Bastion, facing the River Raab. Here the Turkish Governor was kill'd, when the Christians surprized this City. It lies in an open and plain Country, there being no Eminency near it, except a small Hill, which is undermined, ready to be blown up in Case of the Approach of an Army, for which Reason also a Spy Tower is built at some Distance, to give timely Notice in Case of Need of an approaching Enemy. Sinan Bassa the Turkish General, under the Reign of Achmet III, after having lost a vast Number of Men before this Place, and 12,000 in one Assault, took it by Composition; by the Treachery of Count Hardeek the Governor, who paid for it with his Head. But in a few Years after was recover'd by the Christians, who surprized it in the Night-time, under the Conduct of Count Swartzenburgh and Count Palfi, who put all the Turks to the Sword. At Raab and Comorrah we were shown several Sorts of Warlike Instruments, viz. a Morning-Star, as they call it, being a Club set round with Spikes; used in the Defence of Breaches, and in assaulting of Towns; Earthen-pots, fill'd with stinking and combustible Materials, to throw in among the Enemy; a Lehn Brader, or Plank, set with Hooks, to be fix'd to the Out-side of the Works, cover'd slightly with Earth; a Werf Kugel, or Kind of Hand-Gradoe; a Spanish Ritter, or Cheval de Frise, to be fastened in the Earth, to keep off the Horse, provided with long Iron Spikes on all Sides. At this Place the Turkish Chiausers or Messengers are obliged to stay to receive their Dispatches, the Court of Vienna being much pester'd with them before that Order, as they were sent continually with some insignificant Message or other from the Governors of the Turkish Frontier Places, for the Presents Sake, which they expect at their Departure.

5. Comorrah, Crumenum or Comaronium, is a large and strongly fortified Place, seated at the East End of the Isle of Schutz, looking over the Danube and Waag. The strongest Fort is called the Tortoise from its Figure. After Sinan Bassa had made himself Master of Raab, he was also for trying his Fortune against this Town; but being repulsed with great Slaughter in all his Attacks, he was for tempting the Fidelity of the Governor Baron Brown, unto whom he sent five Turks, under a Pretence of a Parley, with very advantageous Offers; but this brave Man, though dangerously wounded, having first given them the Hearing, caused four to have their Heads cut off, which he put upon long Pikes upon the Bulwarks, and sent back the fifth with this Message; That he was mistaken in his Person, if he judged of him by the Treachery of Count Hardeek; and that he might rest assured, he would live and die in the Defence of the Place committed to his Charge by the Emperor. In the innermost Castle of Comorrah, I saw three very ancient Tombs, brought thither formerly from Senia, a Place of Antiquity not far off, two of which having Inscriptions not to be met with in Gruter, I thought fit to insert here.

On

On one of them :

MEMORIAE JULIAE EMERITAE QUAE
VIXIT AN  VALERIA MASCLANIA
FILIAE PISSIMAE.

And on the Cover
D. M.

The Inscription of another was this :

MUAL VALERIANI LEG IIII F L VIXIT AN
XLII ET MUALUL PIOE Q PUBL' FIL VIXIT
AN VIII SIM CONDITIS ULPIA PARATIANE
MARITO ET ULPIA VALERIA FILIA FL
REDESTS.

D. M.

And on the Cover this following :

ITAA MYPIEYTYX EIMETATIATROC

The third Tomb was of the same Figure, but without any Inscription. Of some other Places, through which I pass'd also the Year before, I shall speak only *en passant*.

6. *Newhawfel*, call'd *Vywar* by the Hungarians, is situate by the River *Nitra*, not far from *Nitria*, a strong Place, taken by Count *Zouches*, in the late Wars. *Newhawfel* is a regular Fortification of six Bastions, in the Form of a Star. After Count *Forchatz*, the Governor thereof, had rashly engaged with the *Turks* at *Barchan*, they laid Siege to this Place, and after a stout Defence made themselves Masters of it by Capitulation; though it is generally believed, that if the Visier had had not spent his Time and Men in this Siege, he might have put most of the Emperor's hereditary Countries into a great Consternation, whereas the Emperor's Auxiliaries being join'd by that Time, the *Turks* receiv'd a signal Disgrace near *St. Goddard*, the Loss of which Battle procur'd a speedy Peace. The *Turkish* *Bassa* lives now in the Palace, formerly belonging to the Archbishops of *Presburgh*. *Sene* or *Senia*, a Place of Note for many Remains of Antiquity found there now and then. Here, by the Favour of the *Byra* or Judge of the Place, I got a *Roman* or *Heathen* Key, as they call it, and several Sorts of Coins, some of Gold, and some *Intaglia's*, some of which I presented to *Petrus Lambecius*. The Inhabitants will have its Name to have been anciently *Apollonium*, but without any good Ground. In our Way betwixt *Raab* and *Datis*, we pass'd in Sight of *Martinberg*, a strong and handsome Town, seated upon a Hill. *Datis*, *Tata* or *Theodata*, twelve *English* Miles from *Comorrah*, has scarce any Thing remarkable, except its Castle, and some natural Baths near it. But to return into the Road; we were row'd from *Comorrah* in a Saick of twenty four Oars, the Hungarians rowing on one, and the Germans on the other Side; thus passing by *Sene*, *Nesmil*, and *Rodwan*, we came to *Motch*, the Frontier Place, where we were to stay for the *Turkish* Convoy, which being ready in the Morning, their Officers went ashore first, and next our *Veyda*, or *Veyvod*, with the Interpreter, and Chief of the Company, with a slow Pace, and at Meeting saluted one another by shaking of Hands together; then delivering our Boat to the *Turks*, they fastned it to their Saick, and sent one into ours to steer it. At parting they saluted the Christians with one Gun, and so with eighteen Oars row'd down the *Danube*, we carrying the *Eagle* in our Flag, and they the *Double Sword*, *Star* and *Half-moon*. The *Turkish* Saick having brought us to *Gran*, set our Boat ashore, and so left us; the Governor took no Notice of us, but being reprimanded upon that Account by an *Aga*, who came from *Newhawfel* with four Troops of Horse, we were soon dispatch'd.

7. The City of *Gran*, *Strigonium*, or *Ostrogon*, is situate on the South Side of the *Danube*, near its Confluence with the River *Gran*; it is divided into the upper and lower Town, each of which has its peculiar Walls, that of the lower Town commanding the *Danube*. The Hill of *St. Thomas*, which overlooks the Place, is also fortified with a Wall. Here are natural Baths of a

moderate Heat. This was the Metropolitan City of Hungary, which gave Birth to *St. Stephen*, their first Christian King, and King *Stephen III.* lies entomb'd here. This Place has endur'd many remarkable Sieges, having been often taken and retaken: It yielded in 1683, to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Opposite to it is *Barchan*, being join'd to it by a Bridge of Boats. From hence we pass'd to *Vicegrade* or *Vizzegrade*, having two Castles, the Upper Castle being seated upon a high Rock, where formerly the Crown of Hungary was kept. The lower Castle has been formerly a fair Structure. Here are also to be seen the Ruins of an ancient Fabrick of Arches of Square Stone. This Place, after it had been a considerable Time in the Hands of the *Turks*, was surrender'd to the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1684. Opposite to *Vicegrade* lies *Maroz*, where there is a handsome Church, the Christians living pretty well at Ease here, under the *Turks*, because of its voluntary Surrender to them. Below this Place, we saw the large Island of *St. Andrew* in the *Danube*, and some Ruins of Stone upon the Shore of the Isle, which the *Turks* told us were the Remnants of a Stone-Bridge. Below this, passing by *Virochivitz*, famous for its large and noble Grapes, we came to *Vacia*, formerly an Episcopal See, which has now two Mosques and one Christian Church. It was taken by the *Turks* in 1541. and regain'd by the Duke of *Lorrain* in 1684, after a signal Defeat given the *Turks* near that Place, but being not tenible by Reason of some adjacent Hills, was quitted the same Year in Autumn.

8. We changed again our Convoy here, and we came to *Buda*, formerly the Capital City and ordinary Residence of the Hungarian Kings, and at present of a *Turkish* *Vizier*, who has several *Basbas* under his Jurisdiction. This City is of a large Circumference, pleasantly seated upon the *Danube*, divided into the Upper and Lower-Town; wherein are to be seen the Remnants of many magnificent Structures, built by the ancient Hungarian Kings, and especially *Matthias Corvinus*, in whose Palace the *Vizier* now resides. This had anciently three most admirable Statues of Brass, of *Hercules*, *Apollo* and *Diana*, at its Entrance, which were by *Solyman* cast into great Guns; the whole Palace, in all other Respects not approaching to its ancient Glory; however, here are several handsome Mosques and *Caravansera's*. On the Top of *St. Gerard's* Hill is a Fort, which overlooks the Town and Country. But what *Buda* has most to boast of now-a-days, are its natural Baths, esteemed the noblest in all Europe, both for the Largeness of their Springs, and the Magnificence of the Buildings; for negligent as the *Turks* are in their private Houses, yet we found them most sumptuous in their publick Structures, as their *Caravansera's*, Mosques, Bridges, but especially their Baths, bathing being in great Request among them and all other *Mohammedans*.

There are here in all eight Baths, of which I took a View during my Stay in this City, viz. Three towards the East and South-East Part of the City, in the Way to *Constantinople*, and five towards the West End of the Town, in the Way to *Old Offen* and *Gran*. The first is a large open Bath, at the Foot of a rocky Hill, call'd *Purgatory*. The second has a *Cupulo* on the Top, stands near the same Hill, but more into the Town. The third they call the Bath of the Green Pillars (tho' now they are red) over against a *Caravansera*: The Spring is very hot, yet useful without the Addition of cold Water; it contains a petrefying Juice, which is to be discover'd on the Sides of the Bath and its Spouts, where it leaves a Gummy Stone behind it; and the Vapours of the Bath coagulated on the *Cupola*, the Irons reaching from one Column to another, and on the Capitals of the Pillars, form long Stones like Icicles, which you see hanging to all these Places. The Bath is of a circular Figure, set about with large Pillars supporting the *Cupulo*, which has divers Openings, for the free Passage of the Exhalations, notwithstanding which, the Bath continues always as hot as a Stove. The Water is let out every Night after the Women have done Bathing.

The Baths on the West End are, first, *Tastelli*, i. e. the *Table Bath*, being but small, the Water whitish, and of a sulphurous Smell, they both drink of, and bathe

bathe in it; what is drunk, is receiv'd from a Spout conveyed into the Bath; I gave a Piece of five *Sols* to a *Turk*, who holding it under the Spout, to let the Water fall upon it, and rubbing it in the mean Time with his Fingers, gilded it for me in half a Minute. The second is *Barat Degrimene* or the *Bath of the Powder Mill*, arising in an open Pond near the High-way, and its Waters being mix'd with those of the Pond, makes one Part of it of a whitish Colour, and clear in another, as likewise cold and hot in several Parts; being conveyed cross the Highway into a Powder-Mill it becomes useful in making of Gunpowder, whence it got its Name. The third is *Cuzzoculege*, the *Little Bath*, or the *Bath of the Saint*, being kept by *Turkish* Monks. The Water near the Spring-head is so hot, as not to be fit for Use, but being conveyed through one Bath into another, becomes tolerable. The Water differs neither in Smell, Taste, or Colour, from common Water, being without the least Sediment, except that the Sides of the Bathing-Room are cover'd with a green spongy Substance. The fourth is called *Caplia*, a noble Structure, of an octogonal Figure, with a very handsome Bath in the Middle, surrounded with a Trench of Water to bathe the Feet in: On each Side it has a Niche, wherein is a Fountain. In the Anti-chamber, where the Cloaths are left, is also a beautiful Fountain, with a Stone Basin; the Water of this Bath is also very hot, and not without a petrefying Juice. The fifth is the Bath of *Velibey*, the noblest of all the rest, having a spacious Anti-chamber; the Bathing-room is also very capacious, high arch'd, and advanced with one great Cupolo in the Middle, just over the great round Bath, besides four lesser ones at the four Corners, over as many private Bathing-Rooms, where the *Turks* take off all the Hair of their Bodies with *Psilotbrum*, mix'd with Soap, except their Beards. The middle Cupolo is supported by twelve Pillars, betwixt eight whereof are Fountains of hot Water, and between the rest Places to sit down, where the Barbers and Bath-men attend. In each of these Places are two Stone Cisterns, one for cold and the other for hot Water, to be mixed as every one thinks fit, the Water being not fit to be used without the Addition of cold Water: For the rest, it has a strong sulphurous Smell, and contains a petrefying Juice. The Mornings are appointed for the Men to bathe in, and the Afternoons for the Women. If you have a Mind to bathe, you are brought into the Anti-chamber of the Bath, where being furnished with a Cloth and Apron by those that attend, you lay by your Cloaths, and so enter the *Great Bath*, where sitting down on the Side or between the Pillars near a Fountain, you are well rubb'd, with your Hands and Arms stretch'd out, by the Barber, after which you bathe. If you please, or the Custom of your Country requires it, you may have your Head shaved, and your Beard also, except the upper Lip; next the Barber rubs your Breast, Back, Arms and Legs with a Hair Cloth, either sitting or lying upon your Belly; then having washed your Head with Soap, and thrown cold Water upon you all over, you walk in the Steem of the Bath for some Time. This City is generally called *Offen* by the *Germans*; some trace the Original as far as to a Brother of the famous *Attila*, called *Buda*. And to confess the Truth, the Situation of this Place upon the Banks of the *Danube*, where it gathers its Water in one entire Channel, and that upon an easy Ascent of rising Hills, from whence there is a Prospect out of many of the Creeks cross the *Danube*, into a beautiful Country, and of the City of *Pest*; so excellent a Situation, I say, added to the Advantage of its hot Springs, might well invite the Conquering *Huns* to prefer this Place for the Building of a City, before all their other conquered Countries. The City of *Buda* was the ordinary Residence of the *Hungarian* Kings, till it was conquer'd by *Solyman the Magnificent*, the 13th of *August* 1541. There is another Place called *Old Offen*, supposed to be that ancient *Sicambria*, where the *Sicambrian* Soldiers had their Quarters in the Time of the *Romans*. Here some Antiquities and Inscriptions have been discover'd formerly.

Upon the East-side of the *Danube*, directly opposite to *Buda* stands *Pest*, in a Plain, of a Quadrangular Figure. This City imparts its Name to the whole Country, or *Comitatus Pesthiensis*, (*Hungary* being divided into Counties like *England*) and is joined to *Buda* by a Bridge of Boats above half a Mile in Length.

I was something surprized at first, when I saw the *Turkish* Women wear long Breeches, reaching almost down to their Feet. Over these they wear their Shifts, and over these a Kind of a long Garment; their Head-dress covers their Faces, except the Eyes, almost like our Penitents. Whilst we staid at *Buda*, we took a View of one of the *Turkish* Convents, where we were entertained in a large Room, not unlike a Chapel, with Melons, and some other Fruit, by the Monks. The Superior, called *Julpapa*, i. e. Father of the *Rose*, having a Girdle about his Middle, embossed before with a white Stone called *Galaçites* or *Milk-stone*, bigger than the Palm of a Hand. They have a superstitious Opinion, that *Mahomet* turned a whole River of *Arabia* into a Kind of Stone. From the House where we lodged, we had a fair Prospect of the *Danube*, and were often visited by divers *Chiausfes* (*Turkish* Messengers.) The Master of the House being a *Rascian*, was thought to hold a secret Correspondence with a *Franciscan* Fryer of *Pest*, and with some other Persons of Note at *Comorrah*, *Raab*, and *Vienna*: We were also very civilly entertain'd by *Mortizan Ephendi*, who had been in Quality of Envoy-Extraordinary at the Court of *Vienna*, and would needs have me sit upon a Stool, brought in for that Purpose, being sensible that their Way of sitting cross-legg'd would not be very agreeable to me. Among many other Questions, he ask'd me, What was the King of *Poland's* Name; and when I told him it was *Michael Wisnowitski*, he replied, *Michael* is a good Name, it is the Name of the greatest Saint in Heaven, except *Mary*.

9. From *Buda* we travel'd by Land to the East, and passing by *Ham Zabbi Palanka* and by *Erzin*, came to *Adom*, call'd *Tzan Kurteren*, i. e. *Anima liberata*, by the *Turks*; which Name was given it by *Solyman the Magnificent*, because here he made the first Halt with his Army, after his Retreat from *Vienna*. Hence we came to *Pentole* or *Pentolen Palanka*, which some are of Opinion was the old *Potentiana*, where the *Huns* were overthrown by *Macrinus* and *Tetricus*, the two *Roman* Generals. Some will have this to have happened near *Adom*. From hence we went on to *Fodwar* in Sight of *Colocza*, seated on the other Side of the *Danube* in the Road to *Temeswar*, and so further by *Pax*, or *Paxi*, to *Tolna*, the old *Altinum* or *Altinium*, near which the *Huns* fought a second Battle, and routed the *Romans* with the Loss of 40,000 Men on their Side. It is inhabited by *Hungarians* and *Rascians*, who are often at Variance. Thence we came to *Jeni Palanka*, where we pass'd the River *Sarvizza* (or the *Urpanus*) which rises near *Esperies*, and passing by *Stukweissenburgh* (*Alba Regalis*) joins its Current below it with the *Danube*.

From thence, by *Setzar* to *Botoseck*, and so to *Setz*, a large Town, near which we saw the Ruins of an old Castle upon a Hill, enclosed with Pallisadoes. Here is a new *Caravanfera*. Hence we went on to *Mohatz*, but before we came to this Place, passing by a small Bridge over the Brook *Curasse*, we took a View of the Place where the unfortunate *Hungarian*, King *Lewis*, after the Loss of the Battle near *Mohatz*, fought *October* 29, 1526, was plunged in the Flight with his Horse in the Mud, and miserably perished. His Body being discover'd by *Cotriscus*, who was near him when he was drowned, to the *Hungarians*, it was taken up and buried at *Alba Regalis*, the Place of Sepulture of the *Hungarian* Kings. Near this Place we met with a *Caravan* of two hundred Persons under a Guard of *Janizaries*, and frequently upon the Road we saw numerous Drovers of Oxen driving towards *Vienna*, belonging to the Eastern Company there, who, as they have the Monopoly of Oxen in that City, so they have Liberty to buy them in the Grand Seignior's Dominions. The same Day we saw the City of *Five Churches* (*Quinque Ecclesia*) and *Zigetb* to the Right of us. This last is a strong

strong Place, situate on the Side of a Fen, in which there is an Isle, and beyond it a Castle. This Place is famous for the unparallel'd Resistance made here by Count *Serini* against the *Turks*; for, after having been forced out of the Town, he retired into the Isle, and from thence to the Castle, where, after having repulsed the *Turks* in several Assaults, he sallied out with twenty four Men, (all that were left) who were all slain by the Infidels, in endeavouring to break through their Lines.

10. From hence we pass'd on by *Barinowar Darda*, or *Draza*, to *Esseck* or *Osseck*, supposed to be the old *Murfa*, or at least very near it. Its Situation is very low, the Streets being paved with Timber Trees laid cross-wise; upon one Side of the Gate you see some Remnants of an old *Roman* Inscription, *M. AELIAN*, &c. and on the other Side a Maid's Head cut in Stone. Here you see also an uncommon Dial, brought hither from *Serinwar*; and the largest Piece of Ordnance that ever I saw in those Parts, not lying upon Carriages, but upon Bodies of Trees. But what surpasses all the rest is, the famous Bridge of *Esseck*, built of Wood, partly over the River *Drave*, partly over the adjacent Marshes, being five Miles long, railed in on both Sides, and defended by certain Towers at every Quarter of a Mile's Distance. But of this elsewhere; it being the greatest Passage from *Servia*, and other of the Grand Seignor's Dominions, into *Hungary*. Count *Nicholas Serini*, to hinder Supplies from coming to the Grand Vizier's Army, burnt that Part of the Bridge which was laid over the River *Drave*, (rebuilt since) and in his Return also set Fire to Five Churches, which lies to the West of *Esseck*.

From hence we travel'd to *Valcowar*, where there is a stately Bridge of Wood over the *Walpo*, (*Valpanus*) a River affording great Plenty of Fish, upon which, to the West, stands also the Town of *Walpo*; then by *Soizim Palanko*, and *Towarnick*, or *Tabornick*, to *Netrovitz*, a large Town near a Lake, and so to *Simonowitz*, leaving to the Right of us (at a great Distance) the so famous ancient *Sirmium*, a Place scarce worth taking Notice of now, except for its Antiquity. The Country hereabouts is called *Schremnia*; but that Part extending nearer to the *Drave*, *Bosfoga*.

11. In this Country many Families, nay the Inhabitants of whole Villages, have their Habitations under Ground, like the *Troglodytes*, and the subterraneous Nations bordering on *Egypt*. We saw some Wells near them, where they draw their Water like our Brewers; they no sooner got Sight of us, but they retired to their Caves, their Dogs by their Barking having given them timely Notice of our Approach. We alighted to take a View of the Houses of these poor Christians, which we found tolerably well contrived within, divided by Partitions with wooden Chimnies, and a Window at one End a little above Ground: All Things were neatly kept, though but poorly, after the Fashion of those Parts. Their Speech we found to be a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*.

We continued our Journey between the *Danube* and the *Save*; we came to *Zemlin* upon the *Danube*, and from its Castle had a fair Prospect of *Belgrade*; whither we pass'd from hence by Water.

Belgrade, *Taurunum*, *Alba Græca*, or *Greek-Weissenburgh*, or *Nandor Alba*, as it is called by the *Hungarians*, is a large, strong, populous, and trading City in *Servia* or *Mæsia Superior*, seated at the very Confluence of the River *Save* and the *Danube*, the first being to the West, and the other to the North. The *Danube* is very broad here, and its Current so rapid, that it seems to cut off that of the *Save*, as the *Rhône* doth the *Sein* near *Lyons* in *France*. The Water of the *Danube* seems more yellow and troubled, and that of the *Save* greenish and clear. At the very Mouth of the *Save* is an Isle, made there of the Settling of the Sands of both Streams, about thirty-five Years ago, which is now full of Wood.

12. As we entred *Belgrade*, I pass'd by the Water-Castle, and afterwards by the Upper Castle, both large, and strengthened with several Towers. The chiefest Trading-streets are covered over Head, to keep off the

Sun and Rain. The Shops are no bigger than Taylors Shopboards, and very low, the Shop-People setting upon them as our Taylors do, and selling their Wares to the Chapmen, who remain without, and seldom enter the Shop. There are besides these at *Belgrade*, two large *Bezastans*, or Places where the best Commodities are sold; they are built cross-wise like the old Cathedrals, with Walks within, like to those of our Old Exchange above Stairs. They have also two Exchanges built of Stone, with two Rows of Pillars over one another, but were almost filled up with Merchandizes. The Grand Vizier had lately built a stately *Caravanserai*, at his own Cost, with a Fountain in the Court, and just by a Mosque with a Fountain before it; this being the first I ever saw within-side. He had also built a College for young Students, one of which I saw in a green Garment, with a four-corner'd Turbant on his Head. I observed also great Numbers of Sepulchres near *Belgrade*. We lodged at an *Armenian* Merchant's House, where we were well accommodated, and our Landlord conducted us to several other *Armenians*, who had very fair Houses, and entertain'd us with Coffee, Sherbet, and very good Wines of the neighbouring Country. There are very few Trading People in those Places where the *Armenians* do not live; they have a Church at *Belgrade*, and seem to be more open, candid, and fair-dealing than the *Greeks* and *Jews*.

Belgrade is a Place of great Trade; its Situation at the Conflux of the *Danube* and *Save*, and the River *Theyffe* falling into the *Danube* near it, as the River *Drave* does not far from it, and the *Morava*, or *Marosch*, not much below it: All this, I say, together with the Advantage of a very fruitful adjacent Country, through which the *Danube* passes towards the *Euxine* Sea, is sufficient to make *Belgrade* one of the most flourishing Cities in *Europe*, were it in the Hands of a People that knew how to improve all these Advantages. This City was formerly the main Bulwark of *Hungary*, which has several Times stemm'd the Current of the *Turkish* Victories, witness the Disgrace received here by *Mahomet the Great*; but was at last taken by *Solyman the Magnificent* in 1521.

13. After we had left *Belgrade*, we continued our Journey through *Servia*, and passing by a very high Hill called *Havilleck*, to the West of us, (where we saw the Ruins of an old Monastery) we came to *Hissargick* near the *Danube*, though our Maps place it at a good Distance from it. Here we bid adieu to the *Danube*, at a Place where it had run already from *Ulm* in *Suabia*, where it begins to be navigable, about 900 Miles, besides what is to be accounted for from its first Source thither, and has several Hundreds of Miles to run before it discharges itself into the *Euxine* Sea. The next Place we came to was *Collar*, not far from *Samandria*, an old *Roman* Colony, but now an inconsiderable Place. From hence to *Hassan Bassa Palanka*, about forty *English* Miles from *Belgrade*, where we found a Lion worrying a Wolf, in Stone, a very ancient Piece.

Coming afterwards to *Baditzna*, we saw several *Bulgarian* Women, whose Drefs seemed to us very odd: For they wear a Kind of Canopy upon their Heads, set about, as well as their Foreheads, with all Sorts of Foreign Money; we also bestow'd some Pieces upon them, as an Addition to their Ornaments, which they thankfully received. Much in the same Manner have I seen some *Græcian* Women attired, their Foreheads being cover'd richly with Duckats of Gold, and Pearl; but their Head-dress was not raised so high.

We pass'd forward for *Jagodna*, pleasantly seated in a most delightful Country; and in a few Hours after we had left it, turning off to the South, we saw to the Right of us, on the Side of a Hill, the Tomb of a *Turkish* Saint, about four Yards long, and a square cover'd Place near it: Our *Chiaus* having performed his Devotion here, we went forward through great Woods by *Chifflick*, where there is a *Caravanserai*; but we thought it more safe for us to refresh ourselves, and our Horses, at an adjacent Farm-house, belonging to a Merchant of *Belgrade*. Hence we travel'd all Night to the *Morava*, or *Moschius* (the *Marosch*) the chief River

of this Country, arising in the Mountains in two Streams, the one call'd *Morava di Bulgaria*; the other *Morava di Servia*; and uniting afterwards in one Channel, falls into the *Danube* at *Zendecir*, or *Singidunum*, opposite to the *Rascian* Shore. We happening to pass this River in a Place where it was very broad, deep and rapid, the *Chiaus* betook himself to his Prayers; and after the Danger was over, it put me in Mind of the rapid River *Varus* or *Var*, on the Confines of *Provence* and *Italy*, which, when I pass'd on Horseback, two Men were forced to go on the lower Side of me, to keep my Horse from being carried downwards by the Violence of the Current. By this River the Commodities of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, are carried into the *Danube*, and from thence to other Places; as on the other Hand, Salt, and various other Commodities of the Product of *Austria* and *Hungary*, are brought up against the Current of the same River. Near this River, *Hunniades* surprized the *Turkish* Camp by Moonlight, with 10,000 Horse, with the Slaughter of 30,000 Men, and 4000 taken Prisoners.

At last we came to *Halli Jabisar*, or *Crushovatz*, a Place of Note in *Bulgaria*, having a handsome Church, with two fair Towers. From hence we continued our Journey for a whole Day through Hills and Forests, and came at Night to *Procupie*, supposed by some to be the old *Villa Procopiana*; the *Turks* call it *Urchup*. We lodged here this Night at a Merchant's House of *Ragusa*, where we met with very good Accommodation. Here we met with a *Roman Catholick* Monk, who spoke *Latin* (a Rarity in those Parts) and one of their Physicians, whose Knowledge went no further than the Composition of some ordinary Simples; his Way was to offer his Service to the People every Morning in the Market-place.

14. From hence we travel'd to *Lescoa*, or *Lescovia*, a Town seated upon the River *Lyperitza*, which may well be call'd the *Mæander of Mæsia*, having so many various Windings betwixt the Hills, that in less than twelve Hours time we pass'd it ninety Times. This put me in Mind of the *Italian* River *Taro*, which I pass'd forty times betwixt *Parma* and *Fornovo*. I found nothing worth taking Notice of here, except an ancient large Tower, but without any Inscription. We were also much diverted with the great Concourse of People met together on Account of a great Fair, which is annually kept in an Enclosure near the Place. We continued our Journey the next Day over the Mountain *Clissura* (one of the Branches of Mount *Hæmus*) where our Eyes were surprized with the Brightness of the Rocks, which consisting of *Muscovia* Glass, made a pleasing glittering Show; like that mentioned by *Olearius*, of *Lapis Specularis*, betwixt *Permeras* and *Schamachia*, which shined like Diamonds. We descended through a narrow rocky Way, by the strong Castle of *Kolombotz*, or *Golobotz*, which brought us to *Urania*, a strong Pass with a Castle at the Foot of Mount *Clissura*, and commanding that Passage.

The whole Ridge of Hills, which extends betwixt *Servia* and *Macedonia*, is a Part of Mount *Hæmus*, which under divers Names reach from the *Adriatick* to the *Euxine* Sea; visiting by the Way several Passages which *Philip* King of *Macedon* took care to shut up, to secure himself against the neighbouring Nations; some affirm, That from the middle Peaks of Mount *Hæmus*, there is a Prospect both to the *Adriatick* and *Euxine* Seas. But King *Philip*, who made Trial of it, found himself disappointed in his Expectations, and so was I; for being upon one of those high Mountains, but somewhat nearer to the *Adriatick* Sea, I found that the Mountains of *Albania* cut off the Prospect on that Side. From hence we went forward to *Comonava*, where there is still a *Greek* Monastery on the Side of the Hills, and so to *Kaplanlib* or *Tygres* Town; then to *Kuprulib*, or *Bridge Town*, having a good Bridge over a considerable River call'd *Psinia*. It was casually set on Fire before we left it, and a great Part of it burn'd.

From hence we travel'd by the Way of *Isbar* to *Pyr-lipe*, first passing the high and craggy Mountains of *Pyr-lipe* in *Macedonia*, which glister like the *Clissura*, and

probably contains, besides the *Muscovia* Glass, some Minerals. There we saw massy Stones lie upon massy Stones, without the least Earth about them; and upon a high Ridge or Rock, many Steeples high, a very strong Castle, belonging formerly to *Marco Crollowitz*, a famous Man in those Parts.

15. After this, passing through a plain Country, we came to a large pleasant and well-peopled Town of *Macedonia*, call'd *Monaster*, or *Toki*, where great Preparations were making for the Reception of the *Sultana*, who was to lie in here; where I afterwards heard she was delivered of a Daughter, who lived not long. From hence we went on to *Filurina* and *Eccisso Verbeni*, where are plentiful Springs of Mineral Waters: But as we were descending the Hill which leads to the Town, we had Sight of that noted Mount, *Olympus*, though Seventy Miles off; and to the Left of us, of the two Lakes of *Petriski* and *Ustrova*, one whereof, as they say, was made by the removing of great Stones out of the Side of the Hills, whereby Vent being given to the Subterraneous Waters, they broke out into the adjacent Plains. Coming to *Egribugia*, we quitted again the Plains, and passed over high Rocks to *Sariggiole*, built partly upon a Hill, partly in the Plain; the first being inhabited by Christians, and this lower Part by *Turks*: Upon one of the adjacent Rocks stands a Castle. Not far from this Place we went through a Passage cut through the Rocks, like a Gate, through which also passes a Rivulet; this Pass commanding the Access of this Country, which put me in Mind of the Passage of *La Chiusa*, in the *Julian Alps*, betwixt *Vensone* and *Ponteva*, which is shut up by the *Venetians* every Night. We passed also by a Hill of a fine Red Earth, whereof they make Vessels, much esteem'd in those Parts; we proceeded over very dangerous Rocks, in narrow hanging Ways, with dreadful Precipices on one Side, where the Carcasses of Horses, which were tumbled down, gave us sufficient Warning to be upon our Guard. Afterwards we saw Mount *Olympus* upon our Left, till we come to *Alessone*, or *Alessan*, a Place of Note, where the *Greeks* have a Monastery, belonging to those of the Order of *St. Basil*; the Building whereof was a quite different kind from that we had seen before.

From hence passing a River, we entred a pleasant Place of five Miles long, with divers Towns in it; and afterwards over a Hill, a Branch of the Mount *Olympus*, on the Top whereof we saw an Old Man beating the Drum to give Notice, that the Passages on both Sides were free from Robbers. We descried from thence into the Plains of *Thessaly*; and turning to the Left, passed over the River *Pharibus*, which comes from under a Rocky Mountain, not in small Springs, but in one continued Channel, and taking its Course through the Vineyards and Corn-fields to *Tornovo*, runs unto *Larissa*, of which we shall hereafter say more.

In our Return we left the Road about *Kaplanlib*, taking that of *Skopia* (the *Scupi* of *Ptolemy*) call'd *Uscopia* by the *Turks*, being a large and trading City. It is seated on the Frontiers of *Mæsia* and *Macedonia*, at the Foot of Mount *Orbelus*, upon the River *Vardar* or *Axius*; in a pleasant fertile Country intermix'd with Hills and Plains. It was formerly an Archbishop's See: Above 700 Tanners live here, who make most excellent Leather. There are several handsome Sepulchral Monuments, and fair Houses here, as that of the *Cadib*, and of the *Emir*, or one of *Mahomet's* Kindred, whose Father was in great Veneration in these Parts. In the Court-Yard of the House of *Emir* you see a Fountain built like an old Castle with Towers, out of the Tops whereof spring the Water. The Floors in their best Houses are generally covered with Carpets, and the Roofs divided into Triangles; and many other Figures well painted, and richly gilt, but without any Figures of Animals or Vegetables. The *Bezastan*, or chief Market-place here, is covered with Lead, and the trading Streets with Wood; it contains also a considerable Number of *Turkish* Mosques. The most splendid of all stands upon a Hill, having a spacious Portico, sustain'd by four Marble Pillars; near it is an Arch, with a Brook running under it, which seems to be an ancient Piece;

as

as also a large Stone (being part of a Pillar) with this Inscription, *SHANC*. Not far without the City you see a most noble Aqueduct of Stone, from one Hill to another, over the interjacent Valley: It has about 200 Arches, and is a noble Piece of Antiquity. The Country hereabouts has been the Field of Great Actions in the *Roman* Times; here *Regillianus* did such mighty Feats, that he deserved a Triumph. Hereabouts stood also *Paræopolis*, and *Ulpianum*. This City drives a considerable Trade with *Belgrade* and *Salonichi*, which is the old *Theſſalonica*.

The *Sanziack* of *Servia* is under the Jurisdiction of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, or *Greece*; as our Geographers generally mention this Place as a very considerable one, so I thought fit to give a more particular Account of it. From hence we went on to *Catſhanich*, a Fortrefs commanding the Passage of the Hills, and travelling on reach'd the Plains of *Coffova* in *Bulgaria*, known for the great Actions perform'd here, though not much exceeding *Lincoln Heath*. Some take it to be the *Campus Merulæ*. Here it was that *Lazarus*, Despot of *Servia*, at the Head of 500000 Men (the greatest Christian Army that ever was brought into the Field) was worsted by *Amurath*, and he slain in the Field; nor was he surviv'd long by *Amurath*, who viewing the dead Bodies, was stabb'd by *Michael Cobilovitz*, a Christian Soldier, left for dead in the Field; whence this Part, to this Day, is call'd, *The Field of the Sepulchre*, where a Monument is erected to the Memory of *Amurath*.

In these Plains also *Hunniades* engaged three Days successively against *Mahomet*, but being very unequal in Forces, was put to the Rout at last.

We travell'd on to *Prestina*, a most beautiful Town; but the Plague being there, we took a Gypsy for our Guide, who conducted us through a fruitful Country, but very ill peopled, and were much refreshed with the fair Carnations that grew by the Way. On the right Hand we saw a Bath, which we found arched within; the Water had a red Sediment, and a petrefying Juice, as might be seen by the grey Stone it had produc'd. It is not above two Leagues from *Bellachorque*, or *Curſumde*, which has a Convent with an old Church near it, with two handsome Towers. From hence passing over the Hill *Jasnebatz*, we came to *Eshelleck*, betwixt the two Channels of the River *Marosb*, and thence by a Castle upon a Hill, near which is a Convent famous in those Parts for the Sepulchres of *Kenez Lazarus*, and of *St. Romanus*, whose Bodies were interred here. But it is Time to return to *Larissa*.

16. *Larissa*, the Capital City of *Theſſaly*, seated by the River *Peneus* (the most considerable of this Country) has to the North the famous Mount *Olympus*, and to the South Part of the Plains of *Theſſaly*, being inhabited by *Christians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, the first of which have several Churches here; it has also many fair *Bezantens* or *Turkish Mosques*. Its Situation is very pleasant, on a rising Ground, on the upper Part whereof stands the Grand Seignior's Palace, having large jetting Windows on all the four Sides, to give the freer Passage to the Air; here the Grand Seignior had kept his Court for several Years, to be nearer to *Candia*, and for the Convenience of Hunting and Hawking; he staid there for some Months after we came away, and then removed to *Salonichi*, and afterwards to *Belgrade*. It is now an Archbishop's See, having divers Suffragan Bishops under it. We went into the Cathedral of *St. Achilleus*, where we saw the reverend Father *Dionysius* (who was then Archbishop) standing in his Throne in his Episcopal Habit, and his Crozier in his Hand. The Summer being very hot, 1669, the Grand Seignior retreated for two Months to Mount *Olympus*, to enjoy the fresh Air, whence he had a Prospect of part of the *Ægean Sea*: This Removal proved destructive to a great many People, who being obliged to attend the Court, and being overheated by the ascending of so high a Mountain, were so struck by the sudden Alteration of the cold Air, that they dy'd soon after, especially such as had, in their Heat and Thirst, drunk of a certain Spring of a whitish Colour, who were immediately seized with a Coldness at their Stomachs, and died in three or four

Days after. Of Horses and Camels there also died a great Number, and the Sultan himself was ill for several Days; he kill'd one of his best Horses there, by forcing him up a cragg'd Peak called *Pythagon*, or *Kissagon*, where scarce any Body durst follow him; and had he not been with-held by the Prayers of his best Friends, he would have leap'd over a Fissure or Cleft in the Rocks.

17. The ancient *Greeks* (the best Romançers in the World, especially when they speak of their own Country) will have *Olympus* to reach beyond the Clouds, and therefore have assign'd *Jupiter*, and the Gods, their Residence thereabout: I am sure I saw Clouds above it; and to me some Parts of the *Alps* appear'd much higher; and in *September* there was no Sign of Snow upon *Olympus*, whereas the highest Peaks of the *Alps*, *Pyrenæan* and *Carpathian* Mountains, besides several others in *Europe*, are never without it; of which *Olympus* also had a considerable Share upon the first Rain that fell hereabouts; it being well known, that when it rains in the Valleys, it snows upon those and all other high Mountains.

I saw, as I told you, the *Olympus* at seventy Miles Distance, and it consists not of one high rising Peak, as some describe it, but is a long Ridge of Mountains, stretching out a great Way in Length: Its Extent from East to West makes the Inhabitants, at the Foot of the North and South Sides, as sensible of the Difference of the Air, as if they lived in very different Climates; which makes good the Words of *Lucan*:

*Nec metuens imi Borean habitator Olympi,
Lucentem totis ignorat noctibus Arcton.*

Paulus Emylius, the Roman Consul, surprized King *Perseus*, by marching about this Hill along the Seaside. At the Siege of *Larissa* by *Antiochus*, *Appius Claudius*, by making Fires on many different Places of *Olympus*, so terrified the King, that he left the Place, and the Consul *Martius* found Means to bring his whole Army over this great Mountain.

Larissa has been frequently visited by several famous Princes; King *Philip* of *Macedon*, the last of that Name, kept his Residence here for a considerable Time. Whether *Xerxes* honour'd this Place with his Presence, when his Army march'd through *Theſſaly* towards *Thermopila*, the Histories of those Times do not expressly mention; but certain it is, that *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great, having form'd his Design against *Greece*, took the City of *Larissa* upon the River *Peneus*, and afterwards made good Use of the *Theſſalian* Horse against the *Greeks*. Before the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Scipio* was quarter'd here with a Legion; and this was the first Place of the Retreat of *Pompey*, after his Overthrow; according to *Lucan*:

*Vidit prima tuæ testis Larissa ruinæ
Nobile, nec victum fatis caput.*

And going down the River, went out to Sea in a Boat, and was taken in by a great Ship which was ready to sail.

The River *Peneus* rises from Mount *Pindus*, which running by *Larissa*, and being augmented in her Passage by several other Rivers of *Theſſaly*, exonerates itself into the *Sinus Thermaicus* or Gulf of *Salonichi*, passing by the famous Valley of *Tempe*, and running between Mount *Olympus* and *Ossa*, into the Sea. Over this River, which (according to the Description of *Homer*) has a very clear Stream and Bottom, is a handsome Stone-Bridge, supported by nine Arches, with Holes or Passages in the solid Parts betwixt the Arches, to afford a Passage to the Water, when the Water rises high by the Floods. The City being then crowded with People, by reason of the Grand Seignior's Residence here, many of the *Turks* had set up their Tents in the lower Grounds near the River; and these not coming within a Yard of the Ground, afford a free Passage to the Air. The nearest Port of Note unto *Larissa* is that of *Vollo* (the old *Pagasa*) in the *Sinus Pagasicus*, or Gulf of *Armira*; not far

far from whence stood the ancient *Argos Palaesticum*, from whence the *Argonauts* sail'd for *Colchus*; by this Way the Grand Seignior receives his Intelligence from *Candia*, and his *Asiatick* and *African* Dominions. Near the Promontory *Sepias* (not far from hence) *Xerxes* lost 500 Ships, by a Tempest from the East.

18. As the Grand Seignior *Mohammed IV.* went often abroad a Shooting and Hawking, attended by a great Number of his Huntsmen, Falconers, and others, and also went often to the great Mosque, I had many Opportunities of seeing him; among the rest, I took once a full View of him, as he was coming out of the Palace to go to the Mosque. Before the Palace I saw several very fine Horses richly accoutred, which were rode by some of his Attendants in the Court-Yard, till he looking out of the Window, made a Sign to let them know which he would make use of; he no sooner appear'd without, but he was received with great Acclamations, and very low Reverences, both near and at a Distance; the Streets were made clean, and a Janizary placed at every Corner, to remove any Thing which might be in the Way. The Chiaufes lead the Van on Horseback, these were follow'd by twenty-four Persons of Quality on Foot; on each Side of his Horse walk'd two Janizaries, with large spreading white Feathers of a Fathom high, fasten'd to their Caps; and these shaking as they walk'd along, were high enough both to shade and fan his Face. After him follow'd many very fine lead Horses, and several Persons carrying Cushions and Pillows to the Mosque.

The Grand Seignior was then scarce thirty Years of Age, well proportion'd, but somewhat short-neck'd, inclining to Fatness, of a fallow Complexion. For the rest, he was of a strong Constitution, delighted in hard Riding; his Countenance somewhat stern, yet he would invite with a kind Look, People to approach him. I heard of no Physician of Note he had about him; but the Grand Vizier had taken several Christian Surgeons along with him to *Candia*. The *Caimachan*, or Deputy to the Vizier, had the chief Management of Affairs of State, in the Absence of *Achmet* the Prime Vizier. I went with *Osman*, *Chiaus*, to see his Palace, which was a fine Structure; where I heard ten Men playing all at once in a high Room, upon large Wind-Instruments, which they do at certain Hours every Day, making a very loud, yet not unpleasant Noise, even to such as do not understand their Musick.

The Sultana was at the same Time at *Larissa*, by Birth a *Candiot*, and much beloved by the Grand Seignior; she was but low of Stature, and somewhat mark'd with the Small-Pox; being then big with Child, great Preparations were made for her Delivery at *Monaster*, a pleasant Town in *Macedonia*, the Roads were then a Plain, and the Hills laying level, with broad Bridges over the Rivers, for her more convenient Passage thither. The Grand Seignior's Son, who was with her there, was then six Years of Age.

I heard, at several different Times, the *Turks* sing their usual Songs, and, among the rest, one concerning that famous Jewish Impostor *Sabata Sevi*, whom *Cussum Bassa* forced to turn *Turk*. This *Cussum Bassa* is a Man of great Reputation at the Ottoman Court, and much valued for his Skill in Physick, (a Thing not much known in *Turkey*.) He was formerly Vizier of *Buda*, and is now Vizier of *Erzrum*, upon the Frontiers of *Georgia* and *Persia*, and married to one of the Grand Seignior's Sisters. Of *Padre Ottomanno*, a *Dominican* Friar, whom I had seen at *Turin*, and who was thought to be the Grand Seignior's Brother, I could learn nothing here.

19. The Wintering of that vast Army of *Xerxes* under *Mardonius*, is an undeniable Testimony of the ancient Fertility of *Thessaly*, which continues to this Day; for notwithstanding the vast Concourse of People, occasioned by the Sultan's Residence here, every Thing was so cheap, that one might dine at a common Victualling-house, upon roasted and boil'd, and have good Sherbet to drink, for Six-pence a Head; and an Officer arm'd with a Club, with twenty-four Followers, kept the Streets so quiet, that not the least Disturbance

was to be heard of there in the Night-time. The hot Weather which happened in *September*, 1669, occasioned frequent Fevers and Agues in those Parts, as about the same time other Parts of *Europe* were much infected with Quartan Agues. It being then their Vintage, I tasted of their Must, or new Wine; and I observed that some of the zealous *Turks*, who would not drink Wine, yet would take a plentiful Draught of this with a great Deal of Eagerness.

During the hot Season, we used frequently to visit the Barber, who perform'd his Business very well, and would trim every Man according to his Country Fashion. The *Greeks* always leave a bare Place of the Bigness of a Crown-piece, on the Top of their Heads, round which they let the Hair grow to the Breadth of two Inches, and shave all the rest of their Head. The *Croatian* shaves his Head on one Side, and on the other lets his Hair grow as long as it will. The *Hungarian* keeps only a Fore-top, the rest being shaved all over the Head. The *Polanders* don't shave their Heads, but keep their Hair cut so as it comes down to the Middle of the Forehead, and the Middle of the Ears. The *Turk* shaves his whole Head, leaving only a Lock upon his Crown. The *Franks* wear their Hair long, without shaving their Heads, but to give no Offence to the *Turks*, generally turn up their Hair under their Caps; but the *Greek* Priests keep and wear their Hair long.

The Party to be shaved sits low, so that the Barber, who lays on much Soap, takes of a great deal of Hair at once, and finishes the whole Business in a few Strokes. A Vessel of Water, with a Cock, hangs commonly over the Head of those that are to be shaved, so that the Barber lets out the Water upon them as he pleases. I saw accidentally in one of the Barbers Shops of *Larissa*, an ancient and very noble Monument, or Tombstone, of a Jasper-green Colour, through the Top-stone of which the Barber had caused a Hole to be made to serve him for a Cistern.

In the Market-place sit certain Money-changers, who exchanged our Duckats, and Rix-Dolars, into Medines, Aspers, and five Sols Pieces, of which great Plenty is to be found in those Parts. All the Trading Streets were cover'd with Wood; their Shops were generally small, but well enough provided, the Shopkeeper sitting like a Taylor, and selling his Wares to the Buyers, who commonly remain standing in the Street: Such Commodities as are not to be had in the Shops, are cry'd about the Streets by a Man on Horseback, who at the same Time tells the People what Price they are to be sold at.

20. I had been much pleased with the Sight of the several Stables of Christian Princes, as that of the *French* King's, the Vice-Roys of *Naples*, the Elector of *Saxony's* at *Dresden*, and that of Count *Wallestein's* at *Prague*; but for Horses, I must confess none of these could compare to those I saw at *Larissa*, being chosen from among the best of the *Turkish* Empire, so richly equipp'd with most stately Saddles and Bridles set with precious Stones, and so tractable, that I could not but be surprized thereat. I saw among the rest some *Tartarian* Horses, valued chiefly for their Hardiness and Swiftness, being for the rest rather unsightly, than beautiful. Some of the richest *Greek* Merchants are well versed in the *Italian* Tongue, which is prefer'd here before either *Latin* or *French*. The *Jews* of *Macedonia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*, commonly speak *Spanish*; and those of *Hungary*, *High-Dutch*, for Conveniency in Discoursing with Strangers.

At our being there the Season was so parching, that even the greatest Rivers were very low, and the small ones quite dry, except one, I took Notice of about seven Miles on this Side *Tornovo*, which continued to flow plentifully in one copious Channel from under the Rocks. This general Drought however of the Country, put me in Mind of the Deluge which happened in the Time of *Deucalion* King of *Thessaly* (as sometimes we are apt to remember Things by Contraries,) when by the Stop-ping of the Current of the River *Peneus* (into which most of the others run,) the whole Country of *Thessaly*, which is plain, and enclos'd on all Sides by Hills, was laid

laid under Water for a whole Winter : I know some who are of Opinion, that all *Theffaly* was, in the most ancient Times under Water, till the Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus* being torn asunder by a violent Earthquake, the River *Peneus* forced its Passage that Way by *Tempe*, into the Sea.

I remember, that as we were travelling in *Macedonia*, our *Chiaus* told me, that within a few Days I should see *Frenchmen* in those Parts ; meaning the *Theffalians*, the Country People wearing narrow brim'd Hats like the *French* Hats, then lately in Fashion. The *Theffalians* had always the Reputation of being Warlike, and are accounted so to this Day among the *Turks*, this Country having been very famous in ancient Times, not only for the Battles fought in the Plains of *Theffaly*, but also for its having produced many great and worthy Persons ; and *Hippocrates*, the Father of Physicians, lived and practised here, and died about *Larissa*, being buried betwixt that Place and *Gyrton*. The *Theffalians* are generally well made, have very black Hair and Eyes, with a fresh sanguine Complexion ; and their Women are much celebrated, among Strangers, for their Beauty ; the *Macedonians*, who inhabit a Hilly Country, being of a much rougher Complexion ; and the *Moreans*, or ancient *Peloponnesians*, who live more to the South, inclining to Swarthiness.

21. The Country abounds in Horses, and they have the largest Bufflos in all *Greece*, except those of *Santa Maura* in *Epirus*. They have also Plenty of fine yellow and black Tortoises, which are good Meat ; but the *Turks* use to laugh at the Christians, for eating them, when they had such Plenty of Mutton, and all Sorts of Fowl. This Country also produces very large and most delicious Figs, and the best tasted Water-melons that I ever met with ; likewise Pomegranates, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and Vines, which grow low here like those of *Montpellier*, and though not supported, bear large Branches, and Grapes as big as our *Damascens*, and of a most luscious Taste. The Wine of the Country is rich, but has a resinous Tang.

The Tobacco they plant, they esteem beyond what is brought from other Parts, being stronger and more pungent. Their Fields are cover'd with *Sesamum*, and Cotton-Trees, which though but low, make a glorious Show ; as also with Almond and Olive-Trees ; the *Greeks* pickle their Olives ripe, whereas ours are all green. The Gourds in the Hedges, with their large yellow Flowers, and the different Sorts of green Thorns, and *Sempervirent* Oaks, make the Ways exceeding pleasant. The *Ilex Coccifera*, and *Chermes Berry*, or the Excretion serving for dying and making the Confection of *Alchermes*, are very plentiful in this Country. The high Hills produce *Asclepias*, and *Helleborus* ; and the stony Plains *Carduus Globosus*, *Cystus*, Lavender, Sweet Marjoram, Rosemary, and other sweet-scented Plants. The *Platanus*, or Plain-Tree, grows very fair and lofty in *Macedonia*.

They use a great deal of Garlick in their Dishes, and their Onions exceed ours, not only in Bigness, but also in Taste ; being sharp, and pleasantly pungent upon the Tongue, without any offensive Smell ; they agreed very well with my Stomach, though I never used to eat Onions before. They are used here at most Collations ; the *Turkish Chiaus*, who had travell'd almost through all the *Turkish* Dominions, told me, that the Onions of *Egypt* only, exceeded those of *Theffaly* in Goodness ; which was the first Time I really understood that Passage in the Scripture, of the *Israelites* longing after the Onions of *Egypt*. They have also a Fruit call'd *Pattlejan*, or *Melanzan* (*mala insana*) between a Melon and a Cucumber, out of which they take the Seed, and after having fill'd the Concavities with the Meat of Sausages, they pare and boil them, which makes a very good Dish.

The Foreign Ministers who attended the Grand Seignior's Court at *Larissa*, were the Imperial Resident, and the Ambassadors of *Ragusa* and *Wallachia* ; those Ambassadors that reside at *Constantinople* chiefly on Account of Trade, being not obliged to follow the Court.

The Imperial Resident having got Leave of the Sultan (by Reason of the great Concourse of People at *Larissa*) to chuse which of the neighbouring Towns he pleased for his Residence, he pitch'd upon *Tornovo*, a large and pleasant City of *Theffaly*, twenty Miles to the Westward of *Larissa* near the Hills, where most of the Inhabitants are Christians, having eighteen Greek Churches there, whereas the *Turks* had no more than three Mosques. The chief Churches I took Notice of were, the Cathedral of St. Stephen, the Church of St. Demetrius, of *Cosmus*, and *Damianus*, of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Elias (with a Monastery adjoining to it, of St. Anastasius, of the Twelve Apostles, of St. Nicholas, (with a Convent also) and of St. Anthony the Hermite. The Bishop of this City is a Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Larissa*.

22. Before I travell'd into these Parts, I could never conceive that the *Eastern Countries* contained such vast Numbers of Greek Christians as are to be found in *Greece* and the Greek Islands ; in the *Turkish* Parts of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, in *Rascia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Thrace*, *Sagora*, *Bulgaria*, *Persia*, *Bessarabia*, *Cossackia*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia* ; besides the vast Dominions under the Jurisdiction of the Czar of *Muscovy* : Which put me in Mind of what a certain learned Author says upon that Head, viz. *That if a true Computation were made of the Greek Christians in Europe, they would far exceed those of the Roman Religion.*

The Font or Balon in the Greek Churches is generally made of plain Stone, and plac'd immediately upon the Floor of the Church, which seems to be done for Conveniencies Sake, for being not contented with sprinkling of Water upon the Child's Head ; the Priest, having first bless'd the Water, and dipp'd the Crucifix into it three Times, takes the naked Child by one Arm, and putting it into the Font up to the Waste, with the other Hand laves the Water thrice over his Head ; which that it has been the ancient Custom among them, may easily be gathered from what is related of the Emperor *Constantine VI. Constantinus sextus, dictus Copronymus, quod Infans dum baptizaretur aquam sacram ventris solutione maculasset* ; The Dipping of the naked Body in Water being apt to move it. Some of their Children I saw baptiz'd before the Navel-string was fallen off.

23. The Fields round this Place were full of Vines, *Sesamum* and Cotton-Trees. The Emperor's Resident, named *Signore di Casa nova* lived here in great Splendor, with a Retinue of about thirty Persons, some Christians and some *Turks*, and has two *Janizaries* attending at his Gate. He was a *Milanese* by Birth, much addicted to Study, civil and courteous in his Behaviour, but reserved. The Ambassador of *Ragusa* had made Choice of the same Town for his Residence ; but they never visited one another, by Reason that the *Ragusan* being here in the Quality of an Ambassador, would not give the Precedency to the other, who had only the Character of a Resident ; which sometimes gave great Occasion of Laughter to the *Germans*, who look upon the *Ragusans* no otherwise than as Vassals.

Here I must not pass by in Silence the many Civilities I receiv'd from a certain Greek Merchant of *Tornovo*, whose Name was *Demetrius*, who entertained us with a great deal of Freedom at his House, at several Times, and brought his two Daughters to bid us welcome, whom we saluted after the Custom of our own Country. They were very well dress'd after the Greek Fashion, with their Hair braided and hanging down their Back ; their Shoes and Slippers painted, and (which something surprized us) their Nails colour'd with red, by a certain Tincture drawn with Water and Wine out of the Leaves of a certain Plant call'd *Cnà* or *Alcanna*, brought out of *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and much used in *Turkey*, where some colour the Mains and Tails of Horses with it. The *Gracians* of *Scio*, who wear Gloves, use also this Tincture to colour them upon those Parts that touch their Nails. It must be confess'd, that the *Gracian* Countries bear now-a-days a quite different

Face from what they have done in ancient Times; the many Incursions of barbarous Nations, and the late Conquest by the *Turks*, having laid desolate many great and once famous Cities, and exchanged the Names of the rest, not leaving even the ancient Names of the Rivers, which generally are beyond the Fate of Towns. Thus the Rivers of *Macedonia*, the *Axius*, *Erigonus* and *Aliaomon*, which I pass'd, have now Names which have not the least Affinity to those of former Ages. The famous River *Peneus* has undergone the same Fate, as well as *Apidanus*, *Enipeus*, and others that join their Waters with it. *Larissa* is call'd *Jeni-Sabar* by the *Turks*; and *Thessaly*, *Comenolitari*.

24. It seems to be one of the greatest Delights that attends Travelling, to behold, as one moves along, a different Face of Things in Habits, Diet, Manners, Customs and Language: Of this we had our full Share after we had travelled a Day's Journey beyond *Raab* and *Comorrah*; for before we reach'd *Buda*, we enter'd upon so different a Course of Life, especially as to Habit and Manners, (which with some small Alteration, continues to the utmost Part of *Asia*, viz. *China*) that we thought ourselves in a Manner in a new World. Though we were provided with good Passes, and had taken all other imaginable Care for our Security, yet we were not without Fear from the *Hussars*, who knowing all the By-ways, commonly rob all they meet with as far as the Bridge of *Esseck*; neither were we in less Fear of the *Cingars* or *Gypsies*, who are noted here for their Robberies; though they live in the Towns of *Hungaria*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia* (and some also in *Thessaly*) by Labour and handy-craft Trades. They are generally supposed to have their Original from the Frontiers of *Wallachia*. They have a Way of Colouring their Hands and Feet of a reddish Colour, with *Cnà*, and some of the Women colour the Extremities of their Hair also.

We were in no small Danger of being robb'd as we travel'd from *Belgrade* into *Servia*, by three Horsemen, who coming up with us discharged their Pistols; had it not been for our *Chiaus*, who knowing them to be *Spabies*, shew'd them his Feather, bidding me to discharge at the same Time my Pistol, to let them know that we were not unprovided; whereupon they left us. *Caravansera's*; or publick Inns, built by charitable Benefactors to the Publick, for the Lodging of Travellers upon the Road, we seldom made Use of, the Rooms being very spacious: We were but a few in Company, and not fitted for Places where we must provide every Thing one's self; and therefore private Houses were much more convenient for us: Besides, that the Situation of those *Caravansera's* is often-time such, as not to be secure against the Insults of Robbers, which are too frequent in those Parts, though punished with the greatest Severity; for which Reason, in most dangerous Passages, Drummers are appointed, who by Beat of Drum give Notice to Travellers, that the Roads are safe.

However, in the main, we had sufficient Accommodation, for from *Comorrah* our Boat was towed by a Saick of twenty-four Oars, till we came to the *Turkish* Frontier Town, where meeting with the *Turkish* Convoy, our Boat was fasten'd to their Saick with eighteen Oars, till we came to *Buda*, from whence we were carried in open Chariots, with two, three or four Horses a-breast, and that very swiftly, through a very pleasant Country, to *Belgrade*. Here we were mounted on good sure-footed Horses, which would carry one safely twenty Miles in a Stage: They are very free, tender mouth'd, and tractable; which made the Owners not well pleased with our Spurs, which are seldom used by the *Turks*. They have generally a lighter and lesser Shoe than our Horses. Most of these Countries abound in good Horses, which are very fleet; but they never dock them, looking upon a long Tail as a great Ornament to a Horse, which they will handsomely make up, and adorn to render it more so.

The *Bassa* of *Temeswar* presented *Ragotzi* with a Horse, which he flighting, cut off the Horse's Ears,

Main and Tail, and so sent him back again; which the *Bassa* took for such an Affront, that he did not desist till he brought about the Ruin of *Ragotzi*, as he might have expected. They do not feed them out of high Mangers or Racks, but lay their Hay before them almost even with the Ground.

In the *Caravansera's* they tie their Horses to Rings, fasten'd to the Side of a long Place a little elevated, upon which the Travellers sleep as they can, their Hay being laid somewhat lower at the Feet, whereon their Horses feed. They plough generally with Oxen and Buffelo's, and have great Variety of Ploughs and Carts, some whereof I saw in *Macedonia* with Wheels of solid Wood, in the whole Piece, perhaps the better to resist the rough and ragged Ways of a rocky Country. We observed among the People in general, that they will be much obliged with a small Present, such as Knives, Scissers, and other Toys; nay, we gave sometimes a Glove to one, and the Fellow to another, which they took very kindly. Thus the *Bulgarian* Women would be well pleased with a small Piece of Silver Foreign Coin, and put it as an Ornament to their Head-dress, though they had others of much more Value there before.

25. In our Journey about the Mountains of *Servia*, we were in great Danger from Wolves, especially in the Woods, where they would come very near us in the Night-time; so that we were forced to remain close together, and keep our Fire-Arms in Readiness: Neither were the Dogs less troublesome; for no sooner came we near a Town, or left it, but they would either meet or follow us at a considerable Distance, and with Barking and Biting our Horses Legs, be very offensive. I remember, that at my coming to *Comorrah*, which happened to be about Midnight, we were so closely pursued by the Dogs, which were shut out of Doors on Purpose, that we were forced to seek for Shelter in the Guard-house.

The Fear, in which the poor Christians live in these Parts, could not but move us greatly to Compassion, where we saw them retreat to the Woods, at the first Sight, to avoid us; which made us many Times ride after them to undeceive them. But the miserable Condition of the Slaves and Captives is almost beyond expressing, especially if you consider the Variety of their hard Fate, and the odd Chances that reduce them into this miserable State; some by Treachery, some by Chance of War, others being stole by the *Tartars*; among all which, those who belong to the Grand Seignior seems to be in the worst Condition, as being past all Hopes of being redeemed or exchanged. Of these I met with one at *Egribugia* in *Macedonia*, who, though he had a Tole-Table Place at the Post-house, yet was quite dejected upon that Account. In *Thessaly* I met with an *Hungarian*, who being taken at the Battle of *Barchan*, first served a *Turk*, and afterwards was sold to a *Jew* with whom he endured great Hardship; but being at last sold to an *Armenian*, he behaved himself so well, that his Master gave him his Freedom, and coming to *Larissa*, he was entertain'd in the Imperial Resident's Service. He was a very worthy Person, who had retain'd his Christianity among all these Changes of Fortune. He spoke *Hungarian*, *Sclavonian*, *Turkish*, *Armenian*, and *Latin*, and, notwithstanding his slavish Condition, had been so curious as to take Draughts of many Monasteries, Abbeys, Mosques, and other considerable Buildings in *Armenia*, *Persia* and *Turkey*, which he shew'd me. The *Turks* make peculiar Observations upon the Captives of several Nations: Thus they say, a *Russian* makes the best Galley-Slave, a *Georgian* a good Courtier, and an *Albanian* a good Counsellor, &c. I remember that the first Time I went to have a Sight of the Grand Seignior, *Osman Chiaus* kept backwards; having ask'd him the Reason, he answer'd, *I take no great Pleasure in coming too near him*.

26. As the *Turks* are commonly buried near the Highways, Tombs and Sepulchres are met with every where hereabouts, but are not very splendid, consisting only of a Stone at the Head, and another at the Foot, some of

of which are two, three or four Yards high; some have a Turbant cut upon the Stone at the Head; some also set up two Pillars of Stone, and sometimes raise the Sepulchres after the *European* Fashion, placing two Pillars upon them, one at the Head and the other at the Feet. Of these I saw several at *Scopia*; but their neatest Way is to erect a Pavillion, supported by four Pillars.

As we travel'd through *Servia*, I saw to the South of *Jagodna*, on the Side of a Hill, a *Turkish* Tomb of four Yards long, which, the *Chiaus* told me, was the Tomb of one of their Saints. As I could scarce conceive that the Length of a Man should extend to that Height, so it put me in Mind of what I once heard Mr. *Wood* say upon this Account, *viz.* That he had seen several Graves in the Southern Parts of *America*, of four Yards in Length; and having never met with an *American* that came near that Height, he had the Curiosity to have one of the Sepulchres opened from one End to the other, wherein he found a Man and a Woman so placed, that the Woman's Head lay at the Man's Feet, and consequently required a Grave of four Yards long. I thought I might, without the least Hazard, relate this upon the Credit of a Person, who has given sufficient Proofs of his Ingenuity to the World, by his accurate Maps of the Streights of *Magellan*, its Islands, and the Coast from the *Plate River* to *Baldivia* in the South Sea.

In our Travels in these Parts, we met often with *Turkish* Fairs, which are kept in some large Ground, enclosed and divided into Streets, where you may furnish yourself with all Manner of Things not to be seen in these Western Parts, and have Musick at a cheap Rate; which, though none of the best, yet serves to pass away the Time pleasantly enough. We had the good Fortune, in all this Journey, to light upon no more than one Place infected with the Plague, *viz.* at *Prestina*, in the Plains of *Cosova*, which made us make what Haste we could thence to a *Gypsie's* House among the Hills, where we met with a good Accommodation. The *Turks* were very well pleased to see me take out my Pocket-Book, to write down such Observations as I had Opportunity to make, and were much taken with my Writing so quick with a Pen made of a Goose Quill; whereas theirs are made of a Reed, wherewith they will write very well upon smooth Paper.

27. I would often, as Occasion served, look into such Maps as I had brought along with me; whereat the *Chiaus* smiling, said, There is but little Dependance to be had on Maps, for they do not mention many great Towns, and those they do are often not rightly placed. We *Chiausses*, added he, who spend our Days in Travelling, take Notice of all Places, and know their *Turkish* Names, are the best Map-makers; and I must confess, that in several Particulars I was convinced he spoke nothing but the Truth; for I found the Maps of *Hungary* not exact, and those of *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia*, and *Theffaly*, very imperfect. In *Upper Hungary* many Towns were omitted, and as many ill placed; in the *Lower* also not a few. The *Danube* seems to take too great a Circumference to the S. W. before the *Theysse* falls into it. In *Servia* I found *Hissargick* placed a good Way from the *Danube*, which runs just by it. *Procupia* or *Urchoop*, and *Lescoc* or *Lescovia*, considerable Towns (the last upon the River *Liperizza*) I found quite left out, as likewise *Kaplanly* or *Tygreffs Town*; in *Macedonia*, *Kupruly* or *Bridge Town*, *Urania*, *Pyrlipe*, *Comonava*, *Eccisso Verbeni*, as also the Lake of *Petriski*; and the Towns of *Ostrovo*, *Egribugia*, *Sariggiole*, and *Sarvizza*, and the River *Injecora* near it; thus I found neither *Alession* nor *Tornova*, though one of the most considerable Cities in *Theffaly*; and to confess the Truth, he that travels into *Macedonia*, will never be able to square the true Situations of Towns and Rivers to their Positions and Descriptions in Maps, not excepting those that have been very lately published of *Greece*.

It was one of my chiefest Pleasures in this Journey to converse with *Chiausses*, who have (if they are come to any Age) seen much of the World in their Travels, and

consequently are good Company, and can give a good Account of Things. *Osman, Chiaus*, who was our Conductor, and then of about fifty Years of Age, spoke three Languages, *viz.* The *Turkish*, *Sclavonian*, and *Italian*, was a brave honest Fellow, who had travelled thro' the greatest Part of the Grand Seignior's Dominions, and proving old, had seated himself at *Buda* as a *Chiaus* to the Vizier: He took a very obliging Farewell of me at *Buda*, conducting me without the Gates, with many a *Dios* and hearty Wishes of a happy Return into my own native Country; and I must speak well in Honour of the *Turks*, that in all my Journey I met with very civil Usage from them; I never came into a Room where the *Turks* were sitting, but they would give the first Salute; and desiring me to sit down, offer some Coffee or Tobacco, except that now and then the Boys, and some few of the Scum of the People, would call us long hair'd Infidels: The worst Language I ever received was from a *Jew* at *Larissa*, whom I had employ'd to buy some Things; but had it not been for the Grand Seignior's Residence in that City, some of the *Turks* that were present would have taught him better Manners.

I found the *Turks* much addicted to taking of Tobacco in those Parts; they carried it in little Bags by their Sides, and used to take it in Pipes of an Ell long, made of Reed, with an Earthen Bowl at the End, laying one End on the Ground, and holding the other in their Mouths. I was not much used to Tobacco, yet out of Complaisance, I would now and then take a Pipe with them after their Manner, which, by reason of the Length of the Pipe, I found cool, and less distasteful than any other. I was also much taken with the Neatness and Cleanliness of the *Turks*, and with their washing of their Feet, Hands, and Faces; I used to be mightily pleased to see our *Chiaus*, at the Sight of a Spring, or any clear Water, alight and wash himself. He was very curious in winding up his Turbant every Morning, and combing of his Beard; nay, they are so nice, that they carry a Pitcher with Water with them to the House of Office; when they make Water, they rest upon one Knee, stretching out the other Leg.

Justice is a Virtue much encouraged, as well as revered, in *Turkey*; of this we had an Instance in our Return to *Egribugia* in *Macedonia*; for coming to *Sariggiole*, we met by the Way with a *Turkish Aga*, who having a numerous Attendance, had taken up all the Horses at *Egribugia*, so that not being likely to be supplied, we resolved to continue our Journey upon the same Horses to another Stage, finding our Horses strong and able enough to travel through the Plains we were to pass; but we were scarce got without *Egribugia*, when we were stopt and carried by the Post-master of the Place before the Cadi or Judge. He alledged against us, that he being the Grand Seignior's Servant, who had given him a certain Allowance for every Horse he provided, we were injurious to him in passing through the Town without taking Horses from him; for which he desired Reparation. We found the Cadi sitting upon a Carpet in a contemplative Posture, leaning his Elbow upon four or five Folio Books; he commanded his Servants to give us each a Dish of Coffee, and asking what we had to say in our Defence, the *Chiaus* urged, that we were going upon very urgent Business, had the *Chaimacham's* Letters, and were employed by the Grand Seignior to the Emperor of *Germany*; and that he was the *Chiaus* to the Vizier of *Buda*, whither he was to conduct us. Upon mature Deliberation, the Cadi said, *The Chiaus must not be stopped in his Journey, nor the Post-master unconsider'd*; and so calling for the Post-master's Book, took his Pen, and set down a *Sultanine* to be allowed him in his Accounts to the *Testardar* or Treasurer, and so wish'd us a good Journey.

The *Turks*, it seems, make use of a Maxim contrary to that of *Augustus*, who thought fit to put some Limit to the *Roman* Empire; whereas their chief Aim is to enlarge their Dominions by new Conquests; unto which their hardy Education, sober Course of Life, and unlimited Obedience to their Prince, seems to encourage them: Certain it is, that their Aim is beyond *Hungary*; and

and I have heard some *Turks* of Note often say, we must try our Fortunes again before *Vienna*; where the Star and Half-moon then remain'd upon the Steeple of the Cathedral Church of *St. Stephen*, above the Cross; and I could not, without a great deal of Grief, take Notice of a particular Cross (not known to our *Heralds*) lunated, to be seen in many Frontier Places, whereby the Inhabitants, as they testify their Christianity by the Cross, so they acknowledge the *Turkish* Sovereignty by the Half-moons.

A Journey from Comorrah or Gomorrah, to the Mine-Towns in Hungary, and from thence to Vienna.

28. Having satisfied my Curiosity at and about *Comorrah*, I pursued my former Resolution of taking a Journey to the Copper, Silver, and Gold Mines of *Hungary*; and being unwilling to take so long a Journey as to *Presburg* again, to bring me into the ordinary Road, towards them, I pitch'd upon a nearer, though not much frequented Passage; taking therefore my Way along the North Shore of the Isle of *Scutz*, till I came to the Confluence of the Rivers *Waag* and *Danube*, I passed over to *Gutta*, a Fortification raised since the late War, in a marshy Ground, between a Branch of the *Danube*, the *Waag*, and the *Swartz*, within a Mile of *Newhausel*, which we plainly saw from the Steeple of the Church of *Gutta*. It had then a Fort of 130 Men, commanded by an experienced and brave Officer, whose Name was *Mr. Matthias Fruwurd*. Their Boats, in which they will pass the greatest Rivers, are only one Piece of Wood hollowed out.

From hence we went on by way of *Forchatz* to *Schella*, where is another Fort to hinder the Incursions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and about half a Mile from this Place is a certain Concavity in the Earth, which burns like the *Solfaterra* near *Naples*; and so forwards to *Schinta*, a large Fort which commands the River and the adjacent Country. It consists of four Bastions, and has a Tower in the Middle. At the Gate hangs a great Rib, a Thigh-bone, and a Tooth, which, they say, belonged to a Giant; but I judge them to be of an Elephant. We came afterwards to *Leopoldstadt*, a regular Fortification of six Bastions, where the young Count *de Zouches* then commanded. Not far from hence, passing the Rivers, we came to *Friestadt*, a handsome large Town, but lately ruined by the *Turks*. I took a Draught here of the Castle and Palace belonging to Count *Forchatz*, which was a Structure that would have been thought elegant in *Italy*.

The *Lutheran* School had been lately ruined by the *Turks*. They pay a yearly Tribute of four Pence a Head, whether of Men, Women, Children, Sheep, Oxen, or Horses: They are much inured to Hardship, and their Women rarely marry above once. Bathing and Sweating naked in Stoves, with their Feet in warm Water, is much used here, as also Cupping and Scarifications. There were only twelve Fryars left in the Convent of the *Franciscans*, the *Roman* Christians having scarce any other Priests but Monks hereabouts. About fourteen *English* Miles from hence is *Banca*, which has fifteen Baths in a low Ground near the River, three of which are spoiled by the *Waag*, which has there transgress'd its ordinary Bounds. About twenty Years ago there were also hot Baths on the other Side of the River, but these are likewise swallowed up by the overflowing of the River. The Water of these Baths casts out a white Sediment, and tinges Copper and Silver in an Instant as black as Ink. Not far off is a Quarry of Stone, and several Chalk Veins, which being of all Sorts of Colours except Green, and curiously mix'd or marbled, was very pleasing to the Eye. It being the 18th of *March*, the cold Weather hinder'd us from bathing in so open a Place, though we saw several Women and Children in them, and our Charioteer bathed himself in one of them at Midnight.

March 21. Some Musqueteers having been sent us by Count *Zouches* for our Guard, we continued our Journey, and passing by *Ripnich*, a Castle at *Docatzi*, belonging to Baron *Berrini*, came the same Night to *To-*

polchan, a Town upon the River *Nitra*, great Part whereof had been consumed by Fire in the last Wars. At *Bellitz*, a Mile from hence, are likewise hot Baths. We pass'd the next Day by *Clesch*, and through a great Wood by *Hochwiese*, inhabited by *Germans*, and came to *Sernowitz*, situate upon the River *Gran*, having a Castle built upon a Rock. It is tributary to the *Turks*. *March* 28. We pass'd the River *Gran* in the Morning, and travelling among the Hills, came to *Hodrytz*, by which runs a rapid Stream, of great Use to move the Engines employed in the pounding, washing, and melting of Silver Ore.

29. Hence we travelled over a Mountain call'd *Hell*, and so to *Schemnitz*, which claims the Precedency for Bigness before all the other Mine-Towns in *Hungary*, and where a great Quantity of Silver Ore is digged every Day. It is a well-built Town, most of the Inhabitants being *Lutherans*, who have three very handsome Churches here. It has also three Castles; 1. The *Old Castle* in the Town, where there is all Sorts of Wind-Musick at Six in the Morning, at Twelve at Noon, and at Six at Night. 2. The *New Castle*, built by a Lady in a Place where formerly the Gibbet stood. 3. On a high Peak, where a continual Guard is kept to discover the Approach of an Enemy, in which Case the Signal is given by the Discharge of a Culverin. The Country being very hilly, the Streets consequently very uneven. There are hereabouts very good Mines, among which these are the most remarkable: The *Windschacht*-Mine, the *Trinity*, that of *St. Benedict*, *St. John*, *St. Matthias*, and another called the *Three Kings*; but the *Windschacht* and the *Trinity* are the best and most wrought. The *Trinity-Mine* is at least seventy Fathoms deep, built and kept open with Under-Work, at a vast Expence, the greatest Part of it being in an earthy Soil. The Ore is very rich, and generally blue, cover'd with a white Clay, which gives the Streams where they work it a milky Tincture, and is that Substance, as I suppose, commonly known by the Name of *Lac Lunæ*, or the Milk of the Silver.

Some of these Veins run to the North, and other rich Veins to the N. E. If two Veins happen to cross one another, they count it lucky; so that the Veins of Ore keep not the same Point even in the same Mine; but as they have no certain Way to know where they are, or which Way they run, so they must proceed by Guess, and persevere in their Labour till they light upon the Veins. They don't make use of the *Virgula divina*, or forked Hazel-stick to direct them (as they do in the Silver Mine at *Friburgh* in *Misnia*) but dig on, according as they judge it most likely to succeed. They shew'd me one Place, where they had digged six Years together, when afterwards they found the Vein of Ore but two Fathom distant from the Place where they first began; and they shew'd me another Place, where they digg'd twelve Years before they found the Vein, which prov'd so rich, that in a short Time they were very well paid over and above their Charges. I went so far into this Mine, that I pass'd quite under a Hill, and came out on the other Side.

I descended also into the *Windschacht-Mine* as far as the Water would permit me, by 300 large Steps or Stairs of a Ladder; deep in the Earth I saw a large Wheel of thirty six Foot Diameter, turn'd by the Fall of subterraneous Waters; by the Help of this Wheel several Engines are moved, which pump out the Water from the Bottom of the Mine up to the Concavity, where this Wheel is fix'd. The Water which turns the Wheel, does not fall lower into the Mine, but is convey'd thro' a *Cuniculus*, or a subterraneous Passage made for that Purpose, together with the Water pumped from the deepest Part of the Mine, to the Foot of a Hill, where it discharges itself into the Valley. Besides this Wheel, there is another above Ground, which lies Horizontally, turned by twelve Horses, which also serves to pump Part of the Water out of this Mine. I was told, that no less than 200 Men were employed in all the Works belonging to this Mine. I found some Places very cold and others so hot, that I was forced to open my Cloaths, which were only Linen before: It being always hot where

where they work, they work eight Hours naked, if they can hold it so long, and then rest eight Hours. They shewed me a Place, where six or seven Persons were stifled by a Damp; to prevent which for the Future, they have placed a Tube there; the like they have over all Doors and Passages where they intend to dig for a great Space, and have no Passage through, whereby they let in, or let out the Air, or carried about according as the Miners under Ground ought to be ventilated. The blackish Ore is generally the richest, much of it is mix'd with a shining yellow Marchasite, which if not in too great a Quantity, is very welcome, because it renders the Ore fluid, and easy to be melted; but if this is found in too great a Proportion, they are of Opinion that it preys upon the Silver in the Mine, and in the Furnace over-volatilizing it, and whilst it is a melting carries it upwards with the Smoak; for which Reason they call it the Robber. There is also frequently found a red Substance growing to the Ore, call'd Cinnabar of Silver, which being ground with Oil, makes a Vermilion equal to, if not surpassing the common Cinnabar made by Sublimation.

30. These Mines also produce *Chrystals*, *Ametheysts*, and *Ametheystine* Mixtures, sometimes in the Clefts of the Rocks, sometimes near or join'd to the Ore; as also a natural chrySTALLIZ'd Vitriol, particularly in a Mine in *Paradise Hill*. There is also great Variety in the Silver Ore, in respect of its Richness, or Proportion of Silver: A hundred Weight of some Ore yields not above half an Ounce of Silver, sometimes two Ounces, three, four, five, even unto twenty Ounces; what is richer is very rare, though some have been found to hold half Silver, and I myself have seen some so rich as to be cut with a Knife.

To discover the Richness of the Ore, a certain Officer is appointed, whom they call the *Probieter*, (Essay-Master) which he does in this Manner. They bring him a Specimen of each Sort of Ore digg'd out of the Mine, of all which Sorts he takes an equal Quantity, and (the Ore being first dry'd, burn'd and pounded) adds to all an equal Proportion of Lead, melts and purifies them, and then by exact Scales, takes the Proportion between the Ore contained in it, of which he gives an exact Account to the Work-men employ'd in the great Melting Furnaces; who, according to his Report, add or diminish the Quantities of those Substances, which are to be mix'd with the Ores, to melt them in the melting Furnaces; as for Instance, to a 100 *Centen*, or 10,000 Pound Weight of Silver Ore; a hundred Pounds Weight, or a *Centen* of which contains two Ounces and a half of Silver, they add forty *Centen* of *Leich* (which is Ore pounded and washed) 200 *Centens* of Iron-Stone, which is not Iron Ore, but a Stone found in those Hills of a Liver Colour (perhaps the *Lapis Hematites*) a certain Quantity of *Kis* (a Sort of *Pyrites*) in Proportion as there is a greater or less Quantity of Marchasite mix'd with the Ore, and of the *Slacken* as much as they think fit. This last is nothing else but the Scum taken off from the Top of the Pan, into which the Metals run, and is a Substance made out of the former mentioned, by Fusion.

Whatsoever is melted in the melting Furnace, is let out through a Hole at the Bottom into the Pan, fastned in the Earth before it; and thus expos'd, it acquires, as it cools, a hard Scum, Dross or Cake, which being continually taken away, the remaining Metal becomes purer; unto this they add Lead, which carries all the Silver down to the Bottom, and after some Time the melted Metal is taken out, and afterwards melted again in the driving Furnace, where the Lead, or what else remain'd mix'd with the Silver, is driven off by the blowing of two great Pair of Bellows; and runs over from the melted Silver in Form of *Litharge of Silver*; but that which comes last, being longest in the Fire, turns red, and is call'd *Litharge of Gold*, though both be driven from the same Metal. Most of the *Schemnitz* Silver-Ore contains some Gold: This they separate after the Silver is melted, by granulating it, and afterwards dissolving it in *Aqua fortis* made out of a peculiar Vitriol, prepared at *Chremnitz*, whereby the Gold

is left at the Bottom, and is melted afterwards, and the *Aqua fortis* being separated from the Silver by Distillation, serves again for the same Use.

But it is Time to quit the Subject for Fear of entangling myself too far in a Business, the accurate Description of which would require entire large Volumes, as well as those of *Misnia*, so exactly described by *Agricola*. *Lenys* in his Works concerning Minerals, are also worth Reading, and *Lazarus Erker* has given a very nice Account of the principal Ores and other Mineral Bodies. But after all, it must be confessed, that there are few Places in the World to be compared with this, where Art and Nature strive to shew their utmost Force, to procure Riches. The Emperor *Rudolphus* being a great Encourager of Mines, they work to this Day much after the same Manner, established in his Time, except that many of their Engines and Instruments are much improved since. It seems to be somewhat odd, yet is nevertheless very true, that in a Place where every Week a vast Quantity of Silver is digg'd up, and carried away by Cart Loads, I could not meet with one pure Silver Piece. This happened to me at *Schemnitz*; for being desirous to see what Alteration several of those Mineral Waters in that Country would make upon Metals, I would fain have had a Piece of pure Silver, which, however the whole Town was not able to furnish me withal, the current Money of the Country being all mix'd with Copper; so that I was forced to borrow some Silver Crosses and Medals, to try the intended Experiment.

31. Near to *Schemnitz* (where old *Schemnitz* stood) I saw a high perpendicular Rock, Part of which from the Top to the Bottom is of a shining blue Colour, with some green and yellow Spots, which appear'd as beautiful to the Eye, as if it had been one entire Mass of *Lapis Lazuli*, finely polished: I was not a little surprized at the Sight thereof, and should have been more so, had I not heard before from a certain *Spaniard* who had lived a considerable Time in the *West-Indies*; That there is a Rock like this near the Silver Mines of *Peru*.

At *Glass-Hitten* (about seven *English* Miles from *Schemnitz*) there was formerly a rich Gold-Mine, but is lost ever since the Inroad made by the *Transilvanian* Prince *Bethlem Gabor* into those Parts, when the Inhabitants flying, the Entrance was stopp'd up, and has not been known since. The Owner thereof has however thought fit to leave some Directions and certain Marks behind him, whereby in Time the same might be discovered again; with the Figures of his Instruments upon the Barks of the Trees; which Instruments having already been found by Digging, thus much is intimated, That where they find a Stone on which a Face is carved, they are near the Entrance of this rich Gold-Mine; and to open the Passage into it, they are only to remove a certain Part of the Rock thereabouts, which was made use of by the Owner, to stop up the Entrance into the Mine.

Glass-Hitten is also a Place very well known and much frequented by Reason of its natural Hot-Baths, of which five are conveniently built with handsome Steps into them, and cover'd with fair and lofty Roofs. The Springs are very transparent, having a red and green Sediment; the Wood and Seats under Water, being cover'd with a stony Substance, and Silver is gilt by being left in them. But that call'd the *Sweating-Bath* excels the rest, its Spring being drain'd through a Hill before they issue forth into the Bath; at one End of which is a Cave, into which you ascend by several Steps, which being heated by the *Thermae*, like a Stove, by chusing your Seat either higher or lower, you may enjoy either a more remis or more intense Degree of Sweating at Pleasure. The Sides of this Stove, as well as those of the Bath, by the continual Exhalations of the hot Springs, are cover'd with a red, white and green Substance.

Whilst I was bathing myself in the largest of these Baths, a certain Fellow who was shewing Tricks of Activity to the Men and Women that were then in the Bath, gave me a satisfactory Account concerning several

ral Questions I ask'd him about the natural Vitriol, which he told me was to be found in several Mines hereabouts, crystallized in Lumps, and fit for Use; but especially in a certain Mine near *Schemnitz*, now given over by Reason of the Earth's falling in, in several Places. About two or three Days after he came to me at *Schemnitz*, and having brought along with him, Lamps, and Minemens Habits for me and two more, we went together into the Mine, where he shew'd me the Vitriol shooting upon the Stones and Earth, nay, upon the Floor and Sides of the Passages, in the same Manner as it does in the Pans, and about the Sticks, not hanging from the Top like to Icicles, as I have seen in several Places before. *Glass-Hitten* belongs to the Earl of *Lippey*, of whose Family was the famous *Polycarpus Procopius Bocanus*, who being sent by the Archbishop of *Presburgh*, to investigate the Curiosities of these Countries, died before his Observations came to Light.

32. *Eisenbach*, not above four *English* Miles from hence, and about six from *Schemnitz*, has also hot Baths, with a red Sediment, and containing a considerable Quantity of petrifying Juice, as may be seen by the Timber on the Sides of the Bath, some of the lowermost of which, near the Water, were quite turn'd into Stone; it bears the Spout through which the Spring was convey'd into the Bath, being under Water, though of Wood, yet not in the least changed, the Reason of which must be ascrib'd to the volatile Particles of these Waters, which are carried immediately upwards with their Exhalations. I remember, that in the Bath of the *Green Pillars* at *Buda*, these Vapours condensed by the high *Cupola* built over it, and on the Irons extended from one Column to another, and on the Capitals of the Pillars were formed into long Stones like Icicles, hanging to all those Places, such as I have observed in many subterraneous Grotto's, and especially in *England*, in *Okey-hole* in *Somersetshire*, and *Pooles-hole* in *Derbyshire*.

This is evident from the sulphureous Parts contained in these Waters, which however are not discoverable, if you either boil or evaporate the Bath-water, as being carried away with the Steam; and nothing is more common than to see the Sulphur of the hot Water stick on many Places over the Bath. I perfectly remember, that leaning one Day over the Balisters of the Lower Bath at *Baden*, I found my Buttons, which were of Plate, tinged by the sulphureous Particles, of a fair Gold-colour, though at a good Distance from the Water. This Accident tempted me to the Trial of another Experiment, viz. I took Care to hang some Money at one or two Foot Distance, which was colour'd likewise in less than a Minute; which made me conclude, that its petrifying Quality consisted chiefly in its volatile Particles. I brought away with me several Pieces of this petrified Water, of five or six Inches Diameter. But to return to *Eisenbach*. It has in all three Baths; two of which are conveniently built; the third made by the Water let out of the former, is called the *Snake-bath*, from the Number of Snakes coming into it immediately after it is fill'd with these Waters.

33. *March 30.* I set out from *Schemnitz*, and taking my Way from *Glass-Hitten* and *Apfelsdorff* (where the Archbishop of *Presburgh* has a Palace) I afterwards pass'd the River *Gran*, and travelling among the Mountains, I saw certain Entrenchments cast up from one Ridge of the Mountains to the other, to defend themselves against any sudden IncurSIONS; then following the Traces of the same yellow Silver, which owes its Colour to the Ore which it washes above, we came to *Cbrennitz*, standing very high, especially the Church of *St. John*, at some Distance from it, which is supposed to stand upon the highest Ground in *Hungary*. The Town is but small, but the Suburbs are of a pretty large Compass. As the Mine here is the oldest, so it is the richest in Gold of all the seven in these Parts, which are, *Schemnitz*, *Cbrennitz*, *Newsol*, *Koningsbergb*, *Bochantz*, *Libeten* and *Tiln*.

The Gold Mine of *Cbrennitz* has been work'd, for very near a thousand Years, being nine or ten *English* Miles in Length. It has one *Cuniculus* or Horizontal

Passage, call'd the *Erbstall* of 800 Fathoms in Length, its Depth being at least 170 Fathoms; into which they do not descend by Ladders, but are let down in certain Seats of Leather, broad and conveniently contriv'd, fastned to the End of a Cable, by the gentle Turning of a Wheel, to which the other End of the Cable is fastned. This Mine has six perpendicular Schachts, Shafts or Pits, (1) That of *Rudolphus*, (2) of *Queen Anne*, (3) *Ferdinand*, (4) *Matthias*, (5) the *Windshacht*, and (6) *Leopold*. I went into the Mine by the first, 108 Fathom deep, and after many Hours Stay there, was drawn out again by *Leopold's* Schacht or Pit, in a strait Line above 150 Fathoms, a Height surpassing that of the Pyramids by a third Part. It was kept up on all Sides with fair Trees, laid upon one another from the Bottom to the Top, in the same Manner as all the other Mines are here, that have not Rock on all Sides. Most of the Veins run to the North and East, and they work towards one, two or three, as they call it in the Miners Language, who direct themselves Under-ground by a kind of Compass, not of thirty two Points (as is used at Sea) but by one distinguish'd into twenty four, which they divide into twice twelve, as we do our Days, and so compute by Hours.

The Gold Ore is some white, some black, some red and some yellow; but the white with black Spots is accounted the best, as also the Ore next to the black Veins. As this Ore is not rich enough to be made Trial of in small Parcels, to investigate the Proportion of the Gold it contains, so they take another Way for the Proof thereof; by pounding a considerable Quantity, and washing it in a small River running by the Town; which being branch'd out into several artificial Channels, runs over the Ore continually, and thus washing away the earthy Part from the Metalline, becomes thereby tinged below the Town (after its Passage over so much Ore) with a dark yellow Colour, the same with the Earth over which it runs. This is manifest at *Christmas*, *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, on each of which Feasts, the Miners ceasing from their ordinary Works in the Mines for two Days together, the River flows as clear below as it does above the Town.

There have been Pieces of pure Gold found in this Mine, of which I have seen some in the Emperor's and Elector of *Saxony's* Repositories, one of the Breadth of the Palm of my Hand, others somewhat less; but these are esteemed great Rarities. The yellow Earth of the Grounds about *Cbrennitz*, but especially of the Hills to the Town are not without Gold, which is the Reason that a great Part of one of those Hills is quite dig'd away, the Earth having been wash'd and managed in the same Manner as the pounded Ore, not without good Profit. *Matthias Dollinger*, the Surveyor of the Mine at *Cbrennitz* (who entertain'd me very obligingly) has of late found out a certain Engine to pound the Ore much finer than it was before; by which Means they now obtain a considerable Quantity of Gold out of that Ore, which otherwise would have yielded none.

There are certain Passages in this Mine, cut through the Rock, which being long disused, the Sides which were formerly spacious enough to carry the Ore through, were grown now so near one another, that we were scarce able to pass. Their Way of conveying the Ore from Place to Place, or to the Bottom of the Pit (from whence it is drawn up) is performed by a certain Chest they call the *Dog*: It is higher behind than before, and runs upon four Wheels, having a Tongue of Iron at the Bottom, which being fitted into a Channel of Wood, cut in the Middle of the Bottom of each Passage, cannot deviate thence, so that a little Boy runs with 300 or 400 Pounds Weight of Ore in the Chariot before him, without any Light, through those dark Passages with great Swiftnefs, and coming out, turns out the Ore upon the Ground, and so back again thro' the same Way he came. They make Use of another Engine or Chest, altogether like this, except that instead of an Iron Tongue, it has four Rowlers, besides the four Wheels; with this they carry the Ore from the Mouth of the Mine, or down the Hills to the *Buchworke*, (as they call it) where it is pounded and washed, the

Way

Way being laid all along with Fir-trees, and so contrived, that the Rowers must needs rowl upon the Fir-trees, without being able to over-turn or run out of the Way, so as to be managed by a Child, and sometimes a Dog, there passing scarce a Week but that betwixt 300 and 400 of these Chariots, containing each 400 Weight of Ore, are carried down thus to every *Buchworke*. There were then in this Mine two very pernicious Damps, besides others that were less dangerous; one was in a *Schacht*, *Shaft*, Pit or *Puteus*, the other in a *Stall*, as they call it, or Passage, or *Cuniculus*; no Lamp would burn in them for any Time, and so long as they did, the Miners would venture to stay there; but as soon as they went out, they were drawn up again: They find these Vapours more pestiferous, where the Water is very high; but that in the *Cuniculus* they were in good Hopes to correct by Perflation, and digging another Passage into it.

They told me, that at one Time they lost twenty-eight Men in four several Passages, *viz.* seven in each *Cuniculus*. At the first sinking of *Leopold's Schacht* or Pit, they were extremely troubled with pernicious Damps, which they qualified in this Manner: They fix'd a Tube reaching from the Top to the Bottom of the Pit, but this not answering altogether their Expectations, they were obliged to have Recourse to another Invention, *viz.* by stopping the Pit, by Means of a broad flat Board, which covered all the Sides of it, except where the Tube was, and so forced out all the Air in the Pit through the Tube, which they were forc'd often to repeat till they made several other Passages into it, whereby the Air is render'd wholesome enough; for as I was drawn up through it, I found not the least Difficulty in Breathing. *Alttermans* Fore-stall or *Cuniculus*, 500 Fathoms long, was, by the Carelessness of a Boy, wiping the Snuff of his Lamp upon the Wood, burn'd in 1642, and fifty Men smothered in it; they were all afterwards taken up, except one, whose whole Body seem'd to have been consum'd by the Corrosiveness of the Waters of the Mine; there remaining nothing but his Cloaths.

34. This Mine also contains red, white, blue and green Vitriol and vitriolate Waters. There is also in this Mine a certain Substance adhering to the Gold Ore, and consisting of small pointed Parts like Needles of a purple Colour, and shining, the Colour of it being yellow like Brimstone, they give it the Name of *Antimony* of Gold. Various Sorts of Crystals are also found here, and among them some yellow ones.

Near the Gold Mine in the same Hills, is a Vitriol Mine, at least eighty Fathom deep; containing a red, and somewhat greenish Ore or Earth. This they infuse in Water for three Days, and then pouring it off, boil it for seven Days successively in Leaden Cauldrons till it is coagulated to a white thick Substance, which being reduced to a Calx in a Furnace, they keep for the making of *Aqua Fortis*, or the separating Water used at *Schemnitz*. Where they pound the Gold Ore, a Foundation of Wood is laid, at least three Yards deep, upon which they spread the Ore. Over this are twenty four Beams, covered at the Bottom with Iron, for the better grinding of the Ore, which is always covered with Water, and the Work continued Day and Night without Intermission, making Use of Fir, or some other resinous Wood, instead of Candles.

This Grinding, as I told you, is performed by the twenty-four Beams, moved by four Wheels, *viz.* six Beams by each Wheel; the latter, which runs from the pounded one, being let into little Pots or Cisterns, perhaps seven or eight one after another, and at last into a very large one, of perhaps half an Acre of Ground; which, after it is well settled, is let out.

The pounded Gold Ore they call *Slich*, among which they account that the richest, which is nearest to the Beams, where it is first pounded: Then they take the *Slich* washed so long, as, perhaps, in a hundred Pounds Weight there may be half an Ounce, or perhaps an Ounce of Gold and Silver, two Thirds whereof are generally Gold, (the *Chremnitz* Ore being rarely without some Mixture of Silver, as the best of the *Schemnitz*

Silver Ore contains, for the most part, an eighth Part of Gold, in Proportion of the Silver:) To this *Slich* they add Lime-stone, and *flaken* and melt them together in the Melting-Furnace. This Melting produces that they call *Lech*, which *Lech* being burn'd with Charcoal to render it more porous, is then call'd *Rost*. This *Rost* they mix with Sand, and melt it again in the Melting-Furnace, then let it out into the Pan, and proceed as in the Melting of Silver.

Among several other Ways they have to separate the Gold from the pounded Ore, they have one perform'd without the Use of Lead, *viz.* The pounded Ore being well wash'd, they lay it in Powder upon Cloths, so that by the easy descending of the Water over it, and their continual stirring it, the earthy Parts are wash'd away, and the heavier and metalline remaining on the Cloth. In the same Manner they proceed with Sheep-skins and Wool, being placed where the Rivulets come either from the Works, or the Hills. The Cloths in which the Ore is thus settled, they wash in several Tubs, and the Water, after settling, is poured off from its Sediment: This Sediment being again washed several Times, and stirr'd up in several Vessels, they at last sprinkle Quicksilver upon it, and knead it well together for two Hours; then washing it again in a wooden Vessel, (after they have first separated good Part of it, which the Quicksilver touches not, by striking the Vessel against their Legs) they reduce the Mixture of Gold and Quicksilver into an *Amalgama*.

After this, having separated again the Quicksilver, by straining it through a coarse Cloth first, and afterwards through a fine, they put the remaining Mass upon a perforated Plate, which they set over a deep Pan placed in the Earth, in the Bottom of which is a good Quantity of Quicksilver: Over this Pan and Plate they lute a Cover, and making a Charcoal Fire upon it, force the Quicksilver, as yet remaining with the Gold, downwards to the rest in the Bottom of the Pan, and afterwards taking out the Gold, purify it once more in the Fire.

35. Having passed several Days at *Chremnitz*, I travelled forward to *Newsol*; and as I passed over the Hills on the East-side of *Chremnitz*, upon the Top of one of them I saw a vast Stone or Rock alone, near the high Road; these Hills being for the most Part covered with Wood, which are of great Service to the Gold Mine. Passing on further, we came in Sight of the Village of *Lila*, near which are the Quicksilver Hills. From hence we came to the River *Gran*, upon which *Newsol* stands, which has a handsome wooden Bridge over the River, and a handsome Row of Piles cross the River to stop the Wood, which about ten Miles higher is thrown into the River, and without any further Labour, by the Force of the Current, carried down to *Newsol*, for the burning, melting, casting, and hammering the Copper in that Copper-Mine.

Newsol is a very handsome Town, having a spacious Piazza, at the upper End of which stands a fair Tower. The Church, which stands within the Castle, is covered with Copper, and within it are many carved Figures of Wood and Stone Relicks, which, though not much revered, yet are preserved by the *Lutherans*, who are in Possession of this Church; the same being observed in most other ancient *Lutheran* Churches.

All about this Town are the greatest Copper Mines in all *Hungary*; but the Copper itself being so strongly united to the Stone, or Ore, the Copper Ore of this Mine is burnt and melted fourteen Times before it produces Copper fit for Use. The first Melting is perform'd with a certain Stone they call *Flust-stein*, and its own Dross, and with *Kis*, or a Sort of *Pyrites*. Then it is carried to the *Rost-hearth*, as they term it, being great Stacks, or Heaps of Billets, upon which it is laid, and these being set a-fire underneath, the Ore is burned into a Substance called *Rost*; which being repeated thus seven or eight Times, it is then melted again in the Melting-Furnace, and at two Furnaces more at *Mis-mills*, and twice more at the Hammer. This *Kis* is brought hither from *Jesina*, which melted is used in the Melting of Silver.

At *Mismills*, not far from hence, they have a Way of getting a certain Quantity of Silver out of the Copper, by adding Lead to it whilst it is a melting, after which they take out the melted Metals, mixed together in Spoons or Iron Dishes. After it is cold, they give it a quick Fire again as it lies upon cross Bars, until the Silver and Lead melts and falls through. The Copper after by many reiterated Meltings it is made fit for Use, is cut in Pieces by very large pointed Hammers, moved by Mills, and afterwards formed into Plates, with other flat and round Hammers.

36. The Surveyor of the Works of *Newsol* did not only entertain me with a Present of Wine and Fowls, but also gave me a Letter to the Governor of the Copper-Mine of *Herrn-grundt*, to procure for me the same Treatment there. This is a small Town seated very high between two Hills, about an *Hungarian* Mile from *Newsol*: He found the high Lands thereabouts all cover'd with Snow, whereas in the Valleys between this Place and *Newsol* we met with none. We felt the Air very piercing at the Entrance of this Mine, being only in our Miners Habits, which consist only of a Linnen Coat and Drawers, a stiff round Cap, like the Crown of a Hat, a Leather Apron turn'd behind, and two Pieces of Leather fastened to the Knees, to defend them against striking upon the Rocks, or the Fall of any Earth upon them. But within the Mine it was warm enough.

I passed into this Mine through a *Cuniculus* called *Tachstoln*, and visited most of the remarkable Places in it; you descend into it by certain Trees set upright, with deep Notches cut into them to rest the Foot upon. As this Mine lies very high in the Hill, so they are not troubled with Water, but often with Dust, and sometimes with very pernicious Damps. In one Place they shewed me how they had remedied a very pestiferous Damp, by blowing a vast Pair of Bellows for several Days together. But what is most observable is, that those Damps are not only to be found in those Parts of the Mines where it is full of Earth and Clay, but also where it is rocky. I saw one Place where there had been a very bad Damp, surrounded on all Sides with so hard a Rock, that they had been forced to open their Way with Gunpowder ram'd into long Holes, and so blown up; for it is to be consider'd, that a great Part of this Mine is within the Rock, where consequently they need no Timber to keep it up, as they are forced to do in those Passages, that have either Earth on both Sides, or Rock on one and Earth on the other Side. The Passages of this Mine are neither horizontal, nor near to a perpendicular, but moderately inclining up and down, having many large Cavities within.

In one Place where we descended, we found the Passage stop'd by some Earth lately fallen in; but one of our Guides finding the Earth yet loose, without more ado digged his Way through, and, notwithstanding the Earth fell continually upon him, got through, though a great Heap of Earth tumbled after him, which they soon carried off with their Engines call'd *Doggs*, and so clear'd the Passage. This Mine has very large Veins, such as they call *Cumulate*, and the Ore is very rich, a hundred Pound Weight of Ore yielding commonly twenty Pounds of Copper, sometimes thirty, forty, fifty, and even to sixty in the Hundred; but a great Part of it is firmly united to the Rock, nay, in many Places the Rock and Ore are one continued Stone, with this Difference only, that one Part of it will yield Copper, the other none; which is distinguish'd only by the Colour, and that at first Sight, the Copper Ore being for the most Part either yellow or black, the yellow being pure Copper Ore; whereas the black contains also a Proportion of Silver.

This Mineral produces white, green, and blue Vitriol, and a red clear transparent; as also a green Sediment of a green Water, call'd *Berg-Green*, used by Painters. Here are also found Stones of a beautiful green and blue Colour, and one Sort upon which *Turcoises* have been found, and therefore call'd the *Mother of Turcois*.

37. But above all the rest, there are two Springs of

Vitriolate Water here (call'd the New and the Old *Ziment*) which turn Iron into Copper, and consequently deserve our peculiar Observation. These Springs lie very deep in the Mine, and commonly the Iron laid in it, is turn'd into good Copper in about fourteen Days Time, with this further Advantage, that the worst and most useless Iron is turn'd into the purest Copper, much exceeding in Goodness that of the Ore, which must run through many Fires before it is render'd useful, whereas this made by the Vitriolate Springs is very malleable, and easily melted; for I myself have melted it, without the Addition of any other Substance. I took a good Quantity of this Copper out of the Old *Ziment*, and among the rest a Piece of Copper of the Figure of a Heart, which had been laid in it eleven or twelve Days before, having the same Figure, but was as perfectly Iron then, as it is Copper at this Day. Some will not allow this to be a Transmutation of one Metal into another, but that this Water being saturated with the *Vitriolum Veneris*, and meeting with a Body so apt to receive it, as the *Mars*, or Iron, it deposes *Venus*, who immediately insinuating herself into *Mars*, precipitates his Substance, and in Lieu thereof substitutes her own Body. But this Opinion is sufficiently contradicted by Experience; for though, in the Changing of Iron into Copper, many Parts are separated, and lie at the Bottom of the *Ziment*, yet the same melted produces no Iron, but an excellent Copper, as I found it by my own Experience. I have since seen such a Kind of Transmutation attempted by Art, and not without Success, which deserves Consideration. After having taken a full View of the Mine, I was reconducted to the Surveyor's House, who entertain'd me very handsomely, presented me with a Chain of Copper transmuted in those Springs; and among other Curiosities shew'd me an exact Map of this Mine, with most curious Delineations of all its Passages, with a Scale to measure the Distances of the Places in the Mine; which, for its Extent, Number of People, and admirable Order, might well be compared to a very considerable subterraneous City. I saw him take some Copper Ore, which being well heated and cast into common Water, made it like the natural Baths which arise near these Hills. At parting we drank out of a Cup made of this transmuted Iron, gilt over, having a rich Piece of Silver Ore fastened in the Middle of it, with this Inscription engraven on the Outside:

*Eisen ware ich, Kupfer bin ich
Silberg trag ich, Goldt bedeckt mich. i. e.*

Copper I am, but Iron I was of old;
Silver I carry, cover'd am with Gold.

The yearly Profit arising to the Emperor from his Mines, is computed at 120,000 *l.* Sterling. But if more of these Vitriol Springs should be discovered (as some have already been at *Zolnock*, and other Places near the *Carpathian* Hills) the same would be considerably increased. But if like Springs saturated with the Vitriol of Silver, should be discovered near the Silver Mines, and the same by a skilful Artist improved to the best Advantage, the Profit likely to arise from such a Transmutation would amount to an immense Sum.

38. From *Herrn-grundt* we travel'd to *Stubn*, about twenty *English* Miles from *Newsol*, and fourteen from *Chremnitz*. Here we saw, near a Brook, several hot Baths, highly esteem'd, and much frequented; the Water is very transparent, of a sulphureous Smell, with a green Sediment; it colours the Wood over it green and black, but does not change the Colour of Metals so soon as most others: I left Money in it a whole Night, which I found but faintly colour'd.

There are seven Baths here: 1. The Nobleman's Bath. 2. The Gentleman's. 3. The Country-man's. 4. The Country-woman's. 5. The Beggar's Bath. 6. For such as are infected with the *French* Disease. 7. The Gypsies Bath. They are much of the same Degree of Heat as the King's Bath in *England*, in a fine Plain surrounded with Mountains, those to the East being the same

same, which on the other Side are so rich in Metals. From *Stubn* we went on to *Boinitz*, crossing the River *Nitras*, and leaving *Privitz*, a large Town, to the Left of us. At *Boinitz* are also five natural Baths, of a very gentle Heat, covered all of them under one large Roof. Into the Nobleman's Bath you descend on all Sides by strong Stairs, the other four being of Wood, but handsomely built.

From hence we continued our Journey to *Westonitz*, fourteen *English* Miles, and the next Day to *Trenschin*, which they count four *Hungarian*, or twenty eight *English* Miles, which took us up a whole long Day's Journey. *Trenschin* is a very handsome City upon the River *Waag*, having a very handsome wooden Bridge over that River, and a fair Piazza. The Jesuits Church is a noble Structure, and the Castle (belonging to Count *Jellbafey*,) seated very high; about a Mile from the City are two choice Baths, and the Country hereabouts affords several good Springs of Mineral Waters. Here it was that we met with Count *Rothal*, who being then on his Way to *Eperies* in Upper *Hungary*, to treat in the Quality of the Emperor's Commissioner, with those of *Abaffi* Prince of *Transylvania*: I engaged some of his Attendants to make an Enquiry into the Salt Mines there, of which they afterwards gave me the following Account.

39. About two *English* Miles from the said City of *Eperies*, is a famous Salt Mine 180 Fathoms deep; for the most Part in an earthy, and not a rocky Ground.

The Miners descend it first by Ropes, and afterwards by Ladders. The Salt Veins are so large, that entire Pieces have been found of 10000 Pound Weight, which they commonly cut into long square Pieces of two Foot in Length, and one in Thickness, which is afterwards ground betwixt two Stones. Though the Mine be cold and moist, yet is the Salt not easily dissolved: Notwithstanding which, great Part of the Water of the Mines is so much impregnated with Salt, that when boil'd, it affords a bluish Salt, which the Country People give their Cattle. The Colour of the Stone Salt of this Mine is somewhat inclining to a grey; but when ground to Powder is very white, and consists of pointed Parts, or Fossils. Another Sort of Salt there is also, which consists of Squares and Tables; and they have a third Sort with long Shoots. There is also some Difference in the Colour of the Salt

of this Mine, some of which is grossly mix'd with the Earth participating much of its Colour; and even that which is as pure as Crystal, often receives divers Tinctures: I saw once in the Middle of a Crystal Salt, with long Shoots, a delicate blue; and at the Count of *Rothal's* a large Piece of a transparent yellow; some Pieces are so clear and so hard, that they carve them into different Shapes and Figures like Crystal. Of all these Sorts I brought some Pieces with me to *England*. But it is Time to take our Farewell of the Mines, and to return to our Journey; which we continued near to the River *Waag*, to *Novo Mnesto*; and the next Day to *Tirnaw*, seated in a Plain. The following Day we reach'd the *Danube*, and took up our Quarters that Night at *Presburgh*, (of which we have spoken before.) Here passing the *Danube* in two Ferry-boats, we travelled by *Homburg* Tower, by *Haimberg* Hill, by the Town of *Haimberg*, by *Rogelsbrun*, *Vischet*, and *Swechet*, to *Vienna*. We observed in those Countries in Upper *Hungary*, through which we passed, Things wore a quite different Face from that of *Austria*, and from what in all Likelihood they have been formerly; most of them having been subject to the Ravages of the *Turks* and *Tartars* in the last War, and some of them being forced even now to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Turks*. The Inhabitants live so meanly, that they scarce afford themselves necessary Furniture for their Houses. Even in those Countries under the Emperor's Jurisdiction, many of the Inhabitants, being either *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*, and in constant Fear from the *Roman* Clergy, are but little satisfied in their Condition.

Formerly almost all the Mine-Towns were inhabited by *Lutherans*, but now the Officers are all *Roman Catholics*. And at *Schemnitz*, one of the *Lutheran* Churches was taken from them. And we were inform'd, that Count *Palfi* had enjoyn'd all his *Lutheran* Tenants, at and about *Boinitz*, either to change their Religion, or to quit their Houses and Lands. You meet also in Places of *Hungary* with *Anabaptists*; and near the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, with *Unitarians*. Even the *Roman Catholic Hungarians* are not a little jealous of the *Germans*, and the Court of *Vienna*; because they think them prefer'd before them, and that their Privileges are not well maintain'd, which is the true Source of almost universal Disaffection.

APPENDIX to the former SECTION.

A Journey from *Vienna* to *Venice* by Land, with a distinct Account of the Quicksilver-Mines in *Friuli*, including the Author's Observations in his Passage through *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*.

By Dr. EDWARD BROWNE.

1. The Design of the Author's Journey. A Description of the Baths at *Baden*, four German Miles from *Vienna*. Remarks upon the Nature and Use of these Baths.
2. A Description of the City of *Neustadt*, and some other Places in *Austria*.
3. An Account of the Town of *St. Veit*, or *St. Faith*, the Antiquities in its Neighbourhood, and the singular Method of installing a Duke of *Carinthia*.
4. A Description of various Antiquities in this Neighbourhood, and of the Civilities paid to the Author, by several Scotch Officers in the Imperial Service.
5. The wonderful Passage into *Carniola* through Mount *Luibel*, resembling that of *Paufilipo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.
6. An Account of the ancient *Nauportus*, famous for the Landing there of the Argonauts.
7. A curious and copious Description of the *Zirchnitzer-See*, esteemed the greatest natural Curiosity of its Kind in the World.
8. The Author's Journey to, and Description of the Quicksilver-Mines at *Idria* in *Friuli*.
9. The Author's Remarks upon the Country and Inhabitants.
10. An Account of *Palmanova*, a Fortress of the Venetians, held at this Time to be the best in Europe, and considered as the great Bulwark of that State against the *Turks*.
11. The Author continues his Journey to *Venice*, and after a short Stay there, resolves to return by Land to *Vienna*.
12. A curious Description of the Venetian Dominions on that Side, and of the different Manners of the People on the opposite Sides of the Bridge over the *Fella*.
13. Some further Remarks upon the Country of *Carinthia*, and on the Lead and Quicksilver Mines therein.
14. The Author's Remarks on the most considerable Passages in his Journey.
15. Some additional Observations upon the foregoing Sections.

1. **A**FTER having taken a View of several Places about the City of *Vienna*, I made a Journey to *Venice* on Horseback, for the Conveniency of staying at a Place, or going out of the Road at Pleasure. The first Place of Note we saw was *Baden*, four German Leagues from *Vienna*, a walled Town, seated near a Branch of Mount *Cetius*, the common Boundary of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. Near the City passes a River call'd *Swechet*, which about a German League from *Vienna* falls into the *Danube*. It has three Churches, that of the *Austin* Friars, of our *Lady*, and *St. Stephen*. But what makes this Place most remarkable, are its nine Baths, two whereof are within the Town, five without the Wall, and two beyond the before-mentioned Rivulet.

The *Duke's-Bath*, being the chief and by much the largest, is twenty Foot square, in the Middle of a House of the same Figure built over it: The Vapours pass through a wooden Tunnel at the Top, but the Water is carried in at one Corner of the Bath, near the Bottom, by wooden Pipes, under the Town-Wall from the Spring-head, which rises not far thence to the Westward.

The Springs of all the other Baths are conveyed into them through Holes of the Plancher, they being on all Sides cover'd with Wainscot. The Water is generally transparent, inclining something to a Blue, and makes the Skin appear pale, like the Smoak of Brimstone: It turns Metals black in a few Minutes, except Gold (the Colour of which it heightens,) but the Coin of the Country (which is a Mixture of Copper and Silver,) it turns in an Instant from a White, into a dark Yellow, which however soon after turns black.

The Water gives a delicious green Colour to the Plants it washes, and sometimes leaves a Scum upon them, of a Purple mix'd with white. Near the Spring-head it has a great Resemblance to the Sulphur River between *Tivoli* and *Rome*, but its Scent is not so nauseous, nor does it incrustate its Banks as that does.

This Spring-head is worth the Observation of a curious Traveller, in Regard it rises under a rocky Hill, into which is cut an arched Passage of forty Yards Length, through which I passed, and found it as hot as a Stove, occasioned by the hot Spring-Water running under it, (like that of *Tritola* and *Bajæ*) the greatest Part of this Cave being incrustated on the Tops with a white Substance, which towards the Entrance becomes harder and stronger. I had some of the Pipes which conveys the Bath-Water opened; and from the Upper Part of these Pipes took off a good Quantity of Powder like Flower of Brimstone sublimated; whereas nothing like it was found in the lowermost Parts of the same Pipes. I dropp'd *Oleum Sulphuris per Campanam* into this Water, which it received without the least Agitation: But the *Oleum Tartari per deliquium* dropp'd into it, caused an Ebullition, as in the making of *Tartar Vitriolate*.

The (2d) Bath within the Wall is call'd, *Our Lady's Bath*, being about twelve Foot broad, and twenty four in Length, and one End of it under a Church of the same Name. This seems to be more impregnated with Sulphur than the rest, and is bluer, leaving a yellow Flower upon the Boards, as the rest do a white. The (3d) is the *New Bath* without the Gate. The (4th) the *Jews Bath*, having a Partition in the Middle to separate the Men from the Women. The (5th) *St. John's Bath*, of a triangular Figure. The (6th) the *Beggars Bath*; so shallow, that they are forced to be drawn in it. The (7th) is the *Bath of the Holy Cross*, about two Fathoms square, intended for the Clergy. The (8th) *St. Peter's Bath*, the Waters of which are greener than the rest. The (9th) is the *Sour Bath*, set about with Stone Balasters, with a fair *Cupolo* and Lanthorn on the Top. The Water of it is very transparent, and will colour Money black without touching it; but if once cold, will not change the Colour of Metals although they be boil'd in it. The hottest of these Baths reach not the Heat of the Queen's Bath in *England*. They use no Guides here, but direct themselves with a short turn'd Staff.

2. A Captain in the Emperor's Service presented me with a *Gempskugel*, which is said to be an Excrecence upon the Liver of a *Rupicapra*, or wild Goat, in the Mountains of *Tyrol*, to which they attribute a signal Vertue in the Diseases of the Liver, malignant Fevers, and the Plague itself. The Soldiers of these Parts make great Account of it, being possess'd with an Opinion, that it renders them invulnerable for two Hours after they have taken it. From hence I travelled on to *Newstadt*, one of the most considerable Cities of *Austria*: It is of a square Figure, having a Piazza in the middle; it has four Gates, three whereof are to be seen from the Piazza. *St. James's Church* has two Steeples in the Front. The Emperor has a large square Castle here, having a Tower on each Corner, which, as well as the greatest Part of the Town, is to be seen at a great Distance, its Situation being in a low marshy Ground encompass'd with a Ditch and a double Wall. Here Count *Peter Serini*, and *Frangipani*, the Heads of the late intended Rebellion in *Hungary*, were beheaded.

From hence we went on through the Plains towards Mount *Simeron* (Part of Mount *Cetius*), upon the Top whereof you see a great Heap of Stones, which make the Boundary betwixt *Austria* and *Styria*; the Ascent of it is very rocky, and so steep, that twenty four Horses, or Oxen, are scarce able to draw up a Coach with Safety. In our Way we pass'd by *Newkirckel*, where is a Chapel with a little red Pinnacle, built, as they say, by an *English* King, and lodged that Night at *Schotwein*, or *Schadtwain*, a strong Town, situate on the Passage leading up to the Rocks betwixt the Hills; the Houses on the Sides of the Rocks being inaccessible but from the Top. This Town having the Mountain on both Sides, and being shut up with a Gate at each End, is therefore by some stiled *Claustra Austriae*; and a small Brook coming down from the Hills, passes under the Wall of it. From hence we travelled to *Mehrzuschlag*, where they beat out Iron into Bars: From thence passing by a swift Rivulet call'd *Murtz*, to *Keimburg*, and by a Castle belonging to the Family of *Stubenberg*, one of the most ancient in *Germany*, came to *Prug*, or *Muripons*, a well built Town, with a fair Piazza, seated upon the River *Mur*, or *Muer*, a swift large River, but not navigable. There is another Town of the same Name upon the River *Leyta*, call'd *Prug* upon the *Leyta* for Distinction's Sake.

3. We went on from hence to *Lubeim*, where the Staple of Iron is; and thence to *Knitelfeldt* and *Judenburg*, along the River *Mur*. The next Day to *Hundtsmark* and *Newmark*, and so to *Freisach*, supposed by some to have been *Virunum*, and by others *Vacorum*, in Sight of *Altenbofn*, the Castle of *Itrowitz*, and the Castle of *Tottenbrun*, which belongs to the Archbishop of *Saltzburg*. From hence we travell'd to *St. Veit*, or *St. Faiths*, (*Vitapolis*) formerly the Capital of *Carinthia*, seated at the Confluence of the two Rivers *Glan* and *Wunich*, encompassed with a Wall; it has six Churches, and a handsome Piazza, in which stands a noble Fountain, the Basen being of white Marble cut out of one Stone, five Fathom in Circumference, which was brought hither from *Saal*, or *Zolfeldt*, a Place near it, abounding with *Roman* Antiquities, of which this is one.

In Sight of this City are four considerable Hills, viz. that of *St. Veit*, *St. Ulrich*, *St. Laurence*, and *St. Helena*, with a Chapel upon each of them; to all which, upon a certain Day in the Year, the Inhabitants, for thirty *English* Miles round, come in Pilgrimage on Foot. We had here the Diversion of a *Latin* Comedy at the *Franciscans* Convent; it being then in *May*, we found the higher Hills covered with Snow, whereas the lower were very green, and full of Fir and Larch-Trees. Many of the Inhabitants here are troubled with hard Tumours in their Throats, some as big as their Heads (*Strumatici*), which they are obliged to cover in cold Weather, when they are much discolour'd. There is an Hospital without the City for those, as well as some others that are Blind, Dumb, and Changelings. We observed however, that the better Sort of People, who use a good Diet, were seldom troubled with this Distemper; though their

their Throats much exceeded in Bigness those I saw before in the *Alpine* Parts of *Savoy*.

From hence we continued our Journey to *Saal*, or *Solua*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, mentioned in the Map of *Wolfgangus Lazius*, by the Name of *Colonia Soluensis*, with a Field near it call'd *Ager Soluensis*, or *Zolfeldt*; a Place noted for *Roman* Antiquities, many of which have been carried away into other Parts. Here I saw that so much celebrated Piece of Antiquity of the King's Chairs; being of Stone, set together in the Form of two Elbow-Chairs, turn'd back to back. Upon three of the Stones are Inscriptions, which appear to be much more ancient than the Fabrick of the Chair. At the installing of the Duke of *Carinthia* (whether a King or Emperor) either he or his Representative sits in that Part of the Chair which faces the East, a Peasant sitting at the same Time in the other Part to the West. Among other Ceremonies, the Peasant rising up, presents the Duke with a fat and lean Ox; the Duke being obliged to return the fat one, and keep the lean one, receives afterwards a gentle Box on the Ear, from the same Peasant, and the Instalment is thus concluded.

The Church of *Saal* having had the good Fortune to escape the Fury of the barbarous Nations, is very ancient; and on the Walls has many old *Roman* Antiquities of *Basso relievo*, taken first out of *Zolfeldt*. Among many others, I took particular Notice of these: *A Chariot drawn by two Horses. A Chariot with a Man in it. A Wolf licking of Fruit fallen from a Tree. Hector drawn behind Achilles his Chariot about Troy. Four very fair Heads unto the Middle. Two Wolves, each holding a Horn and a Cup between them, out of which shoots a Vine with Leaves and Grapes*; this is over the Porch. Within the Porch is a *Cupid holding of a Bunch of Grapes*; *Romulus and Remus sucking of a Wolf*. Two Figures over the Crucifix by *St. Christopher*, with some others; all which, as I told you, were brought hither from *Zolfeldt*, where I also saw many Inscriptions; one upon a Stone on the South-side of the Church was this;

HERCVLI. *E*
EPONAE. AUG.
PROSALUTE. IMP.
CAES. M. AVR.
ANTONINI. PI. FE.
LICIS. INVICTI.

As also several *Roman* Coins of Copper and Silver found in these Parts. I brought away a Golden Medal of *Trajan*.

We went from thence to *Clagenfurt*, (the ancient *Claudia*) now the capital City of *Carinthia*, being a handsome four square Town, well fortified with a strong Wall, and a broad Rampart. Its Streets are very regular; and the Piazza in the Middle, being adorned with a Marble Column hath a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* upon it, as also a Statue of the Emperor, and, what exceeds all the rest, hath a most noble Fountain in the Centre, over which is a Dragon of a prodigious Size, made out of one Stone, *Hercules* with his Club standing before it. This was likewise brought from *Zolfeldt*. These mountainous Parts afford three noble massy Fountains, *viz.* those two of *St. Veit* and *Clagenfurt*, and that of *Salzburg* of white Marble. *Clagenfurt* being at that Time full of Soldiers, we were very civilly entertained by several of the Officers, but more especially by Count *Lesley* their Commander in Chief, Baron *Hay*, and Lord *Paisley*, who carried me in the Count's Barge through an artificial streight Channel into the *Werd Sea*, or Lake of *Clagenfurt*, to a Country Seat call'd *Loretto*, most pleasantly seated; having a Chapel belonging to it, built in Imitation of that of *Loretto* in *Italy*, which I found exactly conformable to the Original.

5. From *Clagenfurt*, we turned to the South, and after six or seven *English* Miles, pass'd the River *Drave* over two wooden Bridges, with an Island in the Middle; and within two Hours after entring among the Hills at a Place call'd *Hammer*, (where the Iron is beat out) continued my Journey towards the high and great Moun-

tain of *Luibel*. Soon after we saw ourselves arrived by the oddest Desert of Rocks that can well be imagined, at a great *Cascata* or Water-fall, which having worn out the Rocks underneath, appears at first Sight to be artificial. The Ascent is very surprising, being enclosed with Walls, turning backwards and forwards, to the very Pinnacle of this great Mountain *Luibel*, Part of the *Carnick Alpes*, dividing *Carinthia* and *Carniola*. Coming up as high as the steep Rocks and Peaks would let us, we were amazed to see our Guide lead us Side-ways through an artificial Road into a Passage cut quite through the Mountain, like the famous Grotto of *Pausilipo* by *Naples*. It has a Roof of Wood-work in the Middle, which is continued unto the *Carniolian* Side. The Roof of this Passage is very high, its Length 156 Yards, and four Yards in Breadth, affording daily Passages for Country Carriages and Carts.

Having never heard or read of this surprising Passage, I at first imagined it to be some old *Roman* Work, till I was credibly informed, that it was much later, there being formerly no Passage into *Carniola* this Way; but People entred it by going about a great Way by *Villach*. In ascending this high Mountain, being infested with much Rain, and a fierce Storm, till we came to the highest Part of it, I had the Opportunity to see the Clouds descend, and after it was pass'd to ascend again so high, as to get over Part of the Mountain, and a Stream of them pass'd through the rocky Passage out of *Carniola* to the *Carinthian* Side, directly contrary to our Way, who came out of *Carinthia* into *Carniola*. As we reached this Grotto by a continual Ascent, so no sooner were we got through it, but we descended by Degrees, first to *St. Anna*, two *English* Miles downward, next to *Newstattel*, six or seven Miles lower, and so descending still till we came to *Crainburg*, (the old *Carnodunum*) a handsome Town, seated upon the River *Save*, from whence, through a very pleasant Plain four German Leagues long, we came to *Labach* (*Lubiana*) the capital City of *Carniola*, through which runs the River of the same Name, which afterwards discharges itself into the *Save*. This is a very handsome City, its Castle, which is situate upon a Hill, overlooking two large Valleys to the N. and S. but being commanded by another Hill that lies near it, its Fortifications are neglected of late Years. Mr. *Tosb*, a *Scotch* Apothecary in this City, shew'd me various curious Minerals of those Parts.

6. *Labach* is supposed to be the ancient *Nauportus*, so famous for the Landing of the *Argonauts*, who setting out from *Argos Pelasgicum* in *Theffaly*, sail'd to *Colchos*, on the East side of the *Euxine Sea*; but being pursued by the Vessels of the King of *Colchos*, steer'd their Course Northward to the Mouth of the *Danube*, and passing up that River, till they came to the Confluence thereof with the *Save*, they next went up the *Save*, and so the River *Labach*, till they landed at this Place call'd anciently *Nauportus*, from whence they return'd by the Way of the *Adriatick Sea* into *Greece*. So that in my Travels I had been near the Place of their setting out in *Theffaly*, and at their Landing-place in *Carniola*.

From *Labach* we travel'd towards the *Zirchnitzer See*, or that famous and most surprising Lake of *Zirchnitz*, having the Marshes on our Right, and the Hills on our left Hand, till we came to *Brounitza*; and then passing over them, we reach'd *Zirchnitz*, a Town scarce containing three hundred Houses, but which has given its Name to that stupendious adjacent Lake. Here, having received the necessary Directions and Accommodations from the Hands of the Judge of the Place, for viewing of the Lakes, we went to *Seedorff*, a Village about half a Mile nearer the Lake, and thence to *Niederdorff*, where we took Boat, and spent some Time in taking an exact View of the Lake.

7. This Lake is about nine or ten *English* Miles long, and half as broad, enclosed with Hills at some Distance, and to the South-side with the *Birnbaumir* Forest, of a great Extent, and said to abound with Deers, Wild Boars, Foxes, Wolves, and Bears.

What makes this Lake most remarkable, or rather surprising, is, that every Year, in some Part of the Month of *June*, the Water thereof descends through certain

certain Holes at the Bottom, under Ground; and in the Month of *September* returns by the same Ways, with a very speedy Ascent, rising up to the Height of a Pike, and so covering the Ground again. Whilst the Water remains under Ground, the Earth produces very speedily great Plenty of Grass, yielding Food for Cattle in the Winter; and, during that Time, you may see the Hares, Deer, and other Wild Beasts, resort thither from the adjacent Forrests, of which great Numbers are then taken by the Country People.

The Lake affords vast Plenty of Fish, though that as well as Part of the adjacent Country being a Lordship belonging to the Prince of *Eckenberg*, the Country are not allow'd the Liberty of Fishing, except upon the retiring of the Water, when they take vast Numbers of them, by intercepting their Passage as they are going under Ground. As far as I was able to learn, this Lake brings not up any unknown Fish at the Return of the Waters, but only such as went down, and are found in most other Lakes, such as Carp, Tench, Eels, the which having spawn'd before they go down, the Fry has about three Months Growth, when they are brought up again through the same subterraneous Passages.

The Water in this Lake is of a very different Depth, in some Places not above four Foot, and not far thence perhaps twenty Yards; so that the Ground being as it were divided into small Hills and Valleys, the Fishermen have given peculiar Names to seven of them, which in the *Slavonian* (this Country Language) are, *Vodanas*, *Resbetu*, *Sitarza*, *Ribiskiamia*, *Naknifou*, *Levishe*, *Kot-el*. I myself pass'd over five of the aforementioned Valleys, and saw a remarkable Stone call'd the *Fishers Stone*, because, by its Appearance, they guess when the Water will begin to retreat under Ground; as also by a peculiar Hill, which being higher than the rest, becomes a pleasant Island at the Return of the Water.

Upon the most exact Enquiry I could make, I could not find that this Lake had fail'd one Year to descend and ascend again; or how long it was since this Property had first been observed; so that it seems more than probable, that this Lake does not owe its Rise to any Earthquake, but has been the same from all Antiquity, and, if my Conjecture fails me not, is the *Lugea Palus* of *Strabo*, who, notwithstanding this, as well as all the other ancient Geographers, make not the least Mention of this surprising Quality.

The nearest Part of the Sea unto this Lake is the *Sinus Tergestinus*, and *Sinus Flanaticus*, or the Gulph of *Trieſte*, and the Gulph of *Quevero*; at within a few Miles Distance, divers considerable Rivers have their Sources, as the *Labach*, the *Corkoras* or *Gurk*, the *Colapis* or *Culp*, which falls into the *Save*, and the *Vipao* or *Amnis Frigidus*, which runs into *Lysonſo* by *Goritia*, besides divers others. I observed the Ground about this Lake very hollow, and full of Caverns: The like I took Notice of in several other Parts of *Carniola*, not unlike unto *Elden Hole* in *Derbyſhire*; and, if we may give Credit to what several of the best Persons at *Zirchnitz* assured us, the Prince of *Eckenberg* had the Curiosity to go into one of those Caverns, and came out again upon the Side of a Hill.

8. Being upon my Departure, I was in some Doubt, whether I should go to *Tkrefte*, (*Tergestum*) a Sea-port in the *Adriatick Sea*, belonging to the Emperor, and thence by Ship to *Venice*; but having a great Curiosity to see the famous Quickſilver Mine at *Idria* in the Country of *Goritia*, I went from *Zirchnitz* to *Lovec*, and passing through the mountainous Parts of that Country, came to *Idria*, enclosed with Hills on all Sides, a River of the same Name running just by it; which is stiled by *Leandro Alberti*, *superbissimo fiume d'Idria*, though it was very small and shallow then, and after great Rains, scarce has Water enough to carry down the Fir-trees, and other Wood made use of in the Mines, for Building and Fuel, which being cast into the Water above this Place, are stop'd by some Piles set cross the River, as we observed in the River *Gran* near *Newſol*.

The only Thing that makes this Town worth taking Notice of, are the adjacent Quickſilver Mines; the En-

trance into which being somewhat lower than the Town itself, this makes them somewhat subject to Water-floods, to empty which, they are provided with excellent Engines, and other Devices: The deepest Part of the Mine, from its Entrance, is betwixt 120 and 130 Fathoms. This Mine affords two Sorts of Quickſilver; one call'd the Virgin Quickſilver, the other plain Quickſilver. They call Virgin Quickſilver that which discovers itself without the Assistance of Fire, and is either found in the Earth or Ore naturally as it is, or falls in small Drops, or sometimes streams out in a considerable Quantity down into the Mine. Thus seven Years before I saw it, they had such a Stream coming from the Earth, which at first was as small as a common Thread, and afterwards as big as a good Pack-thread, but did not continue for above two or three Days. They also reckon that Sort of Quickſilver, Virgin Mercury, which is separated by Water in a Sieve first, and afterwards in a long Trough with small Holes at one End, without the Help of any Fire.

Plain Quickſilver, or Mercury simply so called, is that, which being not at first perceivable to the Eye, is forced by Fire either out of the Ore or native *Cinnabar* of Mercury, which they dig out of this Mine. The Ore is of a dark brown Colour, mix'd with red, but the best is a hard Stone, which before they put into the Fire, is first grossly powder'd and work'd by the Sieve, to separate the Virgin Quickſilver, if any be found in it. The Quickſilver Ore of this Mine is the richest of all that ever I saw, for it generally contains half Quickſilver, or in two Parts of Ore one Part of Quickſilver, and sometimes, in three Parts of Ore two Parts of Quickſilver. I descended this Mine by the Pit of *St. Agatha*, by Ladders, and came up again by that of *St. Barbara*; an Ascent of 639 Staves or 89 Fathoms. I saw in the Laboratory, where the Quickſilver is separated by the Force of Fire, 16,000 Retorts of Iron, each of which costs a Crown at the Iron Furnaces in *Carinthia*. They employ at once 8000 Retorts, with as many Recipients, for the drawing over the Quickſilver in sixteen Furnaces, fifty Retorts in each, viz. twenty-five on a Side, twelve above and thirteen below of each Side.

June the 12th, 1669, When I was there I saw them carry away into Foreign Parts forty Saumes of Quickſilver, each Saume containing 315 Pounds Weight, to the Value of 4000 Ducats: It is carried upon Horses Backs, two small Barrels upon each Horse. In the Castle I saw 3000 Saumes of Quickſilver at once, all made up in double Leather, and in another House as much of the best Ore as could be separated in two Years Time, unless they should have more than ordinary Plenty of Wood coming down by the Rains; though, by reason of the high Hills about them, it snows oftner here than it rains.

It is a Custom for all the Strangers who come into the Castle of *Idria*, to have their Names set down in a Register-Book kept for that Purpose, with the Names of their Native Country. In the large Catalogue thereof, we met with but few *English* Mens Names, and of late Years only with Mr. *Evelyn* and Mr. *Pope's* Names, with their Companies, who after their Return, had their Observations inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*. As the better Sort of the Inhabitants of this Town generally speak five Languages, viz. the *Friulian*, *Slavonian*, *German*, *Latin* and *Italian*, (besides that some also speak *French*) so it is very fit for the Reception of Strangers.

9. From *Idria* we passed the *Swartzenberg* or Black-Mountain, and descending ten Miles through a stony Country, came to *Adeſhini*, and so to *Goritia* (the old *Noreja*) the chief City of the Country of *Goritia*, pleasantly seated, over-looking a fair Plain to the South. The Imperial Governor resides in the Castle, having a Guard to attend his Person. As we were travelling in the Night-time, we had sometimes about us a great Number of large Glow-worms, which put in Papers, gave a dim Light, and in some Places in the Plains the Air was full of flaming Flies. There is Abundance of that neat kind of *Acer*, whereof Violins and other Musical

fical Instruments are made, as well in those Parts as in *Carinthia*, and the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, where they make Trenchers and Tables of it, and sell them at a cheap Rate; I brought some of the fair broad Leaves from thence.

Leaving *Goritia*, I pass'd the River *Soncius* or *Lizonso*, which rising near the Hills, empties itself into the *Adriatick* Sea, famous for the Death of *Odoacer*, who was slain near it in a Battle by *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, and the Inroad of the *Turks* made hereabouts, in 1477, under the Reign of *Mahomet* the Great; after which, travelling through the Meadows, we came unto the strong City of *Palma Nova*, built since by the *Venetians* to prevent the like Incursions. All this long Circuit, till within a Mile of *Palma Nova*, we travelled through the Emperor's Dominions, which are much larger than generally apprehended; and as I have sooner or later seen the greatest Part of them, I can't but think him a great and powerful Prince, he being in Possession of all *Austria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, Part of *Croatia*; *Istria* and *Friuli*, Part of *Alsatia*; *Tyrol*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, Part of *Lusatia*; and a considerable Part of *Hungary*.

10. *Palma Nova* in *Friuli*, is the largest regular Fortification I ever met with in my Travels, having nine Bastions, bearing the Names of as many noble *Venetians*; on each Courtain there are two Cavaliers, the Rampart is much higher than the Wall, and the Ditch thirty Paces broad, and twelve deep; being kept dry to render the Town more healthful, but may be fill'd in Case of Necessity. It has three Gates; viz. *Porta Maritima*, *Porta di Civald*, and *Porta di Udine*. The three Bastions *Foscarini*, *Savorgnan*, and *Grimani*, lie betwixt the *Porta Maritima* and the *Porta di Udine*; those three called *Barbara*, *Dona* and *Monte*, betwixt the *Porta di Udine* and *Porta di Civald*, as those of *Garzoni*, *Contarini* and *Villa Chiara* are betwixt the *Porta di Civald* and the *Porta Maritima*. Each of these Gates were then covering with a very far Half-Moon. In the Middle of the City is a Sexangular *Piazza*, from whence there is a fair Prospect to the three Gates, and six Streets quite through the Town. In the Centre of it is fix'd a Standard over a triple Well; the Front of the Cathedral facing the *Piazza*, which is also beautified with divers Statues; and a finely gilt Obelisk. There is in the Middle of the Bridge an artificial Drawbridge, so contriv'd, that upon the Approach of any Force, the Centinel, by touching only an Iron Spring, can draw it up.

I have in my Travels made Observation of several Kinds of well-contriv'd Drawbridges, amongst all which none pleased me better than those of *Amsterdam*, which part in the Middle, so that the Mast-head or Break-water of the Ship bearing against it, opens it, and affords a free Passage to the Vessel without any other Help. The *Venetians* have made a Channel from *Palma Nova* to the Sea, capable of Vessels of good Burthen. This Fortification, which was begun by the *Venetians* in 1594, is esteem'd here one of the strongest in *Europe*, having been contriv'd by the Advice of the best Engineers.

11. From *Palma nova* I went to *Maran St. Vito*, a Port Town of the *Venetians* in *Friuli*, so named from *St. Vito*, who is said to have been buried in this Place. At this Town we took a *Felucca*, and sailing by the Shore of *Friuli* or *Patria*, we pass'd by *Porto di Taiamento*, and came to *Caborle*. In this Island there is a Church dedicated to the blessed Virgin, seated upon the Sea-shore nigh the Waves, yet said never to be overflowed by the Sea, being as it were, the *Halcyon* Nest of its Patronefs, and a Place of remarkable Devotion. On this Shoar we refresh'd ourselves, and were diverted while at Sea, in seeing them take Shell-fish; and then passing by *Livenza*, where the Sea came formerly up as high as *Opitergium*, and afterwards by *Porto di Piave*, I arriv'd at *Venice*, entering by the *Porto de Castelli*, passing by the *Carthusians* Convent, and landed at the *Piazza* of *St. Mark*. Here I found the whole City highly concerned for the hazardous State of *Candia*, which was lost soon after; *Dominico Contarini*, the present Duke was

sedulous in that Affair. The Voyage of *Ghiron Franchisco Marchese Villa*, General of the Infantry of *Candia*, with a Journal of a Siege, had been lately published; and was in many Hands. There was a Supply of Auxiliaries in good Readiness. It was at that Time a more than ordinary hot Season, and some of our *English* Sea-Captains and Masters told me, that they had seldom met with such hot Weather even between the Tropicks. Having formerly had a View of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Florence*, and the great Cities of *Italy*, and pass'd some Time at *Padoa* a few Years before, I made but a short Stay about *Venice*; and having reviewed what was most considerable, and renewed my Acquaintance with some worthy courteous Friends at *Venice* and *Padoa*, Mr. *Hales* the Consul, Mr. *Hobson*, Dr. *Cadined*, and others, I dispos'd my Affairs for my Return to *Vienna* the ordinary Way.

12. In order thereto, I took Boat at *Venice*, and landed at *Mestre* a pretty Town, and the best Place for Accommodation for such as travel into *Germany* by *Tyrol*, or into *Austria* by *Friuli*; from hence I travelled ten Miles through a pleasant plain Country, till I came to *Treviso*, which gives its Name unto the Country about *La Marca Travigiana*, a handsome City adorned with good Houses, Churches, Towers and Fountains. The clear River *Sile* or *Silo* runs through it, and afterwards into the Sea between *Mestre* and *Murano*; it abounds in good Wines and Fruits, and was a chief Seat of the *Lombards* in these Parts. This old City, after having run various Fortunes, and being under the Subjection of the *Huns*, and other conquering Nations, and sometimes obeyed the *Signora della Scala*, and the *Carraresi*, was united to the State of *Venice* in the Year 1388. It was converted to the Christian Faith, by *Prosdocimus*, a Follower of *St. Peter*. Eight Miles from hence stood the ancient City *Altinum*, founded by *Antenor*, and destroyed by *Attila*. From thence I came to *Lovadina*, and cross'd the great River *Piave*, *Plavis*, or *Anassus*, which arising in the Mountains, passes by the Cities of *Belluna* and *Feltre*, then to *Concian* or *Coniglian*, and next to *Sacille* or *Sacillum*, formerly a Bishop's See, under the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a pleasant and well built Place, esteemed the Garden of the Republick, and seated by the River *Livenza*, or *Liquentia*, which passing by *Motta*, runs into the Gulf of *Venice*. Here I took a Guide to conduct me through the Plains and Meadows, and came to *Spilimbergo*, where I again took a Guide to cross the swift River *Taiamento*, or *Tihaventum*; this is esteemed the greatest River in *Friuli*, arising above in the *Julian Alpes*, and running down into the *Adriatick* Sea, and often overflowing a great Part of the plain Country. This swift River put a Stop to the Incursion of the *Turks*, when *Scander*, Bassa of *Illyria*, broke into *Friuli* with twelve thousand Horse, and destroyed all before him, in the Reign of Sultan *Bajazet* the II^d. Not far from *Spilimbergo*, I pass'd a neat River or notable Cut, call'd, *La Brentella*, sixteen Miles long, made by the *Venetians*, for the better bringing down of Wood from the Mountains, to be used in the making of Glasses at *Murano*: It is all paved with a good Stone Bottom and Sides; the Bottom is round, so that it is somewhat like a Tube opened or split in two. Then I pass'd by *St. Daniel*, seated upon a Hill by *Hospitaletto*, and came to *Vensone*, a Town seated at the Beginning of the Hills, and formerly the Limit of the *Venetian* Dominions; thence by *Rejuta* to *la Chiufa*, a Place remarkable for the straight Passage of the *Alps*, where the *Venetians* keep a Guard, and shut up the Passage every Night. From thence I came to *Ponteba* or *Ponte Fella*, upon the River *Fella*, the exact Confines between the *Venetian* and Imperial Dominions; and surely a Man can seldom pass more clearly and distinctly, from one Country into another, than in this Town. On one Side of the Bridge live *Italians*, Subjects unto the State of *Venice*; on the other Side, *Germans*, Subjects unto the Emperor. Upon the one Side, their Buildings, their Manner of living, their empty Rooms, large Windows, Iron Bedsteads, shew them to be *Italians*: On the other Side immediately, their Stoves, higher Bedsteads, Feather Beds one over another, square

Tables, and their Bafon and Cloth by the Wall, declare them to be *Germans*. The Bridge itself is also half *Italian*, half *Dutch*, one Part being built of Stone, and the other of great Trees laid over, after the *German* Fashion of making Bridges. Between *Venzone* and *Ponteba* there are many great *Cascata's*, or Falls of Waters; but of several Passages of the *Alps*, this seemed unto me the best and most easy. In these mountainous Places I was entertain'd with strange Stories of the Snow, which cover these Hills in the Winter; as how many Pikes Length the Snow was deep in some Places; how round the Country would look when all the craggy Rocks were cover'd; how a Snowball, thrown down from a Mountain, would so gather and augment in the Fall, as to do great Mischief in the Valley; and that if the smallest Bird should but scrape with her Foot at the Edge of an high Hill, that little Beginning might so increase in the Descent, upon a Thaw, as to overwhelm an House at the Bottom.

13. From hence, by *Tervis* and *Tirl*, unto *Villach* or *Villack*, an handsome Town, and one of the chiefeft in *Carinthia*; but before I came to *Villach*, I went to see the natural Baths, which were not much out of the Way, at the Foot of an Hill, about an *English* Mile from the Town, and in good Esteem. There are two clear sulphureous Baths, but very gently warm, and have an Acid, and no unpleasant Taste. The Bottom is not planchered nor paved, but hath its own natural Spring and Settlement with it; yet into one there is a hot Spring let in, which arises by it. They are large, and have Stairs to descend into them, with little Rooms of Wood about them for Accommodation: They are cover'd over, and they bathe in them cloathed with Shirt and Drawers, as in *Austria*. Not far from hence is a Lake called the *Ossiacker-See*, from *Ossiack*, a Town upon the Side thereof, and is one of the most considerable Lakes in *Carinthia*, there being besides it, these which are remarkable, the *White Lake*, the *Millstatter*, the *Werd*, and the *Forchten*. This Lake doth not only abound in Fish, but affords great Plenty of *Ossiacker* Nuts, which the People eat, and some make Bread of, which notwithstanding, upon Examination, I found to be no other than very large Seeds of *Tribulus Aquaticus* or Water Gallthorps. From *Villach* I soon came to the *Werd-See*, and keeping it continually on my Right Hand, I travelled by the Side of it till I came to *Clagenfurte*, and then passed again to *St. Veits*, where I met Mr. *Donellan*, from whom, upon my former Desires to him, I received an Account of the great Lead Mines in *Upper Carinthia*, at *Bleyberg*, where they have worked eleven hundred Years, and the Pits are deep. *Federnus Stollen* or *Cuniculus* is an hundred and ten Fathoms deep in the Earth, and the Hills so high about it, that upon the Melting of the Snow in the Spring, there is often much Hurt done, the Snow rolling and falling in such vast Heaps, that nothing is able to resist it; so that in the Year 1654, it fell so vehemently, that it destroyed and carried away sixteen Houses. He presented me also with many handsome natural Curiosities, collected by him in those Parts; one of which, among the rest, I cannot but mention, which was a rich, large, fair Piece of natural Cinnabar, found in *Crewaltar*, in the Forest of *Cre*, two *German* Miles from *St. Veits*, in the Lordship of *Osterwitz*, where there hath been great Quantities found out; for the *Herr von Standach* about thirty Years ago, as he was hunting in this Forest, being thirsty, and laying down to drink out of a Stream, which runs from the Top of the Hill, he perceived the Stream to be full of Cinnabar; but since it hath been so diligently searched after, that without working and digging for it there is none to be found. From *St. Viets* I continued my Journey by *Friesach*, where formerly there was a Gold Mine, and then by *Newmark*, *Hundsmark*, *Peltsolz*, *Knitelfeldt*, *Luibm*, *Prug*, *Kemberg*, *Mehrz-u. Schlag*, *Schadtwien*, *Newkirkel*, *Newstadt*, *Solinaw*, *Traskirchell*, *Newdorff*, to *Vienna*.

14. This my Return from *Venice* to *Vienna*, about three hundred and fifty *Italian* Miles, was the most quiet Journey I ever made; for not meeting with good Com-

pany, I perform'd it alone, and upon one Horse; and although there are several Nations, and no less than four Languages spoken upon this Road, yet I met with no Disturbance from any, nor did any one ask from whence I came, or whither I would go; no Trouble as to Bills of Health, and good Accommodations in the Inns at an easy Rate. They are, for the most part, a plain People, make good Soldiers, little mutinous, but obedient to Commands, and hardy, and are of good Use and Service unto the Emperor. In my Travels in *Germany*, I seldom failed to meet with *Jews*; but in this Journey I met with none, or such as I could not well distinguish; for though there were then whole Villages of *Jews* in *Austria*, yet they were prohibited in *Styria*, and severely banished out of *Carinthia*; so that for those *Jews*, who travelled between *Venice* and *Vienna*, the Emperor dispenses with them as to their Ruff, and the *Venetians* as to their Red Hat. I went this Journey when the Sun was in Cancer, in the hottest Time of the Year, and Heat was very offensive to me in the great Plains of *Friuli* and *Austria*, but in the *Alps* it was much more moderate, and the Country was all green and pleasant; when, on the contrary, all the Grass in *Austria* was burnt up by the Sun; and if there were not a continual Breeze about the Middle of the Day, upon all great Plains, especially in Southern Countries, the Heat would be intolerable; and I could not but take Notice, how pleasantly the poor Peasants in the *Alpine* Countries diverted themselves in the Fields, and after their Labour would be lively and brisk, sometimes play at Cards with Cards of a Span long, such as they have in those Countries; while the rich Countrymen in *Austria* were faint, and gasping for Breath; nor did it any Thing avail them, that *Austria* was more Northern than *Styria* or *Carinthia*, for there may be as much Difference as to the Temperature of the Air, as to Heat and Cold in one Mile, as in ten Degrees of Latitude, and he that would cool and refresh himself in the Summer, had better go up to the Top of the next Hill, than remove into a far more Northern Country. I have been ready to freeze on the Top of a Hill, and in an Hour's Time after have suffered as great Inconvenience from the Heat of the Valley at the Rising of the Sun; I have been upon a Hill with a clear Sky and good Weather, and have seen a Valley encompassed with Mountains, and covered over with Clouds much below us the Sun shining upon the upper Part of the Clouds made them appear like fine Down or Wool, and made the softest, sweetest Lights and Shadows imaginable; afterwards, when we descended into this Valley under the Clouds, we had no such pleasant Prospect, but were rained upon the most Part of the Day. In that hot Country of *Arabia*, Travellers complain most of the Cold they suffer in passing the Hills. The Mountains in *Italy* and *Spain*, are, some of them covered with Snow and Ice all the Summer long. I have heard that Mount *Atlas* is so also, from Dr. *Butler* who lately travelled in those Parts, and from others, when in *Great-Britain* there is no such Thing. At *London* we have Winters for the most Part favourable; when Captain *James*, who went to discover the North-west Passage, and to search if there were any Communication between the *Atlantick* Ocean and the *South-Sea*, in the Northern Part of *America*, as there is in the Southern, suffered more Hardship in the same Degree of Latitude, than the nine *Englishmen*, who were left all the Winter in *Greenland*; and *Baffin*, on the contrary, upon the same Design, had a pleasant Voyage in an open Sea, and met with Inhabitants upon the Shore, till he came within nine Degrees of the Pole. But I shall wander too far out of the Way, and therefore will put an End to this Discourse.

15. In the last Folio Edition of Dr. Browne's Travels, there are added, his Journey to *Cologne* in 1673, on Purpose to view the Baths of *Aix la Chapelle*, and to examine the mineral Waters of the *Spa*; as also his Travels through *Italy*, which were first made, and which had cost him twelve or fourteen Years to digest and put in Order. It may not be amiss however to inform the Reader, that in these he shewed himself a very learned

learned and curious Antiquary, of which, we have a clear and pregnant Instance in what he says of the City of *Padoa*, which, for that Reason, we shall transcribe for the Reader's Satisfaction and Entertainment, though otherwise much straitned for Room, and very impatient to take our Leave of *Europe*. "The Landing-place of *Padoa* is handsomely set off, with Stone Steps continued for a long Space along the Side of the River, after the Manner of the Landing-place at *Ghent*, and some other elegant Cities of the *Low-Countries*. The outward Wall is strong, being well fortified according to the modern Rules of Fortification, in the Time of *Leonardo de Loredaro*, Duke of *Venice*; and to render it more strong, the Rivers of *Brenta* and *Bacchiglione* are let into the Town-Ditch. The inward Wall is now most considerable for its Antiquity, and for retaining the Name of its Founder, it being still call'd *Antenor's Wall*: It contains a far less Space of Ground than the former *Padoa*, being built in this Respect like to the City of *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Aken*, having one Town within another. That *Patavium* or *Padoa* is one of the oldest Cities of *Europe*, built presently after the *Trojan War*, is confessed by ancient Writers, and so generally believed of old, that *Livy* lays it down for the Ground-work of his History, beginning in this Manner, *Tam primum omnium satis constat Troja capta, &c.* In the first Place it is sufficiently manifest, that *Troy* being taken, the *Grecians* executed the utmost of their Rage upon the *Trojans*, *Aeneas*, and *Antenor* only excepted, by Reason of their ancient Friendship with the *Greeks*, and in Respect that they had always endeavoured to make Peace and restore *Helen*. After various Fortunes, *Antenor* brought a great Number of the *Heneti*, who having lost their King *Pylemon* at the Wars of *Troy* and being driven out of *Papblagonia* by a Faction, were now seeking new Seats, and a Captain to lead them, and came along with them to the Bottom of the *Adriatick Gulf*, drove out the *Eugenians*, who inhabited between the Sea and *Alpes*, and established the *Trojans* and *Heneti* in those Countries.

"*Martial* also Saluting *Flaccus*, a *Padoan* Poet, calls him.

"*Flacce Antenorei spes & Alumine Laris.*

"And that you may more firmly give Credit to it, you may further also have the Authority of a Goddess for it, for *Venus* is introduced expostulating in these Terms with *Jupiter* in the Behalf of *Aeneas*.

"*Quem das finem Rex magne, malorum?*

"*Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis*

"*Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus:*

"*Regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,*

"*Unde per Ora navem vasto cum murmure montis*

"*It mare proruptum et Pelago premit arva sonanti*

"*Hic tamen ille Urbem Patavi sedesque locavit*

"*Teuconum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit.*

"What Time, great King, shall terminate our Woes?

"Safe could *Antenor* break through all his Foes;

"Pierce to the Bottom of the *Illyrian Bay*,

"View Kingdoms where *Lyburnian* Princes sway;

"Pass the nine Mouths of fierce *Timavus* Waves,

"Which roars upon the Hills, and o'er the Valleys raves,

"And there could fix, and on that Foreign Ground

"Great *Padoa's* Tow'rs for After-Ages found.

"New name the Race, and free from all Alarms,

"Hang up in Peace his consecrated Arms.

"In those Days, when the Art of Navigation was but in its Infancy, and the Mariners very unwillingly parted with the Sight of Land, *Antenor* was forced to keep close, and creep along the Coast of *Peleponesus* and *Epirus*, and then sail by the *Illyrian* and *Liburnian* Shoars, which are very uneven and troublesome to deal with, being full of Creeks, unsafe Bays and Rocks, besides very many Islands of various

Shapes; whereas if he had crossed over to the *Italian Coast*, he had had a nearer Voyage, and sail'd with Pleasure all along an even, bold, brave Shoar. The People of *Padoa* are well pleased with the Thoughts of their ancient Founders and Progenitors; and they still preserve the Tomb of *Antenor*, near to which at present stands the Church of *St. Lawrence*, and in their publick Shows they will be still representing something of *Troy* and the old *Trojans*; and in one Place I saw a Horse of Wood about twenty Foot high, in Imitation of the old *Trojan Horse*, but I suppose nothing near so big as the first Original: Yet when I consider, that above eleven hundred Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, when Towns and Buildings were very much amplified and improved, *Pompey* coming in Triumph could not enter even the great Triumphal Gates of *Rome* itself in a Chariot drawn by Elephants, an Animal that seldom or never comes to be so high as this Horse, it may well be supposed that they could not have received even this poor Model of the first great one into the old Town of *Troy*, without pulling down their Walls. The City of *Padoa* was always a Friend to the *Romans*, and did them great Service in their Wars against the *Galli Senones*, the *Umbrians*, *Boians*, *Insubres*, *Cimbrians* and *Carthaginians*, and stuck close to their Interest till the Time of the Declination of the *Roman Empire*.

"When *Attila* the powerful King of the *Huns*, with Fire and Sword destroy'd it; and when after divers Years it was rebuilt by the Favour of *Narjes* the Eunuch, General to the Emperor *Justinian*, it was again lamentably ruined by the *Longobardian* Princes, who, by shooting Arrows with Firebrands fixed to them, set the City on Fire, and took it. But under the Empire of *Charles* the Great and his Successors, it arose out of its Ashes again, and flourished for a long Time, being governed first by Consuls, and then by a Podesta, until the Time of their dreadful Tyrant *Ezzelin*, who harrassed, banished, tormented and massacred the Inhabitants, cramming their own Wells within the City, full with mangled Bodies, and, amongst other Severities, upon an angry Distaste against them, slew ten thousand of them in one Day at *Verona*. But notwithstanding these Cruelties, they recover'd their Liberty again after the Death of *Ezzelin*, and by Degrees became very powerful, having under their Jurisdiction *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Trent*, *Trevise*, *Feltre*, *Belluno*, *Ceneda*, *Seravalla*, *Ciosa*, *Bassano*, with its Territories; all the *Polesine* or *Peninsula*, and the greatest Part of *Friuli*, with other important Places, when in the End *Marsilio de Carrara* made himself Captain or Governor of the City.

"This noble Family of the *Carraresi*, very powerful in these Parts, came from their Castle of *Bossano*, and lived in *Padoa*, where they became very considerable, and siding with the Pope against the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, they were driven out by *Ezzelin*; but when, upon the successful Attempts of the *Roman* Legate *Angedin*, a Commander under *Ezzelin*, was overthrown, they were again restored, dignified, and established in the Government of *Padoa*, which they possessed with some Variety of Fortune from one to another, in their own Family, for about an hundred Years, in the Conclusion of which they were seized on by the *Venetians*, who thought fit to put *Francisco Novello* and his Sons to Death in the Year 1405. And after this Manner, by having totally extinguished the noble Family of the *Carraresi*, without Fear of any further Claim or Dispute, they possessed themselves of the City of *Padoa*, and hold it in their Hands to this Day.

"The Buildings at *Padoa*, both publick and private, are very considerable; for most of the City is built upon Arches, making handsome Portico's or Cloysters on each Side of the Street, after the Manner of the Houses in the Piazza of *Covent-Garden*, which at all Times afford a good Defence against the Sun and Rain, and many of the Houses are painted on the Outside with very good History Painting in *Fresco*, their

“ their Churches are fair, and divers well adorned.
 “ The Domo or Cathedral Church is large, seated near
 “ the Middle of the City, endowed and mightily en-
 “ riched by the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*, whose Em-
 “ press *Berta* lies buried here. The Revenues of this
 “ Church, at present, are reckoned to amount to a
 “ hundred thousand Crowns a Year; and besides the
 “ Monuments of many eminent Persons, they preserve
 “ here the Body of *St. Daniel*, of Cardinal *Pileo de*
 “ *Pratto*, and of Cardinal *Francesco Zabarella*.

“ The Church of *St. Antonio* is visited by Persons far
 “ and near, and the exquisite Design, artificial Carving
 “ in Marble, the handsome Choir and rich Ornaments
 “ make it worth the seeing. The Top of the Church
 “ is made up of six Cupola's cover'd with Lead. The
 “ Chapel of *St. Antonio* is nobly set out with twelve
 “ Marble Pillars, and a rich Roof. Between the Pil-
 “ lars are carved the Miracles of this Saint, who lies
 “ interred under the Altar, upon which stand seven
 “ Figures made by *Titian Aspetti*, a good Statuary of
 “ *Padoa*; and behind the Altar there is a most excel-
 “ lent *Basso relievo* done by *Sansovinus*, *Tullius*, *Lombur-*
 “ *dus*, and *Campagna Veronensis*. Over against the Cha-
 “ pel of *St. Antonio* stands the Chapel of *St. Felix*, and
 “ his Tomb, nobly wrought with colour'd Marble, and
 “ the whole splendidly adorned with the Paintings of
 “ the highly celebrated *Giotto*. The chief Relicks in this
 “ Church are the Tongue and Chin of *St. Antonio*, a Cloth
 “ dipped in the Blood of our Saviour, three Thorns of
 “ his Crown, and a Piece of the Wood of his Cross;
 “ some of the Hair and Milk of the blessed Virgin,
 “ and some of the Blood of the Marks of *St. Francis*.
 “ Before the Front of the Church, there is a handsome
 “ Brass Statue on Horseback, representing the great
 “ *Venetian General Gattamelata*. *St. Antonio* lived six and
 “ thirty Years, died upon the thirteenth of *June*, 1231,
 “ and was canonized by Pope *Gregory the IXth*, in the
 “ City of *Spoleta*, 1237.

“ The Convent of the black Monks of *St. Benedict*
 “ may compare with most in *Italy*, and their Church
 “ dedicated to *Santa Giustina*, built by *Palladio*, is one
 “ of the fairest in *Europe*. *St. Giustina* was a Virgin
 “ and Martyr, Daughter to *Vitaliano* of this City; she
 “ suffered Martyrdom in the Time of *Maximianus* the
 “ Emperor. In this Church there are still preserved, as
 “ they say, the Body of *St. Luke the Evangelist*, of *St.*
 “ *Matthias* the Apostle, of two of the innocent Chil-
 “ dren, of *Prædochimus*, of the Converter of these Coun-
 “ tries to the Christian Faith, and first Bishop of *Padoa*;
 “ of *Maximus* their second Bishop, and of *Santa Gius-*
 “ *tina*. The Front of this Church looks into a spacious
 “ Place, called *Prata della Valee*, where the Gentlemen
 “ meet in their Coaches in the Evening for their Plea-
 “ sure. In a handsome Room or Burying-place on the
 “ South-side of this Church, is a round old red Mar-
 “ ble Stone, upon which the Heads of many Martyrs
 “ were cut off, and near to it, a fine white Marble
 “ Well, call'd, *Pozzo di Martiro*, or the Martyr's
 “ Well, a Place of great Devotion.

“ Where the Temple of *Juno* stood in old Time,
 “ there is now built a handsome Church dedicated to *St.*
 “ *Augustin*, wherein are divers Monuments of the Fa-
 “ mily of *Carrara*, the Tomb of *Charlotta*, Daughter
 “ to *James King of Cyprus*, and of *Petrus Aponensis*, a
 “ great Philosopher. *Il Ponte Melino*, where there are
 “ thirty Water Mills together, and the *Castello della*
 “ *Munitioni*, both built by *Ezzelin*, are worth the see-
 “ ing. *La Corte del Capitano* is splendid, and was
 “ the Palace of the *Carrarese*. The *Palazzo della Ra-*
 “ *gione*, where the Courts of Justice are held, is very
 “ large, beautiful, and highly considerable, both with-
 “ out and within, being built of Marble, with Rows of
 “ Pillars without and within; there are Heads and In-
 “ scriptions for divers eminent Persons of this City; the
 “ Length thereof is two hundred fifty six Foot, and
 “ the Breadth eighty six, without any Pillar or Support
 “ in the Middle.

“ The University of *Padoa* was founded in the
 “ Year 1220, by the Emperor *Frederick the IIId*, and
 “ the Schools are fair and large, containing one Qua-

“ drangle, with Rows of Pillars above and below, and
 “ besides handsome Schools on every Side, there is a
 “ very convenient anatomical Theatre. The Physick-
 “ Garden is large, of a round Figure, walled about,
 “ and well stored with Plants. The Prefects hereof
 “ have been Men of Note, as, *Aloysius Mundella*, *Aloy-*
 “ *sus*, *Anguillard*, *Melchior Guilandinus*, *Jacobus Antonius*,
 “ *Cortusius*, *Prosper Alpinus*, and *Joannes Veslingius*.

“ The Arena, or old Amphitheatre at *Padoa*, is an
 “ Antiquity very remarkable, and the Remains of some
 “ of the Arches are to be seen still in the Gardens
 “ backwards, but the Arena itself, and the whole Po-
 “ dium are preserved intire and free, and empty. And
 “ at one End thereof is built a handsome Palace, the
 “ Front of which looks directly into the open Amphi-
 “ theatre, and is a Portion of an oval Figure, and the
 “ whole Area or Arena of the Amphitheatre serves
 “ for the Court to it, in such Manner, that the En-
 “ trance being now at the End, directly opposite to
 “ the House, the handsome Prospect of it, and the
 “ clear Avenue to it is extraordinarily surprizing, and
 “ extremely noble; and I could not imagine that any
 “ Gentlemen would ever desire to have a fairer Court-
 “ yard to his House, than the spacious Plain Arena
 “ of an old *Roman* Amphitheatre, nor a better Wall
 “ than a high, intire handsome Podium, the like to
 “ which perhaps is not at this Day any where else to
 “ be seen. And I must freely confess, that of the Re-
 “ mains and Ruins of twelve old Amphitheatres which
 “ I have seen myself, I have not met with any one
 “ that comes near it; for in the Amphitheatre at
 “ *Douë* in *Poitou*, which is cut out of a Rock, and
 “ being of a smaller Dimension, and Part of the Bot-
 “ tom being fill'd up, there is no visible Beauty of the
 “ Podium; the like may be said also of that at *Nizza*,
 “ near the River *Varus*, and that at *Pozzuolo*.

“ That at *Nismes* is filled up with Dwelling-houses
 “ in such Manner, that the upper Seats only are di-
 “ stinctly visible. The Amphitheatres of *Bordeaux*,
 “ *Xaintes*, *Arles*, *Garigliano*, that at *Rome*, near the
 “ Church of *Santa Croce* in *Gierusalemme*, and others
 “ are at present so much ruined, that nothing of this
 “ Nature distinguishable is to be expected, nay even
 “ about the Arena at *Verona*, and the great *Coliseo* or
 “ *Domitianus's* Amphitheatre at *Rome*, the Ground is
 “ now risen so high, that the Podium is at present
 “ either buried or disfigured. But as the Arena at *Pa-*
 “ *doa*, is clear and evident in this Part, so it is wanting
 “ in all the rest, and he that desires at this Day to
 “ view all the Parts of an Amphitheatre, must not see
 “ one but many; and by joining them together in
 “ his Thoughts, he may collect the Figure, Proportion
 “ and Dimensions of this sumptuous Sort of Buildings
 “ of the old *Romans*.

“ From the Walls of *Padoa* there is a pleasant Prof-
 “ spect of a plain Country to North-East and South,
 “ and of the *Euganean Hills* to the West, which sup-
 “ ply the Town with Variety of Plants, and great
 “ Numbers of Vipers. At a few Miles Distance are
 “ the hot Baths of *Abano*, and the Mineral drinking
 “ Waters of *Monte Ortone*, as also *Marchese Obizzi's*
 “ Country-House, which we saw with great Delight,
 “ it being well design'd and accommodated with a
 “ good Armory, a Theatre for Comedies, handsome
 “ Stables, and a Tennis-Court, and nobly painted both
 “ within and without by that Master *Paulo Veronese*.

This large Extract shows his Manner of treating An-
 tiquities, and may serve as a useful Memorial to young
 Travellers who are desirous of knowing how to digest
 their Thoughts, and to unite the Knowledge they have
 brought from the Universities, with what they collect
 from visiting the World. It is really a very difficult
 Thing to give our Author his due Praises; for the more
 we consider what is written, the more Reason we shall
 see for commending him; and which is not a little ex-
 traordinary, the more we consider what he has omitted,
 the greater Reason we shall have to admire his Pru-
 dence. There are however some Passages in his Wri-
 tings, which perhaps may be a little obscure, not from
 any Want of Knowledge in the Author, but rather
 from

from his Superabundance, which hinder'd him from discerning that what was extremely clear to him, might be very dark notwithstanding to Persons of less general Knowledge, and to such as had not found an Opportunity of considering particular Subjects in such a Light, as to be able to understand the Hints he gives about them.

As for Instance, what he says of the Miners Compass, seems to stand in Need of Explanation. They work, says he, towards One, Two, or Three of the Clock; for the Miners differs from the Mariners Compass, being not divided into thirty-two, but into twenty-four Points. This is very true, not only in regard to the *Hungarian* and *German* Mines, but with respect to our own Coal Mines, where, if you ask any of the Workmen about the Course of the Veins, they answer you, that it dips towards Six o'Clock; which is utterly unintelligible to common People. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Miners and Mariners Compass is founded upon different Principles, though I very much doubt, whether a Method might not be found of using the Mariners Compass to very great Advantage in Mines; but at present we have not Room to insist upon this, and shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that in the Miners Compass the upper Twelve o'Clock answers to the Meridian of the Place where the Mine is, and from thence the Hours are mark'd on each of the Semicircles; so that Six o'Clock makes a Quadrant on each Side, and each of the Hour Lines is distant from the other fifteen Degrees; so that in Fact, the Miners Compass is a Kind of Dial, and when they say they have worked to such an Hour, they mean that they work to such a Point as the Sun bears from them at the Time of the Day which they mention.

There is another Passage in these Travels, which deserves also to be insisted upon, and that is, the Hint given by the Author about the vast Advantages that might arise to the House of *Austria*, from the Practice of a philosophical Secret; in short, his own Experience had convinced him, that the Vitriolate Springs really and effectually changed Iron into Copper; from whence he infer'd, that Springs might be found in the Silver Mines, which might have the like Effect with respect to Copper, or rather with regard to Copper Ore, which might possibly be managed in such a Manner, as to dispose it to such a noble Change; for the Doctor observes, that not the best, but the worst Iron answered the former Experiment most effectually; for which many Reasons might be given; but as what we have already said will fully answer the End we proposed, and let the Reader fully into the Sense of what the Author delivers in the following remarkable Words, we shall dwell upon it no longer.

“The Profit which the Emperor makes by his Mines, says he, is reckoned to amount to an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, yearly. But when they come to deal with deeper and richer Veins of Ore, and that there shall be by Degrees more of these Vitriolate Copper Springs discover'd, this Revenue will be then increased. And it is more than probable, that Time will bring more of them to Light; for at *Zolnoch*, and other Places near the *Carpathian* Hills, there are divers of the same Springs already made Use of. But if, furthermore, considering the Nobleness of these Springs, containing in them the true mature Salt of *Venus*, some Persons hereafter shall be so fortunate, as moreover to discover and experimentally improve the Use of Springs

“and Fountains saturated with a *Vitriolum Lunæ*, and learn perfectly how to adapt metalline Bodies to the adequate Energy and Activity of such Waters; the Improvement by Transmutation, as it is at present more than ten to one, so it will in those Days amount to above a hundred to one; and the Use of these Mines and metalline Labours may hereby effectually prove, in Times to come, one of the richest Jewels in the Imperial Crown.”

We are now to take our Leave of Dr. *Edward Browne* and his Travels, with which we shall close this Section, this Chapter, and this Book. We shall, indeed, in the first Chapters of the next, be obliged to enter into the Description of several Parts of *Europe*; but as the Travels included in those Chapters relate chiefly to *Asia*; and as it would have been very difficult to divide them, without breaking the Thread of the Discourse, and thereby destroying the Connection between its Parts, we judged it better to involve all such Travels in the Third Book. The Reader will observe, the Uses which may be made of this Collection are not only much more numerous, but more excellent also in their Nature, than those which result from any Kind of Geographical Performance, how accurately soever performed, because we do not dwell upon the Superficies, but go to the very Bottom of Things; and in the Accounts that we have given of the several Parts of *Europe*, we have taken all imaginable Care to treat succinctly of what appeared trivial, and to be more copious upon Points of real Use, and which contribute to the Improvement of solid Knowledge. If we had been allowed more Room, we should doubtless have answered all Purposes better; but we have made the best Use of what we had, and we may safely affirm, that no Collection of this Kind has, so far as we have already gone, treated every Country we have mentioned more fully, or given the judicious Peruser an Opportunity of understanding its past and present State more clearly.

It shall be our Study to execute what is to come in the same Manner, so that every Part of this Performance may, as near as it is possible, correspond with the Whole of it. Some small Differences there may be, which lie out of our Power to hinder, because of the Inequality in the Capacities of those Authors we transcribe; but if we make the best Choice we can of these, and give their Accounts in the best Manner that we are able, it is all that can be expected, indeed all that can be performed by us; which every candid Critick will allow. In succeeding Times, there will no Doubt be Variety of Voyages and Travels sent into the World, and amongst them probably there will be several superior in Value to those that have gone before them; but with respect even to these we have provided, as far as it lay in our Power, for the Reader's Service, because they may be easily digested according to our Method, and be ranged upon new Shelves in the same Library. We say this, that the Publick may be apprized of the true Value of what we have given them, and be satisfied, that this Collection can never be out of Date, the Authors which it contains, and those which it will contain, not only have at present, but will always have their Value; and how necessary or how pleasing soever it may be to peruse new Voyages or Travels, or new Collections of them, yet it is impossible they should ever supersede the Necessity of reading these, because the Perusal of them will be always requisite to the perfect Understanding of such as are later in Point of Time.



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Or, A Complete COLLECTION of **VOYAGES and TRAVELS.**

BOOK III.

Voyages to and Travels through the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and through the other Empires, Kingdoms and States in *Asia*; with curious and copious Accounts of such Parts of that great Continent as are least known.

CHAP. I.

Voyages through the Islands of the *Archipelago*: Travels through most of the Provinces under the Dominion of the Grand Signior; with a full Account of the present State, Forces, Revenue, Commerce, &c. of the *Turks*.

SECTION I.

The Voyages and Travels of the Celebrated Mr. JOHN THEVENOT, from *Italy* to *Constantinople*, including a very curious and exact Description of the several Places he touched at in his Passage; of the several Cities he visited upon the Coasts; and a most exact View of *Constantinople* at the Time he visited it. Interspersed with a great Variety of Historical and Political Remarks, equally instructive and entertaining.

Extracted from the last Edition of the Author's Travels, printed at Amsterdam in 1727.

1. An Account of the Author and of his Family; the Occasion of his Voyages, and the Manner in which they were undertaken. 2. His Arrival in Sicily, and his Description of that Island and its Coasts, with some Account of Scylla and Charybdis. 3. An Account of the Island of Malta, and the Observations made therein by our Author during his Stay there. 4. He prosecutes his Voyage from thence towards Constantinople, and describes the Islands touched at by the Way. 5. A curious Account of the celebrated Streights now called the Dardanelles. 6. Several Cities on the Asian Coast between the Streights and Constantinople, described by the Author. 7. The several Cities on the Thracian Side of the Streights described in the like Manner. 8. An Account of the several Islands in the Propontis. 9. A Description of the City of Constantinople, its Ports, Walls, Gates, Towers, &c. 10. Continuation of this Description, with a large Account of the noble Cathedral called Santa Sophia, now turned into a Turkish Mosque; with an Account of several other Mosques and magnificent publick Buildings. 11. A very copious Description of the Seraglio, taken not only from Mr. Thevenot, but from Tavernier and Wisner's Accounts. 12. Of the Divan, or Grand Signior's Council of State, and the Manner in which Causes are heard there, and the Method in which Ambassadors are received in publick Audiences. 13. The Secrets of the Seraglio, with the Manner of the Grand Signior's living with his Wives and Concubines. 14. The Policy of the Seraglio, comprehending the entire Detail of the Education of the Sultan's Servants there, by which they are qualified for the chief Places in the Empire.





English Miles.
60 120 240 360 480 600

PART OF EUROPE

NORTHERN OCEAN

BLACK SEA

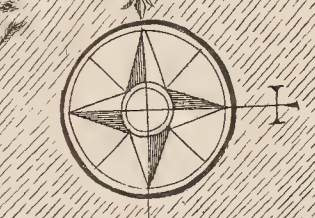
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

RED SEA

AFRICA

THE INDIAN OCEAN


EASTERN OCEAN



A NEW & EXACT MAP of
ASIA
Compiled from Surveys & authentic
Journals & Charts, & Regulated
by Astron. Observations.
By Eman. Bowen Geog. to His Majesty.
East Longitude from London.



pire. 15. The Government of the Seraglio, containing a curious Account of the Grand Signior's Household. 16. An Account of his Manner of Living, together with a Detail of the Expences and Provisions of his Court. 17. The Customs and Rules of the Seraglio, and the Manner of the Grand Signior's going abroad in State. 18. The Manner in which their Bayram or Carnival is kept. 19. A Description of the Old Seraglio, and of several other Places. 20. Galata and Pera described, with several Places adjoining. 21. The rest of the Country of the Asiatick Side of the Bosphorus described. 22. An Appendix, consisting in a great Variety of entertaining and instructive Passages, extracted from other Authors. 23. Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Remarks on the foregoing Section.

I.  It is impossible to read, with any Satisfaction, the Travels and Adventures of an Author, without having some Knowledge of who or what he was, and of his general Character in the World. Mr. John Thevenot was of the same Family with the famous Melchizedec Thevenot, who published a large and curious Collection of Voyages, Part originally written, and the rest very accurately translated from Spanish, Italian, English, and other Languages, into French; which is the Reason they are very often confounded together, by such as are not well acquainted with Literary History, but borrow what little Knowledge they have, from Title Pages, Indexes, and Journals. The elder Thevenot travelled, indeed, for some Time, but never without the Limits of Europe; nor did he think any Accounts of his Voyages worthy the Notice of the Publick. He was appointed Library-keeper to Lewis XIV. and not only discharged the Duties of his Office with great Diligence and Fidelity, but likewise enriched that noble Storehouse of Learning, with upwards of two thousand Volumes from his own Study. He was particularly careful in collecting Manuscripts in all Languages, and more especially in the English, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabick, Turkish and Persian Tongues; all of which he understood perfectly. He died by too great Abstinence, which he flatter'd himself would have cured an Ague, on the 29th of October in 1692, in the seventy-first Year of his Age.

Our Author had, from his very Youth, a strong Inclination to travel, in Hopes of gratifying that Curiosity, which excited him to enquire into and examine after whatever appear'd new or curious, useful or entertaining. It was to gratify this Inclination of his, that he went to Rome, where meeting accidentally with the celebrated Mr. Herbelot, the most learned Man of his own, or perhaps of any Age, in every Branch of Oriental Literature, he caught from him so violent a Passion for penetrating into whatever was curious or extraordinary in the East, that he resolv'd to continue his Travels to the most distant Part thereof; in which he flatter'd himself with the Hopes of having the Company of the very judicious Person before-mentioned; but some Family-Affairs, which required the Presence of that learned Gentleman, oblig'd him at that Time to return into France; but Mr. Thevenot having made all the necessary Preparations for this long Expedition, and being encouraged to undertake it by his Friend, who promised to join him in the Island of Malta, resolv'd to proceed in the Execution of the Design he had undertaken.

Accordingly, on Monday, May 1, 1655, he left Rome, in order to go and embark at Civita Vecchia on board the Galley commanded by Count Gaddi, in which he began that Voyage of which we intend to give the Reader an Account in this Section. He appears, by his Writings, to have been a Man of great Accuracy and Diligence, as well as of wonderful Curiosity and Vivacity, of a bold and enterprising Spirit, merely for the Sake of Knowledge; for he does not appear to have had any Turn towards Profit or Glory. His sole Aim was to know; and as to Wealth and Power, he left them to the Covetous and Ambitious. He was very careful in his Enquiries, took very little upon Trust, examined all Things with his own Eyes, committed his Observations to Writing immediately, and, after his Return to France, revised and published them at several Times, at the Request, and to satisfy the Importunity of his

Friends. He appears to have had a large Share of useful Learning, which enabled him to make just and proper Enquiries, as well as very judicious, and at the same Time very entertaining Remarks. He was very inquisitive, but very far from being credulous; he had a strong Disposition to learn, and was ready to submit himself to be taught by any whom he found more knowing than himself. He was free from Prejudices or Prepossessions, was very desirous of knowing the true State of Things, and very willing to communicate his Knowledge. In a Word, his Candour and Integrity procured him the general Esteem of all who knew him, and have had the same favourable Effect with respect to his Writings, to which we shall now proceed.

2. He continued his Journey from Rome, and upon June the 2d. he embark'd at Civita-Vecchia, and came to an Anchor before the Port of Messina in Sicily in Seven Days. This Town lies opposite to Rhegio in Italy, from which it is distant about sixty Miles. It was built by the Messinians of Peloponnesus, and from them took its Name, being anciently call'd Zande. It is a safe Harbour by Nature, and round it are several fair Palaces built very uniform, which form a pleasant Prospect. The Mole, which shuts in the Port, has a Tower by it to secure the Entry, and another in the Midst of it. This Town is but a melancholy Place, though the Streets are fair and large. Over the Door of the Cathedral Church is written, *Gran-Mercy a Messine*, in Memory of the Surrender of that City to the French, when they took Sicily. Before it is a great Piazza, with a Theatre in the Middle of it, where the Victory of Lepanto is represented in Brass, and a brazen Statue of Don John of Austria stands by it. The Novitiate of the Jesuits stands upon an Hill that over-looks the Town.

There are eighteen strong Castles in it, but four of them only are in the Hands of the Spaniards: The Messinese have the rest. The Town is very rich, by Reason of the great Trade in Silk driven there. There are no Inns for Strangers, so that they are oblig'd to lodge in a wretched Tavern by the Harbour. All Things are cheap, the Wines strong, but bad. It is an Archiepiscopal See. The Streights are made dangerous by Scilla and Charybdis, though anciently they were much more so than now, because Navigation is improved. Scilla is a Rock near the Castle Scyllio, on the Italian Shore. Charybdis is the Meeting of two contrary Eddies, which by beating and clashing one against another, make a Noise like the Barking of Dogs, and by causing Vessels to turn round about, suck them down to the Bottom; nor is the Harbour itself safe from it, for the Currents will sometimes carry the Ships out into it, and therefore the Messinese have always a great many Pilots in Readiness to assist Vessels in Danger.

Sicily is of a triangular Form, each Angle making a Cape, which are now called Difaro, anciently Pelorus, Passaro, anciently Pachinis, and Bocho, heretofore Lilibæum. It is but three Miles distant from Italy, being separated from it by a dangerous Streight, call'd, The Pharo of Messina. It is the most considerable Island of the Mediterranean Sea, both for Bigness (being 700 Miles in Compass) and Fruitfulness, produces Plenty of Corn, excellent Wines, Olives, and other Necessaries of Life, insomuch as that it was call'd one of the Granaries of Rome. It contains a great many fair rich Towns, but it is much annoy'd by Mount Gibello, or, as it is stiled by the Ancients, *Ætna*, which continually casts forth Abundance of Flames, and covers the Land about it with

with Ashes for a great Way; this Island is also much infested with Earthquakes. It has been under the Dominion of many Nations, viz. *Greeks, Carthaginians* and *French*; at this Time subject to the King of *Spain*, who has always a Vice-Roy there, that has his Residence half a Year at *Palermo*, and the rest at *Messina*. From all these Nations the *Sicilians* have derived some Vices which makes them revengeful, haughty and jealous, especially of the *French*, whom judging by their vindictive Temper, they suspect not to have forgotten the *Sicilian Vespers*, and for that Reason always wear their Daggers by their Side even in their Shops and Work-Houses. They are of a subtle and malicious Wit, ready to contrive or execute any Mischief.

From *Messina* he sailed to *Agousta*, which is but an ordinary Town with one Street, but the Country about it produces excellent Wine, which has a strong Flavour of Violets: Then coasting along by *Syracuse*, now corruptly called *Saragoussa*, formerly the Metropolis of *Sicily*, and Birth-place of *Archimedes*, the Country about which produces excellent Muscadine, he made the Isle of *Malta*, anciently call'd *Melita*, from the Plenty of Honey it yielded.

3. This Isle is low, and the Soil a soft Chalky Rock, yet it produces very good Fruits, as Figs, Melons, which grow so easily, that they require no Care but to preserve them; Grapes very good to eat, but not for Wine; Cotton, but little or no Corn, for that is brought from *Sicily* thither. The Air is so hot, that there is no Walking in the Sun; and the Nights are as intollerable, if not through the Heats, yet through the Stinging of Musketoos; yet is so wholesome for old Men, that they can hardly die. They drink their Wine with Ice. Head-aches and sore Eyes, caused by the Whiteness of the Earth, are there common and dangerous. There are no venomous Beasts in the Isle, nor can any live in it, which the People attribute to St. Paul's Benediction, and they give the Earth of the Grott, where he lived, for an Antidote against Poison, with greater Success than *Terra Sigillata*. The Island is populous: The People are of a brown Complexion and are very revengeful. The Women are beautiful, and familiar, for though they hide their own Faces with their Mantle, they see every Body's else.

They speak *Arabick*, but *Italian* is also common. Here are several Ports and Creeks, but the chief Havens are the Great Port, and that called *Marsamouchet*. In the great Port are all the Gallies of the Order laid up, and all the Vessels that are to make any Stay at *Malta*, either to load, careen or refit, put in there, shut with an Iron Chain: The Port of *Marsamouchet* is for Ships to perform their Quarantine in, before they have Access to the Town, and for such as by Reason of foul Weather can't get into the great Port, as also for the *Corfairs*, who come only for a little Time, and so will not go into the great Port, because it is hard to get out again. As soon as the King of *Spain* had given the Island of *Malta* to the Knights of St. John, Sultan *Solyman* resolving to extirpate them, who had given him so much Trouble, sent a powerful Army to take it. The *Turks* landing near the Mount *Pelegrino*, attack'd the Castle of St. *Erme*, kill'd all that defended it, and took it. Then they turned against the Isle de *Sangle*, but were assaulted so furiously by the Castle of St. *Angelo*, who firing their Cannon, level with the Water, upon them, sunk their Boats and drown'd their Men, which being repeated several Times, the *Turks* despairing of Success, and finding Recruits come to them out of *Europe*, drew off, and left the Isle in the End of September, 1565.

After the *Turks* were gone, the Knights resolv'd to build a new Town, where the Great Master with all the Order might conveniently dwell. They pitched upon the Tongue of Land where the Castle of St. *Erme* stands, from whence the *Turks* had so furiously driven them. The Great Master *John la Valetta* laid the first Stone of it, March 28. 1566. and from himself called it *Valetta*; it has been so fortified since, that none exceed, and few Places can equal it. The Entry into the Port

is defended by the Castle of St. *Erme*, the *Baraque*, which has nine Pieces of Cannon, and the Bastion of *Italy*, and on the other Side by the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and a Tower, which has two or three Pieces of Cannon. The Town is no less strong by Land than towards the Sea, being begirt with good Walls, built upon very high Rocks, with several Bastions and other Pieces of Fortification, which are equally fair and strong. The *Baraque* is very delightful, being covered with lovely Orange and Lemmon-Trees planted in Rows, and having a great many Fountains, where the Water-works playing very high, give mighty Diversion.

From the Port you go up an Hill to the Town, which is small, but very pretty. It hath but two Gates, one leading to the Port, the other into the Country. There are several Churches in it, but that of St. *John* is the Chief. On one Side of it is a lovely Piazza, and at each Angle a Fountain. It is a large Building, and pretty high, paved with beautiful Marble, and adorned above with many Colours taken from Infidels. In this Church they pretend to have many fine Reliques, viz. St. *John Baptist's* Right-Hand, and many others.

There are several admirable Buildings in the Town, among others, the stately Palace of the Great Master, in which is a Magazine of Arms for 35 or 40000 Men, kept very clean and in great Order, and among them the Arms of such great Masters as have been wounded in any Action, are to be seen with the Marks upon them. This Palace looks into a large Square, in the Middle of which is a charming Fountain, which throws up Water in great Quantities, and very high, and supplies the whole Town. The Palaces of the Conservatory and Treasury are fair Buildings, and so are the Inns.

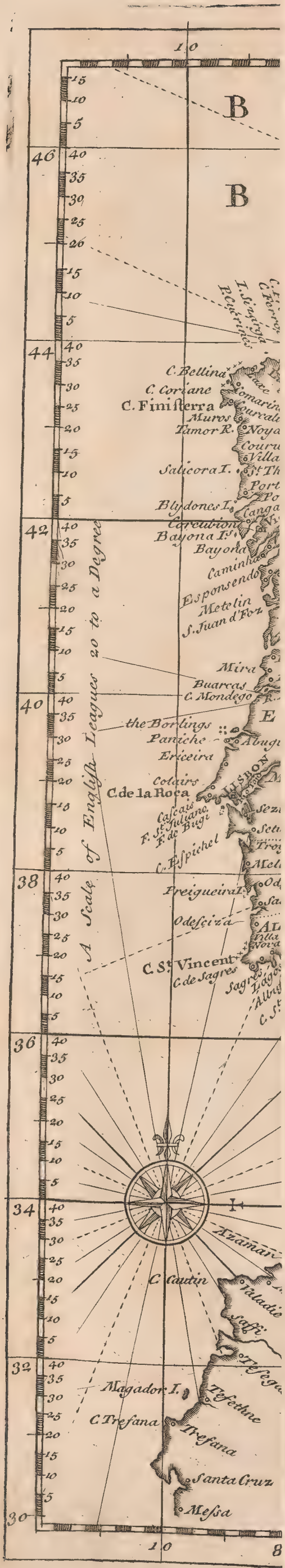
The Hospital is very well built, and the Hall for the sick Knights is hung with Tapestry, where they are attended by Knights, and serv'd in Plate. Poor Travellers find Entertainment here, till they can get Passage to the Place they are bound to, and then they are furnished with Provision, and their Charges are born through their Voyage. The Jesuits have a very well built House and a College there, and even the meanest Houses make a good Show, being built of a large square white Stone, which retains its Colour long and seems always new: They are all flat Roofed. The Streets of the Town are incommodious, because one goes always up Hill and down, but they are wide and strait. The fairest reacheth from the Castle of St. *Erme* to the Royal Gate, which is almost a Mile long, and in it they make the Horses and Asses run the *Pallio* upon their Days of Rejoicing. The Country about it is full of Gardens and very agreeable Places of Pleasure. About twelve Miles from the City the Grand Master hath a Palace, built in Form of a Castle, and very uniform, the Halls of which are adorn'd with excellent Paintings, and it has very neat Gardens full of Orange, Citron and Olive-Trees, with several lovely Fountains. At a little Distance from the House is a Grove stock'd with Game for his Diversion.

Five Miles from *Malta* is the Isle of *Gozo*, which is thirty Miles in Circuit, twelve in Length, and six in Breadth. It is a very wholesome Air, and though mountainous, is almost all cultivated, for the Inhabitants delight more in tilling the Land for Corn, than any other Sort of Husbandry, though it has many Places well watered, and fit for Gardening and Pasture. On our Lady-Day, September the 8th, the Knights keep a Rejoicing yearly for the *Turks* raising the Siege of *Bourg*, with Mase, Shooting, Feasting, Races of the *Pallio*, and many other Diversions.

4. Leaving *Malta*, Thursday Nov. 1655, he sailed by the Isle of *Sapienza*, and having weathered Cape *Matapan*, came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, in the Isle of *Cerigo*. Cape *Matapan* is a Promontory of the *Morea*, formerly called *Tenarus*, where *Arion*, carried by a Dolphin, was put on shore. This Country is inhabited by the *Meinots*, a People who lived in the Mountains without Law or Government, and are subject



AN ACCURATE
CHART of the
MEDITERRANEAN and ADRIATIC SEAS
with the ARCHIELAGO & part of the
BLACK SEA exhibiting all the ISLANDS in
SEAS as also the ADJACENT COUNTRIES on the
CONTINENTS of EUROPE, AFRICA & ASIA
Drawn from the most approved
Maps & Charts and Rectified by
Astronomical Observations
By EMAN BOWEN Geographer
to His Majesty
1748.



ject to those who have most Power in the Country; sometimes the *Venetians*, and sometimes the *Turks*. All their Business is to rob Travellers.

Cerigo was anciently called *Porphyris*, because of the great Quantity of *Porphyrian* Marble found there; and *Cythera*. *Venus*, who is fabled to have been born of the Froth of the Sea, first dwelt here, and had a Temple near the Sea-side, the Ruins of which are still shewn. It is the first Island in the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* Sea, sixty Miles in Compass, and five from the main Land. The *Venetians* are Masters of it, and keep a good Garrison there, because it is a Pass of very great Importance.

From *Cerigo*, where the Ship paid the Consul a Piastre for Anchorage, he sailed to *Zia*, leaving many inconsiderable Islands on the Right-hand, as *Melo*, *Antimelo*, &c. This Isle was anciently called *Ceos*, or *Cea*, it is shaped like an Horse-shoe, and fifty Miles in Circumference. The Soil is pretty good, producing Corn, Wine, Grass, and a great many other Things, and the Harbour is full of Fish. The Inhabitants pay a Tribute to the *Turks* of 3400 Piastras, and to the *Venetians* 2600, besides the Extortions and Robberies they meet with, which so impoverish them, that they are often forced to leave their Habitations. They are good People, and deserve to be pitied, because of the Miseries they suffer both from Christians and *Turks*. The chief Town of the same Name is five Miles from the Port; it is a large Place, containing seven hundred Houses, but there is not above four hundred of them inhabited, the rest being forsaken since the War of *Candia*. The Houses are built of Stone and Earth, rank'd on the Side of an Hill like the Benches of an Amphitheatre. The Castle is ruinous, but strong, so that sixty *Turks*, with two Musquets only, held out against the whole *Venetian* Army, under General *Morosini*, till Want of Water forced them to yield.

From *Zia* he sailed to *Andra*, anciently called *Andros*, sixty Miles from it, and eighty in Circuit. It is reckoned the most fertile Island of the *Archipelago*. It produces almost all Things necessary, and Silk more especially, for which they have a great Trade. The Port is pretty good, and the Town adjoining to it hath about two hundred Houses. In the whole Island are about sixty Villages, of which the most considerable are *Arni* and *Arnolacos*, inhabited by the *Arnauts* or *Albanians*, who are about twelve hundred Souls, and all of the *Greek* Church, differing in Language and Customs, yet all without any Discipline. Near these Villages is a large Monastery of an hundred ignorant Monks, called *Tagia*, who have a neat small Church, which they supply, and six lesser ones. There is a great Number of *Greek* Churches in the Isle, which are under the Government and Discipline of a *Greek* Bishop. The *Latins* also have a Bishop there, and six Churches, of which the Cathedral is dedicated to St. *Andrew*. The *Capuchins* preach in them, and teach a School, to which the *Greeks* send their Children from as far as *Athens*.

The *Turks* dispose of the temporal Affairs of this Isle, and are but uneasy Neighbours to the Christians. The *Jesuits* have a Church dedicated to St. *Veneranda*, and an House near the Valley *Monites*, with a Garden full of Fruit-trees of all Sorts, which yield them considerable Profit. The Houses in this Isle are ill built, and both the Air and Water bad. The Inhabitants are civil; their Women are chaste, and speak well, but their Apparel is unbecoming. The Inhabitants of the Towns love good Cheer and Diversions, and care not much to labour, but the Peasants are very industrious. Their Food is Goat's Flesh, for though in their Woods there is good Venison and Wild-fowl, yet they have neither Huntsmen nor Fowling-pieces to catch them. The Sea affords them no Fish. They have neither Physician nor Chirurgeon, but when they are sick, betake themselves to the Mercy of God as their only Remedy.

5. From *Andra* he sailed by the *Negropont*, *Sciro*, *Iplicera*, *Chio* and *Tenedo*, to *Troy*, where there are still considerable Ruins of that ancient and famous City, and those of great Extent, viz. An Harbour, Pieces of large Pillars, and the Remains of a great Temple; but

the Learned say, that they are only the Ruins of some Buildings erected there by the *Romans* long after the Destruction of *Troy*. From hence he passed the Mouths and entered the Channel of *Hellepont*, where the *Turks* first passed over into *Europe*, and sailing betwixt the Castles of the *Dardanel*s, came to an Anchor. The *Dardanel*s are two Castles, built on each Side the Channel of the *Hellepont* by *Mahomet* II. Son of *Amurat* II. The one stands in *Europe*, in *Romania*, in the very Place where *Sestos* formerly stood. This Castle is triangular, and besides two Bastions, hath three Towers covered with Lead, and twenty large Guns, which carry Stone Bullets of sixty Pound Weight. The other is in *Asia*, in a Plain where anciently *Abidos* stood. These two Forts are the Keys of *Constantinople*, though at two hundred Miles Distance, for they can hinder any Ship, Friend or Foe, to pass them without Leave, unless they will run the Hazard of being sunk. All Ships that come from *Constantinople*, are searched here for contraband Goods and fugitive Slaves. These Places are famous for the Loves of *Hero* and *Leander*, and *Xerxes*'s Bridge into *Europe*, which was made hereabouts. From *Andra* to this Castle is 280 Miles.

From thence he sail'd to *Gallipoli*, which is reckoned thirty five Miles. This Town was built by *Callias*, Prince of the *Athenians*, from whom it was called *Calliopolis*, which now is corrupted into *Gallipolis*. This Place is but thin peopled: The *Greeks* that dwell in it sell *Raki*, or Brandy, for the most Part, and their Houses have Doors not above two Yards high, to keep out the *Turks*, who will ride in else when they are drunk, and turn all Things upside down. It has a Tower and Arsenal, where are commonly laid up several Gallies.

6. Departing thence he passed the Isle of *Marmora*, which gives Name to the Sea, that was formerly called the *Propontis*, and sailing along by the *Seraglio* and *Constantinople*, came to an Anchor at *Galata*, where is the Harbour of that City. The Sea of *Marmora*, or the *Propontis*, which is about 120 German Leagues in Compass, lies between the 38° and 41° of Northern Latitude, which makes the Climate so temperate, that it has neither the Inconveniences of sharp Cold, or burning Heats, which is the Reason that both Sides of it has been so well adorn'd with famous Cities: For on the *Asian* Side stood *Chizico*, a Town formerly famous not only for being built by the *Argonauts* 500 Years before *Rome*, but for its lofty Towers, magnificent Buildings, large Arsenals and Magazines, fine Amphitheatre and convenient Port, though Nothing now remains of all these Things but frightful Ruins, which are the Habitations of Owls.

Nice, called by the *Turks* *Isnich*, famous for the first General Council. It is almost square, and stands at the Extremity of a Bay in a fine Plain. On the N. E. is a Ridge of Hills, which abound with Wood, Vines, Fruits and Fountains. It is encompassed with Walls full of round Turrets, and had a Covert-Way that ran by them, but it is now ruined. The City is pretty large, the Streets neat, and has at least 10,000 Inhabitants, as well *Greeks* as *Jews* and *Turks*, who trade in Corn, Fruit, Cotton, fine Cloth, &c. to *Constantinople*. There are here many Remains of Pagan and Christian Antiquities, but these are so defaced by the *Turks*, that nothing admirable is to be discerned.

Montagma, or *Nicopolis*. It stands on a Bay anciently called *Cianus Sinus*, from the City of *Cium*, which once stood there. This Town is small, but by Means of the Bay drives a great Trade to *Constantinople*, for its Nearness to *Bursa* brings all the Traffick of *Bithynia* to it. The Inhabitants are about five or six thousand *Greeks*, *Turks* and *Jews*, and are all Merchants, and live by their Trade in Fruits, which they send to *Constantinople*.

Nicomedia, which, next to *Constantinople*, has the pleasantest Situation of any City in the World. It stands at the Bottom of a Bay, and runs up the Side of an Hill, adorn'd with many Fountains, and is cover'd with Fruit-Trees, Vineyards and Corn. Their Garden-Fruits are extraordinary, and their Melons are thought by some

to equal those of *Cacban* in *Persia* for Goodness, which are reckoned the best in the World. Here are Abundance of Remains of Antiquity, enough to satisfy the Curiosity of Travellers. It was built by the Nymph *Olbia*, but has its Name from *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, who enlarged it. It is famous for the Death of *Hannibal* and *Constantine* the Great, for the early Conversion of its Inhabitants to Christianity, and the many Martyrs who sealed the Faith with their Death.

It is called *Ismit* by the *Turks*, and is a large and populous City, having about 30,000 Inhabitants, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews* and *Turks*, who most of them live by trading in Silks, Cotton-Wool, Linnen-Cloths, Fruits, Earthen and Glass-Wares, and several other Commodities, which make it a City of great Traffick. There are a great many *Greek* Churches and fair Mosques, with several Inns and neat *Bazaars*, or Market-Places, in this Town. Most of the Ships and Vessels which belong to *Constantinople* are built here, but they are sorry Artists at it. On the right Side of the Bay of *Nicomedia* is a Fountain of Mineral Water, which the *Turks* and *Greeks* say, cures all Distempers, and therefore flock to it mightily.

Chalcedon. This Town was once famous for the Temples of *Venus* and *Apollo*. Many Christian Churches, and among them one dedicated to St. *Euphemia*, where the Fourth General Council sate, and in Part of which, as it still remains, the *Greeks* have yet their Religious Worship, and strong Fortifications, and other fine Buildings it had; but is now reduced to a Village of 1000 or 1200 Houses, and those very ruinous. The City gives Name to the Straights adjoining, which are called *Fretum Chalcedonicum*, *Bosphorus Chalcedonius*, as well as *Bosphorus Thracius*, and near it is a Light-house and a Pleasure-house belonging to the Grand Signior, called *Finari Kioske*, which Sultan *Soliman II.* built for his Retirement with the Ladies of the *Seraglio*.

7. On the *Thracian* Side stands *Rodosto*, or *Radisto*, a Town well situated at the Extremity of a Bay, which affording it a very good Haven, fills it with Inhabitants, who drive a Trade all over *Thrace*, the *Propontis* and *Black Sea*. In it are three or four large Mosques, and some small ones, some Christian Churches belonging to the *Greeks*, and two *Jewish* Synagogues. The Town lies along the Sea-shore, where the Trade is, and toward the Land are many Gardens; but the Fruit is not very good, because the Gardiners of *Turkey* are but unskilful in their Art.

Perinthus, or *Heraclea*, which once gave Law to *Byzantium*, but now is subject to it. This Town hath two good Havens belonging to it, but one of them is so choaked up with the Rubbish and Filth of the City, that it serves only for Barks and Saicks. The Amphitheatre of *Heraclea* was one of the seven Wonders of the World; but now there are only some shatter'd Ruins of it. There are also seen many Pedestals with *Greek* Inscriptions to *Severus*, *Trajan*, and other Emperors, who had conferred any signal Benefit upon the City; but the Statutes which once stood upon them are thrown down and demolished. The Town at present is but thinly inhabited, and drives but a small Trade, though they have many Commodities, such as great Quantities of Cotton, Olives, Fruits, both green and dry, Skins and Wool. The Cathedral is one of the finest in all *Greece*, having a handsome Roof, and being very neat in the Inside, and better contrived than the Patriarchal Church of *Constantinople*. There are five or six Churches besides, but none of them in so good a Condition as the former, and two of them are wholly disused. But though the Buildings and Trade of this City daily decay, and Time may blot it out of the World, yet the Sufferings of many Christian Martyrs in it will keep up its Memory as long as the World endures.

8. In the *Propontis* are several Islands, viz. *Marmora*, which gives Name to the whole Sea, and is about ten Leagues in Compass. The chief Towns in it are *Galioni* and *Craſtio*. The *Caloyers*, or *Greek* Monks, have several Convents or Hermitages in it. They are very austere in their Way of Living. 2. *Avesha*, whose chief

Town is of the same Name. It hath two other Villages called *Aloni* and *Arabi Kieny*, because it is inhabited by *Arabians* only. 3. *Contalli*, which has a Town of the same Name: And, 4. *Godoro*, which has only some Houses and Cloysters for Monks. These four Islands go all by the Name of the first, and lie in a Cluster, abounding with Cattle, Corn, Wine, Fruits, Cotton, &c. Their Fishery is also good, but they regard it only for their own Use, because *Constantinople* is supplied from Places in its Neighbourhood. Nearer to *Constantinople* lies another Knot of Islands, called by the *Turks* *Papas Adassi*, by the *Greeks* *Papa Donissa*, or the Islands of the Monks; and by the *Europeans*, *The Pope's Isles*. If *Constantinople* were in the Hands of the Christians, they would be a perfect Paradise, and every one would have his House of Pleasure there; but being subject to the Ravages of the *Turks*, who often go thither to be drunk, and in their Heat rifle their Gardens and Vineyards, they lie in a Manner uncultivated, and only a few *Caloyers* manure a little Bit of Land by the Monasteries for Herbs and Roots for their own Use. These *Caloyers* are Monks of St. *Basil*, who retain the ancient Way of Living and Habit, without any Alteration. They lead a very retired and austere Life, and never eat any Flesh. They observe four *Lents* in the Year, besides several other Fasts; and some among them are so abstinent, as to be satisfied with eating a little Bread and Pulse, dressed with Salt and Water, once a Day; and others by Custom have brought themselves to eat once in two or three Days, during their *Lents*; and it is said some will eat but seven Times in the seven Weeks of their longest *Lent*, though this seems improbable; but these are only the most devout, which are but few. The rest order Matters so cunningly, that they observe nothing less than Fasting; for though indeed they eat no Butter, Fish, Eggs, or Oil, and drink no Wine, yet they use other Things luxuriously, as Oysters, Cavear, and Shell-fish, for Fish; Almonds, Pistacho's, and Nuts, for Butter; *Aqua Vitæ*, Coffee, and Sherbet, for Wine, &c.

9. *Constantinople* has the happiest Situation of any City in the World. It lies in *Europe* upon a Point of the main Land, jetting out towards the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, from whence it is but half an Hour's Passage into *Asia*. On the Right-hand is the *White Sea*, or *Propontis*, by which there is an easy Passage into *Asia*, *Aegypt*, and *Africa*, whereby it is supplied with all the Commodities of those Places. On the Left-hand it hath the *Black* or *Euxine* Sea, and *Palus Maeotis*, by which it is furnished with all the Commodities of the North; insomuch that there is Nothing that can be necessary, useful, or pleasant, which is not brought plentifully to *Constantinople*, the Winds always serving to bring in Commodities from one of those Parts. The Port is by Nature the loveliest in the World, being six Miles in Compass, and a Mile over, and so deep in all Places, that a Ship may lay her Head a-shore without Danger.

It was anciently called *Byzantium*, and was built by *Pausanias*, King of *Sparta*. The Emperor *Severus* demolished it, to punish the Rebellion of the Inhabitants, and *Constantine* the Great rebuilt it, calling it *New Rome* first, and then *Constantinople*; being afterwards dedicated to the Virgin, it sometimes bears the Name of *Parthenopolis*; the *Turks* call it *Istambol*, or *Stamboul*. After the Division of the *Roman* Empire; it was the Seat of the Eastern Emperors, from whom, in 1209, it was taken by the *Venetians* and *French*, but recovered by the *Palæologi* fifty Years after, and fell into the Hands of the *Turks* on *Whitsunday*, 1453, who have kept it ever since. The Air in Summer would be very hot and incommodious, were it not cool'd by a Breeze which comes every Afternoon from the Mouth of the Port, by which it is render'd very healthful, so that no Diseases are known here but the Plague, which makes a great Havock every Year. It is very subject to Earthquakes, so that sometimes two happen in a Day. The Figure of it is triangular, one Side lying toward the *Propontis*, the other on the Port, and the third toward the Land. It is all encompassed with good Walls, and to the Land Side they are double, being built in some Places of

of Free-stone, and in others of Free-stone and Brick. It hath twenty-two Gates, six toward the Land, as many along the Port, and ten on the Streight of the *Propontis*, which have all Landing-places and Stairs, and the whole City is about twelve Miles in Compass.

The Castle of the Seven Towers joins the double Walls on the Continent Side to those that lie upon the *Propontis*. It was anciently one of the City Gates, called *The Gilded Gate*, from the gilt Ornaments of it, and had four Turrets; but *Mahomet II.* becoming Master of *Constantinople*, added three new ones, and made it a Castle, strong enough to keep the Treasures of the Empire, and for that Purpose it served a long Time; but at present it is only used as an honourable Prison, where the Grand Signior shuts up such Persons of Quality and Slaves of Note as have incurred his Displeasure. If any Christians are confined in it, their Priests are allowed to come and say Mass to them in a little Chapel; and if they are Knights of *Malta*, or other Persons of Quality, they are allowed to go out, if an Ambassador, or other Person of Note, will be engaged for their Return. Sultan *Osman* and *Heusseïn Basha* were strangled in this Castle.

Without the Walls, hard-by one of these Castles, are two large Statues of white Marble in Basse Relief, the one seems to be *Endimion*, and *Diana* coming down to see him, and the other the Nine Muses, with the Horse *Pegasus*. They are done by a good Hand, but inferior to some Pieces in *Europe*. In going by Sea from this Castle to the *Seraglio*, there is a square Tower standing in the Sea, at about two Paces from the City-Walls, where, they say, *Justinian* imprisoned *Belizarius*, his famous General, out of meer Jealousy, and having stript him of all, forced him to beg his Subsistence of charitable Passengers. Not far from this Tower is a Fountain, to which the *Greeks* always pay a great Veneration, and, upon the Day of Christ's Transfiguration, carry their Sick to it, to whom they give some of the Waters, and cover their Bodies a While with the Sand, and they say, wonderful Cures have been thus done by it. The *Greeks* have Abundance of these miraculous Fountains, which they superstitiously honour, and the Priests encourage them in it for their own Gain. Near this Fountain stands the *Kioske*, or Pleasure-house of the *Bostangi Basha*, or Overseer of the Gardens. It is a Pavilion cover'd over just without the Walls of the *Seraglio*, and overlooks the *Propontis* and *Bosphorus Thracius*; but he, being in the fourth Post of the Empire, has no Time almost to take the Air. Beyond this *Kioske* are a great many Cannon planted, so as to strike any Ships that pass between Wind and Water, to hinder the Entrance into the *Seraglio* or Port, if any should attempt it by Force. These Pieces are always charged, but never discharged, unless it be upon the first or second Day of the Month *Bairam*, to give the *Musselmén* Notice of that solemn Feast, or upon the Account of publick Rejoycings, as the Taking of a City, or conquering some Province.

In the Middle of these Pieces of Cannon is one of the four Posterns of the *Seraglio*, called *Bostan Capi*, or the Gate of the Gardens. It is fortified with two large Turrets, and guarded by two Companies of *Bostangi's*, or Gardiners, who keep all from entring at this Gate, but the Sultanas and Officers of the *Seraglio*. After you have passed the Cannon, and doubled the Cape, where you pass a Fountain, from which most of the Ships take in their fresh Water, you come to two *Kioskes*, built by Sultan *Soliman* to view the going out and coming in of the Men of War, and divert himself with his Women, of which he had Plenty. Both of them are well adorn'd and furnished with gilded Cupola's, Alcoves, Sopha's, Quilts, Cushions, Carpets, and all other Things fit for so great a Prince, but nothing can be imagined more noble than one of them. At these Pleasure-houses always attend some small Galleys and Saicks, ready to receive the Grand Signior and his Train whenever he pleases to divert himself. These Galleys and Barks are very neatly gilded and painted all over, the Oars and Grappling Irons not excepted. These are all the re-

markable Things without the Walls, both of the City and *Seraglio*. We must now go into the City.

10. It stands upon seven little Hills, as old *Rome* did, and the Houses are so disposed, that one takes not away the Sight from the other. The Streets are narrow for the most part, but there are several stately Buildings in them. There are many magnificent Mosques in it, of which the most magnificent is that of *Santa Sophia*, which was anciently a Christian Church, built by the Emperor *Justin*, enlarged, enriched, and adorned by *Justinian*, and dedicated to the Wisdom of God, *Hagia Sophia*. The *Turks* have changed it into a Mosque, but retain the Name. This Fabrick is 114 Paces in Length, 80 in Breadth, and as many in Height, square without, but round within. The Mosque is very spacious, hath a Dome in the Middle, in the Form of a flatted Globe, which is a singular Kind of Architecture. It is paved with fine Marble, and matted, that the Cold may not hurt such as come to worship without Slippers, and squat down in their Service. There is a Tomb, which, the *Turks* say, is *Constantine's*, and a Stone on which, they believe, the Virgin washed our Lord's Linen, and they bear a great Reverence to it.

The Church was painted in *Mosaic* with Crosses and Images of Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin, and other Saints, which yet appear, though the *Turks* have endeavour'd to deface them, for they suffer no Images. Within are two Galleries one over another, that go round the Church, and are supported by sixty-two Pillars, which, 'tis supposed, were for the Women when it was a Church. On the Out-side of the Church are four Steeples, very high and slender, on which are several Balconies, from whence the *Maexims* call to Prayers. It's big enough to hold 40,000 People, which Number usually meet in it at their *Bairam* or Passover. In a little Street on the Back of this Church are two large thick Pillars, where, they say, Justice was wont to be administred, and by them an old Tower, where the Grand Signior's Beasts are kept, viz. Lions, Wolves, Foxes, Leopards, a spotted Lynx, the Skin of a Giraff, and other rare Creatures.

Besides this Mosque, there are seven others, call'd Royal or Imperial, of which the Chief is called *Solimania*, because it was built by Sultan *Soliman*, whose Coffin remains in it, adorned with Carpets, a Turban set with Heron-Feathers and precious Stones, and Lamps burning. Several *Alcorans* are chain'd to it, that the People may read them, and pray for the Defunct's Soul, and some are hired to do it, for the Grand Signiors take care to leave a Fund for continual Prayers to be said for them after their Death. Near this there is another, where lies the Body of a Sultana whom *Soliman* loved extremely, as also of Sultan *Selim*, his second Son. This Mosque hath a most lovely Cloister, with Bagnio's and Fountains. The New Mosque, built by Sultan *Achmet*, is one of the fairest and most magnificent in *Constantinople*. The Entry into it is through a large Court. It is a great Mosque, hath a stately Dome, and is full of Lamps, and many Curiosities in Glafs-Balls.

The fairest of all, are the Mosques of Sultan *Mehemet*, Sultan *Selim*, and that which is call'd *Chabzadeh Mesdgidi*, i.e. The King's Son's Mosque, being built by one of *Soliman's* Sons, and *Bajazet's*. All these Mosques have Hospitals and Schools, where a great many poor Scholars are maintained, and educated. Most of the ancient Statues, Obelisks and Pillars, set up by *Constantine* and his Successors, are entirely ruined, yet the large *Hippodrome*, called by the *Turks*, *Atmeidan*, where they exercised their Horses in Racing, is still to be seen. It is a large Square, 550 Paces long, and 150 broad. In the Midst of it is an Obelisk pretty entire, mark'd with Hieroglyphick Letters, and at a little Distance from it a pretty high Pillar, made of large Stones, laid one upon another without Cement, and towards the End of it is a Pillar made of three brazen Serpents twisted together, and the Heads make the Capital. It was said to be the *Talisman* or Spell, raised by *Leo Isauricus* the Emperor against Serpents, so that none would come near, till *Mahomet II.* when he took *Constantinople*, beat

beat off the under Jaw of one of them with his *Zagaye*, and now they are said to do no Hurt, because it is standing. The Occasion of erecting it is as fabulous as the Virtue, and so the Relation may be spared.

The *Grand Bezistan*, or *Exchange*, is a noble Building and a glorious Sight. It is a great round Hall, built all of Free-Stone, and surrounded with a thick Wall, by which are Shops full of the richest Commodities. It hath several Gates, which are shut fast a Nights, and because no Body lies in it, it is guarded by several Watchmen, till it is opened again. Each Body of Merchants or Tradesmen have an Apartment by themselves, and no Man may sell the same Commodities in another Place. All Manner of Goods are here sold, during the Time it is open.

There is also another *Bezistan*, but neither so large nor so well stocked with Goods. There are also several *Bazaars*, or publick Markets, in one of which, called the *Auret Bazaar*, or Womens Market, is a Pillar of an extraordinary Height, called, the *Historical Column*, because from the Top to the Bottom, which is 147 Foot, are represented in *Basso Relievo*, several Expeditions, Battles, and other remarkable Events, during the Empire of *Arcadius*. 'Tis all of Marble, but much defaced, and the Houses stand so near to it, that one can't have room to examine or find out the Figures of it. There are Stairs in it to ascend up to the Top, but the *Turks* will suffer no Man to go up them. In the Quarter of the *Janizaries*, near the Baths of *Ibrahim Basba*, in the Court of a private Man's House, stands the Column of the Emperor *Marcian*. It is all of spotted Marble, about fifteen Foot high, and its Capital of the *Corinthian Order*. On the Top is a square hollow Stone, adorned with four Eagles at each Corner. It is reasonable to think his Heart was put in this Stone, and his Body buried under the Column. The other is call'd, *The Burnt Pillar*, because it has been lately burnt by a Fire that happen'd near it, which has so shatter'd it, that they have been forc'd to keep it tight with Iron-Bars. It is composed of eight Pieces of *Porphyrion* Marble, so neatly join'd, that they seem'd but one Stone, till the Fire damag'd it, but now they are all seen.

II. The Grand Signior's *Seraglio's* are also remarkable Buildings. They are the Palaces where the *Ottoman* Princes ordinarily keep their Courts. The Word is taken from *Serrai*, which signifies a noble House. There are two *Seraglio's* belonging to the Grand Signior, viz. The *Old*, and the *New*, which being much the more noble Building, though nothing so magnificent as the Palace of so great a Prince ought to be, is called the *Grand Seraglio*. It is of a triangular Form, two Sides whereof are encompassed by the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and the other divides it from the Town. It stands in the Place of the ancient *Byzantium*. It is three Miles in Compass, and is enclosed within a very strong Wall, upon which are divers Watch-Towers, on which the *Agiam-Oglams* watch Night and Day. It hath many Gates both to the Sea and Land-side, but the chiefest is towards the City, and that is used daily, but the rest are never opened but upon some special Occasion, those to the Sea-ward, when the Sultan or some chief Officer of the *Seraglio* open them for Pleasure, and those to the Land-ward, when the Grand Signior orders some Great Man to be put to Death, or upon some other great Design.

The chief Gate above-mention'd is guarded Day and Night by the Companies of *Capoochees*, or Porters, under the Command of the *Capoochee-Basba's*, or Captains of the Porters. A Company of *Janizaries* watch without the Palace, who are to give Notice of any Accident. And by the Sea-side, the *Agiam-Oglams* watch in Towers upon the Wall, and if any Shipping attempt any Mischief, they have Ordnance ready charged, and the Gunners lying close by them. In this *Seraglio* are many stately Rooms, suiting the Seasons of the Year, the greatest Part whereof are built upon plain Ground, and some upon the Hills and Sea-side, which are called *Kiosks*, or Banqueting-Houses. Among these is the Chamber where the Grand Signior gives Audience to Amba-

sadors, *Basba's*, &c. This Room stands in a Court adorn'd with many delicate Fountains, and is furnished with rich Carpets and Crimson Velvet embroidered with Pearls, and the Walls covered with fine white Stones, and by it is a small Room covered with silver Plate hatch'd with Gold.

To these Lodgings of the Sultan belong fair Gardens, with all Sorts of Flowers and Fruits, pleasant Walks and Marble Fountains. There are also Lodgings for the Women like a Nunnery, wherein the Sultana Queen, the other *Sultana's*, and all the Grand Signior's Women Slaves dwell, in which are Bed-chambers, Dining-Rooms, Bagnio's, and all other Buildings necessary for the Service of the Women. There are also convenient Rooms for the principal and inferior Officers, all well furnished, among which are the *Hazineh*, or King's private Treasury and Wardrobe, both strong Buildings with Iron Doors, which are kept continually shut, and the former is sealed with the King's Seal. In the *Seraglio* are also Rooms for Prayer, Baths, Schools, Butteries, Kitchens, Distilling-rooms, Places to swim in, to run Horses, and for Wrestling and Shooting at Buts, and, in a Word, all other Conveniencies for a Prince's Palace.

At the Entrance into the *Seraglio* is a very large and stately Gate, where there is a Guard always standing of fifty *Capigies*. This leads into a very spacious Court of near a Quarter of a Mile square, but it is not paved. The *Basba's*, and other great Men may ride into it, and near the Gate is a Piazza for the Shelter of Men and Horses. On the Right side of it is an Hospital for all that fall sick in the *Seraglio*, and an Eunuch called *Hasteler Agasi*, looks after them. On the Left Side is a Place where they keep their Timber and Carts, to be ready for the Service of the Palace, and over it an Hall, where are hang'd up Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Javelins, Bows, Head-pieces, Gantlets, &c. which are lent to the Soldiers when the Grand Signior, or chief Vizier makes any solemn Entry into *Constantinople*.

After having passed through this great Court, you come to another Gate, less than the former, but neater and more costly, in which there is also a stately Porch, and a Guard of *Capoochees*. This leads into another Court less than the former, but far more beautiful and pleasant, adorned with Fountains and Walks, Rows of Cypresses and Grass-Plats rail'd in, where the Gazels, feed. It is near 300 Paces square, and the Walks are paved. In this Court all must walk on Foot, except the Grand Signior. On both Sides of this Gate is an open Gallery, where the *Chiauffes*, or Pursuivants, the *Janizaries* or Foot-Guards, and *Spahi's*, or Horse-Guards, stand in their Ranks, very well apparell'd, when any Ambassadors enter, or on other solemn Occasions. In this Court are several Kitchens, with their Offices and Larders, for the *Sultana's*, and other Officers of the Court. On the Left Side is the Sultan's little Stable for about thirty five Horses for his Highnesses Use, and over it Rooms for their Furnitures, which are very rich, set with Jewels, to the Admiration of all Beholders. Next the Stable are Rooms for the Officers of the *Divan*, or Court of Justice, and by them the Chamber, where the *Divan* sits, and a little behind that is the Gate that leads to the Womens Lodgings.

At the End of this Court is the Royal Gate, which leads to the Sultan's Lodgings, and may not be entred by any, but such Gentlemen as attend him, and others that serve him, without Leave from the Sultan himself. This Gate is kept by the *Capee-Aga*, or chief Chamberlain, and a Company of white Eunuchs. The Court is paved with fine Marble, wrought with *Mosaic Work*, and adorn'd with curious Fountains, and a Lake where the Grand Signior has a fine gilt Boat for his Recreation. In the Buildings, which are sumptuous, are a Chamber of Audience, a Row of Summer-Rooms standing on a little Hill, and looking toward the Sea, a large Hall standing on Pillars, and opening towards the East, and by it the Grand Signior's Bed-Chamber, the Walls of which are covered with the finest *China Metal*, and the Floors with very costly *Persian Carpets* of Silk and Gold. The Posts of the Bedsted are

are Silver, the Canopy, Bolsters, Mattresses, and Pallets, are all of Cloth of Gold. Behind the Hall is a Place to shoot in, where for that Purpose are laid up many Bows and Arrows.

12. The *Divan* sits four Days in a Week, viz. *Saturday, Sunday, Monday* and *Tuesday*, upon which Days the *Vizier-Azem*, or chief Visier, who is the supream Judge, and represents the Grand Signior, with all the rest of the Visiers, the two *Cadileschers*, or Judges of the Armies in *Greece* and *Natolia*; the three *Tefterdars*, or Treasurers; the *Reiskitamb*, or Chancellor; the *Neshaunge*, or Keeper of the Mark, with their Secretaries and Clerks; the *Chiausb-Basba* and his Officers, are to be at the *Divan* by Break of Day. All Causes are determined by the *Vizier-Azem*, if he pleases, for the *Basba's* do not speak, but only hearken and attend till he refers any Thing to their Judgment, as he often does for Expedition, reserving the Causes of the greatest Consequence and Importance to himself, as the *Caimekam* or his Deputy does also in his Absence.

The Petitioners speak for themselves, or desire the Help of a *Chiausb*, for they have no Pleaders, or Attorneys. When the chief Visier hath heard their Suits, he consults with the *Basba's*, and then resolves and determines them as he will himself. This he doth usually after Dinner, and then he repairs on *Sundays* and *Tuesdays* to the Chamber of Audience, to give an Account to his Sublime Highness of what Business he has dispatched. Sometimes the Grand Signior will come privately to a little Window, which is cover'd with a Lattice, and looks into the *Divan*, to hear the Causes; and this forces the chief Visier to act circumspectly and justly in managing Affairs, while he sits in the *Divan*, tho' at other Times his Hands are open to Bribery, and he will carry Business as he pleases; but all Things are dispatched without Delay.

When an Ambassador from any great Prince is to kiss the Grand Signior's Hand, the Grand Visier calls a great *Divan* of all the Grandees of the Port, and all the *Chiausbes*, *Mutafurraka's*, *Spabi's*, and *Janizaries* are order'd by the Captains to dress themselves in the best Manner they are able, and stand in their Places in the second Court. When the *Divan* is set in their Order, the chief Visier sends a *Chiausb-Basba* with many of his *Chiausbes* on Horseback, to conduct the Ambassador to the *Divan*, where he is placed close to the Visier, who having complimented him a while, entertains him at Dinner, and then conveys him to a Room by the Imperial Gate with his Attendants, till the Sultan is ready to receive him. In the mean Time the Ambassador's Present is carried about the second Court, in the Sight of all People, and then is brought to the Sultan, and the Grand Visier sends the Ambassador several Vests, appointed by the ancient Rule, for himself and Gentlemen, to put on for that Ceremony.

The Vests for the Ambassador are of Cloth of Gold of *Bursa*, but for the rest, they are of little or no Value; yet the Ambassador must make a Present to the Grand Signior of more than the Worth of them. Then the Ambassador is conducted by the Master of the Ceremonies to kiss the Sultan's Hand, (which is, indeed, but his Hanging-sleeve;) which done, the *Druggoman*, or Interpreter, declares the Ambassador's Commission; to which the Grand Signior makes no Answer, (for he disdains to speak to a Christian) but speaking to the chief Visier, refers all Proceedings to his Discretion, and so the Ambassador departs, bowing his Head to the Sultan, but pulls not off his Hat at all. Other Ambassadors of Petty Princes, or State, though they have Vests given them also by the Grand Signior, yet come not to the *Divan*, but go privately with their Presents. All Ambassadors are maintain'd by the Grand Signior, except those from the States of *Venice*, during their Abode at the Port, but it is hard to get his Allowance through the Baseness of the Officers.

13. All Persons, that live in the *Seraglio*, are the Grand Signior's Slaves, as are also all that are subject to his Empire; for they all acknowledge, that whatever they

enjoy proceeds from his Good-will, and that their Estates and Lives are absolutely at his Disposal.

There are in the Sultan's Court about twelve hundred Women old and young. The Sultan's Concubines, who are kept for their Beauties, are all young Virgins, stolen from foreign Nations, instructed in good Behaviour, Dancing, Musick, Singing, and curious Sowing, and are given to the Grand Signior as Presents by the *Tartars*, *Bashaws*, and other great Men, and so their Number is uncertain. These Virgins, immediately upon their coming into the *Seraglio*, are made *Turks* by using this Ceremony: They are to hold up their Finger and say these Words, *There is no God but God alone, and Mahomet is the Messenger of God*; and then being examined by an old Woman, called *Kabiyah Cadun*, i. e. the Mother of the Maids, they are placed in a Room with their Equals in Age and Disposition. All the Women live like Nuns, but have large Apartments to dwell in. Their Beds are coarse and hard, made of Flocks, and by every tenth Virgin lies an old Woman, and there are Lamps always burning by them. Near their Apartments they have Baths and Fountains for their Use, and, above their Bed-chambers, Places to sit and sew in. They dine in Companies, and are waited upon by other Women, wanting Nothing that is necessary for them. There are also Schools for such as will learn to read or speak the *Turkish* Tongue, work or play, and some Hours are allowed them for Walking and Recreations.

The Sultan never sees these Virgins, unless when they are first presented to him, or when he desires to have one of them for his Bedfellow, and divert himself with Musick, or some other Pastime. When the Grand Signior desires a fresh Mate, he gives Notice to the *Kabiyah Cadun*, who picks out the fairest and most pleasing, and having placed them in two Rows in a Room, brings in the Sultan, who walking four or five Times in the Midst of them, views them, and as he goes out, throws his Handkerchief into the Virgin's Hand which he chuses to lie with. This Choice is accounted a great Favour, and the *Cadun* uses all the Art she can to prepare her for it, by attiring, painting and perfuming her, and at Night she is brought to sleep with the Grand Signior in certain Chambers set apart for that Business in the Womens Lodgings. By the Bed they have great wax Tapers burning all Night, and *Moorish* Women sitting by them. In the Morning when the Sultan rises, he changes all his Apparel, and leaves them to her he lay with, and the Money in the Pockets, and then departs to his own Lodgings, from whence he sends her immediately a Present of Jewels, Money and Vests of greater or less Value, according to the Satisfaction he received from her.

If any conceive by him, and bring him forth his first begotten Child, she is called *Sultana Queen*, and if it be a Son, she is confirmed and established by great Feasts and Solemnities, and thenceforward has an Apartment, Servants, and a large Revenue appointed her, and all Persons in the *Seraglio* must pay her the Respect of a Queen. The other Women that bear him Children are called *Sultana's*, but not Queens, yet live in separate Apartments, are well served and attended, and have no Want either of Money or Apparel, according to their Degree. But if it happens that the first-begotten Son of the Queen, Heir to the Empire, dies, and another of the *Sultana's* have a Son to succeed the deceased Heir, the former is deprived of her Revenue and Royalty, but remains a *Sultana*, and the latter becomes Queen, and so the Title runs from one *Sultana* to another by Virtue of the Son's Right to the Succession.

In Times past the Grand Signior was married to the Queen, but now she passes without celebrating any Nuptial Rites; yet the Mother of the Heir enjoys all the Prerogatives of a Queen, and has a Guard of thirty or forty black Eunuchs, under the Command of the *Kizlar-Aga*, their Master, to be employed on her Occasions. These *Sultana's* never go out of the *Seraglio* but in the Sultan's Company, and are never seen by any but such as attend them, who are those black Eunuchs, and have all

cut off clear to the Belly, that there may be no Danger from them.

The Grand Signior's Daughters, Sisters and Aunts, have their Lodgings also in the same *Seraglio*, and being royally serv'd, and sumptuously apparell'd, live by themselves in continual Pleasures, until such Time as, at their Request, the Sultan shall be pleas'd to give them in Marriage, and then they come forth, and carry each of them a Chest along with them, which the Grand Signior gives them full of rich Apparel, Jewels, and Money, to the Value of about thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, besides what they hoarded for themselves before, which amounts sometimes to a great deal; and if the Grand Signior be dispos'd to deal generously with them, they are suffer'd to carry with them twenty Women Slaves, and as many Eunuchs, and he continues their Allowance of a thousand or fifteen hundred Aspers a Day, which they had in the *Seraglio*, and furnishes their Houses; and if the Husband of such a Lady has not an House fit for her, the Sultan gives her one of his own.

As for the Husband, he is to make her a Bill of Dowry of at least 100,000 Chequins in Money, besides, Vests, Jewels, and other Ornaments, which amount to a great Sum. Being married, they converse with Men no more than they did before, except their Husbands, but only with Women, visiting their old Acquaintance in the *Seraglio*, but not without the Grand Signior's Leave. The *Sultana's* thus married, are for the most part their Husbands Mistresses, insulting over them, and commanding them as they please, wearing an *Hanjar*, or Dagger, in Token of their Power over them, and sometime they will put them away and take others, and such a Divorce commonly proves the Death of the Husband, whom the Grand Seignior leaves to their Will.

The other Women either grow old in the *Seraglio*, and so are made Mistresses of the young ones, or are sent into the old *Seraglio*, which they account their best Fortune, because from thence they may be married, with the Consent of the Mistress, and carry away the Riches they have got, which is very considerable, partly by saving out of the Sultan's Allowance, and by the Presents made them upon their *Bairam*, and by the *Basha's* Wives. Hither also, after the Sultan's Death, are all the *Sultana's* sent, except the *Sultana Queen*, and if they are wealthy, they marry to Men of reasonable Quality, yet with the good Will of the Mistress, and Consent of the Grand Signior. The Women of the *Seraglio* are punished for their Faults very severely, and are soundly beat by their Overseers, and if they prove disobedient and incorrigible, they are by the Sultan's Order sent into the old *Seraglio*, and the best Part of what they have, taken from them; but if they are found guilty of Witchcraft, Whoredom, or any such notorious Crime, they are bound Hand and Foot, and being put into a Sack, are in the Night cast into the Sea.

14. The *Seraglio* may be properly termed the Seminary or Nursery of the best Subjects, for in it all have their Education, who afterwards become the principal Officers or subordinate Rulers of the State and Affairs of the Empire, and these are they which are called the *Agliam-Oglans*, i. e. unexpert and untutor'd Youths. There are ordinarily about 6 or 700 of them, from twelve to twenty five or thirty Years of Age at most, being all Christian Children, gather'd up every three Years in the *Morea* and throughout all the Parts of *Albania*. They are taken from such Families as are suppos'd to be of the best Spirit and most warlike Disposition, and as soon as they are brought into the *Seraglio*, they are circumcised and made *Turks*. They are at first put to very base and slavish Employments, such as to serve in the Stables, Kitchens and Gardens, Digging and Cleaving Wood, and are made to row in *Saicks* or Barges, and to lead the Greyhounds to Courting, or whatever else they are commanded to do by the *Oda-Basha's*, or Captains. They are allow'd from two to five Aspers a Day, but afterwards such as have a Desire to learn, are taught to read and write, and generally all of them are taught to wrestle, leap, run, throw the

Iron-Bar, shoot the Bow, discharge a Piece, and all other Exercises becoming a *Turkish* Soldier.

The Grand Seignior makes use of them, when he intends a Journey to any Place for pitching his Tents, removing or carrying his Chests, and such like Services, for which Employment he never takes with him less than three or four hundred of them. The *Bostangee-Basha* always takes with him a good Number of them, when by the Sultan's Order he puts some great Man to Death, which is commonly done by the Hands of these *Agliam-Oglans*. They are capable of being made Stewards to the *Bostangee-Basha*, and may rise to that great Office, which is an eminent Place, for he hath the Keeping of all the Grand Signior's Gardens, and Houses, steers the Sultan's *Saick*, and wears a Turbant in the *Seraglio*, and if he be in Favour, he is preferred to higher Dignities, viz. to be *Captain-Basha*, *Basha* of *Cairo*, *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, &c. and sometimes he comes to be *Vizier-Azem*, or Prime-Minister.

There are other Youths educated in the *Seraglio*, called *Itchoglans*, but in a far better Manner than the former. They are brought up in Learning, in the Knowledge of the Law and Military Exercises for the Sultan's and their Country's Service, and to understand those Things which belong to the Government of the whole Empire. By the ancient Institution they should be always made of Christian Renegado's and Captives of the noblest that can be found; but the *Capee-Aga*, or chief Chamberlain, brings in some natural born *Turks* of the best Aspects, and who promise well, but with the Sultan's Consent. The Number of them is uncertain, but it is said, they are commonly about one hundred. As soon as they come into the *Seraglio*, they are exceedingly well instructed, and daily taught, as well polite Behaviour, as the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Mahometan* Law, and whatsoever may tend to the Improvement of their Minds, and for this Purpose there are four *Oda's*, or Schools, being so many Degrees, every one higher than the other.

In the first, called the *Choukou-Oda*, they all come when they are but Children, and there learn Silence, the Postures of holding down their Heads and looking downwards, with their Hands before them join'd across, which are expressive of singular Reverence, and are used by such as are before the Sultan. Then they learn to write and read the *Turkish* Tongue, and are taught their Prayers by Heart in the *Arabian* Tongue, and that they may learn these Things well, are encouraged to Admiration. In this School they stay about five or six Years, and such as are dull stay much longer.

In the second School, called *Quilar Oda*, they are taught by more learned and sufficient Tutors the *Persian*, *Arabian* and *Tartarian* Tongues, and to that End the Professors take great Pains in reading divers Authors in those Languages. Here they begin to wrestle, shoot the Bow, throw the Iron Mace, toss the Pike, run and handle their Weapons, &c. and in these Exercises in several Orders and Places they spend certain Hours daily, and are severely punished if they are found negligent in the least.

In this *Oda* they also spend four or five Years, and being become strong Men fit for any Thing, they are removed to the third, where forgetting Nothing they have already learn'd, they are taught further to ride, and how to behave themselves in the Wars. Besides all this, every one of them learns a Trade necessary for the Service of the Sultan's Person, as to shave, make a Turbant, fold up Apparel handsomely, pare Nails, attend at the Bath, keep Hawks, to be Sewers, Querries of the Stables, Target-Bearers, wait at Table, &c. While they are in these three Schools they are but meanly apparell'd, having yearly only two Cloth-Vests, somewhat fine, but their Linen is coarse. In this *Oda* their Punishments are severe, for their Masters will give them an hundred Blows for great Faults upon the Soles of their Feet or Buttocks, insomuch that they are oftentimes left for dead. In this School none is suffer'd to be familiar with any but their Companions, so that none may speak with them, but by Leave from the *Capee-Aga*, and that in the Presence of an Eunuch. When they

they go also to the Bath, or about any other Business, they have Eunuchs attending them, to keep them from any Lewdness, and for the same Reason they have Eunuchs lying by them always in their Bed-Chambers.

Here also, before they are raised to the 4th *Oda*, the Eunuchs use all Arts to try whether they are firm to *Turcism*, and have no Inclination to Christianity, and being thus proved, they are preferred to what is call'd, *Haz-Oda*, or, *The Prince's Chamber*. Here it is that all Punishments cease, and they may freely converse with all the Great Men of the *Seraglio*, and being cleanly and neat in their Apparel, the Grand Signior takes them along with him when he goes abroad upon Pleasure, if none of his Women be with him. Out of the young Men thus perfected and compleated in their Education, the King chuseth his *Aga's* and *Basha's*, viz. the *Selihtar Aga*, the Sultan's Sword-Bearer; the *Chioadar-Aga*, he that carries his Yagmoorlick; *Rachi Aga*, Yeoman of the Stirrup; *Mataragee-Aga*, who brings him Water to wash his Hands and Face; *Talbenter-Aga*, he that brings his Turbant; *Kembasir-Aga*, he that looks to his Apparel and the washing of his Linnen; the *Chefhnegir-Basha*, the chief Sewer; the *Dogangea-Basha*, the chief Falconer; the *Zagargee-Basha*, the chief Huntsman; the *Turnackgee-Basha*, he that pares the Sultan's Nails; the *Hamaumgee-Basha*, the chief Accomptant; and the *Teskeregee-Basha*, his Highness's Secretary.

All these are created out of the eldest of the *Itchoglans* of the fourth *Oda*. They are always in the Sultan's Presence, holding their Heads down, and Hands a-crofs, never speaking; but whatever the Sultan commands, they are wonderful ready to obey. They wait at the Sultan's Table, and he is pleased with their Service and Company. He will ride with them, and play at the *Jecrit* and other Sports when he is so disposed. He often gives them Presents of Vests, Swords, and Bows, and sometimes ready Money. He entrusts them with the Dispatch of Embassies, and though they must not go themselves, yet finding out what Presents the Prince, to whom the Embassy is to be sent, uses to give to Ambassadors, they sell it to a *Chiaus*; and this is done to enrich them against the Time he shall send them out of the *Seraglio*, to be Generals at Sea, or *Basha's* of some great City, as *Babylon*, *Aleppo*, &c. or makes them *Beglerbergs* of *Græcia*, *Natolia*, &c. When any is thus sent out, the next in standing succeeds, unless his ill Behaviour has made him incapable; and so all live in Hopes of Greatness and Riches. Before their Departure, they stay a while till their Beards are grown (for they are always shaved in the *Seraglio*) and then they receive handsome Presents of the Sultana's and *Basha's*, and when their Beards are grown, they pay their Visits to all the great Men of the Court.

15. In the *Seraglio* there are likewise other Ministers for necessary Services, as also Buffoons, Tumblers, Musicians, Wrestlers, and Mutes. These last are in great Request, because the Grand Signior thinks it below his Dignity to speak to any about him familiarly, and therefore he makes himself merry with these Mutes, who though deaf and dumb, will reason and discourse of any thing by Nods and Signs, as other People do by Words; nay, many of them can write very sensibly and well, which is admirable.

There are also White Eunuchs, who attend the Grand Signior at his Gate. The chief of them is, 1. the *Capee Aga*, or Chamberlain, who is in greatest Authority with the Grand Signior; for he alone is allowed to speak to him, and present all Petitions, Messages, and Writings, and accompanies the Sultan where-ever he goes. His Salary is eight Sultana's a Day, i. e. about three Pounds *Sterling*, besides Presents from all that have any Business with the Sultan.

2. The *Hazinebdar-Basha*, or the Treasurer of the Household, who keeps an Account of all the Treasure brought into this inward Treasury, which is only the Wealth of ancient Sultans, and the Revenue of *Egypt*, and the adjacent Provinces, and takes it out upon Occasion. He hath the Custody of all the Sultan's Jewels,

which he either wears, or are presented him, and keeps a Registry of them, when received and when given away. He succeeds the *Capee-Aga*, when he dies.

3. The *Keelergee-Basha*, i. e. Master of the Wardrobe, into which are brought all the Presents of Cloth of Gold, Plate, Silks, Woollen Cloths, Furs of all Sorts, Swords, Raw Silk, Carpets, and whatever else serves for his Majesty's Use, of which he keeps particular Inventories, as well as Servants under him, and his Salary is one thousand Aspres a Day, viz. 50 s. *Sterling*. He is commonly in Favour with the Sultan, and usually succeeds to *Hazinebdar-Basha*.

4. The *Sarai Agasee*, i. e. the Keeper of the *Seraglio*. He sees that all Things be prepared for the Service of the Palace, and that the Rooms be kept as they ought to be, and that all the Officers do their Duty. He is allowed to ride up and down the *Seraglio*, in the Courts, Gardens, and by the Sea-side, as the three former are: His Pension is eight hundred Aspres, or 40 s. a Day, besides Vests and Furs; he succeeds the *Keelergee-Basha*. The three last may not speak to the Emperor, unless in Answer to any Thing he asks them.

The Number of these Eunuchs is about two hundred, and they are all not only gelt, but cut smoth when they are very young, and that with their own Consent, which is obtain'd by assuring them what Great Men they will be, for otherwise they would be in Danger of Death, as the Workmen in that Business affirm. They are brought up with the *Ichoglans*, and are taken from the fourth *Oda* to serve the Grand Signior, who employs them in the Government of his other *Seraglio's*, and his Seminaries of Youth at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and other Places, makes them *Basha's* of *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, and other Cities, and sometimes *Visiers* of the Bench. They are also trusted by the *Capee-Aga* to keep the King's Curiosities and valuable Rarities, as great Pieces of *Ambergreece*, Musk, Balsom, Cups of Agat, &c. for though they are, generally speaking, not of much Courage, yet they are accounted of great Judgment and Fidelity.

The Black Eunuchs and Black *Moor* Wenches serve the Sultana's and the rest of the Queen's Women. These Eunuchs, while they are Boys, are brought up as the White ones are, and after are set to serve and wait at the Sultana's Gate, under the Command of the *Kissar-Aga*. They are allowed a Pension of fifty or sixty Aspres a Day, and two Vests, with Linnen and other Necessaries, yearly, besides Presents given them by such Women as come to visit the Grand Signior's Women. They are never sent abroad in any Employment, but serve for ever in the *Seraglio*. They are called by the Names of Flowers, as *Rose*, *Narcissus*, &c. Their Business is to carry Messages and Notes from the Sultana's to the *Capee-Aga*, to be delivered to the Sultan, and attend upon the Ladies in Sickness and Health.

16. The Grand Signior's Sons by the Queen are brought up by themselves, by choice Nurses, which are found out of the *Seraglio*, and if he has Sons by other Sultana's, they are brought up also by themselves, but may play with them till they are six or seven Years old. They live with the Women nine or ten Years, and about fourteen are circumcised with great Pomp, as Weddings are kept among Christians. The Sons, from five to ten Years of Age, are taught to write and read by an *Hojab*, or School-master, who for that End is admitted into the Womens Apartment for certain Hours, but sees them not, unless two or three old ugly black *Moorish* Women; but Daughters are little regarded. When the *Shawhzawdeh*, or Sultan's Son who is Heir to the Crown, is circumcised, he is sometimes sent abroad with a suitable Equipage, and under the Care of his principal and trusty Eunuchs, to be Governor of *Magnesia*, and the Provinces about it, but as Deputy to his Father. The Eunuch is bound to give continual Advice to the Grand Signior of his Son's Deportment; so that if he transgress the Limits of his Commission in the least, he quickly falls into Disgrace, and into a Suspicion of Rebellion.

The Victuals in the *Seraglio* is dress'd by such of the *Agliam*

Agliam-Oglans as are brought up to this Service, called *Askees* or Cooks. They wear white Caps for Distinction, and are about two hundred from the highest to the meanest Officers of the Kitchen. They begin their Business early in the Morning, for the Grand Signior rising betimes, they must have always something ready for his Breakfast. He dines at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, and sups at Six in the Evening, both in Summer and Winter. He sits down with his Legs across, according to the *Turkish* Fashion, and has a rich Napkin laid before him. He carves for himself, but uses neither Knife nor Fork, for his Meat is so tender and delicately dressed, that he easily pulls it in Pieces with his Fingers. He hath two wooden Spoons, the one to eat his Pottage, and the other to sup the Syrups with, which he uses to quench his Thirst. He uses no Salt nor Antipast. He tasteth of all the Dishes one by one, and closes his Meal commonly with a *Boclava*, or Tart; and when he has dined or supped, washeth his Hands in a golden Basin, set with precious Stones.

His usual Diet is wild Pigeons, Geese, Lamb, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and sometimes wild Fowl, and usually as much boiled as roasted of all of them, with Broths, Preserves, and Syrups in Porcelaine Dishes, and some Tarts and Pies. When he has done eating, he concludes with a Draught of Sherbet, and seldom drinks more than once at a Meal. He seldom or never speaks at Table, but to favour some Aga, to whom he speaks a Word or two, and throws him a Loaf. The Grand Signior's Dishes are all Gold or yellow Purcelane, scarce to be had for Money, in which he eats chiefly in their *Ramazan* or *Lent*, which lasts a whole Moon, and only by Night, as all the *Turks* do; but they make no Difference of Meats, excepting Swine's Flesh, and Things strangled, which are forbidden by their Law at all Times. The Sultan seldom eats Fish, unless when he is by the Sea-side with his Women, where he sees it taken. The Meat which is left at the Grand Signior's Table is carried to the Aga's that wait; and after Dinner the Sultan diverts himself with the Mutes and Buffoons. The *Capee-Aga* hath a Table by himself, dressed in his own Kitchen, and with him the *Hafnebdar-Basha*, *Sarai Agasee*, the Sultan's Physicians, eat, and what he leaves serves all the White Eunuchs. The Youths in the *Oda's* have two Loaves a-piece and boiled Mutton, with Pottage made of Rice, Butter and Honey allowed them daily.

The Queen and Sultana's are at the same Time served by the Black Eunuchs, but in Copper Dishes, unless the Sultan be with them. They drink their Sherbet with Snow, which costs dear to bring it from the Hills, and keep it under Ground. They eat no Cheese but *Parmesan*, sent by the *Bailo*, or Residentiary of *Venice*. All these Things are done in such Order, that all is finished in less than two Hours Time. The Grand Signior's, Sultana's, and Basha's Bread is made of Wheat, brought from *Bursa*, and ground there, and is very white and savoury; the rest of the Bread for the Seraglio is made of Corn brought out of *Velo* in *Greece*. There are vast Quantities of Bread spent in the Seraglio, because every one has a large Allowance made by the chief Visier. The Rice, Lentils, and other Pulse, is brought twice a Year out of *Egypt* in Galleons. There is a vast Quantity of Sugar spent in Sherbets and *Boclava's*, but they eat little Spice, except Pepper. This is brought out of *Egypt*, with a great Quantity of Conserve, Dates, Prunes, pickled Meats, and dried Plumbs, though four hundred *Halvagi's* are continually at Work to preserve others.

The Honey used at the Sultans Table comes from *Cio*, but the rest comes from *Walachia*, *Transilvania*, and *Moldavia*, in great Earthen Jars. The Oil is brought from *Modon* and *Coron* in *Greece*, and is much used in Meats and Lamps; but the Sultan eats only what comes from *Candia* and *Zant*, which is the dearest and best. Their Butter comes by Shipping out of the *Black Sea* from *Bogdiano* and *Cassa*, in Ox and Buffalo's Hides. They eat very little or no fresh Butter, nor eat much Milk, unless it be *Yogburd*, i. e. sower or clotted Cream. In the Seraglio are spent in dried Beef of Cows of *Bos-*

turnia, killed when they are great with Calf, because they say their Flesh is then more tender and savoury, four hundred yearly; and the daily Provision is two hundred Sheep, one hundred Lambs and Kids in their Season, ten Calves, fifty Geese, one hundred Hens, one hundred Chickens, and two hundred Pigeons. In the Seraglio there is little Fish eaten, though the Sea yields Plenty, and therefore the Christians buy it cheap. The Seraglio is plentifully served with Fruit from the Sultan's Gardens, and Presents sent to the Grand Signior from all Parts; so that they sell a great deal, and the Money is given to the Sultan for his Privy Purse.

The Furniture of the Sultan's Kitchens are of Brass, but so well kept, and so large, that they are as fine a Sight as can be seen. The Grand Signior's Cloaths differ little in Fashion from other Mens, only in Length and Richness. His Turbant is like the *Basha's*, only he wears Plumes and Gold Clasps, which they do not. He sleeps upon Matresses of Velvet and Cloth of Gold covered in Summer with Sheets, embroidered with Silk, and in Winter with Lufens, or Sables. When he lies alone in his own Lodgings, he is watched by the Pages of his Chamber, two at a Time, and two old Women wait on him with burning Torches to light him, if he pleases to say over his Beads, which they pray by at the Hours of Prayer in the Night, viz. at Midnight, and two Hours before Day. The Women's Habit is much like the Men's, for they wear *Chachshirs*, or Breeches, and Buskins, and sleep in them; but they have thin ones for the Summer, and thick for the Water.

17. The several Stipends of the Officers of the Seraglio are paid by the *Tefterdar*, out of the outward Treasury, who sends them their Vests against the Carnival; and if he fails at the Times appointed, upon any Complaint he will be utterly ruined, or at least displaced. If any of the *Itchoglans* or *Agliam-Oglans* die, his Chamber-fellows are his Heirs; and so it is with the young Women that never lay with the Sultan: But if any of the Eunuchs, who are generally very rich, dies, all comes to the Grand Signior himself, except he be out of the Seraglio, for then the Sultan has only two Thirds, and the rest he may dispose of by Will, if the Sultan will consent to it; but to secure his Parts, there is an Officer, called the *Beytel Mawelgee*, who, as soon as any one dies, enquires after their Estates, and certifies the *Tefterdar* of it, that he may seize it for the Grand Signior; yet the *Beytel Mawelgee*, for his own private Gain, will very often conceal a great Part of the Estate of the Deceased, to divide it privately between the Kindred and himself. If any falls sick in the Seraglio, they are immediately carried, in a Cart covered with Cloth, and drawn with Hands, from their Chamber to the *Lazaretto* or Hospital belonging to the Palace, where they are kept so close, that none can speak with them without great Difficulty, but the Physician and Apothecary; and, when recovered, they are carried back in the same Manner to their Chambers. The Grand Signior is at vast Expences in Gifts to the Sultana Queen, chief Visiers, *Serdars* or Generals, and Captains of his Forces by Sea and Land, *Tefterdars* and others, in Vests, Bows, Swords, Plumes, &c. and he allows the Sultana Queen and *Visier-Azem* in the Wars to be very generous, according to their Stations. He may go out of the Seraglio when he pleases, either by Water or Land. When he goes abroad by Water, he is carried in his Saick or Barge covered with Crimson-Velvet, richly embroidered, under which he sits, his Aga's standing all about him, and is row'd by the *Agliam-Oglans*, the *Bostangee-Basha* steering. When he goes by Land, he always rides on Horseback, and commonly goes out of the great Gate of the Palace. When he goes to the Mosque on *Fridays*, he is accompanied through the City by all the *Basha's* and Grandees of the Port, besides a large Retinue of Servants, who march at his Stirrup.

The People in his Way follow him with repeated Acclamations of Happiness, which he returns by a Nod, and such as are, or believe themselves wronged, present to him their *Arzes*, or Petitions, which his Highness

Highness orders to be received, and being read at his Return, he gives Command for Redress, to make good the Title he gives himself, that he is *Awlem Penawb*, i. e. *The Refuge of the World*. The Grand Signior at *Constantinople*, by the Sea-side, has a large Stable of a thousand Horses, for the Use of his Household, of which the *Imrohor-Basha*, or Master of the Horse, has Charge, and lesser Stables at his Houses of Pleasure in the Country, of ten Horses each. He has also Studds in *Bursa*, *Adrianople*, and many other Places for Stallions, which furnish him with very stately Colts, besides such as are daily sent him from *Cairo*, *Damascus*, *Bagdat*, and other Places, by the *Basha's*. For his meaner Servants, he has Horses from *Walachia*, and for his Baggage five thousand Mules to carry Pavillions, Chests, Water, and other Necessaries for Travelling; of which also the *Visier-Azem* makes use when he goes in Quality of General in any Expedition.

18. Upon the first Day of their *Bairam*, or Carnival, the Sultan shews himself publicly, and lets all the great Men and better Sort of his Servants kiss his Vest, and then he is richly dress'd with all his best Jewels, and sits down on a *Persian* Carpet, where his *Takt* or Throne is set, the Chief *Visier* telling him the Names of the Persons, that he may take Notice of them, and chiefly he respects the *Mufti*, *Cadeleschers*, and other Doctors of the Law of the highest Degree. The Ceremony being ended, he goes to the Mosque of *Santa Sophia*, the Company attending him, and hears the *Mamaz*, or Divine Service, and a Sermon; which being concluded, tho' he retires to his own Lodgings, and dines alone; as upon other Days, yet he orders a sumptuous Banquet in the *Divan* for the *Basha's* and *Grandeess*, and a great Dinner in the Court-yard for the rest of the Company, and after Dinner sends them a *Bairam-Lick*, i. e. a New-year's Gift, to all according to their Qualities. During the three Days of the *Bairam*, he causes Shews of Fire-works to be made all Night, and a Drum to be beaten all the while, the Sultan, with his Sultana's, as well out as in the *Seraglio*, diverting themselves with them, as well as with other Sports and Tricks, which the Sultan tolerates all that Time.

But as the Grand Signior gives, so also he receives Presents at this Time from the *Basha's* and great Persons, who strive to exceed one another in the Value of their Gifts, that they may gain Favour. The *Bairam* is celebrated also in all the Grand Signior's Dominions at the same Time, as well as at *Constantinople*, the Streets being set out with pretty Devices and *Salunjacks*, or Swings very artificially made to solace both Old and Young: But in this Fit of *Turkish* Mirth, it is dangerous for *Jews* or *Christians* to stir out, for the *Turks*, putting off their wonted Sobriety, are very insolent, and will do them a Mischief, if they do not give them what Money they demand.

19. Besides the *Seraglio* we have been describing, there is another in *Constantinople*, as has been observed, stiled the *Old Seraglio*, so called, because it was the first built by *Mahomet* the Second, when he took *Constantinople* to be his own Palace. It is a large Place, about three Quarters of a Mile in Compass, and seated in the noblest Part of the City. It is environ'd with an high Wall, and the Buildings are very fair. It hath but one Gate belonging to it, and that is of Iron, which is kept by a Guard of White Eunuchs. The Inhabitants of it are all Women and Eunuchs. The Women are only such as have been put out of the Sultan's *Seraglio*, viz. the Sultana's of the deceased Grand Signiors, such as are fallen into Disgrace with the Sultan for their ill Conditions or rude Behaviour, or such as are infirm and defective in something that should fit them for the Sultan's Bed. They are governed by an old Woman, called *Kabiya-Cadum*, i. e. the *Woman-Overseer*, who is to take Care that they have all Things necessary for them, according to the Custom of the House. The Sultana's have Lodgings apart, and are reasonably well served, though far short of what they had in the Sultan's *Seraglio*. If they are rich when sent thither, they take Care to make it known, and that procures them a good Husband and Jointure. The Sultan will sometimes go thither to visit

his Grandmother, Sister, or other Relations, or when he is melancholy.

There are other *Seraglio's* in *Constantinople*, which belong to private Persons, but built with an ugly Appearance for Fear of giving Jealousy to the Grand Signior, though within the Walls, which are high, there are very beautiful Apartments, adorned with Gold and Azure, and the Floors cover'd with fine Carpets, the Walls faced with fine Tiles like *China*. In the Halls and Chambers they have a Rising about a Foot higher than the Floor, which they call a *Divan*, covered with richer Carpets than the rest of the Room, and embroidered Cushions set against the Wall. Here they rest, receive Visits, and spend most of the Day. There are also many great Buildings in the City like Monasteries, which they call *Hans*, with Galleries and Chambers, where Merchants have Lodgings and Warehouses at easy Rates, viz. one or two Aspers a Day. They bring in a great Revenue to the Owners. They are built of Free-Stone round a Court, which has generally a Fountain in it. The Walls are strong and well barr'd to secure the Goods. The fairest of them in *Constantinople* is the *Valida*, built by the Grand Signior's Mother. The Houses of *Constantinople* are all of Wood, very indifferently built, and very subject to Fires from their taking much Tobacco. The Streets are crooked and narrow, standing also up and down Hill. The *Caravansera's* are built as the *Hans*, but are used only to lodge poor Travellers and the Servants of the Caravan, who have Rooms there for little or nothing.

20. *Galata* is the Suburb of *Constantinople*, separated by the Port only, in which there are *Saiks*, or small Boats, and Wherries, to carry you at all times for a small Matter. You may go by Land, but it is a little about, and you pass by the *Atmeidan*, or Field where the *Turks* exercise their Archery, and go in Procession to make Prayers to God for the Success of their Arms, and whatever else they want. Then you go to *Cassumpasha*, a great Village, where is the Arsenal for building Gallies, Maones and Ships: It has 120 Docks, and a Magazine of Arms for 60,000 Men, but it is inaccessible to Christians. In it are, besides the *Capoudan-Basha's*, or Admiral's Lodging, a spacious *Bagnio* for the Grand Signior's Slaves, of whom there are many Thousands, and live very miserably. This Town is divided from *Galata* only by the Burying-Places.

Galata is a pretty large Place, the Houses are good and well built. Many *Greeks* live there, and the *Franks*, who cohabit with them, have five Monasteries and as many Churches. It has a large Tower in it, and by the Sea-side the finest Fish-Market in the World, where there is great Plenty of all Sorts of Fish to be had cheap. The *Greeks* keep here a great many Taverns, which draw the *Turks* from *Constantinople* thither, who are very insolent in their Drink, and dangerous then to be met with, so that this is one of the greatest Inconveniencies in *Constantinople*.

Beyond *Galata* lies *Pera*, a large Borough, which is separated only by Burying-Places. In this Town reside the Ambassadors from Christian Princes, for the Emperor's, King of *Poland's*, and the Republick of *Ragoussa's* only may reside at *Constantinople*. The Houses are high and handsome, being inhabited only by *Greeks* of Quality. Over against the *Seraglio*, on the Right-Side, stands the *Tophana*, i. e. the Place where all the Guns and Artillery are cast, and it gives the Name to all the Quarter. The Houses of these three Places stand some higher and some lower, like an Amphitheatre, and form a pleasant Prospect from the Port or Sea.

21. In *Asia*, if you cross the Sea, which is about a Mile over, you come to *Schutari*, passing by *Leander's* Tower. It is a large Town, and there the Grand Signior has a stately *Seraglio* and lovely Gardens. A little lower lies *Chalcedon*, once a City famous for the fourth General Council, but now a pitiful Village. The *Prince's Isle*, which is four Hours Sail from *Constantinople*, and contains two little Towns of *Greeks*, has excellent Air, and the Channel of the *Black Sea*, call'd the *Thracian Bosphorus*, is very convenient to take the Air upon, being twelve Miles long, affording a delightful Prospect

of stately Houses and lovely Gardens. This Channel affords Plenty of Fish, especially Sword-Fish and Dolphins. Six Miles from *Constantinople* are two Forts, built to hinder the Inroads of the *Cossacks*, who would otherwise seek their Booty in that City. At the Mouth of the *Bosphorus* is a Rock, about fifty Paces from the Land, where stands a Pillar of white Marble, called *Pompey's Pillar*, because raised by him (as it is said) in Memory of his Victory over *Mithridates*. Over-against this Rock in *Europe* is a Village by the Sea-side, call'd *Fanare*, where is a Tower, with a Light on it always for the Convenience of Vessels to keep them from the Rocks, on which they are in Danger from frequent Tempests and Currents, caused by the *Danube*, *Boristhenes*, *Tanais*, and other Rivers falling into this Sea, to suffer Shipwrecks, and from thence it is called *Maurothalassa*, i. e. *The Black-Sea*; and by the *Greeks*, the *Euxine*, or *Axene Sea*, i. e. *Inhospitable*. Near the Channel of the *Black-Sea* there are a great many *Siacalles*, or wild Dogs, something like Foxes, but supposed to be engendered between Wolves and Dogs. They howl dreadfully in the Evenings and Nights, especially in cold and bad Weather. They are very mischievous, and as fierce as Wolves. The Land on *Europe* side is a fine Country, full of Gardens and good Pasture, and Villages inhabited by *Greeks*. A little further are the fine Aquæducts that supply *Constantinople* with Water in great Abundance.

22. As we are now constrained to think of every Method of saving Room, instead of giving several Travels thro' the same Country, we must be obliged to supply the Defects of such as we insert, by Additions from other Authors, at the Close of every Section, and this plain Account of the Matter may very well serve for an Introduction. Our Author has given a very good Description of the *Dardanelles*, which the *Turks* call *Bogar Hefsarleri*, that is, the Streights of the *Hellepont*. It is certain, that they speak in very high Terms of these new Castles, which they would have the World believe are the strongest Fortresses in the World, as well as the great Security of *Constantinople*; but though they are right as to the Importance of these Castles, yet they are much out of the Way as to the Castles themselves, which undoubtedly are very pitiful Fortifications.

There is Reason to believe, notwithstanding this swelling Language in which they speak of them, that the *Turks* are not in Reality persuaded of the Truth of what they say, with Respect to these Castles, for they are so jealous of a Christian's making any Draught of them, that if a Man looks at them more steadily than usual, they presently confine him; and if he should be caught with a Pencil in his Hand, he would certainly be put to Death. The Batteries level with the Water, are terrible only to Sight, from the large Size of the Cannon, and the prodigious Stone Bullets which they discharge. It is indeed true, that after the great Victory gained near these Streights by the *Venetians*, in 1657, their Admiral *Mocenigo* was destroy'd in attempting to pass, which hindered their victorious Fleet from going up to *Constantinople*; and this has raised their Credit with the Christians, yet without any great Reason. There is a wide Difference between the Passage of a Galley, and that of a Man of War with a brisk Gale; for as these Cannon are fixed, and not upon Carriages, they can make only one Discharge, for to load them again takes a great Deal of Time, and the People employed in that Service must be exposed all the while they are performing it.

In order to force this Passage, two different Methods may be made Use of, neither of which can be said to be exposed to insurmountable Difficulties. In the first Place, the Castles may be attacked by Land, and that without any formal Siege, as they are no otherways fortified than by a simple Rampart and a Parapet, so that a Battery or two of large Cannon would quickly make a Breach; nor is it at all impossible, that these Castles might be carried by a Scalade, and then the Passage would be free from all Interruption. The same Thing might perhaps be effected by a Bombardment, or rather there is no Doubt of it, and therefore there is no Ne-

cessity to run the Risk of those formidable Batteries. But, Secondly, even this might be very practicable, supposing it necessary, for with a brisk Gale, a whole Fleet might pass, and if two or three of the first Vessels were old Ships laden with Wool, it is highly probable the Stone Bullets would not do them much Harm, so that after all the impregnable Fortresses of the *Dardanelles*, as the *Turks* call them, are in Reality little better than Bugbears, and so it will certainly appear whenever an Attempt of this kind shall be made.

The Account our Author gives of the *Turkish* Name of the Capital of their Empire, is not very satisfactory, and indeed it is very hard to meet with any that is so, and therefore we will endeavour to clear up that Matter effectually. All the *Turkish* Authors of any Note, but especially their Historians, call it, *Constanbinah* or *Constantiniab*, which is the City of *Constantine*, and is the Translation of *Constantinople* into their Tongue. As to the Vulgar Name of *Stamboul*, it arose thus; The *Turks* hearing the *Greeks* often speak in their Language of going to the City, for so emphatically they call *Constantinople*, mistook the *Greek* Words, *εις την πόλιν*, which they pronounced, is *Stinpolen*, for the Name of the Place, and so called it corruptly, *Stanpoli* and *Stamboul*; but their learned Writers being ashamed of so gross a Corruption, and yet finding it impossible to rid themselves of a Word so long in Use, have brought in a new Orthography, and write it *Islambol*, which signifies in their Language, the Assembly of the true Belief, or the Capital of Believers; and to the best of our Knowledge, this is the clearest and most correct Account that can be given of the Matter.

Our Author has barely touched, as became a Traveller, on the several Changes that has happened to this famous City; but perhaps the Reader will be pleased to see these Matters placed in a clearer Light, the rather too, because very few of our Books of Geography, or of general History, are tolerably correct or exact in this Point. The City of *Constantinople* received that Name, according to *Eusebius*, *Anno Domini*, 328, from *Constantine* its Founder, who removed hither the Seat of his Empire from *Rome*. It was first besieged under the Reign of the Emperor, or rather Tyrant *Phocas*, by *Chozroes*, King of *Persia*, or rather it was blocked up by him for eight Years together, that is, from *An. Dom.* 603. to 611, when it was delivered by *Heraclius*, who thereby merited and obtained the Empire.

In the Year of the *Hegira* 52. *A. D.* 672. it was besieged by *Yesid* the Son of *Moavia*, the first Caliph of the Family of the *Ommiades*. This happened under the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Pogonates*, and it was at this Siege that *Abu Aïub*, the last of the Companions of the Prophet *Mahomet*, ended his Days. The *Greek* Emperor found himself so pressed by this Siege, that he was almost in Despair; for at the same Time that the *Saracens* Army lay before it on the Land Side, it was blocked up by a prodigious Fleet of theirs at Sea. But the famous Engineer *Callinicus* invented a Sort of Wild-Fire, called from thence the *Greek Fire*, which would burn under Water, and therewith destroyed the whole Fleet.

A. H. 99. *A. D.* 717. It was again besieged by *Moslemah* the Brother of *Solyman*, the seventh Caliph of the Family of the *Ommiades*, *Theodosius* the III^d. being then Emperor of the *Greeks*. It was relieved by *Leo*, the *Isaurian*, who caused the Emperor to be shaved and shut up in a Cloister, seating himself upon his Throne. *A. H.* 164. *A. D.* 780. *Haroun Raschid*, Son of the Caliph *Mahadi*, came before it with a vast Army of *Saracens*, the *Greek* Empire being at that Time governed by *Irene*, as Regent to her Son *Constantine* the VIth. surnamed *Porphyrogenetes*, who found herself so hard pressed, that she was glad to deliver herself by a scandalous Treaty, in which she promised to pay an annual Tribute to the Caliph, of Seventy thousand Pieces of Gold.

The *Greek* Empire declining from this Time, and the Power of the *Mahometans* increasing to such a Degree as threatned all *Christendom* with Slavery, produced those famous Expeditions, that make such a Figure

in History, under the Title of the *Croisades*. And the People of *Constantinople* having first put out the Eyes of their Emperor *Alexis*, and then throwing him from a high Place, beat him to Pieces, when he had reigned only ten Weeks; *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* surpris'd the City, A. D. 1204. and was proclaimed Emperor of the East.

He did not reign quite a Year, and was succeeded by his Brother *Henry* Earl of *Flanders*, who held the Government ten Years. *Peter Courteney* (of that noble Family which still subsists in *England*) having married his Daughter, succeeded him, and was killed in the sixth Year of his Reign. His Son *Philip* yielded the Empire to his Brother *Robert*, who was murdered after a Reign of seven Years. His Son *Baldwin II.* succeeded, though a Child, under the Tutelage of *John de Brenne*, who stiled himself King of *Jerusalem*.

A. H. 630. A. D. 1232, *Batu*, Grandson to *Gengishkan*, the Founder of the *Tartar* Empire, after over-running *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Silesia*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, advanced through *Bulgaria* to besiege *Constantinople*. Upon this Occasion, the *Eastern* and *Western* Christians joined, gave him Battle, routed him, and forced him to abandon his Design. In 1259, or, as some say, in 1262, *Michael Paleologus* recovered *Constantinople* from *Baldwin Courtenay*, and the *Greek* Emperors held it from that Time, though their Power was very weak.

A. H. 857. A. D. 1453. *Mahomet*, Emperor of the *Turks*, laid Siege to this City on the 9th of *April*, and took it by Storm on *Tuesday*, *May* the 29th, in *Whitsun-Week*. The *Turks* massacred forty thousand Men in cold Blood, pillaged the Churches, Monasteries, and Palaces, the *Greek* Emperor *Constantine Paleologus* being killed, as some say, in the Breach; or, as others report, trampled to Death by his own Soldiers in their Flight.

It is a Point out of all Doubt, that the *Christians* in general are stiled *FRANKS* at *Constantinople*, and throughout all the *East* but it is not quite so clear why they are called so; most People imagine it is a Corruption of *French*, and that the *Turks* do not distinguish between *Frenchmen*, and other Nations, who, like them, wear Hats, and not Turbants; but others who have lived long in *Turkey*, affirm, that it is from the *Italian* Word *Franco*, which signifies *Free*. In order to apprehend this clearly, we are to consider, that once a Year the *Turks* collect a Tribute from all their Subjects that are not *Mahometans*; and this Capitation they hold to be very reasonable, because they enjoy the Protection of their Government without fighting for it in War, or undergoing any troublesome Offices in Time of Peace; so that if it were not for this Tax, they would be in a better Condition than their Masters, which in the *Turkish* Logic would be very unreasonable.

Another Maxim of theirs is, that the Grand Signior is the great Judge of the whole World, the Redresser of all Wrongs, and hence his *Seraglio* or Court is stiled the *Port*, and upon this Principle they consider his Dominions as the Refuge of Mankind in general; so that they admit all Strangers to come to them who will, and to settle amongst them if they please, granting them immediately the same Privileges with their native Subjects. But then again it must be also understood, that all Subjects in *Turkey* are held to be Slaves, and therefore not at Liberty to quit the Dominions of the Grand Signior without his Leave; which if they do their Estates are forfeited. But the Subjects of Foreign Princes that come to reside in the Grand Signior's Country for the Sake of Trade, live there by Virtue of Capitulations granted by the *Turkish* Monarch to them at the Request of their Sovereigns; and being by this Means free from the Capitation Tax, and all the Consequences of being reputed *Turkish* Subjects, are from thence stiled *Franks*.

The Reader will please to observe, that though it be very true, that long before any such Capitulations were made, *Christians* might be called *Franks* in the *East*, upon the fore-mentioned Supposition, yet this will by no Means prove that the latter Etymology is false, because nothing is more common than this Kind of double Sense of the same Word. As for Instance, A-

mongst us, a *Turk* signifies the same Thing with *Mahometan*, and what they call *Islaim*, many of our Writers translate *Turcism*, or the Religion of the *Turks*; and yet we make use of the same Word in a more restrained, and indeed in a more proper Sense; for the Nation govern'd by the Grand Signior, who by our old Writers is commonly called from thence the *Great Turk*.

These are Things that may appear to be but of small Moment, but every Thing is of Moment that contributes to render what we read in Books of *History* and *Voyages* perfectly clear and distinct; and I dare assure the Reader, that if he is very conversant in Books of this Kind, he will find these Remarks to be very useful; as to the *French* Writers, they adhere unanimously to the first Sense of the Word, and would persuade us, that the *French* King is regarded at *Constantinople* as the first Prince in *Christendom*; and for a clear Proof of this, they tell you, that he is stiled *Padisha*, or Emperor, which is very true, but at the same Time proves Nothing. For when the Lord *Chandois*, Ancestor to the present Duke, was our Ambassador at *Constantinople* from King *Charles II.* he might have procured him the Title of *Padisha* also for a Present, but he thought that the *Turks* asked rather too much; and as he knew they set no great Value upon Titles, he thought it for the Honour of the *English* Nation to set less, or his *Britannick* Majesty had been at this Day stiled *Padisha* as well as he is King of *France*, and would have been alike the better for both. But it must be allowed, that the *French* have a much closer Correspondence with the *Turkish* Court than any other of the *Christian* Powers; the Reason of which is, that other Powers have nothing to do with them but in a Commercial Way; whereas the *French* treat with them also on a political Consideration, and are in that Respect as good, perhaps I should not much err if I had said better Friends and Allies to those Infidels than to any of their Christian Neighbours; and if this has procured them greater Marks of Honour and Respect from the *Turks*, than are paid to other Nations, however it may flatter their Vanity, it adds but little to their Reputation.

23. The Account given by our Author of the Manner in which Persons are educated in the *Seraglio*, plainly proves, that it is a mere vulgar Mistake, which prevails as to the Ignorance of such as are advanced to Employments in that Empire. It appears, that far from wanting Education, they are regularly bred up in all that Sort of Knowledge which is requisite for the sufficient Discharge of those Offices to which there is a Probability of their rising; and, perhaps, there is hardly a Nation in the World where so much Care is taken. It is true, that these young People are brought up in a Manner very different from ours; but then their Government is also very different; and provided they are so educated, as to serve effectually that Government to the Service which they are bound; this, with respect to them, is certainly a right Kind of Education. But I doubt whether our Author's Account of the *Turkish* Ministry is quite so exact, because it is not easy for a Traveller (let his *Genius* be what it will) to gain, in a few Weeks or even Months, an exact Knowledge of such Matters. Sir *Dudley North*, who resided many Years in *Turkey*, and had many Opportunities of enquiring into and obtaining a perfect Acquaintance with the Manner in which Things are there administered, has given us, in very few Words, a clear and more distinct Account of this Matter, than is to be met with almost in any other Writer: Which runs thus.

“ For the better Understanding of these Affairs, it
“ is absolutely necessary, first, to say something con-
“ cerning the Nature of the Government, of the Office
“ of *Vizier-Azem* or Chief *Vizier*, and of the several
“ *Kaimachams*, which are his Substitutes, and act only
“ in his Absence. The *Turkish* Government is directly
“ that of an Army, being under the same Methods in
“ the City in Time of Peace, as in the Field during
“ War. The Grand Signior is the General; he hath
“ indeed a double Capacity, the one as Head of the
“ Empire, the other as a private Person. As Head of
“ the Empire, he hath a daily Pay out of the publick
Treasury;

“Treasury ; and his common and ordinary Charges, both at home and abroad, are born by the *Tefterdar* or Treasurer for the Empire. As he is a private Person, he receives Presents, Fines, and Confiscations, and defrays many extraordinary Expences, as Buildings for charitable Uses, Jewels for himself and his Women, &c. Which Treasury is under the Care of the *Hafna Kiafi* or Treasurer of the Grand Signior. Here is to be noted, that in his private Capacity he is always vastly rich, and heaps up very great Treasures, when many Times the Publick Treasury is exhausted ; so that in Wars he is often forced to lend great Sums of Money to the Publick, which they are sure punctually to pay back again.

“The next in Office under the Grand Signior, in the Government, is the *Vizier-Azem*, or Chief Minister, who is of that Credit in the Empire, that the Grand Signior calls him Tutor ; and, indeed, he acts all both in Peace and War. The Grand Signior minding his Pleasures, leaves all to him : And this happens not more out of Luxury, than from the Maxims of their Policy : But when the Grand Signior is an active Prince, and will look into Business himself ; or when he is jealous, and his Nature fickle, apt to hear and believe Complaints against his Great Minister, the Vizier signifies much less. When the Grand Signior goes to the War, he carries with him all the Officers of the Court, even the *Mufti*, Judges, and all. The like doth the Grand Vizier when the Grand Signior stays behind : But then he leaves a Substitute, which they call *Kaimacham*, to act like him in his Absence ; and all the other great Officers of State make their Substitutes in the like Manner ; so that the Grand Signior hath as formal a Court as he had before. So also in Case he doth not stay in the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, but removes to any other Part of the Empire, where-ever he goes, he carries with him his whole Court ; but then, not to leave the great City destitute, a new *Kaimacham* and other Substitutes are appointed, whereby, notwithstanding the Absence both of the Grand Signior and Vizier, the City hath the same formal Government as if they were all there, with this Difference, that these are Underlings, and dare not meddle in great Matters.

“But in all Business of Concern, they receive Orders from their Principals abroad, and act accordingly. The Government being thus supplied, there is no Need (unless upon extraordinary Occasions) for the Ambassador of any Nation to attend the Person of the Vizier ; but they may dispatch their Business in *Constantinople*, the Resident of *Germany* only excepted, who continually attends the Vizier's Camp at some reasonable Distance.”

This gives us a clear Idea of the great Office of *Vizier-Azem*, and the Manner in which he executes in Person, and by his Substitutes. We are generally persuaded, that as the Grand Signior is an absolute Monarch, and accountable to none, so he governs entirely according to his Will and Pleasure, which appears to us to be the sole Cause of the frequent Changes that are made in the Administration ; but in this we are certainly much mistaken. I must confess, it is a little beside the immediate Purpose of these Remarks, to insist upon this Point ; but as I have some Reason to be acquainted with the *Turkish* Polity, and the Discussing of it cannot fail of pleasing the Reader, I cannot help indulging myself in setting this important Point in a true Light. A very wise and great Prince would be absolute in any Country, let its Constitution be what it will ; and in Despotick Governments, a Prince of no great Parts, that will suffer himself to be governed by an able Minister, may stretch its Authority to its utmost Bounds. But let the Government be ever so absolute, an unsteady Prince would be ever a Slave ; and in *Turkey* this is always the Case.

The Grand Signiors coming to their Power without any Acquaintance with the World, and under the Influence of an ambitious Mother or an intriguing Wife, seldom follow their own Choice in appointing a Vizier ;

and it is a Maxim in the East as well as the West, that the Minister, who is raised by a Faction, is ruined by a Faction. Besides, in all Despotick Governments the Populace or Mob is the *dernier Resort* ; and it must be so in the Nature of Things, for where all Men are Slaves, as they are by Law in the *Ottoman* Dominions, though the Grand Signior has the Name, yet the Commons, that is, the Soldiery and the lowest of the People, have in Fact the Supreme Power. Thus then it appears, that a Grand Signior of limited Abilities has a very limited Power, being under the Influence of the Factions in the *Seraglio* on one Side, and under the Terror of the People on the other. The frequent Changes therefore in the Government are so far from being the Effects of Plenitude of Power, that in Reality they demonstrate the Want of Power in the Sultan. But in Cases of this Nature, it is best to recur to Facts.

In the Minority of the Emperor *Mahomet IV.* when the *Seraglio* was torn by Factions, Viziers were made and deposed continually, and the greatest Part of *Europe* looked upon this as the Effect of the Emperor's Will : At last a great Mutiny happened amongst the *Spahis*, or *Turkish* Cavalry, who put the then *Vizier Azem* and all the *Basha's* to Death, except one old Man, whose Poverty made him contemptible. This was the famous *Cuperli*, or, as the Name ought to be written, *Kioprili*. Yet in this Massacre the *Spahi's* missed the chief Instruments of those Mischiefs which the Empire had suffered. These were the *Kissar Aga* and the *Selictar*, who really governed the young Sultan, and made and deposed Viziers at their Pleasure. These factious Men finding, as we say, that they had only *Hobson's* Choice, declared *Kioprili*, *Vizier Azem*, upon a Promise that he would do nothing but by their Direction ; to which he consented, provided they gave their Directions in Writing. The Change of Men producing no Change of Measures, the *Spahis* mutinied again, and *Kioprili*, instead of sheltering himself behind the Sultan's Throne, went directly to the Mutineers, and told them, that if they were displeased with the Government, it was fit they should know who were the Governors, producing at the same Time the Directions he had received. This had its Effect, the *Spahis* went directly to the *Seraglio*, and demanded the Heads of the *Kissar Aga* and the *Selictar*, which the Sultan was not in a Condition to refuse. *Kioprili* had then a private Audience of that Monarch, who was excessively alarmed, and doubted even of his own Safety ; but the old Man soon set his Heart at rest ; he told him he was now a Monarch, and himself a Minister, that the *Spahis* had done his Business, and he would do theris ; and he was as good as his Word, for in two Years Time there was not a Soul of them left alive.

He governed the Empire with great Dignity for seven Years ; and as he lived, so he died, Prime Minister. His Master made him a Visit when he was near his End, and deploring the Loss of so good a Servant, he desired he would recommend his Successor ; upon which he told the Grand Signior frankly, that his Son *Achmet Kioprili*, who had been hitherto employed wholly in Civil Affairs, was the fittest Man to succeed him. He was accordingly declared *Vizier Azem*, held that Employment seventeen Years, and was the greatest and best Minister the *Turks* ever had. Under their Administration, which lasted near twenty-five Years, and ended with the Death of *Achmet*, the Emperor maintained his Power, and the Empire recovered its Credit. After his Decease Factions revived, new Fluctuations in Government ensued, and at the last the unhappy Sultan was deposed, and five Years afterwards died in Obscurity.

In all Governments, Court-Factions are dangerous, and the true Sources of popular Discontent and general Insurrections. Great Princes and wise Ministers know how to prevent, or to quell Factions if they cannot be prevented ; and the Felicity of a People does not depend so much upon the Constitution under which they live, as the *Genius* and Capacity of those who administer Affairs under that Constitution, be it what it will. It is not therefore the Despotick Power of the Grand Signiors

Signiors that is the Source of their Subjects Miseries and their own Misfortunes, but the Want of that Power in proper Hands, the shifting Ministers continually, running from one System of Affairs to another, not as the Situation of Things directs, but as the Intrigues and Factions in the Seraglio compel; and though the Ministers, and sometimes their Masters suffer, the Eunuchs and the Women are generally in Fault.

Timid Princes are commonly governed by these Sort of People; they listen to Whispers in their Closets, and hold their Councils in their Bed-Chambers. Their *Divans*, where the Affairs of the Empire ought to be transacted, into which only Men of Business are admitted, become Things of Course, and the Grand Signior gives his Orders where he ought to consult what Orders should be given. It is departing from the *Genius* of the *Ottoman* Empire that has sunk it into that low Condition that we see it at present, and what has happened in *Turky*, will happen every where; for in all Climates, and in all Ages, the same Causes will produce the same Effects. A Government founded as that of the *Turks* is, in Military Virtues and the Administration of the Government by a single Person, must crumble by its own Weight, where those Virtues and that Ca-

capacity, which are essentially necessary to direct it, are wanting.

Governments founded upon better and more rational Principles, such as Justice, Liberty, and perpetual Regard to the publick Good, will decay more slowly; but will infallibly decay, when those Virtues are lost in factious Contentions for Power, Contempt of the Sovereign Authority, and Disregard of publick Happiness, from the mean and pitiful Ambition of raising private Fortunes. But we have wander'd too far from the Business of this Section, and into Reflections that cannot perhaps be pursued to the general Satisfaction of our Readers. Therefore we will here put an End to our Remarks, and return to the Observations of Mr. *Thevenot*, which will make the Reader Amends for this short political Digression, by leading him again into the flowry Paths of Amusement. Yet, why do we travel through every Part of the World but to know it? Or, what have we to do with the Customs, Manners and Policy of the *Turks*, if not to improve ourselves, by considering the Mistakes, and the Consequences of those Mistakes in other Nations? This is, or at least this ought to be, the End of Reading and of Writing.

SECTION II.

Containing an Account of the Customs and Manners of the *Turks*, their Learning and Religion, the Form of their Government, their Forces by Sea and Land; as also an Account of the *Christians* and *Jews*, inhabiting Countries, that are subject to the Grand Signior.

Taken chiefly from the Travels of Mr. JOHN THEVENOT; interspersed with many curious, useful and entertaining Particulars, extracted from the Works of other eminent Authors.

1. Of the Persons of the *Turks*, the Manner of their Dressing amongst various Ranks of People, especially amongst the Janizaries.
2. The Manner of their eating and drinking, preparing their Victuals, and by what Explications they so far satisfy themselves, as to drink Wine upon Occasion.
3. Of the Language and Learning of the *Turks*, and of their Fondness for Astrology.
4. The Religion of this Nation, the Author's Account of Mohammed from the Greek Writers, and other Particulars.
5. Their Praying for the Dead, and the Reason of it; their Notions of a future State, and of the Happiness of the Blessed, and Misery of damned Spirits, with their Doctrine of universal Redemption.
6. Of the Ceremony of Circumcision, the Time when, and Manner in which it is perform'd.
7. Of the Manner of keeping their Ramadan or Lent, and of their Feast of Bairam or Easter; their Extravagance and Folly at that Season, and the great Risque Christians run by appearing in Publick at that Time.
8. Their Ablutions or ceremonious Washings, and publick and private Prayers, and the Manner of Preaching in their Mosques.
9. Of the charitable Disposition of the *Turks*, and of their Readiness to forgive each other, and to avoid long Enmity and hasty Quarrels.
10. Their Pilgrimages to Mecca, and other Precepts of their Religion.
11. Of the Turkish Clergy; their Offices, Credit, and Power, and of their Dervises or Monks.
12. Of the several Kinds of Marriages practised amongst them, and of their Divorces.
13. Slavery amongst the *Turks* not near so grievous as it is generally represented, so that some Slaves have refused Freedom.
14. The Manner in which the Turkish Women pass their Time, and the Cases in which they are entitled to be divorced from their Husbands.
15. Their Customs in burying the Dead, their Mourning and Praying for them.
16. The Virtues and Vices of the *Turks*, their good and bad Qualities very impartially stated.
17. The unlimited Power of the Grand Signior, upon what Principle founded, and how exerted.
18. Of the Office of Vizier Azem, the Viziers of the Bench, and other Officers and Governors.
19. The Manner in which Justice is administer'd in the Divan, and within the Provinces.
20. The great Care taken to preserve Peace and Plenty in the Capital, and other great Cities on the Empire.
21. Of the Money current in Turkey, and of the Weights used in Trade there.
22. Of the Punishments in Use in Turkey, both for Men and Women.
23. Of the Military Establishment and different Sorts of Troops employ'd in the Grand Signior's Army.
24. Of the Manner in which his Forces are raised, and the Funds appointed for their Maintenance.
25. Of their Naval Affairs, and the Reason of their being in so indifferent a Condition.
26. Of the Greek Christians that live in the Dominions, and are the Subjects of the Grand Signior.
27. Of the Armenians, and the Difference of their Faith from that of the Greek Church.
28. Of the several Orders of Greek Monks, and their Manner of living.
29. Of the rest of the Greek Clergy, and their Influence over the People of their Communion.
30. Of the Virtues, Vices, Customs, Manners, and general Disposition of the Greek Christians.

stians. 31. Of the Jews that live in the Grand Signior's Dominions, their Manner of living, and the Cause of their being generally hated and despised. 32. Miscellaneous Observations collected from various Authors, serving to explain the foregoing Articles. 33. Remarks historical, political and critical upon this Section.

1. **T**HE Turks are commonly well shap'd, and have none crooked or cripple among them, but are of robust and strong Constitutions for the most Part: Their Habit is very fit to make them seem graceful, and to cover all Defects; for next their Skin they wear a Pair of Drawers, and over them a Shirt and Doliman, reaching down to their Heels, like a close bodied Cassock, made of Sattin, Taffata, or other neat Stuff, which is quilted in Winter, and this they gird about with a Sash, or Leathern-Belt, adorned with Gold or Silver-Buckles. At their Girdles they commonly wear two Daggers, or *Cangiar's*, their Handles and Sheaths being garnished with Gold and Silver, and sometimes precious Stones, and their Pouch for Tobacco. Over the Doliman they wear a *Feredg* or Night-Gown, which in Winter-time they line with rich Furs, if they are able. Their Stockings are of Cloth, and the Feet are Socks of red and yellow Leather sew'd to them. Their Shoes, which they call *Padouches*, are of the same Colour, like our Slippers. Their Heads are covered with a Crimson Velvet Cap, without Brims, about which they wreath a white or red Turbant, which is a Scarf of Linen or Silk-Stuff, many Ells long, and by the Fashion of it the Quality of the Man is known.

The Attire of the Ladies of *Constantinople* hath a particular Air of Grandeur and Magnificence in it, and far surpasses the Dress of the other Women of that Country. Their *Tarpous*, or Head-Dress, is made up of many Handkerchiefs of various Colours, all wrought with Gold and Silver, beset with all Manner of precious Stones, and adorn'd with several Sorts of Flowers. They can put it on or off without undoing it, and usually wear it several Days, and then put it into another Fashion, but it is often so heavy, that it is a Burthen to them. They wear outward a white Gown, edged at the Bottom with Gold-Laces and Fringes, and lined with Furs in Winter, as the Mens. The Ladies of the *Seraglio* wear sometimes on their Heads a *Calpak*, or Fur-Cap, others a round *Platine*, as the *Jewish* Women, with a Feather on each Side, and Plumes at their Ears. The *Janizaries* wear upon some special Occasions a *Sercola*, or Cap of Ceremony, which hangs down behind, and has a Pipe of gilt Leather before, half a Foot long, and reaches to the Middle of their Foreheads, otherwise they wear a Turbant of white, red, or other Silk, as the common Sort of *Turks* do.

They shave their Heads, and say the Devil nestles in long Hair, but they suffer their Beards and Mustachos to grow, and have a great Esteem for a Man with a lovely Beard, and account it a great Affront to take a Man by the Beard. They swear by the Beard or Head of their Father, Grand Signior, or the like. They salute one another by laying their Hands upon their Breasts, and bowing a little, say, *Sela meon Aleicom*, i. e. *Peace be with you*, and the Person saluted returns the like Answer, which was the ancient Way of Salutation, as appears from Scripture, and is very grave. The Left Hand is the most honourable with the *Turks*, because it is the Sword-side, so that the *Christians* and *Turks*, though neither will give the upper Hand one to another, agree well in Walking together, through Difference of Opinion.

The *Turks* make great Use of Bathing, both for keeping their Bodies neat and clean, and for their Health's Sake; and in every Town they have many fair Bagnios, the smallest Village being seldom without one. They are all made of the same Fashion, differing only in Bigness and Ornaments. All that go into them shave off all the Hair of their Body, and go in naked, all but their Privities, which are cover'd with a Napkin. A Servant also rubs them well behind and before, to supple their Bones before they go in. Such as cannot shave themselves, fetch off the Hair with the Powder of

a certain Mineral called *Rusma*, which being mingled with Lime and hot Water, and laid upon any Place, will fetch off the Hair in half a Quarter of an Hour's Time. In *Malta* they use Orpiment for the same End. Having bathed, a Servant with Soap and Cloths cleanses the Body from all Filth, and then they are dried with warm Cloths, and so dress. The Price of the Bagnio is two Aspers for the Master, and as many to the Man, if he will be well served. The poorest Person that is, Man or Woman, goes to the Bath at least once a Week. The Women go in by themselves, and are served by Women only. It is a capital Crime for a Man to go into the Bath where the Women are. Great Persons have them in their Houses for themselves and Wives.

2. The *Turks* have no sumptuous Feasts, but are contented with a small Matter. They cook their Meat themselves, for they have no Sauces but what are made at first Sight, as Oil, Pepper, &c. Their usual Food is Pilau, which is Rice boil'd with a Pullet, a Piece of Mutton, Beef, or the like, and for want of Meat, with Butter. Their Bread is light, but coarse, like our Biscuit, and flat. They spread a Carpet of *Turky* Leather on the Ground, called a *Sofra*, and squatting down upon the Ground like Taylors, eat it with Wooden Spoons, and instead of Napkins they use a long blue Cloth cast round about the Table. They say, *Bismillab*, i. e. *In the Name of God*, before they eat, as we do *Benedicite*. They pull their Meat in Pieces, (for they use no Knives) and then every one takes his Share. They seldom drink at their Meals, but, having eaten, rise and fill their Bellies with Water, and then say, *Han-dillab*, i. e. *God be praised*. Having finish'd their Meals, they wash their Hands.

They drink Water usually, because Wine seems to be forbidden by the *Alcoran*; but the Goodfellows say, it is a Council, not a Precept, and so drink it plentifully; but few do it in publick, except the *Janizaries* or some Desperadoes. They never mingle Water with their Wine, and laugh at the Christians for so doing. It is plentiful at *Constantinople*, and all over the *Archipelago*. The poorer Sort for Cheapness drink a Liquor made of Barley and Millet, somewhat like our Beer, but not so pleasant. This Drink will make them drunk. They also drink Coffee all Hours of the Day. They make it of the Berry parch'd and peal'd. This Liquor they hold to be good to cure the Head-ach, and keep down Vapours from the Head; it comforts the Stomach, and helps Digestion; nay, they say it is good against all Maladies. To mix any Thing with it makes it less wholesome and useful. All Sexes and Ranks, Rich and Poor, drink at least two or three Dishes a Day in *Turkey*. At the Coffee-houses the Master hath Musick to divert his Customers, and draw others in. They have also Sherbet, which is a very good Drink, made in *Egypt*, of Sugar, Lemmon-Juice, Musk, Ambergrease and Rose-water. At their great Treats they give Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfume for their Beards. They spread Quilts on the Ground for their Bedding, and every one lies on his own, and the Masters lay them on their *Divans*.

Their Recreations are either to sleep, smook a Pipe of Tobacco, or play on the Tambour, which is a Kind of Lute; and though it be no pleasant Musick, they will play all Day on it; but Scholars read or write. They laugh at the *Franks* for walking backward and forward. They entertain their Company with Discourse, or a Game at Chess, Draughts, Tables, or such-like Plays; but they never play for Money, or any Thing of Value, because they account it sinful, and yet will spend whole Afternoons at their Games; but their most usual Game is *Mancala*, at which they play with Shells in Boxes like our Tables. The Recreations of Soldiers are their Military Exercises, viz. shooting at Marks or Butts with Bows and Arrows, darting the *Zagaye*,

Zagaye, shooting with an *Harquebuse* running. The other *Turks* make a great *Diversion* of *Puppet-Shews*, which, though performed a different Way from ours, yet are more pleasing; their Songs are pretty, but very obscene; and so are many of their Postures.

3. The *Turkish* Language is a *Primitive* and *Oriental* Tongue, and though not very copious, yet is grave and pleasant, and with a little Supply from the *Arabian* and *Persian*, is rich and elegant enough. The *Turks* are not much addicted to Sciences, yet have Doctors of their Law, who explain it in all the Senses that can be given it. Some affect *Astrology* and *Poetry*, in which they have pretty *Conceits*, but they generally use the *Persian* Language, and the Tone they sing in is agreeable enough through Custom. Their Musick is a little Lute with three Strings, and the Flute. Many among them pretend to *Fortune-telling*, and have good Luck at it. They divine by the *Alcoran*, and four Arrows, which they call consulting the Book, and naming two of the Arrows *Christians*, and the other two, *Turks*, make them fight by reading the *Alcoran*; if the *Christians* overcome, they look upon the Action, whether in War or Peace, which they are to undertake, to be unlucky, and so will not enterprize any thing. They never go out to War, but they make this Experiment. They also divine with Beans, by taking out an uncertain Number, and then counting them, consult the Book to see what the Number signifies; and by a Piece of Timber almost square, which they call *Eliph*, which having Letters written on each Side, he that seeks his Fortune, takes it, and rolling it three Times, puts the Letters together, and then consults the *Fal*, or *Fortune-Book*, what the three Letters signify.

They have few or no Physicians, being very healthy, because of their frequent Bathings and Temperance. When they are sick, they make Use of their common Receipts, and, if they fail, consult the *Jews*, or some Renagado Christians, who learn their Skill at the Cost of many. When they have the Head-ach, they scarify, lance, or sear the Place, and that cures them. In other Distempers they also use Burning, and endure a live Match applied to the Place with Patience. Doubtless, Physicians might do them more Service, and help them at an easier Rate; but they are such bad Paymasters of Men for their Skill, and besides, if a Physician should be unsuccessful, and a Patient die under his Hands, they will accuse him of killing him, which is a Discouragement to the Art among them.

4. The Religion of the *Turks* is full of Fopperies and Absurdities, of which it would be no hard Matter to convince them; but that *Mahomet*, to prevent any better Information, hath commanded, that whosoever contradicteth it should be put to Death. *Mahomet* was an *Arab*, and illiterate, a Driver of Camels, and a Man of no Morals; but striking in with a *Greek* Monk, who had forsaken his Monastery, and had some Smattering of Learning, he was by him enabled to lay the Foundation of that great Sect, which hath hitherto infected so large a Part of the World. He made Use of the *Old* and *New Testament* in composing the *Alcoran*, that he might draw both *Jews* and *Christians* to submit to it, though both are confusedly applied; but the *Turks* hold, that it was written in Heaven by God himself, and brought Chapter by Chapter to *Mahomet* by the Angel *Gabriel*. No Christian may touch it, and the *Turks*, by reading it merit, in their Opinion, Paradise. It is written in pure *Arabick*, and the *Turks* believe it cannot be turn'd into any other Language; and for that Reason they account the *Persians* Hereticks, because they have translated it into their Tongue.

This Book contains all their Laws, both Canon and Civil, but is full of *Rabbinical* Fables. According to this Book the *Turks* believe in and worship God, the Eternal and Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, but they will not acknowledge a Trinity, nor allow any Images in his Worship, either painted or graven. They have a peculiar Fondness for Predestination, which they extend even to the most indifferent Actions. They are firmly persuaded, that under the Reign of every Em-

peror the State will infallibly and perpetually have either a disastrous or happy Fate. That Death is fatal both in War and Peace, and therefore as they willingly take up Arms, believing that if they are killed by their Enemies, they should some Way or other have died at Home, so they take no Care to keep themselves from the Plagues, or other infectious Diseases, and are offended at Christians for it.

They believe, that Jesus Christ was conceived by the *Rauah*, i. e. The Breath or Spirit of God, in the Womb of the Virgin; but they deny him to be the Son of God, who is one, and hath no Companion; That he was a great Prophet, and wrought many Miracles among the *Jews*, and foretold the Coming of *Mahomet*, under the Name of the Comforter, but they deny that he was crucified; That Jesus Christ shall come to judge the World, and shall reign forty Years in *Damascus*, marry and have Children, at which Time *Antichrist* shall arise, and deceive many, setting a Mark on their Foreheads; but Christ shall destroy him, and shall next ascend up into Heaven, and then the Day of Judgment shall come. In short, they give great Honour to Jesus Christ and the Virgin *Mary*, and if they hear any Man speak ill of them, they will chastise him as severely as if he spake against *Mahomet*; for they believe that the Gospel was sent to Jesus, as the Law was to *Moses*, and the Psalms to *David*.

They believe all the Prophets, and that Paradise shall be filled with the Just, and Hell by the Wicked. They say moreover, That the Power of God is such, that at the Creation of the World he prefix'd and appointed a set Time for every Man's End, that the Wit or Device of Mortals cannot divert nor prevent, which makes them not only very resolute and courageous in their Wars, and upon all other Occasions, but they laugh at and scorn all Means to drive away Diseases and prevent Death, as if they opposed God's Will in so doing. They deny a Purgatory, but hold that there is a Place called *Araf*, between Paradise and Hell, where they shall be that have done neither Good nor Evil. In Paradise *Mahomet* promises the Blessed, delicious Gardens, full of pleasant Fruits and Fountains, Rivers of Waters, Milk, Wine and Honey, Scarlet and Green Cloathing, and lovely Virgins, with Skins as white as a new-laid Egg, and black Eyes, always young and Virgins; that God shall appear to them every Week on *Friday*; That those that are in Hell shall drink scalding hot Water, and eat of the Fruit of the Tree *Zacon*; That if they have Faith, after all their Sins shall be consumed and wash'd in the Water *Solzaboul*, they shall be admitted into Paradise, where they shall receive and enjoy as much Happiness as those that entered at first; but such as have no Faith, and are meer Atheists, shall burn everlastingly in Hell-Fire.

5. They pray for the Dead, as the Papists do, and invoke their Saints to recommend them to God. They acknowledge Guardian Angels, not only to every *Mussulman*, but to every Affair and Member, and attribute all that befalls any Body to them, because they wait upon them in all Places but when they go to do their Occasions, and then they leave them at the Door. They also believe, that when a Man is buried, his Soul returns to his Body, and two Angels, called *Munker* and *Guanequir*, come to him, and if he has lived ill, they bring him an ugly Creature, that represents his Sins and bad Deeds, to torment him till the Day of Judgment; but if he hath lived well, they bring him a lovely Creature, which represents his good Actions, and which gives him a great deal of Content, and stays with him till the Day of Judgment.

They believe, that not only the good *Musselmens*, but some Beasts and Fowls shall enter into Paradise, viz. The Prophet *Saleh's* Camel, which he raised to Life in *Persia*; *Abraham's* Ram; *Moses's* Cow, whose Ashes are mingled with the Water of Purification; *Salomon's* Ant; the Queen of *Sheba's* Parrot, which brought her the first News of *Salomon*; *Ezra's* Ass, which, they say was raised to Life many Years after it had been dead, to prove a Resurrection; *Jonah's* Whale; the little Dog

Dog *Catmer*, that attended the four Sleepers, who slept 372 Years; and *Mahomet's* Camel, that carried him from *Mecca* to *Medina* to his Friends House by a certain Instinct.

6. They circumcise their Children as the *Jews* do, not at eight Days, but at eleven or twelve Years old, that they may make a Profession of their Faith in these Words, *There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet*. The *Turks*, as well as *Jews*, make great Rejoycings at the Circumcision of their Children; for upon the Day fixed for the Ceremony, the Child is set on Horseback, and carried about the Town with Timbrels and Musick, and being circumcised in his Father's House, he makes a Feast for all his Relations and Friends, at which they are merry, dance and sing, and the next Day the Guests make Presents to the Child according to their Quality. When a *Christian* turns *Turk*, he is circumcised after the Manner aforesaid; but if a *Jew* turns, his former Circumcision is sufficient, and he only is obliged to make the afore-mentioned Profession; for which the *Turks* have such a Reverence, that if any *Jews* or *Christians* pronounce them inconsiderately, they must turn *Turk*, or be burnt.

This Circumcision, called by the *Turks*, *Schounnet*, is only a Mark of their Obedience to *Mahomet's* Example and unwritten Command, for there is no Mention of it in the *Alcoran*; but they take it to be such a Token of Disobedience to their Law not to be circumcised, that such as are uncircumcised, whether Children or *Christians*, are not allowed to be present at their publick Prayers; and though there be no Persons to keep such out of their Mosques, yet if any are so bold (as some have been) and are taken, they are burnt alive, or impaled. Upon some special Occasions some are admitted to circumcise at seven or eight Years old; but in Case of Poverty, it is more usual to stay till fourteen or fifteen, till either the Parents of the Person to be circumcised, or the Person himself, is able to defray the Charges of it; or if neither are able, they wait till some rich Person is circumcised, that they may shelter themselves from the Charge by his Purse.

Men of Estates, at the Circumcision of their Children, make many Presents to the Youths that are circumcised with them, and give liberal Alms to their poor Neighbours, that by their Prayers the Grace of God may descend upon the new *Musselman*, and their whole Family. When any poor Renagado *Christian* is circumcised, two Basons are carried after him to gather the Alms, which the Spectators freely give them, though they have a common Proverb among them, *That he that has been a bad Christian, will never make a good Turk*. The Time and Place for Circumcision is not fix'd, for it may be done by a Priest or Chirurgeon, either at the Bath or Parents House. They name their Children as soon as they are born, and do not stay till they are circumcised, by putting some Grains of Salt into their Mouths, and so lifting them on high, as dedicating them to God, say, *God grant N. N. that God's holy Name may be as savoury in this Mouth, as this Salt is, and that he may preserve you from being too much in Love with the World*. As to those that die young, before they are circumcised, they believe that those are saved by the Circumcision of their Father.

7. The *Turks* receive the Ten Commandments of *Moses's* Law, and cause them punctually to be observed by all; and to them *Mahomet* has added five, viz. 1. To believe One Only God, and to worship him as such. 2. To fast during the *Ramadan*. 3. To pray at the Hours appointed. 4. To give the Poor yearly the Fortieth Part of their Substance. And, 5. To go in Pilgrimage to *Mecca* once in their Lives.

The first of these they observe very punctually, shewing great Reverence to God and his Name, which they never pronounce, nor hear pronounced, but with great Reverence, and will not set about any Action, but they first say, *In the Name of God*; yet they swear much by God, when they would be believed.

The second Commandment is to keep *Lent*, or *Ramadan*, in Fasting, whereby the Flesh is mortified, Concupiscence subdued, and the Soul purified. This Fast

lasts a Month, and is kept in the Month called *Ramadan*; because (as they say) the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven in that Month. This *Lent* begins as soon as such People as are set on Hills and high Places on Purpose can discover the New Moon, and the first Messenger of it, if a credible Person, hath a Reward given him for publishing it, and then the *Ramadan* is appointed all over the Town by publick Proclamation.

The Manner of keeping it is thus: It is said in the *Alcoran*, That they may eat and drink all Night long, till they can discern a white Thread from a black by the Morning-Light; but after that, it is unlawful for them to eat, drink, or smook Tobacco, yea, to touch their Wives; and thus their Nights are turn'd into Days, their Minerets being all hung with Candles, and their Coffee-houses are full all Night. In Summer-time this Fast is very troublesome, for though they are burnt up with Heat, they may not drink. Every one is obliged to keep this *Lent*, and some are so strict as to keep it in their Travels, and in the Army, though they may defer it to a more fit Opportunity. There are many that do not keep it, but they must eat and drink privately; for if it be known, they will be at least Bastinado'd. The Punishment of drinking Wine in *Lent*, is to have melted Lead pour'd down their Throats; and it hath been executed, though rarely. None may marry in *Lent*.

When the *Ramadan* is ended, the *Bairam*, or *Easter*, begins with the next New Moon, which is publish'd by firing of Guns, and publick Bonfires and Rejoycings. At this Feast the Houses and Shops are adorn'd with fine Hangings, Tapestries, and Sopha's; the Streets are full of Swings, adorn'd with Festoons, in which they sit down, and are toss'd in the Air, while Musick, both of Instruments and Voices, hired by the Masters of the Swings, pleases their Ears. They have many other Diversions, as Mills, Fire-works, &c. which they get ready some Days before the *Bairam*. Many Women, who never stir abroad the rest of the Year, have Liberty to walk about these three Days; but it is dangerous for the *Franks* to appear, because the *Turks*, being got drunk, will stab them with their *Cangiar*s, or to be sure make them pay dear for their Passage, by exacting Money from them.

One Thing very commendable is done at this Time, which is, that they pardon all their Enemies, and are reconciled to them; for they have made a bad *Easter*, if they keep Malice in their Hearts against any body; and for this Reason, when they meet any of their Acquaintance in the Streets, they kiss one another, wishing a good *Easter* and mutual Happiness one to another. This they call the Great *Bairam*, to distinguish it from the Little *Bairam*, which they keep seventy Days after. Their other Festivals are, the Night between the 11th and 12th of the Moon called *Rebiul Ewell*, wherein *Mahomet* was born; as also the Night between the 26th and 27th of the Moon *Rebiul Abber*, when they believe that *Mahomet* ascended up into Heaven upon the *Albo-raab*, as he tells them in his *Alcoran*; and on *Thursday* the 4th of the Moon *Regule*, they have Prayers in their Mosques till Midnight, and then return home and feast. On all these Festivals the Steeples of the Mosques are deck'd with Lamps in several Figures, which make a very pretty Sight.

8. The third Command of the *Turks* is, To pray at the Hours appointed; but because they always wash before they go to Prayers, 'tis necessary to speak of their Ablutions. They are of two Kinds, one is called *Gouss*, which is a general Washing of the whole Body, and this they are obliged to use after they have lain with their Wives, or after Nocturnal Pollutions, or when any Urine, or any other unclean Thing, hath fallen upon them. The other is called *Abdest*, which is performed by turning their Face to *Mecca*, and washing the Hands, Nose and Mouth three Times. This they use after their Needs, or when they have handled any Thing that is unclean, and for both these they have Baths and Fountains near all their Mosques. If any one happens to break Wind upwards or downwards, or any Blood or Filth issue from their Body, if they

they vomit, fall into a Passion, faint, are drunk, laugh at Prayers, embrace a Woman, or touch any naked Part of her, sleep at Prayers, touch a Dog, or any unclean Beast, all these Accidents make void the *Abdest*, so that it must be renew'd before they can legally go to Prayers.

The Places of Prayer are their Mosques, which on the Outfides are like our Churches. They have by them Towers or Minerets, which have a Balcony round them, from whence the *Muezim* call them to Prayers. In the Inside there is nothing written, but the Name of God. When they pray they turn toward the South, because *Mecca* lies on that Side. They have a Pulpit for the *Imans* to preach in, and the whole Mosque is cover'd with Matts for the Ease of the People's Kneeling, and Carpets for the better Sort. Their Prayers are in an unknown Tongue. They have them five Times a Day, *viz.* at Break of Day, at Noon, between three and four a Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-setting, and about an Hour afterwards in the Evening. On *Fridays* they have Prayers at Nine o'Clock besides, and in the *Ramadan*, or *Lent*, at Midnight, and all are present at them, and then they may go to work, or open Shops, but most of them rest and make merry, or visit their Friends. When the Hour of Prayer is come, the *Muezim*, going up to the Mineret, sings and cries with all his Force, putting his Fingers in his Ears, *Allah Ekber*, &c. i. e. *God is great, God is great, God is great; bear witness there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his Prophet; Come and present yourselves to the Mercy of God, and ask Forgiveness of your Sins; God is great, &c.* and this he does towards the four Corners of the World, beginning at the South, and ending at the West.

While he is crying, every one goes to the *Abdest*, and then to the Mosque, or if they cannot go, say their Prayers at Home. They leave their Shoes at the Door of the Mosque, or carry them in their Hands with them. When they are entred they bow to the *Keble*, i. e. a Nich in the Southern Wall, and then go to their Seats, and wait till the *Iman* or Prelate begin Prayers, and then join with him. In praying the Men lift up their Hands to their Shoulders, and then lay them upon their Navels, and the Women lift up their Hands but half-way, and clap them on their Breasts. When Prayers are ended, they bowe both to the right and left Side, as to the two Angels, *Kerim*, and *Ki-atib*. When they are at Prayers they are so attentive, that they will turn neither this Way nor that. They never talk in their Mosques, but carry themselves always with great Reverence. They are but few who go not every Day to Prayers at Noon, Afternoon and Night, for if they observe not these three Hours they are punish'd severely, and this they must do in Travelling. All their Prayers do not last above half an Hour at most, and seldom above a Quarter. They are commonly of a very ordinary Composure, especially in the lesser Mosques, and upon ordinary Days; but during the *Ramadan*, and upon high Days, they are something better.

The *Mahometans*, during the Time of their Prayers, observe a grave Silence and a modest Deportment, kneeling till the Prayers begin, and then joining with the *Iman* in repeating the Prayers softly after him, and imitating his Gestures with Kneeling and Prostrations, which are more or less, according to the Hours; for in the Morning and Afternoon they use but six, but at Noon, Night and Evening, eight. When these are finished, some Choristers get up into the Galleries, and sing in Parts a Sort of an Anthem of an indifferent good Air. On *Mondays*, *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, a Preacher mounts the Pulpit, to explain some Point or other of the *Alcoran*, which he understands and expounds as he thinks fit. Any one may be present at these Sermons, as well as those made in the Market-place. They conclude all with some Prayers for the Sultan and the Success of his Armies; to which all the People say, *Amen*.

9. The 4th Command is Charity, to give the fortieth Part of their Goods to their Kindred, if they have any, and if not, to their poor Neighbours, and for want of

them, to the first they meet. This Command is well observed by them, so that Beggars in *Turky* are very rare. And, indeed, they perform great Acts of Charity in founding Hospitals, building Bridges, and Inns for the Caravans, bringing Water into the Highways, setting Slaves at Liberty; and they that have not Ability to do these Things, mend the High-ways, fill the Cisterns with Water, and shew Travellers the Fords; and if offered Money, they refuse it, for they say, they do it for God's Sake, and not for Money. Their Charity also extends to Birds and Beasts, for some will buy Birds in the Market to let them fly, and they believe, that the Souls of those Birds will one Day testify their Kindness to God. Others will leave considerable Means to maintain so many Dogs and Cats.

To this Command of Charity may be reduced that of forgiving Enemies, not of their State and Religion (for those their Law obliges them to hate) but their particular and private Enemies. And indeed they observe this Law so well, that there are few Enmities among the *Turks*; for if there happen any Quarrel, they are obliged to use their utmost Endeavour to pacify it, and commonly they do not desist till it is adjusted; and that the Reconciliation may be firm, the Persons at Difference are obliged, before they pray to God on *Friday*, which is the Weekly Sabbath, to protest, as in the Presence of God, that they freely pardon their Enemies, or else they are taught, that their Prayers will not be heard. If the Persons at Variance will not be reconciled, they part them by Force, and carry them before the *Cadi*, or some other Judge, who will give them two or three hundred Drubs on the Bottom of their Feet, and make them pay two or three thousand Aspers. The Severity of these Punishments generally keep the *Turks* so much within the Bounds of their Duty, that they seldom quarrel, or injure one another; nay, they do not suffer themselves to be transported with Passion, or to swear.

10. The fifth Commandment of the *Turks* is to go to *Mecca*, which is the worst obey'd of any of them, because several for Want of Money, and others by their Affairs, are hindered from going so tedious a Pilgrimage; yet many go yearly, and such are revered ever after under the Name of *Hagies*, or Pilgrims, and others get ready to do it. Next to these Commandments they have several Prohibitions, which they cannot break without Sin, as, 1. To make, or have any Figures of Man, Woman or Beast; and this they observe so strictly, that they are angry at the Sight of any, and though they are great Lovers of Watches and Clocks, yet if they have any Figure on them, they will not accept of them, though given. 2. To lend Money upon Usury, and they are careful to abstain from it, but they will make Bargains that differ little from it. 3. To forbear unclean Meats, as Hogs, and such Creatures as the *Jews* account unclean; and this they strictly keep, and some will rather starve than eat of them. 4. Not to drink Wine, but this they say, was only a Council of *Mahomet*, and so they often drink it, and are drunk; yet if any Wine be spilt upon their Cloaths, the greatest Drunkard will labour to get out the Stain, and the most scrupulous will wear them no more, lest they be found guilty of Sin.

11. The *Turks* have their Clergy, as all other Religions have, to resolve their Doubts, and celebrate divine Service. They continually study the *Alcoran*, and are most of them knowing Men. The chief Ecclesiastick is the *Mufti*, whom they reverence as much as the *Romanists* do the Pope. He is chosen by the Grand Signior, and is always a learned Man in their Way, i. e. much versed in the *Alcoran*, for he resolves all Matters of Conscience, and gives his Decisions in little Writs, called *Festa*, to which even the Sultan himself must stand, but by adding these Words, *God is the best Judge*, he shews that he pretends not to Infallibility. He is married, and had in so great Veneration, that the Grand Signior rises to meet him and salute him when he comes to Court. It is unlawful by their Law to put the *Mufti* to Death, yet some Emperors have done it. There is but one *Mufti*, and his Residence is ordinarily at *Constantinople*, where finding Business enough,

the *Cadilesquers*, *Moullab's* or *Cadi's*, or Justices and Naibs, perform his Office in other Places. The Sultan consults with the *Mufti* about State-Affairs, as when he designs to put any Prime Minister to Death, disgrace the Prime *Vizier* or *Basba*, or undertake any other Business of Importance, because 'tis a Notion among the People, that there is more Equity in a wise and pious Person's Judgment, than in the absolute Power of a Prince, though as it is now used, 'tis meer Formality, for the *Mufti* must comply with the Will of his Prince. Every *Mufti* must have been a *Cadilesquier* first, and have discharged that Office well before he is raised to that Dignity. He has no Power over the *Imans*, or Priests, because the *Turks* have no Hierarchy.

Those who officiate in their Mosques, and read Prayers there daily, are the *Danischmend*, or as the *Franks* call them, *Talisman*s, and the *Iman* is the Chief of them. The *Muezims*, or Church-Clerks, call them to Prayers from the Minarets of the Mosques, and the *Hodgia's* are old Men of Integrity, very knowing in the *Alcoran* and Civil Affairs. These are consulted in Affairs of Importance, and sometimes preach on certain Festivals. They have several Sorts of Monks, of which the *Dervices* are the Chief. They live in common, and have their Superior, as Popish Monks have. They go very mean in their Apparel, and wear on their Heads a Cap of white Felt, like our Night-Caps. Every Tuesday and Friday they make a Dance in the Middle of an Hall, rail'd in square, where are two Pulpits, the one for the Superior, and the other for the Vicar. At the other End of the Hall is a Scaffold, where several *Dervices* are placed to play on the Flutes or Drums. When they have sung some Prayers, the Superior makes a Sermon upon some Words of the *Alcoran* in *Turkish*, which are read to him by the Vicar in *Arabick*. When the Sermon is ended, the Superior with the Vicar, come down from the Pulpit, and having, with the rest of the *Dervices*, taken two Turns about the Hall, all the Instruments play in Concert, and then begins the Dance. They pass before the Superior, and salute him humbly, and then making a Leap, fall a-turning upon their left Foot as a Windmill driven by the strongest Wind, and though they stretch out their Arms, and sometimes shut their Eyes, they never touch one another, but keep Time to the Musick, and never make the least false Step. The Author of this Dance was one *Hazreti Mewlana*, a *Dervise*, who is reckoned a Saint among them, but all their *Dervises* and *Santo's* are Hypocrites.

12. The Marriage of the *Turks* is of three Sorts, and so they have as many Sorts of Wives. 1. Lawful Wives, and these they take after this Manner: The Man that desires to be married agrees with the Parents or nearest Relations of the Maid about the Dowry they will give their Daughter or Kinswoman before a *Cadi*, who writes it down. This done he gets an *Iman* to bless his Marriage, and then the Bridegroom on the Marriage-day leads the Bride to his House, her Baggage being carried on Horses or Camels before them, and there they feast and are merry, the Men and Women by themselves, and commonly they have Musick and Poppet-Shows, as also the Women called *Tebingene*, to shew Tricks for the Diversion of the Company. These Wives the *Turks* may divorce when they please, by going before the *Cadi*, and saying, *Alei talac be talati*, i. e. *I part with her for three Times*: But if a Man put away his Wife wrongfully, he must give her her Dowry; but if he does it upon just Grounds, or she forsakes him, he gives her nothing. When a Woman is thus divorced, she may not marry another Man till four Months be past, that she may know whether she be with Child, for if she be, the Husband that divorced her must keep it, and if she be not, sometime such Matches are made up in that Time. A Man that hath divorced his Wife cannot marry her again, till she hath been first married to another Man, and then he may take her back. When they are thus married, if the Husband happen to die, the Wife takes her Dowry, and no more, and if the Wife dies, and leaves Children, they may constrain their Father to give them their Mother's

Dowry. Of these Wives the *Turks* can have but one, though some have said four.

They may also have Wives of *Keben*, which they take with less Ceremony than the former; for they only go to the *Cadi*, and tell him, that they take such an one to be their Wife, promising to give her so much if they divorce her. This the *Cadi* writes down, and gives the Man a Copy, and he may keep her or divorce her as he pleases, performing his Promise, and maintaining the Children he hath by her. The *Turks* may have seven of these Wives, nay, as many as they can keep, but to save Charges, few of them will have more than one or two.

Their other Wives are *Haylaykes*, i. e. Women-Slaves, and of these every Man may have as many as he pleases, and the Children begotten of them are held as legitimate as those of the former Wives, and have as much Title to the Inheritance of what their Father leaves behind him, if by his Will he infranchizeth them, otherwise they remain Slaves to the eldest by the lawful Wife; but if a *Turk* takes a Slave for his Bed, he may not sell her again if she have Children, but she becomes a Member of his Family; if she proves barren, she may be sold as often as her Masters will.

The *Turks* may buy all Sorts of Slaves of every Religion and Nation, but *Christians* and *Jews* may not buy a *Turk*. At *Constantinople* is a Market for Slaves in a Place near the *Bezistan* every Wednesday, and every one may buy freely for their several Uses, their Lust not excepted. These Slaves are bought and sold like Horses, view'd, review'd, and felt all over their Bodies, and their Mouths look'd into, being also examin'd of their Country and Age. A beautiful Virgin at these Markets is held at an high Rate, but the Seller is answerable for her Virginity, for if she prove otherwise, he must restore the Money she was sold for, and bear a sharp Fine for his Fraud.

13. The Slaves of the *Turks* are not so miserable as they are commonly supposed. They are frequently the Under-Masters of Families, for if they light on a good Master, or are endued with any Talent, their Masters will love them, and will seldom hinder them from going to Church to pay their Devotion: They are very frequently also in Favour with their Mistresses, who through a tender Compassion, natural to their Sex, give them Presents. Their Masters, indeed, are obliged by their Law to exhort them three Times a Day to embrace the *Alcoran*, but they seldom force them to renounce their Faith. These Things have made some Slaves to refuse their Liberty, and being made free to return again to their Servitude.

14. The *Turkish* Women are commonly beautiful, straight and well-shaped, for they never go abroad without their Veil to cover their Faces. They paint their Eye-brows with *Sarmee*, which gives them a blackish Colour, and their Nails with *El-banna*, which is a reddish brown. They are very cleanly and neat, for going to the Bath twice a Week they have neither Hair nor Dirt upon their Bodies. Their Cloathing and Shoes are much like the Mens, but their Head-Attire is different, for they make a very long Tress of their Hair, which hangs down to the Small of their Back, and if they want Hair, they use an artificial Tress, or a Case of Sattin.

In the House they cover their Heads with a Cap of red Cloth, like our Night-Caps, but with four Horns or Points on the Tops, to the Middle of which they stich a Round of Pearls, and tie it below with a Handkerchief of fine Stuff wrought with Flowers of Gold and Silk; but when they go abroad, they change it for one made of gilt Paste-board, and muffle up their Head so in a Linen Cloth, that nothing but their Eyes is uncovered, nay their Shift Sleeves cover their Hands, because it is a Thing of ill Repute so much as to shew any Part of their Bodies; yet in a Corner of the Streets, they will venture to uncover their Face to a Friend, or a young Man they like, though, if they be discovered, they are bastinado'd.

The *Turkish* Women are very haughty, and extremely lazy, and though they do nothing but sit on their Di-

vans embroidering an Handkerchief, yet they must go fine and have their Slaves, though their Husbands be ever so poor. This Idleness makes them vicious, and seek only Ways of having their Pleasure, of which the Husbands are so jealous, that they will not suffer them to shew themselves to Men; and if they do, they are sure to receive the Bastinado on their Buttocks. Upon these Accounts no Women are suffered to go to the Mosques, Markets, or appear in their Husbands Shops.

The Wives have not the Privilege of Divorcing their Husband, as their Husbands have of Divorcing them, unless they deny their Wives the Things which they are obliged to furnish them withal, as Bread, Pilou, Coffee, and the Use of the Bed once in eight Days, and Money to go to the Bagnio twice a Week; for, if they fail in these Things, they may go the *Cadi* and demand a Divorce, which if the *Cadi*, upon going to the House, finds true, he grants her Suit, as also if she complains, that he hath offered to use her contrary to the Course of Nature, which she expresses by Turning up the Soal of her Slipper, without Saying a Word.

15. When any one is sick, the *Imans* go and pray with him, and if he dies, all the Neighbours know it by the Howling of the Women, who cry out as if they were in Despair. The Friends and Neighbours go immediately to condole with them, weeping and mourning in a doleful Tone; but yet, as if they were singing, they rehearse the Praises of the Dead, *viz.* The Wife will say of her dead Husband, *He loved me so well, he gave me Plenty of every Thing I stood in Need of, &c.* and all present join with her, repeating her Words, and imitating her Gestures. This lasts several Days, as often as any new Visits are made; nay, sometimes these Cries are renewed at the Year's End. After these Lamentations comes the Burial, for which the Relations wash the Body, and shave off all the Hair, and then they burn Incense about it to scare away evil Spirits and Devils; and then praying God to be merciful to him, they wrap him up in a Sheet, and put him into a Coffin and Bier, like ours, but with his Face downward, and covered with a Pall, which is red; if the Person dead be a Soldier, green; if a *Scheriff*, i. e. one of *Mahomet's* Relations, black, with a Turban; which is red, if he be a *Fanizary*; red and white if a *Spahi*; green if a *Scheriff*; and white if any other Man.

As he is carried to the Burying-place, which is with his Head foremost, the Priests go before, saying certain Prayers, and often calling upon the Name of God: After the Corps, which is carried by four Bearers on two Sticks, follow the Relations and Friends, the Women come last howling like mad Folks: Being come to the Burying-place, they take the Body out of the Coffin, and bury it in the Earth, and leaving the Women to mourn, depart. When the Grave is filled up, the poorer Sort erect a Stone over the Head of the Deceased, for the Angel that examines them to sit on; but the richer Sort have Tombs of Marble, and at both Ends a Turbant of Stone like that of the Deceased. Their Burying-places are always without their Towns, that the Air may not be infected by the corrupt Vapours of the Graves, and this was the Custom of the Ancients. The *Turks* Burying-places are commonly by the Highway-sides, that Travellers may pray for them, and always distinct from the Christians. After the dead Body is interred, the Relations and Friends, for several Days, come and pray upon the Grave, that God would deliver the Soul of the Deceased from the Torture of the Black Angels, exhorting him not to be afraid. The Women also do the same with so much Passion, that one would think them absolutely distracted. Many on *Fridays* bring Victuals and Drink to the Graves, and leave it there for Travellers, that they may pray for the dead Person, for whose Sake it is given them.

16. In fine, though in Christendom the *Turks* are accounted barbarous, yet, in Truth, they are good People, and love honest Men, whether *Turks*, *Jews*, or *Christians*. They do not think it lawful to cheat or rob

a *Christian* more than a *Turk*, but carefully observe that excellent Command, *To do to others only what we are willing others should do to us.* They are, indeed, guilty of great Extortion from the *Franks*, but it is through the Instigation of the *Jews* and *Christians*, who envy one another, and seek each others Ruin. Usury is esteem'd a very great Sin by the *Turks*, and is very little practised. They are very devout and charitable, very zealous for their Religion, which they seek to propagate all over the World; and whenever they love a *Christian*, they exhort him to turn *Turk*.

They are ever loyal to their Prince, whom they highly reverence, and blindly obey, and are never known to betray him, but willingly die for him, whenever he commands it: They never quarrel or fight among themselves, and know not what Duels are, which may be said to proceed from *Mahomet's* wise Policy, who forbid them Wine, and Gaming for Money; and the good *Turks* so religiously observe these Laws, that they will not drink a Drop of Wine, and always play for Diversion. They are very temperate, and never commit any Excess in Quantity or Quality of Victuals; so that it may be truly said of them, *They eat to live, and do not live to eat.* Yet are they not without their Vices, for they are so proud, that they think themselves above all other Nations, and that the World was made for them. They despise the *Jews* and *Christians* so much, that they call them Dogs; and the Rabble think they do a good Act. Some of them are so superstitious, that if at their first going out in a Morning, they meet a *Christian* or *Jew*, they return home again, saying, *God preserve us from the Devil.*

The *Turks* love not hard Study, and think it enough to learn to read and write. They often study the *Alcoran*, which comprehends all their Law, both Canon and Civil, and some apply themselves to Astrology and other Sciences. They are very amorous, but their Love is brutish, for they are the greatest Sodomites, and boast of this infamous Vice. They are very covetous, so that Money will do any Thing among them, both at Court and in the Country. They are very friendly and civil, if they can gain by it; but common People are purchased at a cheaper Rate, for let them have but Drink enough, and they will do any Thing for you.

17. The *Turks* are subject to one Prince, called by them, *The Sultan*, and by other Nations, *The Grand Signior*, or *Emperor of the Turks*. He comes to the Empire by Inheritance, and is always of the *Ottoman* Family, for which the *Turks* have so great a Veneration, that they will not submit to any other. When the Grand Signior dies, his Son succeeds him, or, if he have none, his Brother, who fixes upon a Day when he will go by Water to the Mosque of *Esfou*, where being seated upon a Tribunal of Marble, raised upon Marble Pillars, the *Mufti* says some Prayers, girds him with a Sword, and then he makes his Entry into *Constantinople* with a Cavalcade to the Seraglio, and this Ceremony serves instead of a Coronation. The Emperor is no sooner settled on the Throne, but he takes care to secure to himself the Possession of it, by first shutting up all his Brothers so close, that none can tell where they are, and, if he has Children, putting them to Death by strangling them, making a Scruple of Conscience to shed the Royal Blood. The chief Reason of this Fratricide is to secure the Militia to himself; for so long as he has a Brother alive, they are ever threatening him with a Revolt, unless he will augment their Pay as they please. When the Grand Signior is settled on his Throne, he frequently minds nothing but his Pleasures, being attended with a great many Buffoons, *viz.* Mutes and others, who study continually to invent some new Pranks to divert him, and his *Basha's* send him Multitudes of the finest Women to gratify his Lust. His Power is absolutely and entirely despotick, and his Will is the only Law by which he rules. He is not curb'd by any written Law or Custom, so that the Oppressed have not so much as a Right to complain. He may take away any Man's Estate, prefer the meanest Person to the highest Dignities, and send for the Heads of whom he has a Mind, without Trial

or Justice, and none has any Right to enquire the Cause.

This unlimited Power of their Sultan is founded on the *Mahometan* Religion, which enjoins a blind Obedience to all his Commands under Pain of Damnation; but the *Turks* are freed in a great Measure from the Effects of it, by his retiring so much from Civil Concerns to his Pleasures; for as to all publick Business, he refers that to his Ministers, who have the whole Management of his Affairs, yet are obliged, on certain Days every Week, to give him a summary Account of them. When the Grand Signior is weary of staying in the Seraglio, he goes abroad to take the Air, either by Water or Land.

When he goes by Water he has little Attendance. His Galliot comes to the *Kioske* of the Seraglio, and from thence he goes to *Scudaret*, or the *Black Sea*, to take the Air, being row'd by two *Bostangi-Bascha's*, and twenty-four others, being their Favourites, on each Side. When he goes by Land, it is either in Pomp, as he does through *Constantinople* to the Mosque; but then he has so many Petitions put up to him against the ill Management of his Ministers, that they hinder it all they can; but he will often go abroad *incognito* in Disguise, to see if his Orders be punctually observed, and the Christians are glad of it, for by this Means they are free from Affronts. Sultan *Amurath* went often out thus, and one Day caused a Butcher's Head to be cut off, for selling Meat above the Price fix'd, and two Men more to be beheaded, at another Time, for smoaking Tobacco, which he had strictly forbidden, because, by taking it in their Beds, several great Fires had been kindled in *Constantinople*, which had burnt down great Part of the City.

18. The chief Minister of State is the *Grand Vizier*, who is called *King* by the *Turks*. He it is that receives Ambassadors, hears their Proposals, and gives them an Answer, the two Audiences which the Grand Signior allows them, being only for Ceremony at their coming and Departure. He takes Care to pay the Army, decides Law-Suits, condemns Criminals, and manages the Government, having in his Custody the Imperial Seal, and discharges the Office of the Grand Signior. This is a very heavy Charge, and requires a great deal of Sagacity and Prudence; and yet for all that, few can hold it above six Months before they are strangled, they create themselves so many Enemies; and they that do escape, must by their Gifts make great Friends at Court, and have the Protection of the Mother of the Grand Signior, the most beloved Sultana's, and others.

Next to this great Officer are the six *Viziers*, called *Viziers of the Bench*, who are properly the chief Counsellors of State, but intermeddle not with the Government, being only consulted upon Points of Law by the Grand Signior and the *Vizier Azem*. The other chief Charges are the *Cadilesquers*, or Judges of the Army, which are as it were Chief Justices, or Sovereign Judges, both of Civil and Military Affairs. They have under them *Cadies*, or *Inferior Judges*, being Bailiffs or Provosts, before whom are tried ordinary Causes, Marriages made, Liberties given to Slaves, and the Writings called *Heudgets*, or Decrees ordered.

The *Caimacan* is the Captain and Governour of *Constantinople*, Lieutenant of the Grand Vizier, but has no Authority but in his Absence, and then he performs all the Offices of that important Charge. The *Bascha* of the *Sea* is the Admiral of the Naval Forces of the Grand Signior; and the *Beys* are the Governors of the Maritime Provinces, and are obliged to keep the Grand Signior's Gallies in good Order.

The *Aga* of the *Fanizaries*, who is the Colonel-General, or Commandant of that formidable Body of the Soldiers called *Fanizaries*, is a considerable Station. He is allowed to come into the Grand Signior's Presence with his Arms in absolute Liberty, and with a confident Deportment, whereas all the other Grandees of the Port appear with their Arms cross their Bodies, in Token of profound Submission.

The *Bascha's* are a Kind of Viceroys in the Provinces; their Office is to administer Justice exactly, and to keep

the People in Subjection to their Government. They are obliged to pay a Tribute of Money and Slaves yearly to the Grand Signior, besides the *Carache* and other Imposts, But they generally abuse their Authority, and are more arbitrary than the Grand Signior himself, their Aim being to raise a Fortune speedily by their Spoils and Oppressions. The Sultan is forced to dissemble his Knowledge of these Disorders for Want of Power to suppress them, because they have the Soldiers sometimes more at their Service than he.

The five chief *Bascha's* are those of *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Buda*, *Natolia*, and *Romania*, who have a Privilege of having Horse-tails carried before them.

The *Beglerbeys* are next to these, and are as it were so many Sovereigns in the general Government of the Empire, which the Grand Signior gives them. Under the greatest of these are several *Sangiac-Beys*, who govern small Provinces.

The *Spahi's* are a Body of 15000 Men, maintained out of the Revenues of the Grand Signior's Manors, or *Timars*. They pass for the Nobility or Gentry of the Country, and stand much upon their Honour. The *Zaims* differ not much from them.

19. The *Chiaux-Bascha* is the Chief of the Pursuivants, or Messengers, who carry the Prince's Commands to all Places, are sent of Ambassadors, and have the Custody of all Prisoners of Quality. The Government of Cities is managed by five Kinds of Officers; the *Bascha*, who judges criminal Causes; the *Sub-Bascha*, who is his Deputy; the *Wairwod*, who regulates Affairs in the City, walks the Rounds twice a Week, examines Weights and Measures, suppresses Tipling-houses, punishes Drunkards, and all such as commit any Disorders, severely; the *Cadi*, who is the Judge of all Civil Suits, and the Receiver of the Customs, and not only receives the publick Duties, but takes Cognizance of all fraudulent Practices relating to pecuniary Duties, and judges as he sees fit. These Officers make it their Business to ruin and discredit one another.

They have no written Laws but what are contained in the *Alcoran*, which they hold to be the Rule of Faith, and Standard of Justice; and every Thing that it forbids is esteemed unlawful and punishable. Nevertheless the *Bascha's* and *Cadies* judge as they please, for the Book is short, has but few Laws and moral Precepts, and those it has are so ambiguously express'd, and deliver'd in so loose a Manner, that those greedy Officers cannot desire a more favourable Opportunity to satisfy their Avarice, for they judge without Appeal, and cause their Sentence to be executed upon the Spot. It is true, some injured Persons have appealed to the *Divan*, but it is so hard, as well as chargeable to carry a Cause thither, that few will attempt it.

The *Divan* is the great Council and Assembly of the Nation, where all Affairs of State are debated, all Suits are finally decided, for any body may be heard there, of what Country, Quality, or Religion soever he be, and the poorest Man has Liberty to ask Justice of the Grand Signior in Person, and deliver him his Petition, which as soon as he has read, he gives Sentence according to Equity. If it be for Debt, the *Vizier*, upon Supplication, sends a *Chiaux* to fetch the Debtor into Court, and the Creditor bringing his Witnesses, the Prisoner is condemned, and the Sentence is immediately put in Execution; for all Things are dispatched with so much Expedition, that a Matter no sooner comes to a Hearing, but it is presently judged and finally determined.

No Trial, unless in a difficult Case, will last above four or five Hours without Sentence given one Way or other, so that no Man is wearied and ruined by Lawyers and Delays, as in other Places: Nor is there any Fear that Justice will not be administer'd, because at the End of the Hall where they sit, is a Window covered with black Crape, where the Grand Signior hears and sees when he pleases, without being discerned, and the Judges, fearing he may be there, dare not administer partial Justice, for if he finds it out, it would immediately cost them their Lives.

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The Treasury is opened upon all *Divan* Days, but first the *Chiaux-Basba* looks whether the Seal be whole, and then takes it off; and when they have taken out, or put in what they think fit, he seals it again with the Grand Vizier's Seal. While the *Divan* is sitting, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, the *Spabilar-Agasi*, the *Cadilef-quers*, the Officers of the *Divan* and the *Viziers*, being introduced by the *Capidgi-Basba* and *Chiaux-Basba*, are brought before the Grand Signior, to give an Account of their several Charges, and what they have done, and none of them can promise themselves to bring back his Head again, because the Grand Signior, for a small Offence, will cause them to be strangled on the Spot.

20. In all Things the *Turks* are great Lovers and Observers of Order. They take special Care of Provisions, that all Things be had in Plenty and at reasonable Rates, and he that has taken Pains to bring Fruit to the Market first, has no Advantage but to take his Money first; for he must not exact a great Price, or sell dearer, unless he has a Mind to be soundly drubb'd, bastinado'd and fined. They have Officers to examine every Man's Weights and Measures, who daily go their Rounds; and if they find any Man's Weights too light, or that he sells his Goods too dear, they fail not to order him so many Blows with a Cudgel on the Soles of his Feet, and make him pay a Fine; so that most Sellers are so much afraid of offending, that they will give you something above Weight, and they dare not cheat the least Child.

Every one is obliged to hinder any Quarrels or Disorders that happen in the Streets; for there is a Law, that if a dead Man be found before any Man's Door, he must pay for his Blood 500 Piafres, or 45000 Aspers; so that every Man is obliged to see, that no Noise be made before his Door, and hinder all ill Effects of it. If he who committed the Fact be taken, and convicted of it, he is discharged of the Sum, and the Murtherer is punished, unless the Relations of the deceased will hearken to an Accommodation, for then the Murtherer is allowed to ransom himself, which is usually done by paying three or four hundred Crowns.

To prevent any Accidents in the Night Time, all Persons whatever are prohibited to go Abroad after Evening is shut, except in the *Ramadan* or *Lent*; and if the Under-Basba, who is Captain of the Watch, and walks his Rounds all Night, as our Constables do, meets any Man, he is carried before the *Cadi*, who examines him, and if he cannot give a good Reason for his being out late, he is fined and bastinadoed; and if he be dismissed without Fining, it is a lasting Disgrace to him, and he lies under Suspicions.

21. The Money current at *Constantinople* is, the *Mangour*, which is half a Quadrin, Copper-Money, and Six of them make an Aspre, which is a little Piece of Silver, stamp'd with the Grand Signior's Name, and worth eight Deniers, or three Farthings Sterling. The *Ifolette* is worth fifty five Aspers. The *Aslani*, or German Rix-Dollar, so called because it is stamp'd with a Lion, in *Turkish Aslan*, is worth eighty Aspers, and the Piafre, or *Picade*, 90. The *Turkish Chequin* is worth two Piafres, and the *Venetian* ten Aspers more. The Aspres are many of them counterfeit. Their Weights are the *Quirat*, which is four Grains, and sixteen of them make a Drachm; the *Medical* is a Drachm and an half, twelve Drachms make an Ounce; the *Rotte* is twelve Ounces; the *Oque* is three *Rottes*, or four hundred Drachms; and the *Cantar* is an hundred and fifty *Rottes*.

22. The *Turks* use several Sorts of Punishments for Offenders; those for smaller Faults are Blows upon the Soals of their Feet, or Buttocks, with a small Stick. The Feet of the Sufferer are so held up by two Men in a *Talacca*, or Wooden Instrument, that they cannot stir them, and then two more with Switches lay on the Blows upon them, as upon a Smith's Anvil, till he that is to see to the Execution says there is enough. Such as have received many Blows (as sometimes they inflict three or four hundred) are not able to go for three or four

Months after, but they'll bear thirty without any great Inconvenience.

Masters dare give no other Correction to their Servants and Slaves than this, and they are usually so severe, that for Fear of Punishment, they are wonderfully well served. You may see their Servants stand before them a whole Day together like Statues, with their Hands upon their Bellies, expecting their Master's Command, which at the least Wink of an Eye is obey'd. School-Masters do not whip their Scholars as we do in Christendom, but bastinado them on the Soles of their Feet. When they chastise any Person on the Buttocks, the Party is laid on his Belly, and the Blows are laid on over his Drawers. Sometimes they give five or six hundred Blows, but that is the highest; and if any Man hath been thus handled, a great deal of mortified and swollen Flesh must be cut off with a Razor from his Buttocks, to prevent a Gangrene, and he must keep his Bed five or six Months before he is able to go about his Business.

Women are also chastised this Way, when they deserve it: Such as deserve Death for their Crimes, are punished with Strangling, Hanging, Drowning, Beheading, Burning, Empaling, or Throwing upon Spikes of Iron. When any Man is to be hang'd, which is done for Robbery or Murder, they will make a Christian the Executioner, if they can light of any. In Beheading, which is done for Rebellion or Sedition, they are so dextrous, that they never miss cutting them off at one Blow. The *Ganche*, or throwing upon Spikes or Hooks, which is performed by letting the Malefactor fall upon them, and hang there several Days, till he expire with Hunger, Thirst and Pain, is accounted so cruel a Death, that the *Turks* very seldom practise it.

The *Turks* that turn *Christians* are burnt alive with a Bag of Powder hang'd about their Necks, and a pitch'd Cap upon their Heads; but *Christians* that do or say any Thing against the Law of *Mahomet*, or are taken with a *Turkish* Woman, or go into a Mosque, are empaled, unless they will turn *Turks*; for they are so zealous for their Religion, that a *Christian* may redeem his Life by turning *Turk*, whatever Crime he has been guilty of; but in these, as well as many other Cases, if he will not turn *Turk*, he is put to Death; but a *Turk* has no Way to save his Life, if he happens to commit the like or even a lesser Offence.

23. The Grand Signior's Arms have acquired him that vast Power and large Dominions he holds by their Means, taken from his Neighbours, for he always maintains a standing Army both in War and Peace, to defend himself and surprize others: His whole Army, which consists of Horse and Foot, are punctually paid once in two Months. The Infantry are of several Orders, as *Capigi's*, or Porters, who keep the Gates of the *Seraglio*, and stand round the Grand Signior when he gives Audience to Ambassadors: They are in all three thousand, and have a Captain, called the *Capigi-Basba*: They execute Death upon such as are fallen under the Sultan's Displeasure: They wear a Cap with a Cone half a Foot long. *Solaques*, which are the Grand Signior's Life-guard, and attend him when he goes abroad in the City: They wear a Doliman with Hanging-sleeves, and a Cap stuck with Feathers in Form of a Crest, their Bow always hangs on their Arm, and their Quiver is always full of Arrows ready to draw, if Need requires; but the chief of their Infantry are the *Janizaries*, who are either Children taken for Tribute, and educated in the *Oda's* of the *Seraglio*, or Renegado *Christians*, and some few *Turks*. This Order was instituted by *Ottoman*, the first Emperor of the *Turks*.

They call one another Brothers, and will not endure the meanest of their Body to suffer the least Injury, and none but their Officers dare lift up an Hand against them, upon Pain of Death: They can beat any Man, and no body dare touch them; for no Interest or Money can save the Life of him that has beaten a *Janizary*; and upon this Account Ambassadors take them into their Retinue, and Travellers hire them for their

Guides : They are distinguished from other *Turks* by their Caps, called *Zarcola's*, which being made like the Sleeves of a *Casaque*, hang down behind, and have a Cone on the Forehead half a Foot long, gilt with Silver and embroidered. Their Pay is from two to six *Aspres* a Day, and a Piece of Cloth every Year.

The *Janizaries* of the *Port* are 12000 in Number, and live in two Inns or Colleges, containing one hundred and sixty Chambers, in every one of which are thirty, forty, or fifty Soldiers. Every Chamber has three Officers, viz. the *Chobargi*, or Captain; *Oda-Basha*, the Chief; and the *Vikil Hardge*, i. e. the Steward. Over these is the *Kiaya-Bey*, or Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*; and over all, the *Aga*, or General, who is always a *Muteferaca*, or Person of Quality. He has not Power to punish any Soldiers by himself, but upon Complaint he delivers him to the *Oda-Basha* to be punished, which can be done only in the Night, for Soldiers can neither be beaten or put to Death in Publick. They are beaten on the Soals of the Feet for ordinary Crimes, and if they deserve Death, they are strangled, and thrown into the Sea in a Sack, a Cannon being discharged for every one that suffers. The other lower Orders of Infantry are *Azapas*, or Pioneers; *Dgebegi's*, or Men at Arms; *Topidgi's*, or Gunners; and others.

The Grand Signior's Cavalry are the *Chiaux*; their Employment is very honourable, for they execute most of the Commands of the Grand Signior and his *Basha's*, and are sent on Embassies to Foreign Princes: Their Caps are a Foot in Diameter, and are long and flat above: The Grand Signior and his *Basha's* wear them. The *Muteferaca's* are all Persons of Quality, and their Captain is the Grand Signior himself, and therefore they never go out to War but when the Grand Signior goes in Person.

24. The *Spahi's* are the ordinary Troopers, or Light-Horse, and are of two Sorts. Some receive their Pay every two Months, which is from fifteen to forty *Aspres*. They are divided into six Regiments, and have each a several Commander, called *Buluk-Agasi*, and different Colours. The others have, instead of Pay, a *Timar*, or Pension, from the conquer'd Territories, where they reside usually, and obey the *Sangiac-Bey*, or Lord of the Mannor, that rules that Quarter. They are very numerous, being dispersed all over the Empire, and, being required by the Grand Signior, bring him many Horse to his Wars. The Grand Signior is Heir to all in his Pay, if they die without Children; but he takes but two Thirds, if any leave Daughters.

Things being thus settled, it is easy for the Grand Signior to raise an Army of two or three hundred thousand Men in a very little Time, by sending his Orders to the *Basha's* and *Sangiacs* only, who come in with their Servants, Soldiers of their Governments, and *Timar-Spahi's* instantly. Nor is he at more Charge in War than Peace, for all maintain themselves and Servants; and so good Order is kept in their Camps, that where-ever they are they draw a Market, because they pay exactly for what they have; nay, Merchants travel securely by or through them, without Fear of being plundered. All their Soldiers are both strong and courageous. They live on a small Matter, and are so hardy as never to be wearied with Travel, or long Marches.

They fight like Lions, chusing rather to be cut in Pieces than retreat, unless the Enemy exceed them much in Number. That which makes them so courageous, is the Confidence they have in Destiny, believing, that they can't die before their Time is come, though an hundred thousand Men seek their Lives, and if they die in the Field, they should also have died at Home, which makes them fearless of all Diseases and Dangers. They are also so zealous for their Religion, that they will cheerfully die in Fighting against the Enemies of their Law, believing that they die Martyrs, and shall, after Death, enjoy the Delights that *Mahomet* hath promised them.

They will blindly obey the Orders of their Commanders, running into the greatest Dangers of War as cheerfully as to a Feast; and besides, they are

well armed with a good Musket, and a handsome Sword, with other suitable Habits and Accoutrements, insomuch, that it is not to be thought strange, if they are very strong by Land, and bring almost every Thing to pass that they undertake.

25. But though the *Turks* are so potent by Land, and succeed well in their Wars there, yet are they neither fortunate nor stout by Sea, and always worsted, unless they be six to one; and the Reason is, because they have neither good Ships nor good Men. They are very unskilful in Building their Ships, and when they have done, they not only want good Sea-Officers to manage them, but Soldiers to man them; for even those *Janizaries*, who know not what it is to give Ground on Shore, always go to Sea against their Wills, and if they can get off for Money, never fail to do it; and no Wonder, if their Navy can never be victorious, when all Things are so unfit for Battle. And hence it is, that the *Venetians* gain great Advantages over them, and particularly in 1656. gave them such a signal Defeat at the *Dardanelles*, where they lost twenty seven Ships, thirty seven Galleys, and eight Maones, that all the *Turks* were put into Consternation by so great an Overthrow, and imagined themselves to be Slaves to the *Venetians*, who, had they pursued their Victory, would certainly have driven the *Turks* out of *Constantinople*, and, perhaps, out of *Europe*; for the Grand Signior was preparing to flee into *Asia*, and the *Turks* believing that God had decreed that Time for their Expulsion out of *Europe*, as one of their *Imans* had foretold, would easily have departed; but the *Venetians* neglecting the Advantage, suffered the *Turks* to resume their Courage, and thereupon they grew more terrible to the Christians, whom they could not see without Regret, and threatned them with Destruction at their next *Bairam*, according to their natural Insolence.

But as the *Janizaries*, when obedient to the Grand Signior, render him one of the most formidable Princes upon Earth, so they strangely limit his Power when they lose that Respect to him, and revolt, which they pretty often do; and then, flighting all Commands, they follow the Dictates of their own furious Passions, and run down all that comes in their Way, for they have strangled several Grand Signiors, and among others Sultan *Osman*, because they smelt out his Resolution of dissolving their Body, as the only Curb to his unlimited Power, and set up his Uncle *Mustapha* in his Place; and in the next Succession Sultan *Ibrahim*, his Brother, and Father of *Mahomet*, who reign'd in the Year 1655. And this Prince they reduced to such Streights, that he was forced to grant them all that they demanded, and put many of the chief Officers of the Court to Death to appease them; but whoever they attempt against, yet they always so respect the Royal Blood, and have so great a Veneration for the Race of *Ottoman*, that they never so much as dream of altering the Succession from that Family.

26. The Subjects of the Grand Signior who are not *Mussulmen*, are either Christians or *Jews*. The *Greeks* are the chief of the *Christians*. They wear the same Habit with the *Turks*, except that they may not wear green on any Part of their Bodies, without Danger of being soundly bastinado'd and fined, nor a Turbant all white, lest they be forced to turn *Turks*, or die for it; but all other Colours they may wear, though it be better not to use all red or all yellow, for Fear of offending the Soldiery. The *Papa's*, or *Greek Priests*, are always clad in Black, but their Cap has a List of white. They wear long Hair, and so do their Monks.

As for their Religion, they differ from the Church of *Rome* in these Points: 1. They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Son, but at most by the Son; yet they believe him to be God, and the Spirit of the Son. 2. They deny the Pope to be Head of the Church, and have four Patriarchs of equal Authority, to whom they submit in their several Jurisdictions, viz. *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*; but they are all raised by Bribery to their Dignities by the Grand Signior, and

and confirmed by the Grand Viziers and Bascha's of those Countries, as the Grand Signior's Deputies, from whom they receive a *Caftan*, or Vest, at their Confirmation. They have several Archbishops and Bishops under them; but they must first have been *Caloyers*, or Monks, and observe their Rule during their Lives. The Priests are regular, who are not married, and Seculars who marry. 3. They admit of no Purgatory, but hold a third Place, where the Blessed remain in Expectation of the Day of Judgment, before which Time, though they believe not the Saints to be admitted into Paradise, yet they pray to them to intercede for them. 4. They use leavened Bread in the Sacrament, such as they commonly eat, and communicate in both Kinds, as well Laymen as Priests, and Women and Children as Men, and condemn the *Latins* for depriving the Laity of the Cup. 5. They have four *Lents*, but the first, which begins six Weeks before *Easter*, and lasts till that Feast, they keep most strictly, calling it the great and holy Fast; for they eat nothing then that hath Blood, nor Oil, but only Herbs and Shellfish, as the Cuttle-Fish and Oysters. In the other three *Lents*, one of which is kept in Honour of the blessed Virgin, and the other of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, they may eat Fish and Oil.

27. The *Armenians* keep their Lent stricter than the *Greeks*, for they eat no kind of Fish nor Oil, nor drink any Wine, but live only on Bread, Water, Herbs and Roots. Their Churches are like ours, except that the high Altar is divided from the rest of the Church by a wooden Partition with three Doors, which make a kind of *Sanctum Sanctorum*. They have no Images, but Pictures only. They never kneel in their Churches, not so much as at the *Elevation of the Host*, but lean upon Crutches, of which they have Abundance for that Purpose. No Man can be admitted into Priests Orders till he is full thirty Years old. Priests are allow'd to marry but once in their Life-time, and that to a Virgin, who is also under an Obligation not to marry, if her Husband dies.

Their Mass is much the same in Substance with that of the *Latins*, save that it is much longer, for it takes them five Hours in a Day to read it over only, which occasions so many of the Clergy to omit it, that there is scarce any Place where it is regularly read, unless it be in Mount *Athos* and *Neomagni*, a City of the Island of *Scio*, and in some few well regulated Monasteries. Their whole Liturgy is divided into seven Books. 1. *Triodion*, which contains the Office for Fast-Days. 2. *Euchologion*, which is a General Office for all Days, and all Occasions. 3. *Paracleticks*, which contains all the Hymns. 4. *Pentecasterion*, which is the Service of the Church from *Easter* to *Whitsuntide*. 5. *Meneon*, an Office belonging to each Month. 6. *Horologion*, the Service for all the Canonical Hours for every Day. 7. *Antoloion*, which comprehends all that uses to be read in the ordinary Service of every Month throughout the whole Year. This Part of their Liturgy, they say, every Priest ought to have, and it ought to lie in every Church; but as to the rest the Length of them is so tedious, and the Price so great, that most of the Bishops, Priests, yea, even their *Caloyers*, never trouble themselves with them.

28. Their *Caloyers*, or Monks, lead a very austere and exemplary Life. They make three Vows: 1. Of renouncing the World. 2. Abstaining from Flesh: And, 3. From Marriage; which they very strictly observe, especially in the larger Monasteries of Mount *Athos*, *Neomagni*, Mount *Sinai*, St. *Saba* and St. *Michael* of *Jerusalem*, which are those that are best governed. Their Food is the Product of the Earth, and Fish, except on Fast-Days, when they will not eat any Thing that hath Life. Some of them, who are called *Ascetai*, live only on the Fruits of the Earth, and to that End leave their Cloister to live on the Mountains, and never return but on great Festivals, to assist at the publick Service. All their Monks are divided into three Orders, viz. St. *Basil*, *Elias*, and St. *Marcellus*; and in all of them they have three Sorts of Monks, Superiors or Elders, called *Egoumenoi*, the professed and other Fathers,

and the Novices, with the Lay-Brethren; but the Superiors, though had in great Veneration, have little Authority, except in imposing some trivial Penances; for they are afraid lest by Severity the Monks should turn *Turks*, as they have had many Instances, and therefore their monastick Discipline is almost lost; yet they still retain the Prerogative of stripping such Monks of their Habit, who have been guilty of some notorious Crimes, and will not submit to their Rules.

The Professed also take the same Liberty to lay down their Habits when they please, yet not without some Scandal to the others, and rendering themselves contemptible; however, upon their Repentance, and undergoing some slight Penance, they are re-admitted. These professed Monks, so long as they are in the Convent, take care of the Fruit, Corn, Sheep, and other Things that belong to the Cloister. The Novices and Lay-Brethren work in the Fields, and though they return ever so weary from their Labours in the Evening, yet they must attend at a long Prayer, and make many Genuflexions, which they call *Netaniai*, before they eat their Supper, or go to their Rest. Over all these Monks are placed Provincials, or *Visitors*; but instead of reforming the Abuses of the Monasteries, which should be their Business, they only gather up the Money which the Patriarch exacts of them. And, indeed, these *Visitors* come so often, that they are miserably poor, and are become thereby ignorant and illiterate, because the Time they ought to spend in their Studies, they are forced to employ in labouring for a Sustainance.

But, notwithstanding this general Poverty of the Monks, some few Monasteries are so well endow'd, and their Monks are so rich, as to be able to raise great Sums of fifty or sixty thousand Crowns to purchase the Patriarchate, nay, sometimes before the Possessor is dead, for the Grand Signior never refuses Money. Their secular Priests, called by them, *Cosmicoi Iereis*, are thus made: First they take their Tonsure upon them, i. e. are shaven on their Crowns the Breadth of one's Hand, and are thus taken into the Service of the Church. Then after some Months they are created *Anagiosfa's*, or Readers, because it is their Business to read the Mattins, Psalms, and some other Things, which the Clerks use to sing. When they have served the Church some Months in this Office, the Bishop confers upon them Deacons Orders, and a Power of waiting at the Altar, and chanting the Epistle. When they are Deacons, if they have a Mind to marry, they are allow'd to do it, provided they give Notice to the Bishop of the Woman and her Abode, that he may enquire after her; for if she be not chaste, wife, and handsome, she is not a fit Wife for a Priest, nor will the Bishop suffer their Marriage. And, indeed, the *Greeks* are so ambitious to bestow their Daughters on the Priests, that if it be known that a Priest desires to marry, all are forward to seek out the greatest Beauty for him, as if they were to consecrate it to God, and to court such Women they are dispensed with in their Service, and, upon their Return into it, are made Priests.

29. The Under Ministers of the *Greek* Church are, 1. *Seruophylaces*, or Sextons, who look after the consecrated Plate, and other Utensils of the Church. 2. The *Colonarchai*, who inform the Singers what Tunes to sing. 3. The *Tyrroroi*, or Porters, who open and shut the Church Doors. 4. The *Canidlapthi*, who take Care of the Tapers, of which they consume many. The Service of the *Greek* Church is said several Times a Day. In the Monasteries they rise at Midnight to perform a particular Form of Devotion, called *Mefonuction*, and to prepare them for some great Festival, they turn it into an *Holonuction*, or an All-night Service. After this they celebrate a Service at Break of Day, called *Oortos*; another at the first Hour, called *Protiora*; and so again at the second Hour, called *Tritiora*; and at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, called *Ektiora*: Then follows the *Ennati*, the Liturgy, and the Eucharist at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and *Esperines*, or Evening-Service; after which they use some slight Exercise till they go to Supper, and when that's done, they return again to Church, to perform the Service called *Apodipho*,

Apodipho, or, the Service of the Night, which in the *Romish* Church is called the *Complines*.

The Ministers of Churches follow the Example of the Monks as near as possible, so that in all Churches, be they rich or poor, there is every Day performed the *Hagia Koinoma*, or Celebration of the Eucharist, and some Churches more than once, but at different Altars. None of these Ceremonies or Usages are performed in Conformity to the Church of *Rome*, for they abominate both them and all their Customs, and if a *Latin* Priest should say Mass at any of their Altars, they would wash them as polluted. At the Close of every *Thursday* they excommunicate the Pope and all the *Latin* Bishops, and damn them as so many Hereticks and Schismatics.

They have so great a Number of Holidays, that there is no Day in the Year but is consecrated to some Saint; but those they have in greatest Veneration, are, besides the Feasts of Christ and his Apostles, the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in *September*; the Feast of St. *Demetrius* in *October*; St. *John Chrysostom*, and the Virgin's Entrance into the Temple in *November*; St. *Nicholas*, St. *Spiridion*, and St. *Ignatius*, in *December*; the Feast of St. *Basil*, St. *Anthony*, St. *Atanasius*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and Christ's Baptism, in *January*; St. *Simeon's* meeting with Jesus and St. *Blasius* in *February*; the forty Martyrs in *March*; St. *George* in *April*; St. *Atanasius*, *Constantine the Great* and *Helena*, and the Invention of St. *John Baptist's* Head in *May*; St. *Marinus*, *Elias the Prophet*, St. *Parasava* and St. *Pantaleon* in *July*; Christ's Transfiguration, the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Beheading of St. *John Baptist* in *August*.

On these Days they read in the Church the Life and Actions of these Saints in the vulgar Tongue, out of their *Synaxarion*, or Martyrology, and conclude the Service with the Distribution of the Eucharist; and generally the People, who come to hear, bring an Offering of Bread, Wine, Oil, Tapers, and the like, for the Use of the Priests, and give liberally to the Poor, even beyond their Abilities. They celebrate *Easter*, which they call, *Παχα αναστασις*, i. e. the Passover of the Resurrection, with great Demonstrations of Joy. By the Laws of their Church, they are obliged to confess themselves four Times a Year, but not so particularly as the Church of *Rome* requires, and after they have done some Penance, or promised, they are absolved in Form of a Prayer: *Let thy Sins be forgiven*.

They look upon Baptism as indispensibly necessary for Salvation; and though they baptise not till eight Days are pass'd after the Birth, unless in Case of Necessity; yet, when a Child is in Danger, they allow Laicks of both Sexes to baptise, because they dare not hope well for Children who die unbaptised. They rebaptise Hereticks and Apostates, when they repent and desire to come into their Church. Among the former they reckon the Papists: They have a great Aversion to Images in *Basso-Relievo*, and say, the Papists imitate the Heathens in the Use of them, but the Pictures of Christ and the Saints they account holy, and pay a Reverence to them, and to that End set them up in their Churches on their Festivals.

30. They condemn all the Western Christians for eating Things strangled, and account them Hereticks for so doing. They follow the Doctrines of the ancient Fathers, and the Canons even of the first General Councils, very exactly, and think all others of no Force. The *Turks* make them pay very severe Capitations for their Religion Sake, and which is worse to them, take their Children from them often by Force, to educate them in the *Mahometan* Faith, and make them *Ichoglans*. Though they have many Churches, yet they are obliged to take great Care to keep them in Repair, for Fear they should have no Churches at all, for the *Turks* very rarely will suffer them to rebuild them, if they fall; but they are allow'd to repair them. In their Churches they have a Candlestick which holds three Candles, by which, they say, is represented the Holy Trinity; and another two, which signify the two Natures in Christ. Their Sacerdotal Vestments have also the like Mysteries. In giving the Blessing, they make

the Sign of the Cross from the Right to the Left, contrary to the *Latins*.

Maids shew not themselves before they are married, even to their Relations, and therefore go not to Church for Fear of being seen. They are married by a Priest, and give a Ring like the *Latins*, but take Godfathers and Godmothers, which they do not. The Bride and Bridegroom being come before the *Papa* or Priest, he says some Prayers over them, while the Godfathers and Godmothers hold a Garland of Flowers, mix'd with *Orpine*, over their Heads, and a Pall over it. The Father and Mother of the Bride give her; and when Prayers are done, the Bride and Bridegroom drink to one another, and the Glass being given to the Priest, he merrily drinks it off, and then breaking the Glass, says, *So may this Bridegroom break the Virginity of the Bride*. Their other Rites are like those of the *Latin* Church.

Their ordinary Way of Living is much like the *Turks*, only they are more wicked, for they are covetous, perfidious, treacherous, *Sodomites*, revengeful to the highest Degree, very superstitious, and great Hypocrites, for which Qualities they are so much despised by the *Turks*, that they do not value them though they turn *Mahometans*. They are greater Enemies to the *Papists* than the *Turks* are, and none would hinder them from being Masters of *Turkey* more than they, if Providence should so favour them to recover what the *Turks* hold in *Europe*. Their Women are beautiful, but a little too fat, and most of them very proud.

31. The *Jews* in *Turkey* use the same Habits with the *Turks*, only may not wear green, or a white Turbant, or red Vests, and so are obliged to wear their Mestres, *Pabouches* and Caps, which are shaped like an Hat, of a Violet Colour only. Their Religion is contained in the *Old Testament* and *Talmud*. As to their Manners, they are great Cheats in all Places, and their only Contrivances are to vex both *Christians* and *Turks* with their Taxes and Tricks, which is the Reason they are hated and despised in all Places. All the *Jews* and Male *Christians*, which are subject to the Grand Signior, pay the *Karadge* yearly, which is a Tribute of four *Piastres* and an half, beginning to pay it about nine Years old; but the *Christian* Priests and Monks are exempted from it, and so are the *Jewish Rabbi's*; the Women also paying Nothing. This Tax brings in a great Revenue to the Grand Signior, and no body can avoid it by changing their Habitation, for at whatever Place they come in their Travels, their *Karadge* is demanded, and if they have paid it in any other Place, they must shew their Acquittance, and if they can't produce one, they must pay it, and take a Note or Acquittance to serve them in other Places; but such as are not Subjects to the Grand Signior, do not pay this Tribute, and to shew that they wear an Hat, and have a Certificate of their Abode from a Consul.

32. The Accounts already given from the Works of the most authentick Authors that have been published, cannot fail of entertaining as well as instructing the Reader; but, perhaps, it may not be amiss to make some Additions to these, from Materials of another Nature; such as the Informations of those who have resided long in the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and Books written in or translated from the Oriental Languages. To render these Remarks of the more Use, by keeping them in a certain Method, we will, as near as may be, pursue that which in the Course of this Section has been already laid down. The Dress or Cloathing of the *Turks*, though it appears odd and uncooth to us, is nevertheless founded upon Reason, and for that very Cause is not much affected by Fashion; as they have Nothing of Levity in their Nature, so there is Nothing can give Men a graver Appearance than the *Eastern* Habit; and in respect to all the Uses of Cloathing in a Climate like theirs, it will be found, that it answers them perfectly well. By changing the Stuff of which their Robes are made, from Silk to Cloth, and from plain Cloth to Cloth lined with Furrs, the Change of Seasons is provided against. Their Habit agrees likewise with their Manner of Living, they ride

ride without any Inconveniency. The Manner in which their Houses are furnished is suited to their Garb, and every Part of that is well contrived for the great Use they make of Bathing. The only Thing in the *Turkish* Dress, that seems to deserve Reprehension, is their Turbants, and it is observable, that this is the only Part of it that is subject to Fancy or Change; for as to the rest, there has been little or no Difference introduced in the Course of many Years.

The modest and temperate Way of Living, in Use amongst the *Turks*, is very commendable, and the more so, because it is not carried to any Degree of Severity or Extravagance. They abstain from all Animals that die of Diseases, that are choaked, strangled, or knocked on the Head, or that break their Necks; but in Cases of great Necessity, they allow that even these may be eat; but from Blood and Swines Flesh they most religiously abstain. They have not many Dishes, nor any great Variety of Dressing, but those they have are savoury, cheap, provided with little Trouble, and their Meals are soon over. All this is also very agreeable to their Climate and Way of Life, but at certain times, when they have a Mind to indulge, they have their Niceties, especially in Pastry and excellent Liquors, which they stile Sherbets, composed of a Variety of Ingredients, and always cool and pleasant. But after all, their great Dainty is Water, and some, from a Principle of Charity, carry it in Stone Vessels through the Streets of *Constantinople*, and offer it with great Civility to such as desire to drink; whence we discern the Propriety of that *Eastern* Expression, which occurs in our sacred Writings, of giving a Cup of cold Water; which, from the Difference of our Manners, does not appear to be any great Matter here.

As for the Practice of Drinking, the common People in those Countries have it not; so that if you offer Workmen any Thing for that Purpose, they answer very naturally, that they are not dry; but still you may oblige them, if you are disposed, by calling the Coffee-Man, who stands at the Corner of every Street with his Utensils, and all working People will be very grateful for a Dish of Coffee. But that we may not deal altogether in Generals, we will take this Opportunity of speaking particularly to three Heads, with respect to which we find very little in our printed Books that is exact and worthy of Credit. These three Heads shall be *Coffee*, *Opium* and *Wine*.

As to Coffee, which the *Turks* call *Capbuah*, it was first used in the Country where it grows, in the Kingdom of *Yemen* in *Arabia-Felix*, which from its producing Coffee, our famous Mr. Ray delivers it as his Opinion, that it may be stiled not only *Felix*, but *Felicissima*, that is not barely the happy, but the most happy. A Multitude of Writers have described Coffee, and some have pretended long ago to give us distinct Accounts of their own Knowledge and Experience, and yet it is but a very little while that we have known any Thing of it with Certainty, so as to be disabused in Reference to those Fables that have gone current for many Years, though without having Foundation or even Colour of Truth. The Tree then that produces Coffee is in Reality a kind of Jessamine, which bears first a very beautiful and odorous white Flower, inclining to yellow, which is composed of five Leaves resembling the *Spanish* Jessamine. As these Flowers drop off, the Fruit begins to appear, which is at first green, then of a pale red, turns next to a bright Crimson, by Degrees of a very deep red, and at last inclines to a dusky Brown. In Size and Shape it resembles a honey Cherry, but instead of a Stone, there lies within the Pulp two of those that we call very improperly Coffee-Beans, with their flat Sides joined to each other, and their Convex Sides outward; as there are Flowers, green Fruit, and ripe, all upon the same Tree at once, there are several Coffee Harvests, but the most considerable is that in *May*, when by laying Cloths under the Trees, and shaking them, the ripe Fruit drops off in great Quantities, out of which the Beans are taken, and very carefully dried, first in the Sun, and then in the Shade, and upon their curing in this Respect, their Goodness chiefly depends.

It is said, that the Virtues of Coffee were first discovered by the Frisking of Goats that fed upon it, and their living almost wholly without Sleep, which put a Prior of a Convent upon trying what Effect they would have upon a much grosser Animal, a fat, sleepy, lazy Monk, upon whom having wrought a wonderful Cure, Coffee came into general Use. I cannot vouch for the Truth of this Story so well as for what follows. It passed from *Arabia* into *Egypt*, where it began to be much taken Notice of, the *Turkish* Doctors doubting whether the Use of it was not forbid by their Law, because they held its Properties to be the same with those of Wine. This Point was cleared up by a *Mufti*, who was a great Friend to that Liquor, and wrote a Treatise in Defence of it, *A. H.* 875. *A. D.* 1470. The Name of this learned *Mufti* was *Abda* leader *Ben Mobammed*, and his Sirname *Al Ansari*, and the Title of his Work, *Omdat al Safuat fi hall al Cabuat*: We have been the more particular in mentioning this Book, because there is a Copy of it in the *French* King's Library amongst the *Arabick* Manuscripts, N^o 944, and there are in it some very curious Observations.

It is said that there are in *Grand Cairo*, no less than two thousand Coffee-houses; there are a vast Number at *Constantinople*, and in all the Cities in the *Turkish* Dominions; but sometimes on Account of the distracted State of their Affairs, these Coffee-houses are shut up; but in Times of Peace they are much frequented, more especially in the Mornings and Evenings, when such as are most at Leisure, and are in tolerable Circumstances, pass an Hour or two there in Conversation, in hearing the Musick which the Masters of such Places provide, or Books of Tales read, for which they have People on Purpose, who from a kind of Pulpit divert the Audience with Collections of Stories of all kinds, good, bad or indifferent. I will for the Reader's Amusement quote one, which is not much amiss.

"When the *Tartar* Slaves are crossing a River, and find themselves in Danger of being drowned, they catch hold of the Horse's Tail that passes before them, and by this Means frequently escape. From hence comes the Proverb, *Lay hold of the Tail if you can, and be sure keep it fast*. There was an honest *Mussulman* once, that by applying it luckily escaped being empaled, and the Case was thus; he had spent many Years in Study, had most Part of the *Alcoran* by Heart, was acquainted with many Sciences, but by attending to them, had slighted a very material Science, that of knowing how to live; so that when he grew in Years, though his Mind was well fed, his Body was in Danger of Want. He addressed himself to the Sultan *Mahomet* the IVth. on whose Memory be Peace! Beseeching him to save a Son of Science from starving. The Sultan having considered his Case, gave him no other Answer than this; Friend, *with all your Learning don't you know, that the World is a Tail, and happy is he that gets hold on it*. The *Mussulman* went Home in Despair, where after passing three Days in deep Meditation, he thus addressed himself to his *Russian* Slave, from whom he had learnt that Tongue; Infidel, says he, let us change Cloaths, carry me to the Market, and sell me to such a one. His Orders were obeyed; he worked for six or eight Months in the Fields with the other Slaves, and appeared so very stupid, that he was the Jest of all his Companions. At the End of that Time he began to preach, affirm'd that he had Visions, and that the Prophet, whose Name be blessed, had taught him the *Alcoran*, of which he repeated many Chapters. This made a very great Noise, he was visited by every Body, and Nobody went empty handed; at last, the Grand Signor heard of it, and sent for him. As soon as he came into his Presence, the Sultan recollected him, Friend, said he, *have I not seen you before?* For God's Sake cry'd he, do not betray me, you know the World is a Tail, and I have but just got hold of it. The Issue of the Matter was, that the Man got a living by his Wit, and the World has got a good Story. My Friends you'll be never the worse for hearing it, and believe

"believe me, you will be much the better for remembering it; for of all Kinds of Knowledge, there is none more important than this, that the *World* is a *Tail*, and *happy* is he that can lay *hold* of it." I have seen a Book that belonged once to Sir Roger Manly, the true Author of the *Turkish Spy*, which contained the Stories that were read in a Week at a Coffee-house at *Damascus*, and it was in *Italian*. I wonder it has not been published, for in my Judgment it was much superior to any Thing of the Kind that I have seen in Print, and I do not doubt but there are many such Collections in the Cabinets of the Curious in *Italy* and *France*.

Every body knows that the *Turks* are great Takers of *Opium*, and much has been written upon those Subjects, about which, however, there are many Mistakes; we will endeavour to rectify some of them. The *Turks* call it *Affium*, and the best comes from *Aboutige* in *Egypt*. It is very true, that as much as we have heard of *Opium*, there never was any of it in *Europe*. That which is used by the *Turks* of Distinction, is drawn by Incision from the largest Sort of *Black Poppies*, by laying new Ropes under them in the hottest Season of the Year; when they are slit with a Lance, the Liquor falls on and sticks to the Ropes in Drops of an Amber Colour, which are carefully collected, and sold at a considerable Price; and this is the true *Opium*. They afterwards mow and extract the Juice from the Poppies, which over a slow Fire they reduce to the Consistency of Turpentine, and afterwards make it up in Lumps and cover it with the Leaves; this is properly *Meconium*, but is what we receive for and generally call *Opium*. The best is of a black Colour, tough rather than brittle, of a pungent stupifying Smell, and free from Dross and Sand. The worst Sort is of several Colours, clammy in some Places, hard in others, and full of Dross and Impurities. What is extracted from *Garden Poppies* in *Europe*, is what we stile *Diacodium*; and this, if it be carefully made, of the largest and best Poppies, properly cultivated, and in a very dry hot Season, comes nearer *Opium*, and may be used with better Effect than the *Meconium*.

When the latter is purified and dissolved in some convenient Vehicle, it is stiled *Laudanum*, and when compounded with other Ingredients, these are marked by a Variety of Epithets added to the Word *Laudanum*. There is also a solid *Laudanum*, which is only the *Meconium* well purified, and reduced again into a solid Form. The very best Method of doing this is by mixing the purest *Meconium* with Rain-Water, and then evaporating it over a slow Fire, to the Consistence of a Syrup; after which it will soon grow dry of itself.

The *Turks*, the *Persians*, and, indeed, all the Eastern Nations, take *Opium* as we do Wine or Drums; and the *Chinese* are said to have the best Preparations of it in the World. It exhilarates the Spirits wonderfully, and the Use of it is so bewitching, that when People have once got a Habit of taking it, they cannot leave it off; and as they feel the Effects of it less by Use, they are obliged to increase their Dose, till at last they come to take amazing Quantities. Mr. Gracin, an Author of good Credit, says, that he saw a Fellow at *Bengal*, who for a Rousy took four Ounces of it, which made him sleep all that Day; but the next Morning he came to himself, and appear'd not much the worse for it. This, however, is very unusual, and it is very rarely that any Person in *Turkey* ventures upon half an Ounce, and this must be after many Years Practice. Those who take it while they are young, seldom live to be above fifty; but those, who begin to take it at that Age, are not so much affected with it.

As to Wine, there is nothing clearer than that the Use of it is forbidden to the *Turks* by the Interpreters of their Law, except in Cases of Necessity, when it is prescribed them as Physick. The Clergy make a great Point of carrying the Edicts against the Use of it into the strictest Execution, but to very little Purpose; and what they do of this Kind, produces as bad Consequences as Drunkenness; for upon the coming out of any new Edict, or once or twice in a Year to keep up a Show of executing the old ones, the Sub-Bashaw and his Officers go into some miserable Tippling-house, let

all the Wine about, take every Penny of Money they can lay their Hands on, break and destroy whatever they meet with in the Cabin; and, to complete all, treat the Master of the House, at his own Door, with a delicate *Bastinadoe*; of which, if he complains, or insinuates that he depended upon the Officer's Protection, in Consideration of an annual Present, he is probably sent to Goal into the Bargain. But notwithstanding all this, there are every-where Tippling-houses kept by the *Greeks*, for the Sake of getting a little Money, where yet they are exposed to a great many Inconveniencies, and to the daily Insults of the *Turks* when in their Cups.

Their Hovels are both within and without the most despicable Places that can be imagined. Four Mud Walls compose the House, plaister'd on the Inside, painted over with bawdy Figures, drawn in Charcoal by drunken *Turks*, three or four rotten Benches, and a few Earthen Pots in which the Wine is both drawn and drunk. Wretched as these Places are, they want not Company or Noise from Morning till Night, the *Greeks* being excessively abusive, and the *Turks* brutally quarrelsome in their Liquor; which shews, that, from a political Principle, the Prohibition of Wine in these Countries is a very right Thing.

Almost all our Travellers agree, that the *Turks* are extravagantly ignorant; but the Question is, whether themselves are good Judges of this, and whether it lies much in their Way to be acquainted with such as apply themselves to Letters. It is, indeed, very true that the *Turks* are prodigiously fond of Astronomy, Geomancy, and other Arts of Divination, which are very justly mentioned as Proofs of their Ignorance; but in Excuse of this, we should consider, that mean People practise this with Belief, and that Persons of higher Stations do it out of Cunning. We ought also to reflect, that it is not so long since we ourselves were addicted to these Fooleries, in which, after all, the *Turks* excel us extremely, not that their Astrology or other Arts are a Grain more certain, but the Cheat is managed with infinitely greater Dexterity. The *Turks* have Grammars and Dictionaries of their own Language; Books of Divinity, History, Poetry, Physick, Mathematicks and Morality; so that after all, perhaps, they are not quite so barbarous in this Respect, or at least not so universally ignorant as they are represented; nor do we find, that in any Negotiations with their Viziers, they are apt to be over-reached in their Politicks.

Their Religion, indeed, is absurd enough; but this is common to them and to other *Mahometans*; and, perhaps, they appear more absurd to us, than they really are, from our Want of being acquainted with many of their Doctrines. It is most certain, that they entertain very odd Notions of the State of the Dead, and are actually persuaded, that they have some Kind of Sensation in their Graves. An *English* Merchant once walking by a *Turkish* Village, with a *Fanizary* before him, came to the Burying-place of the *Jews*, where a miserable, shabby-looking Fellow was sitting before one of the Tombs; upon which the *Fanizary* stept up to him, and accosted him in these Words: *You old Rascal, what do you do out of your Grave? get into it again this Minute, and don't stink the World a second Time!* The poor *Jew* marched off as fast as he was able, and the *Fanizary* took it for granted that he was sneaked into his Grave again.

But with all their Superstition, there is no Want of Free-thinkers amongst the *Turks*, who take great Liberties with their Religion, and perhaps believe very little more of it than the *Christians* themselves. But they are obliged to keep their Notions very secret, for the Civil Government standing upon the same Basis with their religious Belief, any open Declarations of Infidelity would not only render a Man highly infamous, but subject him also to grievous Punishments. The *Dervises* or Monks are sometimes Enthusiasts, but, generally speaking, they are notorious Cheats and Hypocrites; they commonly affect a very warm Zeal for their Religion, which they express by being very rude to *Christians*, and taking uncommon Freedom with Persons of all

all Ranks among their own People, who very unwillingly submit to their Impertinences for Fear of opening the Eyes of the Vulgar, who cannot but bear a great Reverence to Religion, when they see that the more strict Profession of it, sets the meanest Man on a Level with the greatest. Some of the enthusiastical *Dervises* are sincere in their Way, and do some Service to Society by reproving the great People for their Offences.

As to the Slaves in *Turkey*, they are the most submissive, tractable and obedient Creatures in the World, and tho' there are Masters, that from the natural Brutality of their Tempers, treat them harshly enough, yet generally speaking they are tolerably well used; nor are they totally precluded from the Benefit of the Laws, for a Slave may summon his Master before the *Cadi* for ill Usage, and if he alledges that their Tempers are so opposite, that it is impossible for them to agree, the *Cadi* will oblige his Master to sell him; but then it must be allowed, that this Way of coming to Market does not much recommend him to the next Master; what affords these poor People most Ground of Complaint, is, the little Care taken of them in the Time of the Plague; for the *Turks* upon a Principle of Fatality, and a Belief that every Man's Fortune, as they phrase it, is written in his Forehead, when they lose one Slave by the Disease, put the next not only into his Room, but into his Bed, without taking any Precautions, and so lose perhaps half a Score, one after another.

An *English* Merchant who was very intimate with an honest and sensible *Turk*, that was half ruined by this wild Way of acting, convinced him of the Folly of it, by a very easy and natural Experiment. He bid him take three large fine Lemons, one of which had just begun to rot, and place them so as that this rotten Lemon touched one of the sound ones, and not the other; the next Day the sound Lemon corrupted; the *Turk* saw the Force of the Argument, caused his Slaves Chamber and Bed to be well washed with Vinegar, all the Utensils changed, and every Thing to be thoroughly perfumed, and these Precautions had their Effect, for the next Slave he had did very well, and it is to be presumed, the Master was cured of his Folly ever after. By the Way let us observe, that the Price of Lemons is a sure Way of knowing whether the Plague increases or decreases, when *Constantinople* is infected, for almost the sole Nourishment they give the Sick, is the Juice of that Fruit, which they suck continually, and as soon as one Lemon is exhausted, a fresh one is put into the Hands of the Patient, Experience having taught them, that Acids contribute most of any Thing to the Cure of this Distemper.

That the *Turks* are excessively jealous, is a Fact as certain, as that their Women are excessively lewd; and therefore if a Woman speaks to a Man, they take it for granted, that she has lain with him, or would lie with him, if she had an Opportunity; and when a *Frank* attempts to persuade a *Turk* of the contrary, by insinuating that they may like the Company of a Man, for the Sake of Conversation, their common Answer is, Friend, if you catch a Person's Hand in your Pocket, would you think it was a sufficient Excuse if he should tell you he did it only out of Curiosity, to see what was in it. The best Security they have against their Slaves, the only Males that have any Opportunity of coming near their Women, is the Severity of their Chastisements, for an Offence of this kind he is punished with Death without Mercy; yet even this dreadful Remedy is not always effectual, for their Women having so much Leisure on their Hands, have Intrigues always in their Heads, and it is allowed that none in the World exceed them in their Skill of managing them with Dexterity and Secrecy. We have already observed, that the despotic Power of the Grand Signior and the Vizir *Azem* is necessary, according to the Scheme of their Constitution; and though it is not limited by Law, yet it finds a natural Restraint from the Fear of popular Insurrections, which are more terrible in this than almost any other Country. As to the *Turkish* Justice, it is a Point of all others, the least understood by Strangers, at which we need wonder the less, when we consider,

that even in *Europe*, one Nation knows very little of the Laws and Customs practised in another. But however it is certain, that the *Turkish* Law very much resembles what is stiled the common Law in this Kingdom; that is to say, it depends upon Maxims and Rules that are founded chiefly in Usage.

But there is one Thing that deserves particular Notice, and that is, that in no Country in the World there are such Numbers of false Witnesses, nor are these less used by the Christian Merchants established amongst them, than by the *Turks* themselves; for as every Thing in their Courts of Justice must be proved by two legal Witnesses, that is, by *Mussulmen*, Merchants would find it impossible to recover their Right, if they were so scrupulous as not to make Use of this Practice. In such a Case they call in a Couple of *Turks* of their Acquaintance to their Assistance, and these having first very seriously asked the Merchant, if the Fact be as he states it; upon his answering in the affirmative, immediately tell him, Well, upon thy Credit we will swear it, and are as good as their Words, for which they are gratified with a small Present; nay, in publick Causes, such as Petitions for repairing a Church, if the Cause sticks for want of a Witness, a grave *Turk* that stands by will come in a Volunteer, and tell a formal Story how he came to know so much of the Matter as will set the Thing a-going; but he expects to have his Present next Day, and it would be a Thing of very bad Consequence to neglect it; but the greatest Objection to the *Turkish* Law arises from the Corruption of those who dispense it; for every Man is at Liberty to apply to the *Cadi* privately, and then without Doubt what he suggests is supported by more weighty Arguments than can be delivered in Words. Yet with all these Disadvantages, and without Doubt they are not inconsiderable, an *English* Lawyer who had great Opportunities of examining this Point to the very Bottom, has suggested, that the *Turkish* Manner of Proceeding is not without such Conveniences as balance all these Defects. The Reader no doubt will be glad to hear him, as his Remarks upon this Head are more to the Purpose, than those that could be made by any other Man, not of the Profession.

"One sovereign Virtue, says he, of the *Turkish* Law, is this, that every Man is his own Bailiff and Summoner, without the Plague of Process, Returns, Alias, Pluries, and I know not what Hooks or Crooks, that often beggar a Suitor, before he can bring his Adversary to answer him. But a Man, in this Country, requiring the Adversary to go before the Judge, he must without Shift or Delay go; and if he offers to escape, a Thing scarce known there, he must run quite away, for the very People will almost destroy him if they catch him. Here is no suing out a Writ, going to the Sheriff, from him to the Bailiff, with a farther Train of ill Consequences I am ashamed to remember.

"Another Virtue, and a singular one, is, that no Man answers by Attorney, but in proper Person only. The Course is, when the Parties come before the Judge, the Plaintiff makes his Demand for Money lent, the Price of Goods sold, or the like. The Judge sits all the while with his Paper upon his Hand, and writes his Minutes. *What Say you to it?* Says he to the other, and then he makes his Defence; if there be a Writing shewed, the Defendant fails not to own it; there are no *Non est factum*s for pure Delay, to be tried. It is there infamous in the greatest Degree for a Man to deny his Writing, when shewed to him before a Judge, or indeed any Matter of Fact that is true, after it appears to have been so to his Knowledge. What a vast Retrenchment of Delay and Charge is this? Men answering in Person can scarce be brought to speak false; they must be strangely abandon'd to all Shame, that in the Face of a Court, without stammering or blushing, will do so. Whereas when they sit at Home, and leave their Attorneys and Council to plead for them, there shall be false Pleas for Delays professedly, and no Concern at all to their Countenances.

" The *Turkish* Law seems to have another Virtue, which lies in the Method of Proof ; after the Judge hath heard the Demand and the Answer, he considers on which Side the Proof lies ; If the Dealing be denied, as by the Defendant's saying he bought no Goods of the Plaintiff, or the like, the Judge bids the Demander prove it ; and if Witnesses are not ready, he gives a few Days to bring them, because he might expect the other Party would have owned the Dealings ; but if he said, *It is true, I bought the Goods, but I paid him for them*, then the Judge bids the Defendant prove ; but he will never let Witness come to swear on both Sides to one and the same Fact, for that is to make sure of a Perjury ; so in a *Turkish* Court, Witnesses never confront and upon Oath contradict one another ; but being once taken as Witnesses, the Cause is at an End, the Demand is made and proved, What would you have more ? But yet, if the Witnesses are not credible, that Exception is allowed, and Witnesses heard to prove it, and the Judge determines thereupon, whether he shall believe the Witnesses or not, and accordingly judges of the Main.

" Another admirable Virtue of the *Turkish* Law is, that Decrees or Decisions never fight one with another ; and yet the Party hath the Benefit of an Appeal. They call their Decree an Odgett, which is a small Scrip or Ticket, which the Judge writes upon his Hand, and gives out to the Party that hath obtained Sentence. After this Odgett made and signed, and given out, no Judicature or Authority in the Empire can question or discharge the Matter, or the Effect of it, no not the Great *Divan*, although the Odgett were made by the meanest Judge in the Empire. This seems very much to resemble the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, when a Decree might not be revoked. It is certain, that in *Turkey* there cannot be more than one Odgett or Decree in one and the same Cause.

" A *Turkish* Judge would laugh, if he were told of our Judgments, Writs of Error, and Error upon Error, Appeals, Reviews, &c. with full and entire Sentence of the Cause pronounced in all, and the latter giving the former ill Language, and looking as if a Judgment in a Cause were but a Foundation whereupon to commence a new Suit, to the incomprehensible Delay and Expence wherewith the Parties, their Heirs and Assigns are tormented. But it will be said, How then can the Parties have an Appeal ? As to that, if either Side thinks the Judge unskilful or partial, at any Time before Odgett made, he may appeal to a Superior Judge, and then the Cause is as if it had not been heard ; but the Parties go before the Judge by Appeal, as if the Cause originally came before him, and then he makes the Odgett ; but whoever makes it, the Odgett is irreversible.

" A farther Virtue of the *Turkish* Law is this : All Equity is comprehended in it. Men there are bound by their Contracts as well as here ; but if a Contract prove very unequal, the Judge takes Notice of the Unreasonableness, and gives Relief. As if a Man takes an House to build at half the true Value ; when the Work is done, he may sue in a *Quantum meruit* for the Whole ; and it is enough to say, I thought I might have done it for the Price, but was mistaken. This goes farther than our Courts of Equity, for they do not relieve against any hard Bargains, without Fraud or Circumvention proved. It hath been said, they do not sit there to relieve Fools ; but if we consider well, it will be found, that all Persons circumvented by Fraud, are so far within that Denomination. But granting full Relief may be had, what doth it cost to come at it ? In this Respect the *Turkish* Law is simple, for it not only disallows all over-reaching Bargains but, the Judgment of them falls proper in one and the same Suit, which Party soever promotes it. And even here very good Patriots have declared it fit, that the Court having Jurisdiction of the Cause in Point of Law, should also

judge of the Equity emergent thereupon : But the present Constitution doth not allow it.

" The Civilians reproach the common Law, saying, it wants Equity, and needs a particular Judicature to supply it. But I think theirs worse, for they have no Mitigations, and all is *summum jus*. And then they contradict themselves, saying, *Apices juris non sunt jura* ; and more grossly leap over their Law, judging as they say, *ex auctoritate*, against Law, which, in their Language, is *nobile Officium Judicis*. But the *Turkish* Law seems, in these Respects, to be most consistent and complete. One Thing more I will venture to alledge in Favour of the *Turkish* Law, which is of admirable Use, and that is, their Dispatch. A Cause seldom lasts a Week, and very often is opened and determined in a Day ; and there is scarce any Means to prolong it, but demanding Time to produce Testimony to Facts, about which the Parties happen to differ ; their alledging and answering for themselves orally before the Judge, keeps down Differences of Facts. For the Pride or Shame of the Parties, as well as Integrity, will make them save proving, and, for the most part, own what they know to be true, and so bring the Matter in Judgment upon the right Point.

It may be objected here, " That this Proceeding is precipitous, and Corruption a-part, for Want of Advice and Deliberation of the Parties, as well as on the Part of the Judge, Wrong may be done ; and Justice is a sacred Thing, and ought to have the greatest Regard. It is granted that Justice is a rare Thing, if it may be had ; but if it is to be gained by failing through a Sea of Delays, Repetitions and Charges, really it may be as good a Bargain to stay at home a Loser. A wrong Determination expedite, is better than a right one after ten Years Vexation, Charge, and Delay. A good Cause immediately lost, is in some Respects gained ; for the Party hath his Time and Tranquility of Mind reserved to himself to use as he pleaseth, which is a rare Thing in the Opinion of those who have felt the Want of both, and of their Money into the Bargain.

" The Reason why Justice is so sacred, is not because the Cause of Suit, or Thing claimed in itself is of any Regard, for that Argument will bring all Things to a Levelling, as why should one Man have too much, and another want ? But because it preserves Peace and Quietness among Men, which is the greatest of all temporal good Things ; and consequently, wrong Judgments, soon and final, have the Virtue of Justice, because Peace and Quietness is thereby preserved. But Delays have an Effect directly to the contrary, for those maintain Feuds and Hatred, as well as Loss of Time and Money ; so that if it be said, that in the End Justice is secured thereby (which I do not grant) I answer it is done by unjust Means, and comes to the same. But is it not a sad Thing, say some, for a Man to be hurried out of his Right ? Is it not a sad Thing a Man should have a Fever ? As the Body, so the Estate must be obnoxious to Infirmities ; there is no Perfection in either State, and that is always best which is shortest, and hath the least Anguish or Pain.

" I shall alledge but one Instance farther, where I think the *Turkish* Law is remarkably distinguished, and it is on the criminal Side : If a Man comes to the Judge, and with Clamour, as the Way is, complains that he is robbed of his Goods, the *Cadi* will ask him, *By whom, and where is the Thief ?* And if he says he does not know, perhaps punish him as a Knave, that pretends to be robbed to cheat his Creditors. What, says he, doth not the Grand Signior protect his Subjects ? If you are robbed, find the Thief, and Right shall be done ; if you want Help, take an Officer, but do not accuse the Grand Signior's righteous Government. Now to add here a Word or two of their criminal Justice, I shall observe, that it is executed with such Rigour, as keeps down Offences so effectually, that in that great City of *Constantinople*, there are

“ are not so many Men executed for Thievery in some Years, as in one, I may say, in one Session, in *London*.

“ If a Thief is caught, they make more Account of him by discovering others, than by the Example of his Punishment ; and they handle him at such a Rate, that he cannot but discover all he knows. He shall sometimes be secretly chained to an Officer, and so go about the City, and whom he points to is taken up. The first Thing done, is to see that he makes full Amends to the Person robbed, and when that Person declares he is satisfied, he is sent away with a Menace, that he concern not himself for Favour to that Man. And, after all, what hath this poor Thief to reward him for all his Ingenuity and Service to the Publick, by discovering ? Nothing but to die without Torment, for if the Judge be dissatisfied with his Behaviour, he makes such a publick Torture of him, as must terrify all Rogues from the like Practices ; otherwise he is committed to an Officer to be simply hanged, and then that Officer takes him into the Street, and chuses what Man's Sign or Post he pleases, and constrains whom he thinks fit to perform the Ceremony ; and a *Frank*, if he comes by unluckily at that Time, is not safe from being preferred to the Employment.

We have dwelt so long upon this Subject, that it is necessary for us to be the shorter in regard to the rest. The general Accounts we have of the *Turkish* Manners are, at one and the same Time, both true and false. True in regard to the Relaters Knowledge, who delivers what he saw and knew ; but false, as it is applied, by ascribing what he collected from the narrow Circle of his Acquaintance to a whole Nation. The *Turks* are like other People, some are Men of Sense, others Blockheads ; there are Men of Learning amongst them, as well as Multitudes that are ignorant. Drunkenness is common among the meaner Sort, and much worse Crimes amongst those in an exalted Station. Their Passion for Women, and the effeminate Life they lead in their Apartments, has a very bad Effect even amongst Persons of the greatest Distinction ; and, to say the Truth, there is so little Felicity to be enjoy'd under their Constitution, that we need not wonder at the Pictures modern Travellers draw of the present State of the *Ottoman* Empire, in which all that have Power are Oppressors, and all that have it not, are oppressed.

The *Greek* Christians, that live under the Yoke of the Grand Signior, are the most miserable People in the Universe ; and though all of them do not appear so, yet in Fact they are most miserable Slaves. If they can get nothing, they must of Course pass their Days in Meanness and Poverty ; and, if they come to have any Thing, they must still wear the Appearance of Meanness and Poverty to keep it. It is, indeed, true, that some of them lift up their Heads a little, and live in a State much superior to what we have described ; but they must have powerful Protectors to do this, and they must be continually acknowledging the Favour of this Protection by Presents equal to, if not above their Abilities ; and, after all this, if any Change happens, and such Changes are continually happening to their Protectors, they are torn to Pieces, and ruined in an Instant. But before this happens, they are equally despised and hated by the *Turks*, and the very meanest of them will insult the *Greeks* with Impunity. But in the Midst of so much Calamity, and under the heavy Load of such barbarous Oppression, these People keep up their Spirits, if to be easy and merry may be so called, and will be as frolick and gay over their Cups, as if they had milder Masters, or lived in absolute Freedom, according to the common Proverb amongst us, so much used and so little understood, *viz. as merry as a Greek*. The *Turks* have so much Policy as to indulge them in the free Exercise of their Religion, and to keep up their Hierarchy, which, generally speaking, keeps them in the Interests of their Masters, so as to prefer the *Turkish* Government (bad as it is) to that of any Christian Power not of their own Religion. But if ever the *Russian* Empire comes to be settled on a firm

Foundation, and there should happen a Succession of two or three great Princes, the *Turks* would run a considerable Hazard of finding that Prophecy true, which they have amongst them, that the *Muscovites* will one Day subvert their Empire.

The *Jews* in the Grand Signior's Dominions are pretty much the same that they are every where else, that is, a Kind of necessary Evils. At *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, and other Ports, every Christian House, and, indeed, every Merchant of any Rank, has his *Jew*, who, if he has Goods to sell, finds him Customers ; and, if he wants to buy, finds out the Commodity is wanted. By their Usefulness in this Respect, they have a Share, and not a trifling Share, in all Sorts of Dealings ; and some of them arrive at Wealth, but never at Respect ; for as they hate *Turks* and *Christians* equally, so both *Turks* and *Christians* hate them in Return ; and for the far greatest Part of the Nation, they are in as low and despicable a Condition as it is possible to conceive a People, and which seems to be the very Extent of human Misery : They are destitute even of Hope, for no Revolution that can possibly happen in a Country, the most subject of all others to Revolutions, can ever prove favourable to them ; but they must be content to drudge on under the same heavy Yoke, let who will be their Masters.

33. We will close this Section with some Remarks upon the Decadence of the *Turkish* Empire, which tho' its Dominions are very near as extensive as ever, yet is very far from having the same Force that it had heretofore. This proceeds from a Multitude of Causes, but the principal is the Extinction of their ancient Spirit. It is very truly observed by an eminent Author that has been already quoted, that theirs is a Military Government, and that the Constitution is formed upon this Plan. It is for this Reason, that a State of War is natural to, as well as perfectly consistent with the Welfare of their Empire, which can never enjoy interior Peace, if the Arms of the Grand Signior be not employed on one Side or other. Almost every State besides is oppressed by War, and recovers its Strength in Time of Peace ; but the Reverse of this is the Case in *Turkey*, where War is almost always beneficial, and Peace brings along with it the greatest Danger. But for many Years past the *Turkish* Discipline growing relax, their Troops are no longer so formidable, and their being continually beaten by the *Christians* and the *Persians*, has made Peace necessary at least, if not agreeable.

This has been attended with an innumerable Train of Mischiefs and Inconveniencies, for their Soldiery being never disbanded, as making a Part of their Constitution, grow more and more formidable at Home, in the same Proportion that they became more and more despicable Abroad, which must be the Case of all Countries that put their Trust in a Standing Army. Their Officers also being no longer preferred for their Military Virtues, but in Consequence of Cabals and Intrigues, are Soldiers only in Shew ; and the same Disposition spreads itself downwards, so that a *Janizary* is at present terrible only from his Staff and his Cap, and to those he should protect, who see Nothing in him now that is military except his Insolence. The Government also is fallen of late Years into the Hands of the Men of the Law, who for that Reason do all they can to maintain Peace, notwithstanding that they cannot but be sensible how much the Empire suffers from the Extinction of that Spirit, by which it rose and extended itself to that prodigious Dominion it still preserves.

But we may safely affirm, that how large soever it may be, it is now no more than an infirm giantick Body, which reels and totters under its own Weight, and would be infallibly overthrown, if its Neighbours should unite to bring about its Destruction. The *Russians*, the *Polès* and the *Hungarians*, would at this Day be a great Overmatch for the *Ottomans*, and it would be no difficult Thing for each of those Nations, to bring sixty or seventy thousand Men into the Field, besides Irregulars. The *Venetians* are now no longer what they were, and their Maritime Power is sunk to such a Degree, as to make no Figure at all in *Europe*, but

even weak, as it is in Conjunction with the Pope's Gallies, those of other *Italian* Princes, and the Naval Power of the Knights of *Malta*, it would be very capable of giving Disturbance to the *Turks*, and of making a formidable Diversion in Favour of such a Confederacy.

This is very far from being a mere empty Scheme or visionary Project, for most certainly, if these Powers were to consider their own Interests, they would find it much easier to gratify their Ambition in its full Extent by attacking the *Turks*, than by injuring each other, since the Provinces depending upon that Empire, which by such a Confederacy might infallibly be torn away, are in every Respect more fruitful and more valuable, as well as out of Comparison more extensive than those Countries about which they have been for many Centuries disputing. Besides, this would change the general Face of Affairs extremely, and open many new Branches of Commerce to all the trading Nations in *Europe*, which would make them ample Amends for the Loss of that Profit they make by dealing with the *Turks*. The Passage to the Black-Sea would be then set open, and that noble Country which is now stiled *Crim-Tartary*, from being in the Hands of those Barbarians, would be inhabited by a civilized and social People, instead of serving for a Den of Thieves and Murderers, who subsist by Rapine, and the Ruin of their Fellow-Creatures.

If once that Spirit of Intrigue could be conjured down, which, for two or three Centuries has distracted and disturbed *Europe*, such a Design as this might be easily brought to bear; and there is the more Reason to wish it, because it would not only contribute to the Glory of the Christian Name, but to the common Ease and Benefit of Mankind. It would afford to Sovereigns that Satisfaction which is truly royal, of relieving distressed and injured Nations, and restoring them to those Rights of which they were at first dispossessed, and from which they have been so long withheld by barbarous and brutal Force. It would recover incredible Numbers of People from an abject State of Slavery, to a rational and industrious Way of living, which would change the Face of the Countries they inhabit, and make them appear once more adorned with all the Advantages that Art can procure, from the bountiful Dispositions of Nature, not more profuse in any Part of the Globe, than in those neglected Territories, that groan under the Iron Sceptre of the Grand Signior; nor is it to be feared, that the Changes which such a Revolution would produce, should be attended with any of those fatal Consequences that commonly follow such

Events; because instead of depopulating these Countries, it would certainly prove the Means of drawing into them prodigious Accessions of People.

The Weakness and Nakedness of the *Turkish* Government would then sufficiently appear, for they would be neither able to carry off any Number of their Subjects from the Countries they lost, nor would they dare to treat with the same Usage as they now do, the Christians remaining under their Power, because in Proportion as that declined, they would be compelled to abate of the Insolence that is supported by it. Nor would the Advantages derived from such Conquests belong only to the Powers that made them, for every Part of *Europe* would feel the Benefits of such a Change, since it must be attended with a vast Alteration of Manners, and a free Communication with Countries, that are now as much hidden and unknown, as either the Northern or the Southern Extremities of the Universe. Add to all this, that the apparent and extensive Profits, which must redound from such Expeditions, would excite a new Spirit in the Christian World, and very probably procure fresh Settlements and Plantations in more favourable Climates, and at Distances far less remote than we are now forced to seek them.

We should then see the *Greek* Islands, that are now so many Desarts, smile again in all their native Beauty, the venerable Remains of *Roman* and *Greek* Antiquities would be disinterred, and new Structures rise, however unequal to them, out of their Ruins. It would be easy to expatiate much further, on so agreeable and pleasing a Theme; but what I have said is sufficient to awaken the Thoughts of the intelligent Reader, and therefore it is high Time that I should call off my own, in order to resume the Thread of our Narration, and return to the Travels from whence I have digressed. But before I do this, give me Leave to declare, that I am thoroughly persuaded, that this Change is not at a very great Distance, but, that either the present or the next Generation, will infallibly see something of this kind accomplished, which in all Probability had been attempted before this, if the Change in the *French* Constitution, which has brought them to act upon the *Turkish* System, had not called off the Attention of the Christian Princes, to set Limits to that all grasping Power, which before it is long, will be also crushed by its own Weight; for Structures raised by Violence and Fraud, have such Weaknesses in their Foundations, that they cannot subsist for any Length of Time, but when at their greatest Height sink into Destruction, by the very Means whereby they were raised.

SECTION III.

An Account of several of the most remarkable Cities in *Asia*, of various Islands in the *Archipelago*, and of Things most observable in them, both with Respect to their ancient and present Condition; with Remarks Historical, Physical and Geographical.

Extracted chiefly from the Writings of Mr. JOHN THEVENOT; but intermixed with Accounts from WHEELER and LE BRUN.

1. *A Description of the City of Bursa, or as some call it, Prusia, with an Account of the Seraglio's and Tombs of the Turkish Princes in its Neighbourhood.*
2. *The famous City and Port of Smyrna described.*
3. *A curious and copious Description of the Camelion, from Wheeler's Travels.*
4. *A View of the noble City of Ephesus, from the Writings of Le Brun.*
5. *The adjacent Country described, with some Account of the famous River Meander.*
6. *A curious Description of the Island of Chio, of the Mastick Trees, and the Trade arising from the Sale of that Gum.*
7. *The famous Convent of Niamoni, one of the best belonging to the Greeks, described.*
8. *Of the chief City of the Island of Chio, which bears the same Name, from the Accounts given of it by several Authors.*
9. *A very particular and distinct View of the most remarkable Places in that Island.*
10. *Of the Inhabitants of Chio, their Manners, Customs, Trade,*



THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN SEA

*An accurate Map of the
MOREA together with the
neighbouring countries in
Greece;
also the Islands in the
Archipelago and AEGEAN SEAS;
Drawn from the most approved
Maps & Charts
by Eman. Bowen Geographer
to his Majesty
1747*

English Miles
5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

10

10

Trade, and dreadful Oppressions by the Turks. 11. *The Islands of Patmos and Naxos described, with an Account of the Inhabitants, and of the State of the Greek and Latin Churches.* 12. *Of the Islands of Paros, Delos, Micone and Tina.* 13. *The Islands of Nio and Santorini described, with some very curious Particulars relating to the latter.* 14. *An Account of the Island of Polecandro, and its Inhabitants.* 15. *A Description of the Islands of Milo and Chimolo, with a very curious Account of the Hot-Baths in the former.* 16. *Sifanto and Thermia described, with an Account of their Produce, and of the Customs of their Inhabitants.* 17. *Of the Islands of Ajora and Scyra, with an Account of their Inhabitants.* 18. *Of the Islands of Samos and Nicaria, and of the peculiar Privileges which the Women enjoy in the latter.* 19. *A Description of the Island of Coos, now called Isola Longa, and of the famous Castle of Bodrou, which formerly belonged to the Knights of St. John.* 20. *Of the famous Island of Rhodes, the Manner in which it was taken by the Turks, and the Remains of the Castles, Palaces, and other Structures erected there by the Knights of St. John, while they were Masters of it.* 21. *A large and curious Description of the noble Island of Cyprus, with an Account of its ancient and present State.* 22. *Mr. Randolph's Account of the Island and Kingdom of Candia, and of the long War sustained by the Venetians against the Turks, in Defence thereof.* 23. *Miscellaneous Observations and Remarks from various Authors.*

1. **M**R. Thevenot left Constantinople, August 30, 1656. and sail'd in a Saïque to Montagna, from whence he rode to Bursa, which was called by the Ancients *Prusia*, the Metropolis of the ancient Kingdom of *Bythynia*, and was the Capital City of the *Turkish* Empire in the Reign of *Orcan*, the Son of *Osman*, the first Sultan, who took it in the 726th Year of the *Hegyra*, and in the Year of our Lord, 1325; but it was taken from *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*. It is about ten Miles distant from Mount *Olympus*. It is pleasantly situated, and Water is so plentiful, that besides what they have in all their Dwellings, they have Fountains in their Houses of Office for their Ablutions. They have some Waters that run through the Town, so hot, as to boil an Egg, of which they have made several Bagnio's, which serve for the Cure of many Distempers, and People come above 100 Miles to wash in them. There are many fair Houses in the Town, and above 200 Mosques; many *Hans*, very magnificently built and constantly inhabited, because the Caravans from several Places pass through this Town; but the most remarkable Buildings of this City are the Sepulchres of the first *Turkish* Emperors and their Sultana's, in so many Chappels built Dome-wise.

Among them is said to be one, of a *French* Sultana, who being taken Captive, and presented to the Grand Signior, so much ravished his Affections, that he enjoy'd her, but permitted her to exercise her Religion to her Death. The *Christians* after her Decease desired to have the Care of her Burial, but it was not granted them, and so she lies in a little Chapel, arch'd and inclosed with Walls among the rest. This Town is about half a *French* League in Length, not entirely wall'd, and has a Castle standing in the Middle on a little Hill, which has Bastions that in their Opinion render it impregnable; but the Water that supplies it runs through the Town, and so may be cut off. No *Christian* is allowed to go into it, lest they should endeavour to regain it, because it was taken from them by stopping the Water. Within this Castle was formerly the *Seraglio* of the first Sultans of the *Ottoman* Family, but it is now demolished. It is said to be built by an Emperor's Daughter, who was cured of a Leprosy by washing in the hot Waters of this Town, being taught the Experiment by a measly Hog, that by washing in it was cured. Close by the Town is an Hill, where a *Turkish* Hermit lives in a Chapel, which is enclosed with good Walls and Iron Gates. In it are the Tombs of one *Roland*, or *Orland*, and his Son, with his Sword and Mace lying on a Table just by, who valiantly defended this Castle against the *Saracens* in the Life of the Foundress, and slew many of them.

2. From Bursa he went to Smyrna with the Caravan, and because Nothing is to be met withal upon this Road but Water, Travellers must carry all their Provisions and Household-stuff along with them, or want both. The Way lies through *Tablitalie*, *Loubat*, *Sousurluc*, *Dgelembe*, *Palamout*, and *Manasia*, to Smyrna. This Town is a noted Place in *Ionia*, built at first by *Tantalus*, named so from an *Amazon* who took it, and when it was demolished by an Earthquake, rebuilt by *Mark Anthony* nearer the Sea, to make the Harbour more

commodious. It boasts of being the Birth-place of *Homer*.

The *Turks* call it *Ismyr*. It is a large Town, and well inhabited both by *Turks* and *Christians*, but is neither pleasant nor strong. It is commanded by a Castle, at the Bottom of which, in the Way to the *Greek* Church called *Santa Veneranda*, is a great Amphitheatre, where *St. Polycarp*, *St. John's* Scholar and Bishop of *Smyrna*, suffered Martyrdom. Near it are the Ruins of *St. John's* Cathedral Church, which had several large Chapels, and in one is still a Tomb, which the People say is *St. Polycarp's*; but it seems rather to be that of some *Turk*. The Port is but small, but the Road is spacious and safe, and has a Castle lately built, to hinder what Ships they please from coming in, or going out. By the Road stands the Custom-House, and the Houses of the Consuls and Merchants; *Franks*, who have, for the most Part, a Back-door towards the Sea. In it is a *Cadi* to administer Justice.

Besides *Turks*, there live in it *Christians* of all Countries, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Latins*. The *Greeks* have two Churches, viz. *St. Veneranda*, where their Archbishop officiates, and *St. George*, which belongs to their Monks. The *Armenians* have also two Churches, and the *Latins* as many, one of them belonging to the *Capuchins*, which is over-against the *French* Consul's House, and the other to the *Jesuits*, which has a lovely House adjoining to it. The Country about it is plain and fertile in Olive-trees, and full of Gardens. All Things there are in Abundance, and their Wine is most excellent. It is very subject to Earthquakes, which happen every Year, and often ruin the Town; but it is soon rebuilt again, because of the Convenience of its Situation. The Air in Summer-time would be very hot, if it were not for the low Wind, or North Breeze, as they call it, which blows regularly every Day, and much qualifies the Heat.

We have a larger and more correct Account of this City in *Sir George Wheeler's Travels*, which we will add in his own Words. *Smyrna* hath so many Advantages from its natural Situation, that notwithstanding the great Calamities which have befallen it by War, and most prodigious Earthquakes, that no less than six Times have over-thrown and almost utterly ruined it: Yet it hath still been thought worth the Repairing and Restoring to all the Beauty the Art of its Inhabitants could contrive to adorn it with; notwithstanding also, that from some old Tradition they expect the Seventh shall be its utter Ruin, never to be repair'd. It is situated at the Bottom of a Bay, esteemed twenty Miles to its Mouth, secured with high Mountains on every Side from all Winds but the West; whence from Sea they can receive no Damage: For the *Hermus* which emptieth itself into it, maketh a Bank of Sand that barreth the raging of the Sea out, yet leaves such a Passage in it, although but narrow, that he must be a very Ideot of a Pilot that cannot bring a Ship in safe into the inmost Part of the Bay; where he may find Room and Depth enough, with very good Moorage.

This Bay hath Mount *Sypilus North*. Another Mountain, which I judged to be the *Mesogismonds*, mentioned

mentioned by *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*, *North-East*. The Hills whereon the Town stands, from *East* to *South*. From thence to the Promontory *Argennum*, winding about to the *Western* Point. *Mons Mimas*, now called the *Brothers*, from the two highest Points. Here is indeed a little Gap, being the Mouth of the Bay, but thence Hills begin to rise again to joyn to Mount *Sipylus*. Of this Entrance I shall have Occasion again to speak when I part hence. But as to the rest, these Mountains are not so near, but that they leave fruitful Fields round about between the Bay and them, well planted with Olive-yards, Vineyards, and Corn Fields among them; and from the Town to Mount *Sipylus* is a Valley of four or more Miles in Length, and near a Mile broad in some Places, which with the Gardens about the Towns, and the Town itself, drink up two pretty Streams of good Water, one rising *Northward* from the Mountain *Sipylus*, and the other *Southward* from Mount *Mimas*, which join together *North-East* of the Town, and what it spareth, which is but little, the Sea receiveth at the *North-West-End* of the Town. That which cometh *Northwards* from Mount *Sipylus*, is a considerable Stream, driveth seven Mills, and hath Abundance of Fish in it. The other, coming from Mount *Mimas*, is the greatest Part brought to the Town in Aqueducts, two of which are well built, with Stone Arches crossing the Valley or deep Foss, which itself hath dug between two Hills, whereof the *Northernmost* is where *Old Smyrna* stood, now only a Castle. The rest of the Water is divided amongst the Gardens.

Smyrna is a Place of great Antiquity, and is reputed to have had the *Amazon Smyrna* for it Foundress. They therefore stamped their Money with the Figure of her Head. I got several Pieces of them, very rare, and saw many more in the Cabinet of an ingenious Merchant there, Mr. *Falkener*, who designs his Collection for the University of *Oxford*. One small one hath her Head crowned with Towers, and her two-edged Hatchet on her Shoulder, almost worn out with Age, and about it are these Letters, ΣΜΥΡΝΑ, on the other Side the Prow of a Ship, and these, ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. From another I saw of the Empress *Tranquillina*, is to be seen her whole Habit, which is thus: Her Head is crowned with a Tower, as before, her two-edged Axe upon her Shoulder, holding a Temple in her Right-hand, perhaps referring to some Temple *Tranquillina* had built, in a short Vest down to her Knees, and Buskins half Way her Legs. There is something also she holds in her Left-hand, besides her Axe, which perhaps is her Bow. In another she is dressed in the Habit of *Hercules*.

Of the ancient Situation and Beauty of this Place, *Strabo* giveth the best and shortest Account. Thence, saith he, (describing it *Northward* from *Ephesus*) is another Bay, in which is *Old Smyrna*, twenty *Stadia*, or two Miles and half from the *New*. When the *Lydians* had destroyed *Smyrna*, the Country thereabouts was only adorned with Villages for four hundred Years together; after which, *Antigonus* restored it, and after him, *Lyfimachus*. At this Day it is, of all the *Asian* Cities, most beautiful. Part of it is built upon the Mountain, but the greater Part on the Plain to the Haven, unto the Temple of the *Mother of the Gods*, and to the *Gymnasium*. The Streets are most excellently built, and as much as possible, reduced into Right Angles, all paved with Stone. It hath great and square Portico's both in the higher and lower Parts of the City. There is a Library, and the *Homerion*, which is a square Portico, with a Temple containing his Statue; for the *Smyrnoites* are very zealous for the Nativity of *Homer* amongst them, and have a Brass Piece of Money called by his Name, *Homerion*. The River *Meles* runneth by the Walls. There is a Haven on the other Side of the City, which may be shut up at Pleasure. Thus far *Strabo*.

The *Old Smyrna* that was in his Time, in all Probability, was on a Hill *South* of this that is now, and *West* of the Castle-hill; for there are some Steps of Heaps of Stones laid in some Order, as if a Wall had been there. This *New Smyrna*, but the *Old* one of our Times, without Doubt, took up all the Hill the old Castle standeth on and then adjoining to it, down to a Point running

into the Bay *Southwards*, and of the Plain much more *North-East* than the *New Smyrna* of our Times; but *North*, I believe, not much more, if so much; for turning into *Frank-street*, is a Wall which seemeth to be Part of the ancient Walls of the City, although the Mouth of the River *Meles* is just without the present Buildings; which is not far, and might easily be turned thither, if nearer to the Walls formerly. Along this Wall, from the Sea, you come to the Foundation of a great Building of hew'd Stone they were then demolishing, which might have been the *Sybil's* Temple, the great Mother of the Gods.

After discoursing largely of the Antiquities that still remain here, and of the State of the ancient Christian Church of *Smyrna*, he proceeds thus. The *Greeks* that are here have but two Churches, yet they are numerous, this Place being the Seat of their Metropolitan. But besides them, here is a great Number of Christians of all Nations, Sects and Languages. The *Latin* Church hath a Monastery of *Franciscans*; the *Armenians* have one Church; but the *English*, which are the most considerable Number next the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, have only a Chapel in the Consul's House, which is a Shame, considering the great Wealth they heap up here beyond all the rest: Yet they commonly excel them in their Pastor; for I esteem a good *English* Priest an Evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. The *Hollanders*, I believe next to the *English*, are more numerous than any Nation of the *Franks*, and take no more Care, as I could learn, of their Religious Worship. But as to Trade, none strive to outvy each other so much as the *English* and *Hollanders*, whereof *Smyrna* and *Aleppo* are now the chief Places in the *Levant*. The Trade was formerly pretty well divided between them; but since their War with the *French*, the *English* have much the greater Part of it.

The chief Commerce consists in raw and *Persian* Silks, Grograms, both in Yarn and also woven, brought to this Scale by the *Persians* and *Armenians*, and much Cotton, raw and made in Yarn, &c. which groweth all about these Countries, and the Islands of the *Archipelago*, being brought by the *Greeks* and *Turks* to be sold here. The *English* Factory consists of fourscore or an hundred Persons, most of them younger Sons to Gentlemen, who give three or four hundred Pounds to some great Merchant of the *Levant* Company, and bind their Sons Apprentices for seven Years, three whereof they serve at *London*, to understand their Masters Concerns, and then their Masters are obliged to send them to negotiate in these Parts, and to find them Business, out of which they are allowed a certain Sum per Cent. where by their Industry in Traffick for themselves, also upon good Gains, but little Loss, they live genteelly, become rich, and get great Estates in a short Time, if they will be but indifferent good Husbands, and careful of their own and their Owners Business.

The Officers allowed over them by the King and the *Levant* Company, are a Consul, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Divine, and a Physician. The Consul is allowed by the *Levant* Company, three thousand Dollars a Year Salary, and five hundred of Gratuity, besides other Perquisites and honest Ways, whereby he may get much more. His Office is to maintain the Privileges granted by the Grand Signior to the *English* Nation, against the Injuries and Insolencies of the encroaching *Turks*, instead of an Ambassador to decide all Differences that happen between Factor and Factor, to see that no Injury be done by any of the Factory to the *Turks*, and to punish Delinquents: So that he doth, in Effect, govern the Business of the whole Factory there, but yet from his Sentence, there may be an Appeal made to the Ambassador. Mr. *Ricaut* was then Consul, who writ the State and Policy of the *Ottoman* Empire, and a Treatise of the *Greek* Church, an Appendix to the *Turkish* History down to his Time, and also an Account of the seven Churches of *Asia*. He was very obliging to us, amongst other Favours, in directing and informing us, concerning these Parts. Their Chaplain is allowed five hundred Dollars a Year Salary by the *Levant* Company. He hath besides, a Warehouse allowed

allowed him to trade with, besides customary Gifts of all the Merchants yearly, which amount commonly to much more. And indeed the whole Factory live together in the greatest Amity, Peace and Freedom, of any of them I have seen beyond Sea.

The *French* and the *Venetians* have also their Consuls here, but they are in no great Credit amongst the *Turks*. The *English* have the best Reputation for their honest Dealing, and therefore ordinarily their Word is taken instead of Searching. But the *Armenians* pay more Custom than any. The *Turks* have thirteen Mosques, and the *Jews* several Synagogues, all which make the Town populous, though ill-built, and without either Strength or Beauty. All that defends it from the Incursions of *Corfairs*, is a little Fort at the Strait coming in about five Miles from the Town, whose great Guns are its best Security: For it hath but a little Ditch about it, and the Walls such as by two or three great Guns would be beat to the Ground. As to the Castle on the Hill above the Town it is slighted, and although it hath the old Wall about it, I believe built by the *Greek* Emperors, yet it is only a Heap of Ruins within, with here and there some arched Caves, used anciently for Cisterns or Granaries, as some think, having only two or three little Guns mounted against the Haven, to salute the Captain of the Gallies, or as Mr. *Smith* saith, the new Moon of *Bairam*. About the Walls are set one or two of the *Roman* Eagles well cut, and another *Basso relievo* of Men on Horseback. Over the Door is an Inscription in Marble, in the latter *Greek* Characters, but too high and difficult to be read.

There is another little old fashioned Castle at the Harbour, for the Gallies and Boats. On the other Side of which Harbour is the Scale or Custom-house for the Grand Signior's own Subjects. Beyond which, Southwards under the Hill, where St. *Polycarp's* Tomb is, are the *English* and *Dutch* Burying-places, and North of the Castle along the Shore, is, First, the new Bezeftin, built out of the great squared Stones of the Theatre. It is in Form like a Street, to shut up at each End; the Shops are little Rooms, with a Cupola over each of them covered with Lead, and little Holes on the Top, with Glass to let in the Light; opposite unto this is a very fine Kan now Building. After which is the Scale and Custom-house of the *Franks*, and then follows *Frank-street* along by the Water-Side, with their Scales and Warehouses, very convenient to lade and unlade their Goods, and is the pleasantest and best built of any Part of this present *Smyrna*.

3. As it must be allow'd that no Author extant has given so clear, so curious, or so correct an Account of that wonderful Animal the *Camelion*, as Sir *George Wheeler* has done; and as he was led to this by his seeing so many of these Creatures at *Smyrna*, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader, to peruse his Remarks on so entertaining a Subject. About *Smyrna* says he, are Abundance of *Camelions*, which is an Animal something resembling a Lizard, but hath his Back gibbous like a Hog, and its Feet are divided like the Claws of a Woodpecker or Parrot, two Claws before, and three behind, which are not separated from each other until near the Ends. A long Tail it hath like a Rat, and is ordinarily as big, but it hath very little or no Motion with its Head. They are in great Abundance about the old Walls of the Castle, where they breed, and lie in Holes and Heaps of Ruins. Several we saw, and two we kept twenty Days at least, in which Time, we made these following Observations upon them.

Their Colour useth to be green, darker toward the Back, and lighter towards the Belly, inclining to a Yellow, with Spots, sometimes of a reddish Colour, and sometimes whitish. But the Green would often change into a dark Dirt Colour, without any Appearance of Green. The whitish Spots would sometimes vanish, or turn into the same Dirt Colour, and sometime remains. Sometimes they would only change into a darker Colour, of a kind of Purple-like Tincture, which used often to happen when it was disturbed. Sometimes from a green all over, they would be spotted with a pure

black, which also happened sometimes when it return'd from the black, ordinarily when it slept under a white woollen Cap, it would, when uncovered, be of a white or Cream Colour. But this it would do also under a red Cap. I never saw any change red or blue, altho' they have been laid upon those Colours often, and continued there a long Time. But upon green they would become green, and upon the dark Earth they would soon change to that Colour. One of the same Bigness, of which I made a Draught, I caught as I was walking on the Side of the Hill near the old Castle, where I saw many which had changed themselves from the Colour of the speckled Stone Wall, to a grey, with Spots like Moss. This I found on the Top of a green Bush of *Prunella Spinosa*, which, when I first cast my Eye upon, it was of a bright green Colour; but as soon as it perceived that I saw it, immediately let itself drop to the Ground, and I as soon stopp'd to look for it, but could see nothing; yet continuing to look about earnestly, at last I perceived it creeping away to a Hole in the Rock, being changed to a dark brown Colour, exactly like the Earth, which was then of that Colour after a Shower of Rain.

This changing of Colours is given to this Creature by Nature for its Preservation. For it is very slow in its Pace, lifting up its Legs high and not quick, as if they saw not the Way before them, or rather, as if they searched for Hold to climb up by, which they can do very well on a Bush, Tree, or Wall. When it saw itself in Danger to be caught, it opened its Mouth, and hissed like a Snake. In a small Time after I put it into my Handkerchief, it turned of the same Colour, with some white Spots, and a little Tincture of red. This little one changed its Colour more nimbly than others that were greater. The Cause of which I attribute to the Wildness of it, the other having been kept a good while before it was given us, and consequently tamer. The Eyes are as wonderful as the Colours, which are as my Lord *Bacon* hath remarked, large in Proportion to the Bigness of its Head, being commonly bigger and larger than a Pea. But that which seems most observable, his Lordship hath taken no Notice of. It is covered all over with a thick Skin, of the same Substance with the Body, the Grain being in Circles just to the Center or Middle, where there is a Hole no bigger than a small Pin's Head, by which it receives Light, which must make the Angle of its Vision very acute. The Head being immovable, it cannot turn itself to the Objects as it listeth. But to make Amends for all such Inconveniencies, Nature hath given most wonderful Motions to its Eyes, beyond those of any living Creature. It cannot only move them at the same Time, both forward and backward, upward and downward; but also one forward, the other backward, the one upward the other downward, the one fixed on one Object, and the other moving according to the Motion of some other Object, and so is capable of all the Changes imaginable, which my Comrade Mr. *Spon*, and I often experimented with a great deal of Astonishment.

The Tongue is a kind of little Trunk, of a grizzly Substance, above half an Inch long and hollow, join'd to his Throat by a strong membranous and fleshy Substance, in which it is sheathed when it is in the Mouth. It will dart this out of its Mouth above an Inch, being smeared with a glutinous Substance to catch Flies, which stick fast to it as to Bird-lime, and so are brought into its Mouth. These Flies are their ordinary known Food, although I never saw them catch any, but saw one that was almost dead, having a Fly in its Mouth. The rest of its Sustenance is Air, of which it will fill itself, being set out in the Sun, until it becometh much swollen. Of its Excrement I remarked Nothing. But my Comrade reported, that a Person of Curiosity at *Lyon*, assured him from his own Observations, that although the *Camelion* did eat little or nothing, yet it nevertheless made much Excrement.

They will live without any Sustenance besides Air, a very great While, as will many other Animals of the like cold Nature, viz. Serpents and Lizards, &c. One that I open'd had Guts, but I perceived Nothing in them;

them; but the Reason I believe was, because it was even starved, having been kept a great while, and then almost dead. Its Lungs reach near the Length of its Body, consisting of a thin skinny Substance, full of small Veins, and divided into two Labels placed on each Side, and filled with Air, which being let out, those Labels shrunk together. Its Tail is of very great Use to it in climbing. It will twine it about a Bone or a Stick so fast, that if it lets go, or falls short in reaching at any Thing else with its Claws, it will hang fast by the Tail, and sustain and recover its whole Body by it. The little one that I caught, I put into a Glass so deep, that it could not reach the Brim with its Fore-feet by much, nor could take any Hold with its Claws; and yet it got itself out, and almost escaped from me, as I saw afterwards, by standing upon its Fore-feet, and hoisting itself up backwards, until it caught hold of the Brim of the Glass with its Tail; by the Help whereof it lifted all its whole Body out. And this is what I observed of this wonderful Animal, which thus challengeth Praise for its Creator the Lord of all Wonder.

4. *Ephesus* lies not above fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Smyrna*. In the Way is a Village called *Sedequi*, about three Leagues from *Smyrna*, situated in a very pleasant Country; for which Reason the *European* Consuls of *Smyrna* have their Country-houses there, and frequently retire thither to divert themselves with Hunting. The rest of the Way from *Sedequi* to *Ephesus* is over a very pleasant and large Plain. *Ephesus*, once so noted a City, is now nothing but a confused Heap of Rubbish, Pieces of Marble, demolish'd Walls, broken Columns and Chapters. That Part, which is at present inhabited, is bounded on the East with a large Plain, which reaches as far as the *Archipelago*, and on the Sides with high Hills. The most remarkable Things in it are, The old Church of *St. John* the Evangelist. It had anciently four Gates, but two of them are wall'd up. You enter into the Church by a Descent of sixteen Stairs, at the Bottom of which is a Fountain. Within it are four Pillars of *Porphyry* spotted with Black and Red, twelve Foot and an half in Circumference, and thirty-six Foot high, being one entire Piece of Stone, which bears up the Roof. There are also two other Pillars of *Samæan* Stone, and round about the Church, on the Outside, is a Gallery having four Pillars a-breast, and six in Length, set off in the Middle with an *Ozogon* Fountain, each of whose Sides are ten Foot long, and one Foot thick. The Church hath two Domes, and is cover'd with Lead. The *Turks* having converted it into a Mosque, have added a Minaret, and adorn'd it after their Fashion; but the greatest Rarities of it, when it was a Church, were carried to *Constantinople* to Sultan *Soliman*, to adorn the Mosque he had erected there.

The Castle stands on an Hill just by it, and has a very ancient Tower still standing, on the Top of which is a very curious Piece of Sculpture, or *Basso-relievo*, which, as some say, represents the History of the famous *Roman, Marcus Curius*; but others say, the Destruction of *Troy*. The Truth is, none dare come near enough to take an exact View of it, and so they only guess at it. In passing it, you may discern three Pieces of Marble, one represents *Baubmal*, the second a Man fallen dead from his Horse, and a Person in a Senator's Habit standing by, seems to lament the Accident, and the third is the Figure of a dead Body laid out ready for Interment.

A large Inclosure, where anciently stood the Temple of *Diana*; but there is nothing remarkable of it, but one large Gate much ruined and defaced. Within it, on the North Side, is engraven on a Stone a Man on Horseback, with a Dog by him, and a Serpent twisted round a Tree. On the South-side are two Inscriptions, the one within, in these Words, *ACCENSO. RENS ET ASIAE*; and the other, *M. P. VEDI NICERH. VEDIAE. PAVILLIMX. M. HIAE VXORIS EI*. But the Learned cannot tell what they mean. On the Front of the Gate are these Words graven, *UNIOR CANTUSIUM*; but they are so mingled, that their Meaning is not to be guess'd at.

Two Amphitheatres, where Prizes used to be anci-

ently fought; but nothing now remains of them, but Part of the Walls of one of them, built after the antique Manner of large Free-Stones. Hard by these Amphitheatres is a large Square, where are a great many Pieces of broken Columns, Chapters, Friezes and Pedestals, of a wonderful Bigness. Upon some of them are Arches of a prodigious Bigness, and in the Body of one of the Columns are a Pair of Stairs, which lead a great Way under Ground. Among the Ruins are some Remains of the ancient Baths.

The Grotto, called, *The Cave of the seven Sleepers*, who flying into that Place to avoid the Persecution in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperor, two hundred and fifty Years after Christ, fell into so sound a Sleep, that they did not awake again till the Reign of *Theodosius II.* who was a zealous Protector of the Christians, and supposed they had slept but one Night, though it was near two hundred Years.

A Tomb, or Monument, on which are several *Greek* Characters, and four little Children in *Basso-relievo*, with several Marble Statues buried under Ground, yet so carelessly, that the Feet of some of them appear'd above.

5. About a small Hour's Journey from *Ephesus* are to be seen the Fonts, where, they say, *St. John* the Evangelist baptized the Christians. It is a grey Jasper-Stone, sixteen Foot in Diameter, but a little mangled by Travellers, who usually carry away a Piece of it. The *Greeks* have many like them. About half a League further, upon the Top of an Hill, is a Fabrick, said to be the Place where *St. Paul* was imprison'd. There are four Rooms curiously wrought in Marble, still standing. From this Castle is a pleasant Prospect over the Plains and Meadows, where the River *Meander* makes so many Windings and Turnings, as ravishes the Spectator with Wonder and Delight at once. The Water of it is very pleasant, and the Current of it so still, that one can hardly discern which Way the Stream runs, unless it be at the Mouths where it empties itself into the Sea. Not far from *Ephesus* lies an Island called *Scala Nova*, but by the *Turks*, *Cous-Adasi*, or the Island of Birds. Here are the richest *Muscadine* Wines made, of all the Islands of the *Archipelago*.

6. From *Smyrna* Mr. *Thevenot* went for a Diversion to see the Wonders of *Chio*, so much talked of throughout all *Asia*. This Island, which may be called the Paradise of *Greece*, is governed by *Christians*, though under the Authority of the *Turks*, who command in small Matters. They chuse themselves *C O S S*, one half *Greeks*, and the other half *Latins*, who, during the Time of their Continuance, take Care of all Affairs. The People obtained these Privileges by submitting voluntarily to *Mahomet II.* when he conquer'd *Greece*, and the *Turks* suffer them to enjoy them without Controul. Up and down the Country are several Churches, belonging either to the Popish Bishops or Monks, but the *Greeks* have many more in several Places, the *Latin* Churches being reckon'd but three hundred and one, but the *Greeks* five hundred: They are all very well served, and Divine Service is performed with as many Ceremonies, as if it were in the Heart of *Christendom*, for the *Turks* molest them not, but they have a free Exercise of their Religion, insomuch that on *Corpus Christi-Day* the Holy Sacrament is carried about the Streets under a Canopy, without any Fear of Indignity that may be offered by the *Turks*, though nothing is more odious to them than that Ceremony.

When any Man is found killed in this Island, whether *Christian* or *Turk*, the Author of the Murther is diligently sought for, but if he be not found, the Town must pay the Price of his Blood thus slain, at the Rate of 12,000 Aspers, which is assessed upon every House by the *C O S S*; but if the Murtherer be found, his Blood satisfies for all, and no Money is paid. The *Cadi* and *Turkish* Officers make Advantage of these Fines. In the Island are twenty two Villages that have Mastick Trees, which are in all an hundred thousand. They are Lentisks, crooked like Vines, and creeping on the Ground.

They

They prick these Trees in the Months of *August* and *September*, and the Mastick, which is their Gum, sweating out by the Holes made in the Bark, runs down the Tree, and falls upon the Ground, where it congeals into flat Pieces, which they gather some Time after, and lay it in the Sun to dry, and then range and shake them in a Sieve to separate the Dust from them, which so sticks to the Faces of those that do it, that it cannot be got off but by rubbing their Faces with Oil. These Villages produce above one thousand Chests of Mastick, of which they pay to the Grand Signior yearly three hundred Chests, or three hundred Weight, containing ninety Oques a-piece, every Village being assessed according to their Quantity of Trees, and the rest they are obliged to sell at a certain Rate, to the Farmer of the Customs. This Mastick is by *Dioscorides* allowed to be the best in the World, though it grows also in other Places. It is a white Gum which enters into the Composition of many Ointments, and the *Greeks* use to chew it much, because it makes them spit, whitens their Teeth, and sweetens their Breath; they put it also in their Bread to make it more delicate. The chief of these Mastick-Towns is *Callimacha*, which hath two Gates that stand always open, six *Greek* Churches, and a Nunnery. It is well peopled, and round it are said to be thirty *Greek* Churches.

7. Some Miles from this Town lies *Niamoni*, i. e. the Old Virgin, where is a Convent of *Caloyers* or *Greek* Monks. It stands among Woods and Rocks, being built by *Constantine Monomancus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, in 1050. The Church is adorn'd with a great many Pieces of Marble and Porphyry, and among others with thirty two Marble Pillars. The Dome is full of Pictures of *Mosaick* Work, and the Church is kept in good Repair. The Convent is very spacious, and built in the Form of a Castle: No Woman may enter into it. There are commonly two hundred Monks in it, under the Government of an Abbot, and it must never exceed that Number.

When any Places are vacant, such as will supply them, and become *Caloyers*, must pay one hundred Piaftres, and carry what Estate they have into the Convent, which they enjoy for Life, and then leave it to the Convent, unless they have a Kinsman who will become a Monk, and then he may give one Third to him, on Condition, that at his Death it go to the Convent. The Convent gives to the Monks every Day black Bread, Wine, but not good, and rotten Cheese; and, if they will have any Thing else, they must provide it as well as they can; and some live well on their own Estates, and keep a Horse to take their Pleasure; the rest must make a Shift with their Commons, yet on *Festivals* and *Sundays* they eat altogether in their Hall or Refectory. This Convent pays the Grand Signior five hundred Piaftres a Year, for their yearly Revenue is above sixty thousand Piaftres; and in their Treasury they have above a Million of Gold, for two Thirds of the Island belongs to them. The Monks that die among them are laid in the Church of *St. Luke*, just without the Convent. They have two Bells, and there are little ones in every Village, but the *Turks* throughout their Dominions, allow them no where but here.

8. The chief Town of this Isle is of the same Name. It hath good Houses, and the Streets are wide enough for Coaches: It is not large, but well peopled, and most Part of the Inhabitants are Christians, either *Greeks* or *Latins*, who have each of them a Bishop, and several Churches; but the *Greeks* have most by far. They have also many Convents of Nuns, but not so strictly shut up, but that Men may come at them, and they will be kind to them, sometimes even beyond the Bounds of Christian Charity. They may leave their Convent when they please; and their Business, while they are in it, is to embroider in Gold, Silver and Silk upon Handkerchiefs, Purse, &c. and they are very skilful in it. The *Latins* have five Churches in the Town, the first is the Bishop's, which is fair and large, but built since the *Turks* have been Masters of *Chio*, according to an Agreement made between the *French* King and the Grand Signior.

To this Church belongs a Burying-place, where all the *French* that die in this City are interred; which was given to it by Mr. *John Dupuis*, of *Marseilles*, the *French* Consul there. The *Capuchins* also have a large and spacious Church, which stands over-against their Convent, which is neatly built, and has a large Garden, but wants Water. They are forced to keep their Gate continually shut, because of the *Turks*, who, if they get in, spoil their Gardens, and commit many other Insolencies. They teach the learned Languages and Christianity to all Children that are sent to them. The *Jesuits* also have a Church and College, and are of three Congregations. The *Jacobins* and *Cordeliers* also have fair Churches. The *Turks* have their Mosques, and the *Jews* their Synagogues. The Town is but small, and not strong, but hath eight Gates, and a pretty good Castle to defend it. The *Turks* live in it, and are generally about eight hundred Men. No *Christian* may lodge in it; but the *Jews*, for their Security, pay a certain Sum yearly to dwell in it, for they would find but bad Entertainment among the *Christians*.

It was built by the *Genoese*, when they were Masters of the Isle, and commands the Port. Four Miles from the City, near to the Sea-side, is to be seen a vast Stone, which was cut out of some Rock; it is almost round, but the upper Part is flat, and somewhat hollow. On the upper Part are Places like Seats cut in the Stone, of which there is one higher than the rest, like a School-master's Chair, where, as Tradition reports, was *Homer's* School, where he taught his Scholars. *M. du Mont* says, he saw nothing but a square Altar cut out of a Rock, with the Figures of an Ox, Wolf, Sheep, and Rabbit, in *Basso-relievo*, and thinks, that in all Probability there were no Schools there, but that it was a Place where Sacrifices were offered to the God *Pan*, or some other Rural Deity. The Isle of *Chio* is eighty Miles in Circuit, and very populous, containing, besides the chief Town *Chio*, already described, sixty Towns and Villages, inhabited for the most Part by Christians.

9. The chief Villages are *Cordomolo*, which contains about five hundred Inhabitants: The Country about it is very fertile and well watered, yielding annually one hundred and sixty, or one hundred and seventy Tun of Wine. Some Years ago, several Pieces of Gold, Silver, and Copper Money, of the Emperor *Constantine*, were found there. Five Miles from it is a lovely Valley half a Mile long, where is a Spring of Water, to which there is a Descent by twenty five beautiful Marble Steps. At the End of it was a Temple of fine Ash-colour'd Marble, but it is pull'd down, and the Stones broken, and this only to get the Iron and Lead that joined them together.

Beyond it is *Vichi*, a Village inhabited by three hundred Souls, having a Church dedicated to the Virgin. Beyond it is *Cambia*, which has one hundred Inhabitants, and lies among Rocks, Hills, and Woods of wild Pine-trees, which they fell for Timber to build their Gallies. Among the Mountains are several Churches. Below this Village is a Valley, where stands a little Castle built upon a Rock, which is almost inaccessible. Over-against this Castle is the Mount of *St. Elias*, which is the highest Place of all the Island, and is seen from *Tenedo*, which is above one hundred Miles distant. It has a Church dedicated to that Saint built on it, but is usually cover'd with Mists and Snow. In the Middle of this Mountain is a large Spring, which waters the Fields about it, and makes them very fertile, and they are planted with all Sorts of Fruit.

In a Wood hard by lies *Spartonda*, a Village inhabited by about fifty Shepherds, but very pleasant, affording Plenty of good Water and Fruits. Between *Calandre* and *Coronia* there is a Bath of Sulphur by the Sea-side, under extraordinary big Oaks. It is called *Hayasma*, i. e. the Holy Water, because the Water being drank, cures many Diseases, but by the violent Operation it has killed many. Three Miles from the Sea, at the further End of the Island, is a Town called *St. Helena*, built on a Rock, containing two hundred Inhabitants, two Churches, and a Chapel. The Inhabitants of this Place firmly believe, that if a dead Body does not

corrupt

corrupt in forty Days, it turns *Zorzolacas*, or a *Nomolacas*, i. e. an *Hobgoblin*. The Chapel is highly esteemed for its Sanctity by all the Villages round about.

From hence one goes to *Volisso*, which is a great Village, with about three hundred Houses, and fifteen hundred Inhabitants. It is seated on an Hill, and has a Castle built by the famous *Belisarius*, the Emperor *Justinian's* General, who was forced ashore there by a Storm. The Country about it is very pleasant, open and fruitful, and the Inhabitants raise five thousand Weight of Silk yearly, with which they pay their Tribute. They are vicious, and it is thought they lie under a Curse of being always destitute of Bread.

Near this Place is *Varvariso*, where there is a Church dedicated to St. *Marcella*, to whom they keep a solemn Feast, called *Panagirio*, and the Priests sing Praises to her all Night long.

Three Miles from this Village is the Monastery dedicated to St. *John*, and by it a Village called *Fitta*, near which is a great Village, where there is a running Water that drives eight Mills, which serve all the Villages thereabout, for the Peasants have Hand-mills, and their Wives grind their Corn. From hence you go to *Sieronda*, which is an ancient spacious Tower, inhabited by fifty Shepherds, who have a Church in it. A little farther is *Lecimiliona*, a Village of one hundred and fifty Inhabitants, and a Church. There begin the Mastick Trees. Two Miles from thence is *Elata*, the Inhabitants of which are famous for taming of Partridges.

10. At *Armolia*, which is a little farther, is made all the Earthen Ware used in the Isle. It lies in a Plain full of Mastick Trees, and contains five hundred Inhabitants and several Churches. Over-against this Village stands a Castle, called *Apollieno*, very strong to resist the *Corfairs*. It was built in 1440 by *Nicholas Justiniani*, and has a Church in the Midst of it. The Village *Mesta* exceeds all the rest in Strength and good Building, and contains three hundred Inhabitants and several Churches. By it are two Harbours, *Aidinamy*, and *San Nickita*, but this last is nearest *Pergi*, a great Village with a Tower, containing two thousand Inhabitants and thirty Churches. The rest of the Villages have the like Number of People and Churches, and in many of them are Castles and Towers, built to defend their Towns and Mastick-Trees from the Ravages of the *Turks* of *Natolia*, who crossing the Sea in Boats or Gallies, come and carry away both the People and their Goods; for which Reason they have built Towers all round the Island, at four Miles Distance one from another.

This whole Island is very subject to Earthquakes, yet would be very fertile were it not so stony, and had more Water, for it rains so little there, that every Spring the *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Latins*, and *Jews*, are forced to make Processions to obtain Rain. But notwithstanding the Hilliness and Driness of the Island, it has all Things necessary and good in sufficient Quantities. It yields Corn and good Wine, but being thick, some do not like it, because, they say, they must both eat and drink it. All Things are cheap there, and excellent Partridges may be had for little or Nothing, for they keep them tame like Turtles, and have Keepers, who drive them out in the Morning, and whistle them in at Night, which Call they always obey. The Inhabitants of this Island are the only People who have preserved their Liberty under the *Turks*, living as they think fit, and exercising their Religion with all imaginable Freedom, only paying them their settled Tribute.

They are generally *Christians*, many of them are *Papists*, and the rest of the *Greek Church*. They are apparelled after the Fashion of the *Genoese*, and have much of their Humour. They are in Countenance (that is, the Men) so ugly as would scare a Man, though their Persons are proper and well shap'd. They are very proud, yet their Gentlewomen go to Market to buy Provisions, and carry them openly in the Streets. They love the *Spaniards* better than the *French*, but had rather be under the Government of *Turks* than *Christians*.

The *Chiot*s make much Damask, Sattins, Taffata's, Fustians, and other Silk Stuffs, and drive a Trade in

many Places with their *Saiques*, viz. to *Grand Cairo*, and the Maritime Cities of *Barbary* and *Natolia*. Such as are not obliged to work or follow Business, sit whole Days under the Trees talking together. Learning is out of Use in this Country, but profound Ignorance reigns among them, yet they have naturally a sharp Wit, so that to avoid their Cheats in Dealing, a Man had need of all his Eyes about him. They are much given to Pleasures, and love excessive Drinking.

The Women are very beautiful and well shaped, their Faces are as white as the *Jasmin* they wear on their Head, and are very charming, but their Breasts are scorched with the Sun, which is much to be wonder'd at, because they take as little Care of their Faces as Breasts. They are always very neat in their Dress, wearing on their Heads very white Linen. They have a very brisk and lively Wit, which renders them the most talkative Women in the World, but are extremely vain in their Apparel, wearing the finest Stuffs they can get; but whereas they used formerly to load themselves with Rings and Jewels, especially upon the Vigil of St. *John's* Day, they now are forbidden it under the Pain of Excommunication by the Pope, because the *Captain-Basha*, seeing this Finery, imposed a Tax of 50,000 *Piastres* upon them, and made them pay it, so that they wear no Gold, Silver nor Jewels about them.

The *Chiot*s, both Men and Women, are much given to Dancing, and on *Sunday*, and *Holidays* they dance all Night promiscuously, both in the Cities and Villages, and a Stranger is freely allowed to put in with them. They are not at all jealous, but their Women and Maids are allowed to stand at their Doors to see and talk with such Men as pass by; and they will be as merry and familiar with Strangers, as if they had been acquainted with them all their Days.

11. Another Isle of the *Archipelago*, bordering upon *Asia*, is *Patino*, *Palmosa*, or *Patmora*, anciently *Pathmos*. It is but eighteen Miles in Compass, and has but one well built Town in it, with a Castle in the Middle of it, called, *The Monastery of St. John*, where 200 *Greek Monks* live. St. *John the Evangelist*, being banish'd into this Isle, is said to have wrote here his Revelations. They carefully keep in their Church a Body shut up in a Case, which they likewise say, is the Body of St. *John*, and shew a Grotto where they likewise say, St. *John* wrote the *Apocalypse*. There are about 3000 Souls in the Isle, who have much ado to live, the Isle being very dry and rocky. No *Turks* live in the Island, but they are all *Christians* who pay Tribute to the Grand Signior. The *Corfairs* put into this Island to careen, and take fresh Water.

The Isle of *Nixia*, anciently *Naxos*, is 120 Miles in Compass. It was subject to the *Sanudi* and *Somarigi*, *Venetian Dukes*, till the *Turks* took it under the Emperor *Solymus*, yet there are still in it several noble Families descended of those Dukes. The Land is fruitful in all Things, but especially the Valley of *Darmilla*, which has eighteen Villages: They feed many Cows, Sheep and Goats, and their Country yields many Vines, of which they make great Quantities of Wine and Cheese, which they send to *Alexandria*, *Smyrna*, and *Chio*. Near the Town by the Sea, are Salt-pits and a Pond, which they farm out to Fishermen. In the Marshes of the Valley of *Plietri*, they catch great Plenty of very fine Eels. Their Woods are full of Rocks and solitary Dens, where there lie large Stags. The Peasants catch Partridges by stalking with an *Afs*, train'd up to it, and they have Plenty.

There are many Monasteries in this Isle, and one of them, which is built in Form of a Tower, is very ancient. There is also another called *Fanaromeni*, dedicated to the Virgin, which has seventy Rooms, and a small Church, but the Monks are extremely ignorant, and by their Viciousness one would judge they served some *Unknown God*. By the Sea-side, over-against the Island of *Nicaria*, is to be seen upon a very steep and rugged Mountains some Ruins of the Castle of *Apollo*; and it is a Wonder how Stones could be got up so high to build it. By it are four little Towns well inhabited.

On

On the Hills hereabout many Goats feed upon an Herb, called *Ledum*, which leaves a kind of viscous Dew upon their Beards, that turns into a kind of Gum, of a very good Smell, called *Labdanum*, or *Laudanum*, and is gathered by cutting off their Beards.

As you go to the Town, there is a Castle upon a very high Hill, which commands the Villages of *Darmilla*. Near the Town, upon the Rock *Strongyle*, is the Palace or Temple of the God *Bacchus*, built of very white Marble, but the *Turks* and others carry it away daily for their private Uses. *Bacchus* may well have a Palace at *Naxos*, where they are so great Drunkards. The Tower and Ducal Palace are still in being in the Town. There are two Archbishops in it, a *Latin* and a *Greek*. The Cathedral Church of the *Latin* Archbishop, dedicated to the Assumption of our Lady, is very handsome, and very well served by six Canons and seven Priests, but their Revenue is inconsiderable, for the Archbishop has no more than twenty Piastras of yearly Rent. He hath a Seat in the Country with a Church, at a Place called *San Mamma*; the Church is paved and lined with Marble, but not kept in very good Repair.

In the Castle the Jesuits have a sorry House, and the *Greeks* a Chappel, that belonged formerly to the Dukes. Without the Town are *Recollets* and *Capuchins*, who make many Profelites to the *Roman* Faith. The Inhabitants have such violent Feuds among them, that sometimes they will not speak one to another as long as they live; but the Women are more obstinate than the Men, and are great Medlers in other People's Business. The Women wear so many Coats one over another, that they are scarce able to go, and their Shoes are so strait, that they can hardly get their Feet in, but they are said to be pretty honest and chaste. From the Sale of their Wine, Cheese and Silk they raise their Tribute.

12. About six Miles from *Nixia* is the Isle of *Paro*, anciently called *Paros*, which has three Castles, several Villages, and a good Harbour for all Sorts of Vessels, fair Churches, and many *Greek* Priests and Monks. The Antiquities of this Isle, consisting in Statutes, Marble Chests, &c. were carried away by an *English* Gentleman, who took all he could find here, as well as at *Delos*, now called *Sedrille*, where was Plenty of them; but now there remains but one Image of a Woman so large that it cannot be stirr'd. This Isle was famous for its noble Quarries of Marble, and for the Oracle of *Apollo* heretofore, but now it is the Resort of the *Corfairs*. The Island of *Mycone*, anciently *Myconus*, was once a well peopled Isle, but now is almost forsaken, because of the rigorous Persecution of the *Turks*. It is about three Miles round.

Over-against this Island is the Isle of *Tine*, formerly *Tenes*. It belongs to the *Venetians*, is well peopled, and hath a very strong Castle built upon a Rock, and the Houses stand one above another. It is forty Miles in Circuit, and yields Plenty of Provisions and Silk, but it is so overstock'd with People, that many are obliged to go out of it, and dwell at *Smyrna* and *Chio*. There is a *Latin* Bishop in it, and the Women are handsome and courteous enough.

13. *Nio*, called of old *Oliarus*, which was not long since inhabited by the *Albanians*, a barbarous and warlike People, who used to go all Night arm'd by the Sea-side, and is a fruitful Country in all Things, especially Woods of Oaks, and other Trees, which they cut down and sell to other Places. You sail then to *Santorini*, formerly called *Therassia*, which is thirty Miles about, and sixty from *Candy*, from which it may be seen. There are several Castles in this Isle, viz. That of *St. Nicholas*, the Houses of which are built upon a black Rock, that is frightful. A *Greek* Bishop has his Residence there, and about 500 Souls about him; but they live most of them in Caves made in Pumice-Stone, and it is pleasant to see them come out of the Ground like Coney, while others are plowing over their Heads.

Scaro, built on a frightful Mountain, so steep, that those who go up to it must climb with their Hands and Feet. It contains 150 Houses, and the *Greeks* have a Church there, in which are two Images of massy Silver, one of our Lady, and the other of *St. Michael*. It formerly belonged to the *Latins*, who have still a Bishop there.

Pirgo, near which is a Chapel of our Lady, with many large Caves, where about two hundred People live. Between these Castles lies an Hill, from whence one may see the whole Island, which is planted with Vines, but has no Trees, but Fig-trees and white Mulberries. They make more Wine than they spend, which their Neighbours fetch from them to carry to *Chio*, *Smyrna*, and other Places. They make all Sorts of Stuffs, and by the Sale of them they raise Money to pay their Tribute. In this Place are one thousand Souls, almost all *Greeks*, and the *Cadi* resides here. Their Houses are well built, all white, and wall'd in, so that each looks like a Tower.

At *Scaro* there is an House of the Nuns of *St. Dominick*, but their Lodgings are poor and Air bad: Their Church is kept in good Order, and served by a Chaplain. On *St. Stephen's* Hill, between *Pirgo* and *Nebria*, lived a Woman, that in ancient Times gave Victuals to all the People for a whole Year that a Plague and Famine lasted, and there are still remaining several Statues of her.

Crötiri, inhabited by an hundred and fifty Souls, and about it there are seven Villages, but ill peopled. The Inhabitants of the Isle live very meanly; their Bread, called *Schifes*, which is made of Wheat and Barley, is as black as Pitch, and so harsh that one can hardly swallow it; for they bake it but twice a Year, because they have no Wood but what they buy by the Pound from *Nio*. They have no Fish or Flesh, but feed only on Beans, Pease, Eggs, and Biscuit. They have little or no Fruit but Grapes, which are plentiful. They know not what Physicians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries are; they are stout, and can defend themselves from their Enemies with Stones. The People live a beastly Life, doing nothing but eat, drink, sleep, and play at Cards.

The Isle at a Distance looks like Hell, being on the Shores all black and scorched by an Eruption of Flames, which happened about an hundred and twenty Years ago. About the Year 1638, there was another Eruption of Fire in the Port, which, with an incredible Noise, was heard two hundred Miles from thence, cast vast Numbers of Pumice-stones out of the Sea, like Bullets, and so infected the Air, that many on the Isle died, and several lost their Sight, but recover'd it some Days after; and all the Silver turned red, even in Mens Chests and Pockets, but in a few Days came to itself. *Seneca* says, this Island stands upon Mines of Sulphur, from whence these Fires proceeded. It is said, that *Alexander* sounded the Sea in this Place, but could find no Bottom; yet a Ship may come to an Anchor at *Tiresia*, a little Isle by it.

14. The Isle of *Policandro* is eight Miles in Compass, and a pleasant Place: There is but one Village of one hundred Houses, and three hundred Souls in it: It has three well built Churches, and two Monasteries, one of Men and another of Women. The Convent of Monks is well situated, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin. It has a little Garden, and a Fountain of excellent Water in it. The Nuns observe no Rule, but live as Nature teaches them; their Church is dedicated to *St. John*, and a Monk says Mass in it on all *Sundays* and *Holydays*. The Castle stands upon a very high Hill, but all the Houses are ruinous, except a Chapel dedicated to *St. Michael* the Arch-angel. From it one may see all the Isles of the *Archipelago*. The Inhabitants of this Isle are honest, civil, and courteous People, especially the Women, who are very handsome. They have good Bread, Fowl, Sheep, and other Things necessary, but no Wine; so that what they drink comes from *Santorini*, which is but thirty Miles distant. They have no

Trades among them, because their Port, which is in different good, is infested by the *Mainots* and *Corfairs*, who lodge in a Church by the Sea-side.

15. The Island of *Milo*, which is so called from *Mylos*, a Mill, because they have many Wind-mills in it, and it affords Abundance of Mill-stones, is thirty-six Miles about. It is fruitful in all Things, and exports yearly to *Candia*, *Venice*, and other Places, between three and four hundred Tun of Wine. They have a Mine of Brimstone, and another of Pumice-stones, which they farm to one of the Inhabitants for one thousand five hundred Piaftres yearly. Three Miles from the Town are certain hot Baths of Sulphur, where diseased People from several Places wash and recover their Health. The Port is six Miles long, three over, and has a good Depth of Water, and two Miles from it, in a Grotto, is a Fountain of Luke-warm Water, which gives so much Heat, that an artificial Bath cannot make one sweat more. In this Isle is a Town where two thousand five hundred Souls live, and an old Castle inhabited by five hundred more. They have a *Latin* and *Greek* Bishop.

The *Latin* Cathedral is without the Town, dedicated to *St. Peter*, but without Ornaments; and the Bishop celebrates in a Chapel that joins to a *Greek* Church. He has many Tithes, of which he gives to the *Greek* Bishop one third Part. He has also many well built Churches in good Repair under him, and many Priests to officiate in them. Most of the Inhabitants are *Greeks*, who live much at their Ease, and are civil, but, as usual, wicked and perfidious. Their Women go in a very ugly Dress, speak very ill, and cannot pronounce the Letter *L*. They are, however, very charitable and kind to Strangers. They have all Necessaries for Life, but no Physicians or Chirurgeons. There are no *Turks* in the Isle, but it is govern'd by four Deputies of the Town.

Half a Mile from *Milo* is the Isle called *Chimolo*, or *Argentara*, which hath a good Harbour, and a Village containing about two hundred Souls, which was burnt by the *Corfairs* in 1638. These poor People live in great Misery.

16. The Isle of *Sifano*, or *Sifanto*, anciently *Sifanus*, is thirty-six Miles in Circuit, and has a Castle upon a Hill, with double Walls, inhabited by three thousand Souls; and there are no other Houses in all the Island, unless it be some Country-houses of private Men. The Harbour is not good. There is upon it a *Latin* Bishop, and a good *Greek* Vicar; but the Bishop's Chapel is little and very poor. There is also a Monastery of *Greeks* built upon a Hill. The Isle produces not Provisions enough for above two Months in the Year, and for the rest of the Year, the People fetch it in Barks from other Places. They are very great Rogues, but their Women are very honest, and go with their Faces cover'd. There are no Manufactories or Trades, but Weavers, Shoe-makes, Joiners, and such-like.

The Isle of *Thermia*, so called from the *Therma*, or hot Springs in it, which give a great Relief to sick Persons, is thirty-six Miles in Circuit. The Town contains about three hundred Houses, inhabited by about two thousand Souls. The *Greeks* have fifteen Churches in it, and a Bishop, who resides six Months here, and as many at *Zia*. There is also a Castle and a pretty Village, called *Mesi*. The Isle is almost all plain, has few Trees, yet is fruitful, and abundant in all Things. The Inhabitants are reputed to be honest People, and trade in Stuffs, Threads, and other Commodities, raising thereby Money to pay their Tribute. The *Venetian* Corn only goes in this Isle, as it doth in all the others, except *Naxia*, *Andro*, and *Scyra*, where *Turkish* Money goes. Their Women are virtuous, handsome, and wear a neat Dress. The People live pretty well there, and a *Cadi* commands, with four Procurators, chosen out of the Citizens of the Town.

17. *Ajora* is an Isle eighteen Miles about, and depends on the Isle of *Scyra*, who keep some Shepherds there to feed their Sheep. There are four Churches in it, but Divine Service is perform'd in them at *Easter* only, when the Shepherds communicate. The *Cor-*

fairs hinder its being cultivated, because they take away the Oxen, and sometimes the Sheep.

The Isle of *Scyra*, which in the vulgar *Greek* signifies *Signora*, or Mistress, is so called, because it stands in the Midst of the other Isles, and by its Height commands them all. It is thirty-six Miles in Compass, and, having a dry Soil, but few Trees, abounds with Plenty of Provisions, as Flesh, Fish, and Venison. The Water is good. They have no Villages of Note, but only some scattering Houses up and down in the Country. The People are much addicted to Devotion, and especially the Women, who are very silly. There is much Hatred and Envy always amongst them, by reason of the Oppression they suffer from the *Turks*, and Oppression of the common Poverty. They are almost all *Latins*, and have several Churches. The Cathedral stands at the upper End of the Town, and is dedicated to *St. George*, and served by several Priests, who have a Bishop for their Superior, and he lives on his Revenue and Tithes. The *Capuchins* are diligent in Preaching, Catechizing, and hearing Confessions, by which they do much Good.

18. From *Chio* Mr. Thevenot sailed into *Egypt*, and in his Passage, being left before the Isle of *Samos*, he took a View of it. It is a very barren Country, though famous for having been the Birth-place of *Pythagoras*, *Polycrates*, and the *Sibyl*. It is eighty Miles in Circuit. Over-against *Samos*, and pretty near it, is the Isle of *Nicaria*, anciently called *Icaria*, from *Icarus* the Son of *Dædalus*. It is of a long Figure, and the Land is very dry, and full of Rocks, in which are the Houses of the Inhabitants, who are in all about three thousand Souls, very poor and ill clad.

They are much addicted to Swimming and Fishing up Sponges and Wrecks, and the richest Men, or *Papa's* in the Isle, give their Daughters to the best Swimmer, which is tried before the Damfel and her Father. He that can remain longest under Water wins the Maid. They pay the Grand Signior Tribute in Sponges. They have Vineyards among the Rocks here and there, and they make of the Grapes a Sort of white Wine, as clear as Water, which passes by Urine as soon as it is drunk. The Wine, as also Wax and Honey, they trade with to *Chio*. The Women are Mistresses there, and as soon as the Husband is arrived from any Place, the Wife goes to the Sea-side, and takes the Oars, and carries them Home, after which the Husband can dispose of Nothing without her Leave. The Inhabitants are well shaped and strong. The old *Greek* Emperors of *Constantinople* banish'd Persons of Quality that had offended them into this Isle.

19. Leaving *Samos*, he came to the Isle of *Stanchio*, otherwise call'd *Isola Longa*, ninety Miles distant from it. It was anciently call'd *Coos*, is seventy Miles in Circuit, and very fruitful, especially in good Wine. On the Port by the Sea-side is a pretty good Castle, where the *Turks* keep Garrison. The Town lies behind it, where there is a prodigious Tree of that vast Extent, as to cover 2000 Men easily, for the Branches being supported with many Stones and wooden Pillars; there are several Barbers Shops, Coffee-houses, and such like Places, besides Benches to sit on under it. It was anciently famous for the Temple of *Æsculapius*, and the Births of *Hippocrates* the Prince of Physicians, and *Apelles* the Prince of Painters. The Knights of *Malta* held it, when they were Masters of *Rhodes*, and there are still many Monuments remaining in it. Strangers are here more regarded by the Women, than is grateful to their Husbands.

From hence he sailed to the Castle of *Bodrou*, which lies over-against *Stanchio* at twelve Miles distance. There is a good Port, but so shut up with Dirt, that great Ships can't get into it. You enter this Castle through seven Gates, over which are several Coats of Arms, which belonged to the Knights of *Rhodes*, that commanded there, for in some of them are Crosses of *Malta*. There is above 300 of these Escutcheons. Beyond the sixth Gate is a Platform, where there are six Cannon pointed toward the Sea. The last Gate is made of Iron, and there stands a Guard of fifteen or twenty Men continually.

continually. The Castle is strong, and the Walls high, both built of a Sort of Stone, which great Guns cannot hurt. The Sea beats upon one Side of it, which has Port-holes, with great Guns mounted, which can easily hinder Ships from approaching it. It is also very strong towards the Land, the Walls being as sound as if they were lately built. No Horse can approach it, and yet it may be easily taken, by cutting off the Water that is brought to it by an Aqueduct. The Houses in it are ruinous, and there are many Pieces of Pillars found among them. The Country about it is fruitful in Grapes, Figs, and such like Fruits.

20. From *Bodrou* he sailed to *Rhodes*, which is 100 Miles from *Stanchio*. The Isle of *Rhodes* hath *Lycia* on the North, being parted from it by the Sea, which is twenty Miles broad, the Isle of *Cyprus* on the East, *Candia* on the West, and *Ægypt* on the South. It is 100 Miles in Circuit, lying in a temperate Climate. The Soil is fruitful, and hath several Villages in it well inhabited, besides a small City which is strong. This Island has been under the *Greeks*, *Saracens*, who lost it to the Knights Hospitallers of *Jerusalem* in 1309, who held it 200 Years, and now is in the Hands of the *Turks*, who under *Solyman II.* took it in 1522. by Composition, and that more thro' the Treachery of *Andrea d'Amaral*, Chancellor of the Order (who being angry that he was not chosen great Master at the last Election, inform'd the *Turks* of their Weakness, by a Letter shot to them on an Arrow) than by Force, though his Army consisted of 200000 Men.

The Town hath two Harbours, of which the Great Port, being square and spacious enough, is not very safe, when the Wind blows from the E. N. E. or S. E. On the Right Hand at the Entry of this Port is a new Tower, built by the *Turks*, in a Place where the old Tower of *St. Nicholas* stood. It is well furnished with Cannon, hath a Bastion behind, and Curtine reaching to the Walls of the Town; over against this Tower stands the Castle of *St. Angelo*, but somewhat ruinous.

This Castle and Tower were built in the Place where stood the Feet of the great *Colossus*, one of the seven Wonders of the World, between the Legs of which a Ship under Sail might pass. It represented the Sun, and was cast by *Chares* the *Lyndian*. It was seventy Cubits high, strided fifty Fathom, and carried a Light-house in one Hand. It was overthrown by an Earthquake, and being broke to Pieces by the *Saracens*, was sold to a *Jew*, who loaded 900 Camels with the Metal, and carried it to *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord, 954, and 1461 Years after it was made. The Port of the Galleys, which is covered by the Castle of *St. Erme*, is a good Harbour, and able to contain many Galleys, but the Mouth of it is so narrow, that one Galley only can enter at a Time. It looks to the E. N. E. and is every Night shut with a Chain. A little up-land above the Port is a Burying-place, and in it fifteen or twenty Domes of Free Stone well built, and supported most of them by four Arches. These are the Sepulchres of the *Beys*, or other Persons of Quality in *Rhodes*, who have been killed in the Wars. On the Side of this Port is a Piazza with some Trees and a Fountain in it, and at the Bottom of it the Arsenal, where the Galleys and Saiques are built. The Town is small, but strong, having high and well built Walls, planted with Faucons on the Top, and below there are Port-holes for great Cannon.

It hath three Gates, one to the Sea, where Corn is sold, and two to the Land-side. Over the Water-Gate is set up the Dragon's Head, which was thirty three Feet long, wasted all the Country round, and was slain by *Deogate de Gozon*, one of the Knights of *St. John*. The Streets of the Town are pretty broad, all paved with little Stones, and for the most part covered with Pent-houses on each Side. There are several fair Buildings in it. *St. John's* Church is still standing, but is turned into a Mosque. Over the Gate in a Nich, which hath a round Cover, are the Figures of our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, and *St. John* holding the Cross, cut in *Basse Reliefe*. No Christian is now suffered to go into it. The Street of the Knights lay just as you

come out of the Church, as the Arms upon the Houses shew; but now *Rhodes* is inhabited only by *Turks* and *Jews*, for though the *Christians* are permitted to keep Shops in Town in the Day-time, yet in the Night they must retire to the Villages in the Country about it. *Lindo*, the Country of *Chares*, who made the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, is a little Rock at the Point of the Isle of *Rhodes*, sixty Miles from the Town. It has a small Town on it, with a very good Fort.

21. At the Bottom of the *Mediterranean*, lies the noble Island of *Cyprus*, famous in all Ages for the Fertility of its Soil, the Excellence of its Climate, and the Advantage of its Situation. It has been known in different Ages of the World, by very different Names, and some of these are such, that it would be a difficult Thing to point out clearly the Authorities upon which they are founded. In the Holy Scripture it is called *Kittim*, from *Kittim* the Son of *Javan*, the Son of *Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*, who first possessed it; in succeeding Times it was called *Ceraftis*, because of the many Promontories it thrusts into the Sea like Horns; *Maccaria*, because of the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and Happiness of the Climate; *Asperia* from the Roughness of the Soil; *Collinia* from its numerous Hills; *Arosa*, because of the Mines of Copper or Brass, which were first said to be found there; *Amathusia*, *Paphia*, *Salamina*, *Lapithia*, from the Towns of *Amathus*, *Papho*, *Salamine*, and *Lapithus*. At length it was called *Cyprus*, but from whence is not very clear; some say from its Copper Mines, others from *Cypress* Trees, which were in a Manner peculiar to it.

In ancient Times it was consecrated to *Venus*, who is filed by the Poets, the *Cyprian* Goddess, and the Reason of this seems to have been from the Wantonness of its Inhabitants, as this again may be derived from the Excellence of its Climate, and from the Fertility of the Country. The longest Day is about fourteen Hours and a half, their Weather in Summer is prodigiously hot, so that sometimes their Brooks, and even their Rivers have been dried up; and in the Reign of *Constantine* the Great, when they had no Rain for thirty six Years, it was in a great Measure deserted, but such Accidents, or rather such Judgments happen seldom, and therefore ought not to be mentioned as Objections to the general Repute this Country has been in for its great Fruitfulness. It was anciently governed by Kings, of whom there were nine when *Cyrus* reduced it; but it seems they remain Tributaries, and were not stripped of their Dominions; for long after this, we find the *Greek* Orator *Isocrates*, addressing two of his Orations to two of the *Cyprian* Monarchs; and in the Time of *Alexander* the Great, the King of *Citium* is recorded to have presented him a most excellent Sword, which he used afterwards during his Life.

Upon the Division of his Empire, *Cyprus* fell under the Dominion of *Ptolemy*, and was governed sometimes as a Province, sometimes as a separate Principality by that Family, till conquered by *Portius Cato* for the *Romans*, who carried from thence seven thousand Talents, which was more than ever came into the *Roman* Treasury by any former Conquest. After the Division of the *Roman* Empire, it belonged to the *Greeks*, from whom it was taken by the *Saracens*, recovered from them, and governed by Dukes or Princes. In 1191, it was conquered by our King *Richard I.* who first mortgaged it to the Knights of *Rhodes*, and then gave it to *Guy of Lusignan*, whose Family held it for many Generations.

Under these Princes it was divided into twelve Counties, containing forty eight great Cities, and upwards of eight hundred Villages. *Charlotta*, the last Heiress of that Family, was driven out by *James II.* her Bastard Brother, who married *Catharine Cornaro*, of a noble *Venetian* Family, adopted Daughter of the Republick, to whom she bequeathed this Kingdom, to which, however, her Right was but indifferent. The *Venetians* came into Possession in 1473, and held it almost an hundred Years; but at last it was taken from them by *Solyman II.* Emperor of the *Turks*, after a long and glorious Defence, and with Circumstances of most infamous

famous Cruelty and Treachery on the Part of the *Turks*, who have kept it ever since.

It abounds with Wine, Oyl, Corn, Sugar, Cotton, Honey, Wool, Turpentine, Alom, Verdigrease, all Sorts of Metals, and most excellent Salt. This Island affords several good Ports, all the Materials requisite for building of Ships, all the Commodities that can be desired for carrying on a great Trade; and, if it were under a right Government for one Century, might be able to defend itself against all its Neighbours. At present it is thinly peopled, and not half cultivated. A *Turkish* Basha destroy'd all the Sugar Canes, to prevent the *Cypriots* from having too much Wealth; an Evil which there is now no Reason to fear.

In a Word, it is at this Day the clearest Proof that can be given, how much a bad Government can defeat all the kind Intentions of Nature; for in Spite of all the Advantages that a Country can possibly have, there never was a more dismal or desolate Place than this Island is at this Day, from having Millions of People, there are now in it scarce thirty thousand; from a Climate that produced a perpetual Spring, it is become both unwholsome and unpleasant; from Cities and Towns that touched each other, there are now only Villages and Heaps of Ruins; from Abundance of all Things, the Inhabitants are reduced to Indigence and Starving; so that except to considerate and intelligent Persons, the Face of the modern *Cyprus* refutes all that ancient Authors have said in its Favour. Such are the Effects of a false Religion and tyrannical Government.

22. It would be inexcusable in speaking of these Islands, to suffer that which makes the greatest Figure in History, to remain hidden and out of the Reader's View; I mean the Island of *Candia*, so long the Theatre of War between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*. The Inhabitants of this Island are allowed to be sensible, as well as brave and hardy; whereas the *Sciotes*, or Inhabitants of the Island of *Scio*, are commonly called *Prassinos* by the *Turks*, which is as much as to say *Green*. The Reason of this is, that a *Turkish* Basha, much esteemed for his Wisdom, observing the Manners of the Inhabitants of that Island, said, that a wise *Sciot* and a green *Horse* were Rarities equally hard to be met with. By this unlucky Sarcasm he stamped the Name of *Prassinos* upon this whole Nation. But for the *Candiots*, though the *Turks* hate them, yet they cannot help owning, that they have both Courage and Understanding, of both which they gave ample Testimony in the Course of the long War before-mentioned.

Among others who have recorded the Events of that famous Dispute, our Countryman Mr. *Bernard Randolph*, is thought to have done it with as much Fidelity as any. He spent upwards of twenty Years not only in the *Levant*, but amongst these Islands; and upon his Return home, he composed a Description of them, which was printed in a thin Volume in *Quarto* in 1687, at the Theatre in *Oxford*. It appears from thence, that he was a plain well-meaning Man, more concerned about Matter of Fact, than the Style or Manner of telling his Story: What he related was chiefly from his own Knowledge, which gives great Credit to his Accounts, and in some Measure excuses the Roughness of his Language, and his Writing without any Method. It appears from the Works of the judicious Sir *George Wheeler*, that Mr. *Randolph's* Book was printing, when he was writing his Travels; and for this Reason that worthy Gentleman speaks very respectfully of that Performance, and refers his Reader to it, as a Kind of Supplement to his own: Yet in most Parts of his Book Mr. *Randolph* is wonderfully concise, and tells us more or less of a Place, not in Proportion to its Size, Situation, or Importance, but as he was little or much acquainted with it himself. Of this Island, however, he speaks copiously enough, and has thrown together, in his Description, the principal Actions in that War, which cost the Grand Signior *Mahomet IV.* so much Trouble, and which broke the Force, and exhausted the Treasure of the *Venetians* to such a Degree, that they have never been able to recover. We will give the Reader, therefore, his Account in his own Words.

The Island of *Candia*, (which in old Time was, and also now is by the *Turks* called *Crete*) hath followed, for the most Part, that of the Empire of *Greece*, and is now subjected to the Tyranny of the *Turks*, after a War for above twenty seven Years; in which Time the *Venetians* did bravely, and with unparallel'd Courage, defend the City of *Candia* to the last Extremity. After a close Siege for near two Years Continuance, the Vizier there in Person, and with him the best of all the *Ottoman* Forces, they were forced to surrender, yet upon the most honourable Terms that themselves could propose, carrying away with them not only their Cannon and all other Ammunition, but also the Bells which were in the Steeples, and whatever else they thought worth their Labour. The Vizier was so much overjoyed that the City was surrendered to him, that he appointed several of the *Turkish* Boats to assist the *Venetians*, if they should have Occasion for their Help in carrying their Goods to the Ships. He was so observing of his Word on the Cessation, that he caused two *Janizaries* to be put to Death for attempting to force their Way into the City.

All *Europe* has heard of this great Siege, how many thousand Bombs were cast into the City; how many Mines and Fornellos were blown up; and how many bold Assaults the *Turks* made. They had at last worked themselves so near the Walls, that it was impossible for the Besieged to make use of any of their great Guns; for no sooner could a Man appear to level a Gun, but there was a Shower of Bullets and Arrows; so that the *Turks* would often attempt to undermine, and the *Venetians* did countermine them; and when they met under Ground, they fought most desperately. The *Venetians* have an Engine which they call *Trombo di Fuoco*, it is as long as a half Pike, the Staff bigger; at the End are two Irons about two Foot long, in the Form of a Fork, in which is fastened a Trunk made of Iron, and some are of Wood; In it are five Charges, each firing severally and at a certain Time, and carry several Bullets to do Execution as far as a Pistol; they set Fire to it at the Fore-part, and have a Touch to reach from one Chamber to the other.

Another Invention they had to fish up the *Turks* when they attempted to undermine their Walls; they had Hooks made in the Form of a Boat's Grappling, the Points sharp, fastened to a Rope, and four or five Foot of Chain at the End; these Hooks they often cast over the Walls amongst the *Turks*, and seldom fail'd to bring up a *Turk*, some fastened by the Cloaths, others by the Body. I have heard some of the Officers say they have taken several in a Night, for when the Hook was fastened, they gave them not Time to unhook themselves, but had them soon over the Walls. At the *Greeks* leaving *Candia*, there happened a most sad Accident, a new Ship, called *La Fregatta Galliera*, or the *Gally Frigat*, was pitch'd upon for transporting most of the Principal of the Gentry, and the greatest Part of the Riches of the Citizens; there was also (besides what were mounted) fifty great Brass Guns; the Passengers were between two hundred and fifty and three hundred, besides two hundred Mariners and upwards. Being between an Island called *Obo* and the Port of *Cerigo*, the Ship opened, and not a Man was saved. The rest of the Fleet got well, some to *Zant*, others to *Ceſſalonia*, *Corfu*, and *Venice*, landing the *Greeks* as they had a Fancy to the Place which they came to, or as they found Friends. Thus they left their Estates to the Enemy, and not above five or six *Greeks* remained, who being in Years, and sickly withal, desired Leave of the General that they might end their Days there. In the Articles of Peace it was concluded, that the *Venetians* should keep Possession of three small Islets which are close to the Island of *Candia*, and have each a very strong Castle. The *Turks* laughed at their Proposals, saying, *We have the Hen, and the Chickens will follow of Course.*

This Island had twenty Cities, and above one thousand Towns, Villages, and large Monasteries; now there is not above four Cities and three hundred Towns and Villages. To give you an Account of them, I will begin with the Eastern Part. This was formerly a Province

vince called *Sittia*; the head City had the same Name, standing in a Bay at the North East Part of the Island on the West Side, extending from the North to the Bottom of the Bay Southerly, above a Mile in Length. The Castle stood on a rising Ground to the North West of the Town, built of a coarse Marble Stone. The *Venetians* finding the Place was not tenable, caused several Mines to be made, by which they destroy'd the Castle and Town, and so went to *Candia*. By the Ruins it may be seen, the Builders had no Thoughts so soon to have left them. Most of the Walls are entire, and some have lower Rooms with Beams, which are patch'd up, and serve for Store-houses to put Corn in, when any Ship comes to lade. In the Year 1680, I was here, and loaded a Settee of *Provence*, Capt. *Steppe Bremon*, who belonged to *Cassis*, about ten Miles from *Marseilles*. The Wheat was the *Basha's* own, which he sold at three Timins a Killoe, (*i. e.* about 14 *d.* the Bushel.) The *Turk*, who came with me from *Candia*, was an ordinary Servant; but as we travelled the Road, and when we came hither, he would domineer at a strange Rate. Here are no Inhabitants nearer than twelve Miles, at a small Village called *Alona*, saving at a small House and Chapel, which is a *Metoiki*, (or Chapel of Ease to a Monastery up in the Mountains) about a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea: Amongst others, the *Greek Priests* brought their Tenth to the *Turks*: They all desire to have a Seaman to measure their Corn, rather than the *Turks*; for they will stir the Corn about with their Hands, and press it down: But the Master was content to take it with a just Measure, and favour'd the poor *Greeks* what he could.

At *Alona* resides the *Basha's* Lieutenant, who has one hundred *Spahi's* to guard the Coast from Privateers, but more to gather in the Tenth. The *Greeks* maintain them at their own Charge. To the Eastward of *Sittia*, on a Point of Land, is a Monastery dedicated to *St. Isidore*, to which belongs a great Revenue; it maintains about forty Calojeros. There are several rich Lamps, and other Ornaments of Silver and Gold. Here they shew you the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, which, they say, was brought by Angels from *Stancoi*, and was found in a Cave of that Mountain. They have Lands on the Island of *Rhodes*, where they have a *Metoiki* and several Calojeroes to gather in the Crops of Corn, Oil, and Wine; the *Turks* allowing them to enjoy it, calling it *Vacofa*, or Possessions for God's Use; yet they will receive their Tenth from it. The *Gomina* or Overseer of this Monastery had made his Escape, taking with him above two thousand Pieces of Eight in ready Money and Plate; but being pursued, he was taken at *Scarpante*, an Island lying in the mid Way between *Candia* and *Rhodes*, and by the *Basha's* Order put to Death.

To the South of *Alona*, about ten Miles, is a very high Mountain, called by the *Turks*, *Basha Dogg*; from it may be seen the Sea to East, West, North and South. Here are the Ruins of a Castle, called formerly *Barozza*, because it was built by a Gentleman of that Name: It is square, about sixty Foot high, with a Tarazzo and Battlements on the Top; each square is about forty Foot. The Wall is very thick, the Door about ten Foot from the Ground, having a dry Ditch about it. Of these there are several about the Island, like the old built Castles that are still in *Ireland*: For formerly the *Candiots* used to war amongst themselves; but now all such Quarrels are ended by their Subjection to a common Master.

The City of *Girapetra* is in the South Part of the Island, having no secure Port, but an open Road, where Vessels in the Summer Time may lie with Security from the Weather, but not from Privateers, for while I was there, they carried away a Saïke which came from *Alexandria*. The Town is walled round, and hath a small Castle, which lies higher than the Town. Here is constantly a Garrison of two hundred *Janizaries*, besides there are several *Turks* who are Merchants, so that in all they can raise five hundred fighting Men. There is about it a very fine Plain full of Olive-trees, and some very pleasant Gardens. Their Houses are well built of

good Stone, the Rooms very lofty, but few Houses above two Stories high. In the Year 1675, one Monsieur *Crevellier*, a famous Privateer, landed five hundred Men in the Bay of *Spina Longa*; travelling in the Night, he came next Morning, just at the Dawning of the Day, and found the *Turks* at their *Sabbah Namaz*, or Morning Prayer, so he made himself Master of the Town, carrying away two hundred Slaves, nailing up the Guns which were in the Castle. The *Turks* who were at the South Part of the Town, betook themselves to some small Vessels, for they had not the Heart to return home to fetch their Arms. Monsieur *Crevellier*, to retreat with this great Prize, resolved to kill what Horses he found, securing twenty for himself and Officers to ride on and form the Rear.

This Enterprize was effected in less than six Hours after they entered the Town, for they did not make any Stay to ransack the Houses. After they were departed, about three hundred Men, *Turks* and *Greeks*, were got together, and marched a Mile or two out of Town, and had not *Crevellier* killed the Horses, he could never have got out of the Island. It is very strange, that so many Men could come with that Secrecy as not to be discovered, and that the Hearts of those *Turks* should be so sunk. Immediately they dispatched Expresses to the City of *Candia*, writing to the *Basha*, that about fifteen hundred *Christians* had landed, and carried away two hundred Prisoners, most of them Men of the Garrison. The *Basha* asked the Messenger, if the rest of the Inhabitants were asleep, or dead? No, says the Messenger, but their Hearts were, being all surprized, some in their Mosques, and some in the Coffee-houses, and not a Man that had his Senses; most of the Horses also being killed. The *Basha* asked him, how he escaped? He answered him, that he had the Wit to hide himself, as a great many others did. There were three Gallies in the Mole of *Candia*, under the Command of one *Bobba Hassan*, who were sent to look after *Crevellier*, but to no Purpose, for they returned without seeing him.

Since this there is an Order, that the Gates shall be shut an Hour before Sun-set, and not opened till an Hour after Morning Prayers; and now there are several Guards on the Mountains; besides, the *Basha* of *Candia* has threatened the *Providitore* at *Spina Longa* to complain to *Venice*, if he suffer any Privateers to come into that Bay; so as for some Years they have attempted nothing. The Country towards the South is not so mountainous as in the North and North-West Parts; having several large and pleasant Plains, which have many Ruins of fine Towns. To the East of *Girapetra*, about ten Miles, I went to see a Cave under the Mountain of *Tro*, as they now call it, where, they say, *St. Paul* preached. It is a large Chapel, having twelve Pillars, all cut out of the Rock by the Christians in the Night-time. Some say, but without Grounds, it was finished in less than a Month. Close by is a Fountain, where, they say, he used to baptize; and it is now called *St. Paul's Fountain*; the Water thereof is very good to cure such as have sore Eyes. From *Girapetra* to *Bonifacia* is 14 Hours Riding, most in Plains, very delightful, there being very high Mountains to the North, with most pleasant Valleys between, and Abundance of *Cypress Trees*. *Bonifacia* stands on a rising Ground, having only the Walls of a Castle.

The Inhabitants are most of them *Greeks*, very poor; here is a Metropolitan who pretends to be next to the Archbishop of *Candia*. There are two *Italian Churches*, the Doors of which are now made up with Walls to keep Cattle from going in. The *Greeks* have four small Churches, but one would contain more than all the Inhabitants. They have now new-nam'd the Place, calling it, *Malafacia*, instead of *Bonifacio* (good Face) it being so much alter'd from what it was in former Time. From *Bonifacio* to the *Labyrinth* is about ten Miles, or three Hours riding, West, most a Plain. Several Men have several Opinions, about this Building (if I may call it so.) But one Signior *Venetando*, who was born in a neighbouring Village, gives this Account, that a certain King of this Island had so great a Hatred for all Women, that he order'd this Place for his Court, and at

last lived so privately, that he would not suffer any to come to him, but such as administered Affairs, and ruled in his Stead; he would seldom come out, but to worship at a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, which stood close by it. In this *Labyrinth* he ended his Days, and had a famous Tomb built for him, the Ruins of which they shew you.

The *Labyrinth* is about two Miles about, being so covered on the Top with Earth, as it seems to be all firm Land; we entered it with two Torches and Candles in Lanthorns, having a Line to direct us out again. The Way is plain under Foot, and arch'd over Head, some Arches being about ten Foot high, some more, some less, with several Windings. I made it my Business to observe, if there was any Thing of a Building in the Pillars or Sides, but found it mostly an entire Stone, which they told me so well cemented together, that indeed it appeared so. Here are a great many small Vaults, about four Foot long, two broad, and two over, which were for Burying-places. There are Abundance of Batts which hang in Clusters, some are larger than ordinary. We endeavoured to fright them, scorching their Wings, by which we found there was Life in them; their Sleep is observed to be much more sound with a North-Wind, than with a South-Wind; as their Spring comes on, they leave this their Palace. We had almost ended our Line, being about 100 Pikes, which is about eighty Yards, and then returned out, being a good Hour in the *Labyrinth*. The Damps are very great, against Rain it is always dropping, but very dry with Northerly Winds. At the End is a Lake, and they tell you, that some who have attempted to go to, have been drawn into it. Our Curiosity did not invite us to see it, for though it were not true, as in Probability it is not, the noisome Smells are enough to stifle one.

To the South, and close by, is a small Village with two Churches, which seem to have been anciently Temples. To the South-West, about ten Miles distant, is that famous and great Mountain, call'd *Pfilla Vuona*, formerly Mount *Ida*; at four of the Clock it casts a Shadow on the *Labyrinth*. On it are many pleasant Monasteries, with Groves of Cypress-trees, and Abundance of Fountains. Some say the Coast of *Barbary* may be seen from the Top. From the *Labyrinth* to *Candia*, is about ten Hours riding, most in a Plain, till within ten Miles of the City. On the right Hand, about a Mile from the Road, is a most stately Monastery, dedicated to our blessed Saviour, which was built by Order of the Emperor *Constantine* the Great. It hath always been continued to the *Greeks*, and kept its Splendor till the late War, when it was much defaced.

There are in this Island Abundance of Monasteries, but very poor, and some are shut up for Want of Monks. *Candia Novo* is about six Miles from the City of *Candia*, Southward, being a strong Castle, having Mount *Jove* to the West. Here the *Turks* kept their Treasure and Ammunition in the Siege of *Candia*. It is seated very pleasantly on a rising Ground, giving a Prospect to the Sea. It is now chiefly inhabited by *Greeks*; the Castle has a Garrison of *Turks*, which the *Basha* intended to bring to *Candia*, and demolish the Castle, having writ to the Porte about it, but he had no Answer. *Candia* so famous, and generally known for the brave Defence it made against the *Turks*, appears by the Ruins, to have been one of the best Cities in the Mid-land Seas. It is seated on the Northside of the Island, almost Mid-way, between *Canea* and *Sittia*, in a pleasant Bay, having an artificial Port secured from the North-wind by a Mole about 200 Yards long, with a strong and large Castle at the Head, called *Castel del Molo*, having twenty great Guns. From the South is a low Point of Land, which runs into the Sea, North, that secures it from the Easterly Winds, and makes the Entrance not above thirty Yards wide; upon this Point of Land, the *Turks* have built a cover'd Way, with a very thick Wall, full of Holes for small Shot, strongly arch'd over, reaching from the Arsenal to the Entrance into the Port, where is a small Fort, with four great Guns, also very strongly arch'd over, so as no Bomb can deface it. At the Right-hand at coming out

of the Gate to the Mole, is a new Fort, built with four very great Guns, which lie level with the Water; over them are eight smaller Guns. This Fort is opposite to the Mouth of the Port, and is arch'd over to prevent Danger from Bombs or Wild-fire.

On the Mole are several great Guns, planted with Arches over them. To the East of the Arsenal is the old Castle, call'd *La Battaria del Arsenal*, which is rebuilt with a Ditch round it to bring in the Sea, most cut out of a firm Rock. The Port is almost round, and secure against any Wind for Galleys and smaller Vessels, but there is not Water enough for Ships of any considerable Bigness. It is filled very much with the Rubbish that the Rains carried into it from the City, and would certainly have been choak'd up in a few Years, had it not been for a *French* Merchant, one *Monsieur Dodei*, who to ingratiate himself with the *Basha*, caused an Engine to be brought from *Marseilles* to cleanse it. There are the Ruins of twelve Arches of the *Arsenal*, and about six Arches are yet entire, but they use them only to work in when the Gallies are there; no Gallies having been built here.

The City is not repaired towards the Land, where the Walls are so much shaken, that it will require a great deal of Time and Cost to fortify them. From the Port, towards the West upon the Wall, are fifty large Guns planted. The Fort of *St. Andrea*, at the Northwest of the City, is well repaired, having a double Wall toward the Sea. In all there are about 400 Guns planted on the Walls and Outworks, which are six Miles in Circumference. The Gates of *Candia* are the best I ever saw, the Arch or Gatehouse being about 100 Yards long; and the Gates ten broad; the Arch is all built of firm Stone. It will take up three Hours to walk round the Outworks; there are several Mines which were never blown up; every Mine had a distinct Name. I was in one Mine, which was above a Mile in Length, being above six Foot high, and three broad. All the Plain for above two Miles without the Walls, is like a new plow'd Field, where you cannot walk, but must see Pieces of dead Men's Bones. None are permitted to walk round the Works, but such as have a License, and a *Janizary* with them.

The *Turks* take a Delight to give an Account of the Strength of the Place, and especially will shew you a small Cave or Arch, where the *Venetian* General used to sleep, (as they tell you) to secure himself from the Bombs. Not above one eighth Part of the Houses that formerly were, are now inhabited, very few being left intire; nor do the *Turks* repair any but those where they dwell; the chief Mosque is well repaired; it was formerly a Church dedicated to *St. Mark*, and stands to the East of the great Piazza, to the South of it are part of the Walls of old *Candia*, close to which are built up a Row of Houses, two Stories high, for the *Janizaries*.

The *Basha's* Palace is a little below the great Mosque, on the other Side of the Way; opposite to it is the great Hall, formerly called, *La Sala di Consiglio*, which is a very stately Building; of white Marble, with several Works in *Basso Relievo* to the South East of it; stands the Church of *St. Francisco*, with an entire Cloister, which is now a Mosque. The Street from the Mole to the chief Piazza is in good Repair, being broad, and paved with large even Stones; the Houses are also well inhabited, but that part towards the West, is a Heap of Ruins, among which live the *Jews*, who have very large Houses; but some of their upper Rooms have no other Shelter from the Weather, but a few Matts made fast upon Poles. The Beams of the old Houses are bought up and carried to *Venice*, *Zant*, and other Places, and being made of *Cypress* Wood, they serve to make Chests and Cabinets, many of which have been brought to *England*. The Number of the Inhabitants of the City is not reckoned to be above 10,000, including *Greeks*. There is a continual Garrison of 2000 *Janizaries*, besides the *Basha's* Guards. Since the taking the Place, they have granted Liberty to all that will come to inhabit there, but all their Encouragement cannot bring the *Candiot*es to dwell there. Formerly the Plain was full of Olive-trees, with most beautiful Pleasure-Houses

Houses and Gardens. Now nothing but Ruins are to be seen.

The City stands on a rising Ground from the Sea, and the Houses were so built with Terrasses, that most from their Tops could have a Sight of the Sea. From *Candia* to *Retimo* is about twelve Hours Riding. The City stands on a Point of Land very pleasantly, having a Port to the East, which is almost choak'd up, so as no Galley can get over the Bar, being laden, but Brigantines and smaller Vessels are very secure against all Winds. Towards the Sea are no Walls, the Rocks there fortifying the Place, so that no Enemy can come but by Land. This Place was the first the *Turks* made themselves Masters of, putting all to the Sword, to strike the greater Terror into the rest of the Island. Since they possessed it, they have built three new Forts towards the Sea, and a Wall, with a dry Ditch to Landward.

It is now chiefly inhabited by *Turks*, who trade to *Constantinople* considerably. The Houses are here entire, according to the *Venetian* Manner of Building. There are some *Greeks* that dwell in the City, but they have a small Town about a Quarter of a Mile off, in which are two Churches, where they have the free Exercise of their Religion. The Country hereabouts is very pleasant, full of Olive-trees, and from the Sea-side the Land rises easily to the Foot of the Mountains of *Sfacia*, about eight Miles from the City, which from the Sea seems to be all a Wood; from which Mountains run several pleasant Streams, and one very large River, called *Platonica*, which is continually full, being supplied from above a thousand Fountains, which the Mountains produce.

These Mountains of *Sfacia* are abounding in all Things necessary for Life, and Nothing can be more delightful in the Summer-time. They reach near thirty Miles towards the South-West, and in some Places about ten in Breadth, coming down close to the Bay of *Suda*. The Cheese which is made here is bought up by the *Venetians* and other Merchants, and transported to *France*, *Italy*, *Zant*, &c. It is the best Cheese that is made in any of the Southern Parts, and generally as good as our *Cheshire* Cheeses, being made as big; besides which, they have great Plenty of Honey, Wax, Silk, Wooll, *Cordovan* Leather, and a Sort of Goats-hair little inferior to that of *Angora* in *Asia*. No Olives, Oranges, or Lemons grow here. There are above an hundred Villages on these Mountains, besides several Monasteries. The Inhabitants are a warlike People, and withstood the *Turks* above twenty Years after *Retimo* was taken, living as the *Mainiotes* in the *Morea*. There are such difficult Passes to them that an Army cannot march. Now at last they are brought into Obedience, and by humbling themselves to the Vizier, he granted them great Privileges to encourage them, lest they should take Part with the *Venetians*, who have the Island of *Suda* so near them.

As the Vizier pass'd by, in his Way from *Canea* to *Candia*, they brought him several Presents the Mountains produced, which he was so well pleased with, that he exempted them from going with him and paying their Attendance on him, only he obliged them to furnish the Camp with Mutton at a certain Rate. Most of his own Provision was carried from hence, Sheep at three *Timins* (about a Shilling) a-piece; Butter at a *Timin* the Oke (a Groat for two Pound eight Ounces); Cheese at the same Rate, and at this Price they were obliged to carry it as far as the Camp before *Candia*, where an Officer gave them an Acquittance, which was abated them out of their Tribute. They have a certain Drug, called by the *Venetians* *Oldain*, much of the Colour of Liquorice in Balls; it is a very great Comforter of the Head, having a pleasant Smell, being burnt it gives a pleasant Scent. Most of this is bought up by the *Venetians*, and sent to *Venice*. Here is also a Sort of Wood which the *Greeks* call *Plaete Excillo*; it burns like a Torch, and gives a most fragrant Smell; much of it was used to burn at the Siege. Every Night, at the Vizier's and other great Men's Tents, they had Fires of this Wood, the Wood being cut small, and put into an Iron Grate

at the End of a Poll fastened in the Ground. If a Man be hot in the Plain in riding two or three Hours up the Hills, he shall find so great an Alteration in the Air as is incredible.

About fifteen Miles from *Retimo* is a lovely Fountain called *Bognare Bashe*, standing so between two Mountains, that at Two in the Afternoon it is shady, continuing so all the rest of the Day. The Water is so cold as will cause a Dew upon any Fruit that is put into it; and tho' a Man ever so hot should drink of this Water, it will do him no Harm. In the Summer-time here are always some Persons of Quality, who bring their Beds, and continue for several Days together. The *Sfaciotti* are a healthy, strong and stout People; they pretend to be of a very ancient Stock: Some there are, who derive their Families from before the Coming of our Saviour. I saw a *Callojero* that was one hundred and ten Years of Age; he was very lusty, and could walk very well with a Staff. Part of these Hills are under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Retimo*, and Part under that of *Canea*. From *Retimo* to *Canea* the Road is most by the Sea-side, passing by the Bay of *Suda*, having the Mountains of *Sfacia* on the Left Hand.

Canea is seated in a fine Plain, about three Miles from the Bottom of the Bay of *Suda*, and upon the Sea to the North, having a very fair Harbour, which may be called a double Port, the one being round, the other stretching away to the Eastward, where are two Arsenals. It is secure against the worst of Weathers. The Entrance is narrow, and not above eighteen Foot Water; to the West of which the *Turks* lately have built a new Battery with twenty very large Guns; and above it, to the South, is a great Cittadel, in which are forty good Guns. To the East of the Entrance is another great Castle, which commands the Port called the *Sabioniera*, with the Arsenal. Round about the Port is a broad Key, which is always crowded with Merchandize, and is little inferior to the Port at *Marseilles*. The Houses are all well built, and not much battered. The Walls are in very good Repair, having a dry Ditch about thirty Yards broad, and six deep from the Land on the other Side. The Walls are about thirty Foot high; within them the Earth is raised about ten Foot higher than the Walls, there being a Walk between. There is a Mount, which they call the *Marteningo*, where formerly were ten Guns; but now it is of no Use. Toward the Land there are four Bastions; to the South is the great Gate called *La Porta di Retimo*; to the West is a Mace placed on the Wall, to shew where a *Basha*, at the Taking of the Place, first entred the City: Before the Gate is a Half Moon built of Earth, about twenty Foot high; at each End is a small Pyramid of Mortar and Sculls, which are the Sculls of Christians who were slain before the Place in the Year 1666.

The *Venetians* then attempting to regain the Place under the Conduct of Marquis *Vila*, a *Savoyard*, 5000 Men were landed at *Culatte*, at the Bottom of the Bay of *Suda*, and were encamped before the City several Days. The *Turks* sallied out of the City to the West, surprising the Christians, and had a very great Victory, pursuing them to the Fort, which was built at the Bottom of the Bay. In this Flight there were above 1500 killed, and several taken Prisoners; amongst the latter was one Captain *Scot*, a *Scotsman*, who had his Hand upon the Drawbridge of the City; he was carried afterwards to *Smyrna* in the Gallies, and there redeemed by the *English* Merchants: But when he came to *Venice*, his Arrears were paid him, and he returned his Ransom to *Smyrna*, which remains there in Bank till another like Occasion should present itself. The City is near three Miles in Circumference, and is much better inhabited than *Candia*, having a *Basha* and other Officers, as in *Candia*, only in all Councils the other hath the Precedence.

The Country about is very pleasant, being all a Plain for above six Miles to the South and West, planted with young Olive-trees, so that it seems to be a Garden. It is well supplied both with Flesh and Fish; of the latter there is great Abundance, for besides the Sea, there is a Lake about ten Miles to the South, which furnishes them

them with great Variety of all Sorts. The Trade is much greater here than at *Candia*, it lying so convenient for the *Morea*, *Italy*, and other Places. The *French* have a great Trade for Oil, Wool, Wax, Cheese, and several other Commodities, having a Consul and two Merchants. The *Venetians* have also a Consul, but most of their Oil is shipped off from *Suda*, to which Place it is brought from *Retimo* and other Places thereabout. All great Ships come to an Anchor at a Place called *St. Todor*, being two small Islets, about five Miles to the West of the Port of *Canea*. There is very good Anchorage, and a small Fort to defend them. On one Island, notwithstanding it seems to be all Stone, and is very low, there are several Fountains of good fresh Water.

No *Greeks* live within the City. They have a new Town built to the South, about half a Mile off, where are two long Streets very commodious, and here they enjoy entire Liberty; their Churches are open, and the Bishop hath a very pleasant House, living in good Esteem. Close to this Town runs a pleasant River, which is seldom dry; there are likewise several pleasant Gardens well stocked with all Sorts of delicious Fruits. The *Turks* have also some Gardens here, but they must retire into the City an Hour before Sun-set, Winter and Summer, or else must remain out all Night, the Gates being then shut, and a strict Watch kept about the Walls. The *Turks* of this Place are generally very rich, and incline to Trade, giving all Encouragement to have Merchants come and reside amongst them. There was an *English* Merchant here, one Mr. *Trenchard*, who was recommended to the *French* Consul to have his Assistance, but in a little Time he grew weary of the Place.

Here they keep their Oil in great Vessels called *Tini*, which are square and made of Wood, some will hold twenty Tuns. They have a special Regard to preserve the Esteem of their Oil, nor will they force a Merchant to take any longer than it comes clear, not mixing the Bottoms, as in some Parts they will, by taking a hollow Cane, and putting it to the Bottom, by blowing through which they raise the Foot of the Oil, so that thick and thin goes together. Here they sell the Foot of the Oil at an under Price, and this serves to make Sope. Most Parts of *Turkey* have an Esteem for *Canea* Oil above others. Some will have it to be the better for that the Trees are all so young; others impute it to their Care in the making, for here they gather all their Olives, whereas in the *Morea*, they thrash them down with Poles. The Wines are generally esteemed above all others. The red Muscadine they call here *Leattico*, it is a richer Wine than Tent at *Cadiz*, and much more pleasant; I have seen it sold at fifteen Gallon, for half a Dollar. White Muscadine is not so good, as that of *Luxuria* in *Cefsalonia*. Some are of Opinion, that in the War, the true Muscadine Grape was lost; on the Mountains, there are smaller Sorts of Wines, so as a Man may have what Sort he pleases.

All Sorts of Provisions are very plentiful, but in the Summer-time the Mutton hath generally a bad Taste, which proceeds from their Feeding on some Herb on the Mountains. Here are Fowls of all Sorts in Abundance, but especially a Bird called *Beccha figgo*, which is almost a Lump of Fat; they are valued about four for an Asper, or eight for a Penny. Turtle-Doves and Quails are very plentiful. Their Beef is small, but very sweet. Of Fruits there is no Sort but what they have. I never saw larger Pears than are brought from the Mountains, being a Sort of Sugar Pear. The Musk Melons are very good, but their Water Melons are singular, Salating there is all the Year of all Sorts; no Place is esteemed to have larger and better *Endive* and *Carduus* than there are here. I have seen Sugar Canes of a great Height, full as good as what are brought from *Grand Cairo*. There are Abundance of Simples which are bought here for *France* and *Italy*.

Some say the Reason why no venomous Thing will live on this Island, is the Quantity of *Dittamo* that grows here. Others say it has only been since *St. Paul* set Foot upon the Island. Most of the *Candiot*es pretend to have great Knowledge in Simples. The Women are

experienced Doctresses. One I have Reason to say was very skilful, she having in a little Time wrought a great Cure upon me; for by Accident a Bullet having past through my Leg, I applied myself to her, and in fifteen Days she cured it. She did not allow me to eat any Flesh till it was perfectly well. They have several Antidotes against the Plague, but they had not the Effect they pretend to, for several of the Doctresses were swept away by that Disease; but most certain it is, that after *St. John Baptist's* Day it did here abate, as they always observe it to do in most of these Eastern Parts.

There are several other Places that have had the Name of Cities, which are now Heaps of Ruins; many hundred stately Palaces there were, that now have only some Walls, and those mostly fallen down. The *Candiot*es keep their Habit, that is, the Women; but the Men are dressed *alla Turcheffa*, especially the better Sort. They are as ignorant of the Antiquity of their Country, as the *Mereotes*, that have been above 200 Years in Slavery. There is no *Latin* Church upon the whole Island, as I was inform'd, but what is shut up, or converted to the *Turks* Use. Before the *Turks* conquered this Island, there were above a Million of Souls, whereas now there are not 80,000, of which not above 30,000 *Turks*, on the whole Island.

The Islets, which the *Venetians* have about the Island of *Candia*, are *Carabusa* to the West End of the Island, about six Miles from the *Main*, having a very good Port between the Islet and the main Land: The Castle is very strong, mounting about eighty Guns. In the late War it withstood several Assaults, but lying so far from any considerable City, the *Turks* did not so much Mind it as they did *Suda*. Here is a Garrison of *Venetian* Soldiers, and a Proveditore, who is under the Inquisitore at *Suda*. In Time of Peace with the *Turks*, they have a continual Trade and very good Correspondence with them, having all Sorts of Provisions at very reasonable Rates.

Spina Longa lies about forty Miles to the East of the City of *Candia*, at the Entrance of a great Bay. The Islet is not above a Mile and a half about; it has a very good Fortification round it, besides it is steep all round, so as an Enemy cannot well Land. It is not above a Mile from a Point of land, where the *Turks* raised a Battery, and continued for a Week to batter the Castle, but to little Purpose, for most of their Dwellings are in Caves under Ground. Here and at *Carabusa* there is no Water but what is brought them by Shipping, or what they save in great Cisterns and Jars. Here is also a Proveditore, and a Garrison of *Venetian* Soldiers.

Suda lies in a great Bay, about thirty Miles from *Retimo*, West, twelve Miles from *Canea*, and nine from the Bottom of the Bay South-East, having the Land to the South about a Mile, on the North North-west, not above half a Mile distant. This Island is about two Miles in Circumference, not above fifty Foot above Water at the highest Part, being all rocky and steep. To the South-west lies a long Rock about ten Foot above Water, and not above twenty from the Island; against it is the Entrance up to the Castle, very steep and winding, having two Gates and a strong Counterscarp, before you pass into the main Castle. The Wall about the Island is low but very thick.

To the West is a Mount, called *Il Marteningo*, about thirty Foot high, and three hundred in Circumference, very strongly built with small Stone and Mortar, which has above 1000 Shot in it. They are so fast in, that it would endanger its falling, if they should be pulled out. The Fortifications of the Castle are quite round, the Islet, wherein, and upon the *Marteningo*, are about 120 Guns planted. The *Turks* have several Times attempted to take this Place, and to that Purpose, in the Year, 1659, they built six Castles, three on each Side of the Bay, from whence they continued to batter it, and secured the Harbour so as no Ship or Gally could come to bring them Succour, but what in the Night small Vessels would adventure to get in.

In the Year 1665, the Captain *Basha* attempted to reduce it; he came with forty five Gallies, but durst not

not adventure to land any Men. He caused the Gallies to batter that Part of it which is towards the Sea, while on the other Side they continually fired from the six Forts. The *Venetian* Fleet was so dispersed, that they could not come to relieve them. The Besieged were much streightened for Provisions, but most for Want of Water; for above a Month they had but a Pint a Day, and were so disheartned, that they were near inclining to surrender the Place. But it pleased Good to shew them his Goodness in a signal Manner, by a Shot from the Enemy, which struck a Piece of Rock asunder at the Bottom, a little above the Sea, out of which sprang a Water which sufficed them to drink. I have seen the Fountain, and drank of the Water, though it is not very pleasant. Several Officers that were in the Island avowed this for a Truth, it being noted in the *Venetian* History of *Suda*. The Winds coming about Northerly, the *Venetian* Fleet came from *Zante*, forcing the *Turkish* Gallies to retreat. The Captain *Basha* was killed with a great Shot, upon which the Army broke up and retired to *Canea*.

The Vizier, in his March from *Canea* to *Candia*, passed by here, and with Admiration beheld the Place, but would not attempt any Thing at that Time, saying, it was not worth the Men which had been already lost against it. The Port is very commodious, being one of the largest in all these Seas, and there is very good Anchorhold all over the Bay, at the Bottom of which are Salt-pans. The *Turks* have here a small Tower, where are two or three Servants of the Customer of *Canea*, to see that no Goods are carried away which have not paid Custom at the City. In Time of Peace they have all Provisions from *Canea* at the Market Price, and there is a good Correspondence betwixt the *Inquisitore* of *Suda* and the *Basha*, who often send Letters to one another. The Governor of *Suda* hath the Title of *Inquisitore Generale delle Isole di Levante*; *Cerigo* and *Tine* being also under his Government, although there be *Proveditors* to both. The *Venetians* have no Benefit from these Islands, but are at a continual Charge to maintain the Garrisons in each. The Bottom of the Bay they call *Cullatte*.

23. In collecting the Materials for this Section, we have met with some more distinct and connected Accounts of the Military and Naval Forces of the *Turks*; which, as they come in properly enough at the Close of this Description of their Dominions, shall be here inserted; the rather, because they will enable the Reader to discern what Probability there is of those Events happening, which were mentioned in the last Section. It is with Bodies Politick, as with the natural Bodies; they get over even violent Diseases when attacked in their Youth; but when Infirmities grow upon them in their old Age, they seldom, if ever, escape. The most that can be hoped for in such a Case, is a gentle and gradual Decay; but even this can hardly be expected in some Constitutions. That of the *Turks* has neither Food nor Physick, but continual Wars. If these are successful they thrive; if not, their Distempers increase, and their political Diseases grow more and more dangerous. It is not with them as with States of another Texture, where the Laws themselves will, for a long Time, maintain the Form of the Government by the Respect the People have for them. In these Countries the Laws are derived from the Will of the Grand Signior, and consequently they are good or bad, wise or otherwise, according to the Temper of the Prince. Whenever, therefore, it happens, and in the Decline of every Government it generally happens, that a Race of weak and degenerate Princes succeed to the Empire; this alone must bring on its final Ruin, which might, perhaps, have been diverted by the Intervention of a great Genius. It would be no difficult Thing to bring many Instances in Support of this Doctrine, both from ancient and modern History; but that it is high Time to leave our Reflections, and come to Matters of Fact, which, we dare promise the Reader, are important enough to deserve, and sufficiently curious and entertaining to command his Attention.

Though the greater Part of the *Turkish* Infantry carries the Name of *Janizaries*; yet it is certain, in all this great Empire, there are not above twenty-five thou-

sand who are true *Janizaries* or *Ianizaries* of the Porte. This Soldiery was once composed only of Tributary Children, instructed in the *Turkish* Religion; but at present this is not observed, and People are not molested on this Account, since the Officers take Money of the *Turks* themselves to be entred in this Body. Formerly the *Janizaries* were not permitted to marry, the *Turks* being persuaded, that the Cares of a Family render Soldiers less fit for the Exercise of Arms. Yet now-a-days they who will, marry, with the Consent of their Chiefs, who also at the same Time give them a Sum of Money. The principal Reason, which keeps the *Janizaries* from marrying, is, that Batchelors only arrive at Offices, the most desirable of which are to be Chiefs in their Chambers; for this Soldiery are all lodged in a large Quarter, divided into one hundred and sixty two Chambers. Every Chamber has a Chief, who commands in it; but out of it he only performs the Office of Lieutenant of the Company, and receives Orders from the Captain. Every Chamber has its own Ensign-bearer, its Expenditor, its Cook, and its Water-Carrier. Above the Captains there is only the Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, who is subject to the Aga.

Beside the common Pay, the Emperor gives the *Janizaries* every Year a compleat Suit of Cloth of *Salonica*, and every Day allows them a Quantity of Rice, Meat, and Bread. The Chamber lodges them for One half *per Cent.* upon the Pay they receive in Time of Peace, and seven *per Cent.* in Time of War. This Pay is but from two to twelve Aspers a Day, and is never raised but by little and little in Proportion to their Service. When they are disabled they have an Allowance for Life. The Cap peculiar to the *Janizaries* is made like the Sleeve of a Coat, one End is put upon their Head, and the other hangs down upon their Shoulders; to this Cap before is fastened a Sort of Spike half a Foot long, of Silver, gilded and adorn'd with some false Stones. When the *Janizaries* march into the Field, the Sultan furnishes them with Horses to carry their Baggage, and Camels to carry their Tents, to wit, one Horse for ten Soldiers, and one Camel for twelve. At the Accession of every Sultan their Pay is augmented at least one Asper a Day.

The Chambers inherit the Effects of those Members who die without Children, and the rest, though they have Children, always leave their Chamber a Legacy. The *Solaks* and *Peyes* alone among the *Janizaries* are the Emperor's Guard; the rest of the Corps never go to the *Seraglio* but to attend their Officers upon Divan Days, and to prevent Disorders that might happen in the Court; they are generally placed Centinel at the Gates and the Cross-ways of the Town, to keep Watch there. They are feared every where, and respected, tho' they carry only a Cane in their Hand, for Arms are not delivered to them but when they take the Field. The greater Part of the *Janizaries* do not want for Education, being taken from the Body of the *Azamoghlans*, which either through Impatience, or on some other Account, they frequently forsake. Those who are to be admitted among the *Janizaries*, pass along in Review before the Officer, and every one takes hold on the Bottom of his Companion's Vest. Their Names are entred in the Grand Signior's Registry, after which they all run up to the Master of their Chamber, who, to make them know they are under his Jurisdiction, gives them every one a Box on the Ear as they pass by. At their Inrollment they take two Oaths; the first is to serve the Grand Signior faithfully; the second, that they will not submit to the Will of their Comrades in Matters relating to the Body.

There is no Order of Men in *Turkey* so united as that of the *Janizaries*; it is this strict Union which preserves their Authority, and gives them the Courage sometimes to depose the Sultan. Though there are but twelve or thirteen thousand in *Constantinople*, they are assured that their Brethren, what Part soever of the Empire they are in, will not fail to approve their Conduct. If they think they have Occasion to complain, their Discontent begins to shew itself in the Court of the Divan, at the Time of the distributing the Dishes of Rice

to them, prepared in the Grand Signior's Kitchen : For they eat it quietly, if they are contented, and on the contrary, they throw the Dishes on the Ground, and turn them topsy turvy, if they are out of Humour at the Ministry. There is no Insolence they scruple to utter at such a Time against the principal Ministers, being well persuaded they shall obtain Satisfaction ; for this Reason the most favourable Opportunity is taken early to prevent their Rising, especially at the Time when they give them several Days Pay together.

The Mutinies of the *Janizaries* are much to be dreaded : For how often have they in an Instant changed the Face of the Empire ? The fiercest Sultan's and the most skilful Ministers have often found how dangerous it was to keep on Foot, in Time of Peace, a Militia who so well understand their own Interests. They deposed *Bajazet II.* in 1512 ; and promoted the Death of *Amurat III.* in 1595. They threatened *Mahomet III.* with Dethronement. *Osman II.* who had sworn to destroy them, having imprudently disclosed his Design, was disgracefully treated by them, for they made him walk on Foot to the Castle of the seven Towers, where he was strangled in 1622. *Mustapha I.* whom this impudent Soldiery put in *Osman's* Room, was deposed two Months after, by the same Hands that advanced him. They also put to Death Sultan *Ibrahim* in 1649, after they had dragged him ignominiously to the seven Towers. His Son *Mahomet IV.* was not so unhappy indeed, but they depos'd him after the last Siege of *Vienna*, which miscarried yet only by the Fault of *Cara Mustapha* the prime Vizier. In this Sultan's Stead was preferred his Brother *Solyman III.* a Prince of no Merit, who was also deposed in his Turn sometime afterwards, as others have also been.

With Respect to the Sultane's Mother, the *Viziers*, the *Caimacan*, the first Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*, the Grand Treasurer, and their *Aga* himself, the *Janizaries* value them not, and demand their Heads upon the least Uneasiness. All the World knows how they used, at the Beginning of this Century, the *Mufti Fesullah Effendi*, who had been Preceptor of Sultan *Mustapha*. This Prince who loved his Tutor blindly, was not able to prevent his being drawn upon a Hurdle to *Adrianople*, and thrown into the River. The only Expedient which could ever be devised to repress the Insolence of these Soldiers, was to encourage the *Spahi's* against them, and thereby make them jealous one of another, but they agree together too well upon certain Occasions. It signifies nothing to change their Quarters, for as the Absent always stand to what their Fellows have done, it is impossible to avoid their Fury, when they have once taken it into their Head that they have suffered some great Injustice. The History of the *Turks* can furnish few Examples of their having been appeased, without considerable Largeesses, or without its costing the first Officers of the Empire their Lives.

They have never dar'd to confiscate the Treasure of the *Janizaries*, nor to share the Goods their Officers possess in Property, in several Parts of *Asia*, as at *Cataya*, at *Angora*, at *Caraisfar*, and in other Places. When the General dies, the Treasurer inherits his Goods ; he is the only Officer whose Effects are not seiz'd to the Emperor's Profit. This General has the Privilege of presenting himself before the Sultan with his Arms at Liberty, whereas the Prime *Vizier*, and the other great Men of the Port, never appear in his Presence, but with their Arms across their Breast, which is rather a servile than a respectful Posture.

After the *Aga*, the Principal Officers of the *Janizaries* are the *Aga's* Lieutenant, the Grand Provost, the Captain of the Serjeants, who march by the Emperor's Side upon Days of Ceremony, the Captain, of his Foot Archers, and the Commander of his Pages, on Foot ; these last as well as the Archers, march by the Grand Signior's Person when he walks through the City. They are but threescore, and wear Caps of beaten Gold, embellish'd before with Milk white Feathers. As for the Foot Archers, or Archers of the Guard, they are in Number three or four hundred, and in a Day of Battle, they are about the Sultan, arm'd only with Bows and

Arrows, that they may not frighten the Grand Signior's Horse. Their Habit is a Coat of Cloth, tucked up at the Corners as high as their Waist, so as to shew their Skirts ; their Cap is Cloth, and ends in a Point, and is adorn'd with Feathers, in Fashion of a Plume. These Archers shoot with their left Hand, as well as with the right, which they are taught, that so they may never turn their Back upon the Sultan : When he passes over Rivers, they swim by his Horse, and sound the Fordings with all the Diligence imaginable : As a Reward, the first Time the Sultan passes the River, he causes a Crown a Piece to be given to every one who was up to the Knee in Water, and if they were up to the Middle, they have two Crowns, and three if they were above the Waist. Out of the Body of the *Janizaries* are taken the Gunners, and those who take Care of the Arms.

The Gunners are about twelve hundred, and receive their Orders from the Grand Master of the Artillery ; they live at *Topana*, in Apartments divided into fifty two Chambers ; but it is very happy that they are not as dextrous as the Christians in the casting and managing Artillery. They who look to the Arms are six hundred in Number, divided into sixty Chambers ; they lodge in Apartments near *Santa Sophia*. They not only take Care of the ancient Arms which are in the Arsenal, but of those of the *Janizaries* and *Spahi's*, which they deliver out to them in good Order, when they are going into the Field.

Besides the *Janizaries* now mentioned, all the Provinces of this vast Empire are fill'd at present with Foot Soldiers, who bear the Name of *Janizaries* ; but these *Janizaries* of the second Order are not inrolled in the Body of *Janizaries* of the Port ; and have nothing of the ancient Discipline of the *Turks*. All ill Persons who would skreen themselves from the ordinary Courts of Justice, and honest Persons also who are willing to cover themselves from the Insults of others ; they who would escape the Taxes, and be excused from publick Offices, purchase of the Colonels of the *Janizaries* who are in the Towns of the Province, the Title of *Janizaries*. They are so far from receiving Pay, that they give several Aspers a Day to these Officers to enjoy those Privileges ; sometimes they pass for Invalids, or Pensioners for Life, and live quietly at Home, without being obliged to go into the Army. Is it surprising after this, that the *Turkish* Forces are so much diminished ? They never have had so many Soldiers, nor such small Armies. The Officers who are obliged to take the Field, pass their own Domesticks for Soldiers, and put the Pay of those who ought to bear Arms in the Prince's Service into their own Pockets. The Corruption which is introduced into this great Empire, seems to threaten it with some strange Revolution.

Neither must we confound with the *Janizaries*, another Sort of Infantry, call'd *Azapes* and *Arcangi's*. The *Azapes* are the old *Mussulman*-Bands, more ancient than the *Janizaries* themselves, but very much despised. They serve for Pioneers, and sometimes are merely a Bridge to the Horse in marshy Grounds, and so many Fascines to fill up the Ditches of a Place besieged. The *Arcangi's* have no more Pay than the *Azapes*, but are appointed only to ravage the Frontiers of the Enemy. Yet in full Peace, (for the War is not esteemed to be declared, unless the Artillery be drawn into the Field) they are perpetually making Incursions and pillaging their Neighbours. If any one among these Troops happens to become a good Soldier, after some vigorous Action, he is entered in the Body of *Janizaries*. This is the State of the *Turkish* Infantry, nor is that of their Cavalry at present one Tittle better ; it is composed of two Sorts, known by the Name of *Spahi's*, but they must be carefully distinguished.

The one are upon the Emperor's Pay, and the other not. The *Spahi's* in Pay are divided into several Standards, the Principal of which are the Yellow and the Red : Those who have no Pay are of two Sorts, the *Zaims* and the *Timariots*. The *Spahi's* in Pay are taken from among the *Ichoglams* and the *Azamoglans*, who have been bred up in the Grand Signior's *Seraglio's*. Their lowest Pay is twelve Aspers a Day, and the

the highest a hundred. Those who come from *Ichoglans* generally begin with twenty or thirty, which are increased according to their Merit or the Interest of their Friends. In Time of War all the Spahi's in Pay, who bring in Heads of the Enemy, are advanced two Aspers a Day; and they who first acquaint the Sultan with the Death of any of their Comrades, are raised as much. The Spahi's are paid in the Hall, and in the Presence of the Grand Vizier or his Chiaia, in order to avoid all Occasion of Complaint.

Though the Spahi's are born of unknown Parentage, they may yet be looked on as the Nobility of the Country; their Education makes them more accomplished than the other *Turks*, and in every Place good Manners ought to constitute a real and true Nobility. Those of the Red Standard were heretofore only Servitors to the Yellow; but now they are all equal, and the Red have even overtaken under *Mahomet III.* who in a Battle in which the Spahi's of the Yellow gave Ground and fled, restored the Fight by the Valour of the Red. The Arms of both are a Lance and a Scymiter, and they make Use of a Dart, which they manage with wonderful Dexterity, and the Dart has a Steel Point at one End, and is about two Foot and a half long. They also carry a Sword, but it is fasten'd to the Saddle, and hangs down upon the Horses Thigh, so as not to hinder them in discharging their Pistol and Carbine. Some likewise use Bows and Arrows, especially the Spahi's of *Anatolia*; for those of *Europe* or *Romelia* rather chuse the Arms in Use with us. These Troops, however, fight without Order and in a Crowd, instead of throwing themselves into Squadrons, and rallying regularly.

Mahomet Kuperli the Grand Vizier, who was a great General, was so far from bringing them to Discipline, that he affected to humble them and keep them ignorant, for Fear of increasing their Insolence, since which Time they have extremely lost their ancient Reputation. They bastinado them now on the Soles of the Feet, lest, if they scourged them, they should be disabled from mounting their Horse; and for a contrary Reason the *Janizaries* are scourged, because they are obliged to use their Feet in marching. When the Grand Signior goes to command his Army in Person, he causes large Sums to be divided among the Spahi's. One Spahi and a Janizary are placed Centries at each Cord of his Tent, and the same at the chief Vizier's. The other Standards of the Spahi's are the White, the White and Red, the White and Yellow, and the Green. The most famous Spahi's are those called *Mutafaraca*, who receive forty Aspers a Day. The Emperor is their Colonel; their Duty is to attend upon him: They are about five hundred.

As to the other Cavalry, called *Zaims* and *Tamariots*, they are Persons to whom the Grand Signior gives certain Commands, term'd *Timar*, for Life, on Condition they maintain such a Number of Horse for his Service. The first Sultans, being Masters of the Fiefs of the Empire, erected Baronies or Commands out of them, to reward any extraordinary Services, and principally for raising and subsisting a Body of Troops without issuing Money. But it was *Solyman II.* who established the Order and Discipline of these Baronies, and settled by his Decrees the Number of Men each one should be obliged to find. This Body has been not only very powerful, but very celebrated also through the whole Empire. But Avarice, the common Vice of the East, has made them decline several Years ago. The Viceroy and Governors of Provinces prevail so far by their Intrigues at Court, that even the Commands which lie out of their Government are given to their Domesticks, or to them who offer the most Money. The *Zaims* and the *Timariots* differ little more than in their Income. The *Zaims* have the most considerable Commands, and their Revenues make from 20,000 to 818,819 Aspers. If they produce even an Asper above this, it becomes the Property of some Basha. Also when a Commander dies, his Command is divided, supposing the Income of it has been augmented under the Deceased, as it commonly happens to be, for they are generally improved rather than lessened.

The *Zaims* are obliged to maintain at least four Horse, which is after the Rate of one Man for 5000 Aspers of Rent. There are two Sorts of *Tamariots*, the one receive their Provisions from the Port, the other from the Viceroy of the Place; but their Equipages are less than those of the *Zaims*, and their Tents are smaller and proportioned to their Revenue. They who receive their Patents from the Court, have from 5 or 6000 to 19,999 Aspers; if they should receive one Asper more, they would pass into the Rank of *Zaims*. They who have their Patents from the Viceroy, have an Income from 3000 Aspers to six thousand. Every *Timariot* is bound to provide one Horseman for every 3000 Aspers his Income produces. The *Zaims* and *Timariots* are obliged to march in Person to the Army on the first Orders, and nothing can excuse them. The Indisposed are carried in Litters, and their Children in Baskets and Cradles. The *Timariots* must furnish Baskets to their Troopers, to carry Earth for filling up Ditches and Trenches. These are better disciplined than those who are properly called the *Spahi's*, though the *Spahi's* are more performable and lusty; and whereas the last never engage but in a Crowd at the Head of the ancient Cavalry, the *Zaims* and *Timariots* are divided into Regiments, commanded by Colonels under the Basha's. The Basha of *Aleppo* is Colonel General of this Body of Horse when he is in the Army, because being Seraskier of the Army by his Place, it belongs to him to command in Chief during the Absence of the Grand Vizier.

It is not strange that the *Turks* are so weak at Sea, because they want good Mariners, skilful Pilots, and experienced Officers. The Pilots of the Grand Signior scarcely know how to use the Compass, and those of the Saicks, which are their Merchant-ships, certainly understand Nothing of it. They steer by their Knowledge of the Coasts, which is very erroneous, and they generally trust themselves in long Voyages, as to *Syria* and *Egypt*, to *Greeks* who have run the Course with *Christian* Privateers, and have got the Track of the Countries of *Asia* and *Africa* by Rote. However, if the *Turks* would apply themselves to Navigation, they would easily become Masters of the *Mediterranean*, and chase away the *Corfairs* who do so much Mischief to their Traffick. Without reckoning the Supplies they might draw from *Greece*, or the Isles of the *Archipelago*, *Egypt*, and the Coast of *Africk*, the *Black Sea* alone would furnish them with more Wood and Rigging than are needful for even a very formidable Navy. At present the Maritime Forces of this great Empire are reduced to twenty eight or thirty Men of War, and they arm not above fifty Gallies.

The *Turks* had much more powerful Fleets in the Time of *Mahomet II.* of *Selimus* and *Solyman II.* but they never made any great Expeditions. Since the War of *Candia*, they have mightily neglected the Sea, and perhaps would have done so much more, if *Mizomorto* the Captain-Basha had not in our Days restored and improved their Navy. The Advantage which arose by the Sea to the Islands of *Spalmadori*, under the *Venetians*, made him set a wonderful Value upon the Island of *Scio*, and gave the *Mahometans* fresh Spirits. He was a Man of extraordinary Capacity for the Sea, and tried all Methods to engage *Christian* Officers in the Grand Signior's Service. The Sultan may now have six or seven Renegado Captains, who are well experienced; but the Seamen know nothing of the Tackle, and the Gunners are miserable to the last Degree.

The Successor of *Mizomorto* was but little esteemed. *Adram* a Basha, who was named the Admiral upon the Death of the other, was able to have brought the Condition of the *Turkish* Navy to Perfection, if some, who envied him, had not got him strangled a little after his Promotion. He was known among the *Turks* by the Name of the Basha of *Rhodes*, and among the *Christians* by that of the Butcher's Son of *Marseilles*. He was taken very young in a Ship belonging to that City, and was so unhappy as to turn *Mahometan*. He had the Character among the *Turks* of a very upright Man, and very disinterested. It is said, that as he was going the Round one Day to execute Justice at *Scio*, he asked

to whom three or four She-Ases belonged, which were loaded with weighty Stones, and were tied to the Door of a certain House; and understanding their Masters were hard-by at Breakfast, he passed on; but at his Return, being disturbed to find the poor Creatures were still in the same Condition, and that no Care had been taken to feed them, he sent for their Owners, and told them, it was but just that the Ases should eat in their Turn. The Peasants readily assented; but were surprized, when he order'd each to bear one of the Stones upon his Back all the Time the Ases were eating. The same Story is also told concerning Sultan *Morat*.

The Post of Captain-Basha is one of the noblest in the Empire. He is great Admiral and General of the Gallies; his Power is absolute when he is out of the *Dardanelles*, so that he can strangle the Viceroys and Governors who are on board, without waiting for the Sultan's Order. The Grand Vizier is the only Minister who is above him: It is the second Post in the Empire, and he is accountable to the Grand Signior alone. Not only the Sea-Officers, but all the Governors of the Maritime Provinces likewise receive Orders from him. At *Constantinople* there are not above twenty eight or thirty Men of War. The Gallies are distinguished into two Classes, namely, those of *Constantinople* and those of the *Archipelago*; those of *Constantinople* are at Sea only in the Summer. At the Close of the Campaign they are disarmed, to be laid up in the Arsenal of *Cassum Bassa*; the greater Part of the Beys or Captains are Renegades. Besides the Body of the Galley, Artillery, and Bisket, the Emperor also allows them Pay, and the rest of their Equipage, which consists of two hundred Oars, and a Boat to go on Shore.

If the Captains are rich enough to subsist their Slaves who row, they make a considerable Profit, for they are allowed twelve thousand Livres for Rowers, and make an Advantage also of the Journeys in which they employ their Slaves by Land during the other Part of the Year. When there are not Rowers enough, they press the Slaves of private Men at *Constantinople*; but very little Service is done by these poor Wretches, who have no Experience, and perish most of them at Sea, as the Service of the Sea requires much more Practice than that of the Land. To reinforce the Soldiers of the Gallies, the *Turks* add some of the Janizaries. The Gallies of the *Archipelago* are obliged to be in a Readiness to put to Sea at all Times. The Captains are paid by Assignments upon the Islands, and are bound to find their own Slaves, and pay them, for the Grand Signior allows them only the Vessel, Artillery, and Rigging.

They avoid an Engagement all they can, in order to preserve their Slaves; and most of them have neither the Number of Gallies they ought to maintain, nor their Equipage compleat, because the Captain-Basha for a Sum of Money (which the others know proper Ways enough to hand to him) often winks at it, consequently the Military Discipline is very indifferently observed. The Beys of *Rhodes* and *Scio* ought to provide seven Gallies for each Island; he of *Cyprus* six; those of *Mytelene*, *Negropont*, *Salonica*, and *Caval* one a-piece. *Andros* and *Syra* only one, and *Naxos* and *Paros* the like. The Captain-Basha sails round the *Archipelago* in the Summer, to raise the Capitation Tax, and learn the State of Affairs which have happened. He commonly holds his Days of Audit in a Port of *Paros*, called *Drio*, which is the Center, as it were, of the *Archipelago*. The Officers of the Islands repair thither to make their Presents to him, and pay in the Sums at which each Island is taxed. Here also the Captain-Basha finally judges all Matters, as well Civil as Criminal.

The only Danger that can now be apprehended from the *Turks*, must arise from the Wickedness of *Christian* Renegadoes, more especially Men of desperate Fortunes, who have had long Experience, and arrived at considerable Dignities either in Military or Naval Service; for these Men may, by repeated Memorials, awaken the *Turkish* Ministers to a true Sense of their

Condition, and may also propose amending their Discipline, by introducing that of the *Germans*, and so the last Evil would be worse than the first, since *Turkish* Infantry, thus disciplin'd, would be infinitely more terrible than the *Janizaries* have ever been. That this is not altogether a groundless or idle Suspicion, appears from two Instances in our own Time, viz. the Port's sending an Aga into *Holland* to treat with Mr. *Lan-gallerie*, a *Frenchman*, who quitting the Service of his own Prince, was raised in that of the Allies to that of a Lieutenant General; but growing discontented, as these Sort of People generally do, after the Peace was concluded, proposed transporting a Colony into the *Morea*, and reviving the *Ottoman* Naval Power in the *Archipelago*. His Schemes were received, a Person sent to treat with him in *Holland*, and considerable Sums of Money paid him; but some of his Practices requiring his Presence in *Germany*, he went thither, was seized and imprisoned, and continued in that Situation, till in a desperate Fit of Madness he put an End to his own Life.

The recent Example of Count *Bonneval* is another of the same Kind; he was a Man of one of the best Families in *France*, but profligate in his Morals, and without any Principles whatever. He too quitted the Service of *France* to enter into the Troops of the Allies, where he obtained very great Preferment, and if any Thing could have satisfied his Ambition, might have had it; but having conceived some Prejudice against his Patron Prince *Eugene*, he behaved in such a Manner as forced the Imperial Court to proceed against him with Severity, which so exasperated his haughty Spirit, that he retired to *Turkey*, where having some Differences with the *French* Ambassador, who refused to take him under his Protection, and being claimed as a Subject of his Imperial Majesty, which by the Treaty of Peace then subsisting would have obliged the *Turks* to have given him up, he found himself under the dreadful Necessity of abandoning the Christian Faith to save himself from being thus delivered.

These Circumstances are not taken from the fabulous History of his Adventures, but from his own Letters, and therefore the Reader may depend upon them. This Man might have proved as useful to the *Turks* as dangerous to the *Christians*. He had served against them in the last War in *Hungary*, was perfectly acquainted with the Errors in their Discipline, and without Doubt would have set them right, as appears from the Memorials that he presented from Time to Time, and which must be allowed to be very judicious in their Kind; but he was never much esteemed or greatly trusted by the Infidels; and to say the Truth, as Things stand at present in that Empire, it is very improbable that such a Man should succeed, for many Reasons, out of which I will mention a few.

The Nation in general are strongly wedded to their own Customs, and have an insuperable Contempt for those of other Nations. The Discipline of the *Janizaries* is now corrupted to such a Degree, that there is nothing they dread so much as a Reformation; they no longer consider their Kind of Life as a Military Profession, in which Preferment is to be derived from Merit, but as a Trade of which they are inclined to make the most they can, and therefore detest all Thoughts of being put out of the Way in which they now are, and would certainly mutiny, if a new and strict Discipline was insisted upon. The *Turkish* Ministers are naturally suspicious of Renegadoes, foreseeing that if they should rise to considerable Employments, it must be at their Expence, the Thoughts of which they cannot bear; and therefore though they cannot refuse such People Protection and Countenance, yet they always study to depress and keep them under; but we know not what Time, and the Lights of Experience may produce, and therefore we ought to be upon our Guard against all Accidents.

Besides in a Country so subject to Revolutions, Nobody can pretend to decide about what may happen. A new Emperor may arise of a martial and enterprising Genius, and may take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, and pay very little Deference to his

his Ministers. Such a Prince, from the Genius of the *Turkish* Constitution, would very soon become the Darling of his People, more especially if Success should attend any of his Undertakings; and in that Case he might very possibly have Recourse to Renegades, as Persons the most capable of serving him, which if they were able to do, he would not fail to raise them in Spite of all Opposition; and this once accomplished, the Effects that must attend it would become terrible to *Christendom*; for considering that general Depravity of Manners, and that dangerous Spirit of Irreligion, which prevails over all *Europe*, there is nothing more likely than that such a Turn as this would draw all the turbulent and restless Spirits in this Part of the World to seek their Fortunes under the *Turks*, and then perhaps it would be too late to think of any Remedy for such an Evil.

But if an opposite Spirit could be raised in Time, if Christian Princes could be prevailed on to lay aside their intestine Jealousies and Disputes, and think of augment-

ing their Subjects, and increasing their Dominions, at the Expence of their common Enemy; we have already shewn, that this might be very practicable. We will conclude this Section with observing, that how little soever we hear of it, Things on this Side are really at a Crisis, and in the Space of a very few Years we shall see them take either one Turn or the other; that is to say, either the Christian Princes, more especially the two *Imperial* Powers of *Germany* and *Russia*, the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, will think of recovering what has been torn from them by the *Ottomans*; or after some sudden and great Revolution among the *Turks*, the Face of Affairs will change, and they will resume their Designs against the *Christians* too, which they are always encouraged by that Power, which, as it seems to have adapted the Maxims of their Policy, has for many Years acted as if it was the natural and unalterable Ally of the Infidels, and in that Light as well as others the common Enemy of *Christendom*.

SECTION IV.

A Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, containing a curious and accurate Description of the *Holy Land* and *City*, interspersed throughout with great Variety as well of Philological, Physical, and Philosophical; as Historical and Critical Remarks.

By HENRY MAUNDRELL, M. A. late Fellow of *Exeter College*, and Chaplain to the Factory at *Aleppo*.

1. An Introductory Account of the Author and his Performance, in which is shewn the Nature, Design, and Uses of this Section.
2. The Author sets out in Company with fourteen English Gentlemen from *Aleppo*; the Manner of their Travelling, and the Nature of their Accommodations.
3. They are surprized in their Journey by a Storm, and obliged to take Shelter among the Tombs of Turkish Saints.
4. An Account of the City of *Latichea*, and of a Nation called *Neceres*, who are of all Religions, and of no Religion.
5. They continue their Journey to *Tripoly*, and meet with several Antiquities in their Passage.
6. A Description of that City, with an Account of the Entertainment they met with there.
7. Their Visit to *Ostān Basha* of *Tripoly*, the Ceremonies of their Reception, and what passed at their Audience.
8. A Description of *Gibyle*, the *Byblus* of the Ancients, famous for being the Birth-place of *Adonis*.
9. A very curious and learned Account of various Antiquities in this Neighbourhood.
10. A succinct but curious Relation of the *Emir Faccardine*, his Subjects and Successors.
11. The Author's Account of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, with some Remarks upon the Prophecies relating to those Cities.
12. A Description of *Solomon's Cisterns*, the City of *Acra* or *Ptolemais*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood.
13. They pass the River *Kishon*, and travel through the Country of *Samaria*.
14. Some very curious and satisfactory Remarks on the ancient Fertility and present Barrenness of the Land of *Judea*.
15. A very copious and circumstantial Account of the Ceremonies annually used at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Good-Friday.
16. The Celebration of *Easter*, and the Author's Visit to the Sepulchres of the Kings.
17. The Author's Journey to the River *Jordan* and the Dead Sea, with a Description of both.
18. A Journey to and Description of *Bethlehem*, with Variety of critical Observations and Remarks.
19. His Journey to the Convent of *St. John* in the Wilderness, with a Detail of the remarkable Places he saw therein.
20. A very particular Account of the Holy Fire at *Jerusalem*, and of some very extraordinary Practices of the Monks and Priests.
21. A circumstantial Account of the most remarkable Places in the Neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*.
22. The Author's Visit to *Mount Olivet*, and the Palace of *Pilate*, the Pool of *Bethsaida*, and other Places.
23. Their Departure from *Jerusalem*, and Journey from thence to *Nazareth*.
24. A Description of that Village, and of *Mount Tabor*.
25. An Account of what happened in their Journey till their Arrival at *Damascus*.
26. A very large and accurate Description of that City and the Country about it.
27. An Account of the great Turkish Caravan of Pilgrims that go annually to visit *Mecca*.
28. A very curious and copious Description of the City of *Balbeck*, the *Palmyra* of the Ancients.
29. An Account of the Turkish Punishment called *Empaling*; a Description of *Mount Libanus*, and the Author's Return to *Aleppo*.
30. Another Journey of his from *Aleppo* to visit the River *Euphrates*, the City of *Beer*, and the fruitful Country of *Mesopotamia*.
31. Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.

1. **T**HE Author of these Travels was a Gentleman who, during the Time he resided in the University of *Oxford*, laid a Foundation of an extraordinary Character, in Point both of Learning and Manners. He applied himself with great Diligence to the Reading of *Greek* Authors, and a strong Turn towards Antiquities and Church-History; and though his Constitution was far from being strong, and his great Patron Dr. *Spratt*, Bishop of *Rockester*, had it in his Power to provide for him at home; yet, upon the very first Proposal of his going Chaplain to the Factory at *Aleppo*, he very chearfully and gladly embraced it; and, during his Residence there, was equally happy himself, and agreeable to the Gentlemen who then resided there, as I have been informed by several who were there at that Time, and by some that accompanied him in his Journey. It may not be amiss to observe, that the worthy Bishop *Frampton* was his Predecessor in this Employment; and as he was a Man of great Piety and Purity of Manners, so, on the other hand, his Conversation was so chearful and entertaining, and he had the Art of introducing learned Subjects with such Ease, and of enlivening them in such a Manner, that he diffused a Spirit of Literature through the whole Factory; so that when Mr. *Maundrell* came first amongst them, he professed himself astonished at the strict Order and perfect Regularity in which they lived; exhibiting, as himself says, in all their Actions the best and truest Signs of a Christian Spirit, sincere and chearful Friendship among themselves, a generous Charity towards others, a Conversation innocently chearful, addicted to no Pleasures but such as were honest and manly; and, in short, in all Points so well disposed, that it seemed rather a College, and a well-governed College too, in some famous University, than a Factory of young Merchants, sent there to make their Fortunes. We need not at all wonder, that in Company like this Mr. *Maundrell* rejoiced in his Situation, or that amongst other Advantages he there enjoyed, he should lay hold of visiting the Land of *Judea*, and the Places consecrated to the Reverence of all Christians, by their having been the Scenes of the principal Acts of our Saviour and his Apostles in the first Ages of the Church. What he saw with Pleasure, he has related with great Accuracy and Judgment; and the Learned, both of our own and of Foreign Countries, are agreed, that amongst the numerous Relations of Journeys to the holy City, there are none that, in Point of Candour, Fidelity, and Exactness, surpasses this; which is the Reason that we have given it a Place in this Collection, and dare recommend it to the Reader as an excellent Performance of its Kind, filled not only with all that can be reasonably expected from it; but also with a great Variety of curious and useful Learning, which can hardly fail to instruct and please.

2. On *February* 26, 1696, I set out with fourteen *English* Gentlemen from *Aleppo*, designing to visit the *Holy Land* at the next *Easter*, and the first Night we took up our Quarters at the *Honey-Kane*, about an Hour and a half West of *Aleppo*. A very indifferent Lodging we had; for here it is to be noted, that in travelling this Country, a Man does not meet every Night with Inns as in *England*; but you must either lodge under your own Tent, or else in Publick-houses, founded for the Use of Travellers, called by the *Turks*, *Kanes*; to which all Comers are welcome, paying a small Fee to the *Kane-Keeper*, if they be able. And here you must expect nothing but bare Walls, for all other Necessaries must be carried by every one that travels.

On the 27th, we parted from the *Honey-Kane*, and passing by *Oorem* and *Keffre*, we entered into the Plains of *Kefteen*, of a vast Compass, and in most Places very fruitful. At our first Descent into them at *Essoyn*, we counted no fewer than twenty four Villages; and *Kefteen* itself is a large Village on the West-side of the Plain, encompass'd with so many Fields of Corn, that the Inhabitants breed many Pigeons. At this Place we saw, over the Door of a Bagnio, a Marble-stone carved with the Sign of the Cross, and the *Gloria Patri*, &c. which was probably the Portal of some Church former-

ly. On the 28th, we left *Kefteen*, and continuing in the same Plain, abounding with Corn, Olives and Vines, we came to *Harbonoose*, and from thence to a very rich Valley called *Rooge*, which is wall'd on both Sides with high Mountains; and having travel'd in this Valley four Hours, we pass'd through the Skirt of the Lake or Sea of *Rooge*, and from thence we came to *Te-ne-ree*, where we paid our first *Caphar*. These *Caphars* are certain Duties paid by Travellers to Officers that attend in their Stations to receive them. They were at first levied by Christians, for repairing the Ways, and scouring them from Robbers; but under that Pretence the *Turks* now exact unreasonable Sums, though themselves are often the greatest Robbers.

After this *Caphar*, we cross'd over the Mountains on the West-side of the Valley of *Rooge*, and descending into a Valley, we pass'd *Bell-maer*, and came to *Shoggle*, which is a large but filthy Town, situate on the River *Orontes*, over which you pass to it by a Bridge of thirteen small Arches. The River hereabouts is pretty deep, and yet so rapid, that it turns great Wheels, made for lifting up the Water by its natural Swiftness, without any Force added to it, merely by confining its Stream. We lodg'd here in a large and handsome *Kane*, founded by the second Grand Vizier *Cuperli*, and so well endow'd, that it supplies every Traveller with a competent Portion of Bread, Broth, and Flesh. It was croud'd with *Turkish* *Hodgees* or Pilgrims, bound for *Mecca*; but we found a peaceable Reception among them.

3. *March* 1. we parted from *Shoggle*, and cross'd a Mountain on the West-side of the Valley, from which we descended into a third Valley like the two former; and having pass'd the Village *Bedame*, we entered into a woody Country, where our Road was very rocky and uneven, but yet pleasant, because it presented us with the Prospect of Plants and Flowers of divers Kinds, as Myrtles, Oleanders, Tulips, and other aromatick Herbs. After this we descended into a low Valley, at the Bottom of which there is a Fissure so narrow, that you cannot discern it till you come upon it, though you may hear the Noise of the Stream running into it at a great Distance. They call it the *Sheck's Wife*, from a Woman of that Quality that fell into it. From hence we came in one Hour to a Place called the *Sultan's Stone*, where we pitch'd our Tents, and lodg'd for that Night.

On the 2d, we left our *Campagna* Lodging very early, the Weather being yet moist and cold, and came in an Hour to the *Caphar* of *Crusia*, and from thence in another to the Foot of a Mountain called *Occaby*, which we ascended with great Difficulty, and then we found a fine Country planted with Silk-Gardens, through which we came to *Belulca*, and there repair'd to a Place which is both the *Kane* of the Village, and the *Aga's* House; but though we gave him a small Present, we could hardly obtain a dry Part of the House to lodge in. In the mean Time, being informed that there were several Christians Inhabitants in this Place, we went to visit their Church, which was only a Room about four or five Yards square, wall'd with Dirt, and cover'd with Bushes, in which was an Altar of the same Materials with the Walls, paved at Top with Potsherds and Slates; and in the Middle of the Altar stood a Cross made of two Laths nail'd together, on each Side of which there are two or three old Pictures of our blessed Lord and the Virgin, &c. a very mean Habitation for the God of Heaven, but yet held in great Esteem by the poor People, who come hither with great Devotion, and hang the Room with Bags of Silk-worms Eggs, that by the Holiness of the Place they may bring a Blessing upon them, and increase their Virtue.

On the 3d, we left *Belulca*, and arrived at *Scholfatia*, a poor Village, situate upon a small River, now swollen so high with the late Rains, that it was not fordable; which put us to a Nonplus, not knowing what to do till the Rain abated; and then we pitch'd in the open Field, though thoroughly soak'd with Wet. But after the Rain had ceased a little While, it began to pour down a-fresh with Lightning and Thunder, and then

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we sent a *Turk* to a *Sheck's* House hard by, to try if by any Means we could get Admittance there; and at last, with good Words, having declared, that we had no Intention to defile their Faith, we were permitted to secure our Baggage in the House, whilst we shelter'd ourselves among the Tombs from the Rain, which pour'd down all Night long. A *Sheck's* House is a Stone Fabrick, of six or eight Yards square, roof'd with a Cupola, erected over the Grave of some eminent *Sheck*, i. e. one who by his long Beard, whining Prayers, and *Pharasaical* Pride, (the great Virtues of the *Mahometan* Religion) has purchased the Reputation of a Saint; of which Sort there are many in this Country, to which the People repair with their Vows and Prayers, which they offer in these Shrines, not to the Saints, as the Papists do, but to God only, whom alone they adore.

4. On the 4th: This Morning we found the River fordable, and got to the other Side of it with our Baggage, from whence ascending a very steep Hill, at the Top of it we were presented with the first Prospect of the Ocean; and to the Westward, we had a View of the City *Latichea*, built by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and by him call'd *Laodicea*, which Name it still retains with a little Corruption. After it was reduced to a low Condition, it now begins to flourish again, being put in a Way of Trade by *Coplan Aga*, a Man of great Wealth and Authority in these Parts. From the Hill last mention'd, we descended into a spacious Plain, having the Sea on the Right-hand, and Mountains on the Left. In which Plain we discern'd two ancient Tombs, which were Chests of Stone, two Yards and a half long each, cover'd over with large Tables of Stone, carv'd on the Outside with Ox-heads, and Wreaths hanging between them, after the Manner of adorning Heathen Altars.

Above an Hour from these Tombs we were stopt by another Stream, but here we found a safe Passage to the other Side, and then we were forc'd by the Rain to make the best of our Way to *Jebilee*. After this Manner our Road continued for several Days, between the Sea on the Right, and the Mountains on the Left; but the Mountains go under different Names, and are inhabited by several rude People. In that Part of them above *Jebilee*, there dwell a People called by the *Turks* *Neceres*, of a very singular Character for it is their Principle to adhere to no certain Religion, but to put on the Colour of that Religion which is professed by those with whom they converse: And so with *Christians* they profess themselves *Christians*, with *Mahometans* they are good *Mussulmans*, and with *Jews* they pass for *Jews*. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and very good Wine, and are great Drinkers, but in Religion they are very *Proteus's*.

On the 5th; This whole Day we spent in *Jebilee*, having a convenient new Kane to lodge in, built by *Ostan* their Bashaw of *Tripoly*. *Jebilee* is seated close by the Sea, having a vast and fruitful Plain on the other Sides of it; its ancient Name was *Gabala*, and so it is call'd by *Strabo*. In the Time of the *Greek* Emperors it was a Bishop's See, and is still accounted a City, though it makes a very mean Figure at present. The most remarkable Things in it are a Mosque and an Alms-house, built by Sultan *Ibrahim*; in the former is his Tomb, which we found to be a great wooden Chest erected over his Grave, and covered with a Carpet of painted Callico, trick'd up with a great many Ropes of wooden Beads, which is the *Turks* usual Way of adorning the Tombs of their holy Men. In this Mosque we saw several Incense-Pots, Candlesticks, and other Furniture, being the Spoils of Christian Churches.

The *Turks* reported, that he divested himself of his Royalty, and liv'd twenty Years in a Grotto by the Sea-Side; and to confirm the Truth of their Relation, they show the Cell where he abode, and another Grotto twice as large, which had three Niches or Praying-places hewn in its South-side, as they always are, for that Way the *Mussulmen* are oblig'd to set their Faces, in Reverence to the Tomb of their Prophet. From this

Mosque our Guide carried us to a Christian Church, which we found to be nothing but a small Grotto in a Rock open towards the Sea, having a rude Pile of Stones for an Altar; which poor Chappel is the only Place, as the Curate told us, allow'd to the *Greek* Christians for Divine Service. But the most considerable Antiquity in *Jebilee*, is the Remains of a noble Theatre, of which the Semi-circle is all that's now standing, being an hundred Yards in Compass, having in it seventeen Windows, between which are large maffy Pillars standing against the Wall, that is three Yards three Quarters thick of firm Stone, by which Means it has been preserv'd thus long from the Jaws of Time, and the Ruin which the *Turks* bring upon most Places.

On the 6th, having done with *Jebilee*, our Road continued by the Sea-side, and banish'd us in two Hours to a fair deep River, call'd the *King's River*; on both Sides of which we saw the Footsteps of some considerable Buildings. About half an Hour further we passed the River *Jobar*, and on the other Side stood a great Square Tower, and round about it there was the Rubbish of a great many other Buildings. And all along this Day's Journey we observ'd the Ruins of Castles and Houses, which testify that this has been formerly a Place of great Strength and Beauty. *Strabo* calls that whole Region, from *Jebilee* as far as *Aradus*, the Country of the *Aradii*, and gives the Names of several Places situate along the Coast, which cannot be now distinctly known. Only the *Balanea* of *Strabo* seems to be that Place which the *Turks* now call *Baneas*, which stands about a Furlong from the Sea, and has such a pleasant Situation, such Ruins, and such a Bay, as shews it to have been a commodious Habitation. Leaving *Baneas*, we went by the Sea-side, and in one Quarter of an Hour we pass'd by an old Castle, on the Top of a high Mountain, built in the Figure of an equilateral Triangle, which the *Turks* call *Merchab*, which probably is the same Castle mention'd by *Adrichomius* under the Name of *Margath*, to which the Bishops of *Balanea* were forc'd to translate the See, by Reason of the Insults of the *Saracens*. About an Hour and half from *Baneas*, we met with a small clear Stream, which induc'd us to take up our Lodgings near it, about two or three Furlongs from the Sea, having in Sight on the Mountains above us a Village call'd *Sophia*, inhabited only by *Maronites*, and a little further, *Reseck*, possess'd by the *Turks*; and a little further *Merakiab*, possess'd by *Christians* and *Turks* together.

5. On the 7th: Next Morning we came in three Hours to a deep River call'd *Nabor Hussine*, having one Arch large and well wrought; and in an Hour and half more we reach'd *Tortosa*, anciently call'd *Orthosia*, being a Bishop's See in the Province of *Tyre*, frequently mention'd by the Writers of the Holy Wars as a strong Place, as it appears to have been. What remains of it is the Castle, wash'd on one Side by the Sea, on the others fortified by a double Wall, between which there is one Ditch, and another compassing the outermost Wall. You enter this Fort over an old Draw-bridge which lands you in a spacious Room, which on one Side resembles a Church, having at this Day several holy Emblems, as that of a Dove descending, and that of the holy Lamb; but on the other Side it has the Face of a Castle, being built with Port-holes instead of Windows. On the South and East-side of it stood anciently the City, encompassed with a good Wall and a Ditch, of which there are some Remains; but of other Buildings there is nothing left, except a Church which is an hundred and thirty Foot long, ninety three broad, and sixty one high, so entire, that it might easily be repair'd; but it is now made a Stall for Cattle, in which we waded up to the Knees in Dirt when we went to see it.

From *Tortosa* we sent our Baggage before towards *Tripoly*, which we follow'd not long after, and within one Quarter of an Hour we came to a large Channel of a River, now almost dry; and in half an Hour more we came to a small Island about a League from the Shore, call'd by the *Turks*, *Ruad*, which is supposed to be the ancient *Arphad*, or *Arpad* (mention'd, 2 Kings xix.

13. *Gen. x. 18. Ezek. xxvii. 11.*) and the *Aradus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which seem'd to be fill'd with Buildings like Castles, and to have been anciently famous for Navigation. About a Quarter of an Hour further we came up with our *Muliteers*, who had pitch'd our Tents at a Place where we found several notable Antiquities, having in it a Fountain call'd the *Serpent Fountain*. The first Antiquity that we observ'd was a large Dike thirty Yards over at Top, cut into the firm Rock, whose Sides went sloping down with Stairs form'd out of the Rock; and this was on the North-side of the Fountain; but on the other Side we found a Court of fifty five Yards square, cut in the natural Rock, and compass'd about with Walls of the same Rock on three Sides, but to the North it lay open. In the Center of this *Area* was a square Part of the Rock left standing, being three Yards high, and five Yards and half square, which serv'd for a Pedestal to a Throne made of four large Stones, two at the Sides, one at the back, and another hanging over the Top like a Canopy, which was five Yards and three Quarters square, carv'd round with a handsome Cornish. The Court we imagin'd to be an Idol-Temple, and the Pile in the Middle to be the Throne of the Idol, which seem'd the more probable, because *Hercules*, i. e. *the Sun*, the great Abomination of the *Phœnicians*, was wont to be adored in an open Temple.

6. On the 8th: We got up early to take a nearer View of the two Towers we saw the Night before, whereof one was thirty three Foot high, on a Pedestal ten Foot high, and fifteen square; the other was thirty Foot high, on a Pedestal six Foot high, and sixteen Foot six Inches square, supported by four Lyons, the upper Part rear'd upon the Pedestal, being all one single Stone. Under these Monuments were several Sepulchres, to which we descended by Steps, having several Cells for Corps hewn out of the Rock, some of which we found to be eight Foot and half long. Having parted from these Antiquities, we entred into a spacious Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, reaching almost as far as *Tripoly*, which the Natives call *Junia*. We were seven Hours in passing it, and found it all along very fruitful, by reason of the many Rivers that are in it; of which the first being about six Hours from *Tripoly*, has a Stone Bridge of three Arches, and is called the *Great River*.

About half an Hour further we came to another, called the *Leper's River*: In three Quarters of an Hour more we came to a third, called *Nabor Acchar*; and two Hours more brings you to a fourth, called the *Cold Waters*. Which Rivers I do particularly mention, because it is probable, according to the Description of the Ancients, that one of them is the River *Eleutherus*, though the Moderns do all agree, that it is the same with a River between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, called by the *Turks* *Casmeer*, contrary to the Account of *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who place it near *Orthofia*, or between that and *Tripoly*; and of *Ptolomy*, who places it yet more Northerly between *Orthofia* and *Balanea*.

On the 9th, our *Muliteers* were afraid lest their Beasts should be press'd for publick Service, as indeed they were, in Spight of all their Caution; and so we left them in the Plain of *Junia*, and arrived at *Tripoly* about Sun-set. It is seated about half an Hour from the Sea, and the major Part of the City lies between two Hills, one on the East, on which stands a Castle that commands the Place, and the other on the West, between the City and the Sea, which is said to be first rais'd, and still increas'd by Sand blown to it from the Shore; whence arises a Prophecy, that the whole City shall in Time be buried with this sandy Hill.

On the 10th, we were treated by Mr. *Fisher* in a narrow pleasant Valley by a River Side, about a Mile from the City: A-cross the Valley there runs, from Hill to Hill, a lofty Aquæduct, carrying upon it so great a Body of Water as suffices the whole City. It was called the *Prince's Bridge*, and is supposed to be built by *Godfrey of Bulloign*.

7. On the 11th we all dined at Consul *Hasting's* House, and after Dinner we went to wait upon *Ostan*,

the *Basha* of *Tripoly*, having first sent our Present, after the Manner of the *Turks*, to procure us a favourable Reception; for it is accounted uncivil in this Country, to visit without an Offering in Hand, which all great Men expect as a Tribute due to their Character. And even the inferior People seldom visit without bringing a Flower or an Orange, or some such Token of Respect, according to the ancient Oriental Custom, hinted in 1 *Sam. ix. 7. If we go, says Saul, what shall we bring the Man of God? there is not a Present, &c.*

On the 12th we went to visit *Bell-mount*, a Convent of *Greeks*, about two Hours to the South of *Tripoly*, and we came there just as they were going to Evening Service. The Church is large but obscure, and the Altar is enclos'd within Chancels, which none but the Priest must approach, after the Manner of the *Greek* Churches. They call the Congregation together by beating a Tune with two Mallets on a long Piece of Plank hanging at the Church Doors, Bells being an Abomination to the *Turks*. Their Service consisted in a hasty Chattering of certain Prayers and Hymns to our Blessed Saviour and the Virgin, and in some dark Ceremonies, for the Priest that officiated spent at least a third Part of his Time in compassing the Altar, and perfuming it with a Pot of Incense, and then going round the Congregation, tendring its Smoke with three Vibrations to every one present. Towards the End of the Service, there was brought into the Body of the Church a small Table, covered with a Linnen Cloth, on which were placed five small Cakes of Bread cross-wise; and in a Hole made in each Cake was fixed a small lighted Wax Taper. And then the Priest read the Gospel concerning our Lord's feeding the Multitude with five Loaves; after which, the Bread was carried within the *Cancelli*, and being there broke in Bits, was again brought out in a Basket, and presented to every one in the Assembly, that he might take a little.

After this Collation, the Priest pronounc'd the Blessing, and so the Service ended. On both Sides of the Church there were Seats for the Monks, being about forty in all, and in each Seat there were Crutches (as there are in most Churches of this Country) which are us'd by the Priest to ease him, by leaning on them, in Case the Service be long, because by the Rubrick he is forbidden to sit down. We found the Monks good-natur'd, but very ignorant, for the Chief of them told the Consul, that he was as glad to see him, as if he had beheld the Messiah in Person come to visit him. Nor is this Ignorance much to be wondred at, since they are forced to spend all the Time, between their Hours of Devotion, in managing their Flocks, cultivating the Lands, and pruning their Vineyards, which they do with their own Hands; and this they are obliged to do, not only for their own Sustenance, but to satisfy the unreasonable Exactions of the *Turks*. And to shew what Kind of Men they are, I took particular Notice, that the same Person whom we saw officiating at the Altar in his embroider'd Priestly Robe, brought us the next Day on his own Back, a Kid, and a Goat's Skin of Wine, as a Present from the Convent.

On the 13th: This Morning we went again to wait upon *Ostan* *Basha*, by his own Appointment, and were receiv'd with great Civility after their Manner, which is this: When you would make a Visit to a Person of Quality, you must send a Present by a Servant, who is to learn what Time may be most seasonable to wait upon him: When you come to the House, some Servants receive you at the outermost Gate, and conduct you towards their Master's Apartment, and others in their several Stations meet you as you draw nearer to him. Coming into the Room, you find him prepar'd to receive you, either standing at the Edge of the *Duan*, or lying down at one Corner of it, as he thinks proper. These *Duans* are low Stages rais'd about sixteen or eighteen Inches above the Floor, spread with Carpets, and furnish'd with Bolsters to lean upon; on which the *Turks* eat, sleep, smoke, say their Prayers, receive Visits, &c. Their whole Delight is in lolling on them, and their Luxury consists in furnishing them richly.

Being come to the Side of the *Duan*, you slip off your Shoes, and take your Place first at some Distance, and upon your Knees, laying your Hands formally before you; and there you must remain till the Man of Quality invites you to draw nearer, and to lean upon a Bolster. When you are thus fix'd, he discourses with you as Occasion offers, the Servants standing round with profound Respect and Silence. When you have talk'd over your Business or made your Compliments, he makes a Sign to have the Entertainment brought in, which is generally a little sweet Meat, a Dish of Shirbet, and another of Coffee, which is presently brought in by the Servants, and tender'd to all the Guests in Order with great Care; for if any of them should make the least Slip in giving or receiving his Dish, it might cost him 100 Drubs on his bare Feet to atone for his Crime. At last comes the finishing Part of the Entertainment, which is perfuming the Beards of the Company; and for this Purpose, they have a small Silver Chafing-dish, with a Lid full of Holes, fix'd on a Plate, in which they put some fresh Coals, and upon them a Piece of *Lignum-Aloes*, and then the Smoke ascends with a grateful Odour through the Holes of the Cover. This Smoke is held under every ones Chin, and offer'd as a Sacrifice to his Beard, which greedily drinks in the gummy Steam, and retains the Savour of it a good while after. This Ceremony is intended to give a civil Dismissal to the Visitants, intimating that they may go away as soon as they please, and the sooner after this the better.

Having ended our Visit to *Ostan Bassa*, we rid out after Dinner to view the Marine, which is about half an Hour distant from the City. The Port is an open Sea, rather than an enclos'd Harbour, but is partly defended by two small Isles, about two Leagues out from the Shore, one of which is called the *Bird*, and the other the *Coney-Island*, from the Creatures they severally produce. And for its Security from Pirates, it has six several Castles on the Shore at convenient Distances. In the Fields, near the Shore, there are many Heaps of Ruins and Pillars of Granite, which are Indications of some great Buildings this Way; which agrees with what *Causabon* says upon *Strabo*, that *Tripoly* was anciently a Cluster of three Cities, of which the first was the Seat of the *Aradii*, the second of the *Sidonians*, and the third of the *Tyrians*, which may more probably be the Occasion of the Name, than the Joint-Interest of three Cities in Building it, as is commonly said.

8. On the 14th, we rested at *Tripoly*, and on the 15th our *Muliteers* having run away for Fear of the *Bassa* of *Sidon*'s Servants, who press'd Mules every where for their Master's Service, we put ourselves in a new Posture of Travelling. We parted from *Tripoly*, and going close by the Sea-side, we came in an Hour and half to *Callemone*, a Village just under *Bell-mount*, and from hence putting forward, we met with a high Promontory that lay in our Way, and forc'd us to turn off to the Left-Hand into a narrow Valley, where we took up our Quarters under some Olive-trees; which Promontory seems to be that which is call'd by *Strabo* the *Face of God*, and which he assigns for the End of Mount *Libanus*.

On the 16th, this Morning we cross'd over the fore-mention'd Cape, which we did in an Hour, though it was very steep and rugged, and we came into a narrow Valley, which laid the Sea open again; and near the Entrance is a small Fort that commands it, call'd *Temseida*. And in half an Hour we came up with *Patrone*, which is thought to be *Botrus*, situate close by the Sea, in which we found some Remains of a Church and Monastery. In three Hours more we came to *Gybile*, call'd by the *Greeks* *Byblus*, a Place once famous for the Birth and Temple of *Adonis*. It is compass'd with a dry Ditch and a Wall, with square Towers at forty Yards Distance, and on its South-side it has an old Castle.

There is nothing else remarkable in it but many Heaps of Ruins, and the fine Pillars in the Gardens near the Town. It is probably the Country of the *Gi-*

blites, mention'd *Josh. xiii. 5.* whom King *Hiram* made use of in preparing Materials for *Solomon's Temple*, as may be collected from *1 King. v. 18.* where the Word rendred *Stone-squarers* in the *Hebrew* is *Giblim*, and in the Version of the seventy *Byblii, i. e.* the Men of *Byblus*, the former using the *Hebrew*, the latter the *Greek* Name of the Place; which Difference may be observ'd likewise in *Ezek. xxvii. 4.* where our Translation has the *Ancients of Gebel*, and the Seventy the *Elders of Byblus*. Leaving *Gybile*, we came to a River call'd by the *Turks* *Ibrahim Bassa*, which is doubtless that ancient River so famous for the Idolatrous Rites perform'd here in Lamentation of *Adonis*, and we lodg'd on the Banks of it that Night.

9. The 17th, having had a very tempestuous Night of Wind and Rain, we had an Opportunity of discovering the Occasion of that Opinion which *Lucian* relates, that this River, at certain Seasons of the Year, especially about the Feasts of *Adonis*, is of a bloody Colour, as he says, from a Sympathy for the Death of *Adonis*, who was kill'd by a wild Boar in the Mountains out of which this Stream rises; for we found the Water of a very red Colour, which doubtless was occasion'd by a Sort of *Minium*, or red Earth, wash'd into the River by the Violence of the Rain. In an Hour and a Quarter we pass'd over the Foot of Mount *Climar*, and entered into a large Bay call'd *Innia*, where we found an old Stone-Bridge, and at the Bottom the high Mountains of *Gastravan*, chiefly inhabited by *Maronites*, and famous for producing an excellent Sort of Wine.

The *Maronite* Bishop of *Aleppo* dwells here in a Convent, and there are many other small Convents on the Top of these Mountains. Towards the further Side of the Bay we came to a square Tower or Castle, at which we paid a fourth *Caphar*, which is receiv'd by the *Maronites*, who are more exacting Rogues than the *Turks* themselves. In an Hour more we came to the River *Lycus*, call'd also sometimes *Canis*, whose Name is deriv'd from an Idol in the Form of a Dog or Wolf, which was worship'd and gave Oracles. The Body of it is shewn to Strangers lying in the Sea, but the Head they say is to be seen at *Venice*. This River, which is certainly different from *Adonis*, (though some Moderns confound them) falls into the Sea from between two Mountains very high and rocky, where we found a good Bridge of four Arches, and near the Foot of it, a Piece of white Marble inlaid in the Side of a Rock, with an *Arab* Inscription, that the Emir *Faccardine* was the Founder of it.

Having pass'd the River, we presently ascend the Rock hanging over it on that Side, where we met with a Path above two Yards broad, cut along its Side at a great Height above the Water, being the Work of the Emperor *Antoninus*, as appears by an Inscription engraved on a Table, plain'd in the Side of the natural Rock. In passing this Way we saw strange antick Figures of Men carved in the Rock, in *Mezzo-relievo*, and in Bigness equal to the Life; and close by each Figure there was a Table plain'd in the Side of the Rock, on which something had been inscrib'd, though the Characters are generally now defac'd, which may deserve the further Scrutiny of some Traveller. The *Antonine* Way extends about a Quarter of an Hour's Travel; after which you come upon a smooth sandy Shore, which brings you in an Hour and half to the River *Beroot*, which has over it a Stone-Bridge of six Arches; and on the other Side is a Plain near the Sea, which is said to be the Stage on which *St. George* duell'd and kill'd the Dragon. In Memory of which, there is a small Chappel built upon the Place, dedicated at first to that Christian Hero, but now perverted to a Mosque. From hence in an Hour we arrived at *Beroot*, and quarter'd at a good Kane by the Sea-side.

10. On the 18th: This Day we spent at *Beroot*, anciently called *Berytus*, (from which the Idol *Baal-Berith* is suppos'd to have had its Name) which was honour'd with many Privileges, and the new Name of *Julia Felix* by *Augustus*. Its greatest Happiness at present consists in its Situation,

Situation, being seated by the Sea-side in a fertile Soil, which abounds with fresh Springs flowing down from the Hills. The Emir *Faccardine* had his chief Residence here, in the Reign of Sultan *Morat*, the fourth Emir or Prince of the *Druses*; who not contented to be penn'd up in the Mountains, enlarged his Dominions into the Plain, all along the Sea-Coast, as far as from this Place to *Acra*, but was driven back again to the Mountains by the Grand Signior. We went to his Palace, and found at the Entrance a Marble Fountain of greater Beauty than is usually seen in *Turkey*.

The best Sight that the Palace affords, which is much ruin'd, is the Orange-Garden, which contains a large quadrangular Plat of Ground, divided into sixteen lesser Squares, four in a Row, with Walks between them, which are shaded with Orange-trees of a fine Growth, on which the Fruit hung thicker than ever I saw Apples in *England*. Every one of these sixteen Squares was bordered with Stone, and in the Stone-work were Troughs artificially contrived for conveying the Water all over the Garden, there being little Outlets cut at every Tree for the Stream, as it pass'd by, to flow out and water it. But the *Turks* have so little Sense of such refin'd Delights, that they use it now as a Fold for Sheep and Goats. In another Garden we saw several Pedestals for Statues, and at one Corner of it, a Tower about sixty Foot high, whose Walls were twelve Foot thick, from whence we had a View of the whole City, and saw a large Christian Church, which was said to have been consecrated to St. *John* the Evangelist, but is now the chief Mosque of the *Turks*.

There is another Church, that being a very mean Fabrick, remains in the Hands of the *Greeks*, which is adorn'd with many old Pictures; and among the rest, I saw one with this Inscription in *Greek*, *Coartus the first, Archbishop of Berytus*, and just by it the Figure of *Nestorius*, who commonly makes one in the *Greek Church* of his Sect, though they do not now profess, nor, I believe, know, his Heresy. But there was one very odd Figure of a Saint, at full Length, with a large Beard reaching down to his Feet, and the Curate told us, that this was St. *Nicephorus*, who wanting the Ornament of a Beard to set off his other Endowments, fell into a deep Melancholy; whereupon the Devil tempted him to comply with his Suggestions, by promising to give him a Beard; but this beardless Saint rejected the Temptation, and at the same Time taking the downy Tuft upon his Chin in his Hand, he found the Hair immediately stretch with the Pluck he gave it, and he never left pulling his Beard till he had drawn it down to his Feet. At the East-end of *Beroot* are to be seen seven or eight Pillars of Granite, and several Pieces of Marble, having *Greek* and *Latin* Inscriptions, Fragments of Statues, and other poor Relicks of its ancient Grandeur. On the Sea-side is an old Castle, and some Remains of a Mole.

19th. Leaving *Beroot*, we came into a large Plain, and at the Entrance of it there is a Grove of Pine-trees of *Faccardine's* Plantation, and at a Distance we saw a small Village called *Suckfoat*, which belongs to the *Druses*, who possess at this Day a long Tract of Mountains as far as from *Castravan* to *Carmel*. Their present Prince is *Achmet*, Grandson to *Faccardine*, an old Man, and one who keeps up the Custom of his Ancestors, of turning Day into Night, from a traditional Persuasion among them, that Princes can never sleep securely but by Day, when Mens Actions and Designs are best observ'd by their Guards, and, if Need be, most easily prevented: but in the Night it concerns them to be always vigilant, lest the Darkness should give Traytors an Opportunity to assault them with Dagger or Pistol.

Two Hours from *Faccardine's* Grove brought us to the fifth Caphar, and another Hour to the River *Damer*, anciently called *Tanoras*. Here were Country Fellows who had stript themselves naked to assist us in passing over; and to make their Help more necessary, they brought us to a Place where the Water was deepest, which Cheat we saw them impose upon other Travellers; but we found a Place of the Stream which was broader and shallower, where we pass'd without their Assistance, and just by we saw the Ruins of a Stone Bridge, which

might have been still entire, had not these Villains broke it down to make their Advantage of Passengers, either in conducting them over for good Pay, or else, if they have Opportunity, drowning them for their Spoils. On the other Side of the River the Mountains came closer to the Sea, leaving only a narrow rocky Way between.

From *Damer*, in two Hours Time, we came to another considerable River, not mentioned by any Geographer; but the *Maronite* Patriarch at *Canobine* told me it was called *Awle*, and had its Fountain near *Barock* in Mount *Libanus*. At this River we were met by several *French* Merchants from *Sidon*, who have there the most considerable Factory they have in the *Levant*; and being arrived at *Sidon*, they conducted us to a large Kane close by the Sea, where the Consul and all the Nation are quartered together. Before this Kane is an old Mole running into the Sea, which was filled up with Rubbish by *Faccardine*, to prevent the *Turkish* Gallies from coming hither; so that all Ships that take in their Burthen here, are forc'd to ride at Anchor under a small Ridge of Rocks about a Mile from the Shore.

Sidon is well enough stock'd with Inhabitants, but is very much shrunk from its ancient Extent, and more from its Splendor, as appears from many beautiful Pillars that lie in the Gardens without the Walls. On the South-side stands an old Castle, said to be built by St. *Lewis IX.* of *France*; and not far from the Castle is an old Palace of *Faccardine's*, which serves the Basha for his Seraglio. Near to *Sidon* begins the Precincts of the *Holy Land*, particularly of that Part which was allotted to *Asher*, the Borders of which Tribe extended from *Carmel* as far as *Great Zidon*, as appears from *Joshua* xix. 26, 28. But the People on the Sea-coasts were never actually master'd by the *Israelites*, being left to be Thorns in their Sides for a Reason given, *Judges* ii. 1, 2, 3, &c. He who is the *French* Consul at *Sidon*, has also the Title of Consul of *Jerusalem*, and is obliged to visit the holy City every *Easter*; with whom we desired to join in this Year's Pilgrimage, but he set out from *Sidon* the Day before our Arrival there.

11. The 20th. We set out next Morning from *Sidon*, hoping to overtake the Consul, and travelling in a fruitful Plain, in half an Hour we met with a large Pillar of Granite lying cross the Highway, on which was a Fragment of an Inscription; and some *English* Gentlemen, in 1699, found another Pillar with the like Inscription, about Midway between *Jerusalem* and *Sidon*, by which we may observe the Exactness of the *Romans* in measuring out their Roads, and marking down on every Pillar the Number of Miles, as 1, 2, 3, &c.

A little beyond this Pillar we pass'd in Sight of *Korie*, a large Village on the Side of the Mountains, and in twelve Hours and half more came to *Sarphan*, supposed to be the ancient *Sarephath* or *Sarepta*, so famous for the Residence and Miracles of *Elijah*. From hence, in seven Hours, we arrived at *Casimeer*, a large River running down to the Sea, which had once a good Stone Bridge, of which there remains Nothing now but the Supporters, between which are laid Beams and Boards to supply the Room of Arches. This River, by modern Geographers, is falsely thought to be the old *Eleutherus*, as has been shewn before; but it seems to be that River mentioned by *Strabo*, p. 521. falling into the Sea near *Tyre*, for within a Bow-shot of this River *Casimeer*, is a Kane of the same Name, from which, keeping near the Sea-side, you arrive in an Hour at *Tyre*.

This City standing in the Sea upon a Peninsula, promises something magnificent at a Distance, but when you come to it, you find Nothing like the Glory for which of old it was so renown'd, as it is described, *Ezek.* 26, 27, 28. On the North-side it has an old *Turkish* Castle, besides which there is Nothing here but a mere *Babel* of broken Walls, Pillars, Vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire House left. Its present Inhabitants are only a few poor Wretches that harbour in Vaults, and subsist upon Fishing, whereby God appears to have fulfilled his Word concerning *Tyre*, viz. *That it should be as the Top of a Rock, a Place for Fishers to dry their Nets on*, *Ezek.* xxvi. 14.

In the Midst of the Ruins there stands up one Pile higher than the rest, which is the East-end of a great Church, probably of the Cathedral of *Tyre*, and may very well be the same that was erected by its Bishop *Paulinus*, and honour'd with that famous Consecration Sermon of *Eusebius*, recorded by himself in *Eccl. Hist.* l. 10. c. 4. And 'tis very observable, that in all the ruin'd Churches which we saw, being perhaps no fewer than 100, though their other Parts were totally demolish'd, yet the East-end we always found standing, and tolerably entire. How this came to pass I cannot determine, but certainly a Thing so universally observ'd by us in our Journey, could not proceed from blind Chance.

But to return; There being an old Stair-case in the Ruin above-mention'd, I got to the Top of it, from whence I had a Prospect of the Island-part of *Tyre*, the Isthmus, and the adjacent Shore; and from that Height I could discern the Isthmus to be a Soil of a different Nature from the other, it lying lower than either, and being cover'd all over with Sand, which the Sea casts upon it. The Island of *Tyre*, in its natural State, seems to have been of a circular Figure, about forty Acres in Compass, and the Foundations of the Wall that encompass'd it are still to be seen. It makes with the Isthmus two large Bays, one on its North-side, and the other on its South, which are in Part defended from the Ocean by a long Ridge, either of Walls or Rocks, resembling a Mole, stretching out directly on both Sides from the Head of the Island. Coming out of these Ruins, we saw the Foundation of a very strong Wall, running cross the Neck of Land which served as a Barrier to secure the City on this Side. And hence we pass'd the sandy Isthmus, and came to the Place we thought the natural Shore, where we met with a fertile Plain, which extends to a vast Compass before *Tyre*, whence we arrived in three Quarters of an Hour at *Roselayn*.

12. *March 21st*: *Roselayn* is the Place where are the Cisterns call'd *Solomon's*, which according to the common Tradition are said to have been made by that King, as part of his Recompence to King *Hiram*, for the Materials he sent toward building the Temple: But though they are very ancient, yet they are of a later Date than this Tradition makes them, because the Aquæduct which conveys the Water, is carried over that Neck of Land by which *Alexander* join'd the City to the Continent at his Siege of this Place, and so cannot be older than his Time. Of these Cisterns there are three entire at this Day, one about a Furlong and half distant from the Sea, the other two, a little further up. The former is of an Octogonal Figure, being twenty two Yards in Diameter, and contains a vast Body of excellent Water, which is so well supplied from its Fountain, that though there issues from it a Stream like a Brook, driving four Mills between this Place and the Sea, yet it is always brim-full. On the East-side was the ancient Outlet of Water by an Aquæduct, having a Channel one Yard wide, which is now stop'd up by the *Turks*, who have broke an Outlet on the other Side, which makes a Stream for grinding Corn.

The Aquæduct, now dry, is carried Eastward 120 Paces, and then approaches the two other Cisterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty Yards square, and they had each a Channel, by which they rendred their Waters into the Aquæduct, and so the united Streams of all the three Cisterns were carried together to *Tyre*. There still remains some Fragments of the Aquæduct, and in its Sides, and under its Arches, we observ'd some Heaps of Matter, produc'd by the Leakage of the Water which petrified as it distill'd from above, and by continual Accession of new Matter were grown to a great Bulk. They were compos'd of innumerable Tubes of Stone of different Sizes, cleaving to one another like Icicles, each Tube having a Cavity in its Center, from which its Parts were projected in the Form of Rays to the Circumference, like the Stones call'd Thunder-stones. The Fountain of these Waters is as unknown as the Contriver of them, though 'tis certain, from their Rising so high, they come from

some Part of the Mountains which are about a League distant.

From this pleasant Place we came in an Hour and half to the white Promontory, over which you pass by a Way about two Yards broad cut along its Side, from which the Prospect is dreadful, by Reason of the Steepness of the Mountains, and the Raging of the Sea at bottom. This Way, and the Castle *Scandalium*, which is not far off, are said to be built by *Alexander*; from whence we come first to *Nachera*, and then to the Plain of *Acra*, over a deep Mountain, suppos'd to be part of Mount *Sharon*. This Plain extends from Mount *Sharon* as far as *Carmel*, and is six Hours long, and two Hours broad, between the Sea and the Mountains, and was a delicious Plain, but is now, for Want of Culture, over-run with rank Weeds, which were, when we pass'd it, as high as our Horses Backs.

Having travell'd about an Hour in the Plain of *Acra*, we pass'd by an old Town call'd *Zib*, which probably is the Old *Achzib*, mention'd *Jos. xix. 29.* and *Jud. i. 31.* and seems to be one of the Places out of which the *Asberites* could not expel the *Canaanites*. Two Hours further we came to the Fountain of the blessed Virgin, as it is call'd by the *French* Merchants at *Acra*, at which Place we arriv'd in an Hour more.

Acra, anciently call'd *Accho*, is another of the Places from which the *Israelites* could not drive the Natives; but being in After-times enlarg'd by *Ptolemy I.* it was by him called *Ptolemais*. And since it was possessed by the *Turks*, like other Cities, having lost its *Greek* Name, it is call'd by them *Acca*, or *Acra*. This City has often chang'd Masters, and at last, by a long Siege, was taken and ruin'd by the *Turks*, in such a Manner as if they had taken Revenge upon it for the Blood it cost them. On the North and East it is compass'd with a spacious and fertile Plain, on the West it is wash'd by the *Mediterranean* Sea, and on the South by a large Bay, extending from the City as far as Mount *Carmel*.

But notwithstanding these Advantages, besides a large Kane in which are the *French* Factors, a Mosque, and a few poor Cottages, there is nothing now to be seen but vast Ruins, which show its former Strength, for it appears to have been compass'd about with a double Wall defended with Towers, and without the Walls are Ditches, Ramparts, and a kind of Bastions. In the Fields we find several large Balls of Stone, thirteen or fourteen Inches in Diameter, which were part of the Ammunition used in battering the City, Guns being then unknown. Within the Walls are the Ruins of the Cathedral dedicated to *St. Andrew*, of the Church of *St. John*, the titular Saint of this City, and of the Convent of the Knights-Hospitallers, and near to it the Palace of the Grand Master of that Order; and lastly, some Remains of a large Church, formerly belonging to a Nunnery, of which they tell this Story.

The *Turks* having press'd this City with a long Siege, at last entred it by Storm, *May 19, 1291.* In which Extremity, the Abbess fearing that herself and her Nuns should be subjected to such Bestialities as is usual in such Cases, exhorted them all to cut and mangle their Faces, as the only Way to preserve their Virgin Purity; and to encourage them, she made herself the first Example of her own Counsel, which the Nuns instantly follow'd, cutting off their Noses, and disfiguring their Faces with such terrible Gashes, as might excite Horror rather than lustful Desires. The Consequence of this was, that the Soldiers breaking into the Nunnery, and seeing instead of beautiful Ladies such sad Spectacles, put them all to the Sword in Revenge for disappointing their Lusts.

There are many other Ruins here of Churches, Palaces, Monasteries, Forts, &c. for more than half a Mile in Length. But that which pleas'd us most was, to find the *French* Consul *l'Empereur* here, who having staid for us two Days, resolv'd to set forward next Morning. But we were doubtful which Way to take, because of the Factions of the *Arabs*, which are kept up by the *Turks*, to prevent their uniting under one

Prince

Prince, whereby they might be strong enough to shake off the *Turkish* Yoke; for in these Discords Strangers are sure to suffer, being a Prey to each Party.

13. The 22d, we set out early from *Acra*, having some *Turkish* Soldiers for our Convoy: And first we pass'd by a small River, which we took to be *Belus*, famous for its Sand, of which Glass is made. Here we declin'd from the Sea-coast to the East, and crossing over the Plain, we arrived at its further Side, where it is bounded by Mount *Carmel*; and here we found a narrow Valley, which led us out of the Plain of *Acra* into that of *Esdraelon*. About this Place is the End of the Tribe of *Asber*, and the Beginning of that of *Zebulon*, as their Borders are described, *Josh. xix. 26*.

Passing through the said narrow Valley, we arrived in two Hours at the River *Kishon*, which cuts its Way down the Middle of the Plain of *Esdraelon*, and then continuing his Course by the Side of Mount *Carmel*, falls into the Sea at a Place called *Caypha*. We saw it when it was low, but we discern'd many Torrents falling into it from the Mountains, which must make it swell, as it did at the Destruction of *Sisera's* Host, *Judg. v. 21*. In three Hours and half from *Kishon*, we came to an old Village and good Kane called *Legune*, near to which we lodged that Night.

From this Place we viewed the Plain of *Esdraelon*, which is very large and fertile, and about six Hours Distance stood within View *Nazareth*, and the two Mounts *Tabor* and *Hermon*; and here we felt the Dew of *Hermon*, as the *Psalmist* calls it, our Tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all Night. About a Mile's Distance from us was encamped *Chibly*, Emir of the *Arabs*, with his People and Cattle; and below, upon the Brook *Kishon*, lay another Clan of the *Arabs*, being the adverse Party to *Chibly*; and it was little to our Satisfaction, that we were seated in the Midst between two such bad Neighbours.

The 23d. Leaving this Lodging, we went to the Emir's Tents, to whom we paid two Caphars, one of *Lagune*, and the other of *Jeneen*, and whatever else he was pleased to demand. He very civilly eas'd us of some of our Coats, which begun now, by reason of the Heat, to be troublesome. Getting quit of *Chibly*, we return'd out of the Plain of *Esdraelon*, and entred into the Precincts of the half Tribe of *Manasses*. From hence our Road lay, for four Hours, through narrow Valleys, pleasantly wooded on both Sides, and we lodg'd at *Caphar Arab*.

On the 24th, having paid our Caphar, we set out very early the next Morning; and leaving first *Arab*, and then *Rama*, on their Right-hand, we came to *Selee* and *Sebasta*, where we leave the Borders of the Half Tribe of *Manasses*, and enter into those of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. *Sebasta* is the ancient *Samaria*, the Imperial City of the Ten Tribes after their Revolt from the House of *David*, and being raised by *Herod the Great* to a magnificent State, was by him, in Honour of *Augustus*, call'd *Sebasta*.

It is situate on a long Mount of an oval Figure, and is now wholly converted into Gardens, having no other Remains of such a Place, but on the North-side a large square Piazza, encompass'd with Pillars, and on the East some Ruins of a great Church, said to be built by *Helena*, over the Place where *John the Baptist* was imprison'd and beheaded. In the Body of the Church you go down a Stair-case into the Dungeon where that Blood was shed. The *Turks* hold that Prison in great Veneration, and over it have erected a small Mosque; but for a little Piece of Money they suffer any one to go into it.

Leaving *Sebasta* we pass'd by *Sherack* and *Barseba*, and then entring into a Valley, we arrived in an Hour at *Naplosa*, which is the ancient *Sychem* or *Sychar*, as it is call'd in the *New Testament*. It stands in a narrow Valley between Mount *Gerizim* on the South, and *Ebal* on the North. From Mount *Gerizim* God commanded the Blessings to be pronounced upon the Children of *Israel*, and from Mount *Ebal* the Curses, *Deut. xi. 29*. Upon the former the *Samaritans*, whose chief Residence is at *Sychem*, have a small Temple, to which they are

still wont to repair for Religious Worship: But that their Religion consists in worshipping a Calf, as the *Jews* say, seems to have more of Spight than Truth in it.

Upon one of these Mountains also it was, that God commanded the Children of *Israel* to set up great Stones, plaister'd over and inscribed with the Body of the Law, and to erect an Altar, and offer Sacrifices, Feasting and Rejoycing, before the Lord, *Deut. xxvii. 4*. But whether *Gerizim*, or *Ebal*, was the Place appointed for this Solemnity, there is some Cause to doubt; for the *Hebrew Pentateuch* and ours, from it assign Mount *Ebal* for this Use; but the *Samaritan* asserts it was *Gerizim*. Our Company halting a little at *Naplosa*, I had an Opportunity to visit the chief Priest of the *Samaritans*, and to discourse with him about this and other Difficulties.

And first, as to the Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Copy, *Deut. xxvii. 4*. the Priest pretended, that the *Jews* had maliciously alter'd their Text out of Odium to the *Samaritans*, putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, because the *Samaritans* worshipped in the former, which, for that Reason, they would not have to be the true Place appointed by God for his Worship. To confirm this, he alledg'd, that *Ebal* was the Mountain of Cursing, *Deut. xi. 29*. and an unpleasant Place; whereas *Gerizim* was fertile and pleasant, and the Mountain of Blessing; and therefore it was more probable, that this was the Mountain appointed for Religious Worship, and not *Ebal*. But he could not say that any of those great Stones, which God directed *Joshua* to set up, were now to be seen in *Gerizim*, which would have determin'd the Question clearly on this Side.

I enquired also, what those *Selavae* were wherewith the Children of *Israel* were so long fed in the Wilderness, *Numb. xi.* he answer'd, They were a Sort of Fowls, which by his Description appear'd to be Quails. Then I ask'd him, what Sort of Plant or Fruit the *Dudaim* or Mandrakes were, which *Leab* gave to *Rachel* for the Purchase of her Husband's Embraces? He answer'd, They were Plants of a large Leaf, bearing a Fruit like an Apple, ripe in Harvest, but of an ill Savour and unwholesome, and that the Virtue of them was to help Conception, being laid under the genial Bed; to which Purpose they are often made Use of by Women at this Day.

Of these Plants I saw several in the Way to *Jerusalem*; and if they were as common in *Mesopotamia* as here, we must conclude, that either these were not the true Mandrakes, or else it is hard to give a Reason why *Rachel* should purchase such common Things at so beloved a Price. *Naplosa* is at present in a very mean Condition to what it has been anciently; it consists of two Streets lying parallel under Mount *Gerizim*, but is full of People. Having paid our Caphar here, we proceeded in the same narrow Valley between *Gerizim* and *Ebal*; and just without the City we saw a small Mosque, said to be built over the Sepulchre purchased by *Jacob* of *Emmor*, Father of *Shechem*, *Gen. xxxiii. 19*. It goes by the Name of *Joseph's* Sepulchre, his Bones being inter'd here, *Josh. xxiv. 32*. About a Quarter of an Hour from *Naplosa* we came to *Jacob's Well*, famous not only for its Author, but for the Conference it had there with the Woman of *Samaria*, *Joh. iv.* Over the Well there stood formerly a large Church erected by *Helena*, of which remains nothing now but some Foundations. The Well is cover'd at present with a Stone Vault, into which you are let down through a very straight Hole; and then removing a broad Stone, you discover the Mouth of the Well. It is dug in a firm Rock, and is about three Yards in Diameter, and thirty-five deep, five of which we found full of Water.

At this Well the narrow Valley of *Sychem* ends, opening into a wide Field, very pleasant and fruitful, which is probably Part of that Parcel of Ground given by *Jacob* to his Son *Joseph*, *Joh. iv. 5*. From *Jacob's Well* we went through a large Valley, and having pass'd by two Villages on the Right-hand, called *Howar* and *Sawee*, we came in four Hours to *Kane Leban*, near a Village of the same Name, one of which is supposed to have

have been the *Lebonah*, mentioned *Jud. xi. 19.* and here we lodg'd that Night.

14. On the 25th, from *Kane Leban* our Road lay through a rocky Country; but having pass'd-by *Cinga*, we entred into a narrow Valley between two rocky Hills, at the further End of which we found the Ruins of a Village and a Monastery. In this Place *Jacob's Bethel* is supposed to have been, where he had his strong Couch made easy by the Vision of God, and of the Angels ascending and descending on a Ladder between Earth and Heaven, *Gen. xxviii.* near which Place are the Limits that part between *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*, *Josh. xviii. 13.* From hence we pass'd through large Olive-yards, and having left *Geeb* and *Sekwid* on the Right-hand we arrived at *Beer*; which is the Place to which *Jotham* fled from the Revenge of *Abimelech*, *Jud. ix. 21.* and is supposed to be the same with *Michmas*, *1 Sam. xiv.*

Beer is seated on the Side of a Hill, which at the Bottom has a Fountain of the same Name, and at its upper Side are the Remains of an old Church built by *Helena*, in Memory of the blessed Virgin, who being in Quest of the Child *Jesus*, *Luke ii. 24.* is said to have fate down here pensive and weary, because she could not find him; but after her Return to *Jerusalem*, she found him sitting in the Temple with the Doctors, both hearing them, and asking them Questions. Thro' the whole of this Day's Journey we had nothing in View in most Places but Rocks, Mountains, and Precipices, which astonishes Pilgrims, as being contrary to those high Ideas they had form'd of the Pleasantness and Plenty of this Country, and almost startles their Faith, as thinking it hardly possible for a Land like this to feed so prodigious a Number as are said to have been poll'd at one Time, being no less than 1,300,000 fighting Men, besides Women and Children.

But to remove these Scruples, any one may observe that these Rocks and Hills must have been anciently covered with Earth and cultivated, and so they afforded a larger Space of Ground than if the Country were level, which they husbanded by gathering up the Stones, and placing them along the Sides of the Hill in Form of a Wall, which kept in the Mould, and form'd many Beds of excellent Soil, from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains; of which Form of Culture we see plain Footsteps in all the Mountains of *Palestine*. And there is Nothing upon Earth more fruitful, even at this Day, than the plain Country and Valleys, either for the Production of Corn or of Pasturage for Cattle.

The Hills, tho' improper for any Cattle but Goats, yet being disposed into the Beds before-mention'd, serv'd very well to bear Corn, Melons, Gourds, Cucumbers, and such-like Garden-stuff, which are the chief Food of these Countries for several Months of the Year. The most rocky Parts might serve for Vines and Olive-trees, which delight in such dry and flinty Places; and the great Plain joining to the Dead Sea, which by reason of its Saltness could not serve for Corn, Vines, or Olives, was yet very useful for the Nourishment of Bees, and making of Honey, as *Josephus* testifies, *Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 4.* and I found by Experience, when I was there, finding in many Places a strong Smell of Honey and Wax. Thus the Country might very well maintain the vast Numbers of its Inhabitants, being every where productive of Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil, or Honey, which are the principal Food of these Eastern Nations.

Leaving *Beer*, in two Hours and a Quarter we came to the Top of a Hill, from whence we had the first Prospect of *Jerusalem*; *Rama*, anciently called *Gibeab* of *Saul*, being within View on the Right-hand, and the Plain of *Jericho*, and the Mountains of *Gilead* on the Left. In an Hour more we came to the Walls of *Jerusalem*, but durst not enter without Leave of the Governor; which being obtain'd, we entred at the *Bethlehem* Gate, mounted and arm'd, because we were in Company with the *French* Consul, for otherwise all *Franks* that come not in with some publick Minister, are to dismount at the Gate, deliver their Arms, and enter on Foot. We took our Lodgings at the *French*

Consul's, and our Board at the *Latin* Convent, while we stay'd at *Jerusalem*.

15. The 26th, being *Good-Friday* in the *Latin* Stile, we were obliged to go with the Consul into the Church of the Sepulchre, to keep the Feast with him, though it was a Week before our own *Easter*. We found the Church Doors guarded by *Janizaries*, who suffer none to go in until they have paid their *Caphar*, which for *Franks* is commonly fourteen Dollars *per* Head, unless they be Ecclesiasticks, and then it is but half so much. This being once paid, you may go in and out *gratis* as oft as you please during the whole Feast at the ordinary Times when the Door is open. All the Pilgrims being admitted, the Church Doors were lock'd, and opened no more till *Easter-day*; and being confined for three Days, we visited all the holy Places at Leisure; therefore I shall relate what pass'd during the Festival, and say of the Church, what is necessary to make my Account intelligible.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is founded on Mount *Calvary*, a small Hill upon the greater Mount of *Moriab*; it was anciently appropriated to the Execution of Malefactors, and therefore shut out of the City as a polluted Place; but since it was made the Altar on which the precious Sacrifice for the Sins of the World was offer'd, it stands in the Midst of *Jerusalem*, a great Part of the Hill of *Sion* being shut out of the Walls to make Room for it.

Though a great Part of this Hill was cut away to make it a fit Foundation for a Church, yet Care was taken that none of those Parts concern'd in our Lord's Passion should be alter'd or diminish'd; and so that very Part of *Calvary* where Christ was fastened to the Cross, remains entire, being about ten or twelve Yards square, and standing so high above the Floor of the Church, that you have twenty one Steps to go up to its Top; and the holy Sepulchre, which at first was hewn into a Rock under Ground, is now a Grotto above Ground, the Rock being cut away from it all round. The Church is less than an hundred Paces long, and not more than sixty wide, yet it contains twelve or thirteen Sanctuaries, consecrated by some particular Actions relating to the Death or Resurrection of Christ.

As, 1. The Place where he was derided by the Soldiers. 2. Where the Soldiers divided his Garments. 3. Where he was shut up, while all was made ready for his Crucifixion. 4. Where he was nail'd to the Cross. 5. Where the Cross was erected. 6. Where the Soldiers stood that pierced his Side. 7. Where his Body was anointed in order to his Burial. 8. Where his Body was laid in the Sepulchre. 9. Where the Angels appeared to the Women after his Resurrection. 10. Where Christ himself appeared to *Mary Magdalen*, &c. All which Places, and many others of the same Nature, are contain'd within this Church, and adorn'd with so many several Altars.

In Galleries about the Church, and little Buildings annex'd to it, every Christian Nation had anciently proper Quarters for a Society of Monks, but now, all except four, have forsaken these Quarters, because of the severe Rents imposed upon them by their *Turkish* Landlords; and of these four, the *Cophies* have only one to represent their Nation; and the *Armenians* are so much in Debt, that they are likely to desert the Place quickly, and then the *Greeks* and *Latins* will only remain.

Besides their several Apartments, each Fraternity have their peculiar Altars and Sanctuary for their own Use. But the great Prize now disputed between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, is the Command of the Holy Sepulchre, in which Contention they have proceeded to Blows and Wounds, even at the Door of the Sepulchre; and as an Evidence of this Fury, the Father Guardian shew'd me a great Scar in his Arm, being the Mark of a Wound given by a *Greek* Priest; but at the Request of the *French* King, this holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the *Latins* in 1690, they alone having the Privilege to say Mass in it, though all other Christians may go into it for the Celebration of their private Devotions.

The *Latins*, of whom there are always ten or twelve at Church, with a President over them, make every Day a solemn Procession, with Tapers and Crucifixes, to the several Sanctuaries, and sing at every one a Hymn relating to the Subject of the Place. Their Ceremony begins on *Good-Friday* Night, which is called by them the *Nox Tenebrosa*; and as soon as it grew dusk, all the Friars and Pilgrims met in the Chapel of the Apparition, (which is on the North-side of the Holy Grave) to go in Procession round the Church.

After a Sermon, at which all the Candles were put out to make a lively Image of the dark Night, every one had a lighted Taper put into his Hand; and amongst the other Crucifixes, there was one very large, which bore an Image of our Lord, as big as the Life, fastned to it with great Nails, crown'd with Thorns, besmear'd with Blood, and lively represented our Lord's Body as it hung upon the Cross. This Figure was carried in the Head of the Procession, after which all the Company followed to all the several Sanctuaries of the Church, singing at every one a Hymn.

The first Place was that of the Pillar of Flagellation, kept in a little Cell just by the Chapel of Apparition; there they sung their Hymn, and a Friar preach'd in *Spanish* about the Scourging of our Lord. From hence they proceeded to the Prison of Christ, where they had also a Hymn and a Sermon. From the Prison they went to the Altar of the Division of Christ's Garments, where they only sung a Hymn; and from thence to the Chapel of Derision, where they had a Hymn and a fourth Sermon. From this Place they went up to *Calvary*, leaving their Shoes at the Foot of the Stairs. Here are two Altars, one where he was nail'd to the Cross, at which they laid down the great Crucifix, and acted the Nailing of Christ to the Cross. The other where his Cross was erected, bearing the Image of our Lord's Body. At this Altar there is a Hole in the natural Rock, in which the Foot of our Lord's Cross stood; and here they set up their Cross, with the bloody crucified Image upon it, and then sung a Hymn, and preach'd a very affecting Passion Sermon.

About a Yard and half from the Hole where the Foot of the Cross was fix'd, is seen that Cleft in the Rock which was made by the Earthquake at Christ's Death, when *the Rocks were rent*, *Matt. xxvii. 51*. It appears to be a natural Breach, for the Sides of it answer each other like two Tallies, and it runs in such intricate Windings as could not be counterfeited by Art. After the Ceremony of the Passion is over, two Friars personating *Joseph of Arimathea* and *Nicodemus*, come with a grave and solemn Air, and take down the feigned Body from the Cross. The Limbs of the Image were soft and flexible, and it was surprizing to see the two Mourners bend down the Arms which were before extended, and lay them upon the Trunk, as is usually done in Corpses. The Body being taken down was receiv'd in a large Winding-sheet, and carried from *Mount Calvary* to the Stone of Unction, *i. e.* the Place where our Lord's Body was anointed, *John xix. 39*. And here while they cast over it sweet Powders and Spices, they sung a proper Hymn, and a Friar preach'd a Funeral Sermon in *Arabick*. After this they carried the feigned Corpse and laid it in the Sepulchre, shutting up the Door till *Easter* Morning.

On the 27th: This Morning the Pilgrims had Leisure to mark their Arms with the usual Ensigns of *Jerusalem*; and in the Afternoon, the Congregation was assembled in the *Area* before the Holy Grave, where the Friars sung over the Lamentation of *Jeremy*, which with the usual Procession to the holy Places was all the Business of this Day.

16. On the 28th, being *Easter* Morning, the Sepulchre was again set open very early, and Mass was celebrated just before it, being the highest Place in this Church, where the Father Guardian in his Robes gave the Host to all that were dispos'd to receive it, not refusing Children of seven or eight Years old: Which Office being ended, we went out of the Sepulchre, return'd to the Convent, and din'd with the Friars. After Dinner we

went to visit some of the remarkable Places without the Walls; we began with those on the North-side. And first, we were conducted to a large Grot, a little without *Damascus*-gate, which is said to have been the Residence of *Jeremiah*: And here they shew'd us the Prophet's Bed, being a Shelf on the Rock about eight Foot from the Ground, and near it is the Place where they say he wrote his Lamentations. This Place is now a College of *Dervises*, and is much honour'd by *Turks* and *Jews*.

The next Place we came to, was those famous Grotts called the *Sepulchres of Kings*, for what Reason I know not, unless they were the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, mentioned *Chron. xxxii. 33*. but it appears by the Labour and Expence to have been the Work of Kings. At the East-end you enter through a Rock into an open Court, about forty Paces square, cut down into the Rock. On the South-side is a Portico nine Paces long, and four broad, cut out of the natural Rock, and at the End of it you descend into the Sepulchres, within which is a fair Room about seven or eight Yards square, cut out of the natural Rock so exactly square, that Nothing could be built more regular; and so firm, that it may be called a Chamber hewn out of one Piece of Marble.

From this Room you pass into six more, one within another, all of the same Fabrick with the first. In every one of these Rooms, besides the first, were Coffins of Stone placed in Niches on the Sides of the Chamber, and in each Room there was a small Channel cut in the Floor, to drain the Drops that constantly fall into it. But the most surprizing thing that belongs to these Rooms was their Doors, of which there is only one remains hanging to puzzle the Beholders. It consisted of a Plank of Stone about six Inches thick, of the Size of an ordinary Door; it was carved so as to resemble a Piece of Wainscot, but the Stone was visibly of the same Kind with the whole Rock, and turned upon two Hinges like Axels, which were of the same Stone with the Door, and contained in two Holes of the Rock, one at the Top, the other at the Bottom.

It seem'd to be a Riddle to Pilgrims, whether these Doors were here cut out of the Rock, or brought hither; for resolving of which, I observed that the Door left hanging did not touch its Lintel by at least two Inches, and so might easily be lifted up and unhinged, which intimates how this Work was done. From these Sepulchres we return'd towards the City, and just by *Herod's* Gate were shown a Grotto full of Mire, which passes for *Jeremiah's* Dungeon, out of which he was dismissed by *Ebed Melech*, *Jer. xxxviii*.

17. The 29th. This Day, being *Easter Monday*, the *Moslem*, or Governor of the City, set out with some Bands of Soldiers to convey the Pilgrims to *Jordan*, and to secure them from the Insolence of the *Arabs* in those Parts. The Fee to the *Moslem*, upon this Occasion, is twelve Dollars for each *Frank* Pilgrim, and six for Ecclesiasticks, which every one must pay, whether they go the Journey or stay in the City. We went out at *St. Stephen's* Gate, being in all, of every Nation and Sex, about 2000 Pilgrims; and having cross'd the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, and Part of *Mount Olivet*, we came in half an Hour to *Bethany*. At the Entrance into it there is an old Ruin called *Lazarus's Castle*, supposed to be his Mansion-house, and not far from it is the Sepulchre out of which he was raised by Christ, which is held in great Veneration by the *Turks*, who use it for an Oratory, and demand of all Christians a *Caphar* for their Admission into it.

A little further you pass by what they call *Mary Magdalen's* Habitation, and then descending a Hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apostles, where they were wont to refresh themselves in their Travels between *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*. After some Hours Travel in a barren Country, you come to the mountainous Desert into which our Saviour was led by the Spirit to be tempted of the Devil; and from the Top of these Hills we had a Prospect of the Mountains of *Arabia*, the *Dead Sea*, and the Plain of *Jericho*, into which we descended, and turning up on the Left-hand, we came to the Foot of the *Quarantania*, which they say is the Mountain into which

which the Devil took our Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary Scene of all the Kingdoms in the World, and the Glories of them.

Turning down hence into the Plain, we came to the Fountain of *Elisba*, so called, because by him it was miraculously purg'd of its Brackishness, at the Request of the Men of *Jericho*, 2 *Kings* ii. 19. Its Waters now being receiv'd in a Bason, divide themselves into several small Streams, which refresh the whole Field that lies between this and *Jericho*. A little from hence is *Jericho*, at present only a poor nasty Village of the *Arabs*; and here we saw the Place where *Zaccheus's* House is said to have stood, which is an old square Stone Building on the South side of *Jericho*.

30th. We set out early for *Jordan*, and arrived there in two Hours. We found the Plain very barren, producing Nothing but Marine Plants; and in many Places of the Road, where Puddles of Water had stood, we observed a Whiteness on the Surface of the Ground, which we found to be a Crust of Salt raised by the Water out of the Earth. About a Furlong from the River *Jordan*, was an old Church and Convent dedicated to St. *John*, in Memory of his baptizing our Saviour. We were there in *March*, but could discern no Sign of its overflowing, though it was the proper Time for these Inundations.

One Bank of the River is so beset with Bushes and Trees, that several Sorts of Wild Beasts are said to harbour in them; whose being wash'd out of their Cover by the Overflowings of the River, gave Occasion to that Allusion, *Jer.* xlix. 19. *He shall come up like a Lion, from the swelling of Jordan.* When we came to the River, some stript and bath'd themselves in it, others cut down Boughs from the Trees, and every one was some Way employ'd to take a Memorial of this famous Stream. Its Breadth was, about twenty Yards over, and in Depth it far exceeded my Height. By the Moslem's Leave we went towards the Dead Sea with a Guard to attend us. The Dead Sea is enclosed on the East and West with very high Mountains; on the North it is bounded with the Plain of *Jericho*, on which Side also it receives the Waters of *Jordan*. On the South it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye. It is said to be twenty four Leagues long, and six or seven broad. On the Shore of the Lake we found a black Sort of Pebbles, which being held in the Flame of a Candle, soon burns, and yields a Smoke of an intolerable Stench; but by burning it loses only of its Weight, and not of its Bulk. It is a common Tradition, that Birds attempting to fly over this Sea, drop down dead into it; and that no Fish, nor other Sort of Animal, can live in these Waters. The former Report I saw actually confuted, by several Birds flying over this Sea without any visible Harm. The latter I have some Reason to suspect as false, having observed on the Shore two or three Shells of Fish like Oyster-shells. As for the Bitumen, for which the Sea is famous, there was none at the Place where we were, but it is gathered near the Mountains on both Sides in great Plenty. It is so like Pitch, that it cannot be easily distinguished from it but by its sulphureous Smell and Taste.

The Water of the Lake was clear, and not only salt to the highest Degree, but extreme bitter. To try its Strength I went into it, and found it bore up my Body Swimming with an uncommon Force. Though I diligently searched, I could not find any Remains of those Cities here situated, which were made so dreadful an Example of Divine Vengeance; neither could I discern any Smoke ascending above the Water, nor any Ruins. But the Father-guardian, and Procurator of *Jerusalem*, both assured me, that they had seen one of these Ruins, and the Water being very shallow, they went to it, and found there several Pillars, and other Fragments of Buildings. On the West-side of this Sea is a small Promontory, near which, as our Guides told us, is the Monument of *Lot's* Wife metamorphos'd.

As to the Apples of *Sodom*, I never saw nor heard of any such hereabouts, nor is there any Tree near the Lake from which one might expect such Fruit. In our Return, about an Hour's Distance from the Sea, we

saw a ruin'd *Greek* Convent, and found a good Part of the Church remaining, with the Figures of several Saints, and a *Greek* Inscription over the Altar. Hereabouts, and in many other Places of the Plain, I perceived a strong Scent of Honey and Wax, the Sun being hot, and the Bees very industrious about the Blossoms of that Salt Weed the Plain produces. Among the Products of this Place, I saw a notable Fruit, called by the *Arabs*, *Zacchone*; it grows on a thorny Bush with small Leaves, and both in Shape and Colour resembles an unripe Wall-nut. The Kernels of this Fruit the *Arabs* bray in a Mortar, and then putting the Pulp into scalding Water, they skim off the Oil which rises to the Top; which Oil they use inwardly for Bruises, and outwardly for green Wounds; and I have found it, upon some Trials, a very healing Medicine.

18. On the 31st: This Morning we went in Six Hours near the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Bethlehem* in two Hours, through the Valley of *Bephaim*, famous for being the Theatre of *David's* Victories, 2 *Sam.* v. 23. In this Road we met, 1. With the House of *Simeon*, who having our Saviour in his Arms sung his *Nunc dimittis*. 2. The Turpentine-tree under which the Virgin is said to have rested, when she carried Christ in her Arms to present him to the Lord at *Jerusalem*. 3. A Convent dedicated to *Elias*, where the *Greek* Monks pretend to shew the Impression of his Body in a Stone that serv'd for his Bed; near to which is the Well of the Star, that appear'd to the wise Men, which there re-appear'd to them. 4. *Rachel's* Tomb, mention'd *Gen.* xxxv. 19. which is a modern Structure, but probably the true Place of her Interment.

Being arriv'd at *Bethlehem*, we went to all the Holy Places belonging to it, viz. the Place where our Lord is said to be born, the Manger wherein he is said to be laid, the Chapel of *Joseph* his supposed Father, that of the Innocents, those of St. *Jerom*, of St. *Paula* and *Eustochium*, and of *Eusebius* of *Cremona*, and the School of St. *Jerom*; all which Places I only Name, being afore describ'd by Mr. *Sandys*.

From the Top of the Church we had a View of *Tekeah*, about nine Miles distant Southward, of *Engedi* about three Miles Eastward, and of a high Hill called the *Franks* Hill, being defended by the *Crusaders* forty Years after the Loss of *Jerusalem*.

April 1. We went to see the remarkable Places near *Bethlehem*, and first to the famous Fountains, Pools and Gardens, which are said to be King *Solomon's*; to which he seems to allude, *Eccl.* ii. 5, 6. The Pools are three in Number, so dispos'd, that the Waters of the uppermost descend into the second, and the second into the third. The Breadth in all is the same, being about ninety Paces, but the Length is different, that of the first being about an hundred and sixty Paces, that of the second two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty.

About an hundred and forty Paces from them, is the Fountain from which they chiefly derive their Waters, which the Friars will have to be that seal'd Fountain to which the Spouse is compar'd, *Cant.* iv. 12. Here you find four Places where the Water rises, from which it is convey'd into a Bason, and from thence is carried by a subterraneous Passage into the Pools; and by the Way there is an Aquæduct of brick Pipes, which receives Part of the Stream, and carries it by many Turnings about the Mountains to *Jerusalem*. These Pools may probably be the same with *Solomon's*, because there is not the like Store of good Spring-water to be met with any where else in *Palestine*. From these Memorials of *Solomon* we return'd to visit some Places nearer *Bethlehem*, where we saw the Field in which they say the Shepherds were watching their Flocks, when they receiv'd the glad Tidings of Christ's Birth, and hard by the Village where they dwelt, and an old Nunnery built by St. *Paula*, in which she died; all which Places lie Eastward about half a Mile from the Convent.

But to the Westward we saw *David's* Well, which he so much thirsted after, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 15. and a little beyond it some Remains of an old Aquæduct, which convey'd the Waters from *Solomon's* Pools to *Jerusalem*; which

which is said to have been the genuine Work of *Solomon*, but is now destroy'd by the *Turks*. Returning from this Place, we went to see the *Greek* and *Armenian* Convents, contiguous to that of the *Latins*, each of which has a several Door opening into the Chapel of the holy Manger; and then we went to the Grot of the blessed Virgin, within forty Yards of the Convent, where she is said to have hid herself, and her divine Babe, from the Fury of *Herod*, sometime before their Departure into *Egypt*. This Grot is hollow'd into a chalky Rock, whose Whiteness they say proceeds from some Drops of the Virgin's Milk, that fell from her Breast while she was sucking the holy Infant; upon which Account, they believe that this Chalk has a miraculous Virtue of encreasing Women's Milk, and for that End it is often taken by Women *Turks*, *Arabs* and *Christians*, and they say with very good Effect.

19. On the 2d, having presented the Guardian with two *Chequeens* for his Civilities to us, we went from *Beitlehem* to go visit the Wilderness, and Convent of *St. John Baptist*, and in this Stage we first cross'd that famous Valley in which the Angel is said in one Night to have destroy'd many thousands in the Army of *Senacherib*; and then we came to *Boatbellah*, in which they say no *Turk* can live above two Years, by which Report the *Christians* have it to themselves. A little further we came to a Fountain, where they told us, but falsely, that *Philip* baptiz'd the *Ethiopian* Eunuch; and then to the Village of *St. Philip*, at which ascending a steep Hill, we came to the Wilderness of *St. John*, which is very rocky, but is well cultivated, and produces great Plenty of Corn, Vines and Olive-trees. And here we saw the Cave and Fountain where the *Baptist* is said to have led an austere Life, *Mat. iii. 4.* Near this Cell are some Locust-trees, which the Friars say yielded him Sustenance, though they appear to be planted much later than his Time. After this, as we went to the Convent of *St. John*, we pass'd along one Side of the Valley of *Elah*, where *David* slew the Giant, *1 Sam. xvii.* and had a View of *Modon*, on the Top of a Hill, the Burying-place of the *Maccabees*.

When we came near the Convent, we visited a Place which they call the House of *Elizabeth*, Mother of the *Baptist*; and in the Ruins of the Convent that was formerly here, is a Grotto in which they say the blessed Virgin saluted *Elizabeth*, and pronounced her divine *Magnificat*, *Luke i. 46.* The Convent of *St. John* has been rebuilt from the Ground within these four Years, and is now a large square Building, and neat all over; and has in it a very beautiful Church, at the North-end of which you go down seven Marble Steps to a stately Altar, erected over the Place where they say the *Baptist* was born. As we return'd from *St. John's* to *Jerusalem*, we saw a Convent of the *Greeks*, taking its Name from the Holy Cross, because they say here is the Earth that nourish'd the Root that bore the Tree that yielded the Timber that made the Cross; and under the high Altar you are shown the Hole in the Ground where the Stump of the Tree stood. After this we return'd to *Jerusalem*, and had our Feet washed by the Guardian, and kiss'd by every Friar, who did all sing *Latin* Hymns at the Time.

20. On the 3d, we went to see the Office of the Holy Fire, a Ceremony kept up by the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who believe that every *Easter-Eve* a miraculous Flame descends from Heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there. When we came to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crouded with a numerous Mob, who began their Disorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their Might, crying out *Huia*, i. e. *This is he*, or *this is it*; by which they express the Truth of the Christian Religion. After this they began to act many antick Tricks, like Mad-men; sometimes they dragg'd one another round the Sepulchre, sometimes they set one Man upon another's Shoulders, and so march'd round; and sometimes they tumbled round the Sepulchre like Tumblers on a Stage, and acting the rudest Things on this Occasion.

This frantick Humour continued from twelve to four; and then the *Greeks* first set out in a Procession round the Sepulchre, who were immediately follow'd by the *Armenians*, in which Order they thrice compass'd the Sepulchre, producing their Standards, Crucifixes, and embroider'd Habits, upon this Occasion. Towards the End of this Procession, a Pidgeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulchre, at which there was a great Shout; and the *Latins* told us, this was let fly by the *Greeks*, to deceive the People into an Opinion that it was a visible Descent of the Holy Ghost. The Procession being over, the Suffragan of the *Greek* Patriarch, and the principal *Armenian* Bishop, approach'd the Door of the Sepulchre, and cutting the String with which it was fasten'd, and seal'd entred in, shutting the Door after him, all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguish'd in the Presence of the *Turks*. And then the Exclamations were double as the Miracle drew nearer, and the People press'd with such Vehemence to the Door, that the *Turks* could not keep them off with the severest Drubs, which they did out of a great Desire to light their Candles at the holy Flame, as soon as it is brought out of the Sepulchre, for that is counted most sacred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

The two Miracle-mongers had not been above a Minute in the Sepulchre, when the Glimmring of the holy Fire was seen through some Chinks of the Door, which made the Mob as mad as any in *Bedlam*. Then presently came out the two Priests with blazing Torches in their Hands, which they held up at the Door of the Sepulchre, while the People thronged with mighty Zeal to obtain a Part of the first and purest Flame, and could not be kept off by the hard Blows of the *Turks* Clubs, who laid on without Mercy. Those who got the Fire applied it to their Beards and Faces, pretending it would not burn like an earthly Flame; but I saw none that endured the Tryal long enough to make good the Pretension. However, so many Tapers were presently lighted, that the whole Church seem'd to be in a Flame; and with this Illumination the Ceremony ended. Those within the Church acted their Part with great Quickness and Dexterity, but the Behaviour of the Rabble without, which would better become a *Bacchanale* than a *Christian* Festival, very much discredited the Miracle.

The *Latins* take a great deal of Pains to expose this Ceremony as a shameful Imposture, and a Scandal to the Christian Religion; but the *Greeks* and *Armenians* pin their Faith upon it, and make their Pilgrimages chiefly upon this Motive; and it is the Unhappiness of their Priests, that having acted the Cheat so long, they are forced now to stand to it for Fear of endangering the Apoastcy of their People. After the Rout was over, when we went out of Church, we saw several People about the Stone of Unction, who, having Store of Candles lighted with the holy Fire, were daubing Pieces of Linen with the Weiks of them, and the melting Wax, which were designed for Winding-sheets; for they believe, that if they are buried in a Shroud smutted with this Fire, it will secure them from Hell-fire.

The 4th being our *Easter*, we did not go abroad, the Time requiring Employment of another Nature.

21. On the 5th we went to see some new Curiosities; and first we came to that which is called *St. Peter's* Prison, from which he was deliver'd by an Angel, *Acts xii.* Next we came to an old Church, in the Place where the House of *Zebedee* stood; then to the Place where stood the Irongate which open'd to *St. Peter* of its own Accord; and a little farther is a small Church built over the House of *St. Mark*, whither *Peter* went after his miraculous Goal-delivery. The *Syrians*, who keep it, pretend to show you the Window at which *Rhoda* look'd out when *Peter* knock'd at the Door. In the Church they shew a *Syriack* MS. of the *New-Testament*, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty-two Years old, and a little Stone-Font used by the Apostles in baptizing. Beyond this, in the same Street, is that which is call'd the House of *St. Thomas*, formerly a Church now a Mosque.

A little

A little further, in another Street, is the Place where they say our Lord appear'd after his Resurrection to the *Maries*, *Matt. xxviii. 9.* And here the *Armenians* have their Convent and Gardens, which take up all that Part of Mount *Sion* that is within the Walls of the City. Their Church is built over the Place where they say *St. James*, the Brother of *John*, was beheaded, *Acts xii. 2.* and on the North-side of it is shown the Place of his Decollation. In this Church are two Altars set out with extraordinary Splendor, deck'd with rich Mitres, Copes, Crosses of Silver and Gold, &c. and in the Middle a Pulpit made of Tortoise-shell, and Mother of Pearl, curiously mingled and inlaid in one another.

In the Anti-chapel are three large rough Stones, esteem'd very precious, one of them being the Stone upon which *Moses* cast the two Tables when he broke them, the other two being brought, one from the Place of our Lord's Baptism, and the other from that of his Transfiguration. After this we went to another Chapel of the *Armenians*, which is said to be founded in the Place where *Annas's* House stood; and in it is shown a Hole, denoting the Place where one of the Officers of the High-Priest smote our Saviour, *John xviii. 22.* whom the Friars will have to be the same *Malchus*, whose Ear our Lord heal'd. In the Court before this Chapel is an Olive-tree, to which they say Christ was chain'd for some Time by Order of *Annas* to secure him from escaping.

From the House of *Annas* we went out of *Sion gate*, which is near to that they call the House of *Caiaphas*, where is another small Chapel of the *Armenians*. Here, under the Altar, they say is the Stone which was laid to the Door of our Saviour's Sepulchre, *Matt. xxvii. 60.* which the *Armenians* stole from the Church of the Sepulchre and brought hither; it is two Yards and a half long, one Yard high, and as much broad. Here is likewise shown a Cell, said to have been our Lord's Prison till the Morning, when he was carried hence before *Pilate*; and also the Place where *Peter* was frighted into a Denial of his Master. A little further without the Gate was the Church of the *Cænaculum*, where they say Christ instituted his last Supper, which is now a Mosque. Near this is a Well, which is said to be the Place where the Apostles divided to go every one to his several Charge; and close by it is the Ruin of a House, in which the Virgin is said to have breathed her last. And a little lower is the Grot in which *St. Peter* wept so bitterly for denying his Master. After this we return'd to the Convent, and by the Way had a View of the beautiful Gate of the Temple.

On the 6th, we took a another Progress about the City; and going out at *Bethlehem-Gate*, and turning on the Left-hand, we came to *Bethsheba's* Pool, where she is said to be washing herself when *David* spied her from his Palace. A little below this Pool begins the Valley of *Hinnom*, on the West-side of which is the Place call'd the *Field of Blood*, now called *Campo Sancto*, which is about thirty Yards long, and half as broad. The Corpses are let down into it through five Holes left open for that Purpose, through which we could see the Bodies under several Degrees of Decay. A little below the *Campo Sancto* is an intricate Cave, in which the Apostles are said to have hid themselves when they forsook their Master and fled. The Valley of *Jebosaphat* crosses the End of that of *Hinnom*, in which is the Brook *Cedron*, which is always dry except in the Winter.

In this Valley of *Jebosaphat* we first went to the Well of *Nehemiah*, so called, because it is reputed the Place where he recover'd the Fire of the Altar after the *Babylonish* Captivity, *2 Mac. i. 19.* A little higher is the Place where *Isaiab* is said to be sawn asunder; and above that is the Pool of *Siloam*. A little farther is the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin, and over-against it the Village call'd *Siloe*, in which *Solomon* is said to have kept his strange Wives; and above it is a Hill call'd the *Mountain of Offence*, where *Solomon* built the high Places, *1 Kings xi. 7.* Not far from it they show another Field of Blood, where *Judas* met with his compounded Death, *Matt. xxvii. 5.* Here also they show'd

us two noble Antiquities, the Sepulchre of *Zachariah*, and the Pillar of *Absalom*; and close by is the Sepulchre of *Jebosaphat*. From hence keeping in the Valley, we saw the Sepulchres of the Blessed Virgin, *St. Anna*, and *Joseph*. After this, going up the Hill, we saw a broad Stone on which they say *St. Stephen* was martyr'd, and not far from it a Grot into which the *Jews* cast his Body; from whence we went to *St. Stephen's Gate* of the City.

22. On the 7th, we set out again to see the holy Places upon Mount *Olivet*, and as we ascended the Mount we saw certain Grotto's, call'd the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher you come to the Place where they say Christ utter'd his Prophecy concerning the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Matt. xxiv.* and on the Right-hand is the Place where they say he dictated a second Time the *Pater-noster* to his Disciples, *Luke xi. 1, 2.* At the Top of the Hill you come to the Place of our Lord's Ascension. Here was anciently a large Church built in Honour of that Triumph, in which they shew the Print of our Saviour's Foot; but it is now used for a Mosque, as many other holy Places about *Jerusalem* are, whether out of Devotion or Lucre I do not determine. Two Furlongs Northward is the highest Place of Mount *Olivet*, on which stood a high Tower call'd *Viri Gallilei*! in Memory of the Apparition of the two Angels to the Apostles after Christ's Ascension, which about two Years since was demolish'd by a *Turk*, who bought the Field in which it stood. From this Place we descended the Mount by another Way, and about Midway they show the Place where Christ beheld the City, and wept over it, *Luke xix. 41.*

A little lower they show *Gethsemane*, about fifty seven Yards square, lying between the Foot of Mount *Olivet* and the Brook *Cedron*. It is well planted with Olive-trees, which are believed to be the same that stood here in our Saviour's Time; which Opinion made these Olives and Oil an excellent Commodity in *Spain*. At the upper Part of the Garden is a flat Ledge of Rocks, which is said to be the Place on which *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell asleep during our Saviour's Agony; and just by is a Grotto, which is said to be the Place in which our Saviour underwent that bitter Part of his Passion. Not far off is a small Shred of Ground twelve Yards long and one broad, which is said to be the Path on which *Judas* walk'd up to Christ, and said, *Hail, Master*, and kiss'd him: Which narrow Path is separated by a Wall out of the Midst of the Garden, as a *Terra damnata*; which is the more remarkable, because it is done by the *Turks*, who, as well as *Christians*, detest the Ground on which that infamous Treachery was acted.

On the 8th, we went to see the Palace of *Pilate*, which is not far from *St. Stephen's Gate*, from whence we had a Prospect of the Place where the Temple stood, which is all that is allow'd us, for we cannot go within the Borders of it without forfeiting Life or Religion. It lies upon the Top of Mount *Moriah*, over-against Mount *Olivet*, the Valley of *Jebosaphat* lying between. It was about five hundred and ninety of my Paces long, and three hundred and seventy broad; in the Middle of the Area stands now a Mosque, which is said to be built on the Ground where formerly stood the *Sanctum Sanctorum*.

In this pretended House of *Pilate* is shown the Room where Christ was mock'd with the Ensigns of Royalty, and buffeted by the Soldiers. As you come out is a Descent, where was formerly the *Scala Sancta*. On the other Side of the Street is the Room where, they say, our Saviour was scourged, which is now a Weaver's Shop. Returning from *Pilate's* Palace, we pass'd along the dolorous Way, in which we saw, 1. The Place where *Pilate* brought our Lord forth to the People, and said, *Behold the Man!* 2. Where Christ fainted thrice under the Weight of the Cross. 3. Where the Blessed Virgin swoon'd at so tragical a Spectacle. 4. Where *Veronica* presented him the Handkerchief to wipe his Bleeding Brows: And, 5. Where the Soldiers compel'd *Simon* to bear his Cross. All which Places I need only to name, being described by others.

On the 9th, we saw the Pool of *Bethesda*, which is one hundred and twenty Paces long, forty broad, and eight deep, but no Water in it; and there we saw some Arches, which are said to be the Porches in which the Lame, Halt, and Blind sat, *John* v. From hence we went to the Convent of *St. Anne*, where there is a large Church, and under it a Grotto, where, they say, the Blessed Virgin was born. Near this Church they shew the *Pharisees* House, where *Mary Magdalen* wash'd Christ's Feet with her Tears, and wiped them with her Hair, *Luke* vii. 38. In the Afternoon we saw the stately Pool of Mount *Gibon*, which is one hundred and six Paces long, and sixty-seven broad, lined with a Wall, and well stored with Water.

On the 10th, we went to take our Leave of the holy Sepulchre, which being the last Time, the *Turks* allow free Admittance to all People without any Fee, not only to the Poor, but to the Lewd, who prophaned it as much as when the Heathen celebrated here their *Aphrodisia*. On the 11th began the *Turks* Byram, and we kept at home to avoid the Affronts usual at such Festivals. On the 12th and 13th, we prepared for our Departure, and how to avoid the *Arabs*, by going along with the *Mosolem*.

23. On the 14th, we went with a small Present to wait on the *Mosolem*, who set out the next Morning; and before our Departure I took the Measure of the City, going out at *Bethlehem-Gate*, and walking round about to the same Gate again, and found it in Circumference to be four thousand six hundred and thirty Paces, and ten of my Paces amounting to nine Yards; this Number makes four thousand one hundred and sixty-seven Yards, which is just two Miles and an half.

On the 15th in the Morning, having received our *Diplomata*, to certify that we had visited the holy Places, and presented the Convent with fifty Dollars a Man for their Trouble, we set out with the *Mosolem*, and lodg'd at Kane *Leban*. The Country People being at Plough, in order to sow Cotton, us'd Goats of an extraordinary Size, being eight Foot long, having at one End a sharp Prickle to drive the Oxen, and at the other a Paddle to cleanse the Plough, which is held by the same Person that drives; and with such a Goat it seems to be, that *Shamgar* made the great Slaughter *Judg.* iii. 31.

The 16th. Leaving Kane *Leban*, we passed by *Naplosa* and *Samaria*, and came to the Fountain *Selee*, where we lodg'd. The 17th, we travelled in the same Road we came to *Capbar-Arab*, and then we left that Road, resolving to cross the Plain of *Esdraelon*, and visit *Nazareth*, which we did, after paying our *Caphar* to Emir *Chibly*.

24. April 18. *Nazareth* is now a small Village, on a high Hill, where we were treated at a Convent of some *Latin* Fathers, who live in perpetual Fear of the *Arabs*. The Church of *Nazareth* stands in a Cave, said to be the Place where the blessed Virgin received the Message from the Angel, *Hail thou that art highly favoured, &c.* *Luke* i. 28. It resembles the Figure of a Cross, whereof the Tree is fourteen Paces long, and six over, and the Traverse is nine Paces long, and four broad; just at the Section are two granite Pillars, whereof one stands at the Place where the Angel, the other where the blessed Virgin stood at the Time of the Annunciation.

After this we went to see the House of *Joseph*, where they say the Son of God liv'd for near thirty Years in Subjection to Man, *Luke* ii. 51; and near this they shew the Synagogue, where our Lord preached that Sermon which so much exasperated his Country-men, *Luke* iv. Here are the Ruins of two Churches built by *Helena*.

On the 19th, about two Hours distant from *Nazareth* Eastward, is Mount *Tabor*, a high Mountain, round and beautiful, standing in the Plain of *Esdraelon*, about three Furlongs within the Plain. This is thought to be the Mountain on which our Lord was transfigur'd, *Mat.* xvii. which has a plain Area at Top very fertile, on which in several Places are Cisterns of good Water,

and three Grotto's representing three Tabernacles, which *St. Peter* propos'd to erect, when he said, *Let us make three Tabernacles, &c.*

And here I cannot but observe, that almost all Passages and Histories of the Gospel, are said by them who shew the Places, to have been done in Grotto's. Thus the Places of the blessed Virgin's Birth, of the Annunciation, of the Virgin's Salutation of *Elizabeth*, of the *Baptist's* and *Christ's* Nativity, of *St. Peter's* Repentance, and the Transfiguration; all these Places are said to be Grotto's, though it is no Ways probable that so many various Actions, with such Circumstances as seems sometimes to require Places of another Nature, should be done in Grotto's.

From the Top of *Tabor* you have a most delightful Prospect: On the North-west you discern the *Mediterranean*, and all round you have the beautiful Plains of *Esdraelon* and *Galilee*, where you have a View of many Places memorable for the Resort and Miracles of Christ; at the Bottom stands *Daberab*, which is said to take its Name from *Deborah*, and near it is the Fountain of *Kishon*. Eastward you see Mount *Hermon*, and at the Foot of it *Nani*, famous for our Lord's raising the Widow's Son there, *Luke* vii. 14. and *Endor*, where *Saul* consulted the Witch. Southward you see the Mountains of *Gilboa*, fatal to *Saul* and his Sons.

Due East you discover the Sea of *Tiberias*, and close by it a steep Hill, down which the Herd of Swine ran and perished in the Waters, *Mat.* viii. 32. Towards the North appears that which they call the Mountain of *Beatitudes*, where our Saviour delivered his Sermon, *Mat.* v. 6, 7. And not far from this little Hill is the City *Saphet*, that stands upon a high Mountain, to which being then in View, our Saviour may be supposed to allude, when he says, *Mat.* v. 4. *A City set on a Hill cannot be hid.* From Mount *Tabor*, we had also a Sight of the Place call'd *Dothani*, where they say *Joseph* was sold by his Brethren, and of the Field where our Saviour fed the Multitude with a few Loaves, and a few Fishes. After Dinner we went to see the Mountain of the *Precipitation*, i. e. the Brow of the Hill where they say the *Nazarites* would have thrown down our Saviour, *Luke* 4. had he not made a miraculous Escape: And here the Friars show some Holes, which they call the Prints of Christ's Fingers, made in the hard Stone, when he resisted the Violence offer'd him.

20. On the 20th, we directed our Course to *Acra*, pass'd in View of *Cana* of *Galilee*, and came to *Sepharia*, the reputed Habitation of *Joachim* and *Anna*, Parents of the blessed Virgin; over which stands a good Part of a large Church. Here begins the Plain of *Zabulon*, from whence we came to *Acra*.

On the 21st: At *Acra* we were treated by the *French* Consul, and came the first Night to our old Lodging at *Solomon's* Cisterns.

On the 22d: About three Hours from *Sidon*, we were carried to see a Place we had not observ'd before, which was a high rocky Mountain; on the Side of which were hewn a Multitude of Grotts, to the Number of 200, as they were counted, which have an Entrance two Foot square, and a Room within for the most part four Yards square, which seem'd to be design'd for the Use of the Living, and not of the Dead, because some of the Cells are no more than one Yard square, and in the Rock are Cisterns for storing up Water. On the 23d, we continued at *Sidon*, being generously treated by the *French*.

26. On the 24th, having gone through the Olive-Yards of *Sidon*, we ascended *Libanus*, till we came to a Fountain call'd *Ambus-lee*. On the 25th, we arrived at the highest Ridge of the Mountain, where the Snow lay close by the Road; and then we begun to descend on the other Side, and came to a Village call'd *Meshgarab*, where a *Caphar* was demanded by the *Druses*, who possess these Mountains. From hence, in one Hour, we entred into a Valley call'd *Bocat*: This seems to be the same with *Bicath-Aven*, mentioned *Amos* i. 5. together with *Eden* and *Damascus*, for there is very near it a Place call'd *Eden* to this Day; in this Valley there runs a large River call'd *Sejane*, which falls at last into

into the River *Casimir*, falsely call'd *Eleutherus*. We cross'd a Bridge, and pitch'd our Tents on its Bank.

On the 26th, we pass'd through the Valley *Bocat*, and came to the Foot of *Antilibanus*; and having pass'd by several Villages, we went through a narrow Clift between two rocky Mountains to *Demus*, a small Caphar. On the 27th in the Morning, we came to the River *Barrady*, which supplies all the Gardens and the City of *Damascus* with Water; we cross'd over it at a Bridge, and our Road ascending brought us to the Brink of a high Precipice, from whence the *Turks* say their Prophet took a View of the City *Damascus*, which he found so pleasant and beautiful that he would not enter into it, because he said there is but one Paradise designed for Man, and he would not take his in this World.

It is, as near as I could guess, about two Miles long, but compass'd with Gardens, extending to thirty Miles round; in which are Fruit-trees of all kinds, and many Turrets, Steeples and Summer-houses, peeping out from green Boughs. The River *Barrady*, near its Spring-head, is divided into three Streams, whereof the Middle-most runs directly to *Damascus*, and is distributed in the City; the other two are drawn round to the Borders of the Gardens, so that there is not a Garden but has a fine quick Stream, which serves not only for watering the Place, but for Fountains and other Water-works.

This River was call'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans* *Chrysorrhoas*; but as for *Arbana* and *Pharpar*, Rivers of *Damascus*, mention'd 2 *Kings* v. 12. I could find no Memorial of them, but doubtless they were Branches of the River *Barrady*. We continued a good While upon the Precipice, as being loth to leave such a charming Prospect, though it allur'd us down to the City. Coming down the Hill into the Plains, we were conducted by a *Janizary* into the City, where we observ'd the Garden-walls to be made of great Pieces of Earth, fashion'd like Bricks, and hardned in the Sun, being two Yards long and one Broad, and half of one thick. We also observ'd their Method of scouring the Channels: They put a great Bough of a Tree in the Water, and fasten it to a Yoke of Oxen, upon the Bough there sits a good heavy Fellow to press it down and drive the Oxen; and thus the Bough is dragg'd all along the Channel, and serves at once both to cleanse the Bottom and also to fatten the Water, for the greater Benefit of the Gardens.

On the 28th, we walk'd out to take a View of the City: And here we found all the Houses on the Outside built either with Sun-burnt Brick or *Flemish* Wall, very coarsely daub'd over; and so by the Washing of the Houses upon a violent Rain, the whole City becomes as it were a Quagmire. But the Gates in these Mud-walls are adorn'd with Marble Portals, carv'd and inlaid with great Beauty; and on the Inside you find generally a square Court, beautified with Variety of fragrant Trees and Marble Fountains, and Duans floor'd with Marble, richly gilded, and furnish'd with Carpets and Cushions.

In the next Place we went to see the Church of St. *John Baptist*, now converted into a Mosque, which no Christian may enter into. Its Gates are vastly large, cover'd with Brass, stamp'd over with *Arab* Characters; and within it is spacious and lofty, built with three Isles, between which are Rows of polish'd Marble of great Beauty. In this Church is kept the Head of St. *John*, with other Reliques so holy, that it is Death for a *Turk* to go into the Room where they are. From the Church we went to the Castle, and being admitted within the Gate we saw Store of ancient Arms and Armour, and among the rest a *Roman* Balista, and a Chain cut in Stone.

27. On the 29th, we went to see the Cavalcade of the *Hadjees* setting out for *Mecca*, which has been describ'd before. After this we went to see the *Ager Damascenus*, a beautiful Meadow just without the City, divided in the Middle by a Branch of the River *Barrady*; and it is a current Tradition here, that *Adam* was made of the Earth of this Field. Adjoining to this is a large

Hospital, enclosed on the South-side by a stately Mosque, and on the other Sides with Cloysters and Lodgings. Returning hence Homeward we saw a beautiful Bagnio, and not far from it a Coffee-house capable of entertaining four or five hundred People.

It had two Quarters for Guests, one for Summer, and the other for Winter. That for Summer was a small Island, wash'd round with a large swift Stream, shaded over Head with Trees, and with Mats when the Boughs fail. And here we found a Multitude of *Turks* in the Duans, regaling themselves with Greens and Water, which two, with a beautiful Face, according to their Proverb, are a perfect Antidote against Melancholy. In the Afternoon we went to visit what they call the House of *Ananias*, who restor'd Sight to St. *Paul*, *Acts* ix. 17. And the Place shown for it is a small Grotto, containing a *Christian* Altar and a *Turkish* Praying-place, seated too near one another.

Our next Walk was out of the East-gate, to see the Place of St. *Paul's* Vision, which is about half a Mile from the City, close by the Way-side. A little nearer the City is a small Timber-structure with an Altar in it, where you are told St. *Paul* rested some time in his Way to the City after the Vision, *Acts* ix. 8. Being return'd to the City we were shown the Gate at which St. *Paul* was set down in a Basket, *Acts* ix. 25. This Gate is at present wall'd up, by Reason of its Vicinity to the East-Gate, which renders it of little Use. In the City we saw the Patriarch of it, who told me there were more than twelve Hundred of the *Greek* Communion in that City.

On the 30th, we went to visit the Gardens, and spent a Day in one of them, where we found a pleasant Summer-house, with a plentiful Stream of Water running through it, and the Garden thick set with Fruit-trees. In visiting these Gardens, the *Franks* are oblig'd either to walk on Foot, or ride on Asses, which stand there ready to be hir'd) for the *Turks* will not allow them to ride a Horse. May 1. we spent in another Garden, whose Summer-house was more splendid, and had greater Variety of Fountains.

On the 2d, Some of us went to *Sidonaia*, a *Greek* Convent, about four Hours from *Damascus* to the Northward, and by the Way we saw on the Right-hand a very high Hill, reputed the same on which *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd Sacrifices, and where the latter was slain by the former. *Sidonaia* is situated at the further Side of a large Vale, on the Top of a Rock, which would be inaccessible but for the Steps that are cut in it all the Way up. It is fenc'd at Top with a Wall (which encloses the Convent, which was at first founded by *Justinian*, and is at present possess'd by twenty *Greek* Monks, and forty Nuns, who live promiscuously together.

Upon this Rock, and in a little Compass round about it, are no less than sixteen Churches or Oratories, dedicated to several Names, 1. To St. *John*. 2. To St. *Paul*. 3. To St. *Thomas*. 4. To St. *Babylas*. 5. To St. *Barbara*. 6. To St. *Christopher*. 7. To St. *Joseph*. 8. To St. *Lazarus*. 9. To the blessed Virgin. 10. To St. *Demetrius*. 11. To St. *Saba*. 12. To St. *Peter*. 13. To St. *George*. 14. To *All-Saints*. 15. To the *Ascension*. 16. To the Transfiguration of our Lord; from all which we may conclude, that this Place was highly esteem'd for Holiness.

In the Chapel here made Use of by the Convent for their daily Service, they pretend to a great Miracle, of which they give this Account. In this Church they had once a little Picture of the blessed Virgin, very famous for the many Cures and Blessings granted to Supplicants. This Picture was stole away by a sacrilegious Rogue, who had not kept it long but it turn'd into a Body of Flesh; which wonderful Event struck him with such Remorse, that he carried back the Prize, and begg'd Pardon for his Crime. The Monks having recover'd so great a Jewel, to secure it for the future, laid it in a Chest of Stone, and placing it in a little Cavity behind the high Altar, fix'd an Iron Grate before it.

Upon

Upon the Grates hang Abundance of Toys, being the Offerings of many Votaries for the Success of their Prayers made at this Shrine. Under the same Chest, in which the Incarnate Picture was deposited, they always place a small Silver Basin, to receive the holy Oil, which they pretend distils from the enclosed Image, and does wonderful Cures in many Distempers, especially those affecting the Eyes. On the East-side of the Rock is an ancient Sepulchre hollow'd in the firm Stone, which is about eight Yards square, and contains twelve Chests for Corpses. At the Entrance are six Statues in three Niches, two in each; at the Pedestals are some Greek Words very dark.

On the 3d, we went to see the Street call'd *Straight*, *Acts ix. 11.* in which is shewn the House of *Judas*, with whom *St. Paul* lodg'd; and in the same House is an old Tomb said to be *Ananias's*, much reverenc'd by the *Turks*, who keep a Lamp always burning over it. On the 4th: In an Hour and half we came to a small Village call'd *Sinie*, just by which, on the Top of a Hill, is an old Structure, suppos'd to be the Tomb of *Abel*, which is thirty Yards long, and thought to be but just proportion'd to his Stature; from whence the adjacent Country, in old Times, was call'd *Abylene*.

28. On the 5th we pass'd by the Fountain of *Barady*, and came to a Village called *Surgawch*, from whence we arrived a second Time in the Valley of *Bocat*; and hence, going Northerly, we came in three Hours to *Balbeck*, which is suppos'd to be the ancient *Heliopolis*, or City of the Sun, and so the Word imports; for *Baal*, though it comprehends all Idols of whatever Sex, is very often appropriated to the Sun, which is the Sovereign Idol of this Country. The City has a pleasant Situation on the East-side of the Valley of *Bocats*, of a square Figure, compass'd with a good Wall, though its Houses are mean, as they are usually in *Turkish* Villages.

There is in it a noble Ruin, which was anciently a Heathen Temple, in which we observed, first, a round Pile of Building, all of Marble, encircled with Columns of the *Corinthian* Order, very beautiful, which support a Cornish that runs all round the Structure, of no ordinary State and Beauty; and what remains of it at present is in a very tottering Condition, but yet the *Greeks* use it for a Church, which should excite them to a little more Fervour in their Prayers than they generally use, for they are seemingly the most indevout at their Divine Service, of any People in the Christian World.

But besides this Temple, here is another Curiosity, which is so strange, that a Man may be thought to strain the Privilege of Travellers in relating it, and that is a large Piece of the old Wall, which encompasses all the Structures in the City; a Wall made of such prodigious great Stones, that the Natives here ascribe the Building of it to the Devil. Three of the Stones we measured, and found them to extend to sixty one Yards in Length, whereof one was twenty one, and the other two twenty Yards long; these three Stones lay in one Row, End to End. Here was also a single Column of the *Tuscan* Order about fourteen Yards high, and one Yard and half diameter, having a Channel cut from the Bottom to the Top.

On the 6th we left *Balbeck*, and went a-cross the Valley; and as we pass'd by the Walls of the City, we saw many Stones inscribed with *Roman* Letters, which show that the Walls are made of the Ruins of the old City. In two Hours we saw, near the Road, an old Pillar nineteen Yards high, and five Foot in Diameter. In an Hour more we came to the other Side of the Valley, at the Foot of *Anti-libanus*; and, ascending the Mountain, we saw an old Lake called *Limone*, and thence in an Hour more we arrived at the Snow. Here we lodged all Night on the Top of *Libanus*, which is free from Rocks, but very barren, and cover'd with a Sort of white Slates.

It is so high, that it proves a Conservatory of Abundance of Snow; which thawing in the Summer, supplies with Water the Rivers and the Fountains in the Valleys below; and in the Snow we saw the Print of the

Feet of Wild Beasts, the sole Proprietors of these upper Parts of the Mountain.

On the 7th we went almost four Hours upon Snow, which being frozen, bore us and our Horses, and then descending about an Hour, we came to a Fountain and a milder Region. From hence we design'd for *Canobine*, but our Guide being at a Loss, we steer'd to *Tripoly*, where we were nobly treated.

29. On the 8th, Mr. Consul *Hastings* carried us to see the Castle of *Tripoly*, which is situate on a Hill that commands the City; but being now unprovided with Arms, it serves rather for a Prison than a Garrison. There was in it a poor Christian called *Sheck Eunice*, a *Maronite*, one that had formerly renounced his Faith, and turn'd *Mahometan*; but in his declining Age retracted his Apostacy, and died to atone it; for he was impaled by Order of the *Basha* two Days after we had left *Tripoly*; which Kind of Punishment is certainly one of the greatest Barbarities that can be offer'd to human Nature.

The Execution is done after this Manner: They take a Post about the Bigness of a Man's Leg, eight or nine Foot long, which they make sharp at one End, and force the Criminal to carry to the Place of Execution; and there they thrust in the Stake at his Fundament, and then taking him by the Legs, draw on his Body upon it till the Point of the Stake appears at his Shoulders; and then they erect the Stake, and fasten it in a Hole dug in the Ground. The Criminal sitting in this Posture, does sometimes drink, smoke, and talk, for twenty-four Hours; but generally, after he has remain'd an Hour in this Posture, one of the By-standers is permitted to give him a gracious Stab to the Heart, which puts an End to his inexpressible Misery.

On the 9th, having cross'd the Plain of *Tripoly*, we came to the Foot of *Libanus*; and thence ascending, in four Hours we pass'd by a Village call'd *Eden*, and in two Hours and a Half more we came to the Cedars which grow amongst the Snow, near the highest Part of *Libanon*, where we found some very old, and of a prodigious Bulk, of which Sort I counted sixteen, and others younger, of a smaller Size. I measured one of the largest, and found it twelve Yards six Inches in Girth, and thirty-seven Yards in the Spread of its Boughs. It was still found, and about five Yards from the Ground, was divided into five Limbs, and each of which was equal to a great Tree.

After we had staid about half an Hour in this Place, the Clouds began to thicken and fly upon the Ground, which so obscured the Road, that with much ado we found the Way that goes down to *Canobine*; which is a Convent of the *Maronites*, and the Seat of a Patriarch, and is pleasantly situated near a Rupture in *Libanus*, cloath'd with Greens, and refresh'd with Fountains. It is seated on the North-side of this Chasm, about the Midway in the Mountain, and was founded by *Theodosius the Great*, at the Mouth of a great Cave, having a few Rooms fronting outward that have the Light of the Sun, the rest being all under Ground. The Valley of *Canobine* was anciently much resorted to for Religious Retirement, as appears from the many Hermitages, Cells, and Monasteries here to be seen.

On the 10th, I took my Leave of the Patriarch, and return'd to *Tripoly*, through a Path cut in the Side of the aforesaid Rupture. On the 11th, we took our Leaves of our worthy Friends at *Tripoly*, and travelling the same Way we came, we arrived in eight Days at the *Honey-Kane*, and found many of our *Aleppine* Friends there. All that occur'd to us new in these Days Travel, was a particular Way used by the Country-people in gathering Corn, which they pluck up by Handfuls from the Roots, that they may loose none of their Straw, which is generally very short, and necessary for the Sustainance of their Cattle, no Hay being made here. This is their Practice in all Places of the East I have seen, and seems to give Light to that Expression of the *Psalmist*, *Psal. cxxix. 6. which withereth afore it be plucked up*; and though there is Mention in the next Verse of a Mower; yet being such as fills not his Hand, this rather confirms the former Sense.

30. We

130. We are next to take Notice of an Excursion our Author made some Years after this, in order to take a View of the famous River *Euphrates*, and the Country near it on both Sides; which being so famous both in ancient and modern History, might well excite his Curiosity, as the Plainness and Perspicuity of his Account cannot but satisfy ours. We set out, says he, from *Aleppo*, April 17, 1699, and steering East North East somewhat less, we came in three Hours and a half to *Surbass*.

The 18th, we came in three Hours and a half to *Bezay*, passing by *Bab*, where is a good Aquæduct, *Dyn il Daab*, to which you descend by about thirty Steps, and *Lediff*, a pleasant Village. Our Course was thus far East and by North. In the Afternoon we advanced three Hours farther, Course North East, to an old ruined Place, formerly of some Consideration, called *Acamy*: It is situated in the Wilderness on a Hill encompassed by a Valley: It was large, and had the Footsteps of good Walls and Buildings.

The 19th we went East and by North, and in four Hours arrived at *Bambych*. This Place has no Remnants of its ancient Greatness but its Walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three Miles in Compass. Several Fragments of them remain on the East-side, especially at the East Gate, and another Piece of eighty Yards long, with Towers of large square Stone, extremely well built. On the North-side I found a Stone, with the Busts of a Man and Woman large as the Life, and under two Eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the Side of a large Well, was fixed a Stone with three Figures carved on it in *Basso Relievo*. They were two *Syrens*, which twining their fishy Tails together, made a Seat on which was placed sitting a naked Woman, her Arms and the *Syrens* on each Side mutually entwined.

On the West-side is a deep Pit of about an hundred Yards Diameter: It was low and had now Water in it, and seemed to have had great Buildings all round it, with the Pillars and Ruins of which it is now in Part filled up, but not so much but that there was still Water in it. Here are a Multitude of subterraneous Aquæducts brought to this City, the People attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride no where about the City without seeing them. We pitched by one about a Quarter of a Mile East of the City, which yields a fine Stream, and emptying itself into a Valley, waters it, and makes it extremely fruitful. Here perhaps were the Pastures of the Beasts designed for Sacrifice. Here are now only a few poor Inhabitants, though anciently all the North-side was well inhabited by *Saracens*, as may be seen by the Remains of a noble Mosque and Bagnio a little without the Walls. We were here visited by a Company of *Begdelies*, who were incamped some Hours further towards *Euphrates*, having about a thousand Horse there.

20. For avoiding the *Begdelies*, we hired a Guide, who conducted us a By-way. We travelled North North East over a Desert Ground, and came in three Hours to a small Rivulet called *Sejour*, which falls into the *Euphrates* about three Hours below *Jerabolus*. In about two Hours more we came to a fine fruitful Plain, covered with extraordinary good Corn, lying between the Hills and the River *Euphrates*. In about an Hour and half's Travelling through this Plain on the Banks of the River, we came to *Jerabolus*. This Place is of a semicircular Figure, its flat Side lying on the Banks of *Euphrates*; on that Side it has a high long Mount close by the Water, very steep. It was anciently built upon (and at one End of it I saw Fragments of) very large Pillars, a Yard and half Diameter, and Capitals and Cornishes well carved. At the Foot of the Mount was carved on a large Stone, a Beast resembling a Lion, with a Bridle in his Mouth, and I believe anciently a Person sitting on it; But the Stone is in that Part now broke away; the Tail of the Beast was couped.

Round about this Place are high Banks cast up, and there is the Footsteps of Wall on them. The Gates seem to have been well-built; the Whole was 2250 Paces, that is Yards, in Circumference. The River is

here as large as the *Thames* at *London*; a long Bullet-gun could not shoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water. Here is found a large Serpent, which has Legs and Claws, called *Woralla*. I was told by a *Turk*, that a little below this Place, when the River is low, may be seen the Ruins of a Stone-bridge over the River; for my own Part, I saw it not, nor do I much rely on the *Turk's* Veracity. The River seem'd to be lately fallen very suddenly, for the Banks were fresh wet two Yards and more above the Water. It was here North and South.

On the 21st we kept close on the Banks of *Euphrates*, and in two Hours and a Half crossed a fine Rivulet called *Towzad*, and in two Hours more arrived over-against *Beer*, and pitched on a Flat, close by the River-side. Observing the Latitude of the Place by my Quadrant, I found the Angle between the Sun and the Zenith, to be twenty-two Degrees, and the Declination this Day being fifteen Degrees ten Minutes; the Whole is thirty seven Degrees, and ten Minutes.

On the 22d, we continued at our Station, not daring to cross the River for Fear of falling into the Hands of the *Chiah* of the Basha of *Urfa*, who was then at *Beer*, ordering many Boats of Corn down to *Bagdal*. We were supplied at the same Time with Provisions by *Sbeck Affyne*, to whom we made Returns.

On the 23d, the *Chiah* being now departed, *Sbeck Affyne* invited us over to *Beer*. We crossed in a Boat of the Country, of which they have a great many, this being the great Pass into *Mesopotamia*. The Boats are of a miserable Fabrick, flat and open in the Fore-part for Horses to enter: They are large enough to carry about four Horses each: Their Way to cross is, by drawing up the Boat as high as they know to be necessary, and then with wretched Oars striking over the Falls a good Way down by the Force of the Stream before they arrive at the further Side.

Having saluted *Affyne*, we were conducted to see the Castle, which is a large old Building on the Top of a great long Rock, separated by a great Gulph or natural Bottom, from the Land. At first coming within the Gates, which are of Iron, we saw several large Globes of Stone, about twenty Inches diameter, and great Axles of Iron, with Wheels which were entire Blocks of Wood two Foot thick in the Nave, and cut somewhat to an Edge toward the Periphery and Screws, to bend Bows or Engines; as also several Brass Field Pieces.

Ascending up the Sides of the Rock by a Way cut obliquely, you come to the Castle. At first Entrance you find a Way cut under Ground down to the River. In the Castle the principal Things we saw were, first, a large Room full of old Arms. I saw here Glass Bottles to be shot at the End of Arrows; one of them was stuck at the End of an Arrow, with four Pieces of Tin by its Sides, to keep it firm. Vast large Cross-bows and Beams, seemingly designed for Battering, Rams and Roman Saddles, and Head-pieces of a large Size, some of which were painted, and some large Thongs for Bow-strings, and Bags for slinging Stones. But the Jealousy of the *Turks* would not permit us to stay so long as would have been requisite for a perfect Examination of these Antiquities. From the Castle we return'd to *Affyne*, and were civilly treated. In the Evening we went up into the Country of *Mesopotamia*. The Hills are chalky and steep, and come close to the Water-side, without a Plain intervening, as it is upon the Side of *Syria*, so that *Beer* stands on the Side of a Hill. However, it has a Couple of fine Streams that run over the Top of the Hill; one of which drives two Mills, and so runs down to the City, which is well walled. In the Side of the Hill there is a Kane under Ground, cut into the Rock, with fifteen large Pillars left to support its Roof.

24. We left *Beer*, and travelling West, came in three Hours to *Nizib*, a Place well situated at the Head of the *Towzad*. Here is an old small Church very strong and entire, only the Cupola in the Middle of the Cross is broke down, and its Space covered with Leaves to fit the Place for a Mosque. I believe the *Turks* made the Places to which they turn in Prayers, empty

Niches, to shew that they worshipped one invisible God, not to be represented by Images. In two Hours we came from *Nizib* to a good Christian Village called *Uwur*, and in an Hour and half more to a Well in the Desert.

25. We travelled West near two Hours, and came through a fine Country diversify'd into small Hills and Valleys, to a Village called *Adjia*, having left *Silam* and two other Villages on the Right-hand. At *Adjia* rises the River of *Aleppo* from a large Fountain at once, and just above it runs the *Sejour*, which might be let into it by a short Cut of ten Yards. From *Adjia* our Course was West North West. The Banks of the *Sejour* are well planted with Trees and Villages. In two little Hours we came to *Antab*, having crossed the *Sejour* at a Bridge, about three Quarters of an Hour before. Leaving the City on the Right-hand we passed under its Walls, and pitched about three Quarters of an Hour from it on a plain Field, on the Banks of the *Sejour*.

Antab stands mostly on a Hill, having a Castle, on a round Mount at its North-side, and exactly resembling that of *Aleppo*, though much less: It has a very deep Ditch round it, and at the Foot of the Mount within the Ditch, is a Gallery cut through the Rock all round the Castle with Portals for Shot, and it is faced with Stone Walls, where the Rock was not strong enough. The Houses have generally no upper Rooms, the *Bazars* are large. I saw here a fine Stone very much resembling Porphyry, being of a red Ground with yellow Specks, and Veins very glossy. It is dug just by *Antab*.

Antab is doubtless *Antiochia penes Taurum*, in the Skirts of which it stands, and is not far distant from the highest Ridge: It is about two Thirds as big as *Aleppo*.

26. We passed through a fruitful mountainous Country, and came in seven Hours and a Quarter to *Rowant* Castle: It stands on the Top of a round steep Hill, and has been strong for the Times it was built in. It is probably a *Saracen* Fabrick, and is now in Ruins. At the Foot of the Hill Westward runs the River *Ephreen*, its Course is South-South-West; our Course from *Antab* to *Rowant* was North-West and by North.

27. We continued travelling through the Mountains, which were now somewhat more uneven and precipitious, but watered every where with fine Springs and Rivulets. In about six Hours we came to *Corus*; our Course was South-west, having crossed the *Ephreen* about two thirds of an Hour before. Just by *Corus* is the River *Sabon*, that is, *Chor* or *Char*, which encompasses most part of the City.

Corus stands on a Hill, consisting of the City and Castle: The City stands Northerly, and from its North-end ascending, you come at last to a higher Hill to the Southward, on which stands the Castle. The whole is now in Ruins, which seem to have been very large, wall'd very strongly with huge square Stones. Within are observable the Ruins, Pillars, &c. of many noble Buildings. On the West-Side there is a square Enclosure of great Capacity, compassed with good Walls and five Gates, which admitted into it as one may discern by the Ruins of them. I conjectur'd they might be the Cathedral.

Below the Castle-Hill to the Southward stands a noble old Monument. It is six square and open at six Windows above, and is covered with a Pyramidal Cupola. In each Angle within is a Pillar of the *Corinthian* Order of one Stone, and there is a fine Architrave all round just under the Cupola, having had Heads of Oxen carved on it, and it ends a-top with a large Capital of the *Corinthian*; near this are several sepulchral Altars.

28. We left *Corus*; and without the Town about half a Mile South-East, we descended down through a Way cut obliquely on the Side of a Precipice, which leads to a Bridge of seven Arches, of a very old Structure, over the River *Sabon*. And about a Quarter of a Mile further we came to another Bridge of three very large Arches over the River *Ephreen*. These Bridges

are very ancient, and well built of square Stone. Three Pillars have an acute Angle on the Side against the Stream, and a round Buttress on the other Side, and on both Sides are Niches for Statues. They were well paved a-top with large Stones, and are doubtless as well as that of the other Side of the Town, the Work of the excellent and magnificent *Theodorit*.

From this Bridge in about three Hours with a Course South-East, or South East and by South, we arrived at *Jan Bolads*. From *Jan Bolads* to *Chiblis* is one Hour and two Thirds, Course North, North-East. *Chiblis* is a large populous Town, and has fifteen Mosques that may be counted without the Town, and it has large Bazars. Many Medals are found here, which seem to argue it to be ancient; but under what Name I know not.

Aleppo bears from *Jan Bolads* South and by East, *Seck Berukel* South South West. An Hour from *Jan Bolads* is *Azafs*; and two Hours further we lodged in the Plain, which about *Chiblis* and *Azafs* is very wide and no less fruitful. This Country is always given to the *Valide*, or Grand Signior's Mother. On Saturday, April 29, we arrived safe at *Aleppo*, having travelled about five Hours that Day.

There is at the Distance of about four Hour's Journey from this City, a very great natural Curiosity, much talked of in that Country, and which deserves to be particularly described: It is called the *Valley of Salt*, and indeed is so stiled with great Propriety. This Valley is of two or three Hours Extent; we were three Quarters of an Hour in crossing one Corner of it. It is of an exact Level, and appears at a Distance like a Lake of Water. There is a Kind of a dry Crust of Salt all over the Top of it, which sounds when the Horses go upon it like frozen Snow. There are three or four small Rivulets empty themselves into this Place, and wash it all over about Autumn, or when the Rains fall. In the Heat of the Summer the Water is dried off, and when the Sun has scorched the Ground, there is found remaining the Crust of Salt aforesaid, which they gather and separate into several Heaps, according to the Degrees of Fineness, some being exquisitely white, others alloy'd with Dirt. It being soft in some Places, our Horses Hoofs struck in deep; and there I found in one Part a soft brown Clay, in another a very black one, which to the Taste was very salt, though deep in the Earth. Along on one Side of the Valley, viz. that towards *Gibul*, there is a small Precipice, about two Men's Lengths, occasioned by the continual taking away the Salt, and in this you may see how the Veins of it lie. I broke a Piece of it, of which, that Part that was exposed to the Rain, Sun, and Air, though it had the Sparks and Particles of Salt, yet it had perfectly lost its Savour, as in *St. Matt. Chap. v.* The inner Part, which was connected to the Rock, retain'd its Savour, as I found by Proof. In several Places of the Valley we found the thin Crust of Salt upon the Surface, bulged up as if some Insect, working under it, had raised it; and taking off the Part, we found under it Efflorescences of pure Salt, shot out according to its proper Figure. At the neighbouring Village *Gibul* are kept the Magazines of Salt, where you find great Mountains (as I may say) of that Mineral ready for Sale. The Valley is farmed of the Grand Signior at 1200 Dollars per Annum.

31. Our Author not only wrote this large and regular Account of his Travels, but was also ready on any Occasion to explain whatever Difficulties arose in the Minds of his Friends, with respect to the Eastern Countries, in which he had lived so long, or the Manners of the People that inhabit them. Thus upon the Reverend Mr. *Osborn*'s writing him a Letter, to desire from him a general Character of the *Turks*, and a particular Account of the Manner in which the *English* Merchants lived amongst them; he gave him the following clear and distinct Answer. "As to the former it would fill "a Volume to write my whole Thoughts about them, I "shall only tell you at present, that I think they are very "far from agreeing with that Character, which is given "of them in *Christendom*, especially for their exact Jus-
tice,

tice, Veracity and other moral Virtues, upon Account
 of which, I have sometimes heard them mentioned
 with very extravagant Commendations, as though
 they far exceeded Christian Nations. But I must pro-
 fess myself of another Opinion: For the Christian
 Religion, how much soever we live below the true Spirit
 and Excellency of it, must still be allowed to discover so
 much Power upon the Minds of its Professors, as to
 raise them far above the Level of a *Turkish* Virtue!
 It is a Maxim that I have often heard from our Mer-
 chants, that a *Turk* will always cheat when he can
 find an Opportunity; Friendship, Generosity true
 Wit (in the *English* Notion) and delightful Converse,
 and all the Qualities of a refined and ingenuous Spi-
 rit, are perfect Strangers to their Minds, though in
 Traffick and worldly Negotiations they are acute
 enough, and are able to carry the Accounts of a large
 Commerce in their Heads, without the Help of
 Books, by natural Arithmetick, improved by Cus-
 tom and Necessity. Their Religion is framed to keep
 up great outward Gravity and Solemnity, without
 begetting the least good Tincture of Wisdom or
 Virtue in the Mind. You shall have them at their
 Hours of Prayer (which are four a Day always) ad-
 dressing themselves to their Devotions with the most
 solemn and critical Washings, always in the most
 publick Places, where People are passing, with most
 lowly and most regular Prostrations, and a hollow
 Tone, which are, amongst them, the great Excellen-
 cies of Prayer. I have seen them, in affected Charity,
 give Money to Bird-catchers (who make a Trade of
 it) to restore the poor Captives to their natural Li-
 berty, and at the same Time hold their own Slaves
 in the heaviest Bondage. And at other Times they
 will buy Flesh to relieve indigent Dogs and Cats, and
 yet curse you with Famine and Pestilence, and all the
 most hideous Execrations; in which Way these East-
 ern Nations have certainly the most exquisite Rhe-
 torick of any People upon Earth. They know hardly
 any Pleasure but that of the sixth Sense. And yet with
 all this, they are incredibly conceited of their own Reli-
 gion, and contemptuous of that of others, which I take
 to be the great Artifice of the Devil, in order to keep
 them his own. They are a perfect visible Comment
 upon our Blessed Lord's Description of the *Jewish*
Pharisees. In a Word, Lust, Arrogance, Covetous-
 ness, and the most exquisite Hypocrisy, compleat their
 Character. The only Thing that ever I could ob-
 serve to commend in them is, the outward Decency
 of their Carriage, the profound Respect they pay to
 Religion, and to every Thing relating to it; and
 their great Temperance and Frugality. The Dear-
 ness of any Thing is no Motive in *Turkey*, though it
 be in *England*, to bring it into Fashion. As for our
 living amongst them, it is with all possible Quiet and
 Safety, and that is all we desire, their Conversation
 being not in the least entertaining. Our Delights are
 among ourselves, and here being more than forty of
 us, we never want a most friendly and pleasant Con-
 versation. Our Way of Life resembles in some Mea-
 sure the Academical. We live in separate Squares
 shut up every Night, after the Manner of Colleges.
 We begin the Day constantly as you do, with Pray-
 ers, and have our set Times for Business, Meals, and
 Recreations. In the Winter we hunt in the most
 delightful Campaign twice a Week; and in the Sum-
 mer go as often to divert ourselves under our Tents,
 with Bowling, and other Exercises; so that you see
 we want not Divertisements, and these all innocent
 and manly. In short, it is my real Opinion, that
 there is not a Society out of *England*, that, for all
 good and desirable Qualities, may be compared to
 this.

Thus we see, that very sensible Men differ very much
 in Reference to this Subject, and that as some enter-
 tain very high, so others again have very low and mean
 Opinions of *Turks*. This Disparity must arise from that
 Inequality in Point of Understanding and Morals, which
 is natural to them and to all Nations; and therefore
 we are to make proper Allowances in reference to all

such general Characters. One Thing deserves to be
 particularly remarked, which is this, that amongst the
Turks it is not usual for the better Sort of People, by
 which I mean those best bred and educated amongst
 them, to betake themselves to Trade; but, on the con-
 trary, they commonly apply either to the Sword or to
 the Robe; that is to say, they endeavour to rise in the
 Army, which is the speediest Way; or in the Law,
 which is the safest; this may very well account for
 the Want of that Integrity and strict Honour, com-
 plained of amongst the *Turks*; and I apprehend, that
 it has appear'd amongst the *English* in a very high
 Point of Light when our Author resided at *Aleppo*,
 where he lived and conversed with Gentlemen, who, in
 Point of Birth and Fortune, were superior to Tempta-
 tions, and who were above lessening their Characters to
 increase their Riches. I had the Honour to know more
 than one of these Gentlemen myself, and have spent
 some of the happiest Moments of my Life in their
 Company: They were Persons, who, from their long
 Experience, had just and excellent Notions of Trade;
 and never discoursed of it without observing, that the
 true Basis of Credit was an irreproachable Behaviour:
 They thought, that in Foreign Countries, and more
 particularly in the *Levant*, Factors were not only trusted
 with the Effects of their Correspondents, but also, in
 some Measure, with the Honour of their Nation, and
 that to injure the latter was as much a Crime, as to be
 false to the former. I hope and I believe, that the
 same Measures are still pursued with the same Punctua-
 lity, and as much to the Profit and Honour as ever of
 the *British* Nation; but whoever reflects on the wide
 Difference between *Turkish* Traders and *British* Mer-
 chants, will not at all wonder that the former were
 so low in the Esteem of the latter. But for all
 this, we may lay it down as a Thing certain enough,
 that amongst the better Sort of *Turks* there are
 Men of great Probity and Honour, and who are very
 far from seeking to make an Advantage of the Igno-
 rance or Credulity of Strangers. When I say this, I
 do not mean their great Ministers and Bashaws, who
 have rose either by Accident, or by the Caprice of their
 Masters; such Men in *Turkey*, and in all other Nations,
 are frequently unworthy of the Posts they hold, and ex-
 ercise them with a Venality suitable to their vicious Dis-
 positions. Ambition, Pride, and a Spirit of Volup-
 tuousness, are Passions that inspire Men with as mean
 Thoughts as Avarice can do, though certainly that is
 the meanest of all Vices, and most unworthy of the
 Mind of Man. We must likewise make some Al-
 lowances for the Nature of their Government, which
 has already been fully described; for in a Country where
 Money will do every Thing, it is natural for every Man
 to be desirous of getting Money.

It may not be amiss to consider how great and dan-
 gerous an Evil this is, and how far it is capable of sub-
 verting the Constitution of every Country where it pre-
 vails. We know that in former Times this Humour
 did not prevail among the *Turks*; and that on the con-
 trary, they were proud of their Poverty, or rather, be-
 ing content with the Necessaries of Life, they despised
 those who could not live without enjoying Superfluities;
 in those Days the *Turks* were a great and a victorious
 People. The same Thing may be said of other Na-
 tions with the same Truth, but we will confine ourselves
 at present to the East. The *Saracens* or *Arabs*, in the
 Days of *Mahomet* and his immediate Successors, were a
 Race of hardy People, and their Princes valued them-
 selves upon their Power, without dreaming of Magni-
 ficence. As that Spirit declined, and as their Caliphs
 began to affect stately Palaces, numerous Guards, and
 all the exterior Ensigns of unlimited Authority, they
 lost those Qualities which rendered them truly venerable.
 This created Dissentions and civil Wars, frequent Insur-
 rections, and a Series of Revolutions, which by Degrees
 broke the Power of particular Princes, and in Process
 of Time that of the whole Nation; so that now there
 is not the least Footsteps of that Authority, which once
 appear'd so terrible to all its Neighbours. The *Mahome-*
tan Empires of the present Age, such as those established

in *India*, *Persia*, *Barbary* and *Turky*, have been raised on the Ruins of the *Saracen* Empire, and are all of them now grown old and infirm, so that they seem ready to crumble under their own Weight. No other Reason can be assigned for this, but the Prevalence of Corruption in them all, for wherever moral Virtues grow into Contempt, it is simply impossible that national Power should long subsist; or that where Princes and great Men, instead of devoting their Cares to the Administration of Justice, become insensible of all Things, but what contribute to their Ease and Pleasure, they should for any Length of Time continue to enjoy even these. Innocent Divertisements and manly Pleasures are not at all inconsistent with good Government and publick Spirit; but sensual Delights, and a Propensity to Indolence which always accompanies them, naturally begets Contempt in those whose Reverence and Respect can only keep them in real and constant Subjection. These Remarks may be confirm'd, from what has happen'd within our View in all these Countries. The *Mogul* Empire has been over-run in less time than would have sufficed in ancient Time for the Conquest of one of its Provinces; the *Persian* Empire has been subverted over and over; nothing has been more unsteady of late Years than the Throne of the *Xeriffs* in *Africa*; and the deposing of the Grand Signior is in some Measure become a Thing familiar. But let us now return to our Author for the last Time.

Mr. *Maundrell*, though he had lived long in a Country where Superstition prevails to such a Degree, that the several Nations who inhabit it seem to vie with each other in Credulity, yet he preserved a just Regard for Evidence, and did not suffer his Judgment to be hurried away by Tradition, however ancient; or Assertions, however bold. He examined every Thing carefully, and then exercised his own Judgment freely, assisted by all the Helps that could be derived from Conversation and Learning. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in an Answer he gave to a Gentleman who consulted him upon these two Points, *viz.* Whether *Gebazi's* Leprosy still stuck to and distinguished his Posterity as some have reported; and what Ground there was to impute to the *Greek* Church, a Notion that Persons who died excommunicated, did not consume in their Graves. "When I was in the *Holy Land*, says he, I saw several that labour'd under *Gebazi's* Distemper, but none that could pretend to derive his Pedigree from that Person. Some of them were poor enough to be his Relations, particularly at *Sichem* (now *Naplofa*) there were no less than ten, (the same Number that were cleansed by our Saviour not far from the same Place) that came a begging to us at one Time. Their Manner is to come with small Buckets in their Hands, to receive the Alms of the Charitable, their Touch being still held infectious, or at least unclean. The Distemper as I saw in them, was very different from what I have seen it in *England*, for it not only defiles the whole Surface of the Body with a foul Scurf, but also deforms the Joints of the Body, particularly those of the Wrists and Ancles, making them swell with a gouty, scrofulous Substance, very loathsome to look upon. I thought their Legs resembled those of old battered Horses, such as are often seen in Drays in *England*. The whole Distemper indeed as it there appeared, was so noisome, that it might well pass for the utmost Corruption of the human Body on this Side the Grave. And certainly the inspired Penmen could not have found out a fitter Emblem, whereby to express the Uncleaness and Odiousness of Vice. But to return to *Gebazi*. It is no Wonder if the Descent from him be by Time obscured, seeing the best of the *Jews*, at this Time of Day, are at a Loss to make out their Genealogies. But besides, I see no Necessity in Scripture for his Lines being perpetuated. The Term (*for Ever*) is, you know, often taken in a limited Sense in holy Writ, of which the Designation of *Phineas's* Family to the Priesthood, *Numb.* xxv. 15. may serve for an Instance. His Posterity was, you know, cut entirely off from the Priesthood, and that transferred to *Eli*, who was one of another Line, about three hundred Years after. I have enquired of

" a *Greek* Priest, a Man not destitute either of Sense or Probity, about your other Question. He positively affirmed it, and produced an Instance of his own Knowledge in Confirmation of it. He said, that about fifteen Years ago, a certain *Greek* departed this Life without Absolution, being under the Guilt of a Crime which involved him in the Sentence of Excommunication, but unknown to the Church. He had Christian Burial given him, and about ten Years after a Son of his dying, they had Occasion to open the Ground near where the Body was laid, in order to bury his Son by him; by which Means they discovered his Body as entire as when it was first laid in the Grave. The Shroud was rotted away, and the Body naked and black, but perfectly sound. Report of this being brought to the Bishop, he immediately suspected the Cause of it, and sent several Priests, of whom the Relator was one, to pray for the Soul of the Departed, and to absolve him at his Grave. Which they had no sooner done, but (as the Relator goes on) the Body instantly dissolved, and fell into Dust like slack'd Lime. And so well satisfied with the Effect of their Absolution, they departed. This was deliver'd to me *Verbo Sacerdotis*. The Man had hard Fortune not to die in the *Roman* Communion; for then, his Body being found so entire, would have entitl'd him to Saintship: For the *Romanists*, as I have both heard and seen, are wont to find out and maintain the Relicks of Saints by this Token. And the same Sign, which proves an *Anathema Maranatha* amongst the *Greeks*, demonstrates a Saint amongst the *Papists*; perhaps both equally in the Right". This sufficiently proves what has been before advanced, that Superstition prevails generally through the East, and that the *Christians* are as far gone in it as the *Turks*; neither need it be at all wonder'd at among the *Greeks*, since it is natural for all Nations under Oppression, to sink into Superstition; and there is certainly nothing that can be more evident, than that these unfortunate People are brought as low, and their Spirits as much broke, as it is possible to conceive in the Course of so many Ages as they have been under the Yoke: But however, it is certain, that even in *Russia*, where their Religion is established by Law, this Notion prevails, together with the Practice established upon it, of absolving the Dead, that their Bodies may rot in Peace, and not remain, as they apprehend they do, for a Covering or Receptacle to evil Spirits. Upon the same strange Notion, collected from the same Nation, arose the wild and incredible Relations concerning *Vampyres*, or dead Bodies that suck the Blood of living ones, that appear'd in our News Papers some Years ago from *Hungary*. Yet I think it might be doubted, whether this strange Opinion was not originally borrow'd from the *Mahometans*, who, as we have before observed, are strongly persuaded, that Men have a Kind of Sensation in their Graves, and that there is no such Thing as absolute Rest even among the Dead.

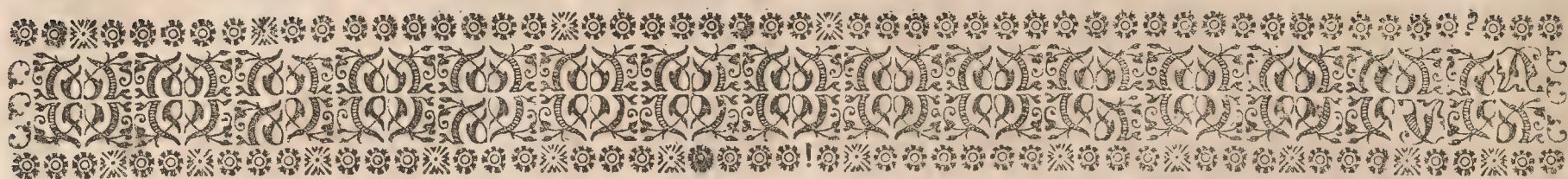
We may learn from this Gentleman's Account of the *Holy Land*, the true State and Condition of it at this Day, independent of Fable and Priestcraft; and from thence it appears, that there could not be a more fruitful or pleasant Region, better seated for all Purposes whatever, or more in the Heart or Center of the Universe, while that was a Thing of Consequence to the Propagation of Religion, than this Land of *Israel*. It is no less evident from the Remains of a vast Variety of Antiquities, some of which extend to the very Country itself, where not only Buildings but Mountains are seen in Ruins; that this was truly what *Canaan* is represented to be in the holy Scriptures, a Land of Hills and of Valleys, abounding with Corn, productive of Wine, and flowing as it were with Milk and Honey. Yet now its State is so much alter'd, that if we were to measure the Wickedness of its Inhabitants by the Misery of the Places that once furnished them with Habitations, we should not in the least doubt of the Representations made by inspired Writers of the Sinfulness and Obstinacy of these People. There is another natural and plain

plain Observation arises from contemplating the past and present State of this famous Country, and it is this; that the unanimous Inclination of *Jews, Christians, and Mahometans*, upon very different Principles, to pay it an high Veneration, and to esteem many Places therein as peculiarly sacred, is a Kind of perpetual Testimony in Favour of Revealed Religion. It is impossible that Nations, differing so widely in their Manners and Customs, as well as in their Religious Notions, should for so many Ages agree in obtruding Cheats upon each other. We may add to this, that the *Samaritan* Scripture is another strong Proof of the Sincerity and Authenticity of the *Mosaick* Writings; for nothing but Truth could have united the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, whose Hatred to each other has now subsisted for many Centuries, in concurring to vouch any Fact. To this, indeed, it may be objected, that they differ about the Mountains *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, in which they directly contradict each other: But when this Objection is maturely weigh'd, it will be found to fortify extremely the Credit of this Testimony, because it is the clearest and most unexceptionable Proof, that there is no Kind of Collusion between the two Nations, but that the respective Persuasions of each, with regard to the Copies of the Scriptures they have amongst them, is founded upon Motives in which they cannot be deceived. It is very true, that there is a prodigious Mixture of fabulous Superstition in the Traditions of all these Nations; but as this is natural, and indeed unavoidable in Things of this Kind, it is so far from derogating from the material and substantial Proofs, which are, if I may be allow'd the Expression, over-grown and cover'd with this Bark of Folly, that it rather fortifies the Evidence in the Sentiments of a sober and ingenuous Mind. For what Kind of History is there, which has come down to us pure and unmixed with Fable? The Eastern Nations were always famous for it, the *Egyptians* had it

in a high Degree, it passed from them to the *Greeks*; and as to the History of the elder Ages of *Rome*, it was so intermixed therewith, that in the Times of *Cicero* they were scarce able to distinguish any beyond the capital Facts that were to be relied on. But does it follow, that because Men have always loved to amplify and extend the Truth, therefore there was no such Thing? Shall we, because it is very difficult to settle the precise Situation of ancient Cities that make so great a Figure in the best Authors, doubt whether those Cities ever were in the World? Or, because the Oriental Chronicles of all the ancient Empires differ widely from ours, shall we peremptorily decide, that there never were any such, notwithstanding that manifest Monuments of the flourishing State of those ancient Empires remain even to our Times? Are the Antiquities at *Tchelmimar* in *Persia*, of *Tadmor* or *Palmira* in the Wilderness, of *Balbeck*, or *Heliopolis* seen by our Author, to be rejected as Fancies or Fables? And, if these are all Matters of Fact, do they not more clearly prove the Histories of past Times, than all the Chronicles in the World? Men may write fabulous Histories, or may forge Records, but such Monuments of ancient Times are beyond the Reach of Fiction or Forgery, so that Incredulity, with respect to them, is not only irrational and absurd, but downright Madness.

We may upon the whole rest satisfied, that what our Author has delivered to us in his Travels, and in his Remarks, deserve both Credit and Respect, and are capable of furnishing us with Materials for very solid and useful Meditations. But it is now Time to proceed and quitting the Limits of the *Turkish* Empire, to pursue our Journey with fresh Guides, and fresh Views, into other Regions, which will afford us new Pleasures and additional Helps, to the Increase of our Knowledge, and the Improvement of our Understandings.





CHAPTER II.

Containing TRAVELS through the Empire of *Persia*, and the Provinces depending thereon ; with a large Account of their Climate, Soil, and Produce, the Constitution of the Empire, and Nature of the Shah's Government, the Laws, Manners, Religion, Commerce, Diversions, &c. not only of the native *Persians*, but of the several Nations living in their Country, and subject to the Shah, with a brief Account of the late Revolutions in that Empire.

SECTION I.

The Travels of Sir JOHN CHARDIN, by the Way of the *Black-Sea*, through the Countries of *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, the Country of the *Abcas* ; *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and *Media* into *Persia Proper* ; with a very curious and accurate Account not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Customs, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the several Nations that inhabit them ; Relations so much the more curious, as these Countries, and the People dwelling in them, had not been tollerably described before by any Author.

1. A succinct Introductory Account of the worthy Person by whom these Travels were written, of the Value of them, and of the peculiar Excellencies by which they are distinguished.
2. An Account of the Thracian Bosphorus, of the delightful Prospects in sailing through it, and the beautiful Countries upon the Coast.
3. The Author's Arrival at Caffa, a Description of the Country of the Crim Tartars, and of the Condition, Customs, and Manners of that Nation.
4. The Cherks, Abcas, and other barbarous Nations that however stile themselves Christians, largely described, with some very curious Remarks on the State and Strength of those Nations.
5. A more particular Relation of the Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, or Black Circassians, and other Inhabitants of that Country, known to the Ancients by the Name of Colchis.
6. The large and fruitful Country of Mingrelia exactly described, with a View of the Government, Forces, Way of Living, and dissolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People who inhabit it.
7. Of the terrible Corruption, in Point of Religion, which reigns amongst them, and from whence it appears to be a wild and extravagant Mixture of Atheism and Superstition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Priests, who are little better than Cheats and Juglers.
8. The Principality of Guriel, and the Kingdom of Imeretta, anciently called Iberia, with the Countries adjacent, described, and the Manner in which they lost their Independency, and became Tributaries to the Turks.
9. The Author continues his Journey through Mingrelia, is present at the Ceremony of Baptizing two Children, of which he gives a large and particular Account.
10. The famous Mountain Caucasus described, and a View of the Condition of its present Inhabitants.
11. A large and circumstantial Detail of the Country and Inhabitants of Georgia, with a Description of the capital City of Teflis, and the State of the Roman Catholick Missionaries in that Country.
12. The Author's Travels through the Countries, at the Foot of Mount Taurus, forming a little Principality inhabited by the Cossacs.
13. An Account of the famous City of Erivan, and of the Country of Armenia, of which it is the Capital, as well as of the People who inhabit it.
14. A Digression concerning the Marriages of the Persians, and the Reasons why Divorces, though lawful amongst them, are seldom practised.
15. The Author's subsequent Observations in his Travels through Armenia, and of the Fortresses erected to prevent the Incursions of the Turks.
16. Of the noble Province of Azerbeyan, anciently called Media, with an Account of a spurious Kind of Cochineal prepared by the Inhabitants.
17. A Description of the large populous and magnificent City of Tauris, the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it, and a Comparison between the different Climates of Media and Parthia, with many other curious Particulars.
18. A Description of the last-mentioned Province, and of the Cities of Ebher and Casbin, in the Neighbourhood of which grow the finest Grapes in the World.
19. An Account of the famous City of Rey, formerly one of the largest in Asia, of which there are now scarce any Ruins remaining.
20. The City of Com and the glorious

glorious Tombs of the Persian Saints therein, fully described, with an Account of the adjacent Country. 21. A Description of the City of Cashan, with an Account of the several Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it. 22. The Author's Account of two other Roads leading from Warsaw to Ispahan, and from Ispahan to Moscow. 23. Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.

WE have very large and considerable Collections of Travels through the Empire of *Persia*, and the Provinces depending upon it; and indeed there are very few Countries that better deserve to be visited, or which afford either the Traveller himself, or whoever peruses his Accounts, more Entertainment than *Persia*. Notwithstanding this, many Inconveniences would arise from inserting numerous Accounts of Travels through this Country, because of Necessity it must produce many Repetitions, which would appear tedious and troublesome, as well as perplexing to the Reader. The Method therefore that we shall take, is to give in this Section the Travels of Sir *John Chardin*, from *Constantinople* into the *Persian* Dominions; and in the subsequent Sections, we shall give a Description, in as regular a Method as is possible, of the whole Empire, distinguished into its several Provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable or worthy of Notice in the Works of other celebrated Travellers, so as to preserve the Marrow and Quintessence of their Relations, without embarrassing ourselves with Things of less Consequence and Particulars, that without the least Prejudice to the Design of this Work may be as well omitted. By this Means we shall bring into a reasonable Compass all that is requisite, and give a distinct and clear Notion of the past and present Condition of one of the most powerful and famous Empires of the Earth.

The Reason we made Choice of Sir *John Chardin's* Travels, by way of Introduction, was his taking a different Route from most other Travellers, viz. by the *Black Sea*, and the Countries that border upon it, which are scarce described by any other Traveller, or at least are described by none with equal Plainness and Perspicuity. It rises from hence, that, generally speaking, we have only confused and imperfect Conceptions concerning these Countries and their Inhabitants, which however it is of some Importance that we should know more distinctly, because as they made a great Figure in ancient History, so it is not at all impossible, that as low and despicable as they now seem, they may hereafter come to change their Circumstances, and appear with new Lustre, if not in ours, yet in the Eyes of our Posterity. It is very evident, that from their Situation they are very considerable, and if their Inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable Correspondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, Successor to the Greek Monarchs of *Constantinople*, and to the *Persian* Emperors. We have a late Instance of this in the Case of *Nadir Shah*, who received from these despised and barbarous People, that Check which proved first fatal to his Authority, and in the End to his Person. The Author of these Travels was a Gentleman of a good Family in *France*, and of a liberal Education; he applied himself to Commerce very early, and prosecuted with great Success the most considerable Branch of Foreign Trade, that of dealing as a Merchant in Jewels, which he understood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unspotted Character, a very large and affluent Fortune. He made several Excursions into the East, by different Roads, and resided several Years in *Persia*, had very great and uncommon Opportunities of entering deeply into the Subjects of which he has treated and digested his Accounts, with great Accuracy and Perspicuity, so that they have been esteemed not only here, but in *France*, and throughout *Europe* in general, as the most perfect in their Kind that have hitherto appeared.

This Gentleman, when the Persecution against the Protestants broke out in *France*, came over hither, and brought with him great Riches. He was received with much Respect at Court, and King *Charles* the II^d, as a

Mark of his Favour, bestow'd upon him in the Month of *March*, 1693, the Honour of Knighthood. He published the first Edition of his Travels in our Language, in a large Folio Volume, but they have been since several Times printed with many Corrections, great Improvements, and considerable Augmentations in *French*. He continued to reside here, and purchased a considerable Estate, so that in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, we find him frequently mentioned by such as took Occasion to show how much the Wealth of *England* was improved, and its Trade increased, by encouraging Foreigners of the Protestant Religion, to come and settle amongst us. Sir *John* died at a good old Age, on *Christmas* Day, 1712. He left behind two Sons, and several Daughters.

His eldest Son was created a Baronet of this Kingdom by his late Majesty King *George* the First, and having purchased from *Grantham Andrews*, Esq; of *Sunbury*, the noble Seat of *Kempton-Park*, in the County of *Middlesex*, and not far from *Hampton-Court*, fix'd there, and is still living and unmarried. The old Gentleman employ'd a great Part of the latter Period of his Life, in completing his Book of Travels, and intended, as himself informs us, to have written a distinct Treatise, explaining a great Variety of Passages in the Scripture, from the Customs and Manners of the *Eastern* Nations, with which no Man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky Accidents was hindered from fulfilling that Promise, to the no small Concern of the learned World, who expected with great Impatience so useful and instructive a Book, of writing which he was extremely capable, and of seeing any Thing of the same kind, the Publick since his Decease seem to despair.

2. Sir *John Chardin* left *Paris*, Aug. 17, 1671, with an Intention to go to the *East-Indies*, and travelling by way of *Milan*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, arrived at *Leghorn* in the End of *October*, and embarking in a Ship, under a *Dutch* Convoy, arrived at *Smyrna*, March 2, 1672, and twelve Days after at *Constantinople*. He remained in this City four Months, and in the mean Time there happening a Quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the *French* Ambassador, which caused a Report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arrest the Ambassador, and all the *French* Nation, he was afraid that his Goods, which were very rich, and very considerable in Quantity, would be seized; and so sought all Means to get out of *Constantinople*, and to proceed on his Journey to *Persia*.

The Caravans in those hot Months did not travel; but the Port being about to send a new Commander, with some Soldiers and Money, as they do yearly, to the Fort of *Azoph*, which stands upon the Lake *Mæotis*, he obtain'd Passage in a *Turkish* Saick belonging to that Fleet, and embark'd, July 27, at a Port in the *Thracian Bosphorus*. This Chanel, which is about fifteen Miles in Length, and about two in Breadth, in most Parts, but in others less, so called, because an Ox may swim over it, is certainly one of the loveliest Parts of the World; for the Shores are rising, and cover'd over with Houses of Pleasure, Woods, Gardens, Parks, delightful Prospects, and Wildernesses, watered with Thousands of Springs and Fountains: The Passage through it, in fair Weather, is exceeding diverting, by reason of the great Number of Barks which are continually sailing to and fro, and the Prospect of *Constantinople* from the Top of it, which is about two Miles distant, is the most charming that ever Eyes beheld. There are four Castles standing by it, all well fortified with great Guns, two of them eight Miles from the *Black-Sea*, and two at the Mouth of the Channel, which is the most dangerous Place for Shipwrecks in all the *Euxine-Sea*.

3. On the 3^d of *August*, in the Morning, he arrived at *Caffa*, a Port in the *Tauric Chersonese*, or *Peninsula*,

so called, because it was first inhabited by the *Scythians* of Mount *Taurus*. It is thirty-five Leagues from North to South, and fifty-five from East to West. The Isthmus, that joins it to the Continent, is not above a League in Breadth. It is inhabited by the *Crim Tartars*, who dwell in Cities and Towns; whereas their Neighbours the *Nogays* and *Calmuc's* dwell in Tents, as the rest do on the Continent.

Caffa is a great Town built at the Bottom of a little Hill, upon the Sea-shore, and encompassed with strong Walls, that advance a little into the Sea. It hath two Castles, the one, which stands on a rising Ground on the South-side, is large, and commands all the Parts thereabouts, and is the Residence of a *Basha*; the other is not so big, but is well furnished with Guns. They reckon about 4000 Houses in it, of which about 3200 are *Mahometans*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and the rest *Christians*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*. The Houses are small, and built of Earth; as are also their *Bazars*, *Mosques*, and *Baths*. The Soil about it is dry and sandy, bearing little Fruit, and the Water is bad, but the Air is very pure and wholesome. All Provisions are very cheap and good, Mutton being not above a Farthing a Pound, and other Things proportionable. The Road of *Caffa* is shelter'd from the Winds, except on the North and South-East Sides, and the Ships lie close to the Shore safely in ten or twelve Fathom Water. There is a great Trade driven here in Salt-fish and *Caveare*, which being taken out of the Lake *Mæotis*, that is twenty-six Miles distant from it, in great Quantities, are transported into *Europe*, and as far as the *Indies*. They also export Corn, Butter, and Salt, with which they furnish *Constantinople*, and several other Places, for the *Caffa* Butter is the best in all *Turkey*.

From *Caffa* he went in a Ship bound for *Colchis*, Aug. 30. and the next Day arrived at *Donslow*, or the Salt-pits, fifty Miles from *Caffa*, on the Shore. Here are great Marshes of Salt, which is made by letting in the Sea-water, and suffering it to congeal by the Sun. The People say, that two hundred Vessels are laden here with Salt yearly, paying only 3 s. a Day to those that load it. About a Mile from the Shore is an Habitation of the *Tartars*, where there is not above ten or twelve Houses with a little *Mosque*, and round about it a great Number of Tents, with several Wagons close cover'd, which serve them instead of Houses. The Tents for themselves are very handsome, being made with Poles, and cover'd with large light Furs well-stretched upon them; their Inside is commonly hung with Tapestry, and the Floor is laid with the same. Every Family hath two other Tents belonging to them, cover'd with a great Sarplar of Wool, one for their Servants, and Kitchen, in which is a Pit five Foot deep, to make a Fire in to dress their Meat, and the other for their Horses and Cattle.

They store up their Corn and Forage in Magazines under Ground, which they cover so exactly, that none can find them but themselves. They can remove their Tents with a small Trouble, and in a very little Time, and carry them away in Carts drawn by Oxen and Horses, of which they breed a great Number. They profess the *Mahometan* Religion, but mix with it strange superstitious and ridiculous Opinions of Fortune-telling and Divination. From *Donslow* he sail'd all along in the Channel to *Cape Cuodos*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Cirocondoma*, where the Coasts that bound the Lake *Mæotis*, which are very high Lands, are seen at about thirty Miles Distance.

4. From the Channel of the Lake *Mæotis*, to *Mingrelia*, is reckon'd 600 Miles along the Coasts, which consist of pleasant Woods, inhabited by a Sort of *Tartars*, called *Circassians*, and by the *Turks*, *Cberks*, but so thinly, that the Country looks like a Desert. The Ancients called them *Zageans*, or Mountaineers; and *Pomponius Mela*, *Sargacians*. They are neither Subjects nor Tributary to the Port, because their Country producing nothing valuable, the *Turks* think it not worth the Toil of conquering it. The Vessels that come from *Constantinople* to *Mingrelia* trade with this People, but with their Arms in their Hands, and by Hostages, for they

are Infidelity and Perfidiousness itself, and will never fail to steal where they find an Opportunity. The Trade with them is managed by Exchange, the *Cberks* bringing down Slaves of all Sexes and Ages, Honey, Wax, Leather, Jackals, *Zandava*, and other Beasts Skins, for such Commodities as they want.

Circassia is a pleasant Country, and the Soil is very fruitful, bringing forth great Plenty of all Sorts of Fruit without Trouble, as Cherries, Apples, Pears, Walnuts; but their chief Wealth consists in Cattle, as well-shaped Horses, which are so swift and good, that they will tire the wild Beasts, and catch them in plain Course; Goats, Deer and Sheep, the Wool of which is as fine as that of *Spain*, which the *Muscovites* fetch to make Felts. They sow no Grain but Millet for their own Bread, and Barley for their Horses; and their Women till and manure their Ground: Their Drink is Water and *Boza*, which is a Liquor made of Millet, as intoxicating as Wine: They live in wooden Huts, and go almost naked. Every one is a sworn Enemy to those that live in the Provinces round about him. Their Beds are made of Sheep-Skins sowed together, and stuffed with Millet-Leaves, beaten in the Threshing as small as Oat-chaff. They were formerly Christians, but now have no Religion; no not so much as the Light of Nature among them, save what they place in the Observing certain superstitious Ceremonies, borrow'd both from the *Christians* and *Mahometans*.

The *Abca's* Border upon the *Cberks*, possessing about an 100 Miles upon the Sea-Coasts, between *Mingrelia* and *Circassia*. They are not so savage as the *Cberks*, but are as much inclined to Thieving and Robbery; so that the Merchants trade with them with the like Caution, and after the same Manner. September the 10th, he arrived at *Isgaour*, a Port in *Mingrelia*, where all the Vessels that trade thither lie. It is a Desert Place, without any Habitations, only the Traders that come thither build themselves Huts and Booths of Boughs for the Time of their Abode, which is usually as long as they find themselves safe from the *Abca's*.

5. *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* is situated at the End of the Black-Sea: It is bounded on the East by the little Kingdom of *Imeretta*, on the South by the Black-Sea, on the West by the *Abca's*, and on the North by Mount *Caucasus*. The *Corax* and *Phasis*, two famous Rivers in the ancient Histories, now called *Coddours* and *Rione*, part it, the first from the *Abca's*, and the other from *Imeretta*. The Length of it is about 110 Miles, and the Breadth sixty. It was once fortified against the *Abca's*, by a Wall of sixty Miles in Length, which is long since demolished, and become a thick Forest.

The Inhabitants of *Caucasus*, that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alanes*, *Suanes*, *Gigues*, *Caracioles*, or *Caracberks*, i. e. Black *Circassians*, so called by the *Turks*, not from their Complexion, for they are the fairest People in the World, but from their Country, because it is always darken'd with Fogs and Clouds. They were also anciently Christians, but now profess no Religion, but live by Robbery and Rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to Humanity but Speech. They are very tall and portly, and their very Looks and Speech shew their Savage Dispositions, being the most resolute Assassins, and daring Robbers in the World.

The ancient Kingdom of *Colchis* was much larger than *Mingrelia* now is, extending itself to the Lake *Mæotis* on the one Side, and *Iberia* on the other. The Country itself is uneven, full of Hills and Mountains, Valleys and Plains. It is almost covered with Woods, except the manured Lands, which are but few, and those preserved by grubbing up the Roots, that are continually spreading into them. The Air is temperate, as to Heat and Cold, but very unwholesome, by Reason of the continual Wet, which being heated by the Sun, breeds Pestilences, and several other Distempers. It abounds with Waters, which descend from Mount *Caucasus*, and fall into the Black-Sea. The principal Rivers are the *Coddours*, of old called *Corax*; the *Socom* called by *Arrian*, *Terffen*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Thassaris*; the *Langus*, of old *Astulphus*; the *Cobi* called by *Arrian*, *Cobo*; the *Cianiscari*, called anciently, *Cianeus*; the

Tacheur

Tacheur called by *Arrian*, *Sigemus*, and the *Scheniscari*, i. e. River-horse, called therefore by the *Greeks*, *Hippos*: And the *Abascia*, called by *Arrian*, *Caries*; and *Ptolemy*, *Caritus*; which two last mix with the *Phasis* about twenty Miles from the Place where it falls into the Sea.

The Soil is very bad, and produceth little Corn, or Pulse, and the Fruits are almost wild, without Taste, and unwholsome, unless it be their Vines, which thrive well there, and produce most excellent Wine. The Earth is so moist in Seed-time, that when they sow their Wheat and Barley, they never plow it at all, but sprinkle it upon the Earth; for they say, that should they plough it, the Land would be so soft, that all their Corn would fall. They plough their Lands for their other Corn with Plough-shares of Wood, which make as good Furrows as Iron, because their Land is very moist and tender. Their common Grain is *Gomm*, which is as small as Coriander Seed, and resembles Millet. Of this they make a Paste, which they use for Bread, and prefer it before Wheat; which is not to be wonder'd at, for it is very acceptable to the Palate, and conducive to Health, being cooling and laxative. They have also great Plenty of Millet, some Rice, with Wheat and Barley, but very scarce. The People of Quality eat wheaten Bread as a Rarity, but the meaner Sort very seldom or never taste of it.

The ordinary Food of the Country is Beef and Pig, of which last they have great Plenty, and the best in the World. They have also Goats Flesh, but it is lean, and not well tasted. Their Wild-fowl is very good, but scarce. Their Venison is the Wild Boar, Hart, Stag, Fallow Deer, and Hare, all which are excellent Food. They have Partridges, Pheasants, and Quails in Abundance, with some River Fowl and wild Pidgeons, which are good Meat, and as big as a cramm'd Chicken. Their Nobility spend their whole Time in the Field, using Lanner-hawks, Gof-hawks, Hobbies, and others, for their Sports, to catch Water-fowl and Pheasants; but their most delightful Pastime is the Flight of the Falcon at the Heron, which they catch only for the Tuft upon his Crown, to put upon their Bonnets; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up a-new.

6. Mount *Caucasus* produceth a great Number of wild Beasts, as Tygers, Leopards, Lions, Wolves, and Jacals, which last make great Havock amongst their Cattle and Horses, and often disturb their Houses with their dreadful Howlings. They have large Numbers of Horses, and those very good ones, which every Man almost keeps in great Store, because their Keeping stands them in little or Nothing, for they neither shoe them, nor feed them with Corn. They have no Cities nor Towns, except two by the Sea-side; but their Houses are so thick up and down the Country, that you can hardly travel a Mile, but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten Castles in the Country, of which the chiefest is called *Ruis*, and it is the Court of the Prince. Their Houses are all built with Timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer Sort never raise above one Story, nor the rich above two. The lower Rooms are always furnished with Beds and Couches to lie down on or to sit upon, because of the Moisture of the Earth, but are inconvenient, because they have no Windows nor Chimneys.

They have but one Room for their whole Family, and so lie all together. The Men are well shaped, and the Women so handsome, that they seem born for commanding Love. They all paint their Eye-brows, and their Faces abominably. They dress themselves with all the Curiosity they can, their Habit being like the *Persians*, and their Head Attire like the *European* Women, even to the Curling of their Hair. They are witty and civil, but to ballance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The Men have also as many mischievous Qualities, and there is no Wickedness to which they are not addicted; but that which they most practise and delight in is Theft. This they make their Employment and Glory. They justify it as lawful to have many Wives, because, they say, they bring us many Children, which we can sell for ready Money, or ex-

change for necessary Conveniencies; yet when they have not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a Piece of Charity to murder Infants new born, as also they do such as are sick and past Recovery, because, they say, they free them from a deal of Misery.

The Gentlemen of this Country have full Power over the Lives and Estates of their Tenants, to sell and dispose of their Wives and Children as they think fit, and every Country-man is bound to furnish his Lord with as much Corn, Wine, Cattle, and other Provisions as he wants. The Lords decide the Quarrels of their Vassals; but if they themselves are at Variance, they decide it by Arms, which makes them go all armed with a Lance, Bow and Sword. Their Habit is peculiar; they wear very little Beard, and cover their Heads with a thin Felt Cap in Summer, and a furr'd Bonnet in Winter: Over their Bodies they wear little Shirts, which fall to their Knees, and tuck into a strait Pair of Breeches; but they never have above one Shirt, and one Pair of Breeches, which lasts them a Year, and in all that Time never wash them above thrice, only once or twice a Week they shake it (for a certain Purpose) over the Fire.

The whole Family, without Distinction, eat all together, both Males and Females. The King with all his Train, to his very Grooms, and the Queen with her Maids and Servants. They dine in the open Courts in fair Weather, and if it be cold, they make a rousing Fire, for Wood costs them nothing. Upon Working-Days the Servants have nothing but *Gomm*, and the Masters Pulse, dried Fish, or Flesh; but on Holy-days, or when they make Entertainments, they kill an Hog, Ox, or Cow, if they have no Venison. They are very great Drinkers, both Men and Women, and at their Feasts provoke their Friends, as much as they can, to Drinking. They drink their Wine pure, and beginning with Pints, proceed to much greater Quantities. Their Discourse at their Merry-Meetings is, with the Men, about their Wars and Robberies, and among their Women obscene Tales of their Amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reason of their Wars, and the vast Numbers sold to the *Persians* and *Turks* by the Nobility. All Trade in it is driven by way of Barter, for they have no set Price of Money among them; the Species current are Piastres, *Dutch* Crowns, and *Abassi's*, which are made in *Georgia*, and stamp'd with the *Persian* Stamp. The Revenues of the Prince of *Mingrelia* amount at most to 20,000 Crowns, which arises from the Customs of Goods exported and imported, the Slaves he sells, Impositions and Fines; and this he lays up, for his Slaves serve him for nothing, and his Crown-Lands furnish his Court with more Provision than he can spend. He is not able to raise above 4000 Men fit to bear Arms, and those are all Cavalry for the most Part, for he has not above 300 Foot to join with them. His Court, upon solemn Festivals, consists of 200 Gentlemen, but upon other Days of about 120.

7. The Religion of the *Colchians* was formerly the same with the *Greeks*, being converted, as the Ecclesiastical Historians say, in *Constantine's* Time, by a Slave: But the *Mingrelians* say, St. *Andrew* preach'd among them in the Place call'd *Pigivitas*, where now stands a Church, whither the *Catholicos*, or chief Bishop goes once in his Life-time to make the Oil call'd *Myrone* by the *Greeks*; but now the *Mingrelians* are fallen into a profound Abyss of Ignorance and Darkness, and have not the least Idea of Faith and Religion, but look upon Life Eternal, the Day of Judgment, and the Resurrection, as meer Fables devised by Men. Nor do their Clergy perform any Ecclesiastical Duties, for there is hardly one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly lost the true Knowledge of the Service of God; but the Priests make a publick Profession of foretelling Things to come, and make the People believe, that their Books show them the Course of future Events.

The *Catholicos* of *Mingrelia* is Head of all the Clergy of that Country, as also of *Abca*, *Gureil*, Mount *Caucasus*, and *Imeretta*; but the Prince appoints or deposeth him as he pleaseth. His Revenue is very great, for

for he has 400 Vassals under him, who furnish his House with all Things necessary for human Life, and many Superfluities. He sells their Children to the *Turks*; and when he visits the Dioceses under his Jurisdiction, it is not to reform the Clergy, nor instruct the People, but to spoil them of their Goods, and rake together great Sums. He will not consecrate a Bishop for less than 600 Crowns, nor say a Mass for the Dead under 800, nor any other Mass under one hundred.

The Sanctity of this Prelate consists in a continual Abstinence from Flesh and Wine in *Lent*, and in long Prayers Day and Night; but he is so ignorant, that he can hardly read his Breviary and Missal. He has six Bishops under him, who take no Care of the Souls of their People, nor ever visit their Churches and Dioceses. They suffer the Priests to live in all Manner of Errors, and the People to contaminate with themselves the grossest Vices; they understand not the Form of Baptism, let Polygamy be practised, and permit the Mothers to bury their new-born Children alive. All their Business is in Feasting and Banqueting, where they are drunk almost every Day. They are rich, and go very sumptuously apparel'd, oppressing their Vassals, and selling their Wives and Children to maintain their Luxury. They abstain from Flesh, as the *Greek* Bishops do, and place the whole Christian Religion in the Practice of Fasting, and think not themselves obliged to do any other Duty. Their Cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorn'd with Images, which they deck with Gold and Jewels, believing, that in so doing they satisfy God's Justice, and atone for their Sins. They are clothed in Scarlet and Velvet, as the Seculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their Beards long, and their Bonnets black, round, and high.

There are also in *Mingrelia* certain Monks, of the Order of *St. Basil*, who wear the same Habit, and live after the Manner of the *Greek* Monks, wearing black Bonnets, eating no Flesh, and suffering their Hair to grow; but they mind nothing of Religion, but to observe their Fasts exactly. They have also Nuns of the same Order, who observe their Fasting Days, and wear a black Veil, but they have no Nunneries, nor are under any Vows or Subordination, but quit their Habit and Temperance when they please.

The Priests of *Mingrelia* are very numerous, but a Sort of miserable Creatures. They till their own Ground, and the Lands of their Lords, being no less Slaves than the Seculars; nor have they any Respect shewn them, but when they bless their Food at Meals, or say Mass. Their Parish-Churches have no Bells, but they call the People together by knocking with a great Stick upon a Board, and they are kept as nasty as Stables, the Images being foul and broken, and cover'd with Dust. The Worship which they pay to their Images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative Adoration, but pay their Devotion to the material Substance. They worship such most, as are finest adorn'd, or fam'd for their Cruelty, and if they swear by any of these, they will never break the Oath. *St. Giobas* is one of their most formidable Images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can just see him, but pray to him, and leave their Present at that Distance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.

The Christian Saints they have no Value for, unless it be *St. George*, whom they account their chief Saint, as do also the *Georgians*, *Muscovites*, and *Greeks*. Their Mass is after the *Greek* Manner, and the Priests celebrate it without any other Sacerdotal Habit but their Surplices. Their Cup or Chalice is a Goblet of Wood, and the Cover is of the same Matter; and their Patten is a Wooden Dish. In *Lent* they never say Mass, but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, for they hold, that the Communion spoils their Fasting. They consecrate unleavened or leavened Bread, without any Difference, and never mix Water with Wine, unless it be very strong.

They laugh at Transubstantiation, and say, How can Christ get into a Loaf? For what Reason should he leave Heaven to come down to the Earth? They anoint the Foreheads of their Children with the Oil called *My-*

ron, as soon as they are born; but baptize them not till a long Time after, and then they wash them all over with Water: but none will baptise their Children till he is able to make a Feast for the Priest, God-fathers and Guests, and that is the Reason many of their Children die unbaptized. They do not believe that Ordination imprints a Character not to be defaced, and therefore they ordain a-new such Priests as have been degraded. Their Marriages are a Contract by Way of Bargain and Sale, for the Parents of the Maid agree upon the Price with the Person that desires her; the Price of a divorced Woman is the least, of a Widow something more, but of a Maid most. When the Bargain is made, the young Man may company with the Damsel till the Money is paid, and it is no Scandal if she be with Child. If any one has married a barren Woman, or of an ill Disposition, they hold it not only lawful, but requisite to divorce her, as a Match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that understands the Bible, or reads it, but the Women will repeat several Stories of the Gospel, which they have by Tradition. They observe the same Fasts almost as the *Greeks*, for they keep the four great *Lents*, viz. the first before *Easter*, which is forty eight Days; that before *Christmas*, which is forty Days; *St. Peter's* Fast, which is near a Month; and the last, which the Eastern Christians observe in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, which continues fifteen Days. They make the Sign of the Cross when they drink Wine and eat Pork, but not as any Mark of Christianity. Their Prayers are all address'd to their Idols for their temporal Benefits, viz. their own Prosperity, or Ruin of their Enemies. They offer Sacrifices like the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. They never make Holiday upon *Sundays*, or abstain from Works but at the Festivals of *Christmas* and *Easter*, which they celebrate only in Eating and Drinking to Excess in their Houses. Their greatest Festivals are when an Idol is carried through their Country, when they put on their best Cloaths, make a great Feast, and get ready a Present for the Idol. Their Mourning for the Dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of People in Despair, the Women rend their Cloaths, tear their Hair and Flesh, beat their Breasts, cry, yell, and gnash with their Teeth, like People mad or possessed; the Men also tear their Cloaths, and thump their Breasts.

8. Their Neighbour Nations live and act after the same Fashion almost in all Respects, only they that live near *Persia* and *Turkey* are more civil in their Manners, and more honest and just in their Inclinations, whereas those that border upon the *Tartars* and *Scythians* are more barbarous, having no Idea, or outward Form of Religion, and observing no Laws.

On the Confines of *Mingrelia* lie the Principality of *Guriel*, and Kingdom of *Imeretta*. The Country of *Guriel* is very small, bordering upon *Imeretta* on the North, Mount *Caucasus* on the East, *Mingrelia* on the West, and the Black-Sea on the South. It lies all along by the Sea-shore from the River *Phasis* to the Castle *Gonie*, which is held by the *Turks*. The Inhabitants are of the same Nature and Manners as the *Mingrelians*, and have the same Inclinations to Lewdness, Robbery and Murther.

The Kingdom of *Imeretta* is something bigger than the Country of *Guriel*, and is the *Iberia* of the Ancients. It is encompassed with Mount *Caucasus*, *Colchis*, the Black-Sea, the Principality of *Guriel*, and Part of *Georgia*. It is twenty six Miles in Length, and sixty Miles broad. The Country is full of Woods and Mountains, like *Mingrelia*, but the Valleys are more pleasant, and Plains more delicious, producing Corn, Pulse, Cattle, and Herbs of all Sorts. There are some Iron Mines. They have also some Money current among them, which is coined in their Kingdom, and several Towns; but their Manners and Customs differ little from the *Mingrelians*. The King has three good Castles, one called *Scander*, seated on the Side of a Valley, and two on Mount *Caucasus*, call'd *Regia* and *Scorgia*, being both almost inaccessible, as being built in Places that Nature itself has wonderfully fortified, the River *Phasis* running between them. The Fortrefs of

of *Cotatis* was once in this Prince's Jurisdiction, but the *Turks* are now Masters of it.

The King of *Imeretta* govern'd the *Abca's*, *Mingrelians*, and People of *Guriel*, after they had all four freed themselves from the Power of the Emperors, first of *Constantinople*, and then of *Trebisond*: But in the last Age, setting up for themselves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual Wars among themselves, till calling in the Assistance of the *Turks*, they were all made tributary to them. The King of *Imeretta* pays eighty Boys and Girls, from ten to twenty Years of Age. The Prince of *Guriel* pays forty-six Children of both Sexes; and the Prince of *Mingrelia* sixty thousand Ells of Linnen-Cloth made in that Country. The *Abca's* seldom paid any Thing at first, and now pay Nothing. The King of *Imeretta*, and Prince of *Guriel*, send their Tribute to the Bascha of *Akalzike*, but a *Chiaux* gathers it at *Mingrelia*.

9. Leaving *Isagour*, October 4, he pass'd by the Mouth of the River *Astolphus*, called *Langur* by the *Mingrelians*, one of the biggest Rivers in *Mingrelia*, and on the 5th came to *Anarghia*, a Village two Miles from the Sea, consisting of two hundred Houses, but so far distant the one from the other, that it is two Miles from the first to the last. Hither the *Turks* come to buy Slaves, and have Barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large City, called *Heraclea*, stood in the same Place. At this Town there is Plenty of Provisions, and that very cheap, viz. Wild Pidgeons, Fowl, Porkers and Goats in Abundance, and Wine is plentiful. From *Anarghia* he sail'd up the River *Astolphus*, and went to a Place called *Sapias*, which is the Name of two little Churches, of which the one is a Parish Church of *Mingrelia*, and the other belongs to the *Theatins*, a Sort of Friars, who first came into *Mingrelia* in 1627, and were admitted there as Physicians, and have built themselves several Apartments about it, after the Manner of the Country. They have some Slaves, and two Families of Country People their Tenants. They have good Employment as Physicians, but none will embrace their Religion, their very Slaves refusing to communicate in their Services; so that they would have long since left the Country, had it not been for the Honour of the *Roman Church* and their own Order.

After a Month's Stay with the Monks, it not being safe to travel, because of the Troubles in the Country, he return'd again to *Anarghia*, and having hired a *Turkish Feluke*, for *Gonie*, November the 11th, staid till the 27th to take in Loading and Passengers. While he staid here he was invited to two Christenings, and Curiosity engaged him to be present at them. The Manner was this: The Priest being sent for about ten a Clock in the Morning, sat himself down in the Buttery, and fell to reading a Book half torn, about the Bigness of a New Testament, in *Osavo*. He read very fast, and with a low Voice, in such a careless Manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the rest did what he said, for the Father, Godfather and Child, who was about five Years old, went to and again all the Time.

When the Priest had read an Hour, there was a Bucket of warm Water got ready, into which when the Priest had poured about a Spoonful of Oil of Wallnuts, he bid the Godfather undress the Child; which done, he set him upon his Feet in the Water, and washed his Body all over well, and then the Priest gave him a small Quantity of *Myrone*, or Oil of Uction, with which he anointed the Top of his Head, Ears, Forehead, Nose, Cheeks, Chin, Shoulders, Elbows, Back, Belly, Knees and Feet, the Priest still reading, till the Godfather dress'd the Child, and then the Father bringing in Wine, Bread and Pork, they all sat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their Mass they perform with the same Irreverence and Carelessness.

Departing from *Anarghia* in fair and clear Weather, he discover'd the high Lands of *Trebisond* on the one Side, and of the *Abca's* on the other, and came to the River *Kelmbel*, which though not so broad nor rapid as *Langur*, yet is deeper.

10. On the 30th he came to the River *Phasis*, which, taking its Rise in Mount *Caucasus*, runs at first in a narrow Channel, though swiftly, about *Cotatis*, and sometimes so low, that it is easily fordable; but where it dischargeth itself into the Sea, which is about ninety Miles from *Cotatis*, the Channel is a Mile and half broad, and sixty Fathom deep, being augmented in that Course by divers Streams. The Water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are several Islands at the Mouth of it, which being covered with thick Woods, make a delightful Prospect. *Arrian* says, That upon one of these Islands stood the Temple of *Rhea*, but there are no Remains of it now, though there are some Historians who say, it was standing in the time of the *Grecian Empire*, and was, in *Zeno's* Reign, dedicated to the Worship of Christ. On this River, and the Black-Sea about it, are Plenty of Pheasants, or *Phasiani*, so called from the River *Phasis*. All the Coasts of this River are a low sandy Soil, cover'd with Woods so thick, that one can hardly see six Paces up the Land.

On the 30th, he arrived at *Gonie*, which is about thirty Miles from *Phasis*, the Sea-Coasts being exceeding high Land and Rocks, some being woody, and others naked. *Gonie* is a large Castle, in the Territories of the Prince of *Guriel*, built four square, of hard and rough Stones of a very large Size. It hath no Trenches, but Walls only, and two great Guns. In it are about thirty small poor Houses, made of Boards, and without is a small Village of about as many more, all inhabited by Mariners, and other boorish People. There is a Custom-house here, the Officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and severe to the People of the Country, but extravagant to the *Europeans*, not regarding any Man's Person, nor any Recommendations from the Port, but searching all Things strictly, and exacting what they please.

From *Gonie* he went to the Castle of *Akalzike*. The Way lies over Mount *Caucasus*, which is one of the highest Mountains, and one of the most difficult to pass over in the World. The Top is always cover'd with Snow, over which the Natives pass in a kind of Sandals, made flat like a Racket, to keep them from sinking. It is usual for the Guides here to make long Prayers to their Images to keep the Winds from rising, for if the Wind be high, it buries all the Travellers in Snow.

This Mountain, though not inhabited for some Leagues together in many Places, yet is fruitful to the very Top, yielding Honey, Wheat, Gom, Wine, and Fruits, and feeding Hogs, and large Cattle. The Vines are so luxuriant, that they run up to the very Tops of their highest Trees, so that the People cannot gather them. The Country People dwell in wooden Huts, of which every Family has four or five. The Women grind their Corn as they want it, and bake their Bread on Stones, or upon their Hearth, and yet the Crust is very white, and the Bread good. These Inhabitants are for the most part Christians, after the *Georgian Ceremonies*; they are fresh complexion'd, and their Women are handsome. At the Bottom of the Hill is a very fair Valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the River *Kur*, which has many Villages, and in them the Ruins of several Castles and Churches, which, the People say, were destroy'd by the *Turks*.

Akalzike is a Fortress built upon Mount *Caucasus*, fortified with double Walls, and flank'd with Towers built with Battlements, after the ancient Manner, and defended with a few great Guns. Upon little Hillocks about it stands a large Town of 400 Houses, which have nothing of Antiquity, but two *Armenian Churches*. It is inhabited by *Turks*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Greeks* and *Jews*, who have their Churches and Synagogues. The River *Kur*, anciently called *Cyrus* and *Corus*, which rises in the Mount *Caucasus*, runs by it. A Bascha lodges in the Fortress, and his Soldiers are quarter'd in the adjacent Villages. It was built by the *Georgians*, from whom the *Turks* took it.

From *Akalzike* he went to *Gory*, and pass'd by *Usker*, where the *Turks* have a Castle, built on a Rock, with a

Garrison

Garrison and Custom-house, under the Command of a *Sanziac*, and two Leagues farther, you cross over the Mountains which part *Persia* and *Turky*, from whence you see several Villages, in which are the Ruins of many Castles, Fortresses and Churches, the miserable Remains of the Grandure of the *Georgians*, before the *Turkish* and *Persian* Wars destroyed them.

At the Foot of the Mountain lies a Town and Fortrefs, both called *Surham*. It stands on a very lovely Plain, full of Censés, Villages, Hillocks, Houses of Pleasure and little Castles belonging to the *Georgian* Lords, and has a Fortrefs containing a Garrison of 100 Men. All the Country is very well tilled, and mighty pleasant and delightful, as far as *Gory*, except that on the Right-Hand lies a great City almost in Ruins, as not containing above 500 Houses inhabited, whereas formerly, by Report, it had 12000.

Gory is a small City, seated on a Plain, between two Mountains, upon the Bank of the River *Kur*, and by it is a Castle on an Hill, garrison'd by native *Persians*. The Houses and Market-places are all built with Earth, but the People are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furnished with all Necessaries for human Life at a cheap Rate.

11. From *Gory* he departed December the 16th, and travelling upon the Banks of the River *Kur*, through pleasant Plains, with great Numbers of Villages on all Hands, he passed through *Calicata*, a City almost totally ruined, and came on the 17th to *Teflis*, the Capital City of that Part of *Georgia*, lying in the Province of *Cartbueli*. The Country of *Georgia*, which is under the Jurisdiction of the *Persians*, borders at this Day to the East upon *Circassia* and *Muscovy*, to the West upon *Armenia* the Lesser, and to the North upon the Black-Sea and the Kingdom of *Imeretta*. It is extended from *Tauris* and *Erzerom* to *Tanais*, and was anciently call'd *Albania*. It is a Country very Woody and Mountainous, unless in the Middle, where it is more even and level. The River *Kur* runs through the Midst of it, and empties itself into the *Caspian* Sea.

The *Grecians* are thought by some to have called it *Georgia*, from *Georgoi*, Husbandmen; but others will have the Name deriv'd from St. *George* the Patron Saint of all the Christians of the *Greek* Church. The Temper of the Air is very kindly in *Georgia*, being very dry, cold in the Winter, and hot in the Summer. The fair Weather does not begin till *May*, but then it lasts till the End of *November*. The Soil being well watered, produces all Sorts of Grain, Herbs and Fruits in Abundance, so that a Man may live there deliciously and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as lesser Sort; their Fowl is incomparable, especially their wild Fowl; their Boars Flesh is as plentiful and good as any in *Colchis*; and, indeed, the common People live upon nothing else almost but young Pigs, which are excellent Meat, and never offend the Stomach. The *Caspian* Sea, which is next to *Georgia*, and the *Kur*, that runs quite through it, supplies it with all Sorts of salt and fresh Fish. There is no Country that drinks more and better Wine, and they transport great Quantities of it into *Media*, *Armenia* and to *Ispahan*, for the King's Table. They have great Quantities of Silk, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into *Turkey* to *Erzerom*, and the Parts adjoining, and drive a great Trade with it. The Complection of the *Georgians* is most beautiful, you can hardly see an ill-favour'd Person among them; and the Women are so exquisitely handsome, that it is hardly possible to look upon them, and not be in Love with them. They are tall, clean limb'd, plump and full, but not over fat, and extremely slender in the Waste: But this Beauty they spoil with painting and dressing with sumptuous Habits and Jewels. The *Georgians* are naturally very witty, and would be as learned Men and great Artists as any are in the World, if they had the Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but having a mean Education and bad Examples, they are drowned in Vice, are Cheats and Knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful and proud. They are irreconcilable in their Enmities,

for though they are not easily provok'd, yet they preserve their Hatred inviolable.

Drunkenness and Luxury are such common Vices among them, that they are not scandalous in *Georgia*. The Church-men will be as drunk as others, and they keep male Slaves in their Houses, which they use for their Concubines, at which No-body is offended, because it is so commonly practis'd, that Custom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they say, he that is not drunk at their great Festivals of *Easter* and *Christmas*, cannot be a good Christian, and deserves to be excommunicated. The *Georgians* are very great Usurers, and will lend no Money without a Pawn. The lowest Interest they take is two *per Cent.* for a Month. The Women are as vicious and wicked as the Men, and contribute more than they to that general Debauchery, which overflows the Country. In their common Conversation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their Habit is much like the *Polonian*, and their Bonnets like theirs, their Vests are open before down the Breast, and fastened with Buttons and Loops; their Hose and Shoes are like the *Persians*, and their Womens Cloathing is wholly in the same Taste.

The Houses of their Grandees, and all their publick Edifices, are built according to the *Persian* Model, and they imitate the *Persians* in their Sitting at Table, in their Beds, and Manner of Diet. The Nobility exercise an absolute Tyranny over the People, who are their Vassals, making them labour as long as they please for them, without Food or Wages, challenging a Right over their Estates, Liberty and Lives, and selling their Children, or making them their own Slaves. They were converted to Christianity by an *Iberian* Woman, in the fourth Age, but have nothing left of Christianity, but the Name; for they do not observe the least Precept of *Jesus Christ*; they place all their Religion in Fasting, and making long Prayers.

There are several Bishops in *Georgia*, with a Patriarch, whom they call *Catholicos*, and an Archbishop, whose Sees, as often as they are vacant, are disposed of by the Prince, though he be a *Mahometan*, and he generally gives them to his Relations, and the present Patriarch is his Brother. The Churches in *Georgia*, especially in their Cities, are kept something more cleanly than in *Mingrelia*, but in the Villages are full as nasty. The *Georgians* and their Neighbours build their Churches upon high Mountains, in remote and inaccessible Places, and bow unto them at great Distances, but scarce go into them once in ten Years, leaving them to the Injuries of the Weather, and for the Birds to build their Nests in. They can give no other Reason for all this, but that it is a Custom; though we may suppose, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. *Georgia* was made tributary to the *Persians* by *Ishmael* the Great, and though it has several Times revolted, yet still continues in Subjection to them.

The City of *Teflis*, the Capital City of *East Georgia*, is one of the fairest Cities in all the King of *Persia*'s Dominions, though not so big as some. It is seated at the Bottom of a Mountain, and on the Eastern-side of it runs the River *Kur*, which rising in the Mountains of *Georgia*, joins itself to the *Araxes*. The most Part of the Houses built by the River-side, stand upon a Rock, and the whole City is encompassed with strong and beautiful Walls, except on the Side next the River, and is defended by a Fortrefs on the South-side, wherein are none but native *Persians*. This Fortrefs is a Sanctuary for all Manner of Criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen Churches, which is very much in a Country where there is so little Devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the *Georgian* Service, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the *Armenians*. The Cathedral called *Sion*, is built all of hewn Stone, and stands on the Bank of the River. It is an ancient Building, in good Repair, composed of four Bodies, and has a great *Duomo* in the Middle. The great Altar stands in the Middle of the Church, and the Inside is full of Paintings, after the *Greek* Manner. The *Armenians* have also several Monasteries

ries here, in one of them, they say, they have St. George's Skull.

There is not any Mosque in *Teflis*, though it be under a *Mahometan* Prince, and though the *Persians* have attempted to build one several Times, they could never accomplish their Design, for the People mutinied and beat down their Work; which Action, though very affronting to the *Persian* Religion, yet the Emperor of *Persia* is afraid to come to any Extremities with them, lest they should revolt to their Neighbours the *Turks*, and so *Teflis* and all *Georgia* enjoy their Liberty to retain almost all the exterior Marks of their Religion; for, on the Top of all the Steeples of their Churches stands a Cross, and in them they have Bells, which they often ring. Every Day they sell Pork openly, as well as other Victuals, and Wine, at the Corners of the Streets, which vexes the *Persians* to see, but they cannot help it. Some few Years since they built a Mosque in the Fortrefs, and the *Georgians* could not prevent it: But when the Priest, after their Custom, came up to the Top, to make Profession of his Faith, and call the *Mahometans* to Prayers, the People so ply'd him with Volleys of Stones, that he was forced to fly down in Haste, and never dared to appear there any more.

The publick Buildings, viz. their Market-places, Inns and Magazines, are well built of Stone, and kept in good Repair. The Prince's Palace is a noble and beautiful Building, being adorn'd with Halls and Rooms of State, Gardens, Aviaries, and spacious Courts, to which the Viceroy of *Caket's* Palace is not much inferior.

The Out-parts of the City are adorned with several Houses of Pleasure, and many beautiful Gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggest; but the Trees are such only as serve for Shade and Coolness.

The *Capuchins*, who were sent into *Georgia* about the Year 1657, by the Pope, have an Habitation in this City, as also at *Gory*, where they are highly esteemed as Physicians, which is the Title they give themselves, but they make very little Progress in the Conversion, of the *Georgians*; for besides that these People are very ignorant, and take little Care to instruct themselves, it is so rivetted into their Heads, that Fasting, as they observe it, is the essential Part of the Christian Religion, that they do not believe the *Capuchins* to be Christians, though they fast as they do, because they are informed, they do it not in *Europe*.

The City of *Teflis* is very well peopled, and there are as many Strangers resort thither as to any Place in the World, for there is a great Trade driven there, and the Court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the Capital City of a Province. The *Georgians* do not call it *Teflis*, but *Cala*, i. e. *The Fortrefs*, which is a Name they give to all Habitations encompassed with Walls, and some Geographers call it, *Tebele-Cala*, or, *The hot City*, either by Reason of the hot Baths, or because the Air there is not so cold and boisterous as in other Parts of *Georgia*.

12. On the 28th he departed from *Teflis*, and passing thro' *Sogan-lou*, or the Place of Onions, standing upon the River *Kur*, came to *Kupri-Kent*, or the Village of the Bridge, because there is a very fair Bridge over the River *Tabadi*, in the Arches of which are made little Chambers and Portico's, and in every one of them a Chimney, on Purpose to lodge Strangers, and in the middle ones Balconies, to take the cool Air in the Summer; *Melick-Kent*, or, the Royal Village, and so to *Dely-Jan*, a Village of 300 Houses, seated upon the River *Acalstapha*, which runs at the Foot of an high and dreadful Mountain, part of Mount *Taurus*. Here is Plenty of Water, and the Ground is very fertile, and a great many Villages to be seen on every Side, some of which stood so high upon the Points of the Rocks, that they were almost indiscernable. They are inhabited by *Georgian* and *Armenian* Christians, but not intermix'd, because they have such an inveterate Enmity one against another, that they cannot live together in the same Villages. The most Part of the Houses of these Villages are no better than Caverns or hollow Places made in the Earth; the rest are built with Timber, and covered with Turf.

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These Sort of Buildings are very convenient, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. The Borough of *Dely-Jan*, and all the Country round about for six Leagues, is govern'd by its own natural Princes, from Father to Son, and holds of *Persia*, as *Georgia* does. It is called the Country of *Casac*, the People being stout and fierce, descended from the *Cosaques*, who inhabit the Mountains on the North-East of the *Caspian* Sea, and is at present under a Prince called *Kamshi-Can*. He lodg'd at *Kara-Phishish*, a large Borough, seated at the Bottom of the Mountains, which separate *Georgia* from *Armenia*. It stands on the Banks of the River *Zengui*, and passing *Bichni*, where there is an *Armenian* Monastery, our Author arrived at *Erivan*, Jan. 7, 1673.

13. *Erivan* is a great City, but dirty. The Vineyards and Gardens make the greatest Part of it, there being no ornamental Buildings in it. It is situated in a Plain, encompassed with Mountains on every Side, between two Rivers, the *Zengui*, and *Queurk-boulack*. The Fortrefs itself may pass for a small City, containing 800 Houses, inhabited by *Persians* only; for though the *Armenians* have Shops there to work and trade in in the Day-time, yet they return to their Houses in the Evening. It is surrounded with three Walls of Earth, and Brick made of Clay, with Battlements, and flank'd with Towers, and strengthen'd with Ramparts, according to the Custom of the Ancients, and in it is constantly maintain'd a Garrison of 2000 Men. The Governor of the Province's Palace is within this Castle, and is a very spacious and delightful Place in Summer.

The City stands about a Cannon-shot from the Fortrefs, but the Space between is filled up with Houses and Market-places, which are such pitiful Structures, that they may be removed in one Day. There are several Churches in this City, of which the Episcopal See, called *Ircou-ye-rize*, and *Catovike* are the Chief; the rest are small, sunk deep in the Earth. Near the Episcopal Church is an old Tower, built of Free-stone, of antique Work, with several Inscriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what Use it was built. At a little Distance from it is the *Grand Meydan*, or great Market-place, 400 Paces square, where they use all Exercises, both for Horse and Foot, as Caroufels, Racings, Wrestling, and Managing of Horses for War. There are many Baths and fair Inns in it. The Air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their Winter lasts long, and they have Snow sometimes in *April*. The Country is very delightful and fertile, and produces Fruits in great Plenty, especially Wine, which is there good and cheap.

The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* planted his Vineyard near *Erivan*, and some pretend to shew the Place, about a small League from the City. The River and Lake, which is twenty-five Leagues in Compass, furnish the City with excellent Fish of nine Sorts, of which the Trouts and Carps are famous all over the East. In the Midst of the Lake is a small Island, where stands a Monastery, whose Prior is an Archbishop, and takes upon him the Title of Patriarch, refusing to acknowledge the Grand Patriarch. The *Armenians* hold this City to be the most anciently inhabited Place in the World; for they affirm, that *Noah* and all his Family dwelt there, both before the Deluge, and after he came out of the Ark, and that the earthly Paradise was there: But all this is a Story without Foundation, reported by Persons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two Leagues from *Erivan* stands the famous Monastery of the *Three Churches*, the Sanctuary of the *Armenian* Christians. The *Armenians* call it *Ecs-miazin*, which Name also the principal Church bears. It is a substantial, but dark Structure, all built of large Free-stone. The Monks shew several Reliques preserved in it, as a Finger of St. Peter, and two of St. John the Baptist, a Rib of St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, and an Arm of St. Gregory, &c. but they must be very credulous and superstitious, that can believe them such. The two other Churches that stood near this are, St. *Caiana* and St. *Repsma*, the Names of two *Roman* Virgins, who fled into *Armenia*, as they say, in the 9th Persecution,

and suffer'd Martyrdom in the same Places where those Churches stand.

Within the Territory of *Erivan*, which reaches about twenty Leagues round it, there are twenty-three Convents for Men, and five for Women, which are so poor, that being continually employ'd in getting a Livelihood, they never perform holy Duties, but upon Holidays. They hold the Opinions of the *Monophysites*, but in other Points are very ignorant. Two Leagues from *Erivan* Eastward, is to be seen the famous Mountain where *Noah's Ark* is said to have rested. The *Armenians* hold, that the Ark is still upon the Top of the Mount called *Maus*, but that no Man can ascend to it. The Governor of *Erivan* is a *Beglerbeg*, i. e. a Lord of Lords, and has also the Title of *Serdar*, or General of the Army. His Revenue is 32,000 Tomans, which is above 112,000 *l.* Sterling a Year, besides Fines, Presents, and indirect Ways of enriching himself, which amount to 50,000 Pounds more.

14. While he staid at *Erivan*, he saw a Wedding of the Governor's Steward's Brother. Matrimony in *Persia* is very expensive, so that only Men of Estates will venture upon it, lest it prove their Ruin. The meaner Sort content themselves with a Concubine or Slave. The *Mahometans* that follow the Tenets of *Haly*, take their Wives after three Manners, viz. By Purchase, Hire, or Marriage. All these Ways their Religion allows, and their Civil Law acknowledges the Children born in any of them legitimate. The Wives, who are Slaves, are called *Canize*. Of these the Law allows a Man as many as he can maintain, and takes no Cognizance how they are used. He is Master of their Chastity, yea, of their Lives, and it is their Honour to serve their Master as his Wives. The hired Wives are called *Moutaa*: Of these also a Man may take as many as he pleaseth, and as long as he pleaseth for the Price agreed on, and at the End of the Term they may part with them, or renew the Bargain. A handsome young Maid at *Ispahan* may be hired for 35 *l.* a Year, besides Cloaths, Diet, and Lodging. If any break off before the End of the Term, he must pay the whole Sum contracted for, and the Woman, after Dismission, must tarry forty Days before she lets herself to another. These Days they call, *The Days of Purification*.

The espoused Wives are called *Nekaa*, and of these the *Mahometan* Religion allows a Man to marry four; but they never marry above one, to avoid Expence and Disorder, for every one will command, and their mutual Jealousy causes a perpetual Confusion; wherefore, if they cannot content themselves with one Woman, they use their Slaves. In *Persia* they usually marry by Proxy, because the Man never sees his Wife till after he has consummated the Marriage, which sometimes he does not till several Days after his Wife has been at home. One would think, that this Way of Marrying should produce unfortunate Matches; but it doth not, for Marriages are not more happy in any Country than this. If either of the Parties dislike one another, and resolve to unmarry themselves, the *Mahometan* Religion permits a Divorce, and they may separate either before a Judge, or a Churchman, giving each other a *Talaac*, or *Bill of Divorce*, and then the Parties are at Liberty to marry again where they please themselves.

Upon this Dissolution of their Marriage, if the Man has sued the Divorce, he is obliged to return the Woman her Dowry; yet if the Woman sought it, she loseth her Portion; but if the Persons repent the Act, they may renew the Marriage again three Times: Yet, the *Persians* rarely make Use of this License to part with their Wives, only some Citizens and Tradesmen make their Advantage of it. Persons of Quality count it so dishonourable, that they will rather die, than divorce their Wives, and the meanest Sort cannot part with the Portion, and so, if they desire a Divorce, which is rare, they effect it by ill-using their Wives, to force them to sue for a Divorce, and thereby sacrifice all to their Liberty.

The *Armenian* Patriarch lives in this City, and has an Episcopal Palace. He, with all the rest of his Clergy, is much addicted to *Simony*, as are also all the Eastern

Sects. Their chief Gain lies in selling the Oil called *Myrone*, at a dear Rate, which, they teach the People to believe is a Remedy that physically cures all the Distempers of the Soul, and confers the Grace of Regeneration and Remission of Sins, saying, that in Baptism it is the Oil, not the Water, which is the Matter prescribed. The Patriarch consecrates this Oil, and sells it to the Bishops and Priests, who get great Sums by it.

15. April the 8th he parted from *Erivan*, and travelling through a Country somewhat hilly, but full of Villages, came first to *Daivin*, and then to *Kainer*, leaving the Mountain of *Noah* on the Right-hand. On the 10th he went on the same Road, which led him through a fertile and fair Country, and leaving *Sederec*, a great Town, and the Capital of the Province of *Armenia*, called *Charour*, where the Sultan resides, came through *Nouratchin*, and over the River *Harpasony* to *Nacchivan*, which is thought to be the ancient *Artaxate*. It is now little else but a Heap of Ruins, not containing above two thousand Houses which are inhabited, and those in the Heart of the City, with Inns, Baths, and other publick Houses, where they sell Tobacco and Coffee, whereas formerly the *Persian* History assures us, that it contained forty thousand.

Five Leagues to the North lies a great City called *Abrener*, i. e. the fertile Field, and seven others near to it, all whose Inhabitants are Papists, and their Bishops and Curates *Dominicans*, who perform their Church Service in the *Armenian* Language. These Towns were brought into Subjection to the Pope by an *Italian Dominican* of *Bologna*. Twenty Villages more acknowledg'd the same Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but are returned to their first Religion, and their Obedience to the *Armenian* Patriarch; and it is not likely that the rest can hold out long, for the Governors of the Province use them violently, and lay heavy Impositions upon them, for withdrawing from their Jurisdiction.

From *Nacchivan* he passed to old *Julpha*, through a dry stony Country, where there is Nothing to be seen but Hills of Stones. It is a ruined City, and thought by some Authors to be the ancient *Ariammene*. It is said to have contained four thousand Houses, though the Ruins do not shew above half so many. At present there is Nothing but Holes and Caverns in the Mountains, fitter for Beasts than Men to live in.

This City was ruined by *Abas* the Great, for the same Reason as *Nacchivan*, viz. to hinder the Invasions of the *Turks* for Want of Provisions. By *Julpha* runs the River *Araxes*, which separates *Armenia* from *Media*. It rises in the Mountain where *Noah's Ark* is said to have rested, from which perhaps it takes its Name, and empties itself into the *Caspian* Sea. It is very large, and of so rapid a Course, especially when it is swelled by the Thaws of the Snows that come down from the Mountains, that no Bridges can stand upon it, nor Dams resist its Force, and the Noise of the Waters astonishes the Ears of the Beholders.

16. *Media*, which formerly ruled all *Asia* with an Imperial Dominion, at present makes but one Part of a Province, though the largest in the *Persian* Empire, called *Azerbeyan*, or *Asapaican*. It borders on the East upon the *Caspian* Sea and *Hyrcania*, on the South upon *Parthia*, on the West upon *Araxes* and the Upper *Armenia*, of which *Assyria* is a Part, and on the North on *Dagestan*, which is that mountainous Country that borders upon the *Muscovite* Cossacks, and Part of Mount *Taurus*. The *Persians* affirm, that the Name of *Azerbeyan* implies the Country of Fire, by reason of the famous Temple of Fire which was there erected, where was kept that Fire which the Fire-worshippers hold to be a God: *Nimrod* is said first to have brought in this Worship, and there is a certain Sect, called *Guebres*, which still maintain it.

From *Julpha* he travelled through a Country full of little Hills, leaving a spacious Plain upon the Left-hand, where many bloody Battles between the *Turks* and *Persians* were fought, and particularly that between *Selim* the Son of *Solyman* the Great, and *Ishmael* the Great, to *Alacou*, and from thence, through a more even Country, to *Marant*, a very fair Town, consisting

ing of about two thousand five hundred Houses, and which has so many Gardens as take up as much Ground as the Houses. It is seated at the Bottom of a Mountain, at the End of a Plain, watered by the little River *Zelou-lou*, from which the People have drawn several Cuts into their Grounds and Gardens.

In the Places adjoining grow Plenty of Fruits, the best in all *Media*; but that which is most peculiar to these Parts, is this, that here they gather Cochineal, though in no great Quantities, nor for any longer Time than only eight Days in Summer, when the Sun is in *Leo*; for before that Time, the People say, it doth not come to Maturity; and after the Worm, from which they draw the Cochineal, makes an Hole in the Leaf in which it grows, it is lost. The *Persians* call Cochineal *Kermis*, from *Kerm*, which signifies a Worm, because it is extracted out of Worms. The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* lies buried here.

17. From thence he travelled among the Mountains to *Sophian*, a little Village full of Rivulets and Gardens, and fruitful to a Wonder, and so he went to *Tauris*, which is fifty three *Persian* Leagues from *Erivan*. This City is very large and potent, being the second in *Persia* in Dignity, Grandeur, Riches, Trade, and Number of Inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little River *Spingteba* runs a-cross it, which sometimes carries away the Houses on the Side of it, and makes dreadful Havock. On the North-side runs the River *Agi*, or the Salt River, whose Water is made salt by the little Rivulets, which passing through the Salt Marishes, fall into it, and so can nourish no Fish. It is divided into nine Wards, and has fifteen thousand Houses, and as many Shops in their Market-places, among which are three hundred Inns, and some so large, as to lodge three hundred People, and many Cabarets for Coffee, Tobacco, and strong Liquors. There are three hundred and fifty Mosques, three Hospitals, which relieve the Poor with Victuals twice a Day; and a fair Hermitical *Hali's Eye*.

The Inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thousand. This City is full of Strangers, who come hither to trade from all Parts of *Asia*, because it is full of all Sorts of Merchandizes, and abounds with Artists in Cotton, Silk, and Gold. The fairest Turbans in *Persia* are made here; and it is said, there are six thousand Bales of Silk consumed in this Manufacture. The Air of *Tauris* is good, healthy, and dry, but the Cold continues long, because it is exposed to the North, and the Snow lies nine Months in the Year upon the Mountains; the Winds blow every Day, Morning and Evening, and Rains often fall.

It abounds with all Things necessary for human Support, as Corn, Fish from the *Caspian* Sea, Venison, and other wild Beasts. Bread may be bought there for three Pound a Penny, and Flesh at three half Pence a Pound. There are said to grow no less than 60 Sorts of Grapes in and about *Tauris*. Near it is a Quarry of white Marble, a Mine of Gold, and another of Salt. There are several Mineral Waters, all sulphureous, of which some are cold, and others boiling hot. Most of our Geographers of best Note, as *Ortelius*, *Ananias*, *Molets*, &c. are of Opinion, that this City is the ancient and celebrated *Ecbatana*, so frequently mentioned in holy Writ, and in the ancient History of *Asia*, but there are no Remains of the magnificent Palace of *Ecbatan*, where the Monarchs of *Asia* kept their Courts in Summer, nor of *Daniel's*, to justify this Notion.

From *Tauris* he travelled first to *Vaspinge*, a great Borough, surrounded with Gardens and Groves of Poplars and Tylets, and watered with several Brooks, which make it very pleasant; then to *Agi-agach*, by which are the Plains which afford the best Pastures in all *Media*, and perhaps in the whole World, where the choicest Horses in the whole Province are put to Grass from April to June, to purge, refresh, fatten and strengthen them. These Plains are the *Hippopotkon* of the Ancients, of which they write, that the Kings of *Media* kept here a Breed of fifty thousand Horses.

The Road from hence leads by several Circles of large hewn Stones, which the *Persians* affirm to be the

Places where the *Caous* or Giants, when they made Wars in *Media*, held their Councils, it being a Custom among these People, that every Officer that came to the Council brought with him a Stone, to serve him instead of a Chair, and so carries you over Hills and Dales, all fruitful and delightful, to Admiration, through *Turiman*, so called, because that in the Fields about it there is a great Number of Shepherds with their Flocks, that are called by that Name, to *Purware*, an handsome large Village at the Bottom of an Hill, and upon the Banks of a little River.

From thence he proceeded in his Journey, and crossing the River *Miana* several Times, by Reason of its Windings, passed through the Town of the same Name adjoining, both so called because they part *Media* from *Parthia*, and ascended a Ridge of Mountains, which are a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, at the Top of which stands a Castle, call'd the *Virgin's Castle*, because *Artaxerxes* is said to have built it on Purpose to imprison a Princess of the Blood.

As soon as you have passed these Mountains, and the River *Kesil-buese*, which is at the Foot of them, you perceive a Change of the Air; for whereas *Media* is moist and cloudy, subject to high Winds and much Rain, the *Parthian* Air is dry to the highest Degree, without Clouds or Rain for six Months sometimes, and the Soil sandy, so that nothing will thrive without good Husbandry and Pains.

18. *Parthia*, which was so long the Seat of the Empire of *Asia*, is now a large Province of the *Persian* Monarchy. It is the proper Demeans of the Shah, and therefore has no Governor, as the rest of the Provinces. It is extended 200 Leagues in Length, and 150 in Breadth, being bounded by the Province of *Chorassan* on the East; by *Fars*, which is properly *Persia*, on the South, by *Azarbeyan* or *Media* on the West, and *Guilan* or *Mezanderan*, which compose the Province of *Hyrkania*, on the North.

The Air is dry, and though the Mountains produce nothing but Thistles and Briers, yet the Plains are fruitful and pleasant, where there is Water. This Province has above forty Cities, which is much in *Persia*, because it is not peopled according to its Extent. The *Parthians* took their Original from the *Scythians*, who were the *Tartars*, who now inhabit the North of *Persia*, called *Uzbeks*, and formerly *Bactrians*. The first Village you come at is *Zerigan*, which is fam'd for its Antiquity, being founded, according to the *Persian* Records, in the Reign of *Ardechir-babexon*, several Ages before *Christ*, and then passing over delightful Plains, you come to *Sultany*.

This City is seated at the Foot of a Mountain. It seems afar off a very neat well-built Place, but does not appear so when you are within it; yet some of the publick Buildings are very remarkable, both for the Materials and Architecture. It contains about three thousand Houses, and besides, there are very vast Ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largest City of the Kingdom, as their Histories relate. Provisions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the Air wholesome, though very changeable, the Mornings, Evenings, and Nights being very cold, and Days hot. It is said to be the most ancient City in *Parthia*. The Predecessors of *Ishmael Sophi*, and the last *Armenian* Kings, resided there, and then it is said that it contained four hundred Christian Churches; but being demolished by *Tamerlane*, and several other *Turkish* and *Tartarian* Princes, the Christians have deserted it.

From hence he travelled through a lovely Country, and passing through several Villages, surrounded with Meadows, and Groves of Willow and Poplar, he came to *Ebber*, a small City for the Buildings, as containing not above 2500 Houses, but taking up a large Extent of Ground, because they have so many large Gardens. A small River runs through the Midst of it. It is thought to be anciently called *Barontha*. The Situation is delightful, the Air wholesome, and Soil plentiful. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor; and the *Mirtsheki-Bashi* has his *Tabvil*, or Salary, charged upon the Revenue of this City. The *Persian* Geographers assert, that

that this City was built by *Kei-Cofrou*, and that *Darab-Reiboni*, or *Darius*, began to build the Castle; and that *Skender-Roumi*, i. e. *Alexander the Great*, finished it. At *Ebber* they begin to speak the *Persian* Language, which is spoken all the Way to the *Indies*, more or less pure, as the People are more or less distant from *Schiras*, where it is spoken in the greatest Perfection.

19. From *Ebber* he travelled to *Persac*, leaving *Casbin* five Leagues on the Left-hand. This great City stands in a delightful Plain, three Leagues from Mount *Alou-vent*, one of the highest and most famous Mountains in *Persia*. It is six Miles in Circumference, containing 12000 Houses, and 100,000 Inhabitants, of which there are forty Families of Christians, and one hundred *Jews*, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefest Ornament and Grace of *Casbin* is the King's Palace, and the great Number of the Seats of the *Persian* Grandees, who attend upon the Court, which has its continual Residence there. There are but few Mosques in *Casbin*, but the Royal Mosque, called *Metshid-sha*, is one of the largest and fairest in all *Persia*. This City has no great Plenty of Water, but it is supplied, with all it has, by subterraneous Channels called *Kerisees*.

The Air is thick, and not very healthful, and the Soil dry and sandy, yet it abounds with Meat, and all Manner of Provisions, which are brought thither from the Countries adjoining, which having many well water'd Plains, feed a World of Cattel, and produce prodigious Quantities of Corn. The fairest Grape in *Persia*, called *Shaboni*, or the Royal Grape, being of a Gold Colour, and transparent, of which the strongest and most luscious Wine in the World is made, grows here. The Air is very hot in Summer all the Day long, but the Nights are so cold, that if a Man expose himself never so little to the Air, after he is undressed, he is sure to fall sick. Some of our *European* Geographers affirm it to have been the City, which the *Greeks* called *Ragea*, or *Rages*, afterwards *Europa* and *Arfacia*, and now *Casbin*, from a King of that Name. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor, chosen every Year, whose Office is worth to him 600 Tomans, or 2000 Pounds.

Having passed *Casbin*, he came to *Kaiare*, and having lodg'd there, travelled the next Night (for that's the general Way of travelling all over the East, to avoid the Heat of the Sun, which would hurt both Man and Beast in the Day-time) by *Segs-abad*, which signifies, *the Habitation of Dogs*, to *Sava*, a great City, seated in a sandy and barren Plain. It is two Miles in Circuit, and walled round, but so miserably built, that, unless it be in the Midst, it runs to Ruin for want of Inhabitants. The Histories of *Persia* unanimously agree, that the whole Plain of *Sava* was formerly a Salt-Marsh, or Lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known: Some fabulously report, that *Haly*, *Mahomet's* Son-in-Law, drain'd it by a Miracle; and to preserve the Memory of it, the People built this City in the Midst of it.

19. Just over against *Sava*, Eastward, at four Leagues Distance, stands a Place of Pilgrimage, most famous for the Devotion of the *Persians*. They call it *Ech-mouil*, that is to say, *Samuel*; for they believe, that this Prophet was there interr'd, and over his Tomb is built a most sumptuous *Mausoleum*, in the midst of a magnificent Mosque. Over-against it is still to be seen some Remnants of the City of *Rey*, which is reported to have been once the biggest City of *Asia*, next to *Babylon*. The *Persian* Histories relate, that it was divided into ninety-six Quarters, every one of which had forty-six Streets, and every Street 400 Houses, and ten Mosques; that there were in it 6400 Colleges, 16600 Baths, 15000 Towers of Mosques, 12000 Mills, 1700 Channels, and 13000 Inns, and People almost numberless.

The Chronicles of the *Magi* make *Cbus*, the Grand-child of *Noah*, to be Founder of it; and *Ptolemy* calls it *Raquai*; but the vulgar Opinion is, that it was founded by *Housheing Pishdadi*, or the Chief Justiciary, and enlarged by *Marroutsher*, his Successor. It was destroyed by the *Mahometans*, who being divided into two Sects, viz. Of *Shia* and *Sunnis*, made War one upon the

other for sixty Years together. The Sect of *Sunnis* called in the Assistance of the *Tartars*, and, by their Help, bore down the Sect of *Shia*. In these Wars the *Tartars*, by their frequent Incurfions, destroy'd the potent City of *Rey*, and reduced it to nothing before the 600th Year of their *Hegyra*. The Soil about it is fertile and pleasant, and produces great Plenty of Fruits; but the Air is unhealthy, making the Skin swarthy, and breeding Agues.

Departing from hence, he passed by an Hill, called *Coub-Telisin*, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it shews a different Form, and varies both in its Bigness and Figure; that the Top or Point of it is always in Sight, and you would think, that it turned that Side, which Way soever you stood to look upon it. It consists of a black Earth, that crumbles like that of the burning Mountains; but it is not known to have vomited Fire. The People of the Country say, that they that ascend that Mountain never come back again.

20. Having passed it, he came to *Com*, a large City, seated in a Plain, by a River-side. It contains 15000 Houses, as the People say, and is surrounded with a Moat and Wall, flank'd with Towers, but half ruined. On the River-side are two fair Keys, and at the East of the City a fine Bridge. It contains many large and beautiful Market-places, both for Wholesale and Retail: Though it be a City of no great Trade, yet they export large Quantities of Fruit, dried and raw, and particularly Pomegranates; Soap, Sword-blades, and Earthen Ware, both white and varnish'd, which hath this peculiar Property, that it cools the Water in Summer both wonderfully and suddenly, by Reason of its continual Transpiration. It contains a great Number of fair Inns, *Mausoleums* and Mosques, wherein the Grand-Children and Descendants of *Ali*, which are the *Persian* Saints, called *Yman-Zade*, Sons of the Apostles, lie interr'd. One of these Mosques is the most celebrated in the East: It has four Courts, of which the first is planted with Trees and Flowers, like a Garden, with Terrasses on each Side; the second is not so beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being surrounded with Apartments two Stories high, and having a Terrace, Portico and Canal. In the fourth are the Chambers and Lodgings for the Priests, Governors and Students, that live upon the Revenues of the sacred Place. Fronting these Courts stands the Body of the Structure, consisting of three great Chapels upon a Line. To the Middlemost belongs a Portal, eighteen Foot high, of white Marble. The Top is a large Half-Duomo, overlaid without with large square *China* Tiles, painted with *Moresco* Work, and embellish'd within with Gold and Azure. The Folding Doors are plated with Silver, gilt with Vermillion.

In it stands the Tomb of *Fatima* in the Midst, which is overlaid also with *China* Tiles, painted *A-la-moresco*, and overspread with Cloth of Gold, which hangs down on both Sides. It is enclosed with a Grate of massy Silver, ten Foot high, distant half a Foot from the Tomb, and at each Corner are Apples of fine Gold. In the two Chapels on each Side stand the Tombs of the two last Kings of *Persia*, viz. *Abas* and *Sophi*, both very magnificent; but on that of *Abas* are written in large Characters of Gold, seven Elegies upon *Mahomet* and *Haly*, made by the Learned *Hasan-Caza*.

These are rare Pieces of Eloquence, and in them may be seen not only the Genius of *Persian* Poetry, but the Transports of the *Mahometan* Devotion. This City contains several other beautiful and sumptuous Edifices, and would be a very pleasant Place, were it not for the Heat, which is excessive, there being no Place in all *Persia* where the Sun scorches more violently, yet is the Air wholsom, and Soil fruitful, especially in Pistachio's. The People are very courteous and civil. The River that passeth by it is but a small Current in Summer, but being swell'd with the Snow-waters that fall from the Mountains, it sometimes overflows great Part of the City.

From

From *Com* he travelled four Leagues over very fertile Plains, abounding with fine Villages, to *Cassem-abad*, a Town consisting of about 300 Houses, belonging to the Queen-Mother, as her Dowry, from whence he passed over a dry sandy Plain, without Villages or Water, to *Abishirin*, or Sweet Water, because there is a Fountain of fair Water, and went from thence to *Casban*.

21. This City is seated in a large Plain, near an high Mountain, a League in Length, and a Quarter of a League in Breadth, running out from East to West in Form of an Half-Moon. There is no River near the City, but it is supplied with Water by Canals, deep Wells, and Cisterns. It is encompassed with a double Wall, flank'd with round Towers, after the old Fashion, and hath five Gates. The City and Suburbs, which are the most beautiful, contain 6500 Houses, as the People say, forty Mosques, three Colleges, and about 200 Sepulchres of the Descendants of *Ali*. The principal Mosque stands right against the Market-place, and has a Tower, like a Steeple, of Free-Stone. The Houses are built of Earth and Brick, but are none of them remarkable for their Beauty.

The Bazars and Baths are well built and kept, and the Royal Inn is the fairest in all *Persia*. The Wealth and Trade of *Casban* consists in the Manufactory of all Sorts of Stuffs, and Tissues of Gold and Silver, plain and flower'd, Sattin and Velvet; and there is no City in *Persia* that makes more. *Casban* stands in a good Air, yet so violently hot, that it is ready to stifle you in Summer, which is occasion'd by the Reflection of a Mountain, that stands on the South of it; but the greatest Inconvenience that attends this City, is the great Number of Scorpions which infest it, and the Parts adjoining, when the Sun is in *Scorpio*, and therefore there is Nobody but has by him several experienced Remedies against the Sting of this Creature.

Cattle and wild Fowl are not plentiful, but the Country abounds in Corn and Fruits. They furnish *Ispahan* with Fruits, especially Melons and Water-Melons, all the Season. Several *European* Authors think this City to be *Ambrodux* or *Ctesiphon* of the Ancients. It is said to be founded by a Virgin, who therefore laid the first Stone of it when the Sun enter'd *Virgo*; and nam'd it *Casban* from her Grandfather. It is govern'd by a *Darogue*, or Mayor, who holds his Place two Years.

From *Casban* he passed over a Mountain, and then descended into a deep Valley, very narrow and about a League in Length, which is well fill'd with Houses, Vineyards and Gardens, so close one to another, that they all seem but one Village. Several delightful and clear Streams preserve the Summer so wonderfully cool here, that the Roses were not blown, nor Corn or Fruit ripe, when the Harvest was quite got in at *Casban*. Several modern Authors assert, that *Darius* was murdered by *Bessus* in this Valley, and that not improbably, because History says, *Bessus* fled to *Bactriana*, and *Nabarzanes*, to *Hyrcania*, and here the Road begins to these two Provinces, and so by *Mousbacour*, a large Village of 500 Houses, to *Ispahan*, which is so thick encompassed with Villages, that you would think you are in the Suburbs two Hours before you come near them.

22. There are two other Roads, which it is necessary that Travellers should be acquainted with, which I shall briefly describe, viz. From *Warsaw* to *Ispahan*, and from *Ispahan* to *Moscow*.

Warsaw, which is seated upon the Left Hand of the *Vistula*, is the ordinary Residence of the King of *Poland*. Beginning your Travels here to *Ispahan*, you must go to *Lublin*, which is six Days Journey, and in five more you may get to *Iluove*, where the Customers open all the Bales of the Merchants Goods, and exact five in the Hundred. From *Iluove* you go to *Jaslovieer* in twelve Days. This is the last City of *Poland* next *Moldavia*. Here, if you sell any Goods, you must pay five *per Cent*.

From thence you go to *Yasbe* in eight Days. This is the Capital City of *Moldavia*, and the Residence of the *Wayvod*, which the Grand Signior sends to govern that Country. Here all Bales of Merchan-

dizes are opened, and there is a Roll of all that the Merchant is to pay, which amounts to five *per Cent*.

From *Yasbe* the Way lies through *Oursbaye*, to which you come in three Days. This is the last City in *Moldavia*. From hence to *Akerman* you go in four Days, and the Customs amount to four *per Cent*. but they take the Merchant's Account. From *Akerman* you go to *Ozou*, where they take two *per Cent*. and so to *Precep*, where they pay two and an half *per Cent*. but they trust to the Merchant's Word at both Places.

From *Precep* the Road lies to *Kaffa*, where also the Custom is three *per Cent*. And the Journey from *Warsaw* to *Kaffa* is fifty one Days by the Waggon, which is the usual Way of Carriage in that Country, and the Customs in all come to eighteen and an half *per Cent*. to which you must add the Carriage and Passage by Sea to *Trebisond*, where you pay three Piasters for every Mule's, and four for every Camel's Load. To avoid something of this Charge, the *Armenians* ship their Goods usually at another Port, called *Onnie*, which is a very good Port, and where they never pay above a Piafter and a half for a Camel's Load.

There is another Road from *Warsaw* to *Trebisond* shorter by three Days Journey, viz. From *Warsaw* to *Yasbe*, in the former Road, and from thence by *Galas*, a City of *Moldavia*, *Megin* and *Mangalia*, the best Port in the Black-Sea to the West, to *Trebisond*, from whence to *Erzerom* five Days Journey, from which to *Ispahan* you go the usual Road.

The other Road from *Ispahan* to *Moscow* lies thus. You must travel the usual Road before-mention'd, to *Shamaki*, and from thence to *Derbent*, which the *Turks* call *Demir-Capi*. This is the last City in the *Persian* Jurisdiction, by which the River *Shamourke* runs. From *Derbent* you may travel to *Tetarck* in eight Days, where hiring Barks with twelve Oars, you may be at *Astracan*, by the Help of a little Sail which they put up, if the Wind serves, in four or five Hours, but if you row only it will take up nine. When you embark upon the *Caspian* Sea, you must provide yourself Water for the first three Days, because the Water on the Coast is bitter for that Time, but afterwards it is very good. At *Astracan* the Merchants are all searched by the Customers, and they take five *per Cent*.

From *Astracan* to *Moscow* you take Shipping in great Barks, that make Use both of Oars and Sails, rowing against the Tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you must pay fourteen Caya, and three Abaffi's and an half for every Pound. From *Astracan* you sail to *Corinya*, and so in Order by *Sariza*, *Sarataf*, *Samarat*, *Senuriskat*, *Coulombe*, *Casan*, *Sabouk-sha*, *Godamijan*, *Triguina*, *Mouron* and *Casin*, to *Moscow*, which they count 2950 *Shagarons*, or 590 *Italian* Miles.

At *Sarataf* you may go a-shore, and so go by Land to *Moscow*, in Waggon, when the Snow is gone, and on Sledges while it lies, and then the Way lies through *Inferat*, *Tymnek*, *Canquerma* and *Valodimer*, a City bigger than *Constantinople*; to *Moscow*, which Journey may be finish'd in thirty five Day; but this Way is never used, but upon Necessity, when the River is frozen, because in the Passage from *Sarataf* to *Inferat*, which is ten Days Journey, there is nothing to be had for Man or Horse. At *Moscow* the Customs are the same as at *Astracan*, viz. five *per Cent*. and all the *Asians*, viz. *Turks*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and others, lodge in a Sort of Inns; but the *Europeans* lie in a Place by themselves all together.

23. There are few Countries in the World that are so little visited by *European* Travellers as those about the *Black Sea*, and indeed there are several Reasons for it. In the first Place, the *Turks* will suffer no Trade to be carried on by Sea in any other than their own Vessels, and so jealous they are on this Head, that when the *Russians* were Masters of *Asoph*, and shared by that Means in the Navigation of the *Black Sea*, they were never easy. It is, in the next Place, a very rare Thing, even for such as travel for Pleasure through the Dominions of the Grand Signior, to strike out of the com-

mon Road purely to gratify their Curiosity, nor indeed in such a Country as this would that be always safe. And lastly, The common Reports of most of these Countries place both them and their Inhabitants in so so bad a Light, that few have any Curiosity to be better acquainted with them. Our Author's Journey was by mere Accident, he took this Route to *Persia* as the most convenient at that Time for his Purpose; and it was also by Accident *M. de la Motraye* took many Years after the same Route, and their Accounts agree, generally speaking, very well; but some Points in both seem to stand in Need of Explanation.

Our Author has given but a very short Account of the *Crim Tartars*, and therefore it is necessary to say something more of them. Authors differ very much as to the Condition of this Nation, that is to say, whether they ought to be considered as free and independent, as Allies, or as Subjects to the *Turks*. Instead of endeavouring to discuss these Questions, we shall leave them to the Decision of the Reader, after reporting a few Matters of Fact. There are not many Towns in this *Tartary*, and in those that have any Fortresses, the *Turks* have Garrisons. The *Tartar* Princes are rarely admitted into, and never allowed to lodge in them. *Cassa*, we have elsewhere shewn, was once a very fine City, and is still a good Port, which is in the Power of the *Turks*; so is *Baluclawa*, which is still a better Port, and, if we may depend upon the *Turkish* Writers, is not exceeded by any in the World, either for the Depth of Water, or Security from Winds. The Town of *Chirck*, upon the Streights of *Daman*, has also a very fine Port, but it is an open Place, and belongs to the *Tartars*. The Capital of this Country, properly speaking, is *Bascia Sarai*, which is the Residence of the Khan, was taken by the *Russians* in the late War, and totally destroyed. The Khan of the *Tartars* though a Sovereign Prince, is appointed and deposed by the Grand Signior, but he is always succeeded by a Prince of his own Family, and this presumptive Successor, whether he be the Brother or the Son of the reigning Prince, is stiled *Sultan Galga*. The second Prince of the Family is stiled *Hor Bey*, the third *Noradin Bey*, and the rest of the young Princes have particular Titles. It is to be observed of the *Tartars* in general, that even the meanest and most stupid of them is so much Master of his Genealogy, as to know exactly of what Family he is descended, and to what Tribe his Family belongs. The Truth of the Matter is, that they resemble exactly *Highland* and *Irish* Clans, and like them, are commanded by Chiefs.

Every distinct Family or Clan of the *Tartars* is by them stiled *Horda*, and the chief *Mursa*, or as others write it, *Mirza*. Amongst the *Crim Tartars* there are four great Tribes, to which all their Hords belong, and the Chiefs of these four Tribes are the Councillors of the Khan, without whose Consent he can undertake Nothing of Importance. Hereditary Right is the fundamental Law of all the *Tartars*, and the Dignity of *Mirza*, or Chief, descends from Father to Son. The Khan of *Crim Tartary* can bring eighty thousand Men into the Field, but his Contingent, when called to assist the Grand Signior, consists of thirty thousand Horse. All the World knows, that these *Tartars* are very far from being handsome, but they are, generally speaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterprising, and their Horses resemble them, for worse looking, or better Beasts for Service, the World does not produce. As for Riches, they consist in Horses and in Slaves; and as for their Manner of Living, it is equally coarse and barbarous in the Opinion of all other Nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hospitable and kind to one another, so that every Man is at home in his Neighbour's House. Neither are they less civil and respectful to such Strangers as come among them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One Thing is remarkable, when any Stranger comes to their Tents, he is served by their Children, and not by their Slaves, let the Quality of the Master be what it will. A Gentleman who was in the Service of *Charles XII.* passing

through this Country in his Way to *Bender*, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the Tent of a principal *Mirza*, and when it was Time to go to Rest, his Son made up for the Stranger a Bed of Skins, by the Side of which he set a little Stool, with a Pipe, a Box of Tobacco, and a Bottle of excellent Sherbet. In the Morning he came and rolled up the Bed, presented him Cakes, Butter, Coffee, and Milk, and brought him likewise his Boots. The Father, who was a Kind of Prince, when the Gentleman expressed some Astonishment at his putting his Son upon such Offices, made him this Answer; "Friend, this World is a Lottery, in which there are many Blanks to a Prize; though I have many Slaves, yet by the Fortune of War my Son may become a Slave; it is fit therefore he should learn to behave in all Conditions; the Khan does the same Thing; and besides, let me tell thee, Stranger, that among the *Tartars*, we hold the meanest Office done to a Friend as the highest Honour, and therefore never share it with our Slaves."

As the *Tartars* are chiefly known to the rest of the World, by their Excursions, we cannot describe them better, than by showing in what Manner they act on such Occasions, wherein, without doubt, they discover an extraordinary Genius for this Manner of making War, which however barbarous it may seem to us, answers all the Ends of War to them, by furnishing Slaves and Booty in Abundance, which supplies them with the Means of Happiness in Time of Peace. It is very true that they run through great Hazards and Hardships in Time of War; but then these Hazards and Hardships are all that they sustain, for when they return to their Tents, they are free and independent, have neither Care nor Solitude, but are Princes in their own Family, and live in what Manner they like best, without any Apprehensions or Constraint. To us, indeed, even their Repose and Luxury appears a most shocking and hideous Course of Life; but it appears otherwise to them; and, after all, if there be any Thing certain in this World, it is this, that the true Standard of Happiness is Opinion. But to come to the Point; every *Tartar* that goes into the Field, carries with him two Horses, which are taught to follow without being led, and are consequently useful to, without embarrassing their Master. On these Horses they lay a Sack of Rye Meal, and another with Bisket and Salt, which is all the Baggage and Provisions wherewith they are encumbered. It is only a few of the Commanders that are provided with Tents; the rest pass the Night in the following Manner. They carry with them four sharp Stakes, which they drive into the Ground, and upon these they fix their Mantle, which serves for a Bed; their wooden Saddle supplies the Place of a Pillow, and a coarse, thick Cloth, which is thrown cross the Horses Back under the Saddle, becomes a Coverlid. The Horses are tied to the Pickets with pretty long Cords; and while their Masters sleep, the Beasts very handily remove the Snow with their Forefeet, and feed upon the Grass that is under it, taking now and then a Mouthful of Snow to moisten it. When a Horse tires, his Master cuts his Throat upon the Spot, and distributes his Flesh among his Friends, who make him the same Compliment when Occasion offers. The best Part of the Flesh they cut in Slices, of an Inch thick, and these they place very neatly under the Saddle of the Horse they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four Leagues, they dismount, turn all the Pieces of Flesh, and mix them very carefully with the Sweat, which they turn up with their Fingers, then to horse again, and at Night they sup upon this dainty Dish, which they take ready dressed from under their Saddles.

In this Manner they will traverse two or three hundred Leagues of Ground, without ever lighting a Fire, which they carefully avoid, to prevent being discover'd; and they chuse the Depth of Winter for their Expeditions, that the Bogs, Lakes, and Rivers being frozen, they may avoid all Interruptions, and prosecute their March with greater Expedition. Thus the *Tartars* march one hundred in Front, that is three hundred Horses; every one of them has two, which serve for Relays,

lays, as has been said before; their Front may extend eight hundred or one thousand Paces, and they are eight hundred or one thousand in File, which reaches four long Leagues, or three when they keep close; for at other Times they extend above ten Leagues. This is wonderful to those that have not seen it, for eighty Thousand *Tartars* make up above two hundred thousand Horses. Trees are not thicker in the Woods than Horses are at that Time in the Field; and to see them at a Distance, they look like a Cloud rising in the Horizon, which increases as it rises, and strikes a Terror into the boldest; I mean those who are not used to see such Multitudes together. Thus these mighty Armies march, halting every Hour about half a Quarter of an Hour to give their Horses Time to stale; and they are so well managed, that they do it as soon as they stop; then the *Tartars* alight and piss too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the Signal of a Whistle; and when they are come within three or four Leagues of the Borders, they lie still two or three Days in some Place chosen for that Purpose, where they think they are concealed; there they give out Orders, and refresh their Army, which they dispose of in this Manner: They divide it into three Parts, two Thirds are to compose one Body, the other Third is subdivided into two Parts, each making a Wing, one on the Right, the other on the Left. In this Order they enter the Country.

The main Body moves slowly, which, in their Language, they call *Coche*, with the Wings, but continually without halting Day or Night, allowing but an Hour to refresh till they are got sixty or eighty Leagues into the Country, without doing any Harm. But as soon as they begin to march back, the Body holds the same Pace; then the General dismisses the two Wings, which have Liberty, each on its own Side, to stray ten or twelve Leagues from the main Body; but that is to be understood Half of the Way forward, and the other Half Sideways each Wing, which may consist of eight or ten thousand Men, is again subdivided into ten or twelve Squadrons, of five or six hundred Men each, who run up and down to the Villages, encompass them, making four *Corps de Garde* about each Village, and great Fires all the Night for Fear any Peasant should escape them: Then they fall to Pillaging and Burning, kill all that make any Resistance, and take and carry away all that submit, not only Men, Women, and Sucking Babes, but the Cattle, Horses, Cows, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, &c. As for the Swine, they drive and shut them up in a Barn, or such-like Place, and fire the four Corners; so great is the Loathing they have for those Creatures. The Wings being allowed to stray but ten or twelve Leagues, (as has been said) return with their Booty to their main Body, which is easily done; for they leave a great Track, marching above fifty in Front; so that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five Hours they join their Body again, where, as soon as they are come, two other Wings, consisting of the like Number as the former, go out on the Right and Left, to make much the same Havock; then they come in, and two others go out, and so continue their Excursions without ever diminishing their Body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two Thirds of the Army, and move gently, to be always in Breath and ready to fight their Enemy, if they should meet them, tho' their Design is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as possible. They never return the same Way they broke in, but take a Compass the better to escape; for they always fight in their own Defence, nay, and they must be forced to it, without they know themselves to be ten to one; and yet would they consider of it before they fell on; for these *Tartars* do not enter *Poland* to fight, but to pillage by way of Surprise. When the *Polanders* meet them, they make Work, forcing them to get home faster than their usual Pace. At other Times, after they have sufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the desert Plains in the Frontiers, thirty or forty Leagues in Length, and being in that Place of Safety, make a great Halt, recovering Breath, and put-

ting themselves into Order, if they were in any Confusion, on Account of meeting the *Polanders*.

At their Return from such an Incurfion, the Khan receives his Tenth of the whole Booty, which is afterwards divided amongst the several Hords, and every Mirza receives the Tenth of the Share that belongs to his Hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongst all that served in the Excursion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the most shocking Spectacles that can be beheld, to see the unhappy People of all Ages, Ranks and Sexes, that have been thus carried away, separated from each other, and torn away by their relentless Masters, who either keep and employ them in servile Work, or sell them, if they think proper, to the *Turks*, *Persians*, *Circassians*, or any of the adjacent Nations, or to the Merchants who come up into their Countries on Purpose to buy Slaves. It is from their Fortune in these Kind of Excursions, that the *Tartar* Princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their Parents is very inconsiderable, and they make no Scruple of telling Strangers, when they admire the Number of their Tents, Horses, Cattle and Slaves, that what they have, was acquired by their Sword and Bow; and that if they had been less lucky in their Expeditions, they had been as poor and as miserable as any of their Subjects. By leading this Kind of Life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious Fatigue, so as to go without Sleep for many Nights together, and with little or no Food for many Days; but when they come to have more Leisure, they will fetch this up by sleeping forty eight Hours upon the Stretch, and will crowd three or four Meals into one. Their good and bad Qualities are peculiar to themselves, and seem to be derived entirely from the Kind of Life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they must be forced to it, chusing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain Occasions, but upon such Occasions only, for at other Times they are both abstemious and sober. The *Crim Tartars* are very far from being jealous, and are, generally speaking, content with one Wife, seldom making use of their Slaves as Concubines; but then they are merciless Masters, treat their Slaves in the same Manner as their Cattle, and sell them with as little Ceremony. Under Misfortunes they are patient, or rather sullen, but what little Education they have makes some Difference amongst them, as appears by such of their Khans as are banished to *Rhodes*, which is the common Place of their Exile when deposed, where they live very handsomely, and without any Dejection of Spirit. Indeed this Misfortune happens so frequently, that they cannot be much surprized at it. In the Court of the Khan's Palace at *Bascia Saray*, there are two Tombs of Princes that died in Possession of that Dignity, and, it is supposed, were erected there as Curiosities in that Respect. I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, because I take it to be both instructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the Nature of our Author's Voyages and Travels, we must consider the Countries that lie upon the *Black Sea*, which is every where shut in by the Land, except at the narrow Straights of *Constantinople*. On the West-side lies the *European Coast*, viz. the maritime Parts of *Moldavia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, extending from South to North, that is, from *Constantinople* to *Oczakow*, in a straight Line, about three hundred and twenty Miles. On the North-side lies the *Little Tartary*, the Peninsula of *Crim*, and the great Country of *Circassia*, that circumscribe the *Palus Meotis*, which communicates with the *Black Sea* by the Straights of *Daman* or *Theman*, which have the Peninsula of *Crim* on one Side, and *Circassia* on the other. Thus it appears, that *Circassia* makes the North East Boundary of the *Black Sea*, and stretches itself quite to the *Caspian*. The Countries lying on the West-side of the *Black Sea*, and to the South of *Circassia*, are *Mingrelia*, *Immoretta*, and *Guriel*, of which our Author has given a large and very good Description.

These

These Countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the *Caspian*, the large Country of *Georgia*, which borders immediately on the *Persian* Dominions, having *Circassia* on the North, the Countries of *Mingrelia*, *Immoretta*, *Guriel* and *Armenia* on the West, the *Caspian-Sea* on the East, and the Territories of *Persia* to the South. The several Nations that inhabit these Countries are, properly speaking, *Tartars*, or very little better; and though there are some Towns, and even Cities, yet most of the Inhabitants live in Tents. The Princes of the *Circassians*, are hereditary Chiefs of Clans, like other *Tartars*, and it is certainly a Degree of Complaisance to esteem them Christians. It must be however allowed, that they are not quite so barbarous, or to speak with greater Propriety, so far removed in their Manners from ours, as other *Tartars*, notwithstanding their unnatural and detestable Custom of selling their Children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of Pains in their Education, but with no other View than that of bringing them to a better Market. The Boys, besides Riding, Hunting, Shooting and martial Exercises, are taught several Languages, and as they are very active in their Persons, have quick Wits, and are of bold and enterprizing Natures, they rise frequently to great Perfections, both in *Turkey* and in *Persia*; as for the Girls they are likewise taught the *Turkish* and *Persian* Tongues, Music, Dancing, and to repeat amorous Novels and Romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to see Parents part with their Children with so much Ease as they do, it is certainly not at all less strange, to see the Children quit their Fathers and Mothers not only without Pain, but with the utmost Alacrity, the Girls more especially. This arises from the Stories they are told, of the vast Fortunes that their Countrywomen have made in different Parts of the World, which fills them with aspiring Thoughts, and to say the Truth, their Slavery is none of the hardest, for the Merchants who buy them, take as much Care as is possible to improve their Education,

and are so far from making any Attempts upon their Chastity, that they are the most jealous Guardians of it in the World, because all the Hopes they have of selling them to Advantage, are founded in the extreme Fondness the *Mahometans* have for Virgins, and when they are sold, it is at so high a Price, that those who buy them, must be both able and disposed to maintain them in Affluence.

There is no need to add any Remarks on the remaining Part of this Section, because whatever requires farther Explanation, will be set in a clear Light in the subsequent Sections; only it may not be amiss to observe, that since the Declension of the *Persian* Empire, the *Russians* have taken many of the *Circassian* and *Georgian* Princes under their Protection, and it is highly probable, that in Time the rest will follow their Example, which perhaps may render the Country more accessible, and prove the Means of drawing the Inhabitants out of their present State of Barbarism. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one Sovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable Harmony with each other, there is no doubt that they might be able to defend themselves against any that should attack them, and by the Happiness of their Situation, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, and the many valuable Commodities their Country produces, they might very speedily establish a much more profitable, as well as reputable Commerce than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late *Schah Nadir*, who had great Views with respect to Trade, was very desirous of forcing a Passage to the Black-Sea, where he intended to have established a Port from which he expected vast Things, but very probably these great Designs will fall with him, and as the present Generation is not like to see his Equal, we must leave to Posterity the Hopes of beholding these Countries and their Inhabitants in a better Situation than they are at present, for which they seem to have been designed by Nature; in a worse, however, they cannot well be.

SECTION II.

A copious and circumstantial Description of the great Empire of *Persia*, its Situation, Extent, Distribution of its Provinces, Climate, Rivers, Seas, Soil, Produce, and the chief Cities throughout the Country, so as to afford a perfect Idea of its Condition, in past and present Times.

Collected from the Writings of the most famous Travellers, particularly from those of HERBERT, CHARDIN, TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, LE BRUN, and others, their several Remarks and Observations being all digested into a regular and easy Method.

1. The Situation and Extent of the *Persian* Empire, with a succinct Account of the Reasons why a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories which compose this Empire, is of such Importance towards a right Idea of general History and Geography.
2. A distinct and accurate Description of the several Provinces under the Dominion of the *Persian* Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, chief Cities and Ports.
3. The Air and Climate of *Persia* in its different Parts; with an Account of the hot and stifling Winds so dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-Coasts.
4. The Rivers in this Country, and the various Methods made Use of to diffuse the Water by Canals and Aqueducts; and an Account of the Seas upon which it borders.
5. Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diversity of Soils in *Persia*.
6. Of the particular Husbandry used in this Country, the Produce of arable Lands and Gardens.
7. Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers and Shrubs that grow therein.
8. Of medicinal Drugs that are brought from *Persia*, particularly Opium, *Assa Fœtida* and *Bezoar*.
9. A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the several Provinces of *Persia*.
10. Of the Fowls, Birds and Fish in this Country, and the Reason why the latter is so scarce at *Ispahan*.
11. Of the Minerals in *Persia*, and of precious Stones, particularly the *Turquois*, held to be peculiar to this Country.
12. Of the Manner of Building in *Persia*, how well adapted to their Climate, and of the Methods

Methods used to keep their Houses cool and pleasant, even in the hottest Seasons. 13. A particular Description of the Capital City of Ispahan or Spahawn, with its peculiar Beauties and Blemishes. 14. A distinct Description of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Mosque. 15. Of the Bagnio's, Gardens and Bridges in the City of Ispahan, and in its Neighbourhood. 16. A large Description of the Borough or Suburb of Julpha, with an Account of the Armenians who inhabit it. 17. The noble City of Schiraz described, with an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce. 18. An Account of the noble Antiquities at Tchelminar, the Remains of the ancient Persepolis, justly esteemed the most glorious Antiquity in the World. 19. Of other Places of Note in Persia, more especially upon its Sea-Coast, and of the Design of Shach Nadir to have removed the Capital of the Persian Empire, with the Reasons upon which that Project was founded. 20. A Comparison between the past and present State of Persia, in Regard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports. 21. Remarks historical, political and critical, upon the foregoing Section.

1. **T**HERE is scarce any Country in the World, which makes a greater Figure in Histories sacred or prophane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are speaking. In the Scriptures the Deliverance of the Jews by Cyrus, the Protection they received from his Successors, the memorable Preservation of the whole People from the dark and deep laid Plot of Haman, all refer to this potent Empire and its Monarchs. In Reference to the Greek History, the earlier Parts of it turn entirely on the Disputes between the free States of Greece and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the History of the Subversion of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, and the Division of its several Provinces after his Decease, among his Captains. In Regard to the Roman Histories again, we find the Parthians continually disputing the Progress of their Arms in the East, and the most considerable Part of the Constantinopolitan History before the Irruption of the Saracens proved fatal to both Empires, comprehends the Disputes between the Successors of Constantine the Great, and the Emperors of Persia. From the Time the Saracens became Masters of this Country, the Succession of their Caliphs forms a principal Branch of the Oriental History down to the Extinction of their Dominion. Since that Time the several Conquerors of this Empire have sufficiently distinguished themselves to deserve Notice, and even the Frequency of Revolutions in this Country, make the History of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the Etymology of the Word Persia, some say it was so called from the Hero Perseus Son of Jupiter and Danae, but that seems to be a very ridiculous Fable; others derive it from Perseus, a Nobleman of that Country, in Times of great Antiquity, but with Respect to this also, there wants both Probability and Proof; neither is the third Account of the Matter, which derives its Name from Paras, that signifies a Horse, very satisfactory; and as for the modern Persian Word Fars, it is visibly derived from Persia, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the Oriental Writers, they know it not at all by this Name, but stile it constantly Iran. In order to apprehend the Meaning of this Name, which is absolutely necessary to the Understanding their Histories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this Country, or rather of the Upper Asia, whose Name was Ferri-doun, had two Sons, Tour and Irag, who succeeded him in his Dominions, the former had all the Country on the other Side the River Oxus, which by the Way, the Orientals stile Gihon, and the other the Country on this Side. Hence arises the Distinction of all the Countries in the Upper Asia (China and the Indies excepted) into Touran and Iran, the former comprehending great Tartary, and all the Countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter Persia, in like Manner, with all its Dependencies. As for the modern Writers in the Persian Tongue, as they stile their Sovereign Shah, so they give his Dominions the Title of Shahistan, or the Territories of the Shah.

We will proceed next to the Situation of this Country, and this is best shown, by marking the Dominions of these Princes that confine it; for as to the distinct and precise Limitations of this Empire, it is impossible to lay them down with Accuracy or Certainty, because they depend upon the Power of its Monarchs, which

fluctuates every Day. On the East it has the Dominions of the Great Mogul, the Ocean and the Gulph of Persia towards the South, the Territories of the Grand Signior on the West, and the Country of Circassia, the Caspian Sea, and the River Oxus, which divides it from the Usbeck Tartary, on the North. It may not be amiss to observe, that the Northern and Southern Boundaries seldom or never vary, as being fixed by Nature, but on the East and West the Persians sometimes encroach upon, but in later Times have been oftener encroached upon by their Neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to speak particularly of its Provinces.

As to its Extent, it reaches from South to North about twenty Degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five Degrees of North Latitude. It contains pretty near the same Number of Degrees of Longitude, the nearest of its Provinces lying in the Longitude of forty-five, and the most distant about sixty-six Degrees East from the Meridian of London. According to the ordinary Computation, allowing for the Division made by the Caspian Sea, it is a Square of between eleven and twelve hundred Miles, which shews plainly, that it is one of the most considerable Countries of Asia; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the Excellency of its Situation, Climate, and Soil deserve, its Monarchs would be, doubtless, as powerful as any sovereign Princes in the World; though at present, from a Multitude of concurring Accidents, it seems to be thinner in People, and weaker in Point of Government, than any of the other four Asiatick Empires. As Persia, properly so called, is but a very small Country in Comparison of what now goes under that Name, so the different Times and Occasions by which the other Districts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the Number, the Names, and the Situation of its Provinces, about which hardly any two Geographers or Travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the Reader will not think it strange, if the Account we give of them differs from those he has met with before.

2. In order to deliver as plain an Account of this Matter as is possible, we shall observe, that the most accurate of the Persian Writers themselves divide their Country into thirteen Provinces, and therefore it appears most reasonable to follow that Division; and it may likewise be convenient to pursue their Method of describing them, as this is a Thing altogether arbitrary, and there seems to be the same Cause to take it one Way as another, provided that when the Method is once chosen it is closely pursued, that the Reader may be able to trace it exactly, without Confusion, and even to form in his Head, as it were, a Scheme of the whole Country that is laid before him. We shall begin then with the North East, and so passing along Southward, describe all the Countries of Persia that lie towards the Frontiers either of Tartary or India. We shall then describe the Provinces on the Ocean and the Persian Gulph, together with such as lie within Land; those on the Frontiers of the Turkish Empire will follow these, and we shall end with the Provinces that lie North West and North on the Coast of the Caspian Sea.

I. Astarabat, or Estarabat, is situated on the Coast of the Caspian Sea, to the South of the Opening of the River Amu or Oxus; it hath Chorasan on the East, and

on the South the Province of *Masanderan*, on the West the *Caspian* Sea, and Part of *Tartary* on the North. It is but small, having thirty five Leagues in Length from West to East, and fifteen in Breadth from North to South; for which Reason many of our Geographers include it within the great Province of *Chorasán*. In regard to Fertility, as well as to its Climate, there is not a finer Country in *Persia*. A Ridge of Hills that run through it furnish abundance of small Rivulets, and some fine Rivers, that running through it into the *Caspian* Sea, cloath, the Country for a great Part of the Year, with continual Verdure. The Capital of this Province has the same Name with the Province itself, and is one of the best built Cities in *Persia*; and as it is a Frontier towards *Tartary*, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good Garrison. It stands upon a Gulph of the same Name, and has a very good Port for small Vessels that do not draw any great Depth of Water. There are in it both Silk and Woollen Manufactures, and the Inhabitants drive a great Trade in a Sort of Camblets, that are much esteemed both for Beauty and Strength. The Country about is well cultivated, and as for the Western Part of the Province, it is a perfect Orchard, abounding with Fruits of all Kinds, as well as with fine Trees for Shade and for Timber; but the same Thing cannot be said of the Eastern Part of the Province, which being exposed to the Inroads of the *Usbeck Tartars*, is so depopulated, that in Spite of the Kindness of Nature, it looks like a perfect Desert.

II. *Chorasán* is esteemed the fairest, richest, and most fertile Province of the whole Empire, and is the Country known to the Ancients by the Name of *Bactria*; it is divided by the Mountains of *Balck* from *Great Bucharia*, has the Principality of *Candabar* on the East, the Province of *Segistán* on the South, the Provinces of *Yerack* and *Masanderan* to the West, and the Province of *Esterabat* and the River *Amu* on the North. It is thought to be about one hundred German Leagues in Compass. The Climate is very temperate, the Soil extremely fruitful, abounding with rich Fruits, fine Pasturages, producing excellent Corn, Wine, and Silk, and affording besides rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. It was formerly the best peopled, the best planted, and the best built Province in *Persia*, but of late the Incursions of the *Usbeck Tartars* have laid one half of it waste; and though for a few Years they were kept in Awe by the Shah *Nadir*, who drove them out of this Country, for which he had a peculiar Affection, yet it is not to be supposed, while the Affairs of the *Persian* Empire are in Confusion, that they can be long restrained. The chief City of this Province is *Meschid*, or *Tbous*, of which we shall have Occasion to speak more hereafter; and besides this, there are many other considerable Places, such as *Nichabour*, *Herat*, *Tcharkez*, *Amonoye*, &c.

III. *Sablustán*, bounded on the North by the Provinces of *Chorasán* and *Candabar*, which latter is sometimes reckoned a Part of this Province, on the East by the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and on the South and West by the Province of *Segistán*. The Climate is tolerable, but the Soil is extremely mountainous and barren; the Inhabitants are, generally speaking, boorish and rude, at least in Comparison of the rest of the *Persians*, yet the Capital of the Province, which is the City of *Bost*, is large, well built, well inhabited, and the Country about it is exceedingly well cultivated; all which arises from its lying in the direct Road to the *Indies*. It is a Place of great Trade, abounds with Manufactures and Strangers from all Countries, and with the District about it, looks so very unlike all the rest of the Province, that it seems to have dropt into it from the Clouds. Some other Towns there are, but of no great Importance, only it is fit to remark, that the People of this Country make the hardiest Soldiers, and are the best Infantry in the *Persian* Empire.

IV. *Segistán*, which seems to have been the *Drangiana* of the Ancients, is bounded by *Sablustán* on the North, the Territories of the *Great Mogul* on the East, by the Provinces of *Makeran* on the South, and by Part of the Province of *Kerman* on the West. This Country is to-

lerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its Palm-trees and its excellent Dates, but it is greatly exposed to Winds, which sometimes drive the Sands in such a Manner, as to cover the Houses, and even whole Villages. It was formerly famous for its Gold Mines, which, if we may trust the *Persian* Authors, were the richest in the World, the Veins sometimes pushing to the very Surface, in which they are countenanced by some very ancient *Greek* Authors. This Province has produced both Heroes and learned Men, who have from thence borrowed the Surname of *Segistani*, which by the Way is a Practice very common in *Persia*. The Capital is the City of *Zereng*, more commonly stiled *Segistán*, but a Place of no great Note. There are besides two other Places of some Figure in this Country, *Gobin* and *Mastich*.

V. *Macran*, or *Macheran*, supposed to be the ancient *Gedrosia*, is bounded by *Segistán* on the North, by the Dominions of the *Great Mogul* on the East, by the Ocean on the South, and by the Province of *Kerman* towards the West; it is looked upon as one of the worst Provinces in *Persia*, the Air being very indifferent, and the Soil barren; it is but indifferently peopled, and the Inhabitants are esteemed barbarous and faithless. The chief Towns in it are *Makeran*, *Passir*, and *Gest*; the North-part of it is entirely a Desert of ten Day's Journey; it has indeed a Port at *Guadel*, but of no great Consequence, for it is capable of receiving only small Vessels, and is besides not very secure.

VI. *Kerman*, which is without doubt the *Caramania* of the Ancients, a very large and noble Province, which may be well esteemed one of the most beautiful in *Persia*. It is bounded by *Segistán* and *Makeran* towards the East, the Ocean towards the South, the Province of *Fars* towards the West, and by a Desert which separates it from the Province of *Yerac Agemi*, towards the North. Some Part of it is mountainous and barren enough, but the Valleys are wonderfully fertile, producing Fruits, Roots and Flowers in vast Abundance; it is in this Province that such vast Quantities of Roses grow, as enable the Inhabitants to carry on a considerable Trade in Rose-water, which is highly esteemed not only throughout all the East, but in *Europe*; they have also very rich Mines in this Country, particularly those of *Turquoises*, of which we shall speak hereafter; admirable Steel, out of which they fabricate all kind of Arms, and they have besides great Manufactures of Tapestry. But after all, the principal Glory of this Country is its Sheep, the Wool of which is esteemed the finest in the World, and they have a very singular Way of coming at it, for at a certain Season of the Year they pull it from the Backs of the Animals with their Fingers, so that the Sheep are entirely naked; this Wool is all wrought in its natural Colours, and without Dye, it is of three Sorts, the first brown, the second of a speckled grey, and the third of a Milk-white; this last is the most esteemed; but there is none of it that ever goes out of the Country, for it is intirely employed in making Garments for their *Moulbas*, or Men of the Law, and Priests, who wear nothing else. There are in this Province more of the *Gubers*, *Gaurs*, or Fire-Worshippers, who are the Remains of the ancient *Persians*, than in all the Empire beside; and these frugal and industrious People manufacture from the other two Sorts of Wool, several Kinds of light Stuffs, which in Point of Beauty and Lustre are not at all inferior to Silk. The City of *Kerman* is the Capital of the Province, it is large and well peopled, Provisions are cheap there, and in the Neighbourhood they have a Manufacture of Earthen Ware, which comes very near *Porcelain*. The Fort of *Gambroon*, and the Island of *Ormus*, are by some Authors reckoned dependent upon this Province, which has produced several great Heroes, learned Physicians, excellent Poets, and in a Word, famous Men of every kind; amongst the rest, the celebrated *Achmet Kermani*, who was Poet Laureat to *Tamerlane*, and composed in *Persian* Verse the Acts of *Alexander the Great*, of *Gingishcan*, and of his Patron.

VII. *Fars* or *Farsistan*, as the *Persians* call it, is the ancient *Persia Proper*, the *Orientalis* say, that it derives its

its Name from *Fars*, the Son of *Azaz*, that is, *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Shem*, the Son of *Noah*; but what Authority they have for this, is more than I can determine; it is bounded on the East by *Kerman*, by the Gulph of *Persia* on the South, by the Province of *Chufistan* towards the West, and by a great Desert called *Naubendighian* upon the North, which separates it from *Yerac Agemi*. This sandy Desert is of a vast Extent, and reaches to the Frontiers of the Province of *Chorasan*; it is the same we have mention'd before, in speaking of the Province of *Kerman*. This is a rich and noble Country, abounding with all the Necessaries of Life, but more especially famous for producing in the Neighbourhood of *Shiraz*, the richest and finest Wine in *Persia*; but the Imperial Grape of *Tauris* is esteemed most pleasant and luscious for Eating. They have also an admirable Glass Manufacture in this Province, where they blow Bottles of an enormous Size, some that are said to hold three Gallons of our Measure; but they keep their Wine in earthen Vessels, as we shall have Occasion to show hereafter. The chief Cities in this Country are *Shiraz*, which will be described elsewhere. *Lar*, formerly the Capital of a little independant Principality; *Bander Congo*, a Port upon the *Persian* Gulph, to which we may add, though as I have said some comprehend it under the Province of *Kerman*, the famous Port of *Gambroon*, or *Bander Abassi*. On the opposite Shore of *Arabia*, there is a small Territory, called from the principal Place therein, *Elcatiff*, which formerly belong'd to the *Persians*, and was sometimes annexed to the Government of *Farsistan*, which is one Reason why I mention it here; another is, that in several Maps, and in many oriental Authors, the *Persian* Gulph is from hence called the Sea of *Elcatiff*.

VIII. *Chufistan*, the *Susiana* of the Ancients is bounded on the East by the Provinces of *Farsistan*, and *Yerac* by the Gulph of *Persia* on the South, by the Territory of *Bassora* on the West, and by the Province of *Curdestan* on the North; the Capital of this Country is *Schouster*, believed with Reason to be the City of *Shushan*, mentioned in the Book of *Esther*, famous for a noble Palace built here by the *Persian* Monarch *Artaxerxes*, who is the *Abasuerus* of the Scripture, and for the Tomb of the Prophet *Daniel*, of neither of which there are now any Remains, though a *Persian* Author of great Credit assures us, that the latter was standing in his Time, and that he had seen it.

IX. *Curdestan*, or *Curdistan*, part of the ancient *Affryria*, bounded on the West by the Dominions of the Grand Signor, by the Province of *Chufistan* on the South, by *Erac Agemi* on the East, and by *Arderbeitzan* or *Media* on the North; it is with very little Reason that this Country finds a Place among the Provinces of *Persia*, for the *Curds* are a Nation that sometimes own the Protection of the *Porte*, and sometimes profess a Dependance upon the Shah, but are in Reality Subjects to neither; they are, to say the Truth, a very extraordinary Race of *Highlanders*, governed by their own hereditary Chiefs, and the Reason that I stile them extraordinary is, because their Force consists in Horse, of which some Chiefs can bring Hundreds, others Thousands, and it has been known, that a Chief has brought twenty thousand into the Field, where they behave as well as any Troops in the World. As to their Religion they call themselves *Mahometans*, but except Circumcision and Abstinence from Wine, in both which they are very strict, they observe no other Precepts of the *Alcoran*, and have neither *Moulaks* nor *Mosques*, except in two or three of their great Towns. The Mountains of which this Country is full, are rude and barren, but the Valleys are fertile and pleasant, producing great Quantities of Tobacco and Vines; of the former they make a great Profit, but they make no Wine of the latter, which they convert into Raisins. The chief City in this Country is *Betlis*, and besides this, there are some other Places of Note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. *Thamas Kouli Kan* attacked these People often, but with very little Success, and they have more than once defeated both the *Persians* and the *Turks* in pitched Battles, yet they act generally on the Defensive, and seldom fight out of their own Country.

X. *Erac Agemi*, or as some write, *Azemi*; the Reason of this Addition is to distinguish it from a Province of the *Turkish* Empire which is called *Erac Arabi*, and is precisely the ancient Province of *Babylon*; whereas *Erac Agemi* is the ancient *Parthia*. This noble Province is bounded on the North by *Aderbeitzan* and *Ghilan*, by the Province of *Chorasan* on the East, by *Chufistan* and *Farsistan* on the South, and by *Curdestan* on the West. The chief City is the Capital of the *Persian* Empire, viz. *Ispahan*, or *Spahawn*, situate in the Latitude of 32 Degrees, 40 Minutes North, and in the 50th Degree of Longitude East from the Meridian of *London*; there are also in this Province several other considerable Places, such as *Cashin*, supposed to be the ancient *Arasfa*, Com, described in the last Section; *Sava* mentioned there likewise; *Hamadan*, a very fine City on the Frontiers of *Curdestan*, the Country about it extremely fruitful in Rice, the Mountains in the Neighbourhood supplying several fine Rivulets, which render its Territory wonderfully fruitful. The *Turks* became Masters of it by Storm in 1623, and almost totally destroyed both it and its Inhabitants. *Casham*, which lies about seventy Miles North of *Ispahan*; *Yezd*, which is situated one hundred and five Miles to the Eastward of that Capital.

XI. *Gilan*, under which the modern *Persian* Geographers comprehend not only the Country properly so called, which comprehend precisely the *Hyrkania* of the Ancients, but also the Provinces of *Mazenderan* and *Tabrestan*; so that, considered in this Light, it is a very extensive Country, bounded by the *Caspian* Sea on the North, by the Province of *Chorasan* on the East, by that of *Erac Agemi* on the South, and by the great Country of *Aderbeitzan* on the West. The whole of this Province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is distinguished from almost all the Provinces of this great Empire by some very particular Advantages. In the first Place, its Situation is very peculiar, for on the one Side it is covered by the Sea, and towards the Land it is surrounded with Mountains and Rocks that rise like so many natural Fortifications, with this singular Circumstance, that while they are rude, inaccessible, and terrible on that Side, which is turned towards the rest of the Provinces of the Empire, they are on the Inside respecting this Province, of gentle Ascent, covered with perpetual Verdure and covered with Groves of Citrons, Oranges, Olives, and Figs. The very Summits of the Mountains shaded by Cypress-trees and other excellent Timber, which may be easily transported to the Sea-side; for through this Rampart of Rocks, Nature has formed several Passages so wide, and with such a Slope, as render them perfectly easy; and yet so well fenced on each Side, that a small Barricade will render them impregnable. Another singular Benefit which this Country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing Fruitfulness, which with very little Cultivation pours out such prodigious Abundance of all Things necessary and desirable, as is scarce to be believed; for it is equally famous for its Silk, its Oil, its Wines, its Rice, its Tobacco, and a vast Variety of Fruits. In other Parts of *Persia* their Houses are but mean, and the Moveables of the common People very coarse; but here on the contrary, every Peasant has a good House, and most of his Furniture is made of Box, of which they have the largest and finest Trees in the World, and a large Garden full of Citrons, Oranges, Figs, and Vines, so large, that the Branches of them are frequently as big as a Man's Body. A third Commodity, in some Measure peculiar to this Province, is a vast Abundance of Fish in their Rivers, and in that Part of the *Caspian* Sea which washes their Coasts; from whence, as the People draw an immense Profit, so the Shah derives from thence a great Revenue. The Capital of this Province is *Resech*, which stands in the Latitude of 37 Degrees of North, a large and populous City; besides which, there are *Kesker*, *Astara*, and other considerable Places within its Bounds. Two Things more deserve our Notice; one is, that the People of this Province are of the *Turkish*, and not of the *Persian* Religion, that is, they are Followers of *Omar*, and not of *Ali*: The other, That by the Treaty between the Emperor *Peter* the Great and the Shah in 1723, this Province

was

was yielded to the *Russians*. *Mazanderan* and *Tabrestan* are also very considerable Countries, but so like to *Gilan* in their Produce, that it is not necessary to describe them particularly.

XII. *Aderbeitzan*, which comprehends the greatest and best Part of the ancient *Media*, is a very noble and beautiful Country, bounded by the Province of *Sbirwan* on the North, by *Gilan* and the *Caspian Sea* on the East, by *Erac Agemi* and *Curdestan* on the South, and by the River *Aras* or *Araxis* on the West, which divides it from *Georgia*. The famous City of *Tauris* or *Tabris*, which is described in the foregoing Section, is the Capital of this Country, and was one of the finest Cities of *Persia*, till destroyed by the *Turks* in their last War with the *Persians*, when they are said to have put one hundred thousand Persons of all Ranks Ages and Sexes to the Sword. *Ardevil* is another great and fine City in this Country, standing about thirty Miles from Mount *Tauris*; and *Sultania*, which was destroyed by *Tamerlane*, was scarce inferior to any City in *Persia*, as the Ruins that still remain sufficiently testify at this Day. It is still a good Town, containing about six thousand Inhabitants, but is particularly remarkable for a most noble Mosque, in which is the Tomb of the Founder of this City, the famous Sultan *Mahomet Chodabende*. This Mosque has three great Gates, all of polished Steel, and the Tomb is seen through a Grate of the same Metal, finely wrought in Foliages and Branches of Trees; and though some of these are of the Thickness of a Man's Arm, yet they are so exquisitely finished, that there is not so much as a Joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the Inhabitants persuade themselves, and would willingly persuade Strangers, that it is made of one entire Piece, and affirm that it was seven Years in making.

XIII. *Sbirwan*, or according to the *Persian* Orthography *Schirwan*, contains the Northern Part of *Media*, and is by many Authors made only a Part of the foregoing Province; but we comprehend within it, for the Sake of keeping within Bounds, the little Province of *Dagestan*, and so much of *Georgia* and *Armenia* as belongs to the *Persians*; and taking it in this Light, it is thus bounded; by *Circassia* and the *Russian* Territories on the North, by the *Caspian Sea* on the East, by *Aderbeitzan* on the South, and by the *Turkish Armenia* and *Georgia* on the West. *Schamakie* is the Capital of this Province, and stands in the Latitude of 40 Degrees 50 Minutes North, between two Mountains well fortified, and is a Place of great Trade. *Derbent*, or *Debircan*, which signifies an Iron Gate, is a famous Pass between the Mountains and the *Caspian Sea*. *Baku* is the only tolerable Port on the West-side of the *Caspian*; it is large and safe, but not deep; the Town is small, but well peopled, and commanded by a Citadel; it was given up to the *Russians* by the Peace of 1723. The Province of *Dagestan* is at present, for the most Part, in the Hands of the *Tartars*, and to curb this fierce Nation, who are able to bring twenty thousand Men into the Field, the *Russians* built the Fortress of St. *Andrew*, not far from *Tarku*, which is the Capital of this Country, as *Teffis* is of that Part of *Georgia* which belongs to *Persia*. That Part of *Armenia* which belongs to this Country is stiled *Aran*, and the Capital of it is *Erivan*, which has been before described. Within the Bounds of this Province stands also the City of *Nacksvan*, which the Inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldest in the World, having been built by *Noah* and his Children upon their coming out of the Ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are still some Remains on the Mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have compleated a regular and Geographical Description of all the Parts of this great Empire, which will enable the Reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the ensuing Section. And we dare also assure him, that he will find it of very great Use towards understanding all the Histories of, and Travels through this Country, already published, as well as the Accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otherwise appear very unintelligible.

3. *Persia*, extending from the 25th Degree of Latitude to the 45th, the longest Day in the South is

thirteen Hours and a Half, and in the North above fifteen Hours. In so great an Extent of Country it is natural to suppose that the Air and Seasons are very different, as in Fact we find them to be. In the Middle of the Empire, their Winter begins in *November*, and continues till *March*, with severe Frosts and Snow, which falls in great Quantities on their Mountains, but not so much in the champaign Country; from the Month of *March* till *May*, the Wind is usually high, and from thence to *September* they have a calm serene Heaven, without so much as a Cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the Day-time, the refreshing Breezes which blow constantly Morning and Evening, as well as in the Night, make the Summer very tolerable, especially since the Nights are near ten Hours long. The Air is so pure, and the Stars shine with that Lustre, that one Man may know another very well by their Light, and People travel much more in the Night, than the Day. In this Part of *Persia*, there are very seldom any Hurricanes or Tempests, and very little Thunder and Lightning, nor is it subject to Earthquakes, and the Air is so extremely dry in the Summer Season, that you will not find the least Dew or Moisture on any thing that is laid abroad all Night, or even in the Grass, and it very seldom Rains in the Winter. No Country is more healthful than the interior Part of *Persia*, as appears by the hale Complexion of the Natives; they are strong and robust, and, generally speaking, enjoy constant Health. As for Foreigners, who come thither, it is a common Observation, that those who are healthy at their Arrival continue so, and that those who are sick, seldom recover.

The Air in the Southern Part of *Persia*, particularly about *Gombroon*, is very unhealthy in the Spring and Fall: Our *European* Factors never pass a Year without a dangerous Fit of Illness, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary Thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die, the Survivor shall possess the other's Fortune. Nor is this any great Prejudice to their Relations, for if a Man leaves private Trustees, or makes the Company his Executors, the Heir of the deceased will meet with great Difficulties in Recovering the Testator's Effects. The Months of *June*, *July* and *August* are healthy enough, but so very hot, that both Natives and Foreigners get up into the Mountains at that Time. The hot Winds which blow from the Eastward, over a long Tract of sandy Deserts, are ready to suffocate them, and sometimes there happens a Pestilential Blast, which strikes the Traveller dead in an instant. It rains but very seldom here, any part of the Year, and the Water they save then is very unwholesome.

The Provinces of *Georgia*, *Sbirwan* and *Adirbeitzan*, are very dry and warm in the Summer, but subject to Storms and Tempests in the Winter, and as severe Frosts for six Months as any Countries on the Continent, in the same Latitude; but as this Part of *Persia*, is very mountainous, there is frequently a vast Difference between the Air on the North and the South-side of the Mountains, and in a few Miles travelling People think themselves in a different Climate; but however cold the Mountains in the North may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat Country of *Gilan* and *Mezenderan*, which lies upon the *Caspian Sea*, and was the ancient *Hyrkania*, is very damp, full of stinking Morasses, and unhealthy, insomuch that the Inhabitants in the Summer retire into the Mountains, all the Water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot Season; and here, and in *Chorasan*, it is said Earthquakes are very common.

4. It is observable, that there is no Country in the World of so large an Extent as *Persia*, where there are so few navigable Rivers; there is not so much as one River in the Heart of the Country that will carry a Boat of any Burthen, and you may travel several Days Journey, without meeting with any Water whatever, in some Parts. The River *Oxus* indeed which divides *Persia* from *Usbeck-Tartary*, is a large Stream, but as there are no Branches of it, that arise in the *Persian* Dominions, it is of little Use to them. The Rivers *Kur* and *Aras*

Aras, anciently called *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, which rise in the Mountains of *Ararat*, and run through *Georgia*, *Shirvan* and *Adirbeitzan*, and having joined their Streams, fall into the *Caspian* Sea, are much the most considerable Rivers in the *Persian* Dominions. However, there are several small Rivulets which fall from the Mountains, and are conveyed by subterraneous Channels or otherwise to their principal Cities.

Water being so scarce in *Persia*, there is no Place, where they husband it better, or have more ingenious Contrivances, to convey it to their Cities, and into their Corn-fields and Gardens. This is the Care of the Government, and there is a great Officer in every Province, who has the Charge of the Conveyance and Distribution of the Waters. They turn all their little Rivulets and Springs to those Parts of the Country, where they are most wanted; they dig Wells also of a prodigious Depth and Breadth, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen, in great leathern Buckets, which being emptied into Cisterns, is let out as there is Occasion for the Service of the Country. They have also vast subterraneous Aqueducts, through which they convey Water twenty or thirty Leagues to the Places assigned. These are two Fathom high, and arched with Brick, and at every twenty Paces Distance, there are large Holes like Wells, which were made for the Conveniency of carrying on the Arch without Working under Ground too far, and the more easy repairing them. The Distribution of the River and Spring-water, is made one Day to one Quarter of the Town, and another Day to another, as Occasion requires, when every one opens the Canal or Reservatory in his Gardens to receive it, for which every Garden pays a certain Sum yearly to the Government, particularly about *Ispahan*; and as it is very easy for one to divert his Neighbour's Water into his own Channel, this is a Fraud that is severely punished. They give a greater Rate for River Water, than they do for Spring-water, which is not found so proper for the Improvement of their Grounds.

Besides the Ocean, there are two Seas belonging to *Persia*, one on the North, and the other on the South-west, viz. The *Caspian* Sea, and the Gulph of *Bosfora* or *Persia*, which have been already mentioned. The *Caspian* Sea is about a hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and ninety Leagues in Breadth, and has near a hundred Rivers running into it, of which the Chief is the *Volga*, at the Mouth whereof stands *Astracan* but this Sea has no Communication with any other, and though so many Rivers fall into it, there is no visible Way by which it discharges itself of its Waters, but they remain, always of the same Height, and do not either ebb or flow. The *Russians* have in a great Measure the sole Navigation of this Sea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more so by the new Trade that has been set on Foot, from *Europe* to *Persia*, through *Russia*.

The *Shah Nadir* was very desirous of becoming a maritime Power on this Side also, and employed a Gentleman of a certain Country, to build him Ships of Force for this Purpose, but considering the Revolutions that will probably attend his Death, these Designs are like to fall to the Ground. The *Persians* were formerly entirely Masters of the Gulph that separates their Country from *Arabia*, for which they were in a great Measure indebted to us, who assisted them in dispossessing the *Portuguese* of the Island of *Ormuz*, upon which they had opened a very advantageous Port, allowing us half the Customs arising from the Goods imported and exported here. But *Shah Abbas* the Great, thought that Consideration too large, and therefore when he transferred the Commerce to his new Port of *Gambroon*, or *Bander Abassi*, i. e. the Port of *Abbas*, he allowed the *East-India* Company no more than One thousand *Tomans*, which makes three thousand three hundred thirty three Pound six Shillings and eight Pence of our Money. It was in this Gulph, on the Coast of the Island of *Baherem*, that they had the finest Pearl Fishery in the World, which produced annually above fifty thousand Pounds, but in the late unsettled State of their Empire, the *Arabians* have seiz'd

or rather recovered this Fishery, and are in Possession of it, at least for the present.

5. As we have now given a clear Account of the Rivers and Seas of this Country, we will next speak of the Soil and its Produce; and in the first Place we must observe, that there is not a Country in the World, which has more Mountains, and fewer Rivers than *Persia*, and some of their Mountains are looked upon to be the highest on the Face of the Earth. Mount *Taurus*, which receives different Names as it branches itself out into different Provinces, runs quite through the Country, from West to East. The loftiest of these Mountains are those called *Arrarat* in *Armenia*, the Mountains which separate *Media* from *Hyrcania*, and those between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia* or *Erak*. Those also which divide *Fars* or *Persis* from *Carmania* are exceedingly high, the most famous of which is called Mount *Jarron*, but they are generally dry barren Rocks, without Trees or Herbage upon them, except those of *Gylan* or *Hyrcania*, and the Mountains of *Curdestan*, which are covered with Woods and very Fruitful, where they are manured. There are vast sandy Defarts, several Days Journey over in this Kingdom, where there is scarce a Drop of Water to be found, and the Land in general upon the Frontiers lies uncultivated, to discourage their Enemies from invading them; and in Fact there is not the least Subsistence to be met with for several Miles, whether you enter this Empire from *Turkey* or *India*. There are however some fruitful Plains and Vallies, in which their principal Cities stand, which yield Plenty of Grain, and Herbage, and no Country is more fruitful, than the Provinces which lie upon the *Caspian* Sea, as has been already observed. But then *Hyrcania* is very unhealthy in Summer time, which some apprehend proceeds from the Multitude of Snakes and Insects, which lie rotting upon the Ground, when the Waters are dried up, as well as from the Foulness of the Water itself, which is so thick and muddy, that there is no drinking it at that Season of the Year.

As to *Persia* in general, there is not a tenth Part of it cultivated, not but that there are many Valleys which bear neither Grass nor Grain at present, which formerly when greater Care was taken to turn the Waters into them, were fruitful Countries. In some Provinces, there are hundreds of fine Aqueducts, choaked up and buried in Ruins, so that it is not so much a Defect in the Soil, as the Want of People, or at least of Husbandmen, which renders *Persia* barren. The Soil in some Parts is a hard Gravel, and in others a stiff whitish Clay, almost as hard as Stone, but either of them are fruitful enough, when well watered, and will bear often two Crops, and sometimes three in the Compass of a Year; and if we give any Credit to ancient Authors, there was not a more plentiful Country in the World than *Persia* was formerly; the Reason of this Alteration some ascribe to the different Dispositions of the People, who have inhabited it. The ancient *Persians*, the Fire-worshippers, it is said, were obliged by the Precepts of their Religion, to cultivate the Soil, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act, to plant a Tree, to bring the Water into a Field, and make a barren Spot of Earth produce Grass or Grain, while the *Mahometans* seem to have no Genius for Improvements, or even to keep up what their Ancestors have built or planted, but let every Thing run to ruin; however, one Reason of this Neglect may be, that the Properties of the People are in no Security, and no Wonder they have but little Inclination to make Improvements, when they have no Certainty of reaping the Advantage of them.

6. Near great Towns they improve their Grounds with the Dirt and Dung of the Streets, but at a greater Distance, they throw their Fields into little level Squares, which they bank about, and then turn the Water into them, letting it stand in the Field all Night, which having soaked it, the Water is let out next Morning, and the Sun shining with almost perpendicular Rays upon the moist Earth, renders it fit for the Production of any Sort of Grain or Plants. Where the Ground is Light

they plow with two or three Oxen or Buffalos; but in *Gilan* and other Countries, where they meet with a stiff Clay, it is as much as eight or ten Oxen can do to draw their Ploughs which are very large. Rice, Wheat and Barley, are almost the only Kinds of Grain growing in *Persia*; Oats they have none, and little or no Rye. Their Seasons are not the same in the North as in the South, but when they are Sowing in one Part of the Country, they are reaping in another, and in some Places, it is not more than three Months between Seed-time and Harvest.

Their Land never lies fallow, but it is sown once every Year, at least, it is so meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the Heat of the Sun afterwards working on the Mud, that it is never out of Heart. As to the Rice, it must be constantly supplied with Water till the Harvest; but for other Grain, the Land is only flowed before the sowing, to render it prolifick. Their Kitchen Gardens are well furnished with most of the Roots and Salads we have in *Europe*; they have no less than twenty several Sorts of Melons during the Season they last, which is about four Months, the common People make them their constant Food, those which come to Maturity first in the Spring are round and small, those that ripen in the latter Part of the Season are the best and largest, some of them weigh eight or ten Pounds, and are as sweet as Sugar itself; at the Tables of Persons of Quality they have them all the Year round, there being a Way to preserve them under Ground till the Season returns again, and it is said, some Persons will eat eight or ten Pound of Melons at a Meal, without being sick. The best Melons grow in *Chorassan* near *Tartary*, and they are carried as far as *Ispahan* for the Shah's Use, and as Presents to their Friends. Cucumbers are another Fruit much eaten by the common People, one Sort of them has scarce any Seeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dressing, and is not reckoned unwholesome.

7. Of Grapes they have several Kinds, and some of them are so large, that a single Grape is a Mouthful. They make their Wine at *Ispahan* of the *Kismish's*, a little round Grape, and without any Stone that can be perceived, but much the best Wines are made at *Shiraz*. They keep their Grapes all Winter, and let them hang a considerable Time on the Vine, wrapped up in Linnen Bags; the Air is so dry, that it preserves all kinds of Fruit as long as they can desire. Dates are reckon'd one of the most delicious Fruits in this Country, they are no where so good as in *Persia*, the Pulp which encloses the Stone is a clammy Substance, as sweet as Honey; they are laid on Heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preserve themselves without Sugar. Foreigners are advised to eat moderately of them, because they Heat the Blood, and occasions Ulcers in those who are not used to them, and sometimes weaken the Sight, but have no ill Effects upon the Natives; the Tree which bears them is slender, but very tall, and like other Palms, has no Branches but on the Top, and the Fruit grows in Clusters of thirty or forty Pounds Weight; the Tree does not bear till it is fifteen Years old, but continues bearing above a hundred Years. There are in *Persia* most of the Fruits which are to be had in *Europe*, and they would be in much greater Perfection, if they knew any Thing of Gardening, but they understand neither grafting, inoculating, or the Art of managing Dwarf-trees; all their Trees run up very high, and are loaded with Wood. They have excellent Apricots of several Kinds, which are in Season one after the other, and their Nectarines and Peaches weigh sixteen or eighteen Ounces a-piece; there is an Apricot red within, which is call'd, the Egg of the Sun; these are dried and exported in vast Quantities; they are boiled in Water, which is thickened by the Juice of the Fruit, and makes a perfect Syrup without Sugar.

Apples and Pears grow chiefly in the North Part of *Persia*, they have also Pomegranates of several Kinds, with Oranges, Quinces, and Prunes, and such Variety of Fruits, that Sir *John Chardin* says, he has seen above fifty Sorts at an Entertainment, some of which grew three hundred Leagues from the Place. The Pistachio Nuts are

almost peculiar to *Persia*, and are transported all the World over; here are also Small-nuts, Filberds and Almonds. Olives grow in *Hyrcania*, near the *Caspian* Sea, but they neither know how to preserve them, nor draw Oil in the best Manner from them. They have also Plantations of Sugar and Tobacco.

8. Among other Trees in their Gardens, they have the Cypress, the Palm, and the Mulberry, of the last there are large Plantations for their Silk Worms, which they don't suffer to grow up to be great Trees, because the Leaves are best, when the Shoots are young. They root up the Trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their Grounds afresh. But the Tree which is in as great Esteem as any in *Persia*, is the *Senna*; the Body of this Tree is very large, and frequently forty or fifty Foot high, and stait as the Mast of a Ship, having no Branches but on the Head of it; the Bark is of a bright Grey, and the Wood serves them to make Doors, Rafters, and for other Uses in Building. The Trees that are most common in *Persia* are the Plane-tree, the Willow, the Fir, and the Cornel-tree; the Plane-tree the *Persians* imagine is a Preservative against the Plague, and other contagious Distempers, and observe, that the Plague has never raged in *Ispahan* since this Tree was planted in their Streets and Gardens. The Trees also which bear the Gall Nut is very common in many Parts of *Persia*, and there are Trees which yield Gum Mastich, and Frankincense; that which produces Frankincense very much resembles a Pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in *Carmania*.

There are likewise Trees which produce Manna of several Sorts: The best Manna has a yellowish Cast, a large coarse Grain, and comes from *Chorassan* or *Bactria*; there is another Sort called *Tamerisk*, because the Tree it drops from is so named, and is found in large Quantities in the Province of *Susiana*; and there is a third Sort gathered about *Ispahan*, which falls from a Tree much like the *Tamerisk*, but larger; the Leaves of this Tree drop liquid Manna in Summer-time, which the Natives take to be the Sweat of the Tree congealed upon the Leaf in the Morning; the Ground under it is perfectly fat and greasy with it, and this has as sweet a Taste as other Manna.

The Cotton-Tree is common all over *Persia*, and they have another little Tree, which yields a kind of filken Down, used for Quilting and Stuffing of Pillows; there is also a Plant, called *Hannab*, that bears a Seed which they beat to Powder, and colour their Hands and Feet, and sometimes rub over their Faces with it, apprehending it keeps their Skin smooth, and preserves their Complexion; they sometimes bruise the Leaves of it, which serves them for the same Purpose.

There are found in the Desarts of *Carmania*, two little Shrubs of a poisonous Quality, the first is called *Galbad Samour*, or the Flower that poisons the Wind; some People imagining that it is this occasions those killing Winds which blow in this Province in the hot Season; the other Shrub is called *Herzebre*, the Trunk whereof is about as big as a Man's Leg, and grows about six Foot high; its Leaves are almost round, and it bears a Flower like the Sweet-Briar. There are scarce any Trees to be found on the Mountains, or wild Fields in *Persia*; these are for the most Part destitute of all Manner of Verdure, while in their Cities, and the Villages for three or four Leagues round them, the Streets as well as Gardens are so well planted, that the Houses are hardly to be discerned at a Distance; when you have travelled some few Leagues, indeed you meet not either with House, Tree, or Shrub, for many Miles, but all looks like a barren Defart, notwithstanding which, great Part of this Soil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was so some Ages since, when a more industrious Generation, than the present, possessed the Country.

From their Trees, I pass on to their Flowers, and of these there is a great Variety to be found in some Provinces. The South Part of *Persia* has much the fewest; excessive Heat being as destructive to them, as extreme Cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the Fields of *Hyrcania*, where are whole Groves of

of Orange-trees, Jessamins, and all the Flowers we have in *Europe*. The East Part of this Country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is one continued Parterre from September to April; the whole Country at that Time is covered with Flowers, and this, though it be their Winter Season, is also the best Time for Fruits. In the other Months the Heat is so excessive, that the Natives find themselves under a Necessity of retiring to the Mountains.

In *Media* the Fields produce Tulips, Anemonies, and Ranunculus's; about *Ispahan*, and some other Towns, Jonquils grow wild. They have also Daffodils, Lillies, Violets, and Pinks in their Season, and some Flowers which last all the Year round; but they have the greatest Quantity of Lillies and Rose; they export abundance of Rose-water to other Countries; in the Spring, there is vast Plenty of yellow and red Gillyflowers, and another red Flower which resembles a Clove, of a beautiful Scarlet Colour, and every Sprig bears thirty of these Flowers, which form a fine Head as large as a Tennis Ball.

Their Roses are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one Side and yellow on the other; but notwithstanding all this great Variety of beautiful Flowers, their Gardens are not comparable to those of *Europe*. As Flowers are so common they are very little regarded; you see them intermix'd with Fruit-trees and Rose-bushes without any Order; but large Walks planted with Trees, Fountains, Canals, Cascades, and Pleasure Houses at proper Distances, are all that must be expected in their finest Gardens; nor do the *Persians* take any Manner of Pleasure in walking in them, any more than in the Fields; but set themselves down in some Alcove or Summer-house as soon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquisite Variety that every Foreigner is charmed with.

8. *Persia* also affords great Plenty of physical Drugs, as *Cassia*, *Senna*, *Antimony*, *Nux Vomica*, *Gum Armoniac*, *Galbanum*, *Sal Armoniac*, and a Kind of *Rhubarb*, with which they purge their Cattle; but the best *Rhubarb* comes from *China*, or rather from *Eastern Tartary*, which lies to the Northward of *China*. The *Persian* Poppies are in great Esteem from the Quantity of Juice they yield, and the Strength of it; they grow four Foot high in some Places, and have white Leaves. They extract the Juice from them in June, when they are ripe; by making little Incisions in the Head of the Poppy, a thick Liquor distills from them, which is gathered very early in the Morning before Sun-rise. It is said to have such an Effect on the People, who are employed in this Work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their Limbs tremble as if they had the Palsy. The Liquor which is thus drawn from the Poppies, in a little Time grows thick, and is made up into Pills. The *Persians* give it the Name of *Afioun*, and we, probably from thence, call it *Opium*. The *Persian* Bakers strew Poppy-seed on their Bread, which incline those that eat it to Sleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholesome after their Meals; the common People eat the Seed at any Time almost for Pleasure.

Saffron grows plentifully in *Persia*, and *Asa Fetida* is to be had every where almost, which is much admired by the Natives of *Persia* as well as *India*, and frequently eaten with their Food; that which to us is most offensive of all Scents, by them is esteemed a Perfume. *Asa fetida* is a Liquor which distills from the Plant called *Hiltot*; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as Gum; there is the white and black Kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the best to eat. The Smell of this Drug is so very strong, that if any Goods be near it in a Ship, the Smell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up ever so close, and it is almost impossible to clear them of it; nay, it affects the Colour, and therefore Sir John Chardin tells us, the Vessels used in transporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other Goods from being spoiled by being carried in them, from which no Package can save them.

The *Persian* Bezoar is esteemed preferable to that of *India*, which having already described, we shall not

dwell upon it here. It is sufficient to observe, that the Reasons it is not so much esteemed in *Europe* as it was formerly, are these; in the first place, it is frequently sophisticated, notwithstanding that several Methods are in Use for detecting these Frauds, of which I shall mention a few. The genuine Bezoar, at least that which comes from *Persia*, has a very fine Smell resembling that of Ambergrease, but not near so strong; if thrown into hot Water, and left there for three or four Hours, it loses Nothing either of its Colour or Weight; if prickt with a hot Iron, no Smoke arises; if rubbed upon a Leaf of *Dutch Vellum*, it leaves a yellow Impression; if broke or cut, it appears to be composed of several Coats unequally disposed, in the same Manner as appears in cutting an Onion. Another Reason why it has lost its Credit, is the Humour People have of embracing the contrary Extream to that of their Ancestors; heretofore Bezoar was sold very dear, and was held to have many and great Virtues, and now it is fashionable to affirm that it has little or no Virtue at all; which though it has driven it out of Use, has not much beat down its Price, because in the East, and even in other Parts of *Europe*, it is still in Esteem.

A third Reason is, our giving it in two small Doses, so that its Virtues are not discernable. A famous *Persian* Physician had a great Secret for curing Lunacy, which he sold to a *French* Gentleman for a large Sum of Money, and this Secret consisted in giving equal Quantities of Bezoar, Musk, and Camphire, as I found in a *French* Manuscript of Receipts, in which it is said, that very singular Cures were performed by it; but the Quantities of these Drugs in a Dose were not mention'd.

In the Province of *Chorasan* they frequently find human Bodies preserved in the Sand, the Flesh of which they sell under the Name of *Mummy*, for medicinal Uses; and there are also such Bodies found in a Cavern not far from the Borough of *Abin*, in the Province of *Farsistan*. It is however necessary to inform the Reader, that in the *Persian* and *Turkish* Languages, the Word *Moum*, from whence we have formed *Mummy*, signifies literally a soft clammy Substance, of the Consistency of Balsam, which explains sufficiently what is meant by mineral Mummy, which is a Kind of natural Balsam distilling thro' the Rock of a large Cavern in the Province of *Lar*, esteemed so precious, that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own Use, the Doors of this Cave being sealed by the Governor of *Lar*, who opens it only once a Year, to take out the Balm, the Quantity of which seldom exceeds ten Ounces. A Multitude of Virtues are ascribed to it, particularly in the Cure of Fractures, in which it is said to perform Wonders; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into *Europe*.

9. We will now proceed to speak of the Animals that are found in *Persia*, and in Reference to these, the Camel, for a Beast of Burthen, much excels all the rest, whether we consider the Weight he carries, the Dispatch he makes, or the little Charge of keeping him. Of these Camels there are several Kinds; some have two Bunches upon their Backs, and others but one, and there is a third Sort, ingender'd between a Dromedary or Camel, with two Bunches, and a Female with one, which are esteemed much the best, and sold for twenty or thirty Pounds a-piece, for they are seldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thousand Weight. Those which travel between the *Persian* Gulph and *Ispahan* are of a much less Size, and do not carry above five or six hundred Weight; but these, notwithstanding, are almost as serviceable as the other, for they are much swifter, and will gallop like a Horse, whereas the others seldom go faster than a Foot Pace. These swift Camels are kept by the Shah and great Men, and serve to transport their Women from Place to Place, and carry their Baggage; they are usually adorned with embroidered Cloths, and silver Bells about their Necks; a String of six or seven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one Man; they use neither Bridles nor Halter to hold them, or Whips to drive them, but they are directed by the Driver's Voice, who sings or plays to them as they travel; good Usage

Usage only moves them, for they are naturally so obstinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.

When they are to take up their Burthen, the Driver touches their Knees, whereupon they lie down on their Bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving Signs of Uneasiness, under a Sense of the Fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the Road-side, with their Burthens on their Backs, on Weeds and Thistles, and sometimes they feed them with Balls made up of Barley Meal and Chaff, into a Paste, with which they often mix the Cotton-Seed; but the Camel is the least Feeder of any Beast, considering his Bulk. It is very happy also that they can live without Water two or three Days together, there being scarce any to be met with in those Deserts the Caravans are forced to cross. They shed all their Hair every Spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the Camels Hair, abundance of fine Stuffs are made, as we shall shew in Speaking of Manufactures; these Creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the lustful Fit is upon them, which lasts thirty or forty Days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their Drivers increase their Burthens at that Time, to keep them under. When once the Male has cover'd the Female, he grows sluggish, and does not care for stirring out of the Stable: They go with young eleven Months, and some say twelve.

Oxen, Buffaloes, Asses and Mules, are also used indifferently for carrying of Passengers, or Burthens, and their Land being plowed by Buffaloes and Oxen, these Beasts are very seldom killed for Food, though some *Persian* Governors, in the South of *Persia*, have extorted considerable Sums out of the *Indian Banians*, who reside thereabouts, under Pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the *Banians* did not redeem their Lives by a considerable Present. The Asses of *Persia*, are much larger and swifter than ours, and will perform a Journey very well.

But the finest Beasts are their Horses, these are beautiful Creatures, and no where better manag'd than in *Persia*. They have fine Forehands, and are exactly well proportion'd, light and sprightly, but only fit for the Saddle, or or at least, not used for any other Purpose; they are never gelt, and wear their Tails at their full Length; but though they are lovely Creatures to look on, they are neither so swift as the *Arabian*, nor so hardy as the *Tartar* Horses, and the *Shah* therefore has always a Stable of the *Arabian* Breed. Horses are very dear in *Persia*, some of them being sold for two or three hundred Pounds, and seldom any that are good for less than Fifty. It is not so much the Scarcity of them, as the Selling such Numbers to *India* and *Turkey*, which enhances the Price.

They have Mules also that carry very well, and are valued, some of them at thirty or forty Pounds a-piece, and some Asses at not much less, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary Food for Horses is Barley and chopt Straw; they have no Mangers in their Stables, but give their Horses their Corn in Bags. In the Spring they cut green Grass for their Horses, but never make any into Hay to be eaten dry; sometimes they feed their Horses with Balls made of Barley-Meal, as in *India*; instead of Litter their own Dung is dried, and beaten to Powder, and laid a Foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the Sun the next Day. Their Horses Hoofs are much sounder and harder than ours, and they are shod with thin Plates, as the Oxen are, on Account of their travelling over the stony Mountains. They daub their Horses Legs in Winter with a yellow Herb, called *Hannah*, and sometimes anoint their Bodies with it as high as their Breast, to keep out the Cold as it is said; but it seems to be rather by Way of Ornament, for in some Places it is done all the Year round.

The *Shah* has large Stables of Horses, dispersed throughout the Kingdom, almost in every City, for the Publick Service. A Horse is seldom denied to any Man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then such Persons are accountable to the Government for them, when they shall be called out into the Field; but they have the Liberty of riding them in the mean Time.

These Troopers Horses are sometimes quartered upon People, who would gladly be excused from the Trouble and Charge of keeping them, and if any Horse dies in their Hands, Oath must be made, that it did not die for Want of Corn, or looking after. Their Horses are subject to many Distempers, sometimes their Legs swell, and a Humour rises on the Breast, which proceeds from eating too much Barley; and in this Case, they clap a hot Iron to the Swelling, or lance it, and keep the Sore open, by running a Willow Twig through it, but a hot Iron applied to the Part is the most general Remedy for lame or distemper'd Horses.

Of Sheep and Goats there are great Plenty in *Persia*; the Natives seldom eat any other Meat, their Sheep are large, and remarkable for their fat Tails, which weigh eight or ten Pound, and some it is said are above twenty Pounds in Weight; they are remarkable also in some Parts of *Persia* for having more Horns than ours. Some have six or seven Horns standing strait out of their Forehead, so that when their Rams engage, there is usually a great deal of Blood spilled in the Battle. The *Persian* Goats are not only valuable for their Flesh, but the fine Wool they yield, of which great Quantities are annually exported, more especially from *Carmania*. Hogs there are scarce to be met with, for as the *Mahometans*, who are the governing Part of the Country, abhor this Animal, their Christian Subjects do not endeavour to encrease the Breed, unless towards *Georgia* and *Armenia*, where the Christians are numerous.

Wild Beasts there are not many, either in the Middle, or the Southern Part of *Persia*. Deer they have some, and Antelopes, which are much of the same Nature, except that they are spotted, and have finer Limbs. In *Gilan* and *Curdistan*, the woody Parts of the Country, wild Beasts abound, such as Lions, Tygers, Leopards, wild Hogs, Jackals, &c. And in *Media* and *Armenia*, there are Abundance of Deers, wild Goats, Hares and Rabbits, and there are some found on the Mountains almost all over the Country, but not many.

Insects they are not much troubled with in the Heart of *Persia*, which is very dry, unless it be with Swarms of Locusts, which visit them sometimes in such Numbers, that they look like a Cloud, and perfectly obscure the Sun, and wherever they light destroy the Fruits of the Earth; but there are certain Birds which generally visit the Country about the same Time, and eat up the Locusts, and so prevent the Ruin of the Husbandmen. That Part of the Country which lies upon the *Caspian* or *Hyrcanian* Sea, is full of Serpents, Toads, Scorpions, and other venomous Insects, which in Summer-time die, many of them for want of Water, and infect the Air, rendring that Part of the Country very unhealthy at that Season.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate Size, and their Sting is mortal, if proper Remedies be not immediately applied, and at best a Person stung by one of them, is in such Torture, that he becomes raving mad for some Time. Musketoes or Gnats are very troublesome in the flat Country, near the *Caspian* Sea; and there is a white Fly no bigger than a Flea in *Persia*, which makes no Noise, but its Sting is like the Prick of a Pin. Here is also the Millepedes, almost like a Caterpillar, and whose Bite is as pernicious as the Sting of a Scorpion, the *Persians* call them *Hezar-pai*, or a thousand Feet.

10. There are the same Sorts of tame and wild Fowl in *Persia* as in *Europe*; as Geese, Hens, Ducks, Partridges, Snipes, &c.; but more of them in the North than in the South Part of the Country. Turkeys have been carried to *Ispahan*, but they do not thrive. The Breed of Pidgeons they take all imaginable Care to increase and propagate, on Account of their Dung, with which they raise their Melons. Their Dove-houses are five Times as large as ours, of a round Figure, and handsomely built of Brick; of these, it is said, there are not less than three thousand in the City of *Ispahan* only. The Dung is always sold for four Pence the Bisty, or twelve Pounds Weight, and the Government, it seems, lay

lay a small Tax upon it. Their Partridges are reckoned the largest and best tasted that are to be met with.

The Pellican, which the *Persians* call *Tacob*, or the Water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their Fowls, for the Body of it is said to be as large as a Sheep, its Head at the same Time wondrous small, but a large Bill of sixteen or eighteen Inches long, as big as a Man's Arm, and under the Bill there is a large Bag, Travellers tell us, which will hold a Pail of Water; they build their Nests in the Desarts, where there is no Water, and consequently no Inhabitants for their Security, and frequently go two Days Journey for Water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the Receptacle above-mentioned to last for some Time, if we may give entire Credit to these Accounts.

There is another extraordinary Bird, mentioned by Travellers, in the Province of *Chorassan*, which has such an Appetite towards the Water of a certain Spring in that Country, and such Sagacity in discovering it, that they will follow any Person that carries it in a Bottle, several Hundreds of Miles. As to Eagles, Hawks, Falcons, and other Birds of Prey, there is no Country where they have more, or where they are better instructed than in *Persia*. The Shah has eight hundred or a thousand of them, and there is no Man of any Figure without his Hawks and his Falconers; and their Hawks are taught not only to fly at Birds, but at Hares, Deer, and all Manner of wild Beasts, and by fixing themselves on the Head of the Animal, and beating him with their Wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the Dogs and Huntsmen which follow have very little Difficulty in taking him; and the *Persians*, it is said, breed up the very Crows to fly at Game.

There are the same Kinds of Singing-birds in *Persia* as with us, such as the Linet, the Chaffinch, the Nightingale, the Lark, &c.; and some Birds there are which are taught to speak, but no Parrots or Parroquets on this Side *India*. However, there are several party-colour'd Birds to be seen in *Persia*, with a Plumage of blue, green, and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of Sparrows there are such Numbers, that they are very troublesome to the Husbandmen, who are forced to place their Servants in the Fields all Day long when the Harvest approaches, to keep them from their Corn.

In the Heart of *Persia* there are scarce any Fish to be met with, the few Rivulets they have hardly supplying the Country with Water for necessary Uses, and in the Summer time they are almost all dried up; even the River *Zenderhood*, to which the Government, at a prodigious Expence, have joined other Streams for the Supply of the City of *Ispahan*, is perfectly lost in the sandy Desarts about twenty Leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one Stream which rises in the Middle of the Kingdom that ever reaches the Sea in the Summer; tho' in the Spring, when the Snow melts on the Mountains, they make a considerable Figure. In the *Caspian* Sea and the *Persian* Gulph, there are great Plenty of Sea-fish of all Kinds almost, and the Rivers *Kur* and *Arras*, which fall into the *Caspian*, have Plenty of River-fish, but they lie at too great a Distance from *Ispahan* to supply that City; so that Fish is very rarely eaten there.

II. We are to speak next of the Metals and Minerals in this Country; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with those of Gold and Silver, if any were now wrought in *Persia*, but there are not; for, notwithstanding what old Writers relate of the rich Mines in *Bactriana*, and that almost all the *Persian* Authors agree that there are Mines of this Metal in *Chorassan*, yet from the Neighbourhood of the *Tartars* they have been long neglected; and it is the same with respect to the Silver Mines in other Places, tho' from the Accounts lately given by *Tavernier*, one would suspect that the *Persians* are but indifferently skilled in the Art of Mining, and that of refining of Metals; they have, however, good Mines of Iron, Steel, Copper, and Lead. The Iron and Steel Mines are in *Hircania*, *Media*, and the Provinces of *Erak* and *Chorassan*; their Steel is so full of Sulphur, that if the Filings are thrown into the Fire, they will give a Report like Gunpowder; it has a fine

Grain, but is as brittle as Glass, and the *Persian* Artificers, who do not understand how to give it a due Temper, cannot for that Reason make Wheels or Springs, or any minute Pieces of Workmanship. Their Copper Mines are most of them near *Seris*, in the Mountains of *Mazenderan*; they mix it with *Swedish* and *Japan* Copper, and the Proportion is one Part foreign to twenty of their own Metal.

The Lead Mines are, most of them, near the City of *Yezd*, and in these are found the greatest Quantity of Silver. Sulphur and Saltpetre are dug in the Mountain *Damaverd*, which divides *Hircania* from the Province of *Erak*. Antimony is found in *Carmania*, but it is a bastard Sort. Emery is had near *Niris*; Vitriol and Mercury they have none, and their Tin is imported from abroad. There are two Kinds of Salt in *Persia*, the one upon the Surface of the Ground, the other dug out of the Rock: There are Plains of ten or twelve Leagues over quite covered with Salt, as others are with Sulphur and Alom. The Salt is so hard in some Parts of *Carmania*, that the poor People make use of it instead of Stone to build their Cottages.

Their Marble is either white, black, or red, and some veined with white and red; it is dug near *Hamadani*, and in *Chusistan* some of it will break into large Flakes or Tables like Slate, but the best comes from *Tauris*, which is almost as transparent as Crystal. This Kind is white mixed with green. In the Country about *Tauris* also is found the mineral Azure, but this is not so good as that which comes from *Tartary*, losing its Colour by Degrees. In the Provinces of *Fars* and *Shirvan* there is found abundance of Bole Armoniack, and so rich and fat a Marl, that the Country People use it instead of Soap. There are some Mines of Isinglas in the same Country. In several Parts of *Persia* we meet with *Naptha*, both white and black; it is used in Painting and Varnish, and sometimes in Physick, and there is an Oil extracted from it which is applied to several Uses. The most famous Springs of *Naptha* are in the Neighbourhood of the Town of *Baku*, which furnish vast Quantities; and there are also upwards of 30 Springs about *Shamaschy*, both in the Province of *Shirvan*. The *Persians* use it as Oil for their Lamps, and in making Fireworks, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great Proficients.

But the most valuable Product of the *Persian* Mines is the *Turquoise*, concerning which there have been so many Mistakes made, that notwithstanding we find ourselves pressed for Room, we cannot avoid treating somewhat largely upon this Subject. In the first Place, it is asserted, that it derives its Name from *Turkey*, which is true enough when rightly understood, but absolutely false according to the common Acceptation; for there neither is, or never was, any of these Stones found in the Dominions of the *Turks*, but in the Country of *Turcomania*, which was indeed the Seat of that Nation, tho' for any Thing I know, this has never been observed by the Writers upon this Subject. These Stones are distinguished into *Oriental* and *Occidental*. The *Oriental* Turquoises come from *Persia*, and from *Persia* only; and these are distinguished into those of the old, and those of the new Rock; the former are taken out of the Mines of *Nichapour* and *Carasson*, and, as Sir *John Chardin* justly observes, differ greatly from other Stones that bear the same Name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful Blue, inclining a little to a Green, take a fine Polish, and are never observed to lose their Colour. The Shah endeavours to preserve these entirely for himself; and though after chusing the largest and the finest, he permits the smaller Turquoises to be sold, yet foreign Merchants are not contented with that Manner of Dealing, but have struck out a better. The Officers belonging to the Mines, and their Servants, frequently deceive the Shah, and, instead of sending him the finest and largest, vend those for their own Profit, but always to *Europeans*, that they may be less liable to Discovery; and by this Means very fine Turquoises find their Way into these Parts of the World. The new Rock is at five Miles distant from the old, and the Stones are softer, less firm, veiny, of a green, inclining

inclining to blue, and are apt in Process of Time, to lose their Colour. The occidental Turquoises are found in *Bohemia*, *France*, and other Countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the same Faults with those taken from the new Rock.

Dr. *Cromwell Mortimer*, in the last Transactions of the Royal Society, for the Months of *January* and *February*, 1747. has given us a much better Account of these Stones than I have ever met with before, and distinguishes them very justly into true and false Turquoises; the former he says, is a true mineral Substance, impregnated with Copper Ore, which is highly probable, for there is no Country in the World that has more Copper Mines than *Persia*; the latter is an Ivory or bony Substance, tinged also with some metallick Juice, and probably that of Copper, which is a Discovery worthy of Notice, as it frees this Subject from Abundance of Difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.

12. After having taken a View of the Country, and of its Produce, we will speak next of the Habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal Cities that yet remain to be described; but without taking a previous View of what with them passes for magnificent Buildings, such Descriptions would be in a Manner unintelligible. The Houses of Persons of Quality here, are generally built in the Middle of a fine Garden, and make little or no Appearance to the Street, for there you see nothing but a dead Wall, with a great Gate in the middle of the Wall, and perhaps a Skreen or Wall within the Gate, to prevent People looking in; so fond are they of Privacy and Retirement. Another Thing that the *Persians* differ from us in, is, that they seldom have more than one Floor, which is laid out in this Manner; in the Front of the House stands a little Piazza or Cloyster open before, where they sit and transact their ordinary Affairs; beyond this is a large Hall, eighteen or twenty Foot high, which is used at great Entertainments, or on any solemn Occasions: On the farther Side of the House is another Piazza with a Basen or Fountain of Water before it, beyond which runs a Walk of fine Trees, as there does also from the Street to the House: At each Corner of the Hall, is a Parlour or Lodging-Room (for it serves for both Purposes;) between those Parlours on the Sides, there are Doors out of an Hall into an open square Space, as large as the Rooms at the Corners; there are also several Doors out of the Hall into the Piazza, before and behind the House; so that in the hot Season, they can set open nine or ten Doors at once in the great Hall, and if there be any Air stirring, they will have the Benefit of it.

In some Palaces there is a handsome Basen, and a Fountain playing in the Middle of the Hall, which contributes still more to the Coolness of the Place. The Walls of their Houses are built sometimes of burnt Bricks, but more commonly of Bricks dried in the Sun. The Walls are of considerable Thickness, and the Roof of the great Hall is arched, and five or six Foot higher than the other Rooms about it. The Roofs of the Buildings on every Side of the Hall are flat, and there is a Pair of Stairs up to the Top, where the *Persians* walk in the Cool of the Day, and sometimes carry up a Mattress, and lie there all Night, there being Ballisters all round the Top of the Building. As for the Kitchens and other Offices, they are at a Distance on the right or left, and it is observable, that all their Rooms, except the Hall, stand separate, and there is no Passage out of one into another, but only from the Hall; Chimneys there are some, but usually, instead of a Chimney, there is a round Hole, about four or five Foot broad, and a Foot and a half deep in the Middle of the Room, in which a Charcoal Fire is made, and the Place covered with a thick Board or Table, about a Foot high, so close, that no Smoke can get out, and over that Table is thrown a large Carpet, under which they put their Legs in cold Weather, and sit round, there being a Passage for the Smoke by Pipes laid under the Floor. The Doors of their Houses are narrow, and seldom turn upon Hinges as ours do, but there is a round Piece left at the Top and Bottom of the Door which are

let into the Frame above and below, on which they turn, and the very Locks and Bolts are frequently made of Wood.

As to their Furniture, it consists only in Carpets spread on the Floor, with Cushions and Pillows to lean on, and at Night, there is a Mattress brought to sleep on, and a Quilt or two to cover them, but very seldom any Sheets are used. As to their Servants, they lie about in any Passage upon Mats, and take up very little Room. The Floors of the Rooms are either paved or made of a hard Cement, on which they lay a coarse Cloth, and over that a Carpet: The Sides of some of their Rooms are lined with fine Tiles about a Yard high, and the rest of them well painted, or hung with Pictures.

13. *Ispahan*, or as it is pronounced *Spabawn*, is situated in thirty two Degrees, forty Minutes, North Latitude, and in the fiftieth Degree of Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of *London*. It stands in a fine Plain almost surrounded with Mountains, which lie about two or three Leagues from it, and the Form is pretty near oval. The River *Zenderhood* runs by it at about a Mile Distance, but there are several Channels and Pipes above the Town, which convey the Water from it into Canals and Basens, for the Service of the Court and City. The Town is without Walls, and about ten or twelve Miles in Circumference. Those who extend it ten Leagues take in the Town of *Julpha*, and several others. There were formerly twelve Gates to the Town, but four of them are now closed up, the others are always open; as for the Walls which some Travellers mention, it is probable there was a Mud-Wall formerly, but there is no Part of the Wall visible at present. There is an old Castle, it is true, without Artillery, which runs to Ruin, but is no more tenable than the Town.

The Streets of *Ispahan* are for the most Part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding Dirty or Dusty, for scarce any of them are paved, and though there are no Coaches or Carts, yet all People of Fashion riding through them with great Trains of Servants, renders the Passage not very pleasant. There are however some very fine Squares in the Town, particularly the royal Square or *Meydan*, into which there opens two of the Palace Gates. On the Sides of this Square, which is one third of a Mile in Length, and more than half as much in Breadth, are Buildings with Shops on both Sides, where every particular Trade has a Quarter assigned, and there is a second Story where the Mechanics have their Working-Shops. There seems to be little Difference between these Exchanges and ours, but that those of *Ispahan* have no Windows but great Openings at proper Distances to let in the Light, and People ride through them as they do along the Streets.

In the Middle of the Square there is a Market for Horses and Cattle, and all Manner of Goods and Provisions are exposed to Sale, though the great *Shah Abbas*, who built the Square, designed it for manly Exercises, and particularly those of Horsemanship, and handling the Bow and Lance, at which no People are more dextrous than the *Persians*. On that Side of the Square next the Palace, there is a fine Row of Trees planted, and a handsome Basen of Water, and some great Brass Guns, which were taken from the *Portuguese* at *Ormuz*, serve to make a Show.

There stands a great Mosque at the South End of the Square, and another Mosque on the East Side over against the great Gate of the Palace; several Streets in *Ispahan* are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this seems to be peculiar to the *Persian* Towns. Another Thing they seem to be particular in is, that their Houses and Shops are never in the same Places, and it is a common Thing for a Tradesman to go half a Mile in a Morning to the Bazar, or Market-place, where his Shop is, and in the Night-time, they lock up their valuable Goods in Chests and Counters, and the rest they leave packed up, sometimes in the open Square, and it is very rare any Thing is lost; so careful are the Watch appointed to guard their Market-Places, or so very little given to Thieving are the People in this Part of the World, and no Doubt the speedy and exemplary Punishments inflicted upon Pilferers, is one great Means to deter them from it.

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As to Foreign Merchants, they lodge their Goods in the publick *Caravanfera's* about the City, which serve them also instead of Inns for Lodging and Diet; but there is this Difference between an Inn and *Caravanfera*, that every Person finds his own Bedding and Cookery in the *Caravanfera*, whereas in our Inns we have not that Trouble. There are two Things, however, that render a *Caravanfera* preferable to an Inn; one is, that a Person is not subject to the Extortions of an Inn-keeper, but buys his Provisions at the best Hand; and the other, that let the Merchant take up ever so many Rooms, he shall not be disturbed in them, and pays but a Trifle for his Warehouse or Lodgings; and upon the Road he pays Nothing. There are not, it seems, less than fifteen hundred of these publick *Caravanfera's* in *Ispahan*, which have been erected by charitable People for the Use of Strangers; most of them are built after one Model, and differ only in the Dimensions. There is a handsome Portal at the Entrance, on each Side of which are Shops, from whence you enter into a Square, about which there is a Cloister or Piazza, and within are Lodging-Rooms and Warehouses for Goods: There is also Stabling and Conveniences for Horses and other Beasts on the outside, or they may be brought into the Square and fastened there, as is frequently done upon the Road more especially where there is Danger of Robbers.

As to Taverns, there are none at *Ispahan*, their Religion prohibiting Wine. However, some of the *Persians* will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handsome Coffee-houses in the principal Parts of the Town, where People meet and talk Politicks, though they have no printed Papers in them, and there we meet with some Amusements peculiar to the Country, as the Harangues of their Poets, Historians, and Priests, who hold forth and get a Crowd about them; and it seems they expect a small Present from their Audience for their Amusements and Instructions.

14. The Buildings of the Palace, with the Gardens belonging to it, take up above a League in Compass. The two Gates which come up to the Royal *Meydan*, or Square, are, one of them called *Alicapi*, and the other *Doulet Cuna*; over one of them is a Gallery, where the Shah used to sit and see martial Exercises performed on Horseback. No Part of the Palace where the Court resides comes up to the Royal Square; but having entered the principal Gate, there is a Hall or Court on the Left-hand, where the Vizier and other Judges administer Justice on certain Days; and on the Right are Rooms where Offenders are allowed to take Sanctuary. From hence to the Hall, where the Shah usually gives Audience, is a handsome Walk: It is a long Room well painted and gilded, and supported by forty Pillars; it is divided into three Parts, one a Step higher than the other, on which the great Officers stand according to their Rank. As to hereditary Nobility, there is no such Thing in *Persia*. On the third Ascent is the Royal Throne, raised about a Foot and a half above the Floor, and about eight Feet square, on which is spread a rich Carpet; here the Shah sits on it cross-legged up on solemn Occasions, having a Brocade Cushion under him, and another at his Back.

As to the rest of the Apartments of the Palace, and particularly the *Haram*, or Womens Apartment, neither Foreigners or Natives can give an exact Description of them, none being permitted to enter but the Eunuchs; but in general we are told, that they consist in separate Pleasure-houses dispers'd about the Gardens, much of the same Form with the Houses first described, and that their great Beauty consists in the fine Walks, Fountains and Cascades about them. Beyond the Gardens the Shah has a large Park walled in, where the Ladies hunt and take their Pleasure with the Prince. In this City are above one hundred and fifty Mosques or Temples, covered with Domes or Cupola's, which appearing through the Trees that are planted almost all over the Town, in the Streets and Gardens, afford a noble Prospect; but the common Buildings are so low, that they are hardly discerned by one who takes a View of the Town on the Outside.

All Christians being prohibited to enter their Mosques, or even to come within their Courts, under severe Penalties, it is not easy to meet with a particular Description of them. There is a Gate which leads to the great Mosque covered with silver Plates. Through this Town you proceed to a Court with a Piazza or Cloyster on each Side, where the Priests lodge who belong to the Mosque. Opposite to the great Gate are three large Doors which open into it. The five Isles the Mosque is composed of are beautified with Gold and Azure. In the Middle is the Cupola, supported by four great square Pillars; the Isles on the Sides are lower than that in the Middle, and born upon thick Columns of Free-stone; two great Windows towards the Top of the Middle Isle give Light to the whole Mosque; on the Left-hand towards the Middle stands a Kind of Pulpit, with stone Steps to go up to it; the Bricks and Tiles on the Outside of the Building are painted with various Colours, after the Manner of *Persia*, and the Floor of the Mosque is covered with Carpets, all People putting off their Shoes as they enter it; there are no Seats or Pews as in the Christian Temples, or any Kind of Imagery or Pictures. The Outside is Stone, and the Walls lined fifteen Foot high with white polished Marble; and in the Middle of the Square before the Mosque is a large Basin, where they wash themselves before they enter the Temple. The Mosques have, most of them, Cupola's, with Steeples or Towers, whither the *Molla's* go up to summon the People to their Devotions, according to the *Mahometan* Mode, making no Use of Bells.

15. The numerous Hummums or Bagnio's in this City are another Subject of Travellers Admiration; some of these are square Buildings, but most of them globular. The Stone of which they are built is usually white and well polished; the Tops are covered with Tiles painted blue; the Insides are divided into many Cells or Chambers, some for Pleasure, and others for Sweating, and the Floors are laid with black and white Marble. The *Persians* bathe almost every Day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to Health, an effectual Remedy for Cold, or Aches, and many other Distempers. But what is admired as much by Foreigners as any Thing about *Ispahan*, is the *Charbag*, being a Walk above an hundred Yards wide, and extending a Mile in Length, from the City to the River *Zenderhood*; on each Side are planted double Rows of Trees, and in the Middle runs a Canal, not continued upon a Level, but at every Furlong's Distance the Water falls into a large Basin and forms a Cascade, and the Sides both of the Canal and Basins are lined with hewn Stone, broad enough for several Men to walk a-breast upon them. On each Side of this Walk are the Royal Gardens, and those of the great Men, with Pleasure Houses at small Distances, and all together form as agreeable a Prospect as can be imagined.

At the End of this Walk is a Bridge over the River *Zenderhood*, which leads to the Town of *Fulpha*; there are also two other Bridges, one on the Right, and the other to the Left, by which the neighbouring Villages have a Communication with the City, and which most of our Travellers are pleased to call its Suburbs, though they are distant a Mile from *Ispahan*, and on the other Side the River. These Bridges are taken Notice of for the Oddness of the Architecture, for it seems on each Side, both above and below, are arched Passages, thro' which People ride and walk from one End of the Bridge to the other, as in the covered Streets of the City; and at little Distances there are Openings to admit the Light. The Arches of these Bridges are not very high, there being no Vessels to pass under them, for this River is not navigable any more than the rest of the *Persian* Streams. It is true, in the Spring, on the melting of the Snows in the Mountains, it makes a pretty good Appearance, but at the latter End of the Summer the Channel is exceeding narrow and shallow, insomuch that there is not Water enough for the Gardens which belong to the City; to supply the Want whereof they have abundance of Wells about *Ispahan*, of very good Water for all Domestick Uses.

16. The Town, or rather the Borough of *Julpha*, stands on the South-side of the River *Zenderbood*; and though there are many who look upon it as a Suburb of *Ispahan*, yet it certainly deserves to be considered by itself, as being a very large and a very considerable Town, the Buildings of which are more regular, and to the full as magnificent as those of *Ispahan*. It is generally reckoned two Miles in Length, and about a Mile in Breadth, and is beyond Comparison, taking all Circumstances together, the finest Place in *Persia*; for, with respect to Houses, Trade, Manufactures, and Industry, there is nothing comes near it; and as to beautiful Walks of Trees, cooling Shades, delightful Fountains, pleasant Gardens, and magnificent Summer-houses, they are every where to be met with. The principal Inhabitants are the *Armenians*, and besides these, there are *Georgians*, *Circassians*, *Mingrelians*, and other Christians, but no *Mahometans*, who dwell in it. The Foundation of this Place, and the Rise of the *Armenians*, who are now as considerable Merchants as any in the World, are Events that deserve our Notice.

It was the famous Shah *Abbas* who first took Notice of the Candour, Affability, Diligence, Penetration, and Integrity of the *Armenians*, in the Management of their little Concerns in their native Country, where they were liable to the Incursions of the *Persians* and the *Turks*. He was not only an ambitious and powerful, but a very wise and prudent Prince; he was desirous of introducing Trade into his Dominions, where, till his Reign, it was hardly known; and no less desirous of inspiring his Subjects with the same Views, who were little acquainted therewith. In order to accomplish these great and laudable Designs, he thought it proper to establish a Staple Commodity, by Way of Foundation, and for that Purpose, fixed upon Silk. He then transported twenty or thirty *Armenians* into the Province of *Gilan*, where they acquitted themselves so well, that in a very short Space of Time vast Quantities of Silk were made there. Encouraged by this happy Beginning, he demolished the Town of Old *Julpha* in *Armenia*, as has been shewn in the former Section, and transported the Inhabitants into the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan*, where by his Royal Munificence, and under his powerful Protection, they built the Place of which we are now speaking, and by his Direction undertook to distribute all the Silk that was not wrought up by *Persian* Manufacturers, through *Asia* and *Europe*, a reasonable Price being first fixed, which at their Return they were obliged to pay, all the Profit being left to themselves; when it was necessary, the Shah advanced them Money for carrying on their Commerce, but by Degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the Government no longer took any Share in their Trade.

In this Manner, from the right Notions of one Man, and from his just Views for the Benefit of his Subjects, arose all the Trade of the *Armenians*, who are now become a Nation of Merchants, and carry on the most extensive Dealings of any People in the World; for besides their Establishments here, and in all the great Cities of *Persia*, they spread over the whole East, carry on a prodigious Trade in *Russia*, and have Factors of their own Nation in most of the great Trading Cities in *Europe*. In short they are become as noted in this respect as the *Jews*; but what redounds eternally to their Reputation, their Application to Trade, and their Dealings as Brokers, has not in the least lessened their Character, for Candour or Probity; they are diligent, affable and discreet, but content with a moderate Profit, serve those that employ them faithfully, are grateful to their Benefactors, love each other as Brethren, and are extremely useful to all the Countries in which they are settled. This Digression in Favour of such a Sort of Men, and in order to explain the Prudence and publick Spirit of *Shah Abbas* their Patron, and such of his Successors as chose to tread in his Steps, we thought might be agreeable to the Reader, though it carried us a little out of our Road, to which we shall now return, in order to continue the Description, we have promised of the principal Cities in *Persia*, before those Confusions began that have produced such fatal Alterations.

The City of *Schiras* or *Sheraz*, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred Miles to the Southward of *Ispahan*, in twenty nine Degrees, fifty Minutes of North-Latitude, and is usually reckoned the second City of the Kingdom. It is the Capital of the Province of *Fars*, or the ancient *Persia*; some will have the Name derived from *Cyrus* the Great, there being a Tradition that he was buried there; others say it is derived from *Sherab*, which in the *Persian* Tongue, signifies a Grape, because that Fruit abounds in this Place; and others from the Word *Sheer*, which signifies Milk; but as it is not very material from whence the Name is derived, so I believe it is impossible to determine at this Day. The Town is seated in a pleasant fertile Valley, about twenty Miles in Length, and six in Breadth, and has a Rivulet running through it, which in the Spring has the Appearance of a large River, and sometimes encreases to such a Torrent as to bear down the Houses in its Way, but in the Summer is almost dry. There are no Walls about the Place, nor does it contain above four thousand Houses at present: The Compass of it is reckon'd to be about seven Miles, but then it is to be consider'd that much the greatest Part of this Space is Garden.

The publick Buildings taken Notice of, are the Vice-roy's Palace, the Mosques, Bagnio's, the vaulted Streets and Caravanferas's, which being of the same Model as those of *Ispahan*, do not need a particular Description here; only it is observable, that they let most of their Buildings run to Ruin, as in other Towns of *Persia*; every Generation chusing to build new Houses, rather than use those of their Ancestors. It is remarked also, that there is no Place where the *Mahometan* Superstition prevails more than here, there being a Mosque or Temple to every twenty Houses almost, their Domes covered with blue varnished Tiles, make a pretty Appearance among the Trees; here is also a College where the liberal Arts are studied, of which the Fame is great for breeding many Persons of renown'd Learning.

The Streets of *Sheraz* are, for the most part, narrow and dusty, but there are some broad ones with Canals and Basons, faced with Stone: But what *Sheraz* is most remarkable for, is, the fine Gardens and Vineyards about it. The Cypress-Trees, of which their Walks are chiefly composed, are the tallest and largest that are any where to be found, and grow in a pyramidal Form; intermix'd with these are several broad spreading Trees, and all Manner of Fruits, as, Pomegranates, Oranges, Lemons, Cherries, Pears, Apricots, Dates, &c. None of these are planted against Walls as with us, but stand in the Allies, and sometimes irregularly, as in a Wilderness. They have also Abundance of sweet Flowers of various Colours, but not planted in that regular Order as in the Gardens of *Europe*. Their Vineyards and Wines are preferable to any in *Persia*, and the Canals, Cascades, Fountains, and Pleasure-Houses in their Gardens, are not at all inferior to those of *Ispahan*. The Shah's Garden here is no less than two thousand Paces square, and surrounded with a Wall fourteen Foot high, but of late Years, the Gardens, as well as the Buildings of *Sheraz*, have been pretty much neglected.

18. Thirty Miles to the North-East of *Sheraz* are found the noblest Ruins of an ancient Palace or Temple, that are now to be seen on the Face of the Earth; even *Rome* itself, as it is said, has nothing comparable to these venerable Remains of Antiquity; the Place at this Day is called *Chilmaner*, or forty Pillars. Mr. *Herbert* says, it was built upon a Mountain of dark coloured Marble, and the Steps hew'd out of the solid Rock; but others who have viewed it more narrowly since, observe, that the Steps are composed of large Stones, fifteen or sixteen Foot in Length, and of such a Thickness, that six or seven Steps are cut out of one Stone, the whole being so artificially joined, that they appear to be but one Piece, which might easily occasion Mr. *Herbert* to mistake. It is seated at the North-east End of that spacious Plain where *Persopolis* once stood, and generally held to be part of the Palace of *Darius*, who was conquered by *Alexander the Great*. The Front of this Palace stood towards the West, and was about five hundred Paces in Length, the whole taking up near threescore

threescore Acres of Ground. The Ascent to it is by ninety five Steps, thirty Feet in Length, and twenty Inches broad, but not more than three Inches deep, so that a Horse may easily go up or down them. The Stair-Case divides as you ascend, one Branch winding to the right, and the other to the left; each having a Wall on one Side, and a Marble Ballustrade on the other; afterwards both Branches turn again, and end at a large square Landing-place, from whence you go into a Portico of white Marble, twenty Foot wide. On it are carved in *Bass-relievo*, two Beasts as big as Elephants, but their Bodies are like Horses, and their Feet and Tails like Oxen.

Ten Feet farther stand two fluted Columns of whitish Stone, about sixty Feet high, besides their Capitals and Bases, and as thick as three Men can fathom; a little farther stand two other Pilasters, carved like the first, only that the Beasts on the latter have Wings and Men's Heads. Beyond this Portal or Hall is such another double Stair-Case, leading to the upper Rooms, twenty five Feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former, for on its Walls are carved in Bass Relief, a kind of Triumph, consisting of a great Train of People, in distinct Companies, carrying some Banners, and others Offerings, and after all comes a Chariot drawn by several Horses, with a little Altar upon it, from whence the Flames of Fire seem to ascend. On the other Side are carved wild Beasts fighting, and among others, a Lion and a Bull are cut with great Exactness, and so hard is the Stone, that to this Day the most curious Part of the Workmanship is preserved. On the Top of the second Stair-case is a square Place, which has been surrounded with Columns, whereof seventeen only are now standing, but there are a hundred Pedestals; those that are left are of red and white Marble fluted, some of them sixty, and others seventy Foot high, and twelve of them near three Fathom round. These, some Antiquaries imagine, supported the Temple of the Sun.

On the same Floor near those Columns is a Place fifty Foot square, enclosed with Walls six or seven Foot thick, of a much finer Marble than any that hath been yet mentioned, and so wonderfully carved, that it would take up several Days to view all the Figures; which Way soever a Man turns himself in this second Floor, there appear Figures cut in Bass and half Relieve. Here you see Men fighting with Lions, and in another Place, a Man holding a Unicorn by the Horn; in a third you see the Figures of Giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving Audience to his People or Ambassadors, and numberless other Scenes. Here are also abundance of Inscriptions, in lasting Characters, which have been transcribed, and brought into *Europe*, but none of them understood at this Day by the learned, any more than they are by the People of the Country: This glorious Palace or Temple, with the whole City of *Persopolis*, the noblest and wealthiest then in the World, was burnt to the Ground by *Alexander the Great*, about the Year of the World, 3724, at the Persuasion of *Lais* the *Athenian* Harlot, as is said in Revenge for the Towns the *Persian* Emperors had destroyed in *Greece*.

19. In the former Section, and in this, almost all the great Cities have been described, as they stood in Time past, and as they are represented to us by such as had seen them; yet these Accounts bear but very little Relation to those Places at this Day, for in the Course of the Civil Wars and Confusions, with which this Empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of these Cities that has escaped. *Tauris* has been plundered over and over, *Schiras* burnt to the Ground, and even *Spahawn* has suffered not a little. The Port of *Gambron*, or *Bander Abassi*, had been always considered since the Time of *Shah Abbas*, as one of the richest Jewels of the *Persian* Diadem; and notwithstanding the Badness of the Air, and some Inconveniences that attended the Port, it was always a Place of great Trade, and might have been a Place of much greater Trade, if the succeeding Monarchs of *Persia* had been Princes of the like Spirit, and had conceived as just Notions of Commerce as he did.

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By their Fault it was, that the greatest Part of the *Persian* Trade came to be carried on by Land, through *Turkey*, which was neither agreeable to the Interests of the *Persians*, nor requisite for transporting their Commodities to *Europe*, for which other Means might have been employed. But when *Shah Nadir* had assumed the Empire, and by his amazing Successes had acquired so great a Power, that he thought himself in no kind of Danger from his Neighbours, he began to entertain Notions of Commerce, which, like all his other Notions, were of a Stamp peculiar to himself, and which do not seem, from any of the Accounts that we have met with, to have been at all understood in *Europe*. He saw plainly, that the *Turks* were prodigiously enriched by the carrying on of the *Persian* Trade for Silk through their Country, and this he was resolved to prevent at any Rate. It was with this View, that he formed a Project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a Passage to the *Black-Sea*, and thereby opening a direct Trade with *Europe*, which, with all his Power, he could never effect. He then turned his Thoughts towards the *Caspian*, and having recovered the Province of *Gilan* from the *Russians*, and provided effectually against any Impressions they could make upon his Territories by Land, he resolved to carry on the Trade of *Persia* that Way, by the Assistance of the *Armenians*, and to restore the Credit of that Nation, which had been very much sunk in *Persia*, by the vast Losses that had been sustained by their Establishment at *Julpha*, which, in the Course of the Civil Wars, has been almost totally ruined.

But besides these Schemes, he had another, the Grounds of which it would take up too much Room to explain, and therefore I shall content myself with barely saying, that from certain Motives, that appeared to him reasonable, he determin'd to remove the Capital of *Persia*, and instead of fixing, as his Predecessors had done, the Imperial Residence at *Ispahan*, he resolved to transfer it Northward, and so place the Seat of his Empire in the Province of *Chorassan*, to which perhaps he might in some Measure be determined by his Fondness for his native Country. He fixed there upon the Town of *Mesched*, which had been formerly the Capital of the Province. It is to be observed, that the Word *Metschid*, signifies both in the *Persian* and *Turkish* Languages, a House or Temple consecrated to the Service of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our Word *Mosque*. The Name of this City therefore implies a great Mosque, and it was so called from one of the finest in that Part of the World, erected over the Tomb of the Iman *Riza*, a great Saint, which rendred it a Place frequented by Pilgrims, who out of Charity erected there several publick Structures of great Magnificence. It was besides famous for its Manufactures of all Sorts, such as Gold and Silver Brocades, Tapestry, rich Silks; and woollen Stuff, as beautiful and as dear as Silks, there was besides a Manufacture of earthen Ware, which was looked upon as the best in *Asia*, on this Side China; so that an Age ago this City for Mosques, publick Baths, Caravansera's, Bazars, and other publick Structures, was not in the least inferior to any City in *Persia*; but the *Usbeck Tartars* had so totally destroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent Figure when the *Shah Nadir* made Choice of it for the Seat of his Empire.

The City of *Mesched* is situated in the Latitude of thirty five Degrees twenty Minutes North, upon a small Stream that falls into the River *Kurgan*, which separates the Province of *Chorasan*, from *Astarabat*; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier Situation there is not in the World. The Air is extremely mild and temperate, the Soil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the Capital of the Empire, there is no doubt that the Tartars will be kept at a sufficient Distance. While *Shah Nadir* was employed in his Expedition against the Mogul, his eldest Son *Riza Kuli Mirza* resided there with the Title and Authority of *Shah* of *Persia*; by his Care the City was rebuilt and restored to its ancient Lustre, and such Privileges granted to the Inhabitants, as not only came up to, but exceed-

ed those that former *Shah's* had granted to the People of *Ispahan*. This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the Civil Government of the Empire, he was desirous of displaying also his Military Capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of *Balkh*, the Sovereign of the Southern Part of *Great Bucharica*; which Country, together with its Capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an Accession of Territory, but one of the greatest and best Cities in those Parts, *Balkh* having been, for several Ages, the Center of the Commerce carried on by Land to and from the *Indies*.

By this Establishment, and these Conquests, the Face of Affairs in *Persia* is absolutely changed, and this is a Thing that has not hitherto been sufficiently considered. It is possible, and indeed it is probable, that the Southern Provinces of the *Persian* Empire will suffer extremely by this Alteration; and it is not altogether unlikely, that if a civil War arises from the Death of the late Shah, a new Principality may be erected in the Southern Parts, of which *Spahawn*, or some other great City, may become the Capital; but still *Mesched* will, in all Probability, remain the Seat of the *Persian* Empire, and the Monarchs who govern there will extend their Conquests Northwards, through Countries formerly indeed dependent upon the *Persians*, but which have been for many Ages in the Hands of the *Tartars*; and if this should be the Case, we must consider ourselves extremely happy in having set on Foot a Trade through *Russia* into *Persia* by the *Caspian* Sea, by which the most lucrative Part of the Commerce of that Empire will fall into our Hands, and may be justly esteemed the Fruits of our great Naval Power, and the Effects of sending our Squadrons into the *Baltick*, which gave the Court of *Petersbourg* such an Impression of our Power to assist or distress them, as it is our Interest to take Care that Time shall never efface.

20. We promised to say somewhat of the ancient and present State of the Country and People of *Persia*, considered in a comparative Light, and we will endeavour to execute this as succinctly as possible. The learned Dr. *Hyde* wrote an admirable Treatise in *Latin*, of the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, a Work equally curious and useful, and which, notwithstanding, was so ill received by the Publick, that the Doctor boiled his Tea-kettle with the greatest Part of the Impression, which has made it so scarce, that from its natural Price of Ten Shillings, or less, it is now sold for two Guineas, and even at that Price will not be esteemed dear by such as can judge of its real Value. It is from this learned Book that we are informed of what we should otherwise never have known, that the ancient *Persians*, on whom the *Greeks* bestowed the Name of *Barbarians*, were in Reality the best governed, the politest, and the most civilized Nation upon the Face of the Earth. Their Religion was far more incorrupt than those of *Egypt*, *Greece*, or *Rome*, for they worshipped only one God; and though they were over-run with Superstition, they never degenerated into Atheism or Idolatry. The common People were, from Principle, extremely industrious; they cultivated their Country with the utmost Care, inasmuch that those Districts that are now sandy Deserts, were then perfect Gardens; and many rich and populous Cities were seated in Places that at this Day are waste and howling Wilderesses. Yet there even still remain clear and indisputable Proofs of the Truth of what this learned Gentleman has asserted, and these are of two Kinds, First, The Ruins and Remains of this ancient Magnificence, which even the Iron Teeth of Time have not been able to destroy, as appears from what the Reader has been told of *Persepolis*; and next from the Temper and Disposition of that Remnant of the ancient *Persees*, *Gubers*, *Gaurs*, or Fire-worshippers, that are still left in this Country and in *India*, and who are, beyond all Controversy, the most quiet, industrious, and most inoffensive Nation, if we may yet stile them so, on the Face of the Globe. The Seat of their present Habitations is the wildest and worst Part of the Province of *Kerman*, and yet even there the small Districts they possess, appear a Kind of Para-

dise in Comparison of the Country round about; and by them those Wollen Stuffs are wrought, which the modern *Persians*, from a true Principle of Luxury, think too good for any Bodies Wear but their own, and therefore never suffer them to be carried out of their Dominions.

As for these People, it is no Wonder that they have brought the same Discredit upon the large and fruitful Provinces they inhabit, that the *Turks* have done upon the Land of *Canaan*; and indeed it is the Genius of the *Mahometan* Religion to deface all Marks of former Improvements, as well as to receive no Benefit from such Examples. The Wars, by which this Empire has been continually wasted since it fell into the Hands of its present Possessors, has contributed not a little to thin it of People; so that now there are not above a twentieth Part of the People in *Persia* that there were at the Time that *Alexander* invaded it. Besides this, there are several Nations scatter'd up and down it, that are rather Vassals than Subjects to the Shahs, and live after the Manner of the *Tartars* in their Tents. The Want of a settled Nobility, and the little Security that the People in general have for their Fortunes, is another great Obstacle to the cultivating their Lands, and the Improvement of their Cities. We may add to this, the Revolutions and Civil Wars which have been so frequent in *Persia*; as also the Incurfions of the *Tartars* and other barbarous Nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the Laziness and Luxury of the *Persians*, though it is in one Sense a Cause of the wide Difference between the past and present State of their Empire, yet considered in another Light, it is the Source of what little Commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work themselves, they are very ready to let other Nations dwell amongst them; and provided they reap the Fruits of their Industry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any Mixture of that haughty, insolent, and unbridled Temper, which is so hateful and so intolerable amongst the *Turks*. Besides, as they spend without the least Consideration, all they get, this occasions a quick Circulation of Money, so that the *Armenians*, *Indians*, and other Foteigners that live amongst them, pick up a tolerable Livelihood, and are not imposed upon and oppressed as in the Territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the Want of People that makes a great Part of *Persia* lie waste and barren; and the natural Fertility of the Country is another Cause of this, for even the few Parts that are now cultivated, produce much more than is necessary for the Subsistence of its Inhabitants; and it is from thence that their Trade and their Riches arise; for since there are no Mines now wrought in *Persia*, what Gold and Silver they have comes into that Country by the Purchase of their Silks, and other rich Commodities; whence the Reader will easily discern, how powerful and how happy the People might be under a settled Government, that paid some tolerable Respect to the Welfare of its Subjects; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the Hands of the *Mahometans*, who, on the one Hand, are very little inclined to any Kind of Industry themselves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Christian Subjects thriving, tho' they are the better for it. While the *Russians* were Masters of *Gilan*, which was but for a very short Space, the Inhabitants were so sensible of the Change, that there was Nothing they dreaded so much as returning again under the Dominion of their old Masters; and when this actually happened, great Numbers of them quitted their Habitations, and retired into the neighbouring Parts of *Georgia*, *Dagestan*, and *Armenia*, that they might avoid falling under the Yoke of *Thamas Kuli Kan*, notwithstanding that was as light, at least in Time of Peace, as any of the former Shahs.

21. It is to very little Purpose that we increase the Stock of our Knowledge; by reading, unless we enable ourselves to make some Use of it by Reflection; as a Trader does not thrive by having his Warehouses stocked with Goods, but by his knowing where and how and to carry them to Market. We see plainly from the

the Description of the *Persian* Empire, at the Beginning of this Section, that in Point of Territory, the Shah's of *Persia* are very little inferior to any of the great Monarchs in the Universe; but we know experimentally, that for all this, the Princes of this Country, from the Time of Shah *Abbas*, have made but a very indifferent Figure, and are not like to make a better in Time to come. This shews us the terrible Effects of arbitrary Power, a Thing altogether insupportable; but from the Wisdom of some great Princes, who by dissembling and letting it down, preserve it. Shah *Nadir* had this in his Will, but never in his Power; he had acquired his Authority by being at the Head of an Army, and he found it impossible to sustain it any other Way than by remaining at the Head of it; for he neither durst disband his Troops, nor could he trust them any longer than they were employed; this was the true Reason of his *Indian* Expedition, and this must be the Case, till such Time as the Army, by which he attained his Sovereignty, is in some Measure worn out, and then perhaps, the Feebleness of the State may draw upon it foreign Invasions.

If either the Extent, or the Quality of Countries, could make Princes easy or happy, the Sovereigns of *Persia* might be so without making Slaves of their Subjects, or disturbing their Neighbours. We may from hence also discover the Value of right Principles with Regard to Industry and Commerce, which always include due Respect to Liberty and Property, without which the former can never subsist, and the latter can never be attained. If we could, with any Probability, suppose that a well-constituted Government could take Place and be thoroughly established in *Persia*, it is very evident, that in the Space of a Century, not only the Affairs, but the very Face of the Country would be changed; their great Cities would be repopled, the Trade through *Persia* to *India* and *Tartary* would be revived, their Silk-works and Manufactures would be restored, and Multitudes of People would flock into all their Provinces for the Sake of that Plenty, which, in such a Situation of Things, they would be sure to enjoy. But as this Supposition is, on the one Hand, improbable; so, on the other, it is very evident, that for this very Reason the *Persian* Monarchy must, for a long Series of Years, continue broken and weak;

for it is by Commerce only that the People of that Country can become formidable; for while, on the one Side, they want a Naval Power to maintain the Sovereignty of the *Caspian* Sea, to which they pretend; and on the other Hand, to have no Fortresses of great Strength to secure their Frontiers against the *Usbeck Tartars* on the North, and the *Turks* on the West, they will always be in Danger from both those Neighbours.

These Things are so plain, that they cannot be denied or doubted. The single Inference I would draw from this is, that so far as human Foresight reaches, there seems to be a Disposition in Providence to overturn the *Mahometan* Powers every where; for if we compare the present State of Things with the past, we cannot help seeing, that they are much in the same Situation that the *Greeks* were at the Time their Empire began to decline; and though it may be some Centuries before their total Destruction comes on, yet we must shut our Eyes against Evidence, if we are not convinced that it is coming. We must indeed allow, that there were some visionary People here in *Europe*, who apprehended mighty Things from the Shah *Nadir*, and believed that he would overwhelm the *Turkish* Empire; but there was no Kind of Reason for this, except the known Weakness of that Empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more Reason expect, that the *Turks*, at this Juncture, should make some Impression upon *Persia*, which however I am persuaded will not happen. But if the Feuds of Christian Princes were once laid asleep, there is no Improbability in the Conjecture, that the *Russians* might make themselves Masters, at least, of some of the Provinces of this Empire, which lie nearest to the *Caspian* Sea; and whenever it shall happen, it may prove a Beginning to much greater Revolutions, since there are Multitudes of Christians in the adjacent Countries, who are either of the *Greek* Religion, or very little removed from it; and if their Spirits should once revive, the Weakness of the *Mahometans*, both here and elsewhere, would be quickly seen. I know very well how little Heed the present Generation will give to Remarks of this Nature; but I flatter myself, that how weak or how impertinent soever they may be now esteemed, Experience will justify them to Posterity.

SECTION III.

Of the Disposition and Temper of the *Persians*, their Persons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers and Mechanicks, the Respect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the past and present State of the *English* Commerce, and other Particulars; together with some curious Observations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in Favour of *Persia*.

Collected as well from private Memoirs, as from Accounts that have been published.

1. An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section, the Difficulty of drawing National Characters, the likeliest Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Disposition and Genius, of the modern *Persians*.
2. Of their Persons, Dress, great Value of their Turbants, and of the Magnificence and Profusion into which all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage.
3. Of the Womens Habits, their Painting, their Head-dresses usually adorned with Feathers, frequently set out with Jewels, and more especially with Pearls, which were esteemed the best in the World; so long as the *Persians* were possessed of the Island of *Baharen*.
4. The Manner of Living in *Persia*, the Method of eating and drinking, their Customs at their Meals, the Commonness of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries amongst them, and of the open and general Hospitality in *Persia*.
5. A View of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Civilities that pass upon such Occasions, their laudable Temperance

Temperance and great Sobriety, and of the Manner in which, by the Use of Opium, they supply their Want of strong Liquors. 6. The Manner of Travelling in Persia, the Nature of Caravans, how they supply the Want of Wheel-Carriages, of their Foot-Posts, and of the wonderful Swiftneſs of their Shatirs or Running-Footmen. 7. Of their Artificers and Mechanicks of all Sorts, the Neatneſs of ſome and the Inexpertneſs of other Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by which they are governed. 8. Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mohair Manufactures, that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domeſtick Traffick, the great Uſe of Brokers; the Manner in which their foreign Trade is carried on, and the Reaſons that hinder Mahometans from becoming Merchants; with ſome political Remarks upon that Subject. 9. The Nature of the Engliſh Trade in Persia, the Meaſures, Weights, Money, generally uſed in that Country, and the Alterations that have happened by the Removal of the Capital from Iſpahan to Meſched. 10. A ſuccinct View of the ſeveral Routes by which foreign Commodities are introduced into Persia, with a clear View of the Advantages ariſing from the new Trade to that Empire, through Ruſſia. 11. A ſhort Representation of the Value of Silk, conſidered as the Staple Commodity of Persia, and of the Advantages that would reſult to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the Ruſſian, Levant, and Eaſt-India Companies, to import Perſian and China Silks, on the cheapeſt Terms poſſible.

1. **A**FTER taking a View of the Country of *Persia*, and its Product of all Kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the Inhabitants, for whoſe Sake the other Deſcription was held neceſſary, and made intirely with a View to render this more clear and intelligible. It muſt indeed be owned, that there is ſomething very difficult and hazardous in attempting to characteriſe a whole Nation, and nothing is more common than Inſtances even of great Authors falling into Miſtakes on this Head; yet as the Thing is neceſſary, ſo it is alſo very feaſible; Nations certainly have their Characters as well as private Men, and theſe are frequently hit, though to be ſure ſometimes they are miſtaken.

The Means of hitting them, is to obſerve carefully the Points in which all Travellers agree, for theſe, without doubt, are founded in Truth and Nature; when a ſufficient Number of theſe are fixed, they will ſerve to guide you in the reſt, for the Humours of Men, though of ſeveral Sorts, and vaſtly different from each other, yet have a Connection among themſelves, that is to ſay, one Humour aſſorts with, and joins eaſily with another, while there are ſome Humours that never come together, or are found in the ſame Breſts. That there really is ſuch a Thing as national Characters, appears from hence, that the Inhabitants of the ſame Country, through a great Diverſity of Ages, and deſcribed by Authors of various Diſpoſitions, keep pretty nearly the ſame Character; of this, the Deſcription of the People of *Paris*, by the Emperor *Julian*, is a remarkable Inſtance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the reſt; for whoever conſiders attentively what is ſaid of the Temper, Genius and Cuſtoms of the *Persians*, independant of their Religion and Government, by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, and compares theſe with the Writings of modern Travellers, will be amaz'd to ſee what a Conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced, that national Characters are nothing leſs than imaginary. But to come to the Point, and to that Deſcription which will juſtify this Obſervation, at the ſame Time that it carries on the Thread of our Diſcourſe, and performs the proper Buſineſs of this Section.

The *Persians* are Men of bright Parts, and Abundance of Vivacity, fond of Glory, and known to excel their Neighbours of *India* in Point of Courage, inſomuch that the *Mogul* prefers them to the greateſt Poſts, both in his Court and Army; and as they were obſerved anciently to be of all Men the moſt civil and obliging, they retain the ſame Diſpoſition to this Day, eſpecially towards Foreigners, who admire their Hoſpitality and Benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutiſh Behaviour towards Chriſtians, as the *Turks* are; what they ſeem to be moſt juſtly and univerſally charged with, is Vanity and Profuſion in their Cloaths, their Equipages and Number of Servants; as to Voluptuouſneſs in Eating and Drinking, this does not appear to be their Vice, at leaſt we are much more guilty of it in *Europe*; for the greateſt Part of their Food is Rice, Fruits, and Garden Stuff; they have not any great Variety of Fleſh,

neither have they many Ways of dreſſing it; *Pilo* ſeems to be the ſtanding Diſh, even among thoſe of the beſt Quality. And as for ſtrong Liquors, though they drink them now and then by Stealth, Drunkenneſs is very far from being common; Liquor is never forced, and every Man may retire from an Entertainment without Ceremony when he ſees fit, without a Breach of good Manners.

No People have a greater Genius for Poetry, inſomuch that there it not a Feſtival or Entertainment made, but a Poet is introduced and deſired to oblige the Company with his Compoſitions; and theſe Gentlemen are often found with a Crowd about them in Coffee-houſes, and other Places of publick Reſort. The *Persians* are by ſome looked upon to be very covetous, but by this they muſt mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up Money they are generally abſolved. They only get that they may ſpend, and when they have furniſhed themſelves with an Equipage, Houſe and Gardens ſuitable to their Mind; they rather lay out their Money in building *Caravanſera's*, Mosques, and on other publick Occaſions, than let it lie by them, inſomuch that ſome Travellers obſerve, that there are no People in the World that take leſs Thought for Tomorrow. A Man who happens to have eight or ten thouſand Pounds fall to him, ſhall in a few Weeks lay it out in purchaſing Wives and Slaves, Cloathing, and Furniture, without conſidering where he ſhall meet a Supply, and in two or three Months after, you will ſee him diſpoſing of them again for Subſiſtance. Theſe People, it is obſerved, have a great Command of their Paſſions; they are not eaſily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very ſeldom to Blows. The Quarrel generally ends in ill Language, and perhaps ſome hearty Curſes; and to ſum up all, they call one another *Jews* or *Chriſtians*. They are of a very inſinuating Addreſs, and a moſt obliging Behaviour; few *European* Nations are more polite.

2. The *Persians* are generally of a good Stature, well ſhaped, clean limb'd, and of agreeable Features, and in *Georgia* and the Northern Provinces, of an admirable Complexion; towards the South they are a little upon the Olive. However, the great Men having had their Wives and Concubines chiefly from *Georgia* and *Circasſia*, for a hundred Years paſt, their Complexions are very much mended even in the Southern Provinces. Their Eyes and their Hair are generally black, and they wear only one Lock on the Crown of their Heads, like other *Mohometans*, by which they expect *Mahomet* will lift them up to Paradife.

As to their Beards, the Shah and the Great Officers of State, and Soldiery, wear only long Whiskers on the upper Lip, which joined to a Tuft of Hair on the upper Part of their Cheeks, grow to a very enormous Size, inſomuch that ſome of them, it is ſaid, are near half a Foot long. Their *Mollahs* and religious People wear their Beards long, only clipping them into Form, and the common People clip their Beards pretty ſhort, but none of the *Persians* ſuffer any Hair to grow upon their Bodies. They wear large Turbants on their Heads,

Heads, some white, and others striped with red or other Colours, and the Great Men have Flowers of Gold and Silver woven or marked on the Cloth. They have also a Scull-cap under their Turbant, and all together does not weigh less than seven or eight Pounds, sometimes a great deal more. Next to their Skins they wear a Shirt of colour'd Silk or Calico, generally blue, which they seldom or never wash; this Shirt has an open Bosom, but neither Neck nor Wristbands, and is made close to the Arm; they have also a Pair of Breeches, or rather Drawers, close before, they reach half down their Legs; their Stockings are made of woollen Cloth, but not at all shaped to the Leg; over the Shirt they wear a Waistcoat, and upon these a Coat with close Sleeves, and Buttons and Loops before, tied with a Sash; this is wide at Bottom, and hangs a little below their Knees; besides this, they put on another Coat frequently, without Sleeves, the uppermost Coat being the shortest, and in the Winter Time over all they have another loose Coat lined with Furrs: Instead of Shoes they have piqued Slippers, turned up at the Toes, and made of *Turkey* Leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, and when they ride, they have Boots of yellow Leather; their Bridles, Saddles and Housings are immoderately fine, being almost covered with Gold; the Housings are so large, that it almost hides the hinder Part of the Horse, and whether on Foot or on Horseback, they wear a broad Sword, and a Crice or Poniard. Their Ladies have also a Dagger at their Sides, especially those of high Rank.

3. The Garb of the Women is not very different from that of the Men, except it be, that the Women neither wear Turbants on their Heads, nor Sashes about their Waists, and their Coats or Vests reach almost down to their Heels. If ever they go into the Streets, which Women of Quality seldom do, they have a white Veil which covers them from Head to Foot. The Girls wear a stifened Cap upon their Heads, turned up like a Hunting-Cap, with a Heron's Feather in it, their Hair being made up in Tresses, and falling down their Backs to a very great Length, and the Quality have Pearls and Jewels interwoven and mixed with their Hair. The married Women comb their Hair back, and having bound it about with a broad Ribbon, or rich *Tiara*, set with Jewels, which looks like a Coronet, let the rest of their Hair fall gracefully down their Shoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming Dress. As for Gloves, neither Men nor Women ever wear them, but their Arms and Fingers are usually full of Rings and Bracelets enriched with Jewels.

As black Hair is the most common, so it is in most Esteem, and the thickest and broadest Eye-brows are thought the finest; the Women, if their Eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their Faces; they rub their Hands and Feet with an Orange-coloured *Pomatum*. Some will have Feathers stand upright in their *Tiara*, and others have a String of Pearls or precious Stones fastned to it, which hangs down between their Eye-brows; they wear also Jewels in their Ears, and Rows of Pearls fall down their Temples, as low as the Neck, and in some Provinces bordering on *India*, they have Jewels in their Nostrils, which to the *Europeans* do not seem very becoming, for hanging down to the Mouth, it makes them look as if they had Hare-Lips, but the Ladies of *Ispahan*, never wear these Nose-Jewels. Their Necklaces are either Gold or Pearl; they fall upon the Bosom, and there always hangs a little golden Box to them, filled with most reviving Perfumes.

As their Clothes are of the richest flower'd and brocaded Silks, it appears that their Dress is no inconsiderable Article in *Persia*, where People of mean Fortunes endeavour to vie with the Quality, and will have fine Clothes, though they want Food. An ordinary Turbant cannot be purchased under Ten Pounds, and they frequently give twice as much, and they must have Variety of them, lest they should be known by their Clothes. Their Sashes also are brocaded, and cost from twenty to a hundred Crowns, and over this they have frequently another of Camel's Hair, of which the Workmanship

is so curious, that it seldom costs less. Those who wear Sables, which they will not be without if they can purchase them, seldom pay less than a hundred Pounds for a close bodied Coat; all this, with the rich Furniture and Equipage they have, when they ride out, amounts to a vast Sum; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common Mode of living is thus:

4. Early in the Morning they usually drink a Dish of Coffee. About Eleven they go to Dinner, when they eat Melons, Sweetmeats, Fruit, Cheese, Curds, or Milk, but their principal Meal is in the Evening, when you may depend on a Dish of *Pilo*, which is boiled Rice well buttered, and season'd with a Fowl, a Piece of Mutton or Kid served up with it; they have an excellent Way of boiling their Rice all over the East, the Water is perfectly dried away, by that Time the Rice is enough, after which they season it with Spices, and mix Saffron or Turmerisk, with it, giving it a yellow, or what other Colour they think fit; but there is very little Variety either in their Food, or Way of Dressing it; if they have a large Joint, it is baked, instead of being roasted, but their usual Way is to cut their Flesh into little Slices, and Spitting or Scuring them together, roast them over a Charcoal Fire, and whether they boil or roast, it is always done to Rags, or it would be impossible to pull the Meat to Pieces with their Hands, as they do without Knives or Forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than Veal, nor do they eat Hares or other Animals prohibited to the *Jews*, Beef but seldom; they do not deal much in Venison, Fish or wild Fowl, they dress only plain Dishes, being Strangers to Hashes, Ragouts and other Compounds, and seldom have any other Sauce than a Slice of Lemon, or some Pickles. Bread they have baked in thin Cakes the Moment they use it, but eat much more Rice. They use no beaten Pepper, only whole, and not Abundance of Salt in their Seasoning, nor is there any brought to Table: Meat is never salted before it is dressed. They usually kill their Meat and Fowls the same Day they use them, and set by nothing to be eaten cold.

They sit down cross-legg'd at their Meals, and a Cloth is spread upon the Carpet. Then one of the Persons who has the Provision before him, distributes Rice and Flesh to the Company. They use no Spoons, except for Soup and Liquids, but take up their Rice by Handfuls. They seldom sit above half an Hour at Table. They wash both before and after their Meals, making use of their Hankerchiefs instead of a Towel. The common People of *Ispahan* seldom dress their Victuals at Home, but when they have shut up their Shops of an Evening, go strait to the Cooks, of which there are great Numbers in that City, and buy *Pilo* for their Families. The Cooks have Kettles or Coppers fixed in Brick-work, in their Shops, and Stoves, over which they dress most of their Meat, making scarce any Use of Chimnies. It is remarkable of the *Persians*, that they are so far from shutting their Doors at their Meals, that they invite every one to eat with them, who happens to come to their Houses.

5. When a Person makes an Entertainment, it is usually a Supper, notwithstanding which the Guests generally come at nine or ten in the Morning, and spend the whole Time at the Place to which they are invited. They discourse, they smoke, eat Sweetmeats; and pass away the Time with a thousand Amusements; sometimes they hear Poems repeated in Honour of their Prince, sometimes the Singing Women are introduced, who sing, and dance, and play, and show antick Tricks, to divert the Company; and if any one of the Guests are disposed to withdraw with any of these Dancing-Girls, they are shewn into a private Room, and when they return Nobody takes any Notice of it. When Supper is served up, the Son or some Relation of the Master of the House, takes the Honours of the Feast upon him, and helps the Guests to their Meat.

They generally provide Variety of Sherbets on these Occasions, their usual Drink being nothing but fair Water, and even this, it seems, they drink with Ice;

it is the Employment therefore of Abundance of People about *Ispahan*, in the Winter-Season, to heap up vast Quantities of Ice together, and keep it in Repositories under Ground all the Summer, when they sell it to great Advantage. Wine is made in several Provinces of *Persia*; but the *Armenians* and other Christians drink the greatest Share of it. The Officers will indeed sometimes indulge themselves in this Liquor, and other People drink it as they pretend for their Health, but that is not common; much the greatest Part of it is either transported to the neighbouring Countries, or drank by the Christians, who are dispersed through the *Persian* Dominions.

But those who abstain from Wine out of Conscience, because it is prohibited by Law, raise their Spirits with *Opium*, Bang, Poppy-seed, and other intoxicating Ingredients. The *Persians* like other Eastern Nations, take Pills of *Opium*, which some of them gradually increase to such a Dose, as would destroy half a Dozen *Europeans*. Within an Hour after they have taken the Pill, it begins to operate, and a thousand pleasant Scenes present themselves to their Imagination; they laugh and sing, and say Abundance of humorous Things like Men intoxicated with Wine, but after the Effect of it is gone off, they find their Spirits exhausted and grow pensive and melancholy, till they repeat the Dose again; and some make it so necessary to them that they cannot live without it. There is also a Decoction of the Seed of Poppies, sold in most Cities of *Persia*, and in these Houses you will see People looking and talking as Men do when they are drunk: As long as they keep to the Letter of the Law, and abstain from Wine, it is no Matter how much they disorder themselves, they think they shall never be accountable for that.

6. There are no Wheel-Carriages in this Country, but all People travel upon Camels, Horses, Mules or Asses. The Women who are to be concealed as much possible, are put into a square wooden Machine, of which they hang one on each Side of a Camel; they are about three Foot deep, and just large enough for one to sit down in, and over-head are three or four Hoops like those which support the Tilt of a Waggon, with a Cloth thrown over them. Their Asses are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten Miles at a pretty good Rate, but they are very obstinate, and frequently throw their Riders. People usually travel in this Country with the Caravan, consisting of four or five hundred Camels, besides other Beasts, and there is no Place where they travel with greater Security and less Expence, there being Caravanferas at proper Distances, where they have their Lodging *Gratis*, and purchase Provision at the best Hand; and though the Roads are frequently steep and mountainous, yet such Care is taken in laying Bridges and Causeways, and to level and enlarge the Ways, that a Traveller seldom meets with any Difficulties but what are easily surmounted.

Here are no General Posts, but if any Person has Letters to send, he dispatches a *Shatir* or Footman with them on Purpose, who will travel a thousand Miles in eighteen or twenty Days, and not ask more than twenty Pence or two Shillings a Day for his Trouble: They carry with them a Bottle of Water, and a little Bag of Provision, which serves them thirty or forty Hours: They generally leave the high Road, and cross over the Country the nearest Way. There are a great many Families which make this their only Employment, and breed their Children up to it, obliging them to run from their Infancy.

The Shah, and all the great Men, have several of these *Shatirs* or Footmen in their Retinue, but before a Man can be admitted one of the Imperial Footmen, he must give a very extraordinary Proof that he does not want Heels or Breath; for he must run from the great Gate of the Palace called *Aly Capi*, to a Place a League and half from the City, twelve Times in one Day, and every Time bring an Arrow along with him, which is delivered him by those who stand at the End of the Race, to shew that he has run the whole Course; and this he performs between Sun-rise and Sun-set, in thirteen or fourteen Hours at most, being no less than

a hundred and eight Miles. It is always some Favourite Servant of the Shah's who is admitted to this Honour. On the Day of Trial the Elephants and Horsemen are drawn up in the Royal Square, with the Musick, Drums and Trumpets sounding, and as if it was a Festival. All the Great Men make Presents to the *Shatir*, and several of them ride the Course with him to ingratiate themselves with the Shah; and the Mob attend him every Time he returns with their Shouts and Acclamations. The Chams and Viceroys, who admit a *Shatir* into their Service, make him run the same Number of Miles, and they are caressed and presented by all their Dependents in the same Manner the Royal *Shatirs* are, though not so largely; for it is a very common Thing to see the Shah's *Shatir* presented with above a thousand Pounds on such an Occasion. This is a very strong Mark of the Spirit of this Nation, and of that Disposition they have to display their Generosity, sometimes at the Expence of Justice, but without Regard to Prudence always.

7. With respect to their Artificers, Manufacturers, and common Tradesmen, the Regulations that are made in this Country are extremely well contrived, for every Company has a Head or Master, who with a small Number of his Brethren, form a Kind of Council, and settle such Rules and Orders for the general Benefit of such as are engaged in the particular Branch of Trade he superintends as to him and them seem requisite. Whoever intends, to set up a Trade, goes to the Master, and registers his Name and Abode, and no Enquiry is made who was his Master, or whether he understands the Business or not; nor is there any Restraint laid upon them that they shall not encroach upon any other Profession; for Instance, the Braziers are at Liberty to make Silver Vessels, as they frequently do, without being in Danger of any Disturbance from the Silversmiths. Neither do they take Apprentices for a Number of Years, but hire their Servants, and allow them Wages from the first Day they entertain them. Every Trade almost is bound to work for the Shah when ever he requires it, and those who are not, pay an annual Tax to the Government for an Exemption.

Their Armourers make very good Broad Sword Blades, and damask them as well as any *European*. The Barrels of their Fire-arms are not amiss, they make them very strong, and as thick at the Muzzle as at the Breech. Their Stocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the Butt, and not fit for a Man's Shoulder; and for Locks to their Guns, or any other Locks that have Springs, they do not pretend to make them any more than Watches or Clocks, which they either purchase abroad, or employ *European* Workmen to make for them. Knives, Razors, Scissars, and some other Cutlery Wares, they make very well, and little Steel Mirrors, which they use instead of Looking-glasses; they are almost all convex, and the Air is so perfectly dry, that they seldom rust or grow dull. The Art of making Looking-glasses they do not understand, but have them from *Europe*. However, they have a Manufacture of Glass, which serves for Windows and Bottles. The Glass of *Sbiraz* is the best in the Country.

As the Use of the Bow is what the *Persians* value themselves much upon, there are no where better Bows made; the chief Materials are Wood and Horn with Sinews bound about them; they are painted and varnished, and made as fine as possible. The Bow-string is of twisted Silk, of the Bigness of a Goose-quill; their Quivers of Leather, embroidered or worked with Silk. This is a Trade they are as well versed in as any thing, especially the Gold or Silver Embroidery, either on Cloth, Silk, or Leather. They cover their Saddles and Housings almost with Embroidery, and their stitching of the Leather is much beyond any Thing we do. Their Saddles are made after the *Morocco* Model, and the Stirrups mighty short; they have a Kind of Breast-plate to them, and where we use Brasses about our Furniture, their Men of Quality have Gold. The Leather which we call *Turkey* Leather, from its coming to us through that Country, is all made in *Persia*. The Shagreen also comes from thence, which is made of the Skin of an Ass's Rump. The Tanners dress their coarse Skins

Skins with Lime, and use no Bark, but Salt and Galls instead of it.

The making Earthen Ware is another Manufacture the *Persians* excel in; it is much beyond the *Dutch*, and some say almost equal to *China* Ware. The Places where it is chiefly made, are, *Sheraz*, *Metsch*, *Yezd*, and at *Kerman*: And mending of Glass and Earthen Ware, is a particular Trade in *Persia*; they will drill Holes through them, and fasten the Pieces together, so that a broken Bowl or Plate will hold Liquids, as well as it did at first. Their Gold Wire-drawers, and Thread-twisters are Artists also in their Way; they will draw a piece weighing a Drachm, to the Length of three hundred *Persian* Ells. Their Lapidaries understand the Grinding of soft Stones, and cutting them pretty well. Their Dying is preferred to any Thing of that Kind in *Europe*, which is not ascribed so much to the Artist, as to the Air, which being dry and clear, gives a Liveliness to the Colours, and fixes them.

The *Persian* Taylors work very neatly; and as the Men's Clothes are made of the richest flower'd and brocaded Silks, they are fitted exactly to their Bodies without the least Wrinkle, and their Sowing is incomparably beyond that of our Workmen, as the fine Materials they work on require it should. They work Flowers also upon their Carpets, Cushions and Window-Curtains, so very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With Taylors, we must not forget to mention their Barbers, who are no less excellent in their Way; for they will shave the Head almost at half a Dozen Strokes, and have so light a Hand, that you can scarce feel them; they use only cold Water, and hold no Basen under your Chin as with us, but have their Water in a Cup, about the Bigness of a little China-Dish: After they have shaved a Man, they cut the Nails of his Feet and Hands, with a little Iron Instrument like a Bodkin, sharp at the End; then they stretch his Arms, and rub and chafe his Flesh, which is an Amusement, that the *Europeans* as well as the Natives are pleased with, in these hot Countries. But notwithstanding this, these Artists are nothing comparable in their Way to those of *India*, and these again fall as short of the *Chinese* Barbers.

8. We are now to proceed to the more material Parts of the *Persian* Commerce, from whence their national Riches flow, and by which they draw to themselves the Wealth of other Countries; for as we before observed, Gold and Silver are no longer the Produce of *Persia*, but are brought thither in Payment for their Commodities. Silks are the principal Manufacture of the Country, such as Taffaties, Tabbies, Sattins and Silk mixed with Cotton or Camel and Goats-hair, Brocades and Gold Tissue, of the single Brocade there are a hundred Sorts, the double are called Duroy or Two-faces, because both Sides are equally good; they are the richest that are to be met with any where; and the Gold Velvet which is wrought in *Persia* is admirable; all their rich Stuffs are very durable; the Gold or Silver does not wear off or tarnish while the Work lasts, but keeps its Colour and Brightness. The finest Looms for these Stuffs are at *Ispahan*, *Cashan* and *Yezd*. Those for Carpets are chiefly made in the Province of *Kirman*, what are commonly called *Turkey* Carpets are indeed *Persian* but obtained that Name from being brought to us by Way of *Turkey*.

The Camel Hair Stuffs are made in *Carmania*, it is mighty soft and smooth, and almost as fine as Beaver Wool, but the Stuffs they make with it are not very strong. Camblets and Silk, and worsted Druggets are made in the same Province. Goats-hair Stuffs are made in *Hyrcania*, and near the Gulp of *Bassora*. There is some Callico-Cloth made in *Persia*, and they know how to paint and stain it, but it is not comparable to the *Indian* Callicoes. A Merchant is a very honourable Profession in *Persia*, and the more so, because there is no such Thing as hereditary Nobility, which descends from Father to Son; as to those in great Posts, their Honour and their Profits terminate with the Office; and their Lives and Fortunes are both in perpetual Hazards, especially under a weak and cruel Prince. The Trader seems more independant than any other

Subject, and notwithstanding the Government be despotick, they are usually encouraged, because they bring in a considerable Revenue to the Crown; and another Thing is, the greatest Ministers do not think the Business of a Merchant beneath them, even the *Shah* himself, within our Remembrance, has had his Factors and Agents in the neighbouring Kingdoms, and exported Silks, Brocades, Carpets, and other rich Goods, and his Agents at the Mogul's Court, and elsewhere, have frequently had the Character of Ambassadors conferred upon them, when indeed their Business was chiefly Commerce.

All Business of Consequence is carried on in *Persia* by Brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the Matter at the Sellers-house, they agree about the Price upon their Fingers, putting their Hands under a Cloth; the Finger's End it seems stand for one, the bent Finger for Five, and the flrait for ten, the Hand open for a hundred, and if shut a thousand; and they keep so even a Countenance all the while they are transacting the Affair, that it is impossible for a Stander-By to gather any Thing from the Circumstances. But notwithstanding the *Mahometans* are the governing Part of the Country, they are not the greatest foreign Traders. The *Armenian* Christians, and *Banians* of *India*, have much the largest Share.

The *Mahometan Persians* trade from one Province of their own Country to another, and to *India* pretty much, but the *Armenians* manage the whole *European* Trade: One Reason whereof is, that the *Mahometans* do not Care to go into Christian Countries, because they cannot there observe the Customs their Religion prescribes, for their Law it seems forbid them to eat Flesh killed or dressed by a Man of a different Religion, or drink out of the same Cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of Persons in some Circumstances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another Thing, which is a Disadvantage to their Trade is, that the taking up Money at Interest is unlawful, though they are at Liberty to make what Advantage they can in buying and selling. It appears from hence, that from the very Nature of their Religion, all *Mahometan* Powers stand excluded from Commerce, and this is the true Secret of the Declension of their Governments; for as Trade produces Shipping, as Shipping in Process of Time begets Naval Power, and as it is a Maxim, justified by Experience, as well as founded in Reason, that naval Power will in the End get the better of all other Power; it follows that the *Mahometans* wanting this, can only prey upon each other by Land, from whence Revolutions in Power, but no Accession of Power can ever arise. Whereas if Christians should turn their Arms upon the *Mahometans*, so as to make Conquests, and come into Possession of their Countries, the Case would be altered, their Commerce would follow them, and the new erected Principalities would in a short Space of Time acquire a Naval Power, and so be in a Condition to extend their Conquests at the Expence of their *Mahometan* Neighbours.

9. We are indebted to Mr. *Lockyer* for the best, indeed for the only tolerable Account we have of the Method Trade is carried on in *Persia*, and therefore from him we must borrow what is necessary for the Reader's Information upon that Subject. Their great Weights are Maunds only, and these differ according to the Nature of the Commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, Copper, Tutanague, all Sorts of Drugs, &c. are sold by the Maund Fabrees; which in the Factory and the Custom-house is nearest six Pounds and three Quarters, *Averdupois*; but in the *Bazar* it is not above six Pounds and a Quarter, which one ought to have Regard to in buying out of the Shops.

Eatables and all Sorts of Fruit, as Rice, Raisins, Prunelles, Almonds, Onions, &c. are sold by the Maund Copara of seven Pounds and three Quarters in the Factory, and from seven Pounds and a Quarter to seven Pounds and a half in the *Bazar*. Fine Goods, as, Gold, Silver, Musk, Acheen, Camphir, Bezoar, Coral, Amber, Cloves and Cinnamon, Oils, dried China, Silk, &c. are sold by the Miscal, six of which

are

are commonly counted an *Averdupois* Ounce ; its just Weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24 d. ps. *Troy*. The Maund Shaw is two Maund Tabrees, used at *Ispahan*. All Bargains in *Gambron* are made for Shahees, and the Company keep their Accounts in them, reckoning them worth four Pence each, though that Coin is rarely met with, but in its Stead Coz and Mamooda's are current every where. Horses, Camels, Housfes, &c. are generally sold by the Toman, which is two hundred Shahees, or fifty Abaffes, and they usually reckon their Estates that Way ; such a one, they say, is worth so many Tomans, as we say, Pounds in *England*. The Laree is used about *Ispahan*, nor are Abaffes to be got without allowing seven or eight *per Cent.* for the Difference in Exchange, yet Returns to Fort St. George, and other Parts of *India*, are commonly made with them. Next to these, Chequeens are the most profitable ; there are several Sorts of them, but the *Venetian* is better than the rest by one and a half or two *per Cent.* at *Surat*, and several other Ports on the *Malabar* Coasts, whither vast Quantities are sent every Year. When a Parcel of *Venetian* Ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the Name of Chequeens of *Surat* ; but when they are separated, one Sort is called *Venetians*, and all the others Gubbers indifferently.

The *English East India* Company, as has been observed, do not only receive the Sum of three thousand three hundred and thirty three Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence of the Government of *Persia*, in Lieu of the Service the Company did them in taking the Island of *Ormuz* from the *Portuguese*, but they have an Exemption also from Customs, and whatever Ships trade under their Protection have the like Exemption, only paying the following Port Charges, *viz.* Two *per Cent.* on the Sale of Goods to the Company, one *per Cent.* Consulage to the Agent, one *per Cent.* to the Broker. Boat or Franky Hire for landing Goods is thirty Mamooda's *per* 2000 Maund Tabrees. Hamalgae, or Cooly Hire at Weighing, one Coz of every twenty Maund Tabres. The Company do not meddle at all with the Trade between *Persia* and *India* ; this they leave altogether to their Factors and Servants, and to such Country Ships and private Traders as put themselves under their Protection, and are content to pay the Port Duties above-mentioned.

It is to be observed, that the *Turkey* Company having always had an Opportunity of sending great Quantities into *Persia* from *Aleppo*, abated much of the Commerce which the Agents of the *East-India* Company would otherwise have carried on in that Empire. Of late the *Russia* Company have also interfered in this Trade, by transporting great Quantities of *English* Goods by the *Caspian* Sea ; and it is generally believed, that so long as we maintain an amicable Correspondence with the Court of *Petersbourg*, this Trade will not only go on, but increase, which must be attended with great Advantages to the Nation. As this appears to be a Matter of far greater Consequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this Section, it is but reasonable that the Point should be fully explained, as well for the Advantage of the present Age, as for the Benefit of Posterity.

10. In order to set this Affair in as clear a Light as it is possible, we shall observe, that all foreign Commodities are brought into *Persia* by four great Routs ; and that by each of these, more or less of *British* Commodities have been, or may be introduced into this Country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our Interest, there always must be, a very high Demand for them. Of these Routs the first is that of *Balsora*, or *Bassora*, a great City at the Bottom of the *Persian* Gulph, subject to its own Prince, and a Kind of Emporium or Magazine of *Turkish*, *Persian*, and *Indian* Commodities. The Goods that are brought hither for the *Persian* Market, come by Land by the Caravan from *Aleppo*, in about thirty Days, and are transported from thence either to *Bandar Abassi*, or *Ispahan*. It is by this Caravan that the *Turkey* Company transport *English* Cloths into *Persia* in Exchange for Silk, which they purchase at *Aleppo*, and consequently this Trade is either greater or less, according to the good Correspondence be-

tween the two Empires of *Turkey* and *Persia*. By this Means also we were led into Errors about Carpets, Leather, and other Commodities which pass for *Turkish*, because imported by the *Turkey* Company from *Turkey*, though really of *Persian* Growth and Manufacture.

The next great Rout is that of *Gambron*, or *Bander Abassi*, with respect to which we have already given a large Account from Mr. *Lockyer*. Goods are brought hither by Sea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from *England* ; on the contrary, they come from some *Indian* Port, and consequently are charged with a very high Freight, and with other incident Charges, which render them very dear ; notwithstanding which, in Times of Peace, and when Things were well settled in *Persia*, the Shah keeping his Court at *Ispahan*, there was large Vent for them, and our Agent there lived with all the Pomp and Splendour of a Prince. The Reader will easily discern from hence, how great a Change must have been wrought in the Traffick carried on by this Canal, by the Disturbances which lasted so many Years in *Persia*, and by the Change of the Capital of that Empire, which is now removed to a prodigious Distance from *Bander Abassi* ; and if he desires any Proof of this Fact, there calling the *English* Agents from *Ispahan* and *Bandar Abassi*, may pass for incontestable Evidence.

The third Rout is that through *India* to *Bost*, which, as we have shewn in the Description of the *Persian* Empire, is the Eastern Magazine, as *Bandar Abassi* is the Southern, and *Bassora* is the Western for all that enter into *Persia*. By this Means it is very far from being impossible that the *East India* Company should introduce *English* Goods into this Empire ; but whether they are actually carried thither by this Road, is more than I am able to say ; and if they are, I presume it is done by *Indian*, *Armenian*, or *Jewish* Merchants.

The fourth or last Rout is by the *Caspian* Sea, and the *English* Commodities that are sent this Way, must of Necessity pass through *Russia*. For the carrying on this Trade Magazines must be erected at *Astracan*, and from thence the Goods are transported into the Provinces of *Gilan* or *Astarabat* ; from which last Province the Caravans go in a Week to *Mesched*, which is the present Capital of *Persia*.

It may be said, that this is going a great Way about, and taking a vast Compass before our Goods arrive at Market. To this there are two Answers ; the first is, that let the Inconveniencies that attend this Commerce be what they will, they must be born, for we have before shewn, that little or nothing can now be expected from transporting of Goods to *Bandar Abassi*, much less from *Aleppo*, which lies still at a much greater Distance from *Mesched* ; so that we are under a Necessity of taking this Compass, if we will not entirely lose the *Persian* Commerce, and therefore it is to no Purpose to complain, even supposing the Objection were well grounded. The second is, that there is not either Truth or Force in the Objection, for Goods may be transported from *Petersbourg*, from thence through *Russia* to *Astracan*, cross the *Caspian* to *Gilan*, and so to *Mesched*, and the Returns made the same Way in half the Time that they could be made by the Way of *Gambron*.

We may add to this, that we now go to the Market and sell our Goods, or rather barter them for *Persian* Silk upon the Spot, whereas formerly we went a great Way about ; and notwithstanding this, the *Persian* Factors went also a great Way to get at us, since before we could ship the *Persian* Silk, it must either be carried by Land to *Aleppo*, which was three Months Journey, or to *Bandar Abassi*, which was above two. Besides, it is highly probable, that when our Commerce at *Mesched* is as well fixed as it was at *Ispahan*, we shall be able to transport *English* Cloths into the remotest Parts of *Tartary*, and thereby reap most of those Advantages that were heretofore wished for and expected from the Discovery of a North West Passage. It was by this very Canal, and in spite of all the Inconveniencies with which it has been supposed to be attended, that the *Dutch* disposed of prodigious Quantities of their Cloths in *Persia*, which for that Purpose were bought up by the *Armenian* Merchants ; and it was by this Way also, that

that the *French* were in Hopes of establishing a Trade to *Persia*, as appears by a very curious Memoir presented to the *French* Ministry upon that Head, the Subject of which is inserted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the best and most useful Works that was ever published. But there is still somewhat behind with which the Reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true Notion of the Value and Importance of this Trade, about which so many Disputes have been of late Years raised in this Kingdom.

II. We have already enumerated the Commodities of *Persia*, and shall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for in order to give the Reader a View of the Trade of this Empire, it will be sufficient for our present Purpose, to insist barely upon the Silk, of which there are four Sorts; the first is, that which in *Persia* they call *Shirvan*, but which we in *Europe* call *Hardafs*; the second, is what they call *Karvary*, but we usually stile it *Legee* or rather *Legy*, from the little Town of *Legiam* in *Gilan*, from whence the greatest Part of it is brought; the third is in their Language called *Ked-Coda-pensend*, which is as much as to say, Traders Silk; the last is what they and we call *Sherbaffle*, or, as the common People stile it, *Turkey Silk*, from the Mistake which has been so often mentioned.

Of all these Kind of Silks, the Provinces of *Georgia*, *Gilan*, *Mezanderan*, *Shirwan*, *Chorasán* and *Kirman*, produce annually, about Twenty two thousand Bales, each of about two hundred and fourscore Pounds Weight. Of these it is computed, that not above two thousand Bales are wrought up in all the Manufactures of *Persia*, from the coarsest Carpets, to the richest Brocades. At this Rate, there are between five and six Millions of Pounds of Silk yearly carried out of *Persia*, and as it is worth about ten Shillings a Pound on the Spot, the Reader will easily apprehend, that raw Silk is a kind of Gold Mine to the *Persians*, since it furnishes them with between two and three Millions annually, above one half of which is receiv'd in ready Money.

In the next Place it is to be shewn, how the bringing in vast Quantities of Silk turns to the Advantage of this Nation. In respect to our Silk Manufactures, what we bring of this Sort serves only for the Shoote, for the Warp of all our raw Silks is, as we have elsewhere told the Reader, *Organzine* or *Italian Silk*, which is prodigiously dear. If therefore we can abate the Price

of this, we may the better afford to pay for that; or if we can obtain the Quantities we want, in Exchange for our Manufactures, this will prove a very great Saving; and whatever can be saved in this Way, will enable us to work so much the cheaper.

It has been suggested, that it might be attended with Inconveniencies for our *Turkey* and *Russia* Companies to interfere with each other in this Trade, which I confess, surpasses my Comprehension; and I am so far from believing that any bad Consequences will result from thence, that I think it may be demonstrated, this is the only, or at least the most practicable and best Method of making Companies useful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting *British* Commodities and Manufactures, and provided this can be done, it is of no real Consequence to the Nation who does it. But there is another Thing that, joined to this, would be of still greater Consequence, and that is, the *East-India* Companies, exerting themselves in procuring of Silk from *China*, which would supply the Place of the *Piedmontese* or *Organzine* Silk; and thus by the united Efforts of these three Companies, it is very possible that twenty or thirty *per Cent.* might be saved in the prime Cost of Silk to this Nation; and of what prodigious Benefit such a Saving would prove in our Manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our Neighbours, I leave every sensible and studious Reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring such a Project as this to bear, there must be some Application made to Parliament for an Alteration in the Duties; and I am persuaded that no great Difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the Reasonableness of the Thing was fairly shewn, and as it might be, fully made out. Our great Misfortune is, that Commerce is not sufficiently explained or understood, the Reason of which I take to be, that none concern themselves about the Theory, but those who are engaged in the Practice; and as these must be always interested, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial Judges. It is from this Motive that I have so often turned my Pen to this Subject, with a View, if possible, to excite a more general Attention to what is certainly in itself the most considerable and important Object of all political Considerations.

SECTION IV.

Containing an Account of the Government and Constitution of *Persia*, the Nature of the *Shah's* Power, the Distribution of Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military Offices, the interior Policy of the Empire, the regular Forces kept up there, both Horse and Foot, and the Nature and Amount of the publick Revenues.

The whole digested into Order from the best Authorities.

1. An Introductory Account of the Reason and Subject of this Section, in which the Constitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the present Purpose.
2. Of the Power of the Persian Monarch, how far absolute and terrible; and how, notwithstanding mild and equal enough, with Respect to the Bulk of the People.
3. Of the Constitution of the Persian Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their respective Offices.
4. Of the Ecclesiastical Constitution in *Persia*, and the Difference between the Head of the Mahometan Church there, and in *Turkey*.
5. Of the Government of the Provinces, the several Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Preservation of his Subjects.
6. Of the regular Troops or old standing Army of the Persian Empire, how composed, under what Discipline, and the Methods by which it was subsisted.
7. Of the new standing Army introduced by the *Shah's*, intirely dependant upon them, how model'd and provided for, and how corrupted and rendred useless.
8. Of the Art Military among the *Persians*, their Manner of making War, acting offensively, defensively, and particularly their Method for securing themselves against Invasions.
9. Some further Observations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Advantages

antages enjoyed by, and the Disadvantages under which the Persians labour, from the Regulations established amongst them in this Respect. 10. Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues arise, how levied, and their Amount. 11. Observations and Remarks on several Particulars delivered in the Course of this Section.

1. **A**S at this Juncture the *Persian* Empire, by the Murder of the Shah *Nadir*, is in such Confusion, that it may be in some Measure considered as dissolved and no longer a Government at all; so it might seem excuseable, if we had passed by this Section altogether; yet considering that even in absolute Monarchies, Revolutions are but convulsive Motions, and that as soon as they cease the Body Politick recovers its natural Constitution, we could not but think it very requisite, for the Reader's Information, that a View should be given of the Form of the *Persian* Government, and this for three Reasons: First, Because we are very apt to confound all absolute Monarchies one with another, and to suppose that there neither is, nor well can be, any Difference between them; whereas, in Truth, the Form of such Governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder Forms, as the Reader will see by this Instance. Secondly, Of all the absolute Monarchies in the East, the Constitution of the *Persians* was very justly held to be the best; and therefore it deserves, of all others, to be represented to the View of the Reader, who from hence will learn by what Modification the arbitrary Power of a Sovereign may be rendred in some Measure beneficial to his Subjects. Thirdly, Because, in all human Probability, the *British* Nation may hereafter have a closer Communication with, and enter into a more extended Trade amongst the Inhabitants of *Persia* than in Times past; so that it is highly requisite we should enter, at least briefly, into a Subject that may, to us or our Posterity, become of extraordinary Importance.

It is by no Means fit, that so large and so regular a Collection as this should be governed by temporary Views, or that we should take the Liberty, because this Country is at present unsettled, to slip over its Government, which we have a moral Certainty will be re-established, perhaps before this very Collection is completed. Besides all this, there are a great Variety of Articles which naturally fall within the Compass of this Section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect Notion of the State of this Empire and its Inhabitants, than can be obtained by the Perusal of any single Book of Travels, in which the State of the Country is represented, as it stood at the Time the Author visited it. But notwithstanding that, the Force of these Considerations have determined us to insert this Section; we shall not forget the Obligation we are under to keep Things within their due Bounds, and shall therefore labour to deliver, as succinctly as it is possible, without Prejudice to their Perspicuity, the several Articles that we think ourselves obliged to handle for the Reader's Instruction and Entertainment, and in order to render our Account of *Persia* consistent with the general Plan of this Work.

2. The Shah of *Persia* is an absolute Monarch, and has the Lives and Estates of his Subjects entirely at his Disposal. There is no Prince in the World more implicitly obeyed; let his Orders be ever so unjust, or given at a Time when he is so little Master of his Reason that he knows not what he says, or does, nothing can save the greatest Subject if he determines to deprive him of his Life or his Estate; neither Zeal for his Person, Merit, or past Services, will avail in the least. If he be in a Humour to ruin them, it is done by a Word of his Mouth, or by a Sign, and executed in an Instant, without any Form of Law, or Evidence of Facts. The common People, who are at a Distance from the Court, have much the better of the Quality in this Respect; there are very seldom Instances of any Oppression or severe Judgments executed upon these, but they seem to enjoy as much Security as in any Country in the World; and perhaps the Magistrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can screen them from the Resentment of their

Sovereign, if they are guilty of any sinister Practices. The *Persians*, out of Conscience, it is said, obey all the Commands of their Prince without Reserve, and believe that his Orders ought to be obeyed against the very Laws of Nature, inasmuch that if the Son be commanded to be his Father's Executioner, or the Father the Son's, it must be complied with. But if he command any Thing in Prejudice of their Religion, they are not obliged to him, but ought to suffer any Thing rather than violate the Law of God.

Yet nothing makes the *Persian* Government appear so tyrannical, as the Custom of executing the Governors of Provinces, and great Officers of State, without giving them an Opportunity of making their Defence, or being informed of the Crime they are charged with; it is usual for the *Shah* two or three Times in a Year to send every Governor the *Calaat* or Royal Vest, and these are sent by such Persons as the Court intends a Favour to, for the *Cham* or Governor, to whom they are sent, always makes a considerable Present to the Messenger.

When he comes within two or three Miles of the Place where the Governor resides, the Messenger sends him Word to come and receive the *Calaat*, but instead of a fine Coat, the Governor is sometimes presented with a Halter, and is dispatched without any farther Ceremony.

This makes the Governors very circumspect in their Conduct, and they are always under dismal Apprehensions, when they hear the *Calaat* is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their best Actions misrepresented to their Prince. The *Persians* say in Defence of this Practice, that the Court seldom proceeds with that Severity, but in extraordinary Cases, where the Fact is notorious, and there is Danger of Rebellion, if they should cite the Person accused to answer; that if it be otherwise, they always give him an Opportunity of answering his Charge.

As for those about the Court, whom the *Shah* looks upon as Slaves he has purchased, he does not think himself obliged to observe these Formalities, but dooms them to be punished, or put to Death, as he sees fit. The *Shah* of *Persia* has no Council of State, as in the *European* Governments, but he acts as he is advised by his Prime Minister and great Officers; that which most perplexes the Ministry, is the Cabals that are carried on by the Women in the *Haram*; the Resolutions that are taken here, frequently thwart their best laid Schemes, and the Ministers do not only run the Risque of having their Counsels rejected, but they very often turn to their own Destruction, if they are not suitable to the Inclinations of the Ladies most in Favour. This is not an Evil peculiar to *Persia*, but a kind of Curse, throughout all Eastern Courts; and perhaps some in the West are not altogether free from it.

3. The Royal Family of *Persia* are, generally speaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the *Ottoman* Blood, for though they are not put to Death so frequently as the former, yet they usually have their Eyes put out, and live in that miserable Condition many Years. They have the *Tartar* Title of *Mirza* added to their Names, which is equivalent to our Title of Highness, and is never given but to those of the Imperial Line. The first Minister in the Empire is the *Atamadoulet*, a Word which signifies the Support of the Empire. In Petitions, or when they speak to him, they stile him the Grand Vizir, or Vizir *Azem*. No Business of Consequence is transacted in the State but by the Direction of this Minister, nor any Grant or Act of State of the *Shah's* held to be valid, till counterseal'd by him.

The Reason whereof is said to be, that their *Shah's* being bred up in the Women's Apartment, and perfectly ignorant in Affairs of State, it is necessary, for the Safety of the People, and the Preservation of the Government, that their Orders should be considered by some wife

wife Minister, before they are put in Execution. The Grand Vizirs in *Turkey*, it is observed, seldom die a natural Death; on the other Hand, the Prime Minister of *Persia*, if it be thought fit to discharge him, is usually permitted to retire, and end his Days in Peace with his Family. The second Post in the Government is, that of the *Divan Beghis* or *Bey*. This great Magistrate is the last Resort in all Causes, Civil and Criminal, unless where the *Shah* in Person sits in Judgment. The *Divan Bey* can command any Cause to be removed to his Tribunal, from any Court in the Kingdom; and during the late Reigns it has not been known that their *Shahs* have ever sat in a Court of Justice, or concerned themselves in examining the Decrees of the *Divan Beghi*.

In the third Rank come the Generals, and first the Generalissimo when there is one. The next Place is the General of the *Courtchis*, which are a Body of thirty thousand Horse, of *Turk* or *Tartar* Original. The third is the General of Musqueteers, a Body which serve on Horseback, but fight on Foot like our Dragoons. The fourth is the General of the *Coulars*, or Royal Slaves as they are called; and the last the Master of the Ordnance. After the Generals, the *Vacनाविश* or Secretary of State, possesses the next Post. This Officer registers the publick Acts, and has the Care of the Records; he also appoints a Deputy in every Province of the Empire, who transmits all Affairs of Consequence to him, to be laid before the Ministry. The last great Officer is the *Mirab*, or Lord of the Water. Every Province has its particular *Mirab*, who takes Care to distribute the Waters of the Rivers and Aqueducts in such Proportion, that every Part of the Country may have an equal Share.

These are all the principal Officers of State. Those of the Household are first the *Nazir*, who is both Lord Treasurer and Steward, and it is with this Gentleman, that all Ambassadors and Foreigners transact their Affairs, but there is a Comptroller and several other Officers which are a Check upon him, as he is on the Prime Minister, and those two have a very great Influence in the Court of *Persia*. But to prevent the *Shah's* Treasury being misapplied, no Sums are paid out of the Treasury, but the Order passes under the Seals of the Prime Minister, the *Nazir*, the *Divan Bey*, and two other Officers of the Revenue. The next is the *Ichicagasi Bassa*, who commands all that attend in the outward Palace, and the Guards.

When the *Shah* goes out, this Lord marches before him with a great Staff, covered with Gold and precious Stones; he does not sit, as several Officers do of inferior Quality, but stands always ready to obey his Imperial Majesty's Orders, and see them executed. And after him is the great Huntsman, who has not less than a thousand Huntsmen and Falconers under him. After this Officer the principal Physician and principal Astrologer take Place, which are Posts of great Honour and Profit.

4. As to Ecclesiastical Officers in this Empire, the Grand Pontif is usually stiled the *Sedre* in *Persia*; they also give him the Titles of Prince, Head of the true Church, Substitute of *Mahomet*, and Lieutenant of the twelve *Imans*, or *Caliphs*, who succeeded their Patriarch *Haly*. The Churchmen and bigotted Part of the *Persians* hold, that the Dominion of the Laity is an Usurpation, and that the Government belongs of Right to the High-Priest; but that of the Majority is, that the Regal Power exercised by their Princes is derived from God, and that the High-Priest and his Brethren ought not to meddle with Politicks, yet the *Sedre* and his Substitutes are the ordinary Judges in all civil as well as Ecclesiastical Causes; Lawyer and Divine are Terms of the same Signification in *Persia*, their ecclesiastical and civil Laws being indeed the same. The temporal Judges have no written Laws to go by, but their Decrees are founded upon ancient Custom, or the Equity of the Case, and the Judges in their temporal Courts are usually Men of the Sword. The *Sedre* is the supreme Judge in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and takes Place in all publick Assemblies next to the *Atamadoulet* or Prime Minister.

The second Ecclesiastical Judge, is the Ancient of the Law, whom the *Persians* style *Cheik Islam*; his Jurisdiction is little inferior to the *Sedre's*, and the People seldom appeal from one of these Courts to the other; but to the *Divan Beghi*, who is the supreme Judge in all Causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. The *Cadi* is the third Ecclesiastical Judge in *Persia*, he takes Cognizance of the same Causes with the two former, but his Authority is confined to some particular Town or District. The *Mufti* is the fourth, who has not that Authority here as in *Turkey*, for he cannot controul or Reverse the Proceedings of inferior Courts; but is revered however as a Person well skilled in the Ecclesiastical Laws, and his Opinion frequently demanded by the other Judicatures, who notwithstanding act as they think fit. These Judges do not sit all in one Court, but have each their respective Tribunal, and the People apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every Province of this Empire, a Chan and a Vizier; the Vizier has the Government of all those Towns and Villages which are the King's Demefne Lands, or which belong to the Crown in Propriety, and the Chan of the Province in general. This Word *Chan*, or *Caun*, as we pronounce it, and *Cham*, signify the same Thing, namely, viz. a puissant or mighty Prince; and this is the Title of all the *Tartar* Princes in *Asia*; and the *Persian* Provinces being of the Extent of Kingdoms, and formerly distinct Sovereignties, the *Persian* Court have thought fit to give their Governors the Titles of sovereign Princes; and the *Shah* of *Persia* is frequently stiled now, as his Predecessors of old, *King of Kings*. Indeed the Chans in their respective Provinces, live almost in as much State as their Sovereigns, having exactly the same Kind of Officers as are in the *Shah's* Court with the same Titles, there being scarce any Difference but in Numbers and Pensions. The Chan commands the Militia of the Province, and assigns Lands for their Maintenance; he reviews them at certain Times, and sees that they are fit for Service, their Arms and Horses in good Order, and that they all perform their Exercises well; but every Soldier is permitted to live in his own House in Time of Peace.

The Chans or Governors of Provinces have their Posts for Life, and if they behave well, their Children after them. There are two Degrees of these Chans, the greatest is called *Beglerbeg*, or Lord of Lords; the other is stiled *Coulembeg*, or Lord of Slaves. The Governors of the Frontier Provinces are for the most Part *Beglerbegs*, as the Chan of *Armenia*, from whom the Chans of *Churs*, *Marega*, and other Districts, in Time of War, receive their Orders, and are obliged to march under his Standard. Sometimes these inferior Governments are made independent of the Chan of the Province. In every Province there are three Officers put in by the Government, who are independent of the Chan, namely, the *Janitelim* his Lieutenant, the Vizier or Receiver General of the *Shah's* Revenues, who hath also the Management of the Lands belonging to the Crown, and the Government of all Places where the Crown Lands lie; and the *Vacनाविश*, or Secretary, whose Business it is to take an Account of all Transactions of Moment in the Province, and transmit them to Court.

One principal Design of placing these Officers about the Chan, is to observe his Conduct, and oppose him if he should undertake any thing against the State. Besides these, the Governors of Cities and Castles, who are called *Darogas*, are put in directly by the *Shah*, and have their Lieutenants and *Vacनाविश* also independent of them; and the same Person who is Governor of the City is never made Governor of the Fortress which belongs to it. The Ministers of State, and Generals of Armies, have also their Lieutenants and Comptrollers, to superintend their Conduct, with secret Orders how to act on certain Emergencies; but it is observed, that unless in Matters where the Safety of the State is concerned, those Officers have a very good Understanding, and agree so well together, that the *Shah* is no less

cheated

cheated and deceived than if the Management was in one Hand. Besides, the *Daroga* or Governor, the *Vizier* and *Vacनाविश*, there are also in every Town the *Cadi*, or Civil Judge, before whom all ordinary Causes are heard; the Head Officer among the Trading People, the Provost or Sheriff; and every particular Trade has a Warden or Master. There is an Officer also who has a Watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the Peace in every great Town in the Night-time.

The Governor of every Town is the Judge in the last Resort in criminal and civil Cases too, if he pleases to interpose, and may inflict any Pains on Offenders short of Death. Capital Punishments are very rare in *Persia*, and the Sentence is, in most Cases, passed by the Shah himself. The usual Punishment is a Fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the Governor of the Province, who generally brings the Crown indebted to him in his Accounts. When a Governor or *Vizier* is sent into any Province, he has his Instructions in Writing; wherein are contained the Extent of his Government, of the Revenues, and the Manner in which he is to treat the People; and Instructions, in like Manner, are given to every Officer of State when he enters on his Post. On the other Hand, when a Governor or other Officer returns from his Command, which he never does but by express Order of the Court, he waits without at the Gate of the Palace, and gives Notice by some of his Friends of his Arrival, and that he begs to throw himself at his Imperial Majesty's Feet; whereupon Orders are usually given for his Admittance; but sometimes, if the Person has misbehaved in his Post, instead of an Answer in the ordinary Style, Orders are issued to take off his Head.

6. The *Persians* are naturally a brave People, but the Sloth and Inactivity of their Princes had of late render'd them not so formidable as they used to be. In the last Century, under *Abbas* the Great, they made considerable Conquests on the Side of *Turkey*, as well as *India*, though their Troops were always much inferior in Number to the Armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they sunk in our Time so much below what they were in that Reign, that every little *Tartar* and *Arabian* Prince insulted their Frontiers, and robbed them of some Part of their Territories, before the late Shah *Nadir* assumed the Government.

The Forces of *Persia* are divided into the Troops of the State and the Shah's. The Troops of the State are entertained by the Governors of the respective Provinces, and paid out of certain Lands appropriated for that Purpose, and are divided into Militia and regular Troops. The regular Troops are called *Courtchis*; they were originally of *Tartary*, a stout hardy Race of People who lived in Tents. These are the Soldiers which are properly called *Cooselbashis*, or Red-heads, so stiled when they came to the Assistance of *Cheik Sefi*, the Founder of the late Imperial Family, for which Service he allowed them the Honour of wearing red Caps or Turbants, of a particular Form, like that he wore himself. These *Cooselbashis* remained in their Tents, as well in Time of Peace as War, and employed themselves in feeding, buying and selling of Cattle, from whence they were called *Courtchis*, or Shepherds.

The Service they did to *Cheik Sefi*, and their Zeal for the Religion of the *Imans*, procured them great Respect, and they possessed the chief Posts both in the Court and Army; and from these the *Persian* Soldiery, and afterwards all the *Persians* in general, obtained the Appellation of *Cooselbashis*, a Name formidable to the *Indians*, *Turks* and *Tartars* in the last Age; and it was by this Generation that the *Turkish* Language was introduced into the Court of *Persia*, and the Northern Parts of that Kingdom, where they speak it much more than the *Persian*. The *Cooselbashis* held the first Rank in the Kingdom till the Reign of *Abbas* the Great, who endeavoured to suppress them upon account of the unreasonable Influence he observed they had in all Affairs of State, deposing and setting up what Princes they thought fit, like the *Turkish Janizaries*. He was so jealous of his own Son, on account of the Respect he had observed they paid him, that he caused him to be put to

Death, and dispersed the *Cooselbashis* in small Detachments through all the Provinces of the Empire. These Troops serve on Horseback, carrying a Bow and Arrows, a Sword, Poinard, and Lance, with a Hatchet at the Saddle-skirts; and for Defensive Arms have a Shield and Helmet; they are commanded always by their own Officers, and their General is called *Courchibathi*, or Commander of the *Courtchis*.

Both the *Courtchis* and *Militia* have their Pay out of the Lands of the State of the respective Provinces, and enjoy it as their Inheritance, from Father to Son, if they do not refuse to bear Arms: They are obliged to march to the Place of Rendezvous on twelve Hours Notice, and every Year pass in Review before a Commissary sent from Court, or before the Governor of the Province.

7. The Troops of the *Shah* are two Bodies, which *Abbas* the Great instituted. One consists of twelve thousand Men, and are called the Musketeers, because instead of Bows and Arrows they carry Muskets, and though they march on Horseback, yet like our Dragoons they fight on Foot. *Shah Abbas* used to oppose them to the *Turkish Janizaries*, of whom he had observed the Enemy made great Advantage in their Engagements with him. Before this Time neither Foot-Soldier or Fire-Arms were ever heard of in *Persia*, and their Neighbours the *Tartars* have no Foot among them to this Day. The other Body consisted of Ten thousand Horse; these were called *Coulars*, and carried Fire-Arms also instead of Bows. They were called *Coulars* or Slaves, to signify their Devotion to their Sovereign, or as some say, because they come from those Countries from whence the *Persians* had their Slaves, as *Georgia*, *Circassia*, &c. Part of them are sent as Presents to the *Shah* when they are young; and the rest are descended from the People of those Countries, who are settled in *Persia*. They almost all profess the *Mahometan* Religion, though descended from Christian Parents. *Abbas* the Great had a particular Affection for this Body, and used to call them his Horse *Janizaries*. They are tall well-made Fellows, in whose Courage and Fidelity the Shah has a particular Confidence; for as they scarce know the Country or Relations from whence they sprang, and can have no other Views, than to recommend themselves to their Master by their Services, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every Order without Hesitation; and from among these, the Court usually prefers Men to the highest Posts; so that considering the Number of *Georgian* Women which are married into *Persia*, and the Posts the Men who derive themselves from thence possess, the *Persian* Court may, one half of them, probably be of *Georgian* Extraction.

It is observed, that in *Persia*, as well as *India*, the Word *Slave* is an honourable Title, and preferable to that of Subject; nay, a certain *French* Author tells us, that the Word *Koulam Shah*, or King's Slave, is equal to that of Marquis in *France*, because all that have that Denomination are sure to be preferred to some Post if they behave well. Besides these, there are two other small Bodies, the one called *Sophi's* or *Sephi's*, instituted for a Guard to the King's Person by *Cheik Sefi*; these are not above two hundred Men, and wear the *Sophi's* Cap on their Heads, and for their Arms have a Sabre, a Poinard, and an Ax, which they carry on their Shoulders. The second, called the *Ziezari*, or the Six hundred, who are all of the Size of Grenadiers, stout young Fellows, instituted by *Abbas* the Second for a Guard to his Person, Anno 1654. The Monarchs of *Persia*, before that Time, had no Guards in the Palace, or when they went abroad, for the *Sephis* only served to make a Show at Festivals, and on publick Occasions; they wear long red Caps of the Form of a Sugar-loaf, and their Arms are a Musket, Sabre, and Poinard, which are adorned with Silver, and exceeding fine; they are under the Command of the General of the Musketeers, and a small Party of them do Duty at the Palace Gates.

All the Troops of *Persia* are comprehended under these two Names, of *Courtchis* and *Coulars*, that is, Shepherds

Shepherds or Slaves, by which they understand the Soldiers of the old or new Establishment. The Shah finds all the Troops with Horses, Arms, and Accoutrements, but every Man provides himself with Cloaths according to his Fancy, the Soldiers having no particular Livery, any more than the Servants of the King's Household, or of any great Man. There was in the Reign of *Abbas* the Great, a Body of twelve thousand Men, that belonged to the Artillery, but they were discharged in the Reign of *Abbas* the Second, and the *Persians* had no Artillery, unless some useless Guns in the Front of the Palace at *Ispahan*, and in some other great Towns, which are more for Show than Service; till they were new disciplin'd of late Years by *Shah Nadir*.

8. Their Armies were never large, considering the Extent of the Empire: *Abbas* the Great, who made such considerable Conquests, had never more than a hundred and twenty thousand Men in his Service in all the Provinces; and the Soldiers have been so ill paid in the late Reigns, that they have deserted, and gone into foreign Service, or applied themselves to other Employments, which the Courtiers winked at, putting their Pay in their Pockets, and never filling up their Places. The *Persian* Troops not being troubled with Artillery or Baggage, make prodigious swift Marches, and fall upon an Enemy frequently in his Camp or Quarters, with incredible Fury, when he least suspects such a Visit. At other Times they cut off his Provisions, and turn the Waters from their usual Course, and having sufficiently harraßed him in a long March through a desert Country, when he is fatigued and dispirited, fall upon him. When an Enemy makes Head against them they will fly till they have drawn him into some disadvantageous Ground, and then return to the Charge again.

In their Retreat, as has been observed, they shoot more Arrows than when they advance, as History acquaints us was the Practice of the ancient *Parthians*. The *Persians* never throw up any Intrenchments about their Camps, their Fortification is some Mountain or difficult Pass; but in Sieges they intrench, and usually take a Place by undermining it; and it is thought that no People understand Mining and subterraneous Works better than the *Persians*. It was thus they took *Erivan*, the Capital of *Armenia*, from the *Turks* the last Time. This City, in a very short Space, found almost every Part of it undermined; but as the *Persians* do not trouble themselves with Artillery, so neither have they any Bread-waggons or Sutlers amongst them, and yet their Camp is generally as well supplied as a Camp need to be, the Country People continually following them with Provisions. Indeed, as Rice and Fruit is almost all they want, it can be no difficult Matter to supply such small Bodies as take the Field in *Persia*, especially as they are perpetually in Motion, and seldom stay long in a Camp.

When they are apprehensive of an Invasion, their constant Method is to withdraw all the People on the Frontiers, and destroy the Country in such a Manner as the Enemy may find Nothing to subsist on, not leaving so much as a Spire of Grass, or a Tree upon the Ground; but they give the Husbandmen Time to secure their Grain, Fruits, and Forage, by burying them, with most Part of their Utensils, in deep Pits, which they will do in such a Manner that it is almost impossible to discover them; and as the Earth is very dry, they receive no Manner of Damage. The Army having thus destroyed the Country for eight Days Journey together, they encamp near it in separate Bodies, and as they see Occasion, fall upon the Enemy and distress him in his March; sometimes they fall upon one Quarter of his Camp, and sometimes on another, in the Night-time; and if they cannot by this Means put a Stop to his March, they retire farther into the Country, driving the People still before them, and destroying every Thing as before; and by these Means they have defeated the greatest *Turkish* Armies.

When the Enemy are retired, every Man returns to his Lands again. As for the Houses, those of the common People are no great Loss, they are soon run up with Clay or such Materials as they find upon the Place.

The *Persians* are said to found their Conduct upon this Dilemma, either the Enemy will invade us with great Numbers, or but few; if he brings great Numbers, considering the Extent of desert Ground he must march over, it is impossible he should subsist; if their Numbers are but small, we shall harraß them in their March till they come to Nothing, without running the Hazard of a Battle.

9. The *Persians* are excellent Marks-men, as well with their Fire-Arms, as their Bows and Arrows. Their Colours are made of rich Silks, in much the same Manner as our Horse Standards; for a Device, they write some Passage of the *Alcoran*, or part of their Confession of Faith, and sometimes have a Lion, with the Sun rising over his Back, wrought in them. The great Standard-Bearer, whom they call *Alemdar Bassa*, is one of their principal Military Officers. The Management of the Soldiers Pay is much commended, because they do not suffer it to pass through their Officers Hands, but every Man receives it of the Farmers of such Lands as are appropriated for that Purpose; the Officers Pay is very good; the General of the Musketeers, and the General of the *Coulars*, have each of them above three thousand Pounds a Year; and as the Lands assigned for the Payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four Times as much.

In time of Peace, they usually keep a Body of six or seven thousand Men in *Chaldea* towards *Babylon*, to prevent the Incursions of the roving *Arabs*. The Governor of *Armenia* has about five thousand Men under his Command, and the Governor of *Georgia* a like Number. In *Chorassan* they have usually eight thousand Men to bridle the *Usbeck Tartars*, and such another Body in the Province of *Candabar*, towards *India*, and these Troops being the Outguards of the Empire, and almost in constant Action, were esteemed pretty good; but as for the rest, who are cantoned in the Inland Country, they enjoyed so long a Peace, that even Travellers observe, they had not the Air of Soldiers.

In those Parts of the Country, where they have Sea for a Boundary, they keep scarce any Troops, inasmuch, that in *Gilan*, and *Mazenderan*, which lie on the *Caspian* Sea, the *Cossacks* have landed small Parties, and plundered the Country for several Days together; and here the *Muscovites* very lately fixed themselves with very little Opposition, though it be one of the richest and most fertile Countries in the Empire. The *Persian* Generals are perplex'd with nothing so much as the stupid Conduct of the Court, in attending to the Predictions of their Astrologers. These Men are ever averse to War, because they are obliged to take the Field with the Prince, and therefore seldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any Consideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a War, they must prognosticate the lucky Minute, when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the Generals lose the great Advantages which might be made sometimes, by waiting till they consult the Stars. The favourite Women, and the Eunuchs are no less averse to War than the Astrologers; for in losing their Prince, they lose their all, and therefore they constantly fall in with the Astrologers, to divert their Lord from every Enterprize which carries a Face of Danger.

All this must be understood of the old Line of which *Thamas* the Son of *Hussein* deposed by *Mer-Ways*, and afterwards restor'd, depos'd again, and at last put to Death, by *Thamas Kuli Kan*, or with his Privy, who thereupon assumed the Title of *Shah Nadir* was the last. It is a Thing surprizing, that considering the great Extent of Coast which they have upon the *Persian* Gulph, and the Ocean on the South, and the Number of their Provinces bordering upon the *Caspian* Sea, they should never think in Earnest, or to speak with the greater Propriety, should never think at all of raising a Naval Force, which if they had done, would have rendered them secure at Home and respected Abroad.

The only Reason that can be assigned for this is, their Neglect of Trade, which Defect in their Constitution, if the ingenious Reader will attentively consider, he will without Difficulty discover, that it is the sole

Source of the frequent Troubles, Rebellions, and Revolutions, which have so often brought the *Persian* Government to the Brink of Ruin. This will be the more obvious to the Reader, when we come to state the Nature of Property among the *Persians*, from whence it will appear, that the landed Interest in that Country is tolerably secured; but as the like Provision is not made for the Money'd Interest, People do not turn themselves sufficiently to those Methods of Subsistence that would make the Government easy, and themselves happy.

10. The Lands of *Persia* are either such as are cultivated, or such as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The Lands in Occupation are of four kinds; the Lands of the State, the *Shah's* demefne Lands, the Lands of the Church, and lastly, those belonging to private Men. The Lands of the State contain much the greater Part of what is cultivated, and are in the Possession of the Governors of the respective Provinces, who out of them take their own Revenue, and assign the rest for the Payment of their Officers, and the Troops they are obliged to maintain; for every Soldier has his Pay assigned him upon some Village or Farm, in the same Manner as in *Sweden*. The Demefne Lands are the *Shah's* particular Estate, out of which are paid the Officers of the Household, and the Troops he maintains over and above those which are maintained at the Charge of the respective Provinces, and the Residue are given among the Courtiers and Favourites; or managed by the Viziers and Intendants, who remit the Produce of them into the Treasury.

The Lands which belong to the Church, are the Donation of Princes, or private Men, and are accounted sacred, so that they are never taxed or confiscated for any Crime whatever, and after one Year's Possession, the Title of them cannot be called in Question, on any Account whatever. The Lands of private Men are held of the Crown for the Term of ninety nine Years, paying an inconsiderable Quit-rent; and at the Expiration of the Term of ninety nine Years, they are allowed to renew their Lease for the same Number of Years on advancing one Year's Income. As to the cultivated Lands, if any Person desires to build upon them, or to convert any Part of them into plowed Fields or Gardens, the King's Officers procure him a Grant for ninety nine Years, under a small Rent, which Terms are renewed as other private Estates; so that all Ranks of Men derive their Estates immediately from the Crown, and by this Method have a Perpetuity, on Payment of their Fines and accustomed Rents.

The Officers of the Shah, as well as private Owners, let out their Lands to Husbandmen, upon Condition of receiving a third Part of the Produce usually, but the Rent is more or less, according to the particular Agreements of the Parties; and the Grain in *Persia* being subject to be destroyed by Hail, Drought, Locusts, and other Insects, the Tenants never fail to insist on an Abatement in these Cases. When the Destruction is very great, the Husbandmen take the withered Branches of Trees, and the damaged Ears of Corn, and resort to the Shah's Officers, complaining of the Season, and their Inability to pay their usual Rent, if they have received never so little Hurt; their Complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an Advantage of the Misfortune.

Private Landlords are less subject to be imposed upon in these Cases, having the Lands under their Inspection, but then their Tenants are not so much oppressed, and subject to such Hardships as the Tenants of the Crown. The Shah's Officers frequently pretend they have no Authority to make Abatements, and thereupon whole Villages go up to Court, and deliver their Petitions to the Shah in Person, insomuch that there is seldom less than seven or eight thousand People attending at *Isfahan* on these Occasions. The Court usually sends Orders hereupon to the Provinces to make such Allowance as the Nature of the Case requires, or depute Commissioners to enquire into the Truth of the Complaint, but in either Case the Crown is usually defrauded; for the Countrymen so well understand the Force of Bribes,

that they commonly make a Purse, and procure a favourable Representation of the Case from the Officers sent to check them.

The Shah and private Owners have the like Profits of the Husbandmen's Cattle, as they have of their Corn, as the third Fleece, and the third Part of the Breed; and of Fruit, the Crown has still a greater Share, there being not that Charge of manuring and cultivating Fruit-trees, as there is of the Grounds which produce Grain.

The Governors of Provinces receive the same Profits out of the Lands of the State, towards the Payment of the Officers, and Troops of the Province; as the *Shah* does out of his own Lands, and every Province besides makes large Presents, from Time to Time to the Court, of the best the Country affords, whether Silk, Grain, Fruits, Cattle, or whatever is in Esteem among them; and these are sent up in such Quantities, as are sufficient to supply the *Shah's* Household, and therefore may be accounted a considerable Part of the Revenue. The *Shah* has also the seventh Fleece, and the seventh of the Breed of the Cattle, in those Lands which are not appropriated to his Use, and this is a great Addition to his Revenue, for the Shepherds of *Persia*, like the ancient Patriarchs, possess vast Flocks and Herds, on which they continually attend, living in Tents, and removing from one Place to another, as they can meet with Pasture for them; for those Lands which are not the Property of particular Persons, are at Liberty for all Men to graze upon, though the *Shah's*; and this Payment of the seventh Beast seems to be an Acknowledgment of his Property in them. These wealthy Shepherds the People of the East call, *Saranetchin*, from whence we have the Word, *Saracen*, that is to say, an Inhabitant of the Plains, for they live in Tents, far from Towns, two or three hundred together, and sometimes you see a thousand or two encamped in one Place; they perfectly cover the Plains with their Flocks and Herds, that sometimes you may be two or three Hours in passing through them; and the *Shah* has an Officer called *Ichomban Bakh*, or chief of the Shepherds, residing in every Province, who takes the seventh of the Cattle for the *Shah's* Use, viz. of Sheep, Asses, Mules, Camels and Goats; as to Horses, it seems the *Shah* is entitled to every third Colt; of Silk and Cotton also, it is said the *Shah* has a third Part over the whole Kingdom.

Minerals and precious Stones belong to the Shah only, and he has Two *per Cent.* of all Money. The Money that is raised by the Waters is another considerable Part of the Revenue, for every Person pays for their being let into his Fields or Gardens; nothing will grow in that parched Country without it. A Tribute is also paid to the Crown by all People who are not of the Religion of the Country, whether Natives or Foreigners, and this amounts to a Ducat a Head; and there is a Tax of ten Pence on every Shop of the handicraft Trades, and twenty Pence on the rest. The Customs and Port Duties are another Branch of the Revenue, but these do not amount to much here, for they have no considerable Port except *Gambron*. As for the Merchandize carried into *Persia*, or out of it, by Land, they only pay a small Sum for a Camel's Load, and proportionably for every Mule or Ox, without examining what the Packs contain. But that Part of the Revenue which is merely casual, exceeds all the rest, viz. what arises by the confiscated Estates, and the Presents which are made by the great Lords, Governors of Provinces, &c. and particularly those which are made on New Year's Day. They present the Shah with wrought Silks, Horses, Asses, beautiful Boys and Girls, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may serve for Use, Ornament, or the Pleasures of Life; and as there are several handicraft Trades which pay no Duties to the Crown, as Carpenters, Masons, and some others, these are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without Pay, whatever Buildings or Palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the Materials to find, the Warden or Chief of the Trade is obliged to send a certain Number

Number of Workmen, which saves the Treasury a great deal of Money, and therefore the Labour of those People may well be esteemed Part of the Revenue. The Maintenance of Ambassadors, and the providing them with Carriages, is done also at the Charge of the Country, and costs the Shah Nothing. When he has a Mind to reward any Person for any signal Piece of Service, this is done also at the Expence of another; he sends him perhaps to one of the Chans or great Courtiers, with the *Calat* or Royal Vest, for which the Chan makes the Messenger a Present usually of ten times the Value or more, according to the Post he is in. The Shah sometimes expresses the very Sum he expects should be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of Respect, and as a Proof the Person values the Prince's Favour. But notwithstanding the Impositions above-mentioned, the People do not seem to be oppressed or impoverish'd; even the Tradesmen and Husbandmen appear to be in easy Circumstances, and few of them but have Rings on their Fingers and Arms. One great Advantage to the Subject is, that scarce any of the Duties are farmed, and in Times of Scarcity the Court is very indulgent and ready to make Abatements of their Rents and Taxes in Proportion to the Occasion. As to Poll or personal Taxes there are none in *Persia*, unless that which is levied upon those of a different Religion; nor are necessary Provisions of any Kind taxed.

What the Revenue of the Crown may amount to in the whole, is very uncertain, depending so much as it does upon Casualties; those who have attempted to compute it, say, that one Year with another the Revenue amounts to four Millions of our Money; which, considering their Troops are most of them paid out of the Lands of the State, that are not reckoned into this Account, is very considerable; but as the Splendor and Magnificence of the *Persian* Court is much beyond any thing we have in *Europe*, possibly very little of it may remain in the Treasury at the Year's End. The Court, whether it remains at *Ispahan*, *Mesched*, or any other Capital, or removes from one Province to another, as it used to do during the Summer, if we consider the Women, the Eunuchs, and other Officers and Servants, seldom consists of less than ten thousand Persons which belong to the Household, not including the Troops, or the great Men and their Dependants, which it must require an immense Sum to maintain. The Officers of the Revenue send every Year up to Court the State of their Province, and what every Town and Village produces, examined and attested by the principal Inhabitants of the respective Places, which are looked upon as so many Debentures; and these given in Payment to those who are entitled to Pensions or Salaries from the Crown. In like Manner every Governor pays all the Officers and Soldiers of his Province, with Assignations on the Lands belonging to the Province; there is very little Money disbursed on those Occasions, and where the Pay is small, as that of the common Soldiers, and inferior Servants, one Man is deputed from the Troop or Company to receive the Wages of the rest, and the Residue, after all Demands are satisfied, is remitted into the Imperial Treasury.

It may not be amiss to add a few Words concerning the Seals under which Acts of State are passed in *Persia*; they have five Seals which are used in five several Branches of Business, one in all such Affairs as concern the demesne Lands. A second for Commissions, Letters Patents, &c. The third only in Military Affairs. The fourth about the Revenue; and the fifth in Things relating to the Household. There are no Arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the Names of the twelve *Imans* or Patriarchs, on the others, a Scrap of the *Alcoran*, or some pious Expressions, shewing their Dependence on God, and his Prophet *Mahomet*. The Form of one of the Seals is round, two others are square, and the other two are of an irregular Form. The largest are about the Bigness of a Crown-piece, and the others about half that Bigness. They are made of Turquoises, Rubies, Emeralds, or some other precious Stones. The principal Seal the *Shah* always wears about his Neck, and on every *Friday* all Instru-

ments which require these Seals, are carried to the Palace, and sealed in the *Shah's* Presence. The Impression is made on the Paper, with a kind of thick Ink, and not on Wax as with us; the same Usage prevails in most of the *Eastern* Courts.

II. The Generality of the World will agree from this View of the *Persian* Policy, that there is no Reason, so long as their Government continues in a settled Condition, to look upon the whole Nation as Slaves and Beasts of Burthen. It is very certain, that there are great Errors in this, as well as in all the Constitutions founded in the *Khoran*, and it must be so, for that Book itself is a mere System of Tyranny; and which is worst of all, it is pretended that this System came from God. It is upon this Principle, that the absolute Power of their Princes is built; for as to all the Qualifications besides, they are brought in from the Remains of the old *Persian* Government, which by their apparent Wisdom, and natural Rectitude, have continued in Use through all Invasions, and in Spite of all Changes of Government. Thus the Governors, Treasurers, and Secretaries of Provinces, are precisely mentioned, both by sacred Writers, and by the *Greek* Historians, as well as modern Travellers. The profound Respect born to the *Shah*, is the Remains of that Reverence paid to their Emperors of old, of which the Heathen Writers are full, which *Alexander* would have transferred to himself, and for which chiefly the *Romans* looked upon the *Parthians* as a barbarous Nation.

But above all, the new-Years Gifts are the strongest Testimonies of the Difficulty there is in extirpating ancient Customs amongst any Set of People. This was the Practice in the most early Times, and the *Persian* Emperors with all their Pride were then very humble to and familiar with their People. They eat and drank with them in Publick; they gave Audience to all who desired it, and as they received Presents even from the meanest, so they received every Man's Petition, and granted almost every Man his Request.

There are many other Things, in which the modern *Persians* resemble very much their remotest Ancestors, but in nothing more than in their natural Inclination to and wonderful Genius for Poetry. This is so universal, that every *Chan*, and indeed every rich and powerful Man, keeps a Poet in his House, to whom occasionally they give Themes, and it is wonderful how well and how suddenly they execute them. These Sort of People also frequent Coffee-houses, and other publick Places, where, for the Amusement of idle People, they repeat their Performances with infinite Spirit, and with inimitable Grace. It is certain, that the *Persians* are very nice in their Rhime, but somewhat loose in their Numbers, that is to say, they regard Cadence more than Quantity. Yet no Nation in the World has more of that Enthusiasm, which is the Essence of Poetry, the very sound of their Verses sufficiently distinguishes the Subject, even to the Ears of those who are little acquainted with their Language; so that Foreigners are never at a Loss to know, whether their Poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to instruct, or calculated only to divert.

In short, almost all their Learning consists in Poetry, for their *Proverbs* are in Rhime, so are their Fables, and they have Histories in Verse of a great Length, which though sufficiently crouded with Fable, are seldom or never without a Ground of Truth. It is true that their modern Writers, many of them, make Use of Prose, but even this is intermixt with Verse, and they are also very apt to quote Verses in Conversation, which they are observed to do with great Propriety. But it is worth our Notice, that no kind of Writing is here so much in Fashion, as Satyr, which is mostly national, and falls, generally speaking, upon their Neighbours. As for Example, they represent the *Turks* as Brutes and Barbarians; and whenever they have a Mind to represent a Blockhead, they are sure to paint him in a *Turkish* Dress. The great Indolence, Effeminacy, and Luxury of the *Indians*, are likewise common Topicks of Railery, and so are the Faults and Follies of the *Tartars*; the Pride and Self-sufficiency of the *Georgians*; the Cunning

ning and Self-interestedness of the *Russians*, and the Covetousness of the *Europeans* are frequently exposed by their Wits.

They are far from being ignorant of Musick as a Science; they learn by Rule, and they play by Note, though in a Manner so different from ours, that it is a long Time before it becomes pleasant to a Stranger's Ear. There is no such Thing as Singing in Parts, but they sing one after another, and they generally sing to some stringed Instruments, like the Lute or Viol: Their Men sing better than the Women, but there are not many of them that practise it, Singing being look'd upon as a scandalous Employment in *Persia*, as well as Dancing. People of Condition will not suffer Children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almost entirely to the common Wenches and Prostitutes, as it is indeed all over the East. It is reckoned an Indecency in People of any Reputation to sing, and it would render a Man contemptible who should attempt it in Company. The *Persians* call their Singing-women *Caine*, intimating that they derive their Skill from the Daughters of *Cain*, who they pretend were the first Inventors of Singing and Musick in the East.

They have a great Number of Instruments both of String and Wind Musick, some in Shape like our Hautboys and Flutes, others like the Viol, Harp, Virginals, Kettle-drums, and Trumpets; but surely their Trumpet is the most monstrous Instrument for Size and Sound that can be met with; it is commonly seven or eight Foot long, and proportionably wide at the great End, and as much as a Man can hold up; these and their Drums, in a Manner, drown all other Sounds, though the lesser Instruments, as has been observed, have no great Harmony in them: And indeed their Musick, as it is called, serve chiefly instead of Clocks, to let People know the Time of Day or Night, sounding constantly at certain Hours, for Bells they have none; and when the Shah or any great Man goes out of his Palace, you have always Notice of it by these Drums and Trumpets, who stand over the Palace Gate, or in some Balcony or Gallery and play upon such Occasions, being heard at a vast Distance. In some Places the Musick and Dancing Girls make Part of a great Man's Equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is observable, that the Strings of their Instruments are never made of Gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead Animal, especially the Entrails, being held a Pollution; they make them therefore of twisted Silk, or Brass Wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been observed, for People of Condition to play upon a musical Instrument, but it seems also to be prohibited by their Religion, and therefore their Ecclesiasticks and Devotees will not so much as be present at such Entertainments.

Astronomy is studied in *Persia* purely for the Sake of Astrology, which last they term the Revelation of the Stars. The People of the East look upon Astrology as the Key to Futurity, and they have an insatiable Curiosity for prying into Things to come. This seems to be the principal End of their Studies, and they look upon a Person to be stupid and ignorant to the last Degree, who speaks slightly of this Science. The Astrologers of *Persia*, at least the most celebrated, are all Natives of the Province of *Charasan* or *Bactria*, and the most noted among them of the Town of *Genabed*. The Shah never entertains an Astrologer who is not of that Town. The Reason that the Astronomers here have more Skill in their Art than elsewhere, it is said, is because the Air is drier and purer, by which Means they have a better Opportunity to observe the Motions of the Stars. If we consider the Number of Astrologers that are found in *Persia*, the Rank they hold, and the large Pensions they receive from the Crown, we may easily guess at the Confidence that People put in them; they are paid by the Government no less than four hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

To the Post of chief Astrologer to his Imperial Majesty there is annexed a Pension of ten thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and to the second Astrologer five thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and to the rest according to their

Skill. They have also in Presents annually two hundred thousand Pounds, and yet they are sometimes arbitrarily punished, and put to Death for the most trivial Offences, and even for Actions the most innocent in themselves, according to the Caprice of their Prince. Sir *John Chardin* relates, that in the Reign of *Sefi*, when the Shah and all the great Men were assembled to see some Criminals of State cut in Pieces, and the Chief of the Astrologers was there among the rest; the Shah viewing attentively the Countenances of his Courtiers, observed that the principal Astrologer shut his Eyes at every Stroke of the Sabre, as not able to behold so horrid a Slaughter; he thereupon called to the Governor of a Province who sat near him, and bid him put out the Eyes of that Dog who sat at his Left Hand, since he did not use them; which was executed in an Instant on the unhappy Astrologer, which Part of his Destiny the Stars never revealed to him.

There are constantly a certain Number of Astrologers in Waiting at the Royal Palace, and always some of the chief of them about the Shah's Person, except when he is in the *Haram* with his Women, who advertise him of the lucky or unlucky Moments. Every one of them carries an Astrolabe hanging at his Girdle, in a neat little Case not bigger than the Hollow of one's Hand; they are consulted not only in Affairs of Importance, but frequently upon the least Trifles; for Instance, if his Imperial Majesty shall go abroad; if it be an auspicious Hour to enter the *Haram*; if it be a proper Time to eat, or to give Audience, &c. When these Questions are asked, the Astrologer immediately takes out his Astrolabe, observes the Situation of the Stars, and by the Assistance of his Tables makes his Astrological Conclusions, to which they give entire Faith as to an Oracle, offending against which would be dangerous.

Their Astronomers observe pretty justly the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and often foretel the very Moment wherein those Luminaries will be obscured; but there are Instances of their being mistaken half an Hour, and especially in Eclipses of the Sun; but they differ from us in Nothing more than in the Calculation of the Vernal Equinox, there being sometimes an Hour's Difference between them and the *Europeans*. Comets, they apprehend, always portend some great Calamity, but generally suppose their malign Influences are directed against some other Empire than their own. They had neither Celestial Globes, or Charts, or Telescopes, to observe the Constellations, till the *Europeans* imported them, they have since indeed endeavoured to imitate their celestial Globes, and had only some Representations of the Constellations before in a Book called, *The Schemes of Abdal Rhamen*. It is observable however, that the Figures were much the same as on our Globes; the Longitudes and Latitudes of the Stars are also marked, but a little different from ours. The *Persians* generally make forty eight Constellations, and the Names of them, for the most Part, are the same we give them; but some of them are different. The only Instruments they use in any of their Operations, are the Astrolabe and *Jacob's Staff*; and as it is with these alone they take the Elevation of the Pole, it cannot be supposed that their Latitudes are very exact; their Astrolabes, it is true, are very curiously made, and commonly by those who use them.

The *Persian* Almanack is called *Takumi*; it is properly a Mixture of Astronomy and judicial Astrology, containing an Account of the Conjunctions, Oppositions, Aspects, Longitudes, Latitudes, and, in short, the whole Disposition of the Heavens. It contains also Prognosticks of the most notable Events, as War, Famine, Plenty, Diseases, and other Accidents of human Life, with the lucky or unlucky Times for transacting all Manner of Affairs, directing the People to regulate their Conduct accordingly. The Festivals also are marked, as in our Almanacks, but whereas we divide the Year into four Parts, they make only two, Winter and Summer. What is most observable is, that though there are great Numbers of these Almanack-makers, and though they frequently disagree even in their Astronomical Calculations, as well as their Predictions,

dictions, they are nevertheless looked upon as infallible ; a Thing scarce to be credited, if we had not some Examples of the same Kind nearer Home.

Their Prognostications are generally taken from the Moon, their Artists believing that this sublunary World, as it is called, is much more influenced by this Planet, than by the Sun. And these Astrologers, like other Oracles, endeavour constantly to deliver themselves in dubious and equivocal Expressions, which may bear various Meanings ; so that if their Predictions prove true in any Sense, or but in Part, they are sure to meet with Applause tho' they should fail in some Circumstances. They seem to regard the Earth more than the Heavens, and to be govern'd by the Consideration of probable Circumstances, rather than the Constellations, and their Predictions on that Account are frequently found true. For Instance, their Almanacks are always published in the Spring, when the Winter is passed, and according to the Weather they then had, it is no difficult Matter to foretel, whether they shall have good or bad Crops in the Summer, especially in a Climate where it does not vary as in *Europe* ; and from the same Premises they will be able to pass a tolerable Judgment on the Health or Sickness of the ensuing Seasons. But above all, as the Astrologers are always about the Court, and have so great a Share in the Administration of Affairs, and such Credit with all the World, they may be supposed to make very shrewd Guesses in Relation to Politics. They cannot but observe the Humours and Dispositions of the Prince and his Favourites, the Likelihood there is that one will be restored, and another disgraced. Nay they know very well what an Influence themselves have in these Cases, insomuch that there very rarely happens a considerable Alteration in the State, but it is brought about, and is indeed the Effect of some of their own Predictions.

But Astrology is not the only Foible of this kind, for they have various other Sorts of Divination, which have grown into Use by Degrees, under the several Changes of their Government. It is true, that for the most Part their Astrologers practise these, but not exclusively, for there are others who practise them likewise, more especially Geomancy, which is the favourite Method of Divining throughout all the East. Charms and Amulets against Diseases and Enchantments, are another Part of their Superstition ; you will not find a *Persian* without his Amulet, and some of them almost loaded with them, they put them also about the Necks of their domestick Animals ; these Amulets have certain Inscriptions on Paper, and sometimes on precious Stones, and these Inscriptions they wear in little Bags about them ; they contain some Passages of the *Alcoran*, or Sentences of their Saints or Prophets, applicable to the Disease or Enchantment they would avert : The *Persians* also are extravagantly superstitious in Relation to Days and Times. They depend in these Cases, as much on the Diviners and Astrologers, as a Child upon its Nurse ; for Instance, when the *Shah* is upon a Journey, the Astrologers will make him rise at Midnight, and begin his March in the worst Weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high Road, to avoid the unfortunate Hour, or his evil Stars, as from Ignorance or Knavery they most impudently call them.

We must not however imagine, notwithstanding these Follies are very general, that there is not some kind of real and useful Learning amongst this great Nation. Moral Philosophy is in high Credit with them, and is not only taught but practised ; they have many excellent and judicious Books upon this Subject, in which the Vicissitudes of human Life, and the Folly of placing Happiness in sensual Enjoyments, are very fully and very finely stated. As for the ordinary Parts of Education, and such as may fit Youth for common Business, they have as many Conveniences as other People. There are abundance of Schools in every Town, where, besides the *Persian*, is taught the *Arabick*, which is their learned Language ; the *Alcoran*, and their other sacred Writings, are all in this Language, and the *Alcoran* is looked upon as the Standard of good Language both for Grammar and Rhetorick. People of Condition

chuse to have private Tutors for their Children, rather than send them to these publick Schools ; and no Nation it is said, is more intent on the Education of Children, and breeding them up to manly Exercises than the *Persians*. Their Schools are called *Mekteb*, which signifies an Entrance ; this being, say they, the Gate by which Lads enter into the Sciences.

There are, as has been said, many in every Town, and the Expence of Scholing is very small. They learn the *Persian* and *Arabian* Languages, with Writing and Accounts, which when they are arrived at some Perfection, in, they are removed to some College, or *Medres*, as they call them, which signifies a Place where their Doctrine or Principles of their Religion are taught. Their Colleges are all endowed, and some of them very richly ; the largest have fifty or sixty Apartments, and to each of them belong two Chambers. In those Colleges that are best endowed, every Scholar has about two Shillings a Day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are some Colleges where the Students have no more than a Penny a Day, and yet Interest is made to get into one of these, on account of having a Lodging *gratis*, and some other casual Advantages. Many here are, who get in without any Design to study, and live and grow old in those Houses, and are allowed to have their Wives and Children with them, whose principal Design seems to be in Ease and Idleness. There are abundance of Colleges in the great Towns of *Persia*, and some in the Villages. The *Persians* lay out the greatest Part of their Charities in publick Foundations. In the first Place, they usually build a Caravan-fera for the lodging of Travellers *gratis* ; afterwards a Bagnio, a Coffee-house, a Bazar or Market-place, and they purchase also a Garden, and these they let out, and apply the Revenues arising from them towards the building and endowing of a College. The Founder and his Heirs have the Appointment of the Head and Governors of the Society, and if the Founder's Estate happens to be forfeited to the Crown, the Shah has the Nomination. In *Ispahan* there are fifty seven Colleges, most of them of Royal Foundation, or which have devolved to the Crown ; there are Professors who teach the Sciences in every College, to whom the Scholars make an annual Allowance for their Trouble ; but as there are several who read Lectures *gratis*, the Scholars frequently resort to these, and forsake their proper Tutors.

Those Students who are Men of Parts and Learning, may have a handsome Salary in any great Man's House for instructing his Children ; for these never send their Children either to Schools or Colleges, but have them educated in their own Houses. The Head of the House admits or excludes whom he sees fit, and pays the Students their Pensions monthly, so that they shew him abundance of Respect. Besides their Colleges, there are in every Town those who teach the Liberal Arts *gratis*, and these are frequently great Officers who have been discarded, or have voluntarily retired from Court. These frequently allow their Disciples Books and Paper, and entertain them at their own Expence certain Days in the Week, and sometimes cloath their Pupils and give them Money, and by this Means they endeavour to recover their Reputation with the People, for nothing gives a Gentleman such a Reputation in *Persia*, as the instructing great Numbers of Scholars at their own Expence, and the being Patrons of Learning and Learned Men. These are Circumstances that must effectually prove, that the *Europeans* have no Right to treat the *Persians* as a rude and barbarous People.

As the Customs and Manners, so the Reading and Learning of all Nations must differ, and the wider and more remote these Differences are, the readier the Vulgar on both Sides seem to be in deriding and contemning each other ; but as this Humour proceeds from the same Principle in both Cases, *viz.* that of presuming themselves to be the Standard by which the Wisdom and Civility, the Learning and Politeness of all other Nations are to be determined ; and as this is a Point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as

no better than a popular Error in both. It has been already observ'd, that a great Part of the modern Constitution of *Persia* is derived from the ancient Form of Government that prevailed under their old Emperors, that is, the Series of Princes, who governed that which is so well known to the learned World, by the Title of the second general Empire, allowing the *Affyrian* to be the first. It is therefore well worthy our Notice, that Constitutions judiciously settled, are of so permanent a Nature, and have such an interior Strength and Solidity, as not only to resist the Power of Time, but even of repeated Invasions, to which it is certain, that no Country in the World has been more subject than this of which we are speaking. We may from hence discern, that though Nations waste away, and are lost, as well as all the Monuments of their Power and Greatness, yet the Effects of their Wisdom remain, and the Conquerors themselves are content to receive and submit, for their own Sakes, and from a Conviction of their Excellence, to the Laws of the Conquer'd.

We know that this has been heretofore observed of the *Egyptians*, we know that in much later Times it has been confessed in Reference to the *Chinese*, but I do not remember to have seen this Remark made before as to the *Persians*. Yet I arrogate nothing to myself upon this Head, for whoever reads Dr *Hyde's* learned Book, and compares it with the modern Accounts of *Persia*, must discover it at first Sight. At this Day the whole Plan of the *Persian* Constitution, except the Ecclesiastical Part of it, which is changed by the Introduction of *Mahometanism*, is very near the same that it was three thousand Year ago; and yet the *Persees*, who are the Remains of the ancient People of *Persia*, to whom that Constitution belonged, are now reduced to so inconsiderable a Remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thousand Souls left in *Persia* of this Race. Those that are left indeed preserve their primitive Customs, and are authentick Witnesses of the Truths reported of them by the most learned Writers. It is indeed true, that there is another small Colony of these People in the *Indies*, and it may not be amiss to put the Reader in Mind of a Conjecture, mentioned in *Commodore Roggewin's* Voyage, that some Islands, discovered by him in the *South-Seas*, are actually peopled by the Relicts of these ancient *Persians*.

I had myself an Opportunity of conversing for several Years with a very sensible Physician, who went that Voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the Particulars published therein, and who is dead since they were published. Of this Gentleman I very carefully enquired what the Reasons were which induced him and his Companions to advance that Notion, which at first Sight is none of the most probable. He told me the Causes were chiefly three, First, that their Complexions, in the Sentiments of those who had seen some of the *Gubers* in *Persia*, very much resembled them, and were very unlike either the Inhabitants of *Africk*, or of *India*; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddish or Iron Colour; these were of a light Olive, and yet their Aspects differed absolutely from the *Chinese* and *Tartars*. The second Cause he assigned, was their worshipping the Sun and Fire, turning towards the East when they prayed, and using a low or whispering Voice, all of which are suitable enough to the *Gubers*, or *Gaurs* as the *Turks* call them. The third was the Innocency of their Manners, the quiet and peaceable Life they lead, the Pains they took in cultivating their Lands, and their great Industry in several ingenious Manufactures. I shall not take upon me to determine what Credit is due to these

Conjectures, but shall content myself with observing, that they are worth remembering; and considering perhaps, our Posterity may have an Opportunity by conversing with these People, to enter into them more minutely.

One thing more I recollect that passed upon this Subject, and it was this, that ingenious Gentleman observ'd to me, that though we had various Travels through and Accounts of *Persia*, yet we had no general or correct History of it, by which a curious Person might see in a little Time, what Changes had happened therein, from the earliest Ages down to the present, which he thought might be of very great Use, even though it were digested into a very narrow Compass. Upon mature Deliberation, I saw the Truth and Expediency of this in the strongest Light, and that nothing disabled us so much in this Part of the World, from forming a right Judgment of Affairs in those Parts, as the not having distinct and correct Views of the Successions of their Princes.

The famous President *Briffon*, so barbarously murdered by the Leaguers, in the Reign of *Henry III.* of *France*, was long ago satisfied of this; and to remedy an Evil, the Consequences of which he judged of very truly, he composed a large History of *Persia*, which he published in *Latin*, and digested therein an Account of the Affairs of that Nation from the earliest Ages to his own. This without doubt was a very curious and a very useful Work, with respect to Men who occupy the higher Forms in Learning, but to the Bulk of the People, I mean of that Sort of People, who believe themselves to make a Part of that learned World, it was in Reality of no Service at all. In the first Place, the Book itself is very large, written in a learned Language, and in a harsh and perplexed Stile even in that Language; for it is observable of him and of *de Thou* his Cotemporary and Countryman, that they brought the Stile of the Bar into the Narration of History, and generally stated Cases, or as the *French* Lawyers term it, wrote *Factums*, instead of giving us a natural and easy Detail of Facts. Besides, President *Briffon's* Book was chiefly grounded on the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians; what he derived from the *Persian* Writers, he had thro' the Canal of some *German* Pedants, which instead of the best, rendred it the worst Part of his Book, in which there are large Chasms; so that notwithstanding what the Title promises, it is nothing less than a compleat History; though I believe at the Time it was wrote, it would have been impossible for any to have given us a better; and it is plain, that before him, none had thought it worth his Time and Pains to give us one so good.

After making these Reflections, I became more sensible of the extreme Difficulty of representing the Scheme of the *Persian* History within so narrow Bounds as I am tied to in this Work; and yet I was sensible, that without this, all I had done was imperfect, and that the Reader must necessarily have Recourse to other Books in order to understand mine; which Inconveniency perhaps I had submitted to, if I could have told him where to have sought for better Information; but that being also out of my Power, I found myself under an absolute Necessity of trying what might be done for his Relief; this produced what follows, so that all I have said is not calculated to enhance the Value; but to excuse the Imperfection of the ensuing Section, which being the first Attempt of its kind, may be allowed some Degree of Merit, though it falls, as I am very sensible, extremely short of Perfection.

SECTION V.

A Succinct View of the *Persian* History, from the earliest Accounts down to the present Time ; in which is contained a concise Representation of the several remarkable Revolutions in that Empire, ancient and modern, the Conquests thereof by several Nations, and the Succession of their respective Monarchs, so far as is necessary to illustrate what has been delivered in the foregoing Sections.

Collected as well from the Oriental Writers, as from the Greek and Latin Historians.

1. An Introductory Account of the Nature and Design of the following View of the Persian History, and of the State of that Nation in the earliest Times, according to their own Historians.
2. Of the Persian Empire, considered as the second of the four great Monarchies, from the Origin thereof under Cyrus, to its Destruction by the Greeks.
3. Of the Invasion and Conquest of Persia by the Macedonians, and of the Situation of Affairs after the Death of Alexander the Great.
4. Of the Revival of the Persian or Parthian Empire by Schapour or Sapoors, to the entire Destruction of the ancient Persians, under the Reign of Jesdegerde Shehriar, the last of their Monarchs.
5. The Conquest of Persia by the Arabs or Saracens, under their Caliph Moavia ; and of the Time they possessed this great Country, down to the last Khalif of Bagdad.
6. The Conquest of Persia by the Mogul Tartars, and the Succession of their Princes, so long as they possessed or claimed this Country.
7. The great Irruption of that Tribe of Turcomans, distinguished by the Title Kara Kuyonlu, i. e. of the Black-Sheep, and of the Time they remained in Possession of Persia.
8. Of another Tribe of Turcomans, stiled Aku Kuyonlu, i. e. of the White-Sheep, and of their Dominion in this Country.
9. Of Shah Ishmael Sefi, the Founder of the late Imperial Family, and the Succession of his Descendants down to Shah Abbas III. who was crowned in his Cradle by Thamas Kouli Kan.
10. A brief Account of the History of Shah Nadir, from his first Appearance in the World to the Time of his being murdered.
11. An Account of Ali Kuli Kan, now stiled Adi Shah, the present Possessor of the Persian Monarchy, with some Remarks on the principal Events that fall within the Compass of this Section.

1. **T**HE ancient Histories of all Nations are, generally speaking, intermix'd with Fables, notwithstanding which the Knowledge of them is of great Use, because the Antiquities of every Country are grounded upon these traditional Histories, and without being competently versed in them, even modern Relations are full of Doubts and Difficulties ; and this we know experimentally, not only by the Perusal of Greek and Roman Authors, but from our own History, which, how obscure soever in its Original, has notwithstanding been esteemed worth knowing, and even worth the Pains of being sifted thoroughly by the most learned and intelligent Persons. It is very true, that the modern *Persian* Historians are of a very late Date, in Comparison of those Times to which their Histories refer ; but then it is to be considered, that they transcribe from their Neighbours the *Tartars*, who though it may sound harsh in our Ears, have always had amongst them very ancient and authentick Records, and from the Books of the *Persees*, or primitive Inhabitants of *Persia*, whose Writings deserve as much Credit as those of any *Eastern* Nation whatever. According to them the most ancient Monarchy of this Country began in the Province of *Aderbeijan*, or *Media*, where the People, weary of enduring those Evils that are inseparable from *Anarchy*, made choice of *Kayomars* for their Sovereign. This *Kayomars*, if we may depend upon their Accounts, was the Son of *Aram*, the Son of *Sbem*, the Son of *Noab*, and consequently his Monarchy began at no great Distance of Time from the Flood. If there was nothing in their History more extravagant than this, it might perhaps be well enough defended ; but all that they relate afterwards, of the Succession of his Descendants, whom they reckon Eleven in Number, is so fictitious, that little or no Credit can be given to it ; they stile this their first Dynasty, the *Pischedadians* from *Houschenk*, the second Monarch, Grandson of *Kayomar*, who from his strict Regard to Justice, had the Surname of *Pisheadad*, which is to say, the Just, or rather the great

Distributor of Justice. The last Monarch of this Line was *Gustasb*, which is the same Name that the *Greeks* call *Hystaspes* ; it is not easy to give any Account of these ancient Monarchs, so as to reconcile them with other Histories, but in general it may be affirmed without Prejudice to the Truth, that under this first Race of their Monarchs, the ancient *Persians* comprehended all the Princes that ruled in their Country, before the Age in which *Cyrus* was born ; so that this may be properly stiled, the fabulous or obscure Age in the *Persian* History, taking in all the Time, from the Flood to the Empire of the *Medes*, who as other Histories better known to us record, had once the Sovereignty over *Asia*.

2. The second Race of the *Persian* Monarchs is, by their Historians called, the Dynasty of the *Kanites* ; and this is, strictly speaking, that Race of the *Persian* Kings, recorded by the *Greek* Historians, who reckon up twelve, and allow them to have reigned all together two hundred and six Years, that is, from *Cyrus*, who began his Reign five hundred thirty six Years before Christ, to *Darius Codomanus*, who ended his three hundred and thirty Years before Christ. It must be allowed, that there is a very wide and almost irreconcilable Difference between the *Greek* and *Persian* Historians, with Regard to this Period of Time, and the Actions of these Princes, as the inquisitive Reader may discover, by perusing their Accounts distinctly stated in the Universal History, the noblest and most comprehensive Work of its kind, that has appeared in our own, or in any other Language.

The only Fact in which these two Histories seem tolerably to accord, is in the Appearance of the great *Persian* Legislator, whom in their Language, they call *Zerdusht*, and whom the *Greeks* stile *Zoroaster* : He flourished, according to both Histories, under the Reign of *Gustasb* or *Darius Hystaspes*, who began his Reign in the Year before Christ Five hundred and twenty two. It was this great Man *Zerdusht*, who modelled
and

and reduced into Order the Religion of the *Magi*, the fundamental Maxim of which was the Worshipping only one God under the Symbol of Light, and because they in a particular Manner revered the Sun, and paid their Devotions before a Fire, which was kept continually burning upon an Altar, the *Greeks* measuring the Religion of others by their own, took it for granted that they worshipped the Sun and the Fire; and according to that remarkable Facility they had of supplying by Fiction the Want of better Authority, they have given us very large Accounts of the *Persian* Religion, which have only served to mislead and deceive such as trusted to their Relations; for beyond all Question, what they have set down of human and other Sacrifices offered by the *Persians* to several of their Divinities, is one continued Chain of Fables, utterly repugnant to the fundamental Principles of their philosophical and theological Systems.

The *Persian* Histories relate the last War between their Monarchs and the *Greeks*, in a Manner very differently from what is contained in the Writings of the last-mentioned Nation; the former stile the last Monarch of their Second Dynasty *Darab al Asgar*, which is as much as to say, *Darius the Lesser*, or *Darius the Second*; whereas the *Greeks* reckon him the Third of that Name. The *Persians* also say, that he was a cruel and tyrannical Prince, and that by his Male-Administration he so estranged the Hearts, and lost the Affections of his Subjects, that some of the great Men about him privately called in *Alexander of Macedon*, with a Promise to betray their Master into his Hands. To us this appears wild and incredible, but that *Nadir Shah* was actually so called in by the Ministers of the Mogul, passes for true History; which very possibly may appear strange in the next Age, and ridiculous to Posterity. The *Persian* Historians say, that *Alexander* found *Darius* yet alive, when he fell into his Hands; that he bequeathed to him his Daughter *Rouschenk*, which Name the *Greeks* have changed into *Roxana*, for a Wife, and advised him to leave the Government of the Provinces of his new Empire to the *Persian* Grandees, which *Alexander* promised and performed. They add farther, that repenting of this some Time after, he resolved to remove them to make way for *Greeks*; but that he was dissuaded from this Measure by *Aristotle*, who suggested to him, that the latter would not be able to maintain themselves against the general Confederacy of the *Persian* Princes; and that the only Way to prevent such a Confederacy was to allow several of those Princes a greater Measure of Power under his Government, than they could hope for under a Monarch of their own Nation.

3. The *Persians* stile *Alexander* the Great, *Eskender al Roumi*, that is, *Alexander* the Greek; *Eskender ben Philicus*, that is, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip*; and *Eskender Dbulcarnein*, that is, *Alexander* with two Horns, and give a very different Account of his Expedition into and Conquest of *Persia*, from what we meet with in either in the *Greek* or the *Latin* Historians; wherein as in many Things they err, so in some perhaps they are in the right, and probably it might furnish a learned Man, perfectly well acquainted with the *Greek* and Oriental Tongues, with an Opportunity of writing a very useful and entertaining Dissertation, by way of Comparison between these Histories, as it would afford him an Opportunity of clearing up a Multitude of Passages in both, that seem at present either very dark or absolutely unintelligible. Something of this Kind, with respect to the last mentioned of his oriental Titles, has been attempted with Success by the very learned Dean *Prideaux*, out of whose excellent Performance Mr. *Rollin*, in his ancient History, has borrowed whole Sheets at a Time, and his Authorities from the Ancients into the Bargain, which is a new Way of writing Universal History, in which I am afraid he will have but too many Followers.

The *Persian* Writers tell us, and I believe very truly, that not long after the Death of this great Conqueror, many of their Princes set up for Petty Sovereigns in the Provinces which were committed to their Government, and that the *Persian* Empire was ruled in this

Manner for seventy two Years. These Princes they stile in general *Moluk Thaovais*, that is, the Princes of the Provinces, and make a distinct Dynasty of them, which is their Manner of distributing their Histories, and a very perspicuous Method it is, as the learned Reader will easily discern, by consulting *Abul Ferrajus*, who has digested his Work in this Manner, and from thence has given it the Title of the History of *Dynasties*; nor do I know any universal History extant, in any Language, that considering its Conciseness ought to be compared to his. We need not wonder that there is a good deal of Confusion in that Part of the *Persian* History which relates to the Time immediately after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, and we are the less able to rectify it, because neither the *Greek* nor the *Latin* Historians treat of it clearly, but mention it only incidentally, contenting themselves to mention it from Time to Time as it falls in their Way; and from History thus wrote by Starts, it is a very difficult Thing to collect such a Number of Facts, as may enable one to reduce it under any certain Method, and yet this is absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the Thread of our Discourse.

4. The *Greeks* say, that under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, an *Armenian* Prince, revolted and formed a new Empire in the East. This *Armenian* Prince was *Arfaces*, the Founder of the *Parthian* Empire; the Oriental Writers call him *Aschek*, and make him the first Prince of their Dynasty of *Askanians*, and they likewise reckon him amongst the *Moluk Thaovais*, or the Princes that ruled after *Alexander*; so that he seems to have acquired a Dominion over several petty Princes, who were once his Equals, and his assuming this Dominion seems to be by the Concurrence both of the *Persian* and *Greek* Writers, well enough fixed to the Year 250 before Christ. It may not be amiss to observe, that *Mirkond*, and some other *Persian* Writers, appear to be very much at a Loss in regulating the Succession of these Princes, for which the true Reason seems to be this, that they found no regular Memoirs concerning them in the old *Persian* Writers, who did not consider them in the Light of their natural Princes. It was however under this Race, that the *Parthians* became known to, and capable of making Head against the *Romans*; and therefore in their Histories we find the Names and principal Circumstances of the Reigns of most of these Princes. The last of this Race was *Ardevan*, who was Cotemporary with the *Roman* Emperor *Commodus*, and with him the *Parthian* Empire fell, or rather the Sovereignty of the East was restored to the *Persians* in the Person of *Artaxerxes*, after it had lasted upwards of four hundred and thirty Years.

This great Prince the *Persian* Chronicles stile *Ardesbir Babegan*, and make him the Founder of their fourth Dynasty, called the *Sassanians*; he was not only the Reviver of the *Persian* Empire, but the Legislator of it also, and left behind him a famous Book, intitled, *Adab alaisch*, i. e. *The Rule of Life*, which is still preserved, admired, and revered throughout the East, as the most compleat System of Government and Morals that was ever published. It would not in all Probability be much esteemed in this Part of the World, even if we had it; being penned entirely in the *Eastern* Manner; as for Instance, one of the Capital Maxims, which he lays down for a Prince to follow, is this, *never employ a Sword, where a Cane will do as well*; by which he meant, that a Monarch should never resort to Capital Punishments for light Offences.

I mention this particularly, to show, that there was a great Difference between the Genius of the *Parthian* and *Persian* Governments, and that the latter were naturally mild, even though their Monarchs carried their Claim to absolute Power, as high as the former. The Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* were indeed no other than the Will of the Prince, but they were irrevocable and immutable even by their Princes; and therefore *Ardesbir Babegan* having restored the Empire, thought himself at Liberty to lay down Rules for his Government, which were no less binding on his Successors than his Subjects. He it was that fixed the Tenure of the

the Lands, the Modus betwixt the Farmer and Tenant, the Rights and Revenue of the Crown, and distinguished all the Artificers and Tradesmen in his Empire into different Companies, over whom he appointed Masters and Wardens; with many other Regulations, most of which subsist to this Day.

The Descendants and Successors of this Prince, were those famous and powerful Emperors of *Persia*, who contested the Dominion of the East with *Constantine* the Great, and the following *Greek* Emperors, till by Degrees, and chiefly by the long and bloody Wars they carried on against each other, both Empires were much weakened, and at last brought so low, as to be overrun and ruined by a Race of Barbarians, that had been taught the Art of War by serving as Mercenaries in both their Armies. The *Persian* Writers reckon twenty three Monarchs of this Dynasty down to *Jesdegerde Shebriar*, who was the last, and in whom not only his Family, but his Nation ended. Long before his Time the Empire began to decline, Princes became Tyrants, their Subjects, and even their Sons, conspired against them, their Religion grew corrupt, and the People dissolute; this encouraged their Neighbours to invade them on all Sides, and a prodigious Multitude of *Turks* breaking in on the North East, *Jesdegerde* marched against them into the Province of *Chorasan*, but before he came to a Battle, he had Intelligence that the *Arabs* had invaded *Persia* on the other Side; upon which he determined to march against them; but whilst Things were in this Situation, and before he could assemble Forces sufficient to act against so formidable a Power, Grief and Distraction of Mind brought him to his End when he had reigned about nineteen Years. His Death is, by the best Authors, referred to the thirty first Year of the *Hegira*, and consequently to *Anno Domini* 650. It may not be amiss to observe, that the famous *Æra*, which is denominated from this Prince, does not commence, as one would imagine, with his Death, but from the Beginning of his Reign, and therefore answers to the eleventh Year of the *Hegira*, and to *Anno Domini* 632.

5. As we have already marked the precise Time when the *Arabs* became Masters of this Country, we shall only observe, that the first of their Khalifs was *Mowavia*, the Fourth lawful Successor of *Mahomet*, who reigned twenty Years; it would lead us into a vast Field, if we should pretend to give even a short Account of the Succession of these Priests and Princes; for under Pretence of being Successors to the Prophet, or, as the Word *Khalif* literally signifies *Lieutenant*, they assumed the supreme Power in spiritual as well as temporal Affairs, and executed it for the most Part with great Severity. It was this that led them to treat with unrelenting Cruelty, the unhappy Race of the ancient *Persian* Nation, whom they were bent upon extirpating, from a ridiculous Notion of their being Infidels and Idolaters; whereas it is very difficult to say, whether their Religion is not as near the Truth as that of *Mahomet*; but without entering into this Dispute, it is sufficient for our Purpose to say that they succeeded so far therein, as to reduce that numerous People to a very handful, and even these were forced to take Shelter in Woods, in Mountains, and in Desarts, to secure themselves from the Effects of their religious Fury.

At length, after a Succession of fifty four Princes who bore this Title, though in that Space there happened many Revolutions, the Power of the *Arabs* or *Saracens* sunk and grew weak, in the same Manner as all other Nations do, that is to say, their Monarchs grew drunk with Power, and the People were debauched by Luxury. In this melancholly Situation they were continually disturbed, either by Invasions from Abroad, or by Conspiracies at Home, till at last the Strength of the Empire, unable to support such continual Fatigues, sunk under them. *Mostadhem*, or *Mostazem Billah Ben Mostanser Billah*, the thirty seventh Khalif of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, saw the End of that Empire; he succeeded to the Government in the Year of the *Hegira* 640, and from the very Beginning of his Administration was un-

fortunate in all his Undertakings. *Holokou* was at that Time Kan of the *Tartars*, a Prince so powerful, and whose Dominions were so extensive, that he for some Time deliberated whether he should push his Conquests through *Poland* into *Germany*, or turn them against this Khalif, and he was determined to the latter by the Advice of *Nassireddin*, a famous Astrologer, who being disobliged at the Khalif's Court, went to the *Tartar*, and advised him to fall upon his old Master. It fell out that this unfortunate Prince had still a Traytor about him greater and more dangerous than this Astrologer.

The Name of this perfidious Monster was *Mowadeddin*, who was Vizier to the Khalif, but was of the opposite Sect in Point of Religion; he perceived the Design of the *Tartars*, and advised his Master to disband his Forces, under Pretence that he was so much revered by his Neighbours, that there was no Fear of his being disturbed, if he did not open a Pretence for it by appearing armed. The Khalif, who naturally loved Money and Pleasure, swallowed the Bait, applied himself solely to the heaping up Wealth, and taking his Diversion, till of a sudden the News came, that the *Tartars* had invaded a distant Part of his Dominions; upon which, by the Advice of this trusty Minister, he ordered all the Forces in his Service to march against them. By this Means his Capital, the glorious City of *Bagdat*, the fairest and richest of the East, and perhaps of the whole World, was left in a Manner unguarded. The *Tartar* Khan, who foresaw and expected this, marched immediately with a choice and powerful Army to invest it; and as soon as that was done, the Vizier, under Pretence of proposing Terms of Peace, went to the Camp of the Enemy, from whence he never returned. The City was soon after taken by Storm; the Khalif, who was then forty six Years of Age, was made Prisoner, together with his Consort and an only Son, his eldest being killed in the Attack. The *Tartar* Prince behaved towards him with great Inhumanity; he caused him to be dragged through the Streets till he died, and put his Son also to Death; this happened in the Year of the *Hegira*, 656, *Anno Domini* 1258. At the same Time the City was destroyed, and almost all its Inhabitants, without respect to Sex, Age, or Rank, put to the Sword.

6. In this Manner the *Saracens* or *Arabs* lost Possession of *Persia*, after they had kept it six hundred Years; and as for this *Tartar* Prince *Holokou* or *Olaku Khan*, he was the Grandson of that mighty Conqueror *Jengiz Khan*, and raised in a very short Space one of the most powerful and extensive Empires the World ever had, though most of the *Tartar* Historians affirm, that when he conquered *Persia*, he acted only as Lieutenant to his Brother *Manchu Kan*, whom he afterwards succeeded. He had the Reputation of being a just and good Prince, and though he returned into *Tartary* to quiet some Disturbances that broke out there, yet he was so pleased with the Country of *Media*, that he quickly came back thither, and spent the Remainder of his Days. He left his Dominions to his Son *Abkay Khan*, who was succeeded by his Brother *Hamed Khan*, the first of this Race, who became a *Mahometan*; after whom there followed a Succession of six Princes of this Family, the last of whom was *Abu Said Babudar Khan*, who deceased in the Year of *Hegira* 736, *Anno Domini* 1335, in whom this Race ending, the Government fell into great Confusion, which continued till *Persia* fell under the Power of the Successors of the great *Timur*, whom we call *Tamerlane*. This celebrated Prince having, in the Course of his glorious Reign, added the greatest Part of *Persia* to his other Dominions, left them to his Family, among whom continual Wars and Dissensions reigned; so that in the Space of about forty Years, there were no less than twelve of his Race who stiled themselves Monarchs of *Persia*, and actually possessed *Chorasan*, and some other Provinces of that Empire. In the mean time, another Hord of *Turcomans* grew very powerful in *Diarbeck*, and made *Bagdat* the Capital of their Dominions, from whence they made Incursions into *Persia* for many Years with various Success, till at last they defeated *Mirza Abuকের*, the

Grandson of *Timur*, and the last of his Race that reigned in *Persia*, whom they slew in the Year of the *Hegira* 811, *Anno Domini* 1408.

7. By this Victory *Kara Isuph*, that is, *Joseph the Black*, who was Chief of the Tribe of *Kara Koyunli*, or the *Black Sheep*, so called from their bearing this Figure in their Standards, became Sovereign of *Persia*, which he governed fourteen Years, and died in the Year of the *Hegira* 823, *Anno Domini* 1421. He was succeeded by *Amir Scander*, who reigned in *Tauris*, and was all his Life long engaged in various Wars with great Diversity of Fortune, till he was killed by his own Son in the sixteenth Year of his Administration. He was succeeded by his Brother *Joon Shab*, who, though one of the lowdest and wickedest Princes that ever sat upon a Throne, extended his Dominions by his Success in War, and ruled *Persia* thirty two Years, till surprized in a March against his Enemies, when drunk and asleep, he was cut to Pieces. His Successor was his Son *Hafsan Ali*, the last of his Family, who being defeated by *Ozun Acen Beck*, who had killed his Father, lost his Dominions, which fell under the Power of the Conqueror in the Year of the *Hegira* 872, *Anno Domini* 1467.

8. This *Ozun Acenbek* is the same that in most of our Histories is called *Uzun Chasan*, and was the first of the Family of *Ak Kuyunli*, or the *White Sheep*, another Tribe of *Turcomans*, who reigned in *Persia*; he engaged in a long War with Sultan *Mahomet* the *Ottoman* Emperor, with very bad Success; however, he held the Government for eleven Years, and then left it to his Son Sultan *Kalil*, who, after a short Reign of six Months, was killed by one of his Brothers. He was succeeded by *Yacub Beg*, another Brother, who was a Prince of great Learning and Moderation, and governed his Dominions for twelve Years with much Lenity and Wisdom, till at length he was taken off by Poison; and then followed a Scene of Blood-shed and Confusion under a Succession of five Princes, either Descendants of or allied to this Family, till Sultan *Morad*, whom some Eastern Authors make the Son of the last mentioned Prince was entirely defeated, and driven out of *Persia* by *Ishmael Sefi* in the Year of the *Hegira* 914, *Anno Domini* 1508, and in him ended the Line of the *White Sheep*, which gave Place to that Imperial Family, which continued to govern *Persia* to our Times.

9. It would take up too much Room for us to enter into the History of this Prince's Family, which is besides so well known, that it would be needless; we therefore think it sufficient to observe, that he gave himself out to be a direct Descendant from *Mortis Ali* the Son-in-Law of the Prophet *Mahomet*, and made his Way from a private Station to the Empire of *Persia*, by very high Pretences to Sanctity, and setting up for a Kind of Prophet himself. He it was that introduced the new Sect into *Persia*, and changed that Sort of Men to whom his Father had given Red Caps, as a Mark of their being his Disciples, into a regular Militia, from thence called *Kuzzlebasbes*, that is, Red Heads, who under his Successors became the Janizaries of *Persia*. He was certainly a Man of great Parts and extensive Genius, as appears plainly from the Manner in which he prosecuted his Wars, sharing every Thing with his Soldiers till he had made himself Master of the whole Empire of *Persia*, and then under Pretence of Care for their Interest, introducing those Sorts of Military Tenures, which have been before described. He preserved, as long as he lived, the Confidence and Esteem of his Subjects, who looked upon him as one superior to the ordinary Race of Men, in Point both of Piety and of Wisdom; to which his great Victories against the *Tartars* on one Side, and the *Turks* on the other, contributed not a little; so that the *Persians* always considered him as one, through the Favour of God, invincible. He died at the Age of Forty-five, *Anno Domini* 1525, in full Possession of one of the greatest Empires, and of the Character of one of the ablest Princes in the East.

He was succeeded by the eldest of his four Sons, Shah

Thamas, who was then about eighteen Years of Age. We have very different Characters of this Prince from different Authors, and yet it is not at all impossible that they may be true. In Time of Peace he led a quiet, lazy, inactive Life, and left Things pretty much to his Ministers, which gave an ill Impression of his Capacity; but when he came to be engaged in a War against the *Turkish* Emperor *Solyman*, he convinced those, who had taken up this Opinion, that they were absolutely mistaken, for he managed that War with great Address, and forced the *Turk* to quit his Country, notwithstanding that he attacked him with very unequal Forces, and harassed him so much in his Retreat, that of five hundred thousand Men that *Solyman* brought into the Field, he scarce carried fourscore Thousand back to *Constantinople*. This War enabled Shah *Thamas* to rid himself of two of his Brothers; for one revolting to the *Turk*, he attacked, defeated, and cut him to Pieces; and, suspecting the other had the like Design, he caused him to be taken off by Poison. As to the Third, he died a natural Death; so that all the Countries, which had been assigned them by their Father, were again united to the Empire. This Shah *Thamas* removed the Capital of his Dominions, and instead of the City of *Tauris*, resided at *Casbin*. The worst Action of his Life was the putting to Death Sultan *Bajazet*, the Son of the *Ottoman* Emperor *Solyman*, who had fled to him for Protection; which, however, procured him an advantageous Peace with the *Turks*, that lasted all the rest of his Reign. He died in 1556, in the Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, and the Fortieth of his Reign, and bequeathed the Empire to his third Son.

The great Officers of State having more Regard to their Constitution than to the Will of their deceased Monarch, sent to his eldest Son *Mahomet Codabende*, who was Governor of *Khorasan*, and desired him to take the Title of Shah; but he signified to them, that the Empire was a Weight too great for his Shoulders to bear, and advised them to set his Brother *Ishmael* upon the Throne. This Prince was about Forty-three Years of Age, twenty of which he had spent in Prison, where his Father had confined him out of Jealousy. *Ishmael* II. was one of the bravest Men, as well as one of the greatest Captains of his Age, but suspicious and cruel. His Father caused him to be treated very gently in his Confinement, and sent him several fine Women; but he would never touch them, alledging, that it was enough to be miserable himself, without begetting a Race of Wretches. His Severity was so great, and his Views to the Prejudice of his Family so apparent, that it is said his Sister, at the Request of the Nobility, poisoned him, when he had reigned only two Years.

His elder Brother *Mahomet Codabende* was forced to take the Title of *Shab* upon his Decease, against his Will. He loved Privacy and Retirement, from a particular Turn in his Temper, and not from any Want of Parts or of Vigour. He used his three Brothers very well upon his first Coming to the Crown; but finding that they were inclined to revolt to the *Turks* who invaded his Dominions, he put them to Death without Mercy. In the first Year of his Reign, he gained a signal Victory over the *Turkish* Forces on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and in 1578, he beat them again near *Babylon*, in which Battle they lost fourscore thousand Men upon the Spot. The Year following he gave them another Blow, for having sent twenty-five thousand Horse, and five thousand Camels to forage in the Spring, under an Escort of thirty thousand Foot, the *Persian* Monarch by long Marches came upon them in the Night, and took his Measures so effectually, that neither Man nor Beast escaped. This *Persian* Prince, who notwithstanding all these Victories, is said still to have regretted his ever leaving his Station in *Khorasan* for a Crown, and who treated all the Pomp and Grandeur of it with the utmost Contempt, died in 1585, leaving behind him three Sons, the eldest of which, *Emir Hemse*, succeeded him; but was soon after killed by the Intrigues of his Brother *Ishmael*, who had not been long seated upon the Throne, before he had his Throat cut by his Barber, which made Way for the third Brother.

This

This was the famous *Shah Abbas*, who by the many glorious Actions of his Life, justly acquired the Title of *Great*: He was Governor of *Khorasan* during the Life of his Father, and at the Time he was called to the Imperial Dignity, was about eighteen. He began his Reign with some Acts of Severity, which he thought necessary to fix his Government on a stable Foundation. When this was done, he took a Resolution of recovering all that had formerly belonged to the *Persian* Monarchs, and with this View marched into the Province of *Khorasan*, the greatest Part of which had been conquered by the *Usbeck Tartars*. This War lasted three Years, and was terminated at last by the total Defeat of *Abdallah Khan*, the Sovereign of those *Tartars*, who with his Brother, and three Sons, was taken Prisoner. *Shah Abbas* caused their Heads to be struck off, that he might have the more Leisure to turn his Arms against the *Turks*. They were much more powerful and troublesome Enemies, for at that Time they were in Possession of a Track of Country of 150 Leagues, from South to North, to which *Shah Abbas* had a just Claim from his Predecessors. All this he not only recovered, but pushed his Conquests as far as the *Black-Sea*, made himself Master of the City of *Balsora*, a great Part of *Arabia*, and by the Help of the *English*, recovered *Ormus* from the *Portuguese*. He was beyond all Question one of the ablest Princes that ever reigned in *Persia*, but withal, ambitious beyond Measure, and cruel to the last Degree. He found the Nobility very powerful, and the *Kuzzlebasbes* not a little insolent, he humbled the former, and weakened the latter, by introducing, as has been shown elsewhere, a new Militia of his own Forming, and entirely depending upon the Crown. He conceived an unreasonable Jealousy of his only Son *Sefi Mirza*, on Account of the great Qualities with which he was endowed, and the high Respects paid him by his Subjects in general, and the Soldiers in particular. To free himself from these groundless Apprehensions, he caused his Son to be put to Death, and repenting the Crime, as soon as it was committed, passed the rest of his Days in Sorrow and Regret. He built the City of *Ferabat*, on the Coast of the *Caspian-Sea*, where he died in the Year 1629, at the Age of Sixty three, after he had governed the Empire forty five Years.

He was succeeded by his Grandson *Sefi Mirza*, who was but a Child; as he grew up he discovered all the bad Qualities of his Grandfather, and none of the good ones, for which his Father had been so much beloved. He put out the Eyes of his only Brother, and murdered almost all the old Servants of his Grandfather. His Severities were so great, and the Murders he committed so frequent, that the Women in his *Haram* conspired against his Life, and gave him a Dose of Poison, under which he struggled for two Months, and at last recovered. The Pains he took to reach the Bottom of this Conspiracy were so great, that at Length he discovered all who had any Concern therein, and in one Night caused forty four Ladies to be buried alive in his Garden, amongst whom, it was said, were his Mother and his Aunt. He was brave in his Person to a Degree of Rashness, but never fortunate in War, and the two strongest Fortresses in the Empire were lost in his Reign, *viz.* *Khandabar* and *Bagdat*, chiefly through his own Fault. Amongst many Vices, he had hardly any Virtues to compensate them, but in Excuse of this, it is said, that his Grandfather being afraid he might prove as great a Man as his Father, had caused so much *Opium* to be mingled with his Food, while a very Child, that it affected his Brain. To abate that Coldness which this occasioned, he was advised by his Physicians to drink Wine, to which he took such a Liking, that in the latter Part of his Life, he was almost always drunk, and in one of these Debauches, he ended his Days, in 1642, after a Reign of twelve Years. His excessive Cruelty caused a Suspicion that he was poisoned.

He was succeeded by his Son *Abbas II.* who was his only Child, and yet it was by the Virtue of an Eunuch, that this young Prince was in a Condition to succeed him. In one of his drunken Fits, he ordered that Eunuch to pass an Iron before his Son's Eyes, by which he

meant a Plate of Iron red hot in order to blind him, but making Use only of the Word Iron, the Eunuch very charitably fulfilled his Master's Command literally, but at the same Time, directed the Child to counterfeit Blindness, which he did so effectually, that his Father had not the least Suspicion of his Seeing, even when he lay upon his Death-bed. It was then that he deplored the Cruelty that he had been guilty of, in such moving Terms, that the Eunuch, who was by his Bed-side, told him, he had a Secret for restoring the young Prince's Sight, which rejoiced him so much, that it kept him alive till the next Day. As *Shah Abbas II.* was barely thirteen when he succeeded his Father, and had been till then considered as blind, and consequently incapable of the Imperial Dignity, we may easily conceive, that he could not take very early any Share in the Government, the Care of which devolved upon his Mother and the Prime Minister, who was a Creature of hers.

Things continued in this Situation during the three first Years of his Reign, when the Minister having unluckily, from the Peevishness incident to old Age, let fall an Expression somewhat disrespectful towards his Master, *Jehean Khan*, one of the most powerful Lords of the Court, followed him to his House and put him to Death as if it had been by the Order of the Shah. This exceedingly alarmed the Princess his Protector, who demanded Justice of her Son with all the Impetuosity natural to her Sex and to her Character; but *Abbas*, instead of disavowing what had been really done without his Consent, gave to *Jehean Khan* the Post of Prime Minister, the vast Estate of the Deceased, and soon after made him Generalissimo of all his Forces. The wisest of Monarchs has said, *That the Hearts of Kings are deep*. One would have imagined, that in so young a Prince, these high Favours had been either the Marks of Confidence, or the Effects of Timidity, but they were neither; *Shah Abbas* had a Mind to see whether this Lord had acted out of a true Zeal for his Service, or from other Motives; he had also a Mind to discover how far his Interest reached, and to what his Views tended. It was not long before he discovered all. *Jehean Khan* knowing how much he was hated by the Shah's Mother, formed a Design of killing her in the *Haram*, which being made known to the Shah, he in a great Council gave him the first Stroke with his own Poinard, and with the Assistance of his Guards cut off him and all Friends at once. This necessary Severity discovered his true Character, and made him feared by his Ministers, and revered by his Subjects.

He was very far from being free from Vices, being much given both to Wine and Women; but was, for all that, a very great Prince. He retook *Khandabar*, which had been lost by his Father, and recovered several Places from the *Turks*, and was preparing to have attacked them with all the Forces of his Empire, when he was taken off by Death. There is one Point of his Conduct which ought not to be passed in Silence: He was a constant Protector of the Christians, and when the *Sedre*, or Chief of the Ecclesiastics in *Persia*, remonstrated against it, he made him this remarkable Answer, *The Dominion of the Mind belongs to that Supreme Being who has given me Power over the Persons of my Subjects, yet he allows them Freedom of Sentiment, and has thereby taught me, that it is not my Duty to force it. While they are good Subjects, whatever their Religion be, I shall consider them as good Men.* I will not say, as others have done, that this Maxim should be written in Letters of Gold, but I will say more, that it ought to be writ in nobler Characters, I mean, in the Hearts of Princes. *Shah Abbas II.* died in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, on the 25th of September, 1666, in the 23d Year of his Reign.

He left behind him two Sons, *Sefi Mirza*, and *Hamzeh Mirza*. In a great Council held by his chief Officers after his Decease, it was resolved to raise the youngest to the Throne, because he was the most likely to be governed; but to give this a colourable Pretence, those who gave into this Opinion, suggested that *Shah Abbas*, when he set out for *Tabrestan*, had returned suddenly to *Ispahan*, when he was a Day's Journey from it, and that he

came

Came back melancholy ; from whence they presumed he had put out his eldest Son's Eyes ; the rather, because he had brought the younger Prince along with him. The Governor of the young Prince, who was thus preferred from an unparallel'd Virtue and Integrity, was the only Man that oppos'd this Resolution ; he said it was injurious to the Constitution, and to the Memory of the late Shah ; he undertook, on the Peril of his Life, that the Fact was false, and as there is often an irresistible Force in Truth, he brought over all the rest to his Sentiments, and was deputed by them, who hitherto concealed the Death of Shah *Abbas*, to go to *Isfahan* and present their Duty to his Successor. The Mother of that young Prince was alarmed at his Arrival, and at his demanding to see her Son ; it was an Hour before he could be torn from her Embraces ; but her Sorrow was soon turned into Joy, when she was informed, that by the Death of his Father he was become the Sovereign of *Persia*.

He became so, as his Subjects believed, in an ill Hour, for after he had reigned two Years with little Capacity and less Success, he was solemnly crowned a second Time, in Hopes of removing the malignant Influence of the Stars at his first Coronation ; and then it was that he changed his Name from *Sefi* to *Solyman*, as we are informed by Sir *John Chardin*, who was an Eye Witness of this second Coronation. If it served for any Thing, it was to shew the Folly and Absurdity of these Astrological Precautions ; for notwithstanding all the Pains they took to fix upon a lucky Hour for this important Ceremony, his Administration was not a Grain more fortunate than before. In short, under him the *Persian* Empire began to decline, which sunk and crumbled to Pieces under his Son. Shah *Solyman* had Vices, which, no doubt, were prejudicial to him, but his Follies were more so ; he loved Wine and Women to Excess, Faults in themselves very great ; but another, which might seem more excusable was more fatal. He was indolent to the last Degree ; he confided not only the Care of his Person, but of his State to his Eunuchs, and out of these half Men formed a Council for governing a great Empire.

The Consequences that attended this scandalous Management, were such as might well be expected from it, that is to say, his Councils were ill taken and worse executed, few able Men were raised either to Posts in the Government or in the Army, and as soon as these few were discovered, they were constantly removed. When weak and bad Men are at the Helm, Calms are more dreadful than Storms, for these naturally fright them from their Posts, and call those to Power who know how to employ it. Shah *Solyman* reigned twenty eight Years, dying on the last of *July*, 1694, at the Age of forty eight Years, leaving behind him the Character of one of the weakest, meanest, and bloodiest Princes that ever disgraced the *Persian* Diadem.

His conversing so much with Women and Eunuchs made him suspicious ; his being often drunk, and always half drunk, rendred him cruel, as the Want of Understanding caused him of Necessity to be capricious. His Character was admirably drawn by one of his Courtiers ; *I never leave the Shah's Presence*, says he, *without feeling my Neck, that I may be sure my Head is still upon my Shoulders*.

He left behind him two Sons, *Mirza Abbas* and *Mirza Hussein*. The Council of Eunuchs were to be the Judges which was the fittest to wear the Crown ; the late Shah made them so by his Management ; but what is still stranger, he made them so by his Will. The Approach of Death commonly gives unusual Force of Mind ; it did so to Shah *Solyman* ; but it was a left-handed Sense, for after reigning like a Fool, he died a Knave. *You have it in your Power*, said he to his Eunuchs, *to live under what Government you like best, when I am gone ; your Choice, if you would have a martial Prince, must fall upon Abbas ; if you would rather have a pacifick Reign, you must raise Hussein to the Throne*. One need not, even at this Distance from *Persia*, be at a Loss about the Resolution formed in this wise Council ; weak Men know well enough, that they can never hold their Places but

under a weaker King ; and therefore the sagacious Disposers of a Crown most unanimously fixed upon the Prince that was unworthy of it. The Character of *Mirza Abbas* was truly given by his Father ; he had all the great Qualities, and wanted none of the good ones necessary to a Monarch ; he was brave, but not fierce, and affable without Falshood. As to the Character of *Hussein*, it may be very truly described in a very few Words ; there never lived a better Man, or a worse Prince.

He had been bred in the severe Study of the *Alchoran*, and at the same Time that he was very knowing in the *Mahometan* Religion, he was very sincere in the Belief of it.

He gave a strong Testimony of the Uprightness of his Disposition in refusing to put out the Eyes of his Brother *Mirza Abbas* ; he was content at first to say it was inhuman, but finding himself continually excited thereto, by such as directed him in all other Things, he told them fairly, that when his Brother and he first read the Law together, they had sworn upon that holy Book, never to put out the Eyes of each other, which ever came to the Throne ; and he would not incur the Guilt of Perjury. Indeed his Nature was so tender, that firing a Pistol among his Ducks, which by Accident had Shot in it, he cried out when he saw them wounded, that he was defiled with Blood, and gave a large Sum, in Alms to the Poor, to wipe out the Stain. His Ministers saw his Indolence with Pleasure, and his Weakness with Delight ; but his Integrity and Rectitude of Mind gave them infinite Concern. It was therefore for some Time, their sole Business to study how they might corrupt him ; they thought at last of a proper Method, and they made Choice of his Mother to carry it into Execution. That Princess pretended to be at the Point of Death, and that the Physicians had declared nothing could save her Life but drinking Wine. The *Shah*, out of Piety, had forbid the making it in any Part of his Dominions, and out of Respect to the Law of *Mahomet* had never tasted it himself. He caused it to be got however to save his Mother's Life, and because she would not drink unless he drank to her, he took off a large Glass, which left such a Relish on his Palate, as gave him an Inclination to it ever after.

By Arts like these Shah *Hussein* was drawn to become the great Instrument of his own Ruin, and that of his Subjects. The Eunuchs, first admitted into Council by his Father, contrived under him to shut out all others. The Prime Minister himself was excluded ; and thus *Persia*, for the first Time, was blest'd : But why should I not speak plain ? was cursed then, let me say, with a Cabinet-Council. It is true, the ancient Form was kept up, the great Officers of State met, the Assembly was as regular as numerous, and to the Populace appeared for some Time as august as ever : But it was a mere empty Show, for only the White and Black Eunuchs had the Power, and which sure never happened in any Country but this, dictated their Orders through the Mouth of their Sovereign. We cannot dwell upon this extraordinary Subject ; we cannot enter into the Detail of the Steps by which this Monarchy fell to Ruin ; we leave those to the Imagination of the Reader, and esteem ourselves happy, that by so reasonable an Excuse, we can discharge ourselves of so disagreeable a Task.

Let it suffice then to say, once for all, that through this loose and scandalous Administration the Constitution was dissolved, and the whole Frame of Government fell to Pieces. The Ecclesiasticks were noted for irreligious Notions and Depravity of Manners ; the Governors of Provinces had as little Power as Will to protect, but were allowed to plunder, that others might squeeze them ; the Viziers fleeced the People for some Years, and were then fleeced themselves ; the Soldiers were robbed of their Pay, which forced them to work for a Subsistence ; and as this furnished them with Money, Part of it was given to their Officers to wink at their Neglect of Discipline ; which was the more readily complied with by Men trusted with Commands, tho' they knew little or nothing of martial Discipline themselves. In such a State of Things one would think there

there must be Complaints, more especially in a Country where the Law not only tolerates, but encourages such Complaints. But what then? The Shah shut himself up in his Palace, and would not hear them. Memorials and Petitions might be drawn, and Means might be found to get them presented. All this was done, but the Shah would never trouble any Body but his Eunuchs to read them; and when Felons are Judges, Virtue is the only Thing that is thought a Crime.

Affairs being thus in a State of Depravity, and the Empire in a Manner ripe for Destruction, we are next to see how this was brought on; and indeed it happened in a Manner, which, for any Thing that has occurred to me, there is nothing in History can parallel. At the Time *Georgia* submitted to Shah *Abbas*, it was agreed, that the Princes of that Country should be dependant only upon the *Persian* Emperors, in the same Manner that *Crim Tartary* does upon the *Turks*; and this Capitulation was strictly observed till this wise Ministry thought fit to violate it more than once, which induced the reigning Prince, to take such Measures as he thought requisite to set him beyond the Reach of their Power. The Council of Eunuchs were too cunning for him; they were informed, that his Army consisted of several small Bodies of Troops commanded by their respective Chiefs; to these they offered large Sums of Money, and by Degrees drew the greatest Part of them to quit the Service of the Prince; upon which he retired with his Family and his Riches into the Mountains. Upon a little Reflection, he conceived an Opinion, that those who bribed with Money, might be bought with Money; and therefore sending an Agent to *Ispahan*, he cancelled his Crime with Gold, and got himself restored. Some Time after, the Mogul sent an Embassy, in which he demanded the City and Principality of *Khandabar*, in Terms that astonished the Cabinet-Council of Shah *Hussein*. If they were attacked by the Mogul, it was requisite to have a General and an Army; and therefore like great Politicians, because they knew this Prince of *Georgia* would fight, they sent him to command in *Khandabar*, and allowed him to name a Lieutenant to command in his own Principality. This restoring a Man after a Rebellion, and giving him a second Principality for the Courage he had shown in his Rebellion, was a Policy so refined, that none but these great Men could ever have found it out.

The Prince of *Georgia* was sent to *Khandabar*, in the Year 1704, and he had not been long there, before he discovered a Person as capable of making that Principality revolt, as he was of raising an Insurrection in his own Country. The Name of this extraordinary Person, was *Mir Vaez*, whom our Gazettes call *Miriweis*, and whom they represent as sprung from the Dregs of the People; this however is an Untruth: He was a Man of great Quality in that Country, and a kind of Receiver-General of the *Shah's* Revenue, in which Post he behaved with such Honour towards the Court, and so much Tendernefs towards the People, as gained him Credit with the one, and procured him the Affection of the other. The new Khan was by no Means pleased with him, and represented therefore to his Friends at *Ispahan*, that this Man must be sent for. If either he or they had struck off his Head, for presuming to be wise and honest under such an Administration, there had been an End of the Matter, but they brought him to *Ispahan*, and there he soon saw that his Wisdom was much superior to that of the Cabinet Council; but that as for Honesty, it was become a useless and dangerous Thing; so he parted with it immediately, and became as arrant a Courtier as the best of them.

In 1709, he made a Journey to *Mecca*, with much Show of Religion, one of the best Cloaks in the World for a bad Design. His Countrymen were not of the established Church, but of the Sect of *Sunnis*, which is the same Religion with the *Turks* of *Mecca*; therefore he got a *Festa* or solemn Decision of the Head of the Law, importing, that his Countrymen might very lawfully take up Arms against their Sovereign, as a Here-

tick, and break all their Oaths to him without Perjury. Upon his Return to *Ispahan*, he contrived a Story of an Attack that was to be made upon the *Persian* Empire by the *Muscovites* and by the *Mogul*, suggesting, that it was highly probable, that the Prince of *Georgia's* Lieutenant would revolt to the former, and himself go over to the latter. Upon this the Eunuchs sent *Mir Vaez* to watch over the Prince's Conduct at *Khandabar*, and it is certain, that he took Care the Prince of *Georgia* should do them no Hurt, for under Colour of a Reconciliation, he assassinated him in his own Palace, and by the Assistance of his Countrymen, massacred most of his Troops; sending up a very formal Excuse to *Ispahan*, that the Prince was an Oppressor, and his Soldiers observed no Discipline, and therefore they had been tempted only to take the Liberty to knock their Brains out, but hoped they would believe, that notwithstanding this, they were as good Subjects as ever,

At this very Moment *Mir Vaez* had declared himself Prince of *Khandabar*, and upon producing the *Festa* beforementioned, all his Countrymen adhered to him; it was however two Years before they were thoroughly persuaded at *Ispahan*, that the Thing was really so, and that they had no more to do with *Khandabar* as Sovereigns, than with any Province in *China*. This forced them to raise an Army under the Command of the new Prince of *Georgia*, to which they added a Body of *Persians*, and sent them against *Mir Vaez*; but partly through the Dispute between the two Nations, and partly through the Treachery of some of the Council at *Ispahan*, who held a Correspondence with *Mir Vaez*, this Army was routed, and their Commander killed. Some other Attempts were made, but made in a more feeble Manner, and at last the Thing was no more thought of, so that *Mir Vaez* lived and died an independent Prince at his Capital of *Khandabar*, in 1717, after a Reign of about seven Years.

His Countrymen made Choice of his Brother to succeed him, and that Brother was inclined to Peace, but *Mir Mahmud*, the Son of *Mir Vaez* then about seventeen, conceiving that this would be prejudicial to his Interest, slipped into his Uncle's Room one Night when he was asleep, and cut off his Head. He then summoned the People, charged his Uncle with being a Traytor to them, and produced Papers under his Hand, to prove his Design of submitting to the *Persians*. This had the desired Effect, the People approved his Conduct, and declared him their Prince. But it is necessary to inform the Reader, who these People were, because till about this Time, their Names were never heard of in *Europe*. The *Afghans* are a Nation who inhabit *Khandabar*, and most of the mountainous Countries on the Frontier; we meet with large Descriptions of them in the *Persian* Authors, but they may be all reduced to a single Word, which will convey the Idea of them distinctly; they are Highlanders; their Drefs, their Manners, their Clans, their Discipline, and their Hardiness are precisely the same; they only differ in Religion, for the *Afghans* are *Mabometans*, mostly of the *Turkish* Sect, and zealous to the last Degree.

Mahmud was first for drawing in the rest of the *Afghans* in the adjacent Countries to be his Confederates; but their Chiefs thought themselves as good Men as he; upon which he resolved to bring that to a Tryal, and by beating them, made them ready to do what he would have them. When this was brought about, he resolved to invade *Persia*, though all the Men in his Country were not capable of furnishing an Army any Way equal to such an Undertaking. He executed it however with the Forces he could get together, advanced into the Province of *Kirman*, and surpriz'd the Capital. Thus far Things went well, but the *Shah* having cast his Eyes upon the Brother of his first Minister, *Lust Ali Kan*, and made him General of his Forces, he advanced with a numerous Army against the *Afghans*, defeated them totally, and drove them back to *Khandabar*. The Cabinet Council apprehensive that so great a Service might free the Prime Minister from his De-

pendance upon them, alarmed the *Shah* in the Night, pretended that Minister was coming to murder him, and obtained an Order to seize and put out his Eyes, and another Order for securing his Brother. Both these were executed; and as soon as *Mir Mahmud* was informed of it, he resumed his Design, and entered *Persia* a second Time with a much greater Army.

This second Invasion was in the Month of *January* 1722, and was not at first attended with Success. He was baffled in the Siege of *Kirman*, his Forces being no Way fit for Sieges; but borrowing Courage from Despair, though many of his People returned home, he marched on towards *Ispahan*. In his Passage he met and fought the *Persian* Army, and by the Disagreement between the Generals, defeated them, and afterwards laid Siege to the Capital; which, however, he had never taken but for the Misunderstandings in the Place, and the Intrigues he entered into with some about the *Shah*, who at last betrayed him into his Hands, in Consequence of a scandalous Treaty, by which he agreed to resign the Empire to *Mahmud*, and to give him his Daughter, which he performed, and by this Means that Captain of *Banditti* came to have the Title of Sultan *Makomet*, Oct. 22. 1722.

His Conduct, after this unaccountable Success, appeared very unequal; sometimes he behaved with such Moderation and Prudence, that he seemed to deserve all that he had acquired; at others, he acted with such Fierceness and Barbarity, as disgraced the very Nation from whence he came; but the Murders he committed, and more especially his inviting three hundred of the *Persian* Nobility and Gentry to a Feast, and then cutting their Throats, was such an Act of Baseness and Cruelty, as ought for ever to stigmatize his Character, as the Reflection of it afterwards turned his Head. The Escape of *Mirza Sefi*, the eldest Son of *Shah Hussein*, increased his Fury; and on the 27th of *January* 1725, he caused most of the Princes of the Royal Blood to be massacred in his Presence, except two Infants the Sons of *Shah Hussein*, whom that unfortunate Prince covered with his own Body, and had his Hand run through by parrying a Thrust made at them, before he could place them behind him; which so mollified the Heart of the Usurper, that he suffered them to live. Not long after this he was seized with a Leprosy, and his lucid Intervals grew shorter and less perfect; upon which the *Afghans* sent for his Cousin *Asbruff*, whom he kept in Prison at *Ispahan* for Conspiracy, and made him their Prince.

He was the Son of that Uncle by cutting off whose Head *Mir Mahmud* made himself Prince of *Kbandabar*, and in Return he ordered his Cousins to be cut off in the same Manner, which put an End to a turbulent Reign of about two Years and a half. *Asbruff*, who was now Master of *Ispahan*, is said to have put to Death a Son that *Mahmud* had by *Shah Hussein's* Daughter; but it is certain that he married another Daughter of his himself, and treated the old *Shah* with much Lenity for some Time, though afterwards he caused him to be put to Death; but when or where, the Accounts we have hitherto had from this Country, does not enable us to mention with Certainty.

About the Time that the *Afghans* besieged *Ispahan*, it was resolved to set up one of the young Princes as his Father's Lieutenant-General. *Mirza Sefi*, the eldest of them, had been tried before, and after having been at the Head of a small Body of Troops for about a Month, he declared himself incapable of publick Affairs, and retired again, of his own Accord, into the *Haram*. The second Prince had disobliged the Eunuchs, and they persuaded the old *Shah* to confine him; so that it was now resolved, that his third Son *Mirza Thamas* should be sent out to make an Experiment of his Fortune. He marched accordingly at the Head of five hundred Men, and had the good Luck to make his Escape. He showed some Bravery, but very little Judgment; for when he had got a few Troops about him, he differed with and even attacked the Prince of

Georgia, the only Person from whom he could have expected any Assistance.

We have no very distinct Account of his Actions while *Mir Mahmud* held the supreme Power; but it is certain that his Successor Sultan *Asbruff* drove him into *Mazenderan*, from whence, with some Difficulty, he got into *Khorasan*, and there he took the Title of *Shah* on Account of his Father's abdicating the Government. His Affairs wore a very indifferent Aspect, till such Time as he placed *Fatteh allah Khan Kajar* at the Head of his Army, who brought his Concerns into some Order. In 1726, he took *Nadir Kuli*, afterwards known to the World by the Name of *Thamas Kouli Kan*, into his Service, who insinuated himself so into his good Graces, that in the Spring of the Year 1728, he prevailed upon him to put his old General to Death, and to give him the sole Command.

His Affairs were then in a very indifferent Situation, the *Turks* were Masters of all the Western Provinces, *Asbruff* and his *Afghans* were in Possession of the Middle of the Empire, and the *Abdollee Afghans* had actually invaded *Khorasan*. His whole Army consisted only of twenty thousand Men, with which *Nadir Kuli* engaged and defeated the *Abdollee*s totally. This awakened the Attention of *Asbruff*, who in *September* 1729, marched from *Ispahan* in order to attack him. *Nadir Kuli* posted himself with sixteen thousand Men in a very advantageous Camp, and there waited for the *Afghans*, who attacked him with great Fury; but, after an obstinate Dispute, were entirely routed. This raised his Reputation highly, and as the greatest Reward the *Shah* could then give him, he bestowed his Name upon his General, who thence forward was stiled *Thamas Kouli Kan*.

The Fame of this Victory enabled him to increase his Army soon after to forty thousand Men, with which he defeated *Asbruff* a second Time; and this so much dispirited the *Afghans*, that they resolved to plunder, burn and abandon *Ispahan*; but the *Shah* did not give them Time to put this barbarous Design in Execution, but marched with such Vivacity towards the Capital, that they were obliged to leave it with great Precipitation, in the Month of *November* 1730. This great Stroke, that in all outward Appearance seemed to set him above the Reach of Fortune, was very soon followed by a Step that made Way for his Ruin. He thought that his General was slow in pursuing the *Afghans*, he therefore pressed him to use more Expedition. Upon this *Kouli Kan* told him roundly, that he was well informed of the Manner in which his Father's Generals had been treated, that when they were in the Field, they were ill supplied; and that he was resolved to lay down his Command, unless he would give him the Power of raising Money in what Manner he thought fit: To this, though with much Reluctance, the *Shah* consented; and, in Hopes of uniting his General more closely to him, gave him his Aunt in Marriage.

Kouli Kan then followed the *Afghans* to *Sbiras*, tho' it was in the Depth of Winter, defeated them totally, took all their Baggage and Treasure, and *Asbruff* endeavouring to make his Retreat towards *Kbandabar*, was surprized by a Body of the *Balluches*, who cut him and the few Troops he had about him to Pieces. *Shah Thamas* then turn'd his Arms against the *Turks*, but was unluckily defeated by *Achmet Bashaw*, who soon after his Victory, offering reasonable Terms of Peace, the *Shah* accepted them. In the Month of *August*, 1732, *Thamas Kouli Kan* having settled all the Eastern Provinces of the Empire, returned to *Ispahan* with an Army of sixty thousand Men, and insisted upon breaking the Peace with the *Turks*; to which the *Shah* showing some Unwillingness, *Kouli Kan* soon after seized his Person, and sent him Prisoner to *Mazenderan*. He next took his Son, though a Child in his Cradle, and declared him *Shah* by the Title of *Abbas* the III^d.

By this Means having secured the Tranquillity of *Persia* for the present, he turned his Arms against the *Turks*, whom in the Space of two Years, he defeated in various Battles, and at last dispirited them to such a Degree,

Degree, that they no longer kept the Field; upon which he determined to lay Siege to *Bagdat*.

While he was before this Place, he received Advice, that *Mahommed Kan Ballucke* had revolted, and declared for *Shah Thamas*, and made himself Master of *Shiras*. Upon this he raised the Siege immediately, marched directly against this General, whom he treated as a Rebel, had the good Luck to defeat him; after which he plundered the City of *Shiras*, and put Numbers of People to Death. He then returned to *Ispahan*, from whence he soon after marched into *Georgia*, reduced the City of *Teffis*, which is its Capital; over-run *Armenia*, and by the very Terror of his Name, frightened the *Russians* out of *Gilan*, which Province they had seized during the Troubles in *Persia*.

After all these Victories he summoned the Chief of the *Persian* Nobility to his Army, which then consisted of 150,000 Men, and there partly by Fear, and partly by Promises, made them consent to the total Subversion of their Constitution, both in Church and State, by agreeing to make the Crown hereditary in his Family, to renounce for ever the ancient Line of their Princes, and to admit an Union between the two Sects of the *Sunni's* and the *Schia's*, which being opposed by the *Mullah Bafsi*, in a set Speech, he answered his Arguments, by strangling him upon the Spot, and on the 21st of *March*, 1736, he caused himself to be proclaimed Sovereign of *Persia*, by the Title of *Nadir Shah*. The first publick Act of his Administration was to seize, or as he was pleased to call it, resume all the Church Lands in *Persia*; but finding that the Clergy were irreconcilable to him, he thought the Dispute would be less dangerous, if they were stript of their Property, which was very considerable, their Revenues amounting to a Million of *Tomans*, which is upwards of three Millions Sterling.

In *June* following he was crowned at *Casbin*, and from thence he marched to *Ispahan*, where he staid about six Months, during which Time he was acknowledged by the Grand Signor, and the Great Mogul. He spent his Time in preparing for his Expedition against *Kandabar*, and marching thither in the Beginning of 1737, he appointed his eldest Son *Reza Kuli Mirza*, to govern *Persia* in his Absence, who fixed his Residence at *Mesched*, whither *Shah Thamas* was afterwards conducted, and as it is said, by order of the young Prince, who no doubt acted therein by his Father's Direction, was there put to Death, to prevent, as far as possible, any future Revolts in his Favour, or in Support of any of his Family. *Nadir Shah* was as fortunate in his Expedition against *Khandabar*, as in any of his former Undertakings, reducing it much sooner than could have been expected, considering the great Strength of the Place. And it was while he lay before this Place, that he received an Invitation from some of the *Mogul's* Ministers, to invade that Empire. As we have given a very large and full Account of this Transaction in our former Volume, in speaking of the Succession of the Descendants of *Timur Bek*, in the Empire of *Indostan*, we shall not insist farther upon it here, but content ourselves with first giving the Reader a short View of the Life of this extraordinary Person, and then resuming the History of his Reign, at his Return from the *Indian* Expedition.

10. We have had various Reports in *England* concerning the Birth of this famous Conqueror and though they are now grown ridiculous, there was a Time when they were better received. It must be allowed, that on one Hand, it is extremely difficult for us to obtain any true Accounts from Places at so great a Distance, and it is no less true on the other Hand, that we are extremely careless in our Endeavours to procure them. The *Dutch* at *Batavia* require their Factors at different Forts throughout *India*, to send them Intelligence, and it is from these Letters, that they judge of the Abilities of the Persons they employ so that by this Method they are able to give their Masters in *Holland*, a tolerable View of the whole State of Affairs in the East, once in the Year. It is but very lately, that we have had any

distinct and true Account of this Hero, who was the Son of the Chief of one of the Clans of the *Afsbars*, a *Turcoman* Tribe divided into three Families, of which his was the second, and inhabited a District of the Province of *Chorasan*. He was born in the Year 1688, and as he was the eldest Son of his Father, was considered according to the Laws of that Nation, as his apparent Successor. In order to form a right Notion of this, the Reader is to be told, that there are several Tribes of the *Turcomans*, who inhabit this and other Provinces of *Persia*, where they live after their own Manner, in Consideration of certain Services that from Time to Time they are called upon to render to the Government of *Persia*; and the particular Service of his Family was to defend a Fortress commanding the Valley which they inhabit against the *Usbeck Tartars*. As to his Father's Name, we know it not; but that which he bestowed upon his Son at the Time of his Circumcision, was *Nadir Kuli*, which signifies literally the Slave of the Wonderful, but the true Sense of it is, the Servant of God.

His Father dying in his Minority, his Brother, the Uncle of *Nadir*, became, according to the Custom of the *Turcomans*, the Tutor of his Son, and the Chief *pro tempore* of the Clan. He took Care of the Education of the young Man, whom he bred up a zealous *Mahometan*, according to the Sect of the *Sunni's*, who are looked upon by the *Persians* as Heretics, and who, on their Side, consider that whole Nation in the same Light; he caused him likewise to be taught his Exercises, and showed him for several Years a great deal of Kindness and Respect. But when he came of Age, and would have taken upon him the Command of the Fortress and of his Clan, his Uncle did not care to resign; and being a Man of great Art, he had brought the People into such a Dependence upon himself, that his Nephew found they were little inclined to do him what he called Justice; and the Spirit of the young Man was such, that scorning to live in Subjection, in a Place where he conceived it his Right to rule, he resolved to put himself into the *Persian* Service. It was for this Reason he went to *Mesched*, which has been considered as the Capital of *Chorasan* ever since *Shah Abbas* the Great instituted Pilgrimages thither, on Purpose to hinder his Subjects from visiting the Tomb of their Prophet at *Mecca*, before which time the City of *Herat* had that Title. *Nadir Kuli* was well received by the Governor, who gave him a small Post in his Family, and another small Post in the Army. His Behaviour here was very regular, and very insinuating; he showed all possible Respect for his Superiors, was very kind and condescending to his Inferiors, and very exact in the Discharge of every Branch of his Duty.

By Degrees he gained the Confidence of the Governor to such a Degree, that he was raised to the Rank of a *Mim-Bafsi*, a Command equivalent to that of a Colonel of Horse in our Service; and then it was that he began to display the extraordinary Qualities he received from Nature. He affected a very different Conduct from that of his Brother Officers, for he was as attentive to Discipline as they were negligent in it; he despised Perquisites, kept his Corps constantly full, and by doing strict Justice to Merit, made his Soldiers not only content with their Lot, but pleased with their Profession. He was often employed in Service, and was always successful, which was chiefly owing to two Things, the strict Discipline of his Troops, and his keeping them Complete, which gave him a vast Advantage of the *Tartars*, and distinguished him from all other Officers, who for that Reason hated him heartily. The Confusion in the latter Part of the Reign of *Shah Husein*, as it encouraged the *Usbecks* to make frequent Incursions into *Chorasan*, so it gave him many Opportunities of raising his Reputation, by repressing their Insolence, and obliging them often to retire, notwithstanding their Superiority of Numbers. But in 1720, the *Usbecks* invaded the Province with a numerous Army, to which the Forces of the Governor were so unequal, that in a great Council of War, the Officers were unanimously

nimously of Opinion, that it was impossible for them to look the Enemy in the Face; and therefore they advised the Governor to retire into the Heart of the Province, and act wholly upon the defensive. *Nadir Kuli* opposed this, he magnified the Spirit and Courage of the *Persian* Cavalry, and insisted, that notwithstanding their Superiority of Numbers, if they marched and attacked the *Tartars*, instead of waiting for them, there was the greatest Probability of their giving a Check to their Expedition in its Beginning; which might stop their Progress, and save the Country from Ruin; the Governor, who was a Man of Spirit, closed with his Sentiments, gave him the Command, and he very fortunately executed, even more than he had promised; for he totally defeated the *Tartars*, and pursued them with such Vigour in their Retreat, that not one half of them escaped into their own Country.

The Governor promised to use all his Interest at Court to procure *Nadir Kuli* a Recompence from the *Shah* equal to his Service; but the rest of the general Officers representing to the Ministry, that this new Hero was no Friend of theirs, an Order was procured to the Governor for dispossessing him of his Command, and giving it to that Nobleman's Nephew, who had never seen Soldiers in his Life but at a Review. *Nadir Kuli* was at this Time thirty two Years of Age, and yet his Resentment was so much stronger than his Reason, that taking Things according to their first Appearance, and without staying to enquire how far the Governor had been just to him, he went and expostulated with that great Man, in such rough Terms, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed on the Soles of his Feet, and turned him out of his Service. He was now totally undone, without Fortune, without Friends, and without Hopes. In these dismal Circumstances he picked up a Couple of Fellows as desperate as himself, and with them robbed a small Caravan, which put them in Possession of a considerable Sum of Money, with this they bought Horses, Arms and Ammunition, and in a short Time, they associated twenty daring and undone Fellows, with whom they committed many Robberies, and in the Space of a few Months, encreased their Number to five hundred Men. At the Head of these, he not only committed Depredations through the greatest Part of the Province, but laying hold of the Confusion of the Times, encreased his Forces to such a Degree, that the Government, instead of being in a Condition to punish him, really stood in Awe of him.

Things were in this Situation, when a Commander of *Shah Thamas's* Army being traduced to his Master, and in Danger of his Life, fled to *Nadir Kuli* with fifteen hundred Horse. His Uncle having Intelligence of this, thought it was high Time to take some Method to reconcile himself to his Nephew; in order to which, he made Use of his Interest with the *Shah* to procure his Pardon; which was no sooner intimated to *Nadir Kuli*, than he promised his Uncle to repair to him, in order to make such Submissions as were necessary to cancel the Memory of his former Offences. This, however, was all Artifice; for being of an implacable Nature, he surprized his Uncle's Castle the first Night he lay in it, and put him to Death, notwithstanding which barbarous Action, he was now become so formidable, that the *Shah*, to save himself the Trouble of reducing him, confirmed his Pardon, and took him into his Service.

We have already shewn, how grateful and loyal a Return he made for this undeserved Favour, and in what Manner he assumed the Title of *Shah* in 1736; as also the principal Transactions that followed till such Time as he invaded the *Mogul's* Territories. He returned from hence in the Year 1739, contenting himself with the Cession of all the Countries to the West of the River *Attock*. He knew very well, that it was impossible for him to have preserved his Conquests in *India*, if he had intended it; and he knew as well, that if he did not keep them, it was impossible for him to provide better for his own Security, than by leaving them in the Hands of their own Possessor *Sultan Mo-*

hammed, a weak, inactive Prince, and consequently least likely and least able to incommode him. *Shah Nadir*, on his Return to *Persia*, meditated several great Designs, but executed none of them effectually, except that of transferring the Capital to *Mesched*; for though he carried on the War against the *Turks* successfully, defeated them in several Battles, and wintered with his Army in their Dominions; yet he found himself so often disturbed with Insurrections, that he was never in a Condition to prosecute or improve his Victories.

He turned his Arms sometimes against the *Lefgis*, the *Curds*, and the *Georgians*, but without any Success, and these Disappointments increasing, the natural Hastiness and Severity of his Temper, he began to make himself odious by a continual Series of Cruelties, some of which he exercised upon his own Family, causing his eldest Son *Riza Mirza* to be put to Death, at the Age of thirty two; and some Accounts say, that his second Son met with the same, or a worse Fate, that of having his Eyes put out. He grew insatiable also in Respect to Money, oppressing his Subjects to the last Degree.

He was always partial to his own Country, and to his own Nation. His little paternal Castle of *Calot* he endeavoured to render impregnable, and there he laid up all his Treasures; the Guard about his Person was entirely composed of *Affbars*, as supposing nothing could corrupt their Fidelity to their Chief. In this however he was mistaken, for his Nephew, who revolted against him, who is the Son of that Uncle he so basely murdered, had such an Interest amongst them, that he engaged them to make *Shah Nadir* Prisoner, and this occasioning a Disturbance; those who had seized him, to put an End to it, and to secure themselves, cut his Throat when he was in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and the fifty ninth of his Life. He had the two Sons that have been already mentioned, by Wives whom he married while he served as a *Mim Bashi*, under the *Beglerbeg* of *Khorasan*; by the Sister of *Shah Hussein*, whom he married at the Time that *Shah Thamas* declared him Generalissimo; he had only one Daughter; but by other Ladies in his *Haram* he left three Sons that were very young at the Time of his Decease, and of whom we shall have Occasion hereafter to make Mention.

II. When his Oppressions and Cruelties had rendered the very Name of *Shah Nadir* odious in all *Persia*, and when it was visible, that even his Soldiers rather feared him than loved him, many of the great Men began to consider whether it might not be possible, under Colour of Attention to the publick Good, to pluck the Crown from his Head. These Intrigues could not be so secretly carried, but that he discovered some, and was informed of others; which produced such bloody Executions, that at Length, the Disaffection to him became so general, as to induce *Ali Kuli Kan* his Nephew, to think of setting up for himself; to which he was chiefly moved by three Considerations; the first, that the Discontent was become general amongst the Army, as well as the People; the second, that he was himself at the Head of a considerable Corps of Troops, on whose Fidelity he knew he might depend; the third, that his Uncle was grown suspicious of him, so that Submission was to the full as dangerous as Rebellion; excited by these Considerations, about the latter End of last Year he began to recruit and increase his Army, to pay no Regard to the Orders that came from *Shah Nadir*, and to carry on a close Correspondence with some of the Officers that were near the *Shah's* Person.

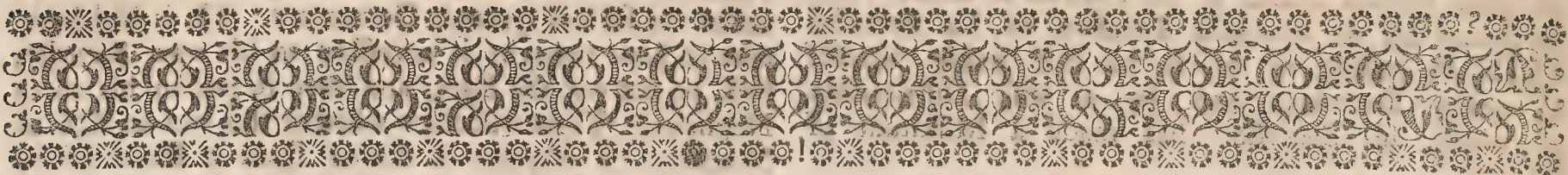
Amongst these was *Mahomet Kouli Kan*, *Kourtschibachi*, to whom, when he was in Readiness to march towards *Mesched*, he sent Orders to make himself Master of the Person of the *Shah*, which he performed; but finding that there was no keeping him with Safety, and that there began to be great Cabals amongst the Officers who commanded under him, he took a Resolution of putting him to Death, which he executed without Delay, and immediately dispatched an Express to *Ali Kouli Kan*, intreating him to hasten his March to *Mesched*. On

On his Arrival there, that Prince was immediately saluted *Shah* by all the great Officers of the Crown, and the chief Commanders of the Army: He took Care to make himself Master of the Fortrefs of *Calot*, where he found all the immense Treasure of his deceased Uncle, by raising of which he had made himself so many Enemies, and by a wise Distribution of which, his Successor has made a Multitude of Friends.

The new Monarch, at the Time of his Inauguration, took the Name of *Adil Shah*, which signifies the just Prince, and one of the first Acts of his Reign was to publish a Manifesto, from whence we have taken most of these Particulars, and in which, after inveighing bitterly against the Mal-Administration of his Predecessor, who he says received the just Reward

of a Tyrant, he remits to the People all Arrears of the extraordinary Taxes imposed upon them, exempts them from every Imposition for two Years, and promises ample Restitution to such as have had their Estates confiscated under the former tyrannic Government. He is said however to have thought it necessary to his own Security, first, to put out the Eyes, and then to poison his three Nephews. Time will shew whether this was an Act of Necessity, or whether it flowed from a Blood-thirsty Disposition: In the mean Time he has given the strongest Assurances to the Grand Signior, and to the *Czarina*, of his Intention to maintain the Peace and Friendship, subsisting between their Empires and his own, and is at present exercised in settling his new acquired Sovereignty upon the only solid Basis, that of the Zeal and Affection of all his Subjects.





CHAPTER III.

A Description of the *North-East* Parts of *Asia*, and the extensive Empire of *China*, with the Countries dependent thereon, and the Manners and Customs of the several Nations that inhabit them.



SECTION I.

The Travels of his Excellency E. YSBRANTS IDES, Ambassador from *Peter* the Great to the Emperor of *China*, through *Great Ustiga*, *Siriana*, *Permia*, *Siberia*, *Daour*, &c. to the Frontiers of *China*; containing an exact Description of the Extent and Limits of those Countries, the Nations by which they are inhabited; with a curious and copious Account of their Religion, Government, Marriages, Dwellings, Diet, daily Occupations, &c.

Faithfully translated from the Author's Original Journal, printed under the Direction of the Burgo-master Witzen, the greatest Critick of his Time in Holland, and dedicated to the late Czar Peter the Great.

1. An Introductory Account of the Author, and of the Character and Credit of his Work; with the Reasons for inserting it in this Collection.
2. The Manner of his setting out from Moscow; his Voyage down the River Dwina, with a curious Account of the Inhabitants of the Province of Sirene.
3. His Passage from thence to Solikamskoi, with a large Account of the Salt-works in the Neighbourhood of that City.
4. The Author enters Asia, and visits the Country of the Wogulski Tartars, whose Manners and Customs he describes.
5. That Subject continued and concluded.
6. He continues his Journey through the Country of Tumeen, the Woods of which abound with a Kind of Animal that furnish the richest Furs in Russia.
7. A Description of the City of Tobolesk, the Extent of the Country of Siberia, and the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Russians.
8. The River Irtysh described; the Manner of training Dogs to draw Sledges, and a Description of that Kind of Carriage over the Snow.
9. The Author's Arrival at the City of Surgut; an Account of the adjacent Country and of the Foxes, Beavers, and other wild Beasts.
10. The Course of the River Oby described; an Account of the Ostiacks who inhabit its Banks, their Customs and Manner of Living.
11. The Author visits one of their Princes, and gives a large Detail of the miserable State of him and his Family.
12. The difficult and dangerous Passage of the River Keta, and the extraordinary Risk the Author ran of perishing thereon.
13. A very copious and curious Relation of the Manner of finding Mammut's Teeth, with Conjectures concerning the Nature of that Beast, which is invisible during its Life-time.
14. An Account of the Skammanskoy or Negromantick Water-Fall, and of the Manner in which Ships pass down and are towed up it.
15. Our Author makes a Visit to the Schaman or Necromancer; a large Account of him, and of the Methods he makes use of in deceiving the Tungusians, with a Detail of the Manners and Customs of these People.
16. The Author's Arrival at Buratskoy; the Burattians, a Pagan People described, and a particular Account of their strange Ways of Living.
17. A very large and distinct Account of the Yehiam or Musk-goat, with the different Manners used in preparing that rich Perfume.
18. An Account of the Lake of Baikol, and a singular Instance of the Author's good Sense and Courage.
19. He continues his Journey to the City of Telimba; his Adventures in that Journey, with an Account of the Country he travelled through, and the People he met with.
20. His Journey to, and a Description of the City of Nerzinskoy, the adjacent Territories described, as also the two Nations of Tungusians, their brutal Manners and barbarous Customs.
21. Our Author proceeds to the utmost Limits of the Russian Dominions in Asia; of the Frontiers of which Empire he gives a very curious and copious Description.

1. **A**FTER giving an Account of the Persian Empire, it was requisite, that as we had described that of the Mogul in the former Volume, and given the Succession of Princes down to our Times, to proceed to the fourth great Sovereignty of *Asia*, the most extensive and most celebrated Empire of *China*. But at the same Time we had this in View, it seemed also no less requisite to give some Account of the Countries that lie between *Russia* and *Persia*, and the Frontiers of that vast Empire, the Omission of which would have left a great Part of *Asia* unsurvey'd. In order to attain this End, there seemed







to be no Method so proper, as giving the Travels of a Person who had passed through these Countries with a publick Character, who survey'd them at Leisure, had very extraordinary Opportunities of examining every Thing that was curious and worthy of Notice, and who afterwards compos'd his Work for the Information and Satisfaction of the Czar *Peter the Great*, of glorious Memory, to whom it was dedicated, and who was so well pleas'd therewith, that he testified his Respect for the Author, by honouring him with the Office of a Privy Councillor. It is however requisite to observe, that in 1699, there was printed at *Amsterdam* an Account of this Embassy, and the Travels of the Ambassador, by one Mr. *Adam Brand*, who accompanied him in his Journey as one of his Domesticks; but whether it happened through Want of Care in keeping an exact Journal, from a natural Incapacity in the Author, or from his entring into too great Liberties, grounded upon the Licence that Travellers take, more especially such as pass through unknown Countries, or from whatever Cause it fell out, so it was, that this Relation contained a Multitude of Things equally inconsistent with Probability and Truth; notwithstanding which, it gained Credit for a Time, and pass'd current for a true Relation of this celebrated Embassy. But when our Author's own Work appeared, the Folly and Weakness of this surreptitious Account became manifest to the whole World, and *Brand's* Romance has been ever since as much decried as the following Performance has been universally esteem'd. There is no Need of saying any Thing more, either by way of Introduction or Recommendation of a Piece that has been long in Possession of the highest Character from the properest Judges. All therefore that we shall add is, that the Reader has it here entire in the Author's own Words, compared with the last and best Edition of the Original.

2. The most illustrious Czars, *John* and *Peter Alexowitz*, having resolv'd to send a splendid Embassy to the Great *Bogdaichan*, or Sovereign of the famous Kingdom of *Kitai*, by Europeans commonly called *China*; this oblig'd me with a favourable Opportunity of travelling through Part of the famous, but hitherto unknown *Siberian* and *Kitaian* Countries, and informing myself by credible Witnesses of the Remainder of those Lands, as well as obtaining certain Knowledge of several Things with which the World hath not been hitherto truly acquainted. For by God's paternal Providence, and the particular Favour of their Czarish Majesties, I obtained the great Honour of being dispatch'd their Envoy to the *Chinese* or *Kitaian* Court, furnished with sufficient Credentials and other Necessaries.

The Preparation of my Retinue and Equipage took me up so much Time, that I did not set out before the 14th of *March*, 1692, when I went from *Moscow* in a Slead. The Beginning of my Journey prov'd very uneasy, by the violent Rain which accompanied us from *Moscow* to *Vollogda*, and occasioned such an Inundation, that our Sleads almost swam over the remaining Ice of the Rivulets and Brooks, and deep Roads. However, by the Divine Assistance, though not without Difficulty, we reach'd the City of *Vollogda*, where I rest'd three Days in Expectation of better Weather, which happen'd according to my Wishes; for within two Days it froze so hard, and snow'd so violently, that all the Water was froze up in four and twenty Hours; so that we could easily pass all the Rivulets and Ditches in our Sleads, without any Apprehension of Danger. The 22d of the same Month, I set forwards from *Vollogda* to *Suchina*, where I arriv'd on the 23d, and without stopping advanced to the City of *Great Ustiga*, where the Rivers *Suchina* and *Irga* unite, and thereby compose the famous River *Dwina*; the Name of which imports a double River.

The Course of the *Suchina* is almost full North, thro' a fertile Country, and its Banks on each Side are adorn'd with well inhabited Villages, besides *Totma*, an indifferent City, situat'd on its left Shoar; and several Travellers annually pass this River, going from *Vollogda* to *Archangel*, in small Ships well laden, as long as the River is open: But the Stream running in a stony

Channel, those Ships which pass it must be provided with good Plank at both Ends, by reason of the hidden Rocks, and the Rapidity of the Stream, which would otherwise sink them to the Bottom. At the Mouth of this River is situat'd the City of *Great Ustiga*, where I was oblig'd to stay about twenty four Hours. Leaving that Place, I came the 29th of *March* to *Solowitzjogda*, a very large City, inhabited by many considerable Merchants and curious Artificers, especially in Silver, Copper, and Bone. Here are also a great many Salt-pits that yield vast Quantities of Salt, which are transported to *Vollogda*, and all over the adjacent Countries.

I set out from this Place on the first of *April*, and the same Day reach'd the Province of *Sirene* or *Wollost Usgy*; the Inhabitants of which speak a Language that has not the least Affinity with the *Muscovite*, but is somewhat like the barbarous *German Livonian* Language; for some of my Retinue who understood that, could understand a great Part of the Speech of these People. They are of the *Greek Church* and subject to his Czarish Majesty, to whom they pay their Tribute; though they are not under the Jurisdiction of any Viceroy or Waywode, but chuse their own Judges amongst themselves, and important Causes which cannot be decided before them, are removed to the Foreign *Posolsche* or Ministers Court at *Moscow* to be determin'd. The Stature and Habit of both the Men and Women are not very different from those of the *Russian* Peasants; all which consider'd, I cannot but think that these People might anciently transplant themselves hither from the Borders of *Livonia* or *Coral*. I asked some of them out of Curiosity, concerning their Original; but they were not able to give me any Account, whether their Ancestors came thither out of foreign Countries, or not; nor could they give any Reason why their Language has no Affinity with the *Russian*. They generally live by Agriculture, except that Part of them which are employ'd in the Manufacture of Grey Furs, near the River *Zizol*. They inhabit a considerable Tract of Land, which extends to the City of *Kaigorod*, and is about seventy *Sumka's* long, each *Sumka* being a large *German* Mile. These People do not live in Cities or Towns, but for the most Part in small Villages built in the large Woods, and their Houses are like those of the *Russians*.

This Country terminating in a great Forest, we were again infest'd with a violent Rain, and such a Thaw, as in the Space of one Night swelled the Waters to that Degree, that I could not pass them without great Difficulty. In this uneasy Condition I remain'd four Days, during which Time I was oblig'd to struggle with all the incident Inconveniencies; our Sleads swam continually, and the Rivulets and Brooks on each Side of the Woods pour'd in upon us, so that, as though we had been in a Sea, we could neither proceed forwards, nor return backwards: Nor would the Ice of the great Rivers bear any longer; notwithstanding which, by the Help of Bridges and other proper Means, at last, on the 6th of *April* I reach'd *Kaigorod*, an indifferent large but very strong City on the River *Kama*.

3. From thence I design'd to have set forwards immediately to *Solikamskoi*, the chief City of *Great Permia*, in order to prosecute my Journey to *Siberia* over the Mountains of *Werchaturia*; but the Thaw at the End of Winter continuing, forc'd me to alter my Resolution, and stay there several Weeks, till the opening of the River *Kama* favour'd my Departure by Water; during which Time I made all necessary Preparations for my Journey. Another Thing which occasion'd my Stay, was the great Damage that the City of *Kaigorod* had suffer'd lately by Robbers.

This Misfortune, which fell upon the Commandant of the Place who had that Post when I was there, happen'd in the following Manner: On a *Sunday* about Noon, several well mann'd Barks, with flying Colours, Drums and Hautboys, came sailing on the River *Kama* to the City; the Men leaped on Shore, whilst the innocent Inhabitants suspected no Harm in Time of Peace, and in a quiet Country, but took

took them for Friends and Acquaintance from the neighbouring Villages, met together to divert themselves; but the Robbers set the South Part of the City on Fire, and falling upon the Inhabitants of the *North* Quarter, cut all of them to pieces that came in their Way, and at last went to the *Waiwod's* Apartment, which they plundered, and committed all Manner of Insolencies and Outrages on his Servants; after which carrying off whatever they pleased, they returned to their Boats and sailed down the *Kama*. But diligent Search being made after these Birds of Prey, they were found to be a Rabble of runaway Servants got together, some of which were at last taken, tortured, and punished according to their Crimes. I caused Wood for Firing to be brought to warm me, and kept still upon my Guard, appointing strong Watch by Water and by Land.

After my Vessel was equipped, and the *Kama* free of Ice, on the 23d of *April* we set forwards, and safely arrived on the 27th in the City of *Solikamskoi*, from whence I should have gone over the Mountains of *Werchaturia*, which is only practicable in Winter; the Multitude of the Morasses, and Deepness of the Roads, rendring that Way utterly impassable in Summer; for which Reason all Officers, as well as Merchants, are obliged to lie still the whole Summer in *Solikamskoi*, till they meet with hard Winter Roads. It is true indeed, that it is possible to sail round these Hills; but for certain Reasons that Passage is absolutely forbidden, neither Commanders nor Merchants being allowed to go that Way. Notwithstanding which, the Governor of *Solikamskoi* knowing that my Embassy would admit of no Delay, ordered me to be supplied with as many small Barks as were requisite to pass the River *Suzawaia*.

Solikamskoi is a very fine large and rich City, where several very considerable Merchants reside. Here are also many Salt-works or Pits, and very near fifty *Saline* Springs, from twenty-five to thirty-five Ells deep, out of which great Quantities of Salt are taken and boiled, and thence shipped off in great Tide-ships built for that Purpose; each of which will easily stow from One hundred to one hundred and twenty, thousand *Poods*, that is, from one thousand six hundred to two thousand Tun; mann'd with about seven or eight hundred Sailors and Labourers, and furnished with Kitchens, Bagnio's, and all Sorts of Conveniencies. These Vessels are from thirty-five to forty Ells long, and carry a Mast; to which is fixed a Sail of thirty Fathom broad, which they make use of to sail up the River when the Wind is good; but when they go down, they only row, and that chiefly to keep the Ship's Head right, which the Rudder alone is not strong enough to do. They are flat bottomed, and have no Nails, or other Iron-work in them, but are made entirely of Wood. They float along the *Kama* with the Tide, till it falls into the famous River *Volga*, where they are forced to be towed up against the Tide, or sail up if the Wind be favourable; but the Salt is unladen from *Kasan* to *Nisna* on the *Volga*, and at several convenient Places.

The 14th of *May* I set forwards from *Solikamskoi* by Water, and passed on the *Ufolkat*, a small River about Half a Mile from the City, again into the *Kama*: On which River we drove entirely out of *Europe* into *Asia*. So on *Whitsunday* I went on Shoar, and upon a high and beautiful green Hill eat my last Dinner in that Part of the World on the Grass. And after I had drank a Glass of Wine, as a Farewell to dear *Europe*, I immediately returned on Board, in order to proceed on our Voyage along the River.

4. Having thus entered the *Asiatick* River *Suzawaia*, we found it far less agreeable than the beautiful *Kama*; which is a fine River, abounding with all Sorts of Fish, and from *Solikamskoi* to this Place adorned with very fine large Villages and Towns, several very expensive Salt-works, fertile Corn Grounds, fruitful Lands, spacious Fields beautified with all Sorts of Flowers, Woods, &c. all wonderfully pleasant. But though the Banks of the *Zawaja*, which falls Westward into the *Kama*, are not less beautiful and fruitful; yet we found our passing this River very tedious; for by the high Water we made but a very small Progress in several Days, being

obliged to be towed along with a Line; however, at last, after twelve Days, and tiresome tugging against the Stream, we came to, and touched at a pleasant Shoar on the 25th of *May*, amongst the first *Siberian Tartars*, called *Wogulski*. I must acknowledge, that the well peopled Countries on the Sides of this River, deserve to be reckoned amongst the most charming in the World. And when in the Mornings or Evenings I stepped on Shoar to divert myself, and went within Land towards the Hills, I every where found the most beautiful Flowers and Plants, which emitted a most agreeable fragrant Scent, and all Sorts of Wild Beasts running about in great Multitudes. But the *Wogulskian Tartars*, to which this River led us, are stupid Heathens, which induced me to pry more narrowly into their Religion, Manner of Living, and other Circumstances; and for this End I went on Shoar, and lodged a Night amongst them.

They are naturally robust, and have remarkably large Heads. Their whole Worship consists in making an Offering once a Year; when they go in Crouds into the Woods, and kill one of each Species of Beasts, of all which they prefer the Horse and Tyger as best; they flea off the Skins, hang up the Carcass on a Tree, and fall prostrate to the Earth, and in their Way pray to it; after which they eat the Flesh together, and return Home; which done, they are free from the Trouble of praying for that Year. What need of Praying any oftner than once a Year, say they? They are not able to give the least Account of the Original or Import of their Faith, but only that their Forefathers did so, and they think good to follow their Example.

I asked them concerning their Knowledge of God; Whether they did not believe that there was a God and Lord in Heaven above, that had created, preserved and governed all Things, and gave Rain and fair Weather? To which they replied; We may very well believe that, for we see, that the Sun and Moon, those two bright Lights which we worship, and the Stars also, are in Heaven, and there is one which rules them. They would not in the least hear of the Devil, because he never appeared, or revealed himself to them. They acknowledge a Resurrection of the Dead, but are ignorant what Sort of Rewards to expect, whether corporal or not. When any of them die, they bury the Carcass without any Grave-stone; and be it Man or Woman, all his or her best Apparel and Ornaments, besides some Money, according to the Ability of the Deceased, are buried with the Corps; to the End that he may have some Cloaths on, and something to spend at the Time of the Resurrection. They cry over the dead Corps in a dismal Manner, and the Husband is obliged to continue a Widower a Year after the Death of his Wife. If a Dog dies, that in Hunting or any other Way has been serviceable to them, they erect in Honour of him, a small wooden Hut, on four Props of Earth; in which they lay the dead Dog, and suffer him to continue there as long as the Hut lasts. They take as many Wives as they can keep, and when any of these is pregnant, and near her Delivery, she is obliged to retire into a Hut in a Wood, erected for that Purpose, where she is delivered; and the Husband and she are not permitted to come near each other for the Space of two Months after.

5. When a Man desires to marry, he is obliged to buy the Bride of her Father. They have very few Marriage Ceremonies besides treating the nearest Relations; after which the Bridegroom goes to Bed to the Bride. They have no Priests, nor marry any nearer than the fourth Degree of Consanguinity. Amongst other Discourse I admonished them, that it was Time to acknowledge Christ the Saviour of the whole World, and turn to him; which would secure their temporal and eternal Welfare. To this they answered; As for what concerns Temporals, we daily see vast Numbers of Poor *Russians*, that can hardly get a Piece of dry Bread, and nevertheless some of them believe in Christ; and as for the eternal Things they left them to themselves; and at the same Time declared, that they would live and die in the Opinion of their Forefathers, whether right



*Wogulski Tartars on the
Frontiers of Siberia*



*Ostiacks on the Banks
of the River Oby*



*Nisovian Tunguzians in
their Summer Dress*



*A Nisovian Tunguzian
in his Winter Habit*



Toboleski The chief City of SIBERIA.



The Great rocky Waterfall call'd Skamanskoy

right or wrong. The Habits of Men and Women, as well as theirs and their Childrens Shape, are expressed by the annexed Cut, which shews they are neither extravagant nor ridiculous.

Their Dwellings are quadrangular wooden Rooms, like those of the *Russian* Peasants; only instead of Ovens they use Hearths, on which they burn Wood, and dress their Victuals. The Smoak-hole which is in the Roof, is covered with Ice; as soon as the Wood is burnt to a Coal, which keeps the Warmth in the Room, and the Light strikes through the clear Ice. They have no Chairs, but instead of them a broad Bench round the Room, about an Ell high, and two Ells broad, on which they sit like the *Persians*, with their Legs across under them, and sleep on them at Night. They live upon what their Bow and Arrows furnishes them. Their chiefest Game are *Elks*, whole Herds of which are found here; these they cut in Pieces, and hang in the Air round their Houses to dry; if it happens to rain upon them, and they begin to stink abominably, they dry them again, and eat them as a Delicacy. They do not eat either Cocks, Hens, or Hogs. They have a pleasant Way of catching wild Beasts, for they place a Sort of great Bows in the Woods, fastning a String to them, to which they fix some Corn, or other Bait, leaving only a Place for the Game to enter, so that the *Elk*, or any other Beast that comes in there, cannot pass by without touching this Snare; and when the Bow lets fly, the Arrows enter the fore-part of the Body, and he presently falls down. They also dig great Pits in the Woods, which they cover with Reeds and Grass, so that if any Beast comes thither, he falls in and is taken. These *Tartars* live in their Villages all along the River *Iuzawaia* to the Castle of *Utka*, and are under the Protection of his *Czarish* Majesty, to whom they pay Tribute, and live in Security and Peace. The Extent of Land, which they inhabit, reaches about 800 *German* Miles in the North part of *Siberia*, and even to the North *Samojedes*.

6. After leaving these Heathens, we arrived at the Castle of *Utka* on the first of *June*. This Place is a Frontier Fortification against the *Baskirian* and *Uffimischian* *Tartars*. When I was there, an *Uffimischian* *Tartarian* Gentleman, an Inhabitant in his *Czarish* Majesty's Dominions, came thither in Search of his Wife, to whom he had been long married, and who had eloped without any Provocation. But when he could not find her amongst the Peasants, he comforted himself, saying, that he was the seventh Husband she had left, who were all alive; by which it seems that the Lady was Lucky enough to meet often with new Lovers.

On the 20th of the same Month, setting forwards from *Utka* in Waggon drawn by Horses, we passed the Castle of *Ajada*, and crossed the River *Neuia*, which runs round it. After which we proceeded by the River *Reesch* to the Castle of *Arsamas*, and from thence to the Castle of *Neuianskoi*, on the abovementioned River *Neuia*. This Journey by Land to *Neuianskoi*, proved one of the pleasantest in the World, since I met therein with most charming Fields, Woods, Brooks, and standing Waters, as also extraordinary fertile and well tilled Grounds, perfectly well inhabited every where by *Russians*, and furnished with all Necessaries at a very cheap Rate. At *Neuianskoi* I again took Water, and we drove with the Tide, betwixt two populous Shores, adorned with well built Villages and Castles, inhabited by *Russian* Christians, down to the River *Tura*, which terminates Westward in the River *Tobol*.

On the 25th of the same Month we reached the City of *Tumeen*, which considering its Situation is strong and populous, mostly inhabited by *Russians*; and the Remainder being about one fourth Part, with *Mahometan* *Tartars*, who drive a considerable Trade to the *Kalmick* Countries, *Bucharia*, &c. Great Numbers of these live dispersed all round in the Country, subsisting on Agriculture and Fishing. This and the neighbouring Places do not afford any Quantity of other Skins, than those of red Foxes, Wolves and Bears; but a few Miles distant is a Wood called *Heetkoy-Wollok*, which abounds with the very finest Grey Squirrels, that keep their Co-

lour both Summer and Winter; they are as large as the common Squirrels; besides which the Leather prepared from them is very strong, and they are not to be found any where in the whole *Muscovite* Empire besides. It is forbidden under a great Fine, to sell them to Merchants; for they are ordered to be preserved for the Use of the *Czar*. These Beasts are said to have the strange Quality of killing and eating all other Species of Grey Squirrels, that come into their Wood.

Whilst I was in this City, its Inhabitants and all their Neighbours were in great Fear of the *Kalmakian* and *Kosack-Orda* *Tartars*, who had joined and made an Irruption into *Siberia*, laid several Villages waste, cut the Inhabitants in Pieces, and also threatned this City, from which they were not above fifteen Miles distant. But the Governor very expeditiously raised a considerable Force out of *Tobolska* and other Cities, and sent them against these roving *Tartars*, whom they soon drove back with great Loss.

For this Reason, I was not willing to stay any longer here, but as soon as I had obtained fresh Rowers, and Soldiers for Convoy, I left that Place on the 26th of the same Month, and went farther down the River *Tobol*, the Shoars of which on each Side are low and moist Ground, which in the Spring is under Water, so that it is scarce, if at all inhabited; though for several Miles farther in Land on each Side it is abundantly peopled, partly by *Mahometan* *Tartars*, and partly by *Russians*; and the River produces all Sorts of excellent Fish.

7. On the first of *July*, I arrived safe at *Tobolesk*: Which City is surrounded with a large Stone Cloyster, with high Watch-Towers, which may pass for a Fortification. This Place is situated on a high Hill of a vast Circuit about, the Bottom of which, along by the River *Rhitisch*, is inhabited by the *Mahometan* *Tartars* and *Buchars*, who drive a great Trade up the *Rhitisch* or *Irtis*, into the *Kalmakian* Territories, and carry their Goods to *China*; so that if it were safe to travel the *Kalmakian* Country, the most expeditious Way to *China* would be to pass the *Jamuschowwa* *Osera*, or *Jamuschian* Lake.

Tobolesk, *Tobolska*, or *Tobolskoi*, is the chief City of *Siberia*, whose Jurisdiction extends Southward beyond *Baraba*, from *Werchaturia* to the River *Oby*; Eastward to *Samojedia*, Northward to *Ostiaski*, and Westward to *Ussa* and the River *Zuzawaja*. This Province is every where very well peopled, as well by *Russians* who depend on Husbandry, as by all Sorts of Nations, particularly *Tartars* and Heathens, which pay Tribute to his *Czarish* Majesty. Corn is so very cheap there, that 100 *German* Pounds of Rye Flower may be bought for sixteen *Cops*; and as for Flesh, the Price of an Ox is commonly from two *Rixdollars*, to two and a half, about eleven Shillings *English* Money; and that of an indifferent large Hog is from thirty to thirty five *Styvers*. Besides, the River *Irtis* produces such a prodigious Quantity of Fish, that a Sturgeon, weighing forty Pounds, may be there bought for five or six *Styvers*; and these Fish are so far from being lean, that when they are boiled, their Fat appears of the Thickness of a Finger. Here are great Plenty of all Sorts of wild Beasts, as, Elcks, Stags, Deer, Hares, &c. and of wild Fowl, viz. Pheasants, Partridges, Swans, wild Geese, Ducks, and Storks; all which are cheaper than Beef. This City is defended by a strong Garrison, which upon Order from the *Czars*, can bring 9000 Men into the Field; besides which are several Thousands of *Tartars*, who serve all on Horseback on Occasion.

Inursions into the West Frontiers, are very frequently made by the *Kalmucks*, the *Kosack Orda*, and the Subjects of the *Teshichan* or Governor of the *Bucharian* *Tartars*: Besides which the *Uffimur* and *Bakirian* *Tartars* commit such like Insolencies sometimes; but these are immediately opposed and repulsed by the *Toboleskians*. This City is also the Place of Residence of the Metropolitan or chief Ecclesiastick, who is sent from *Moscow* hither, and exercises spiritual Jurisdiction over all *Siberia* and *Dauria*.

About an hundred Years ago, this City and the whole Province of *Siberia* became subject to the Czar, by the following Accident. *Jeremak Timefeiewitz*, a very famous Robber in the Reign of Czar *Ivan Wasilewitz*, having plundered these and all the adjacent Countries, had greatly injured the Subjects of his *Czarish* Majesty; when he was pursued, he and his Companions fled up the River *Kama*, and from thence into the River *Iuzawaja*, which falls into the *Kama*, where lie the Lands of *Strogino*, famous for his vast Estate and Iron Works, which take up the greatest Part of the Shoar, and stretch to the Length of seventy *German* Miles. It was this rich Man's Grandfather that he applied himself to for Protection, and begged his Interest in obtaining his *Czarish* Majesty's Pardon, offering at the same Time by Way of Attonement, to reduce the whole Province of *Siberia* to be subject to the Czar. Pursuant to which he also obtained from the abovementioned *Strogino*, Assistance of Barks, Arms, and necessary Workmen; and thus provided and accompanied with his Fellow Robbers in light Barks, he passed up the River *Serebrenskoy*, which runs by the North-east Part of the *Werchaturian* Hills, and falls into the *Iuzawaja*; thence he conveyed his Equipage by Land to the River *Tagin*, on which he sailed into the *Tura*, took the Fort of *Tumeen* situate thereon, razed it to the Ground, and advanced up the River *Tobol* to *Tobolska*, where then resided a *Tartarian* Prince, aged about twelve Years, whose Name was *Altanai Kutzjumowitz*, whose Descendant is still honoured with the Title of the *Siberian Czarewitz*. This City he likewise attacked and took with small Loss, after which he carried the Prince Prisoner to *Moscow*, and put the conquered City into a better Posture of Defence.

After this Success he proceeded down the River *Jetisch*; but was set upon in the Night by a Party of *Tartars*, not far from *Tobolski*, who cut off a great many of his Men, and he himself endeavouring to step from one Bark into another, leaped short, and by Reason of his heavy Armour, sunk to the Bottom; his Body was carried away by the Force of the Stream and never found. In the mean while *Strogino* had obtained the Czar's Pardon for *Jeremak*, and several hundred *Muscovite* Officers and Soldiers came and garrisoned the Places which he had taken; and from this Juncture the Czar's Sovereignty over *Siberia* is to be dated.

The *Tartars* that live round *Tobolska*, for several Miles, are all *Mahometans*. I being somewhat curious to see their religious Worship, the *Waiwode* went with me, and by Virtue of his Authority, gave me an Opportunity which they will not allow another Person. Their *Metschets*, called by other Authors *Mosques*, or Churches, had large Windows round them, all which were set open: The Floor was covered with *Tapistry*, besides which there was no other Ornament. All Persons at their Entrance leave their Shoes or Slippers at the Door, and set themselves down in Rows, with their Legs under them: The Chief-priest sat there in a white Callico Habit, and a white *Turkish* Turbant on his Head. Then I observed one behind the People cry with a hoarse loud Voice, and after he had said something to them, they all fell on their Knees; then the Priest uttered some Words, and afterwards cried out, *Alla, Alla, Mahomet*, which the whole Assembly roared out after him three Times successively, prostrating themselves on the Ground: This done, the Priest looked into both his Hands, as though he designed to read something there, and repeated *Alla, Alla, Mahomet*: Then he looked first over his right Shoulder, then over his left, which all the People did after him, and so their short Devotion was ended.

The *Mufti* or Chief Priest is an *Arabian*, whom they highly reverence; and they very much esteem any Person that can either read or write the *Arabick* Language. This Priest invited us to his House, which was near the *Metschet*, and treated us with a Dish of Tea. There are also in this *Calmackian* Country great Numbers of *Tartars* that are used for Slaves; as also some long imprisoned *Calmackian* Princes; all which are the Consequences of Wars, which one Tribe of these barbarous Nations have carried on against another, and this in

a desert Country, more than wide enough for them all.

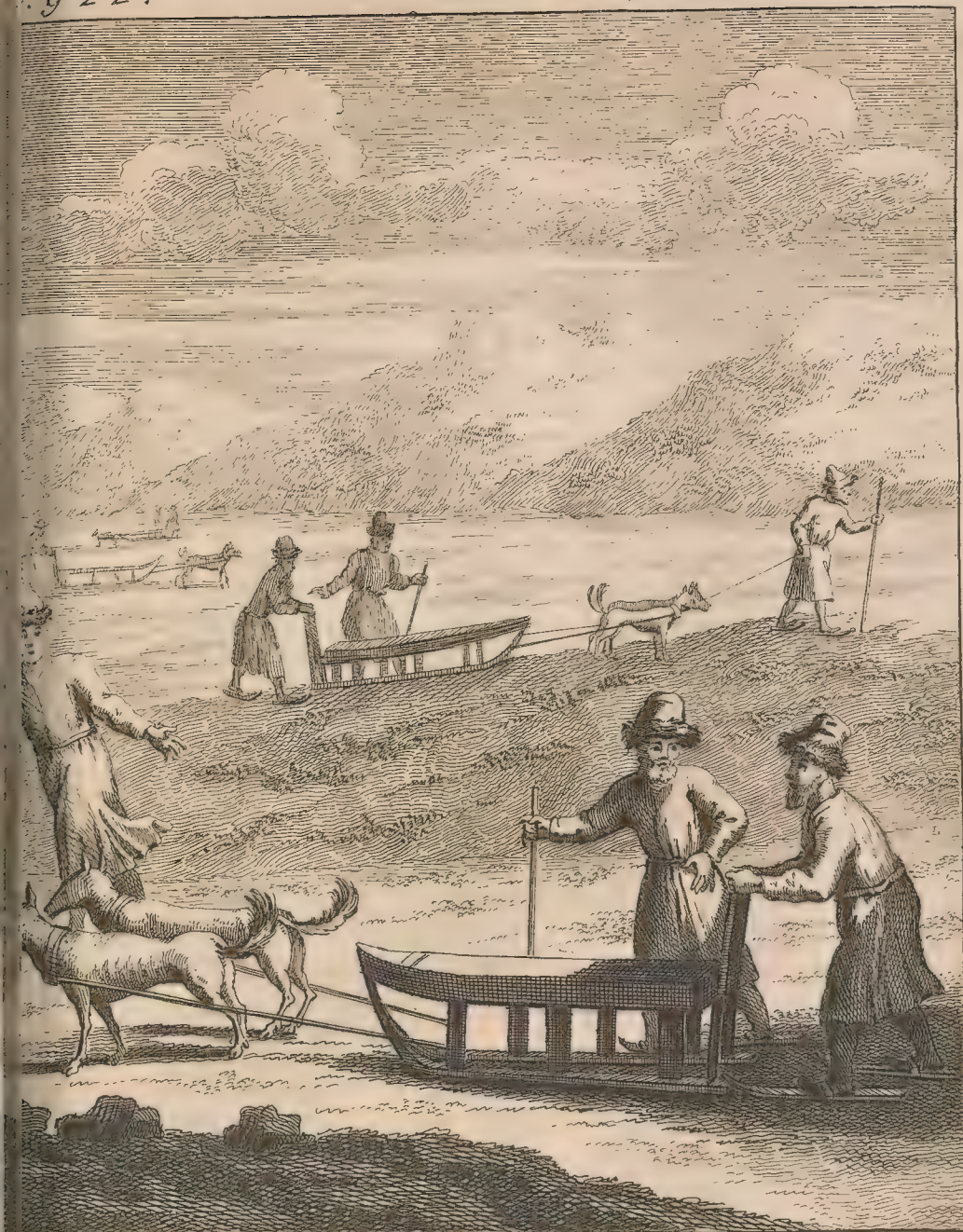
8. After I had provided myself with Barks, Soldiers for Convoy, and other Necessaries, I set forwards in the Name of God, on the 22d of July from the City of *Tobolski*, falling down the River *Irtis*; passing *Tartarian* and *Ostackian* Villages, and the Towns *Demonoskoy*, *Jamin*, &c. all on the South-side, where *Pennonka*, a small River, falls into the *Irtis*. On the 28th of the same Month we arrived safe at *Samarosky-Jam*, where I took in fresh Rowers, and ordered the Masts to be erected in our largest Vessels, in order to sail up the River *Oby*, if the Wind proved favourable; for the *Irtis* discharges itself into the *Oby*, not far from this Town of *Samarosky-Jam*.

The River *Irtis* appears to be a white light Water; it rises from the Hills in the *Kalmackian* Country; its Course is from the South to the North-East; and it passeth down through the two Lakes of *Kabako* and *Saisan*. Its whole South-East Shore, from Beginning to End, is all high Hills, on which grow some Cedars dispersed here and there. The North-West Shoar is low Pasture Ground, and on this Side are a prodigious Number of great Black Bears, Wolves, and Red and Grey Foxes. Not far from *Samarosky-Jam* is a Rivulet, called *Kasunka*, which runs into the *Oby*, and upon its Banks affords the best Grey Squirrels in all *Siberia*, (except only the Wood of *Heetkoy Wollock*) which are called from the River, *Kasunka*.

Here I am to relate what the Inhabitants told me as a Truth: That last Year, in Harvest-time, early in the Morning, an extraordinary large Bear broke into one of the Cow-Houses in this Town, seized a Cow, held her fast by the Shoulder with his two fore Feet, and carried her off, going on his hinder Feet only. Upon the Lowing of the Cow, the Owner and several of the Neighbours came out, saw it, and all run at the Bear with Fire-Arms and Clubs; notwithstanding which, he would not part with his Prey till they fired and killed the Cow.

Most of the Inhabitants here are *Russian Jemskicks*, who are in the Pay of his *Czarish* Majesty, for which they supply the *Waywodes* that are ordered this Way, and all other Persons who travel on the Czar's Affairs in *Siberia*, with free Carriages and Men to work; and are obliged to carry them by Water in Summer, and over the Ice in Winter, as far as *Surgut*, situate on the *Oby*, at a very reasonable Price. These People keep great Numbers of Dogs, which they make use of to travel with in Winter, for it is utterly impossible to pass this Country with Horse-Sleads, by Reason that sometimes the Snow on the *Oby* is above a large fathom deep, so that no Horse could travel.

These Dogs are yoked two to each *Narta* or Slead, which is for that Purpose made very light and thin; and carry from two to three hundred *German* Weight. The Slead nor the Dogs are not hurt by the Snow, but both run very swiftly over, leaving a Trace only of the Depth of a Finger's Breadth. Some of these Dogs know beforehand, whether there is like to be any Work for them, as we were vainly told; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in Crouds, and howl in a dismal Manner, whence their Masters draw their Presages. If when they are on the Way, they are inclined to hunt, the Master takes his Gun on his Shoulder, and puts on his long sliding Shoes, with which he goes over the Ice, takes his Dogs with him, and steps a little Way into the Wood, turns up all Manner of wild Game, perhaps a fine black Fox; and then they divide what is taken fairly, for the Skins of the Game are the Masters, and the Flesh belongs to his Dogs. Thus they make a very profitable Use of these draught Dogs; which are middle sized, sharp Nosed, with long erected Ears, and carry their Tails crooked; some of which are very like Wolves or Foxes, insomuch that as they lie asleep in the Woods, they are sometimes by Mistake shot for one of those two Species: To countenance which, it is also affirmed, as a Thing certain, that these Dogs mix their Strain, by a promiscuous Copulation with that of Wolves and Foxes;



*Russians Traveling with
Dog Sleds in Siberia*



Burattians Hunting



*A Mongolian Lady
and Priest*



*A Tunguzian taking a
Solemn Oath*



Foxes; whence, as our Informers asserted, whenever a Courfing Match happens among the Inhabitants, they find a great Number of both Species near the Villages, as has been frequently observed.

Having all Things prepared by the *Samaroffschian Femskicks* in order to advancing on my Journey, I departed thence on the 29th of *July*, and with my two large *Dofchenicks* or Tide Ships, I drove down the most convenient Arm of the *Irtis*, to the celebrated River *Oby*, which I reached early the next Day. I found her Eastern Shoars abounding with Hills; but the West intirely flat Land, as far as was visible to us. The *Oby* was half a Mile over at this Place.

9. On the 6th of *August* we reached the City of *Surgut*, situate on the Eastern Shoar of the *Oby*: The inland Country for some Distance Eastwards of *Surgut*, as also farther up the *Oby*, about or near the City of *Narun*, produces Sables, some of which are pale, and others as black as Pitch, the finest and largest Ermines in all *Siberia* and *Russia*, and above all black Fox-Skins, which are the very finest and richest any where: Among the best of these Fox-Skins, which are reserved for his Czarish Majesty, there are some which are valued from two to three hundred *Rubels* a Skin, that are so very black, that the blackest *Daurian* Sable is not comparable to them. These Foxes are caught by Dogs; of which the Inhabitants related the following very remarkable Accident, in strong Terms, but let the Reader believe as he pleases.

Last Year, near a Village adjacent to *Surgut*, by Day-light, an extraordinary fine Fox discovered himself, upon Sight of which a Boor let loose his Dogs: The Fox was within Sight of the Peasant, and the Dogs soon got up to him; but when this subtle Animal saw that it was impossible to escape the Hounds by Flight, he fawning run to meet them, tumbled on his Back before them, and licked their Mouths, run backwards and forwards and played with them; the unexperienced Dogs softned by his fawning Treatment, did the fly Fox no Manner of Hurt, but suffered him to escape into the Wood; so that the poor Peasant having no Fire-Arms at Hand, notwithstanding all his Vigilance, did for that Time lose Sight of this rich Booty.

But two Days afterwards the same Fox returned to the same Place; which the Peasant was no sooner aware of, but he took another, and his best Dog with him, which was white haired; and full freight with fresh Hopes of this rich Game, he runs this Dog at the Fox, but the black Dogs flew towards him, and while he was fawning on them, the white Hound was so cunning as to fawn at first, but being come within Reach, he took a good Leap at him, and had certainly seized him, if he had not, by leaving a Piece of his Side behind him, sprung nimbly from him, and escaped into a thick Wood, where it was in vain to look for him.

The Boor was at last however too hard for this subtle Fox, for he coloured his white Dog all over black, that the Fox who was become shy of him, might not know him; which done he went the third Time on this Course with his dy'd Dog, and was so fortunate that his Hound smelt him out; upon which the Fox seeing the disguised Dog, fawn'd on him without the least Fear, taking him for one of the first black Hounds, with whom he designed to play again; and in this Posture they approached each other, when the Dog watching his Opportunity, grasped the careless Fox, and so caught this fly Beast with his fine Skin, which proved very well worth the Peasant's Trouble, he selling it for an hundred *Rubels*.

Here are great Numbers of those which are called Cross-Foxes, whose Skins are of a mixt black and grey, but very few perfect black. Red Foxes and *Hyæna*'s, as also Beavers are very plentiful in this Country; but the *Hyæna*'s are very mischievous and live on Prey.

They, like the *Linx*'s, place themselves in the Trees, lie very still and close, till a Hart, an Elk, a Doe or an Hare runs under the Tree; from which they leap upon him, eat a Hole in his Body, and continue gnawing, till the Beast by Force of Pain falls down, and consequently comes to their Share. One of the *Wairwods*

kept a *Hyæna* alive for his Diversion, which he put into the Water, and let two Water Dogs loose at him; but he immediately leaped upon the Head of one of them, and held him so long under Water till he drowned him; after which he swam to the other, whom he had treated in the same Manner, if he had not been interrupted by throwing Wood at him, till the Dog, taking his Opportunity, swam out.

But with Regard to the Beavers, which herd here in great Numbers, some very strange Particulars are related as Truths, though they seem ridiculous; wherefore I take it to be worth my Pains to touch a little on their Properties, of which the following are all seriously averred to me. The greatest Part of their Food being Fish, they harbour on the Shores of those Rivers which abound most with Fish, and which are not much troubled with Passengers. In the Spring they not only herd together, but assemble themselves into a Society, and pick out some, and seize others as Prisoners, whom they carry to their Holes, and oblige them to serve as Slaves. They fell Trees with their Teeth, carry them to their Dwellings, and there hack out their Wood to a certain Length, which they artificially fix together like Joyners-work, and Chefts, and there they lay up separately all their Summer-store of Provisions. And about the Season of this Preparation, the Time of the Female Beavers Bringing-forth approaches; upon which the Inhabitants told me improbable Things of their Practices. They say, that against that Juncture the whole Neighbourhood go together, and frequently gnaw a Tree of above an Ell Circumference, for the Length of above two Fathom, even to the inner Pith, till it falls down; that they are expert enough to bring it to their Holes by Water, and that they can rear it upright before the Entrance of their Holes, so artificially, that the Tree stands perpendicularly in the Water above an Ell deep, and yet touches no Ground; and that so firm and immoveable in its Line or Centre, that though the Wind blow ever so hard, the Tree remains firm in its Place. All which seems unnatural; and yet all the *Siberians* that I ever discoursed unanimously affirmed it; and added several other Things concerning these Beasts, which seem rather the Effects of human Reason, than within the Compass of that Instinct which guides irrational Brutes; all which I shall not trouble myself to describe at large.

At the same Time, some ascribe this Erection of the Tree before the Beaver-holes, to the Conjuraton of the *Ostiacks*, and other Heathens, who live in all Parts thereabouts. Whether it is so or not, God knows; but it is certain, that these Beasts have Slaves amongst them, which in all Parts here are known to the Peasants, by reason they are lean, and their Furr worn off by Labour.

The *Russians*, as well as the *Ostiacks*, which go out a Beaver Hunting, always avoid the Destruction of a whole Nest or Kennel; for if they kill or shoot all the rest, they leave a Couple, Male and Female remaining, in order to furnish them with fresh Game in the same Place the next Year.

10. Having passed several Miles up the *Oby*, Part of which we sailed, and towed the rest with a Line, on the 13th of *August* we passed by the Mouth of the *Wagga*, which riseth out of the *Truganian Mountains*. This is a large River, its Water is brown, and its Course North-North-West into the *Oby*, on this Side of *Narun*, at which City we arrived on the 24th of the same Month. It is situated on the Side of the River in a fine Country, and is provided with a Fortress or Castle, and an indifferent Garrison of *Cossacks*. All the Country around this City abounds with Cross and Red Foxes, Beavers, Ermines, Sables, &c. which afford fine Furs.

The Banks of the *Oby* to this Place are inhabited by a People called *Ostiacks*; who worship Terrestrial Gods, but acknowledge, that according to Nature there must be a Lord in Heaven, that governs all; nevertheless, they do not pay any Worship at all to him, but have their own Gods made of Wood and Earth, in several human Shapes. Some of the richest amongst them dress these Deities in filken Cloaths, made after the Fashion of those of the *Russian Women*. All of them have

have these Idols placed in their Huts, which are made of Barks of Trees, sewed together with Harts Guts. On one Side of the God hangs a Bunch of human and horse Hair, and next that a wooden Vessel with Milk Pap, with which they daily supply their Idols, and thrust it into their Mouths with a Spoon made for that Purpose; but in as much as these Idols cannot swallow this their Milk Diet, it runs out again at both Sides of their Mouth, down their whole Bodies, in such a filthy Manner as is sufficient to disgust one from eating of that Food. When this nice God is to be worshipped or prayed to, his Adorers stand bolt upright, and tols their Head up and down, without bending their Backs in the least; besides which, they chirrup or whistle thro' the Lips, as we do when we call a Dog; and in these Fooleries consist their Devotion.

They call their Gods *Saitan*, and might indeed very well say *Satan*. Once several *Ostiacks* came on board the Ship in which I was, to sell us Fish, and one of my Servants had a *Nurenburg* Bear in Clock-work, which, when wound up, drummed and turned his Head backward and forward, continually moving his Eyes till the Work was down. Our People set the Bear at Play a little; and as soon as ever the *Ostiacks* saw it, all of them performed to it their customary Religious Worship, and danced excessively to the Honour of the Bear, nodding their Heads, and whistling at a great Rate. They considered our Bear as a right *Saitan*, crying out, What are our *Saitans* which we make? If we had such a *Saitan*, we would hang him all over with Sables and Black Fox Skins. They also asked, whether this Clock-work was to be sold; but I ordered it out of their Sight, to avoid administering any Occasion to Idolatry.

As for what farther concerns these Heathens, they have as many Wives as they can maintain, and marry their near Relations without any Scruple: If a Relation dies, they cry incessantly for several Days, covering their Heads, and sitting on their Knees in their Huts, and will not suffer themselves to be seen; but they carry the Corps on Poles to the Ground to be buried. They are a poor People, and live very miserable in sorry Huts. They might, indeed, live very happily and well, since all Parts near the *Oby* abound with great Quantities of rich Furs; besides that, there is extraordinary good Fishing in that River, in which are very fine Sturgeons, Jacks, &c. insomuch that twenty great Sturgeons may be bought of them for three Penny-worth of Tobacco; but they are so horrid lazy, that they do not desire to get any more than will barely suffice them annually for the Winter: For when they travel, they eat mostly Fish, especially when they are on the Water fishing, for then they live on nothing else. They are all of a middle Stature, most of them yellowish or red hair'd, and their Faces and Noses disagreeably broad; they are weak and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to Wars, and unfit for Military Exercises. Bows and Arrows are their Weapons, with which they shoot wild Beasts, tho' they are not much addicted to this neither. Their Cloaths consist of Sturgeon and other Fish Skins; they use neither Linnen nor Woollen; their Shoes and Stockens are fastened together, and they wear a short Coat with a Cape and Hood, which in Case of Rain they pull over their Heads. Their Shoes are also made of Fish-skins, and are sowed fast to their Stockens, but not closely; so that their Feet must necessarily be always wet. When they are upon the Water, notwithstanding the Thinness of their Cloathing, they will bear extraordinary great Cold; for if it be but a common Winter, they are no better clad than has been mentioned; but if the Winter prove hard, those who are thus clad are compelled to put another Coat of the same Sort of Fish-skins over that; and they express this severe Weather amongst one another, by saying, *Do you like the Winter that forces one to wear two Coats of Skins?* They sometimes go a Hunting in the Winter with a single Coat only, and their Breasts bare, depending upon warming themselves quickly with sliding and running over the Ice in their Schaits or sliding Shoes; but if,

as it several Times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary severe Frost, and it seems utterly improbable to escape it, or save their Lives, they with the utmost Haste throw off their Fish-skin Coat, fling themselves into the deep Snow, and voluntarily freeze to Death; the Reason why they pull off their Coat is, only that they may die the sooner, and with less Pain.

The Womens Cloaths are almost like the Mens; the Mens greatest Diversion is Bear-hunting, to which Sport they gather together in Crouds, armed with no other Weapon than a sharp Iron like a large Knife, fixed to a Stick about a Fathom long. As soon as they have put up a Bear, they run at him with these short Spears, and having killed him, they cut off his Head, stick it upon a Tree, run round it, and pay the profoundest Respect to it: After which, they run to the dead Body with repeated Cries, asking the Bear, *Who killed you?* The *Russians*, they answer, themselves. Who cut off your Head? *A Russian* *Av*. Who cut up your Belly? *A Knife* which a *Russian* made. And more such-like Follies. In a Word, the *Russians* bear all the Blame, and they are entirely innocent of the Murther of the Bear.

11. They have a Sort of Petty Princes amongst them, one of which is called *Kneska*, or Prince *Kurza Muganak*, whose Authority extends over some Hundreds of Huts; and he lays on and collects the Tribute which they are obliged to pay to the *Wairwodes* of his Czarish Majesty. This Potentate came with all his Princely Family and Servants on board me, paid his Compliment, and brought me a Parcel of fresh Fish as a Present; which I requited by presenting him with some Brandy and Tobacco, with which he went on Shoar very well contented; but returned immediately, and invited me to his Princely Palace. I being very curious to see this great Lord in his sumptuous Place of Residence, went thither, though I had no great Appetite to his Entertainment. Coming on Shoar, the introductory Ceremonies were not very particular. He acted the Master of the Ceremonies himself, and without much Solemnity brought me to his magnificent Apartment, which, like the other Huts of the *Ostiacks*, was composed only of Barks of Trees slightly sewed together. I found here four of his Wives, two old and two young; one of the young ones had a red Cloth Coat on, and was set off with all Sorts of Glass Corals about her Neck and her Middle, and in the Curls of her Hair, which hung down on both Sides of her Head in two Rows; she had also in her Ears great Thread-wrought Rings, with long Strings of Coral hanging at them. Each of these Princesses presented me with a Barrel made of Birch-Bark sewed together, and full of dry Fish; but the youngest gave me a Barrel of Sturgeon Fat, which was as yellow as Gold. After I had received these Presents, I caused them to be treated with Brandy and Tobacco, which is a great Delicacy amongst them. In this whole Princely Building, I saw no other Furniture than some Cradles and Chests made of Barks of Trees sewed together, in which the Bed-Cloaths lay, being of planed Wood-Shavings, which yet were almost as soft as Feathers. These Cradles stand at one End of the Hut, to avoid the Fire which is kindled in the Middle, and the Children lie naked in them. I also saw a Copper Kettle there, and some other Kettles composed of Barks of Trees sewed together, in which they boil their Victuals on the live Coals or Embers, for in the Flame they cannot do it.

To smoke Tobacco, (to which all, both Men and Women, are very much addicted) instead of Pipes they use a Stone Kettle, in which they stick a Pipe made for that Purpose, and at two or three Drawings, after they have taken some Water in their Mouths, can suck out a whole Pipe; and they swallow the Smoak, after which they fall down and lie insensible, like dead Men, with distorted Eyes, both Hands and Feet trembling for about Half an Hour. They foam at the Mouth, so that they fall into a Sort of Epilepsy; and we could not observe where the Smoak vented itself, and in this Manner several of them are lost. For as they

they are upon the Water travelling, or sitting by the Fire, some of these violent Smoakers fall into the Water and are drowned, or into the Fire and are burned; but some, after they have sucked in the Smoak, let it out at their Throats again, and these are in a better Condition than the other, tho' some weaker Constitutions are sometimes suffocated even thus with the Smoak which they let down into their Bodies.

It is further observable, that they are very angry, if any of their Relations, though long dead, are named or mentioned. They are utterly unacquainted with all Things before their own Life-time, and do not pretend to give any Relation of them; nor can they either write or read; and though they are very fond of Bread when they meet with it, they never trouble themselves with the Tillage of Land, or Culture of Gardens.

They have neither Temples nor Priests. Their Shipping or Boats, on the Outside, are Barks of Trees sewed together, and the Inside Ribs of very thin Wood; these are two or three Fathom long, and but an Ell broad; and yet they can secure themselves in them in great Storms till they get on Shore. In Winter-time these *Ostiacks* live entirely under Ground, there being no other Entrance to their Caves, but a Hole left open on the Surface of the Earth to let out the Smoke: If, as is frequent, a great Snow falls, it happens that, as according to their Custom, they lie asleep naked round the Fire, Part of their Body which lies a little distant from the Fire, is two or three Fingers thick covered with Snow; when they perceive themselves cold they turn about to the Fire, and bestow the best Place on the cold Part of their Body a little while, and so take no more Notice of it, being a very hardy People in respect to the Variation of Weather.

When an *Ostiack* is jealous of one of his Wives with another Man, he cuts some Hair from the under Part of a Bear's Skin, which he carries to the Man whom he suspects: If he be innocent he then accepts it, but if he be guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but must acknowledge the Truth, and then amicably makes up the Business with the Husband, and the Wife is sold; for if any should presume to be so rash as to take the Hair though he was guilty, they tell us they are assured, that the Bear's Skin from whence that Hair was cut off, will again become a living Bear, which after the Expiration of three Days will appear in the Wood, and tear the perjured Wretch to Pieces. On this Occasion they invoke Bows, Arrows, Axes, and Knives, and firmly believe that if the guilty Person takes any of these, he shall certainly be killed by those individual Instruments which he accepts, within the Space of a few Days; which is not only averred by themselves, but unanimously vouched also by the *Russians* who live in the Neighbourhood of these Parts. But enough of these *Ostiacks*. The Shore of the River *Oby*, on which they live, is all untilld Land from the Sea to the River *Tom*, by reason of the extreme Cold; so that no Corn, Fruit, or Honey, is here produced; there being only a few Nuts which grow on the Cedar-trees.

12. After having passed some Weeks on the River *Oby* amongst the barbarous *Ostiacks*, we went by the City of *Keetskoy*, situate on the River *Keta*, which falls North-west into the *Oby*. On the 28th following I passed by the Cloister of *St. George*, and the 3d of October I went by the Village of *Worozeikin*; and on the same Day died *John George Weltsel*, a Painter, one of my Retinue, who was born at *Sleswick*, after he had kept his Bed fourteen Days on Account of a Swelling just above his Heart, which was aggravated by a Fever.

On the 7th of October, I safely arrived at the Village *Makofskoi*, and there caused *Weltsel's* Corps to be buried on a Hill near the River, in the Middle of the Village. I must own that this Voyage upon the River *Keta* was the more irksome and melancholy than all the whole Way before; we were obliged to labour for five Weeks against the Stream, without seeing so much as any Man, besides now and then an *Ostiack* that appeared, and immediately hid himself in the Woods. This Sort of *Ostiacks* speak a different Language from those on the *Oby*; but their Idolatry is the same.

In this tedious uneasy Passage, I was exposed to much Care and Anxiety; for our Provisions, and especially the Meal, grew very low, by reason I had not recruited otherwise than with Fish since my Departure from *Tobolska*, and had been too charitable to the *Ostiacks* on board our Ship, who when we found it requisite, were obliged to tow us along with a Line; by which continual Fatigue they were become so weak, that we were obliged to keep a perpetual Watch over them to prevent their Desertion.

Notwithstanding all this Care, no Day passed in which some did not run away. And at last the Coldness of the Season, and their perpetual Labour, rendered them perfectly unserviceable; and if I had not before-hand written to the Governor of *Jenizeskoy* for Men to assist me, which he dispatched away to meet me with the first Opportunity, I and my Retinue had been probably lost; for not being within thirty Miles of the Village when the Assistance came, we had been certainly frozen up in the River, and had perished by Famine, and the deep Snows, which fall there; for this River is utterly unnavigable in Winter.

I was scarce got from *Makofskoi* before the River froze up. The Course of this River is, for the most Part, through an even Country, abounding with Woods and small Shrubs; the Water in some Places runs in such a crooked Channel, that where we dined at Noon, we were obliged to sup at Night, or at least not far from thence. Here are great Quantities of Woodcocks, Pheasants, Partridges, and other Wild-fowl; and it was a very diverting Sight to see great Flocks of Woodcocks and Pheasants come to the Brink of the River to drink, which gave us an Opportunity of shooting as many as we pleased in our Passage, and when our Provisions grew scarce, afforded us no small Assistance. Here grow also Strawberries, black and red Currants and Black-berries; but the River doth not yield great Quantities of Fish.

13. Amongst the Hills which are situate North-east of, and not far from hence, the *Mammuts* Tongues and Legs are found, as they are also particularly on the Shores of the Rivers *Jenize*, *Trugan*, *Mongamsea*, *Lena*, and near *Jakutskoi*, even as far as the Frozen Sea. In the Spring, when the Ice of this River breaks, it is driven in such vast Quantities, and with such Force by the high swollen Waters, that it frequently carries very high Banks before it, and breaks off the Tops of Hills, which falling down, discover these Animals whole, or their Teeth only, almost frozen to the Earth, which thaw by Degrees. I had a Person with me, who had annually gone out in Search of these Bones; he told it to me as a real Truth, that he and his Companions found the Head of one of these Animals, which was discovered by the Fall of such a frozen Piece of Earth. As soon as he opened it, he found the greatest Part of the Flesh rotten, but it was not without Difficulty that they broke out his Teeth, which were placed in the Fore-part of his Mouth, as those of the Elephants are; they also took some Bones out of his Head, and afterwards came to his Fore-foot, which they cut off, and carried Part of it to the City of *Trugan*, the Circumference of it being as large as that of the Waist of an ordinary Man. The Bones of the Head appeared somewhat red, as though they were tinged with Blood.

Concerning this Animal there are very different Reports. The Heathens of *Jakuti*, *Tungusi*, and *Ostiacki*, say that they continually, or at least by Reason of the very hard Frosts, mostly live under Ground, where they go backwards and forwards; to confirm which they tell us, that they have often seen the Earth heaved up when one of these Beasts was upon the March, and after he was passed, the Place sink in, and thereby make a deep Pit. They further believe, that if this Animal comes so near to the Surface of the frozen Earth as to smell the Air, he immediately dies, which they say is the Reason that several of them are found dead on the high Banks of the River, where they unawares came out of the Ground.

This is the Opinion of the Infidels concerning these Beasts, which are never seen.

But the old *Siberian Russians* affirm, that the *Mammoth* is very like the Elephant, with this Difference only, that the Teeth of the former are firmer, and not so freight as those of the latter. They also are of Opinion, that there were Elephants in this Country before the Deluge, when this Climate was warmer, and that their drowned Bodies floating on the Surface of the Water of that Flood, were at last washed and forced into subterraneous Cavities; but that after this universal Deluge, the Air which before was warm, was changed to cold, and that these Bones have lain frozen in the Earth ever since, and so are preserved from Putrefaction till they thaw, and come to Light; which is no very unreasonable Conjecture. Though it is not absolutely necessary that this Climate should have been warmer before the Flood, since the Carcasses of the drowned Elephants were very likely to float from other Places several hundred Miles distant, to this Country, in the great Deluge which covered the Surface of the whole Earth. Some of these Teeth, which doubtless have lain the whole Summer on the Shoar, are entirely black and broken, and can never be restored to their former Condition: But those, which are found in good Case, are as good as Ivory, and are accordingly transported to all Parts of *Muscovy*, where they are used to make Combs, and all other such like Things, instead of Ivory.

The abovemention'd Person also told me, that he once found two Teeth in one Head that weighed above twelve *Russian Pounds*, which amount to 400 *German Pounds*; so that these Animals must of Necessity be very large, though a great many lesser Teeth are found. By all that I could gather from the Heathens, no Person ever saw one of these Beasts alive, or can give any Account of its Shape; so that all we hear said on this Subject arises from bare Conjecture only.

But to return to my Travels, in which I durst not venture to proceed any farther by Water, but was obliged to go by Land from the abovementioned Village of *Makofskoy*. After I had advanced sixteen Miles, on the 12th of *October* I safely arrived at the City of *Jenizeskoy*, where I rested for some Time, being obliged to wait till the Roads were sufficiently frozen to be passable with Sleds. Though in the Interim, I prepared to proceed on my Journey as soon as I should be informed that the Rivers *Tunguska* and *Jenizea* were entirely frozen up. This Delay furnished me with an Opportunity of thoroughly observing the City of *Jenizeskoy*.

Which is so called from the River, and in Order to make the adjacent Country the more distinctly known. The River which runneth by and below the City, is called *Jeniza*, ariseth out of the *Calmackian* Mountains, and takes its Course Northwards, almost in a direct Line, to the *Tartarian* or *Frozen Sea*; very different from the *Oby*, which discharges her Water out of her Bosom, which is afterwards conveyed to the Sea by indirect Branches. Below the City the River is a full third part of a Mile over; its Water is white and light, but doth not much abound with Fish. Somewhat above seven Years past the Citizens of *Jenizeskoy* fitted out a Ship, and sent her on the Whale Fishery; but the Enterprise did not succeed, and they never yet heard where their Ship was lost. Wherefore they imagine that it was swallowed up in a violent Inundation of Ice. But from the City of *Fuganai*, situated lower down this River, several Persons go out yearly on the Whale-Fishery; but they carefully watch their Opportunity, when the Wind blows from the Land, and the Ice drives towards the Sea, at which Season they pursue their fishing very successfully, and without Danger. The City of *Jenizeskoy* is large and populous, and the Fortress indifferently strong. Several Villages and Cloisters extend themselves for the Space of some Miles round the City: And the Land is very proper for Agriculture. Corn, Flesh, Cattle, and wild horned Beasts, and Fowl are very plentiful here. Subject to the Jurisdiction of this City are several *Tunguzian* Heathens, who mostly live on the *Jenizea*, *Tunguskay* and the Inland Neighbouring Country. These pay a Tribute of Furs to the Czar for every

Bow, taking that to be a Man and Woman reckoned together. No large Fruit-Trees grow here, by Reason of the extream Cold, and the only Fruits are black and red Currants, Strawberries, Gooseberries, and such like.

14. After a long Stay at this Place for the Sake of Refreshment, I set forwards in a Slead, and on the 20th of *January* reached the Island *Ribnoy*, which signifies *Fish-Island*. This Isle is situate in the Midst of the River *Tunguska*, which is plentifully stored with Fish: Here are Sturgeon, Jacks, and Roach of an extraordinary Size. The Island is chiefly inhabited by *Russians*. On the 25th of the same Month we came to the City of *Ilinskoy*, situate on the River *Ilui*, which runneth from the South South-West to the North North-West, and falls into the *Tunguska*. Thus far the River *Tunguskoy* is a little inhabited by *Tunguzians* as well as *Russians*.

Some Days Journey from hence is the great rocky Waterfall, called *Schaman Schamanskoy*, or the *Negromantick* Fall, because of a famous *Schaman* or *Tunguschan* Conjuror who lives there. This Waterfall is a Descent of half a Mile long. Its Shoar is covered with high Rocks, so that the whole Ground of this Water is pure Stone, which indeed affords a hideous Prospect, and makes such a dismal loud Noise, that its rapid Course over both visible and invisible Rocks, may in still Weather be heard at the Distance of above three *German Miles*. The *Dofchanicks* or Ships which are obliged to come up it against the Stream, require five, six or seven Days, though empty, to tow up this dangerous Water, by casting of Anchors and the Help of several Men; nay farther in some shallow Places where the Water is very low, and the Rocks lie high, they are obliged to tow a whole Day before they can get forwards so much as a Ship's Length, and the Ship frequently stands an End on the Stem; a Thing incredible almost except to Eye Witnesses.

The Ships which pass up and down, are always unladen, and their Cargoes carried by Land till they get past this dangerous Place, when they are again loaded. I have myself seen the Ships which sailed down this Torrent, perform it in twelve Minutes; so prodigious rapid is this Descent: And there are very few either *Russians* or *Tunguzians* that know how to bring down the Ships, which must be provided with a Rudder fore and aft, and Rowers on both Sides; the Pilots give their Orders very dexterously to the Rowers by a Handkerchief; for no Voice can be heard, by Reason of the Noise of the Water. The Ships are also close shut every where, that the Waves which frequently fly over them, may not find Entrance into, and consequently sink them. Several Ships, notwithstanding these Precautions, are cast away here every Year, especially when unexperienced Pilots undertake the bringing them down, being very often shattered to Pieces against the hidden Rocks. And the Men are in such Cases inevitably lost, and immediately stifled by the rapid Stream, or dashed to Pieces by the Rocks; wherefore their Bodies are very rarely found; and the Shoars are full of Crosses, erected in Remembrance of those drowned there. In the Winter Season, the Water of this River is so high that it stands almost level with the Flood, and it hath been so overflowed from the Icy-Sea, that several have passed over it with Ice-Sleds: But in the Summer the Water is very low as we have already hinted.

Some Miles from hence live several *Tunguzians*, amongst others, their famed *Schaman* or *Diabolical Artist*. The Reports which passed concerning this Cheat made me very desirous to see him. Wherefore in order to gratify my Curiosity, I went to those Parts, to visit him and his Habitation. I found him a tall old Man, that had twelve Wives, and one who was not at all ashamed of the Art he pretended to: He shewed me his Conjuring Habit, and the other Tools which he used. First I saw his Coat, made of joined Iron-work, consisting of all Manner of Representations of Birds, Fishes, Ravens, Owls, &c. besides several Beasts and Birds Claws, and Bills, Saws, Hammers, Knives, Sabirs, and the Images of several Beasts, &c. so that all the Parts of this Diabolical Robe being fix'd together by Joints might,



*Religious Ceremonies of the
Nisovian Tunguzians*



*The Hairy Bull of
Buratskoy*



Inhabitants of Buratskoy



Yekiam or Musk Deer

might at Pleasure be taken to Pieces. He had also Iron Stockings for his Feet and Legs suitable to his Robe, and two great Bears Claws over his Hands. His Head was likewise adorned, with such like Images, and fixed to his Forehead were two Iron Bucks-Horns. When he designs to conjure, he takes a Drum made after their Fashion in his Left-Hand, and a flat Staff covered with the Skins of Mountain-Mice in his right Hand; thus equipped he jumps cross Legg'd, which Motion shakes all these Iron Plates, and makes a great Clangor; besides which, he at the same Time beats his Drum, and with Eyes distorted upwards, and a strong bearish Voice makes a dismal Noise. These were the Prologues: But his Conjurations were performed in the following Manner.

If the *Tunguzians* have any Thing at any Time stole from them, or desire to be informed of any Thing, in the first Place, he must be paid before Hand: After which he plays such Tricks as are already related, jumps and roars till a Blackbird comes and sits on the Top of his Hutt, which is open above to let out the Smoak: As soon as he gets Sight of the Bird, he falls into a Swoon, and the Bird vanishes immediately: After he hath remained bereft of his Senses for about a Quarter of an Hour, he comes to himself, and tells the Querist who hath robb'd him, or answers his Question of what Sort soever; and they tell us, that all that he says prove true. His Robe was so heavy, that I could scarce lift it with one Hand. This Conjuror had a great Quantity of Cattle, which Crouds of People that flock to him from very distant Places had presented him, they always giving him his full Demands.

These Heathens are called *Nisovian Tungusians*: They are tall and strong Men, and have long black Hair, which being bound up in the Shape of a Horse's Tail, hangs upon their Backs: They are broad faced, but their Noses are not so flat, nor their Eyes so small as the *Calmackians*. Both Men and Women go naked in the Summer, except only a leather Girdle of three Hands Breadth, that they mostly cut in the Shape of Ribbands, which they wear about their Waist, and cover their Privities. But the Women adorn their Hair with Coral and Iron Figures. Both Men and Women carry a Pot on their left Arms, continually furnished with old smoaking Wood; which preserves them from the Biting of the *Moschitoes*, or *Gnatts*; with which the Country along the River *Tungusky* and the Woods are so abundantly pestered, that if not only the Face, but the Hands and Legs are uncovered, their biting becomes insupportable; which however the Natives do not feel so much as Strangers, because their Skin being all over bitten by them becomes thereby hardened. These People are Admirers of Beauty, according to their Notion of it. To improve which, they adorn their Foreheads, Cheeks and Chins in the following Manner: They with a Needle run Threads greased with black Grease through the Skin, in Representation of several Figures, and leave the said Threads therein for several Days; after which they draw out, and leave their Traces behind them, and very few of them are without this Embellishment.

Their Winter-Habit is a Coat made of Doe-skins, which is bordered at the Extremities with Dog-skins, besides which they have also a Breast-piece hung with Tails of Horse-hair. They are wholly unacquainted with either Linnen or Wollen Cloaths; but to supply their Necessities, they make Nets and sowing Thread of Fish-skins. Instead of Caps on their Heads, they wear a Roebucks Skin, with the Horns sticking up on the Crown of their Heads, especially when they go a Buck-hunting; by which Means they easily deceive their Game, which they creep close to in the Grass, and the unwary Animals mistaking them for their own Species, void of Fear, never remove their Station, whilst they having their Bow and Arrow ready, and being gotten so near, are sure to shoot him down. When they are inclined to divert themselves together, they form themselves into a Ring; and one of them stands in the Middle, having a long Staff in his Hand, with which, in turning round, he strikes at the Legs of one of the Company,

who so nimbly lifts them up, and so dextrously avoids the Blow, that it is very seldom that any of them are hit; but if any one is touched, he is duck'd till he is all over wet.

They lay their Dead upon the Trees, and after they are rotten, their Bones are buried in the Earth.

They have no other Priests but their Conjurors. They have in their Huts carved wooden Idols, about half an Ell long, with the Representation of human Faces, which they feed as the *Ostiacks* do, with their best Sort of Food, which runs out of their Mouths over their Bodies. Their Huts are hung round with Horses Mains, Tails, and other Baubles, and are made of Birch-Bark: Before which they hang their Bows and Quivers, and very few of them are found without several dead young Dogs hanging near them. Their Boats or Canoa's are made of Birch-Bark sewed together, which notwithstanding will carry seven or eight Persons; they are long, slender, and without any Benches; they sit in them upon their Knees, and make use of a Sort of Oars broad at both Ends; which they hold in the Middle, and row or paddle, first with the one, then with the other End; and when they row all together, the Boat goes at a great Rate. With these slight Canoa's they can bear up against violent Storms without any Danger. They generally subsist themselves in Summer by Fishing, and in Winter by hunting all Sort of furred Game, Bucks, Does, &c.

16. I left these People without any other Occurrence remarkable, and arrived on the 1st of *February* at the Fort *Buratz*; which Place, and all along to the Lake *Baikal*, is watered by the River *Angara*, and inhabited by the *Burattians*, a Pagan People.

On the 11th of the same Month we reached the Fortrefs of *Bulaganski* in this Country, situate between the Hills and the Vallies, in a Champion Ground, on which live several *Burattians*, who are stocked with Cows, and a hairy Sort of Bulls. They all live in low Dwellings made of Wood joined together, and covered with Earth; on the Tops of which a Hole is left to let out the Smoak. Their Fires are made in the Midst of these Apartments. They are utterly ignorant of all Sort of Agriculture, or the Management of Gardens: Their Houses, as in Villages, stand next each other, and are commonly situated near the River; but they do not change their Habitations like the *Tunguzian*, and other *Heathens*. Close by their Doors several Poles are stuck into the Ground, on some of which are stuck Bucks, on others Sheep, and some fasten Horse-hides on them. In Spring and Autumn they go out by Hundreds in a Troop on Horseback, to hunt Stags, wild Sheep, and Roebucks, which they call *Ablavo*. When they have found a Place where there is Game, they range themselves in a circular Order, so that they can easily come near one another, by which in such a Ring they will hunt together and encompass some hundreds of Beasts; and having once got them within the Reach of their Bows, every one lets fly, so that very few escape, each Hunter being so well provided as to make thirty Shot successively.

After the Hunting, each Sportsman easily finds his own Arrows by their peculiar Mark; but there is a very great Misfortune which attends this Way of Hunting, which is, that in such a confused Mixture, they unawares frequently shoot one another, and several Horses are wounded. They flea their Game, cut the Flesh from the Bones, and dry it in the Sun; on which Provision they live as long as it lasts, and when it is done, go out a Hunting again. Here are vast Quantities of wild Beasts, and I have for the Distance of a Quarter of a Mile been able to see nothing else but wild Sheep, which like Snow covered all the Hills; but in the Country for five or six Miles round hereabouts, very few furred Beasts are found, except only a few Bears and Wolves, which sometimes appear, but very rarely.

Those who want Oxen or Camels of an extraordinary Largeness for their travelling to *China*, are obliged to buy them of these People, who will not deal for Money, but receive in Exchange of the Buyers, pale Sables,

bles, Pewter, Copper Basons, red *Hamburg* Cloths, Otters-Skins, *Persian* shaggy Silk of all Colours, and Gold and Silver Bullion: In which Commodities the Price of an Ox that weighs from 800 to 1000 *German* Pound Weight, is not above four or five Rubels, and a Camel is not valued at more than ten or twelve Rubels. Both the Men and Women of this Country are robust, large, and according as Beauty goes here, have handsome Faces, being a little like the *Chinese Tartars*. In the Winter both Sexes wear long Coats made of Sheeps-skins, with a broad Girdle tipped with Iron. They have a Sort of Caps that they call *Malachaves*, which they can draw over their Ears in cold Weather. In Summer several of them wear Coats of slight red Cloth. Comparatively speaking, their Faces and their Bodies look like young Devils, by Reason that they know, or at least practise Nothing of Washing at any other Time than when they are born; nor ever cut the Nails of either their Hands or their Feet.

The Virgins whole Head of Hair sticking fast together in Plaits, stands on End, and makes them look just as Envy is represented by the Painters. The Women have only two Plaits which hang down on each Side of their Heads, adorned with all Sorts of Tin Figures. When any of them die they are buried with their best adorned Cloaths, Bows and Arrows. Their Religion consists in the worshipping dead Bucks and Sheep, which are spitted upon the Poles before their Doors, at several Times in the Year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their Adoration of them is performed by bowing the Head, whilst they sit on their Knees with clasped Hands, without either Prayers or so much as speaking one Word. This is the only divine Service that they are acquainted with, nor will they ever hear of any other: They have indeed several Priests, which when they think fit, they kill first, and afterwards bury them, together with Cloaths and Money, alledging, that it is necessary to send them before to pray for them, and that lest they should be driven to Necessity, they ought to have Money to spend, and Cloaths to wear.

If they are obliged to the taking of any Oath amongst themselves, they go to the Lake *Baikol*, near which is a Hill that they esteem Sacred, to which they can ride in two Days. Upon this high Mountain they take their Oath, and firmly believe the false Swearer shall never come down alive. To this Hill they frequently offer up all Sorts of slaughtered Cattle, and have paid a Veneration to it for many Years. But upon what Tradition this Reverence is built is not known.

17. In this Neighbourhood *Musk-Cats* are also found, which are shaped more like a Goat. This Animal is almost like a young Buck, without Horns, with this Difference, that its Hair is a little black, and the Head inclines more towards that of a Wolf. The Musk is contained in a certain Swelling at the Navel, like a little Purse, which is composed of a thin Skin, covered with a very fine Hair. The *Chinese* call this Animal *Tebiam*, which is *Musk-Hart*, by Reason of its Likeness to a Stag; but besides the Dissimilitude of the Head, it hath also two Tusks like those of a wild Boar, which stick out of its Mouth.

Philip Martinus, in his *Chinese Atlas*, reports, that this Animal is chiefly found near the City of *Leao*, in the Province of *Xanxi*; as also in that of *Xenxi*, and more especially in that of *Hanchungfu*; and that there are also some in the Province of *Suchuen*, the second Division of *Paoningfu*, about the City of *Kiating*, near the sixth fortified City *Tienciben*; in several Parts of the Province *Junnan*, and several other Places Westward. He further gives us the following Description, which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the curious Reader. "The Musk Cat, saith he, is almost like a young Hart or Doe, only that he is somewhat browner, and so slow and unactive, that the Hunter's greatest Difficulty is to put him up; for that once done, he is immediately shot, for he suffereth himself tamely to be killed, without either defending himself or stirring. The Musk of which there are various Sorts of different Value, is prepared from this Beast in the following Manner;

"After he is taken, all his Blood is drawn off and reserved; and from under his Navel is taken off a Bladder, that is filled with Blood, or some other odoriferous Liquor there concentered; after which the Animal is flea'd and cut to Pieces.

"When the *Chinese* design to make the best Sort, they take the hinder Part of the Animal, beginning from the Kidneys, which they stamp and bruise to a Jelly, which they dry, and therewith fill the small Bags, which they make of the Skin of the Beast.

"But if they desire a slighter Sort of Musk, which should yet be very good, and not at all sophisticated, they then beat all the Parts of the Animal together, without any Distinction, to a Jelly, with a little of his Blood, in a Mortar, with which, as before, they fill up the Bags made of the Hide.

"Besides these two, there is another Sort of Musk, which is also highly valued, though not so good as the precedent. This is prepared from the Fore-part of the Animal to the Kidneys, which they particularly lay by the rest of his Body in order to make the common Musk; so that none of this Creature is thrown away, but all Parts of it are good; whence it is said to be better dead than alive." Thus far *Martinus*; but whether these Barbarians make the same Use of the Musk-Cat as the *Chinese*, is not certainly known.

After travelling some Days amongst this Nation, I arrived at *Jekutskoi*, a City situate on the River *Angara*, the Course of which is from the North to the South, but its original Source is the *Baikol-Meer*, about eight Miles distant from this Place. This City not long since was rebuilt and strengthened with very strong Fortifications. The Suburbs are very large: All Sorts of Grain, Salt, Flesh, and Fish are very cheap here, a hundred Pound (*German* Weight) of Rye not yielding above seven Kopties or Styvers; for round about this City, and to *Wergolensko*, some Miles distant from thence, the Land is very fruitful, and Corn grows in great Abundance; besides great Numbers of *Russians* have settled here, and taken up some hundreds of Villages, all which with great Industry and Success promote Agriculture.

Opposite to the City on the East-side is a *Burning-Cave*, which for several Years burnt very violently, but now seems extinct, very little or no Smoke issuing out at present. It is a large Cleft in the Earth, whence the Flame formerly ascended vehemently, which now ceases; but if a long Pole be put into it, it feels very warm.

Over against this City, where the River *Jekut* falls into the *Angara* and so runs to the *Meer*, is a very fine Cloyster. Earthquakes are here frequent in Autumn, which yet don't prove very prejudicial. Here resided a *Taiffcha* or *Mongolian* Baron, who had put himself under the Protection of their Czarish Majesties, and embraced the *Greek* Christian Religion.

He had a Sister, which according to the *Mongolian* Custom, lived in the devoted spiritual State, and was almost inclined to receive the Christian Faith. When she was discoursed on that Subject, she replied, "I am satisfied that the Christians God must necessarily be a strong God, since he hath beaten our God out of Heaven: But he will return thither, though he shall the second Time be beaten down." When she enters the Chamber, she salutes no Person, as the *Mongolians* are yet accustomed to do, but her Order doth not admit of it. She had a Rosary or String of Beads in her Hand, which she continually passed round through her Fingers. I found a *Lama* or *Priest* with her, who had also such a String of Beads in his Hand, according to the *Mongolian* and *Calmakkian* Fashion, which he very swiftly and incessantly turned over through his Fingers, continually moving his Lips, as though he were at his private Devotions; and with this perpetual telling of his Beads, his Thumb was worn through the Flesh and Nail up to the Knuckle; which rubbing off by slow Degrees did not at all pain him.

After a short Stay to rest myself in *Jekutskoi*, on the first of *March* I set forward by Land in Sleads, to the

the Lake or *Meer* of *Baikol*, which I reached on the 10th of the same Month, and found it frozen up very hard.

I passed over this Lake and safely arrived at *Kabania*. This *Meer* is about six *German* Miles broad, and forty long: The Ice in it was full two Ells thick, and is very dangerous when the Passengers are overtaken by a great Snow, or a high Wind; and the Horses which draw the Sleads must be very sharp shod, by Reason the Ice is all over very slippery, and even on Land here is no Snow found to lie, but it is immediately driven away by the Wind. Here are several broken Places or Wind-holes, that are not frozen up, which prove very dangerous to Travellers when surprised with tempestuous Winds; for the Horses, if not sharp Shod, by the Fury of the Winds are driven on so violently that they cannot tread sure, but sliding and falling on the glib Ice, are hurried on by the Wind, till they and the Slead too are swallowed up in one of these open Places; by which several Men and Horses are lost: Besides, to augment the Danger, the Ice of this Lake is sometimes torn open several Fathoms by sudden Winds, which make a Noise as loud and terrible as Thunder-Claps, but after the Expiration of a few Hours, the Ice joins again, and becomes quickly as close as before.

The Camels and Oxen, which Travellers take with them for their Journey to *China*, are also obliged to go this Way from *Jekutskoi*, in order to which the Camels have a kind of Boot tied about their Legs, which is very sharp at Bottom: The Oxen also are provided with sharp Irons struck through their Hoofs, without which it would be impossible for them to go forwards. The Water of this Lake tastes very fresh, is clear, and yet of a deep Green, like that of the Ocean. Where the Ice was open we often observ'd a great many Sea-Dogs, all blackish, and not variegated, like those in the white Sea. Here are also great Multitudes of Fish, as large Sturgeons and Jacks, of which I have seen some that weighed two hundred *German* Pounds. The only River that issues from this Lake is the *Angara*, whose Descent is to the North-North-west: But amongst the Rivers which fall into it, is the *Silinga*, the principal River, the Source of which is in *Mongalia*; the Remainder are several Rivulets, which fall from the Hills: There are also some Islands in this Water. Its Shoar and adjacent Country is inhabited by *Burattians*, *Mongolians*, and *Outkotians*. In all Parts hereabouts there are very fine black Sables, and *Caberdines* are also frequently caught here.

I observed, that when I entred upon this Sea, and left the Cloyster of St. *Nicholas*, situated at the Entrance of the *Angara*, on the Sea-shore, I was very zealously entreated by several Persons, that when I came upon this dangerous Water, I should not call it a still Water or Lake, but a Sea; alledging, that formerly several considerable Persons, who had been on this Sea, and ventured to call it an *Oser* or standing Water, were immediately overtaken by violent stormy Winds, and were in Danger of their Lives: But I could not help Laughing at this wild Notion, that the Waters should resent Affronts, and stand up for their Honour. However I went forward in the Name of God, and being got to the Middle, I called for a large Glas of Sherry, and drank a Health to all sincere honest good Christians, and my Friends in *Europe*, adding, *which I take you Osera, or still Water to witness*; and the Wine proved very refreshing, and I observed, that the farther I went, the Wind, which before was somewhat rougher than ordinary, began to decrease; so that I landed with Sun-shine and clear Weather, at the Castle of *Kabania*, the first *Daurian* Fortification beyond the *Meer*, without having the least Satisfaction taken of me. I heartily laughed at the Folly of those, who gave Credit to such ridiculous Superstitions, and trust not in God, who created, and governs all Things; to whom the Sea and all the Winds are obedient, either to serve or destroy them for their Sins, or perhaps to chastise and terrify them to Righteousness; since otherwise the Sea is deaf and stupid, and utterly incapable of resenting or revenging.

19. Leaving the Castle of *Kabania* the following Day, on the 12th of *March* we arrived at *Ilinskoy* or *Bolsoy Saimka*, a very large Town, most of whose Inhabitants are *Russians*, which in the Winter go a Sable-hunting, not tilling any more Ground than Necessity requires; wherefore the Land is every where deformed with great barren Hills, which, by an industrious People, might be rendred pleasant and fruitful.

Departing thence, on the 14th of the same Month we reached the Castle of *Tanzienskoy*, which was provided with a strong Garrison of *Cossacks*, to cover this Country from the Incursions of the *Mongolians* which border on it. Without any Delay I went forwards with the first Slead that went off, and on the 19th Instant came to *Udinskoy*, which City or Fortrefs is situated on a high Hill; but most of its Inhabitants live below the Fortrefs, at the Foot of the Hill, on the River *Uda*, which falls into the *Silinga*, about a Quarter of a Mile Westward below the City, which bordering on the *Mongolians*, is constantly supplied with a strong Garrison of *Russian Cossacks*.

The City of *Udinskoy* is accounted the Entrance of the Province of *Daur*, and in Summer-time the *Mongolians* frequently come hither, and carry off the Horses of the Inhabitants, which are grazing in Sight of the City; and besides a little Pasture, this Land, which is every where mountainous, is very improper for Tillage; tho' it plentifully abounds with Cabbages, Turneps, Carrots, and such-like Vegetables, which belong to the Culinary Garden: But here is not a Tree to be seen.

After having rested here some Days, one Night at Nine of the Clock happened a violent Earthquake, which terribly shook the Houses of this City, thrice within the Space of an Hour, but went off without any Damage.

The River *Uda* yields very little Fish, besides a few *Jacks* and *Roach*. But annually in *June*, from the Lake *Baikol*, great Shoals of a certain Fish swim hither against the Tide: The Inhabitants call them *Omuli*; they are as big as Herrings, and proceed no higher up this River than the End of this City, by a fallen Mountain, where they stay some Days, and then return back. During which Time they swim so incredibly thick and close, that the Commandant told me, he threw several Lime-stones into the Water, which did not sink, but continued lying on the Shoals of Fish. When the Inhabitants are desirous to catch them, they use no other Net than a Bag, a Shirt, or a Pair of Linnen Stockins; with which they go to the Shoar, and draw greater Quantities than they want of these Fish on Land. I was obliged to a tedious melancholy Stay here, before my Camels and Horses were ready, and was indeed very glad, that at last I got from hence on the 6th of *April*.

On the 26th of the same Month we travelled by Land to the River *Ona*, which flows from the North-North-West, and falls into the *Uda*.

On the 27th I reached the River *Kurba*, which also proceeds from the North-North-West, and falls into the *Uda*. We travelled hither upwards on the River *Uda*, at about half Flood, but were frequently obliged to go off from it, and sometimes to such a Distance, that we lost Sight of it.

On the 29th of the same, I had the good Fortune to put an End to my Travels in this uncouth, uninhabited Road, and to reach the Fortrefs of *Jarauna*. I was not a little glad that I once more came within Sight of Towns, for from *Udinskoy* to this Place is wholly uninhabited, and we were obliged to travel over high and dismal Rocks. The Castle of *Jarauna* is garrisoned by *Cossacks*, and also inhabited by several *Russians*, who depend upon Sable-hunting. The Heathens, which possess this Country, are called *Konni Tunguzi*, being a Sort of *Tunguzians*, which live along the Banks of the River *Angara*; though their Language is entirely different from all others. If any one of them die, he is buried with his Cloaths and Bows under Ground; upon his Grave, Stones are laid, and a Pole erected, to which is fastened his best Horse, being first shot to Death. They live entirely on Sable-hunting, and the

Furrs of these Animals are extraordinary black in this Place : Here are also very fine Linxes, and a Sort of Squirrels, the Furrs of which were formerly taken off by the *Chinese*. On the North-side of this Castle are three large Lakes near one another, each of which is full two Miles in Circumference, and are plentifully stored with Fish, more especially with Jacks, Carps, Pearch, and such-like. From hence there are two Roads which lead to *Zitinskoy* or *Platbischka*. I ordered Part of my Retinue to go one of these Roads ; but the Caravan and Convoy went directly Southwards, along the Lake *Schackze-Oser*, which plentifully abounds with Fish ; and the other proceeded forwards over the *Jablusnoy* or *Apple-Mountains*, on which, though they bear that Name, there grow no Apples, but only a Sort of red Fruit on the Trees, which indeed taste very like them. But I myself, accompanied with a Retinue of Forty Men, took the other Road, which proved very Morassy, and lay betwixt high Rocks, which continue all the Way from *Jarauna* to the City of *Telimba*. In this last Fortification live several *Russians*, who in Winter go out a Sable-hunting ; and indeed this Country yields such rich black Sables, that better are not to be found in the whole Province of *Siberia*.

Lodging here one Night, a *Tunguzian* Knezets or Prince, whose Name was *Liliulka*, came to visit me ; he had prodigious long Hair, which for that Reason he bound up in a Leathern Band, and wound three Times about his Shoulders. I was very curious to satisfy myself, whether his Hair was really so long as I was told ; to which Purpose I caused him to be intoxicated with Brandy ; by which Civility I obtained the Favour of having his Hair loosened, and I found it to be all his natural Hair only, for I examined it very narrowly, and measuring it with an Ell, to my great Surprise, was convinced that it was four *Dutch* Ells long. He had a Son of six Years of Age, whose Hair growing in Imitation of his Father's, hung down over his Back the Length of an Ell wanting an eighth Part. This Sort of *Tunguzian* Heathens live on the Hills in great Multitudes. Part of them grow rich by catching the most fine and beautiful Sables, for which they receive great Sums of Money.

We were obliged to travel two Days from hence over high rocky Hills, running North-West and South-East. Very far Northward there rises a Spring, from whence the River *Konela*, afterwards called the *Wittim*, proceeds, which runs North-East, and falls into the River *Lena*, that empties itself into the North Frozen-Sea ; and about half a Mile beyond the high Hills, the River *Zita* arises, which falls into the River *Ingoda* or *Amur*, and pursues its Course on to the *Amurischian* or *Eastern Sea*, into which it flows.

Arriving safely on the 15th of May at *Platbischka*, which Place the Caravan also reached the next Day, having run through several Dangers, by reason that the withered dry Grass was burned off the Fields every where, the Fire of which was very prejudicial to the Caravan, and often caught the Horses Tails ; besides which, the Beasts wanted Forage, and were frequently obliged to go a Mile out of the Way in Search of some Grass, which was not yet burned on the Side of the Hills, to relieve the poor Cattle.

We were obliged to stay several Days in the Village *Platbischka*, situate on the River *Zita*, partly to refresh our Beasts, and partly to make Floats, to drive down the Rivers *Ingoda* and *Sbilka*, to *Nerzinskoy*, this being a very shallow Water, on which no other Sort of Shipping can be made use of. And even these Floats can scarce pass over the rocky Places without Danger, two of ours being broken to Pieces in our Passage, so that we had Trouble enough to save our Goods.

20. All Things being ready, I caused the Camels, Horses, and Oxen to go first over the Mountains for *Nerzinskoy* ; but I went from thence on the 18th of the same Month, and on the 19th reached the River *Onon*, which runs Northward, taking Rise in the South out of the *Mongolian Pool*, and, after it is united with the *Ingoda*, takes the Name of *Sbilka*. The Water of this River is very white, and its Shoar is inhabited by

great Numbers of *Mongolians*, who make frequent Incursions over the *Sbilka* to *Nerzinskoy*, though not always with Success ; for sometimes they are not only driven from their Prey, but caught themselves, and punished as Robbers ; and the *Russian Cossacks* themselves, by way of Reprisal, make Sallies up the *Onon*, destroying whatever comes in their Way.

But through Divine Mercy we arrived, without being once attacked, on the 20th Instant at *Nerzinskoy*, which lies on the River *Nerza*, that runs from North-North-East, and about a Quarter of a Mile from the City falls Southward into the *Sbilka*. This City is tolerably strong, provided with several Brass Guns, and a great Garrison of *Daurian Cossacks* both Horse and Foot. It is situate between high Mountains, notwithstanding which it has Champion Ground enough for the Inhabitants to graze their Camels, Horses and Cows ; and some Parts of the Hills afford Spots of Ground a Mile or two over, that are very proper for Tillage, and afford Room to plant and sow enough to supply their Necessities.

From four or five Miles upwards to ten, below on the River *Sbilka*, live several *Russian* Gentlemen and *Cossacks*, who subsist on Tillage, Grazing of Beasts, and Fishing : Amongst these Hills, and round the City, are likewise several very fine Garden-Trees and Plants, as also *Rhaponticum* or *Bastard Rhubarb*, of an extraordinary Thickness and Length, and very fine white and yellow Lillies. Here are vast Quantities of red, and also of Snow white *Paeonies*, which diffuse an extraordinary fragrant Scent, and several other Flowers, with which I was unacquainted. Here are Rosemary, Thyme, Marjoram, Lavender, and several other odoriferous Plants unknown to me, which grow spontaneously in great Abundance : The Fruits here are only red and black Currants, &c. agreeable to the Climate.

Here are two Sorts of Heathens which have for a long Series of Years lived in Subjection to the Czar ; the *Konni-Tunguzians* and *Olenni-Tunguzians* : The former of which are obliged to be ready on Horseback, at the Command of the *Waywod* of *Nerzinskoy*, or whenever any Incursions are made on the Frontiers by the Roving *Tartars*. And the *Olenni-Tunguzians* are obliged on all Occasions to be ready on Foot, and appear armed on any Exigence in the City. The chief of the *Konni-Tunguzians* is the *Knees Paul Petrovitz Gantimur*, whose *Tunguzian* Name is *Catana Gantimur*, born in the Country of *Nienbeu* ; he is an old Man, that was formerly a *Taischa* or Baron there, subordinate to the Emperor of *China* ; but falling into Disgrace, and being displaced, he, attended with his entire *Horde* or Clan, retired to *Dauria*, put himself under the Protection of their Czarish Majesties, and embraced the *Grecian* Religion. This *Knees Paul Catana* can on any grand Occasion in one Day raise three thousand Horsemen, well equipped and provided with good Bows, all which are valiant and fearless Soldiers, of whom it is frequently observed, that fifty of them attack four hundred *Mongolians*, and very frequently beat them. All of these Heathens which live near the City subsist themselves by grazing, but those on the River *Sbilka* and *Amur* depend on Sable-hunting, because the Beasts in the Forrests are there very black, and their Furrs valuable.

They all live in Huts, called in their Language *Jurten*, the Inside of which is composed of wooden Poles jointed together, that whenever they are willing to remove their Dwellings, as they frequently do, they may conveniently pack them up and carry them altogether.

This wooden Work when set up is thatched all over with Hair and Rubbish, except only the Smoak-hole left open at the Top. They place their Fire in the Midst of their Huts, and sit round it upon Turves. Their Religion is the same with that of the *Daorn* or *Daurians*, from whence they pretend to be descended : So that indeed throughout all Great-Tartary, to the Beginning of the *Mongolian Tartars*, there is a very great Similitude in Religion, as I shall hereafter evince. Both Men and Women in this Country are very strong, broad faced, and both Sexes, not excepting the young Girls, ride



A Tunguzian Prince whose Hair was Four Dutch Ells long and his Son's near an Ell long.

The Knez Paul Petrowitz Gantimur Chief of y^e Konni Tunguzians Subject to the Czar.



*A The Wooden Castle Inhabited by the Governor. B. The Church.
The Inhabitants of this City are all Soldiers who trade to China & have great Immunities.*

ride on Horseback, and are equally armed with Bow and Arrows, in the Use of which they are very expert. The Female Dress is the same with the Male; of both which our Print drawn from the Life is an accurate Representation. Their common Drink is Water; but the better Sort drink *Kara't Za*, or Black Tea, which is a particular Species of that Plant, the Infusion of which, instead of greenish, tinctures the Water blackish. They boil it in Mares-Milk and Water, to which they also add a little Lard or Butter. They also draw off a Sort of Brandy from Mares-Milk, which they call *Kunnen*, or *Arak*, and is distilled in the following Manner. The new Milk is first boiled, then put into a Fat, to which is added some stale Milk, and this Mixture is stirred every Hour: After which this soured Milk is put into a Pot, and closely covered with another Pot which shuts tight upon it, into which a Reed is stuck, and the Pot firmly luted, and set over the Fire to distill as in *Europe*: But the Spirit must be twice drawn off; then it is fit to drink, being as clear, and strong, as Malt Spirits, and very soon intoxicates. It is really very surprising that none of the Cows in *Siberia* and *Dauria*, as long as their Calves suck them, will ever permit themselves to be milked, nor will they after the Calf is removed from them give any more Milk: Which is the Reason why Mares-Milk is so much used by these People, which is also richer and more agreeable than Cows-Milk.

In Spring and Autumn these Heathens go a Hunting, like the *Burattians*, in order to provide themselves against Summer and Winter with sufficient Store of Flesh, which they also as well as that Nation dry in the Sun. Instead of Bread they gather the Pods of yellow Lillies, which they call *Sarana*, and having dried and beaten them to Meal, they dress them several Ways to eat. They are very expert at Shooting Fish in the Water with a Sort of Arrows, which are round, solid, and about three Fingers thick at the Head; at the End of which under the Iron Point is a Ball of Bone bored through, which occasions a loud whistling Noise in its Flight. These Arrows are so heavy that they do not shoot them farther at most than fifteen or twenty Fathom, and chiefly at large Fish, as Jacks and Trouts, which harbour in clear Water on the rocky Ground near the Shores. And when these Arrows hit, they make a surprising large Orifice, which looks as if it were a Cut given by a Hatchet.

These Heathens have a very odd Custom of taking solemn or testimonial Oaths: An Instance of which appears in the following Story of two noble *Tunguzian* Hostages at *Nerzinskoy*. To illustrate which Relation, the Reader ought to be informed that it is usual on these frontier Places (by Reason a great many Sorts of People put themselves under his Czarish Majesty's Protection, which live dispersed in *Siberia*) to keep some Children of the principal Men, and if they are very great, themselves in the *Amandivor-atzkoy* or Hostage-Court for some time, all the while providing them amply with Eatables and other Necessaries; which is done by Way of Security that they shall not desert, and that when they have staid sometime, others shall come in their Places. It happening that two of these *Tunguzian* Hostages falling out, one accused the other before the *Waywode*, of having conjured his deceased Brother to Death. The *Waywode* asked the Accuser if he would, according to the *Tunguzian* Custom, put the Accused to his Oath? To this he answered in the Affirmative; after which the Accused took a live Dog, laid him on the Ground, and with a Knife stuck him into the Body, just under his left Leg, and immediately clapped his Mouth to the Wound, and sucked out the Dog's Blood as long as he could come at it; after which he lifted him up, laid him on his Shoulders and clapped his Mouth again to the Wound, in order to suck out the remaining Blood, as the Print expresses it. An excellent Drink indeed! And this is the greatest Oath and most solemn Confirmation of the Truth amongst them; so that on Credit of this the Accused was set free, and the Accuser punished for his false Accusation. Thus far concerning the Customs of these Heathens, which, barbarous and ridiculous as they

are, plainly prove these People apprehend the Necessity of Oaths to determine Differences, and that Providence will interpose to preserve Innocence, and punish Perjury. Thus we clearly discern, that the Brutality of this Nation does not arise from their Want of intellectual Faculties, but from their Supineness, Negligence and Nonusage of those Faculties.

21. I was obliged to stay some Weeks at *Nerzinskoy*, and furnish myself with Camels, Horses, Oxen, Provision and all other Necessaries for the Prosecution of my Travels. All which being carefully performed, I set forwards from thence in God's Name, on the 18th of *July*, passed the following Day by the River *Borschofka* over the *Schilka*, and after ten Days travelling, on the third of *August* safely arrived at the Castle of *Argunskoy*; which is the last Fort and utmost Frontier of the Czar's Dominions, towards the East Country. This Fortress is washed by the River *Argun*, which flows from South-west to North-East, and falls into the River *Amur*, and divides his Czarish Majesty's Territories from those of the Emperor of *China*: And on the other, or Eastern Side of the River, the great uninhabited *Tartarian* Wilderness hath its Beginning. I was obliged to stay here some Days, to get a good Number of Carts with two Wheels, for the farther Pursuit of my Journey; and this was the first Time that this Way from *Argun* through *Tartary* was ever travelled with Waggon.

The Way from *Nerzinskoy* hither was mostly over high, stony, and mountainous Land, though in some scattered Places intersected by fine large Valleys, and little Rivulets, which Intervals are richly overspread with all Sorts of fine Herbs, Flowers, Grass, lofty Cedars, and Woods of Birch-trees. This Country is also very populous, by Reason the *Tunguzians* (which, though Heathens, are all subject to his Czarish Majesty) live in great Multitudes throughout all Parts of this Country where there are Rivers, and pay a voluntary Tribute to that potent Emperor.

In several scattered Places in the Valleys, I observed Hundreds of old, and, in Part, fallen Castles, built with Rock-stones, which, as the *Tunguzians* told me, were built by several Warriors long since, when the *Mungalian* and *Western Tartars* made joint Incursions into this Kingdom of *Nieucheu*. Which Monarchy, according to their Computation, comprehended the whole Land from *Nerzinskoy* to *Nieucheu*, as the *Chinese* call it, and from the River *Amur* down to the *Albanian* Mountains and *Leaoting*. And it is not long since that Waggon Wheels bound with Iron, and large Millstones, were found in this Country; from whence I conjecture, that the *Nieucheuers*, which border on the said Province of *Leaoting*, formerly followed their Trade and manual Employments in this *Russian Dauria*, since they make use of these Waggon-wheels bound with Iron, which are no where else to be found amongst the *Mongolians*, &c.

I also saw several *Tunguzian Tombs* covered with many Stones, by which great Stakes were placed, and several dead and putrified Horses upon them. Besides which, I observed that the River *Argun* separates two very different Sorts of Lands. On our Way to this River, the Hills abounded with Woods, but on the other Side of it Nature varies, and very few or scarce any Woods are to be seen, but only inconsiderable Numbers of scattered dry Trees.

About eight Miles from *Argunskoy*, from which I departed the 5th of *August*, the River *Zerebrenkoy*, or the Silver River, called in the *Mongolian* Dialect *Mongagol*, falls into the River *Argun*. This Silver River is so called, because that formerly, about two Miles up that Water, there were Silver Mines, out of which the *Nieucheuers* and *Mongolians* dug immense Quantities of that Metall, and great Numbers of Pits, in which the Metall was melted, are at present to be seen; but these Mines, by the Course of Time, and lying unwrought for many Years, are now fallen in, and covered with the Hills which have tumbled upon them. Notwithstanding all which, I brought a Proof of their Metall into *Muscovy*, and doubt not but to restore them, if his Czarish Majesty would immediately order

a Begin-

^a Beginning to be made, it being very well worth the Pains, and they are very conveniently situated in a Place where there is no Want of Wood.

In the Year 1693, on the 8th of *August*, we were obliged to cross the River *Argun*, and pass two whole Days on our Way with the Merchants which were with us; and on the 9th at Night, we again travelled South Eastward, upwards in the great *Tartarian Wilderness*, all the Way betwixt Hills and Vales, and next Day reached the River *Calabu*; which being but a small one, we easily forded it with our Horses, Camels, and Waggon. This River arises out of the Hills, and falls Westward into the *Argun*. It was observable, that it was so cold this Night, that the Ice froze the Thickness of a Crown-piece.

On the 12th of this Month we reached the River *Terbu*, which is also but small and shallow, and likewise falls Westward into *Argun*. On the next Day we came to the River *Gan*, which occasioned us a very troublesome Passage, it being so deep by reason of the swollen Waters, that no Camel could reach the Bottom; so that we were forced to search for Trees, (in this desolate uninhabited Wilderness, where no other Hope was left) which having felled, we bound in Couples, to carry over our Goods and travelling Provisions: And for our own Passage we also made a Sort of Boats of small Twigs, which we covered with Ox-hides sewed together, which proved tolerable Barks, and would carry about a thousand Pounds Weight. The Horses, Oxen and Camels were swum over, which indeed the last did very easily; for as soon as they loose Footing on the Ground, they turn themselves on one Side, without stirring their Feet, like a floating Leathern Bag; no more Care being necessary, than to bind five or six of them fast together by the Bridles and Tails, and let some body swim a Horse before them, which is fastened to the Bridle of the first, and consequently tows him along, without which Precaution they would drive several Miles down the Stream before they got over; and even notwithstanding this, they drove considerably downwards. This tedious, uneasy Passage cost us some Days Time, the River being broad, and the Tide rapid and strong. This River comes out of the East, and falls Westward into the *Argun*.

Breaking up from thence on the 19th of the same Month, on the 21st we reached the River *Merdeen*, which admitted us without the least Uneasiness or Interruption to ford it, being but small and shallow. It also comes from the East, and falls Westward into the *Argun*; and thus we travelled to this Place off and on, betwixt East and South. On the 23d we came to another River called *Kailar*, the Water of which being low, we passed it without any Trouble. This River falls also from South-South-East, Westward into the *Argun*. On the 25th we as easily passed the River *Zadun*, which riseth in the South-East, and falls North-West into the *Kailar*.

Before this Book of our Author's was published, we had no distinct or clear Account at all of these Countries, the very Names of which was scarce mention'd in

our Histories, and the Countries themselves appeared only as a vast Desert in our Maps. Yet here we find, that these Parts are very far from being either uninhabitable or uninhabited, and that though their Cities are not very thick, yet some of them are pretty considerable Places; as for Instance, *Nerzinskoy*, of which we have lately seen his Description, and which, though the very Name of it may be new and strange to us, is so well known notwithstanding in those Parts of the World, that there are few Places more famous. In this City was held a Congress for determining the Disputes between the *Chinese* and *Russian* Empires, the last of which was in 1689, when Father *Gerbillion* signed a Treaty of Peace there, by which the Limits of both Empires were plainly settled, and the River *Amur* made the common Boundary on that Side.

As this River falls into the Eastern Ocean or Sea of *Japan*, the *Russians* were always very desirous of being entirely Masters of it, and for that Reason they attempted, notwithstanding the Treaty, to settle on the other Side of the River, supposing that the *Chinese* would be sometime before they had perfect Intelligence of this Infraction of the Treaty, and that they would not incline to commence a War immediately, but rather set on Foot a new Negotiation, for amicably terminating their Differences. In this it seems the *Russian* Ministers were, however, somewhat mistaken, for the *Chinese* quickly made Complaints of the Progress of the *Russian* Troops; and finding these Complaints made no Impression, they ordered their Subjects the *Mongals* to take Possession of the Country lying on the South of the River *Amur*; and as this intirely overturned the Schemes of the Court of *Petersbourg*, they found the Task of Negotiating turned upon themselves, which was one of the principal Motives to their sending our Author on this Embassy.

The Reader, perhaps, may not be displeased at meeting with these Remarks at the Close of the Section, which we chose to place here, rather than interrupt the Thread of our Author's Narration, who, in this Part of his Travels which we have already given, has described the *Russian* Dominions lying in *Asia*, with much more Accuracy than any other Writer whatever: The making ourselves acquainted, at least in some Measure, with these hitherto so little regarded Countries, will be very soon found to be both of great Use and considerable Importance, since it is on this Side that the *Russians* are prosecuting those Discoveries, upon which the Eyes of all *Europe* are turned at present. In these Countries likewise they have, within these few Years, discovered very rich Silver Mines, of which we have a Hint in our Author; and if these can be wrought, it will quickly change the Face of Things on this Side, and, in the Space of forty or fifty Years, our Posterity will find some of these Countries represented in a Manner very different from that in which they have been heretofore set forth. But let us now return to our Author's Travels, and attend him in his Progress through the *Chinese* Dominions.

SECTION II.

SECTION II.

Travels through the Countries of the *Mongal Tartars*, lying between the *Russian* and *Chinese* Empires, the Passage through the famous Wall, and from thence through several considerable Places to the City of *Peking*, the Capital of all *China*; with Observations Historical, Physical, Topographical, Critical, and Political, on the several Nations conversed with by our Author, and the Countries by them inhabited; with some Conjectures also as to their former Inhabitants.

Taken from the Original Journal of his Excellency Everard Ysbrants Ides.

1. *The Author's Reception at the first Chinese Guard, an Account of the Targasian Tartars, their Customs and Manner of Living, with a brief View of the beautiful and pleasant Country they inhabit.*
2. *He is met by a Chinese Mandaryn, at the Village of Xixigar; the great Civility and Politeness of his Reception, and of the mutual Courtesies that passed between the two Ministers.*
3. *A Description of the Country of the Mongals, and of the Inhabitants, their Hospitality, respectful Behaviour, and the Manner in which they live under the Chinese Emperors.*
4. *The Author, in Company with the Chinese Mandaryn, passes through a Country in which there are several decayed and abandoned Cities, of which he gives a very curious and copious Account.*
5. *They arrive at a Chinese Village inhabited entirely by Lama's or Tartarian Priests; a Description of it, and of the Country round it.*
6. *The Manner in which the Emperor of China hunts annually in this Neighbourhood for some Weeks, with an Account of the Game, and other Particulars.*
7. *The Author's Arrival at the famous Chinese Wall; a very curious and circumstantial Description of it, and of the Materials of which it is composed.*
8. *The Author's Arrival at Galkan, his magnificent Entertainment there by a Chinese Mandaryn, the Customs of the Chinese People of Quality on such Occasions, and an Account of a Play he saw acted.*
9. *The City of Xantunnung described, the Idol Temple of Jugangu, and a City which is inhabited entirely by the Emperor's Concubines.*
10. *He proceeds to the Cities of Kixu and Tunxo; a Description of the latter, and of the famous Market for Porcelain or China Ware that is held there.*
11. *A Digression in reference to the Excellency, Origin, and History of that Manufacture; interspersed with several new and curious Observations, by way of Supplement to the Author.*

I. **T**HE Plainness and Simplicity of our Author's Relation gives us the greatest Reason to believe, that he pays a strict Regard to Truth; for it is worth observing, that he never magnifies his own Courage or Conduct, or talks loudly of the Dangers he has run through; but very modestly sets down what occurred to him in his Journey, and very carefully distinguishes between what fell immediately under his own Inspection, and what he received from the Report of others. What is contained in this Section, relating to that vast Tract of Country bordering upon *China*, appears to me extremely curious, because out of this Country originally proceeded that famous Race of *Mongal Tartars*, which assumed the Empire of *Asia*, and, after conquering *India*, *Persia*, *Affryria*, and a considerable Part of *Europe*, threaten'd an Irruption into *Germany*; and had very probably conquered all *Muscovy* and *Poland*, if they had not been diverted partly by their Civil Wars, and partly by the Invasion of *China*. One cannot help therefore being pleased with our Author's Description of the original Seat of these mighty Conquerors, at the same Time that it very much confirms what we meet with in the Writings of *Marco Polo* and other ancient Travellers, whose Relations we have inserted in our former Volume. We may from hence be taught not to be too rash in censuring what we cannot immediately reconcile either to our Reason or our Experience: One of the best Lessons that the former teaches us is, its own Weakness; and there is nothing that we learn with so much Certainty from the latter, as that without due Care we may be easily deceived. All that has a plausible Appearance is not therefore to be accounted Reason; nor is every Thing that we hear or read to be looked upon as Experience. If there is nothing absurd or impossible in what a Man of a fair Character relates as an Eye-Witness, his Testimony ought not to be slighted.

ed; and when we sit down to learn what passes, or what has passed in Countries with which we have been hitherto unacquainted, it is irrational to expect, that all we meet with should be smooth, clear, and intelligible. When we are Children, we read with Astonishment of the great Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and these are impressed upon our Minds so, that as we grow up, they pass for incontestable Proofs; yet read these Histories to illiterate People, and they will make more Difficulty of believing them, than we do at receiving what is delivered concerning the Natives of these Eastern Countries, where Empires have risen without our Notice; and, after flourishing for many Ages, have sunk again before they came to our Cognizance. But let us dwell no longer on Reflections, it will be better to attend our Author on his Journey, who, in speaking of the Prosecution of it towards *China*, proceeds thus.

On the 1st of Sept. I came to the *Falischian Mountains*, lodged there, and found my Post-Messenger, who was a *Russian* Gentleman that I had dispatched to *Xixigar*, was returned, and arrived here before me, and had already waited some Days for me. He was accompanied with a *Chinese* Captain and ten Men, which were sent to meet me. When I ordered him to be brought to me, he complimented me from his Lords, who had expressly sent him to meet me; and in their Name presented me with some necessary Refreshments, as fifteen Sheep, some Tea, Loaf-Sugar, and twenty Horses for my Use, which I thankfully accepted, and in Return made the Captain several Presents.

These Hills are called the *Falischian Mountains*, from the River *Falo's* rising amongst them; its Source being united to several Rivulets which fall from the Hills; and the Head of this River being not above two Fathom broad. As we climbed up these high Mountains, on the North Side we found them not one third Part so steep as at our Descent on the South. Besides

which, we observed a very remarkable Alteration of the whole Country on the South-side of the Hills.

From the River *Kailar* to these Mountains, we travelled thro' steep Rocks and high Hills, with which the Valleys, which we passed thro', were encompassed on both Sides. There are also a few small Thickets scattered up and down, besides which the whole Way is void of all Trees or Wood; which sometimes gave us the Trouble of carrying the Wood which we wanted for our Kitchen, from one Lodging-place to another.

These Valleys are wholly covered with fine Grass, as the Mountains are stocked with all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers; besides which, this Country plentifully abounds with large Harts, Roebucks and wild Sheep, which frequently appear in great Herds of many Hundreds together. Here are also large Flocks of wild Geese, Ducks, wild Turkeys, and Partridges; but none of the Rivers, which I passed from the *Argun* to this Place, abound with Fish, excepting only Roach and Jacks. The Air is temperate, or rather cool. But on the 2d of *September*, quitting the Hills and travelling along the Side of the River *Jalo*, we were entertained with the Sight of very fine Oak and Lime-trees, as well as a great many Hazel Bushes, which did not grow above an Ell above Ground, and yet bore vast Quantities of Nuts. We proceeded two Days in such an agreeable Road, and on the 4th Instant, to our mighty Satisfaction, reached the first *Chinese* Guard, which was placed upon a high Mountain, that afforded them a very large View, and commanded the whole adjacent Plain. As soon as this Watch espy any Persons, they summon them, and conduct them to their main Guard, under their Commanders on the *Mergeen*, as they also did by us.

Without any farther Interruption, we proceeded on our Journey, and on the 5th Instant got Sight of the first *Targazinian* Huts; and the next Day we passed by the last of them. The *Targazinians* are a separate independent Hord or Clan, which are obliged to pay Tribute to the Emperor of *China*: They are governed by their own Chief, but obey those who are most potent in *Tartary*. They are an Infidel Heathen Nation, and are said to worship the Devil: They are of a middle Stature, and broad-faced like the *Mongolians*. Their Summer-dress is composed of Blue *China* Callicoe and Tanned Leather; but it being cold betwixt the Mountains here in the Winter, they wear Coats made of Sheep skins. Their Language is very little different from the *Tunguzians*; and they live in Huts made of thin *Bamboes* or Reeds. They depend chiefly on the Tillage of Land for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Millet; the Remainder of what they do not consume themselves, they transport and sell amongst the *Xixigarian* Villages. Their Cattle are chiefly Horses, Camels, Bulls, Cows and Sheep; the last of which are very fine and large, the Tail being a large Span thick, and two Spans long, all of which is fat, and they are so very heavy, that they cannot go fast, much less run. These People ride very commonly upon Oxen; and are very expert Archers; they make great Quantities of Bows, which are esteemed the very best in all *Tartary*, and are therefore sold very dear. We passed by these People on our Journey on the charming Banks of the River *Jalo* with the utmost Pleasure; but now turned our Eyes from thence downwards towards the South. I cannot help owning, that the Side of this River is perfectly a Paradise, as consisting of beautiful Pasture-Grounds, Silver Streams, and the pleasantest Woods in the World; and the most delicious Entertainment of the Eye is not a little improved by the Prospect of the rising Ground, and beautiful trowning Hills, which offer themselves to our View, at about a Mile and half Distance on each Side, and are a perfect Warren or Park of Wild Game; Great Numbers of Wild Swine, Harts, and vast Herds of Tygers and Panthers harbouring under these shady Mountains. Here are Multitudes of Wild-Ducks; a small Sort of Geese called *Turpani*, adorned with all Sorts of variegated Feathers, like those in *India*; and a particular Sort of extraordinary beautiful Partridges, the Feathers of which are

of several Colours, their Tails about an Ell long, which prove very delicate, being in Taste, as well as Size and Shape, like Pheasants: They harbour in plain Fields, in the long Grass, and in low Nut-bushes; and being sprung, in their Flight clap their Wings with a Noise as loud as a Stork.

On the above-mention'd Day being obliged to leave this charming River, I turn'd off on the Left, from it to the South-East, and spent the 8th, 9th and 10th Days in Travelling betwixt Mountains and Rocks on each Side, where we were afflicted with the Want of Wood and Water, being obliged to content ourselves with what the Pits yielded of the latter, which was of a deep brown Colour and almost stunk. But on the 11th we got out of the Hills, and came to a Plain, but so barren a Field, that nothing at all grew upon it; the best was that we had but one Day's Journey to *Xixigar*, to pass in this desert Field, so that we held our Night Encampment this Evening not above half a Mile from that Place.

2. Having under the Protection of Heaven reached the Borders of *China*, I immediately dispatched away a Messenger Post to the *Adaganda* or *Mandaryn* who had been sent from *Pegu* to receive me, and on the 12th, early in the Morning, I set forwards, having ranged my Retinue in good Order; and was quickly informed by the Return of my Messenger, that the *Mandaryn* accompanied with eighty Men, would ride from the Town of *Xixigar* to meet me, and was already advanced on his Way.

We approached each other but slowly, and met about a Quarter of a Mile short of the Town, where I was very civilly welcomed by the *Mandaryn*; and after mutual Compliments were passed, we rode forwards together in Order, (making a very good Appearance) till we reached the Town, where a very good House was provided for me, and those of my Retinue were well lodged suitable to their Characters, as well as the *Cossacks* which I had with me, in the best Houses in the Town.

This Province is situated in a very variable, and withal unwholesome Climate. About Noon generally rises a high Wind, that continues about two Hours; but otherwise the Sky is very seldom overcast, so that the Sun continues to shine very hot almost always, by Means of which and the constant Wind the Earth is so dried, and driven upwards, that the subtil white Dust is scarce supportable. I was very particular in my Observation of the Alteration of the Air, when I came from betwixt the Hills. About five Miles from *Xixigar*, I perceived the Air to be cloudy as far as the Mountains extended, but no farther; and particularly, where the Hills ended, the Air was clearly and visibly separated by a windy Arch, from the West to the East, towards the *Albanian* Mountains; a very extraordinary Phænomenon, which I assert as an Eye-witness.

As for what happened to myself, the *Mandaryn*, who was an agreeable well bred Man, very civilly invited me to take a Meal with him on the 14th Instant, at which I was received with particular Expressions of Kindness, and splendidly treated: The Entertainment was composed of good Soops, savoury Herbs, roast and baked Meats, all which were followed with a Banquet of Sweet-Meats and *Chinese* Fruit. His Men and Soldiers were all disposed in the best Order, each as perfectly and respectfully knowing and taking his Station as is possible in *Europe*. What alone was very uneasy to me, was, that I was obliged to sit with him on the Tapistry, with my Legs across and under me, which is to Strangers a very troublesome Custom.

On the 15th I treated the *Mandaryn* in Return, having caused him to be invited the Day before. I entertained him in the *European* Manner, and put a Glass of good Sack briskly about, causing the Trumpets and other Musick to play; all which wonderfully pleased this Gentleman, so that he and his Company returned Home pretty mellow, and mightily satisfied with *European* Civility.

On the 25th, the same *Mandaryn* again entertained



*Targazinian Tartar
on Ox-Back*



*Xixigarschian Tartar
with his Wife and Daughter*



The Temple Jugangu



*Samojedes Travelling with
Harts Sleds*

us, and the following Day dined with me. During which Interval of Time, I caused all necessary Preparations to be made for me and my Retinue, in order to our Proceeding on our Journey to *Peking*. I informed the *Mandaryn* that I was ready, who immediately answered very civilly, that pursuant to the Order of his *Amologda Chan* or King, as many Coachmen or Waggoners as were necessary were prepared to wait on me, if I pleased to accept of his Company, and set forwards on the 28th Instant. Before I invite the Reader to accompany me in this Journey, I think myself obliged in few Words to describe what appeared to me remarkable amongst the Inhabitants of this Province of *Xixigar*.

3. About a Quarter of a Mile from this Frontier Town, runs the River *Naun*, on which is situate the City of *Naunkoton*, lately built, and encompassed with earthen Walls, well lined, and covered on the Outside with massy Timber. The Inhabitants of this City, and the six large Southern Villages subordinate to it, are call'd *Daori* or *Old Dauri*; and at present this Country is called *Dori*, by the *Tartars* which inhabit all along the River *Nauna* and *Jallo* to *Albazin*. These People have very rich manured Lands, and all Sorts of Garden-Fruits, and several Tobacco Plantations; but their Religion is impious and Diabolical; for according to their own Report they are all *Schammans* or Conjurers, which invoke the Devil. Several Neighbours of both Sexes frequently assemble together about Midnight; one of them lies with his Body extended on the Earth, and the By-standers with exalted Voices make a dismal Howl: Others beat on a Sort of Drums; which ceasing for a small Interval, the Howl is renewed, and sometimes lasts for two Hours, until he that lies on the Earth, seems returned to his Senses, and after a tedious Howling, rises up and relates where he hath been, and what he hath seen and heard; after which, whatever any of the Company are desirous to be informed of concerning future Events, or other Particulars, is proposed to him; and while I staid there, no Night passed without this hideous Howling of these Diabolical Ministers.

They keep their Dead three Days in their Houses, then bury the Corps in a high-raised Grave in the Gardens or Fields; after which it is daily visited by the Relations of the Deceased, a Hole being left open at the Head, to which Place they bring the Dead all Sorts of Victuals and Drink, conveying these Edibles by a Spoon made for that Purpose to the very Mouth of the deceased; but leave the Drink standing in small Tin Cups round the Grave: This Practice lasts for several Weeks, which ended, they bury the stinking Carcass, a good Way deeper in the Earth.

They live in Houses of Clay or Earth, covered with Reeds or small Bamboes, somewhat like the Peasants thatched Houses in *Europe*. The Walls on the Inside are partly white, being plaistered with Lime. The Middle of the House is furnished with an erected Pillar, about which are wound the Entrails of Beasts, by which hang a little Bow and Arrows, Pikes and other Arms; to all this they sometimes, by bowing and Prostrations, pay an idolatrous Sort of Worship. Their Houses are not partitioned into Chambers, nor have they any Garrets; but almost one half of the House close to the Walls is taken up all round, with a large Bench of an Ell high, and about two Ells broad, covered with red Matts; under these Benches pass a Chimney, through which the Fire is kindled by the Door of the House, and the Smoak goes out at the other Side of it. And this Chimney in Winter serves instead of a Stove, though the Habitation is not much warmed by it; but the Inhabitants which sit on this Bench in the Day Time, and lie on it at Night, are indeed somewhat the better for it. There are constantly in these Dwellings two fixed Iron Kettles, in one of which is warm Water to make Tea, and the other is reserved for Boiling of Victuals. The House is all round provided with square Windows, which are latticed with Paper instead of Glass, and in warm Weather they are set open with a

Stick to make Way for the cool Breezes to pass through the Apartment.

These People are generally well-shap'd, but more especially the Women. The Men, Women and young Girls, wear the same Habit as the *Mansiourian Tartars* in *China*. The Secretaries of the *Mandaryns*, which are in the Service of the *Chan*, and are sent hither or to any other Place in *Tartary*, whenever they are inclined to Venereal Pleasures, seize for their own Use as many Wives as well as young Virgins as they like, at Pleasure; and I have frequently seen them carry off the most beautiful Creatures on Waggon, as to the Slaughter. Some Men being obliged to send their Wives after these Courtiers, boast of it as a very particular Favour, that they have the Honour to have such a Lord for their Brother-in-Law; but others, though perhaps not very well satisfied with this Custom, for Fear of falling into Disgrace and being punished, are obliged to bear it patiently, though a barbarous Practice, especially amongst a polite People.

Leaving this frontier Nation on the 28th Instant, and setting forward with the *Mandaryn* from *Xixigar*, by the Evening we reached a Village where we passed that Night. On the 29th we passed through several Villages, and arrived on the other Side of the *Jalo*, where it falls into the *Naunda*. We forded the *Jalo* without any Difficulty, it being but shallow, but the *Naunda* is very broad, strengthened with a high Sand and Earth Bank on each Side. The Stream is not very rapid, by reason it is deep; its Water looks brown; it abounds with Sturgeon, Jacks, and several Sorts of small Fish; and several Mother of Pearl Shells are found on its Shoars.

On the 30th we turned off from the River *Naunda*, and left it on the Left; its Course is farther extended downwards, East-South-East, between large Mountains; but we travelled over Mountains of Sand and Earth till the Evening, when we first reached the *Mongolian* Rivers. These *Mongolians* are subject to the Emperor of *China*. Here we were obliged to content ourselves with the Water we took out of Wells or Pits, which did not indeed look very well; and about twenty Huts were erected in the open Field, and covered with Felts, for me and my Retinue; in each of which Cottages an Iron Kettle was set on the Fire, and a *Mongolian* appointed for our Service.

Near this Place we found three *Ooferes* or small Lakes of standing Water, which were utterly useless, by reason the Water was brackish in Taste, and in Colour as white as Milk. Here the Land began to appear high and mountainous towards the West, whilst East and Southward the Low-downs presented themselves to our View; and we were forced to make shift with Well or Pit-water, which was very bad, there being no Rivers near.

4. After four Days travelling without the Sight of so much as one House, we came to an old ruined City, encompassed with a Quadrangular Mud-Wall, about a *German* Mile in its Circumference. The Land appear'd hitherto both East and West as before; and after six Days more travelling over a Hilly Country utterly destitute of Houses, we reached another old desolate City, called *Taimingzingh*, fortified with a square Wall, and Bulwarks: There are in it two Towers or Turrets, one very high and the other less: The largest was an *Obtagon*, the Front of which was built with Brick, and about ten Fathom from the Ground, there was, on each of the eight Sides, Stones placed, on which were carved several Histories. Upon some of them are expressed some great Personages or Kings, as big as the Life, sitting with their Feet under them, and Attendants on each Side of them: Others shew us several Figures which seemed to represent Queens folding their Hands together, with their Servants on each Side; the Queens having Crowns on their Heads, and the other being adorned with Rays or Lustres, as Saints are commonly painted, and also folding their Hands; all which seems to hint that this Tower must be built by Christians.

Other Parts of it represented Warriors with Pikes, after the *Chinese* Manner, and the King bare-headed,

in the middle with a Scepter in his Hand, and all the By-standers appearing with hideous Diabolical Visages, and the Proportion of all these Images so exactly observed, that they looked like the Works of *European* Masters.

This Turret was perfectly close on all Sides, with no Kind of Ascent without, or Entrance into it. Several large Heaps of Bricks lay in the City, besides a great many Stone Statues as big as the Life, in the Figures of Men and Idols, Grave-Stones, great Stone Lions, and Tortoises of an uncommon Largeness; by all which this seemed to have been a Place where some *Chan* or King had formerly resided.

One Part of the City was divided from the other by an earthen Wall; the Bulwarks were extraordinary large and high, and this great City had but four Ports or Entrances, into which ran Multitudes of Hares, as far as the Grass grew, there being scarce any Men in the Town, or rather Village erected within the Town of late by the *Tartars*.

The *Chinese* relate, that many hundred Years past, *Utaichan*, or *Un-Chan*, a *Tartarian* King, governed here, but was conquered and driven out of his Country by a *Chinese* King. The City, as near as I could guess, was above a *German* Mile in Circuit.

In several Places amongst the Mountains we observed Brick Turrets standing, which seemed to be ancient Burying-places of the *Tartars*. In these Hills I observed an infinite Variety of known and unknown Plants, extending for the Space of several Miles as thick with Thyme and Marjoram as Grass.

After having travelled four Days farther, we came to *Burgan Koton*, or *Idol City* as it is called, which is likewise utterly laid waste: It takes its Name from being a Place where formerly only the principal Heathen Priests lived. It had a Mud-Wall, most of which is at present fallen down. In the middle of the City is a high octangular Stone Turret, built in the *Chinese* Manner, and hung with several hundreds of small Iron Bells, which whenever the Wind rises a little, chime with a Silver Sound, which is very agreeable. There was an Entrance into this Steeple, by which I sent some of our People up, to see what was to be found in it: They informed me, that in several dark Holes, they saw many thousands of *Chinese* or Heathen Idols of several Shapes, and that they were very glad they were got back again. On one Side of this Turret were several Holes, out of which the Stones had fallen by the Decay of Time; and these Holes were filled with Inscriptions by the *Mangols*, in the *East Tartarian* Language, which were placed there by the Travellers that passed by that Way, particularly by their *Lama's* or Priests; for others who cannot write satisfy themselves with setting up Figures moulded in Clay.

5. Half a Mile from hence is a *Chinese* Village, mostly inhabited by *Lama's*, (for where the Corps is thither the Eagles flock) they entertaining all *Tartars* travelling this Way, and instructing them in the dark Errors of their ancient Idols. We passed on over sandy and downy Land, on which was a low Hill, with some old Birch-Trees standing on it: This Hillock is according to their Manner esteemed sacred by the *Mongolians* and the neighbouring *Tartars*. And those who travel by it, as a religious Offering in Honour of this Place, in order to obtain a good Journey, hang something which they have about their Body here, either Caps, Cloaths, Purfes, Boots, Breeches, Shirts, Switches, &c. upon the Trees, which from the Top to the Bottom are so full charged with this Trumpery, that they seem to be Shops; and it is thought very scandalous to remove any of them, for they must hang and rot upon the Principle of their Religion.

At last we came to the River, which is called *Schara Murin* or *Yellow Horse*; which proceeds from the West, and falls Eastward into the River *Karga*: It is about thirty Fathom broad, and fordable with Camels and Horses. Advancing farther we came to the River *Logaa*, which rises in the South, and falls into the mentioned *Schara Murin*. The Land here on each Side is rocky, but in the Valleys are some fine Villages, and well cultivated Grounds. Prosecuting our

Journey we came to a large Village, in which was an old fallen *Chinese* Idol-Temple, without any Idols in it; as also another in which a great Lord lived, who was married to one of the reigning Emperor of *China's* Daughters. After this we reached a small City called *Kara-Katon* or *Black City*: Which is Quadrangular, and encompassed with Oaken Pallisades driven into the Ground; which serve rather to defend it from Tygers and Leopards than the Enemy: The Land all about being covered with high Rocks, on which grow Thickets of Oaks, and great Quantities of Grass, where Multitudes of those Beasts harbour, as well as wild Swine and Harts; for which Reason, from hence to the great Wall, is thought so dangerous, that no Persons venture to travel it by Night: And all the Horses, Asses, Camels, and Cows have Iron Bells fastned about their Necks, which somewhat frightens the Tygers. The Inhabitants told us also, that frequently, Men that have only gone amongst the Hills in Day time, have been torn to Pieces: Wherefore the *Mandaryn* cautioned me to give Order that none of my Attendants should venture to turn out of the Road, or go amongst the Hills, that they might not be devoured by these wild Beasts, who by Day harbour on the Mountains Tops, and by Night go in Search of their Prey, and are then excessively bold and ravenous.

6. The Emperor of *China* annually in *August* comes a Tyger-Hunting to this Place, accompanied with two or three thousand of the best Archers in *Tartary*, and a Party of Lancers. When the Tygers are to be put up, the Emperor himself goes to the Foot of the Hill along with the Men that attend him armed with Lances, Bows, and Arrows, who invest the Hill, and beset it very well up to the Top; and when they find the Tygers there, they seeing themselves beset, endeavour by Leaping to break through the Croud, but are hunted with Drums and Bells till they come to the Place where the Emperor himself is, who shoots down the Game with Bow and Arrow, without any Hazard of his Person; for if there happen but the least Danger, he is encompassed with so many Men, that they easily defend him from the wild Beast with their Lances. The Emperor passes some Weeks in this Sport; by Intervals putting up also some edible wild Game, as Swine, Harts, Roebucks, Hares, besides Wolves and Foxes. And this I have heard not only from the Inhabitants, but from the Jesuits, two or three of which were obliged to go this Progress with him.

We observed hereabouts, in the Fields and Trees, a Sort of Birds, in Size and Shape very like a Heron, the Feathers of which are very beautiful, their Neck and Breast being white, their Wings and Tail of a bright Scarlet, their Flesh firm and very good Meat; we saw also another Bird which was as big as a Parrot, his Bill crooked, his Tail a full Ell long, and chequered with all Sorts of fine Colours, but he is so very wild that he will not suffer any to come near enough to take him: Here are likewise Partridges with long Tails and beautiful variegated Feathers.

Not far from hence we came to a steep Rock, the Ascent of which was very crooked and winding, and was for above two hundred Fathom hewn through by Men, and a Way cut which was seven Fathom broad, probably for the Convenience of Travellers, the other Side of this Rock, by Reason of the deep Morafs, being impassable. We passed hereabouts continually by steep Rocks, furnished with Oaks and Limes, and in the Vales Chestnut and large Nut-trees as well as Vines grew wild. From hence we went forwards and came to a very high Rock, sharp-pointed at the Top, and, by reason of its Steepness, impossible to be climbed: On one Side of which, about half Way up, is an Idol Temple hewn out of the Rock: It hath four Windows, and instead of Idols, we saw four Stone Statues in a sitting Posture. It is not a little to be wondered how it was possible for Men to come there, and perform such a great Piece of Work; the Rock on that Side being so extraordinary steep, that a Mouse cannot get up it. This Temple, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, hath been built several hundred Years.



A. The Ambassador.

B. His Retinue.

C. Convoy of Georgian Cossacks.

D. The Caravan of Laden Horses & Camels.

THE EMBASSADORS ENTRY THROUGH
THE FAMOUS CHINESE WALL.

Near 1200 Miles in Length.

- E. The City XOGON KOTON.
F. An Idol Temple.
G. The Chinese Guard & Watch Towers.
H. Idol Temples on the Walls.

7. On the 27th of *October* we reached some Watch-Towers on the Pinacles of the Rocks, from whence we got Sight of the *Zagan Crim*, that is, the great Wall, which we came to on the same Day. This really seems to be one of the Wonders of the World. About five hundred Fathom from this famous Wall is a Valley, each Side of which was provided with a Battery of hewn Stone, from one of which to the other a Wall about three Fathom high is erected, with an open Entrance. Passing through this Fore-wall, we came to the Entry of the great Wall, through a Watch-Tower, about eight Fathom high, arched over with hewn Stone, and provided with massy Doors strengthened with Iron: The Wall runs from East to West, across the Valley and up extraordinary high Rocks, and about five hundred Fathom distant from the other hath on the Rocks on each Side of it a Tower built on it. The Foot of this Wall was of large hewn Quarry-stone for about a Foot high, and the remaining upper Part was composed of Brick and Lime, but, as far as we can see, the Whole was formerly built with the same Stone. Within this first Port we came into a Plain full one hundred Fathom broad; after which we came to another Guard-Port, which had a Wall on each Side, and like the first Wall, was carried quite across the Vale; and this, as well as the first Port, was guarded by a Watch of Fifty Men. On the first or great Wall stands an Idol-Temple, with the Ensigns of the Idol and the Emperor flying on the Top of it. The Wall is full six Fathom high, and four thick, so that six Horsemen may easily ride a-breast on it, and was in as good Repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty Years since; no Part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the least Weed or Filth, as other old Walls are observed to be.

8. After this last Watch-Tower, we came into a Vale about three hundred Fathom over, on which grew some large Willows, and on the West-side, at the Foot of the Rock, was a magnificent Temple; a Musquet-shot from whence we came to the City of *Galchan*, which is encompassed with a high quadrangular Wall, but is not very populous. Here I was welcomed by the Discharge of three Iron Guns, and continued all Night in the Suburbs. The Streets were so beset with the Concourse of People, that it was difficult to pass them, being drawn together by the Sound of our Trumpets and Bagpipes, which seemed very strange to them, they never having heard any such Musick before. In the Evening the *Mandaryn* sent to compliment me, and invited me to sup with him at the Royal Palace, where the Emperor resides when he passes this Way. Upon my coming thither, besides the *Mandaryn*, I found there the Governor and the greatest Officers of the City; and after we had drank some Dishes of Tea, I was entertained with a noble Supper, all the Action of a Play, and a Specimen of Musick, after their Fashion, consisting of all Sorts of Kettle-Drums and stringed Instruments, which made a hideous, confused Noise; so that I could have rather wished myself at a Distance, than near it. They sat on Stools by Couples, no more than two at each Table. These Tables were finely japanned, and covered with exquisite Needle-work Silk Carpets. They use no Table-cloths, Napkins, Knives, Forks or Plates; but only two small round Sticks of Ivory or Ebony were laid upon the Table, which was its whole Furniture; but indeed they are so wonderfully expert in the Use of these Sticks, that they can with them take up any Thing, though of the Size of a Pin's Head. They hold them in the Right-Hand betwixt the Thumb and the two Fore-Fingers. All their Victuals, whether Soops, Rice, stewed or roasted Meats, are brought to Table in *China* Vessels, and not in Dishes: Each Sort of Roast is served up alone, cut into small Pieces; but the Banquet of Sweet-meats and Fruit was dished up in little *China* Basins. Their Soops and Pottages are extraordinary grateful to the Taste, as being enriched with very delicious Herbs and Spices, as Mace, Cinnamon, &c. The Herb they boil in their Soops grows on Rocks in the Sea, and, being boiled, appears slimy, and when dried is green, as it also looks in the

Soops. This Plant hath no Leaves, but grows with interwoven Branches, and is of a very agreeable Taste, and esteemed very wholesome; some think it to be abortive *Satyron* or Birds-Nest. They also dress striped Shrimps, and Pigeons Eggs with the Whites tinged red and yellow; they have besides fine Salleting, especially Endive cut in small long Slips, being very agreeable both to Taste and Smell; this they lay uppermost in their former Dish. Their Soops are not to be mended by our *German* Cooks, or perhaps any other.

Instead of Saltfellers, they have small Saucers of Pickle or Brine, into which the Meat is dipped. By reason they use no Spoons, each Person takes the Cup of Soop set before him, and sips it up; but that Part, which is too gross, he guides to his Mouth with the round Sticks, that nothing may run besides or foul their Cloaths, using no Napkins, though indeed their Handkerchiefs hang by their Sides, with which they only wipe their Mouths.

In the publick Eating-houses or Ordinaries the Carver stands at the Table with the Roast-Meat before him, which, in Presence of the Guests, he cuts into small Bits, puts them into little Cups, and sets them on the Table. This Carver makes Use of no Cloth to wipe his Hands, but cuts off what is best dressed round the Bone as long as he can, and tears off the Remainder with his Hands, which are greased up to the Elbows so plentifully, that the Sight of them alone is enough to give the Spectators a Meal, more especially such as have squeamish Stomachs.

Their Drinks are Brandy, which they call *Arakka*, and a Sort of Wine they drink warm, called *Tarasu*, which is a Decoction of green or half-ripe Rice; and after it hath been kept a Year or two, in Colour, Taste, and Strength, is very like the best *Rhenish* Wine.

Whilst we were at Table, the Master of the Band of Players upon his Knees presented the *Mandaryn* with a Book of red Paper, containing a List of Plays written in black Letters; which the *Mandaryn* perusing, told him which Play he chose; after this, bowing his Head to the Earth, he arose and began the Performance immediately.

First entred a very beautiful Lady, magnificently dressed in Cloth of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Crown on her Head, singing her Speech, with a charming Voice, and agreeable Motion of the Body, playing with her Hands, in one of which she had a Fan. The Prologue thus performed, the Play followed, the Story of which turned upon a *Chinese* Emperor long since dead, who had behaved himself well towards his Country, and in Honour of whose Memory the Play was written. Sometimes he appeared in Royal Robes, with a flat Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, and sometimes his Officers shewed themselves with Ensigns, Arms, and Drums, &c. and by Intervals a Sort of Farce was acted by their Lacqueys, whose antick Dress, and painted Faces, were as well as any I have seen in *Europe*; and, as far as was interpreted to me, their Farce was very diverting, especially Part of it, which represented a Person who had in his Marriage been cheated by a debauched Wife, and fancying her constant to him, had the Mortification to see another make Love to her before his Face. They also, according to their Manner, danced to the Lute; and after three several Plays were acted, and it grew towards Midnight, I took my Leave, rid Home, set forwards on my Journey the following Day, and over a floating wooden Bridge passed the River *Lungo*, which comes from the West, and flows South-Eastward into the Sea of *Corea*.

9. Upon my Arrival at the City of *Xantunnung*, near that of *Lania*, we were welcomed by the Discharge of several Guns, and lodged in the Suburbs. The *Mandaryn* sent to compliment and invite me to Supper, in Compliance to which, in Company with the Governor and principal Officers of the City, I went accordingly, where I was splendidly entertained at the Emperor's Country Palace, and again diverted with Farces. On the same Day we passed the *Xungo*, which also rises

in the West and flows Eastward near the City of *Lania*, and happily reached the City of *Xantunung*. Time enough to lodge there, where, as in the other Cities, I was entertained by the *Mandaryn* at the Imperial Apartment with a Supper and Play till Midnight. Next Day I went on, and passed a Morass, over which lay a very fine Stone Bridge, with numerous Arches, all of square Stone, and adorned with all Sorts of Imagery, but especially Figures of Lyons. We passed through several considerable Towns and large Villages, all of which were very populous, and very conveniently provided with Horses and all Manner of Necessaries for Travelers; here we observed more especially great Numbers of Inns, Cooks-Shops, and Tea-Houses. In the Evening we came to the City of *Xungunxa*, where the *Mandaryn*, as before, invited me to Supper; but being indisposed, and very much tired with a tedious Day's Journey, I civilly refused him, and staying at Home, refreshed myself with the charming Fruits of that Country, such as Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Apples, Pears, Chestnuts, large and small Nuts, &c. all exquisite in their respective Kinds.

The following Day we travelled up a high Rock, passing by the Temple called *Jugangu*, the Front of which appeared very beautiful, being all of square Stone, and seemed to be a strong Fort or Castle. Next Day we passed on the left Hand or East Side over a high Mountain, by a beautiful Cloyster, and several Towns and Villages. This Temple is in the Province of *Peking*, and very famous, by Reason the Image of an ancient *Chinese* King, or false God, is kept there, which induces several Husbandmen, not only from the neighbouring Villages, but even as far as the great Wall, to come hither in Pilgrimage in the Spring to implore a fruitful Summer, and after Harvest to thank their Deity for a good Crop; to perform which Office whole Villages and Families resort hither with their Priests. The Women being dressed in their best Apparel ride on Asses in the Middle of the Procession. The Priests carry painted and metallick Representations or Images of several Idols; and some of the Men carry a Sort of long Trumpets, others Flutes, Drums and Kettle Drums, with which they make a horrid Noise. They are all followed by a *Lama* or Idolatrous Priest, with a Basket fastened to his Body, in which he carries triangular folded Papers, some gilded and other silvered over; these he scatters on the Way about 100 Fathom from the Cloyster, in Honour of this *Wonder-worker* or *Idol*. Another carries burning perfum'd Tapers, which last till they come to their designed Place. These Pilgrims stay several Days there, passing their Time in all Manner of Diversions as well as Devotions.

Prosecuting our Journey we passed by a City inhabited only by the Emperor's Concubines, and their Retinue, where that Monarch stays several Days when he goes a Hunting. The City is not large, but hath a great many fine Stone Palaces covered with red Tiles; is full of Idol Temples, and encompassed with a high Stone Wall. About three Cannon Shot West of this Place is a Spring of boiling hot Water, of which a hot Bath is made.

10. After having passed many Towns and Villages, we came the next Day to *Kixa*. Here the Hills on both the East and West Sides of us began to disappear; though on the Mountains, on the South-East and Western Sides, we could yet see the great Wall. Going from hence we passed over a Stone-Bridge on the River *Xangu*, and reposed that Night at *Xangole*.

On the 2d of *November* we passed through several Towns and Villages, and over a Stone Bridge over the River *Tungo*, which brought us to the City of *Tunxo*, which is fortified by a great Wall, and is situate close to the River *Tungo*. About as far as the mentioned Bridge, the Governor of the City and principal Officers, with a great Train of Horsemen, came to welcome me. The *Mandaryns* told me that this Governor was a very great Nobleman, by Birth a *Mongolian*, or *East-Tartar*, and a very affable, well bred Man. He invited me and the *Mandaryns* to Dinner, and gave us a noble Entertainment, suitable to his Quality and Character.

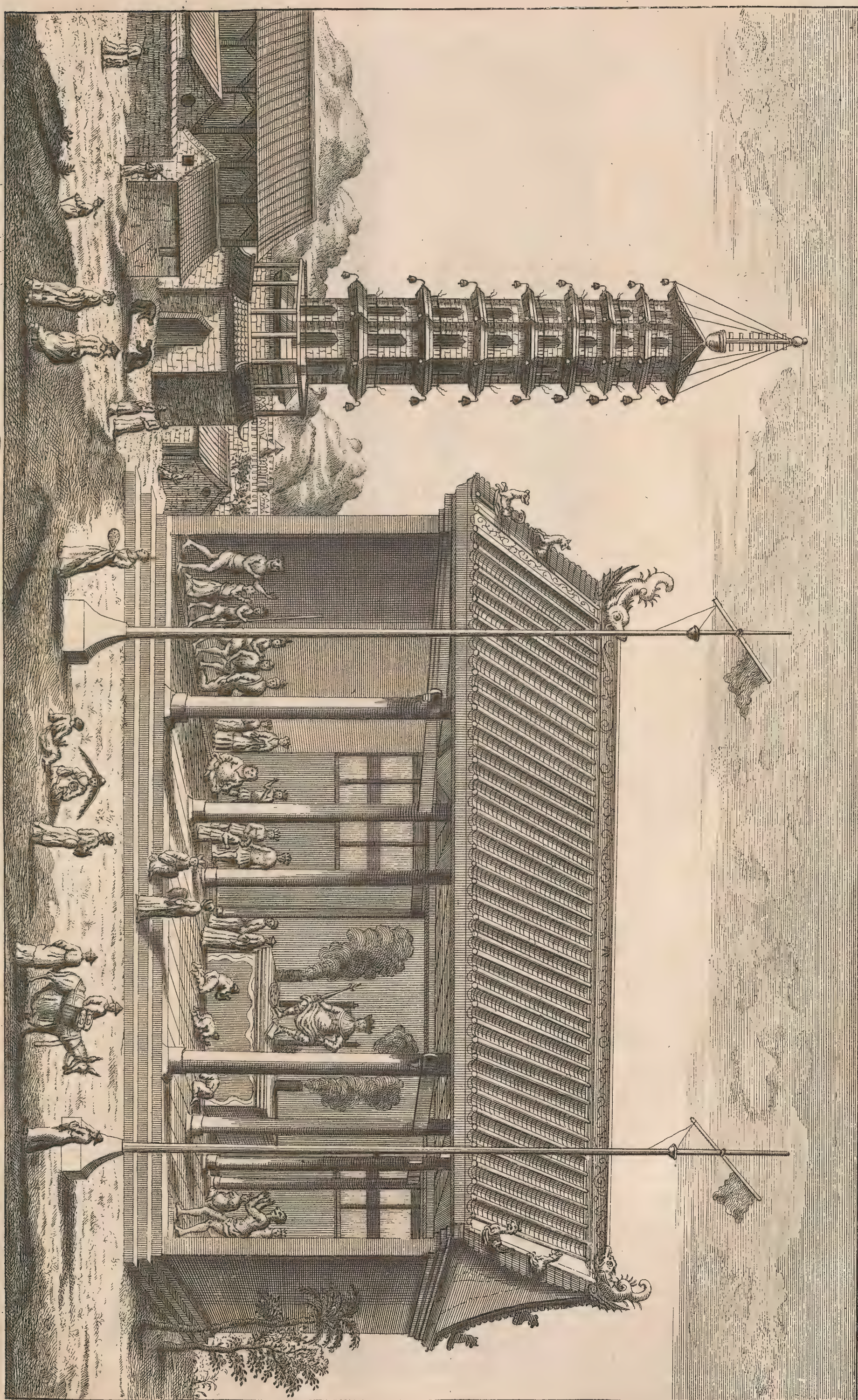
The City of *Tunxo* is very large, populous, and a Place of great Trade, by Reason of the Water-Carriage from thence to *Japan* and the Provinces of *Nanquing* and *Corea*. On this River, and haled on Shoar by its Sides, lie a great many Jonks; besides several which belong to the Emperor, and are richly adorned with carved Work, Galleries, and Windows. In these Barges the Governors of Places are carried to their appointed Cities, landed, and afterwards brought Home again. Those Jonks which are haled on Shoar are inhabited in Winter like Houses, though there is indeed but very little Winter here, nor doth the River ever freeze up, though sometimes Ice appears on the Shoar. These Jonks or Barks are indifferent large, and built very strong. When they lie on the Wharfs the Joints, instead of Pitch and Tarr, are stopped and smeared over with a Sort of Clay mixed with some other Ingredients, which once dried keeps faster and firmer than any Pitch. The Masts are a Sort of *Bamboes*, hollow within, but yet very strong; and some of them are as thick as an ordinary Man's Waste. The Sails are a certain Sort of Rushes woven together, that when furled, fold up as pliable as Flags, which is somewhat surprizing. The Forepart of these Ships is very flat, being built Arch-wise from Top to Bottom, and very conveniently fitted for the Sea. Inasmuch that, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, with a good Wind, in one of these they can reach the *Koreaschian* Sea in three or four Days; and supposing the Wind favourable, can in four or five Days Sail, gain from thence to the Kingdom or Empire of *Japan*, so little are they Novices in Sailing.

Passing thro' this City, I rode thro' the *China* Earthen Ware Market, where I saw vast Quantities of the finest *Porcelain* in the World. I also observed Abundance of *Pagods* or *Idol Temples* and Cloysters; and after I had lodged a Night in the Suburbs, and got every Thing in good Order, departed next Day, and proceeded forward till I entred *Peking*, this being the last Lodging-Place in my Way, to that celebrated Capital of this extensive Empire.

As our Author contents himself with speaking only of those Things that he has seen, and says no more of them, than what he has seen, I thought it would not be disagreeable to the Reader, if, upon his mentioning so great a Market for *China* Ware, I took the Opportunity of inserting a short Memorial, that has lain some time by me, upon this Subject, as it may otherwise run the Hazard of being lost; and as I am persuaded, that, upon Perusal, it will be thought worthy of a better Fate, the rather, because at present we have nothing very distinct or very methodical upon this Subject, except in *Du Halde's* History of *China*, where it is spun to such an excessive Length, that very few People will be at the Pains to read it, and I know some that have repented of their Perseverance. Without farther Introduction then take this Memorial, which runs thus.

“ There are very few Subjects that deserve more Attention or Care to be bestowed upon them, than the Efforts of the human Understanding, in producing and perfecting useful Arts. Amongst these there are but few that deserve the Preference of *Porcelain* or *China* Ware, so universally admired upon its first Appearance, which has kept its Credit now for the Space of two Centuries, and which is generally esteemed, notwithstanding the vast Quantities of it that are continually imported, as much as when it was first known. It is indeed true, that a great Part of its Value is derived from the Opinion of the Ladies; neither can I think that this is any Objection to it, for on the one Hand, they are the most conversant with it, and on the other they are the best Judges.

“ Their Sentiments therefore ought to fix it in our Esteem; but while they consider it in the Light of a beautiful Curiosity, it may deserve our Pains to enquire into the principal Points that regard it, which cannot be done without a tolerable Share of different Kinds of Learning. I dare not therefore presume to hope I shall be able to set the Subject in the fullest and most perfect Light, but if I lead the Way, and trace out a proper Method of Handling it, I conceive that I shall not lose my own Time, and
“ that



Inside of the Temple Juyangku in the Province of PEKING.

T U N X O
in the Province of Peking



The River Tungo



CHINESE Pilgrimage of a Whole Village to the Temple JUGANGU to obtain a fertile Year

“ that possibly I may excite some Master of a better Pen to do that Justice which it deserves to so entertaining and so useful a Subject.

“ In the first Place, we will consider the Excellency of *China* Ware, a Thing that has struck some of the learned so much, that according to their usual Custom, they would needs entitle the Ancients to it, just as they have bestowed upon them, the Use of the Compass and of Telescopes, without considering that there leaving no clearer Testimonies of their Titles to such admirable Inventions, does them infinitely more Discredit than the Notion of their Want of them. According to the Sentiments, or rather to the Whim of those who doat upon Antiquity, the *Vasa Myrrhina* ought to be translated Vessels of fine *Porcelain*. These were first seen at *Rome* in the Triumph of *Pompey*, and were afterwards esteemed valuable, I might say invaluable Curiosities.

“ This gives us indeed a very high Notion of the Excellency of *China* Ware, but I am very much afraid no very just one; for if *Pliny*, who with Respect to Things he had seen, was certainly a very just and a very exact Author, has given us a right Description of these Vessels, they were of a Kind of precious Stone, which had a white Ground, intersected with Veins of different Colours, which Stone was found, as the same Author tells us, in some Parts of *Persia*; so that, except their being very fine, of a vast Price, and coming from the East, there are no Arguments to prove that they were *Porcelain*. But however that Matter may be, most certainly if the Ancients had any Knowledge of this kind of Ware, they thought it inimitable, for as yet I have not met with any Antiquary that has ventured to assert the *Romans* themselves made any Thing of this Kind, and yet they were not Novices either in the Art of Earthen Ware.

“ It is true, that in *Persia* they carried such a Manufacture to a great Height, neither is it yet lost among the Inhabitants of that Country, who make a very fine Sort of Earthen or Stone Vessels, which would be imported, and highly valued in *Europe*, if, notwithstanding their Beauty, they did not fall very far short of *China*. In *America* also, and especially in the very Heart of *Mexico*, they make extraordinary handsome Vessels, of a kind of red Earth, little if at all inferior to that of the same Kind, which we receive from the *Indies*; but still this is nothing to the Purpose, for with Respect to the Fineness of the Grain, the perfect Transparency, the snowy Colour of the White, the wonderful Beauty of the other Colours, Blue especially, the Dexterity with which they are laid on, or rather wrought in, and the Strength and Soundness even of the thinnest Pieces, no Manufacture that has been hitherto seen, can be truly said to vie in Excellency, if I may be permitted that Expression, with the Ware of *China*.

“ The *French* indeed have boasted, for what is there which they will not boast? that they have come up to it, but it is in their Eyes only. At present great Part of the World is persuaded to prefer the *Dresden* Manufacture, for which, the best Reason that can be given is, that it is more costly. But with regard to the Properties before-mentioned, for as to other Properties I contest not, *Chantilli* and *Dresden* must both yield. Yet if we consider what a Spirit of Imitation the bringing over this Ware has excited, what wonderful Advances our Potters have made, and what a new Field of Industry this has opened in *Europe*, I presume there are few Politicians who will not agree with me, that we have no great Reason to regret the Silver it has cost us. In this Light, when we consider Luxury, we perceive that the Wisdom of Providence continually extracts Good from Evil, and that Nicety, Elegance, and even Profusion, are made the Parents of Labour, Diligence, and a comfortable Subsistence to the Poor, who at first Sight seem to be injured by those Vices, which, in Reality, and without the Intention of the Vicious, turn to their Benefit and that of the Publick.

“ But not to dwell too long upon moral Reflections, which however have their Use, and serve to convince very well-meaning People, that the Notions they receive, under an Appearance of Truth, are at the Bottom frequently groundless. I say, to leave these Reflections, let us consider next the Antiquity of *China*. It was first imported by the *Portuguese*, and came from *Lisbon*, in very small Quantities, to the several Courts of *Europe*. *Cavendish*, the famous Traveller in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, is held to be the first that presented his Royal Mistress with Vessels of that Ware, which came directly to *England*. Thus far our Journey is easy, but at the same Time it is very short: We have traced its Naturalization, but the Difficulty is to fix its Origin in its native Country, which is a Point of Difficulty indeed. Those who pretend to be best acquainted with the *Chinese* Story, cut the Knot, which they cannot untie, and tells us very bluntly, that there are no Records of this Invention extant. Men of more Modesty perhaps would have said, that hitherto no such Record had reached their Hands, for some other Accounts that they give us, leave us not altogether without Hopes, that this Tale may be one Day contradicted.

“ A Person, well versed in *Chinese* Learning assures us, that there is not a Province, a District, nor even a City of *China*, where they have not a natural, a civil, and a political History of the Place; in the former they set down all that Nature produces, and all the Improvements made upon her Productions by Art. In the second, they give Place to all the remarkable Persons, Male and Female, that, in the Course of Ages, have dwelt therein, and the Acts for which they became famous. In the third, they preserve the Succession of their Governors, the most remarkable Events that happen, the Privileges they obtain, and the Misfortunes they suffer. Now and then it is said, that a Purse of Gold dictates to the Scribe, but a special *Mandaryn*, who is a Native of the Place, is sent once in forty Years by the Emperor, who, in Conjunction with the Person then intrusted with the Administration, reviews these Memoirs, and strikes out all the Passages that there is any Reason to suspect ought to have been writ in Gold Letters.

“ In Records so curious, and written with so much Circumspection, we might expect that a Line at least should have been spared to so esteemed and so important an Invention. It may be, there is such a *Memorandum* as this, though hitherto it has escaped the Curiosity of the *Jesuits*, yet one of these Fathers, more happy than his Fellows, has come pretty near it, and assures us, that since *Anno Domini* 442, the *Chinese* Emperors have taken this valuable Manufacture more immediately under their Care, and have appointed two *Mandaryns*, to inspect all that is furnished for the Imperial Use. With this then we must rest satisfied, till we receive some better Information.

“ But here I must have Leave, to observe that though *Porcelain* and *China* Ware; are with us synonymous Terms, yet they are not so in that Empire, in all the Provinces of which they make Earthen Ware, but not in above two or three they make *Porcelain*, or what we call *China*. The Place where it is made in the greatest Perfection, in the *Chinese* Manner of Writing, is called *Kim te tchim*; the last of these marks only the Nature of the Place, and signifies, that though it is much beyond a Village, yet it is not a City. It would lead us too much out of the Road to explain this largely, and therefore it may be sufficient to say, that it is a great Town, and, like *Manchester* in our own Country, owes the Figure that it makes to the Ingenuity and Industry of its Inhabitants. It seems there is something peculiar to this Place, which renders it fitter for the Manufacture of the finest *China* than any other; for when many of the Inhabitants, for the Sake of Gain, removed to *A-moy*, then the only Port open to Strangers, in Hopes of carrying on their Trade to greater Advantage, they were able to make nothing of it; and when by

“ the

the Emperor's Command, they were removed to *Peking*, and all imaginable Care taken to furnish them with proper Utensils and Materials, to intitle the Capital to so valuable a Branch of Trade, the same Misfortune happened to them, and the Emperor very wisely determined thereupon, to leave the *Porcelain* Manufacture where Chance or Nature placed it.

Thus much may suffice in Regard to the Origin and Antiquity of this elegant Manufacture; for tho' more may be expected, yet I know not where it is to be found: Perhaps in Time, when the *Chinese* Learning comes to be regularly studied in *Europe*, we may come to have a clearer Insight into this Affair, since though the best *China* be made at *Kim te tchim*; yet as Perfection is not attained at once, it is very highly probable, that the Art was invented elsewhere, and that the particular History of the Place of its Invention may hitherto have escaped the Inquiries of the *Europeans*. We will now say a Word or two as to the Name of this Manufacture. Some have imagined that *Porcelain* was either a Derivation or Corruption of the *Chinese* Appellation; but this is so far from being true, that the *Chinese* have no such Sounds in their Language, and consequently no Characters to express them. The Word is absolutely *Portuguese*, and in their Orthography is writ *Porcelana*. It signifies literally and strictly speaking a Cup, a Basin, or a Saucer, and was first applied to those Kind of Shells which we call Cowries, and which pass for Money on the Coast of *Africa*. The Inside of these Shells having a glossy, beautiful white Colour; when the *Portuguese* first saw this admirable Earthen Ware, they bestowed upon it the same Name, either because they thought it would give their Countrymen an Idea of its Beauty, or possibly from a Persuasion that it might be made of such Shells, or of some Composition that resembled them. As for the *Chinese* themselves, the Word they commonly use to express what we call *China*, is *Tseki*, or rather, according to their Manner of Writing and pronouncing it, *Tse ki*.

We will now come to the Ingredients of which it is composed. We had heretofore very strange Notions in *Europe* upon this Head; some People were persuaded that Egg-Shells were the principal, if not the only Matter of *China*, and that the *Chinese* were extremely careful and secret as to the Method of preparing it. After this another Fable was invented, of a kind of Clay that was suffered to rot for one hundred Years, after which Time, and not before, it was fit to make *Porcelain*. This Story it is thought, took Rise from the supposed Difference, between new and old *China*, which was to be accounted for thus; the former, for the Sake of Expedition, and to supply the increased Demand for this kind of Ware, was made, if we may be allowed the Expression, of half ripe Clay, and therefore fell short in Beauty of the latter, composed of Clay that had rotted its full Time. Some other Notions I have met with in *German* Writers, which are not worth repeating, as being founded like the former purely in Fancy and Conjecture.

What I have to offer as more satisfactory, has never yet appeared in our own Language, and is taken from a short Treatise written upon this Subject, by *Dennis Kao*, a *Chinese*, converted to the Christian Religion, and is the more likely to be true, because it is very simple and intelligible. There are, exclusive of the Colours, three principal Ingredients in *China*; and not to trouble the Reader or myself with *Chinese* Terms, which neither of us would understand, I shall tell him in plain *English*, that these Ingredients are a dry Earth, a moist Clay, and a stony Oil. It is very remarkable, that not one of these Ingredients is to be found in the Neighbourhood of *Kim te Tchim*, where the best *China* is made, but are brought thither from several Places; and it is thought that the Situation of that Place, surrounded, though at a moderate Distance, with Hills of considerable Height, has something so peculiar in the Temper of the Air, and in

the Quality of its Waters, that these Ingredients, wrought with ever so much Diligence and Circumspection in another Place, never succeed so well. Be this as it will, we will keep close to our Subject, and speak distinctly of each Ingredient.

That which is stiled a dry Earth is in Reality a kind of Fire-Stone cut out of Quarries, and sent by Water to the Place where the Manufacture is carried on.

There it is beat to Pieces, and reduced into a gross Powder; then with an Iron Pestle it is beat in a Brass Mortar till it becomes as fine as possible but they do not give themselves the Trouble of Sifting, from an Apprehension that the finest Parts would fly off in the Operation. On the contrary, they throw it, thus beaten into Water, and giving it Time to settle, skim off, with great Niceness and Dexterity, the Cream, and this, in their figurative Way of speaking, they stile the Flesh of the *China*. As for the moist Clay, it is undoubtedly a kind of Fuller's Earth, for they describe it to be of a greyish white, very even, clammy, and, in short, a Sort of natural Soap. This is likewise brought by Water, and is, generally speaking, made up in the Form of Bricks; but as the *Chinese* are for the most part strongly tinctured with the Spirit of Fraud, they very often adulterate this precious Clay, though it is not of a very great Price, with other Things that are however of less Price; and this obliges the Manufacturers to be at a great Deal of Trouble in refining it, which is done by the Help of Water; for it is a settled Rule, with Respect to these two Ingredients, never to make Use of Fire.

This moist Clay is intermixed naturally with a Sort of sparry Substance, which to the Eye looks like the Inside of Oyster-Shells, and with which the whole Mass is so thoroughly impregnated, that when it is purified and cleansed from all other Mixtures, the smallest Particle of it, if broken, will discover Spectra of this sparry Matter. This second Substance, when perfectly pure, they dissolve in Water till it has acquired the Consistency of the former, and this they call the Bones of the *China*. For the finest Sort these Materials are equally mixt and incorporated; for the middle Sort, there are three Parts of dry Earth to two of moist Clay; for the coarsest *China*, they mix three Parts of the former with one of the latter.

The third Ingredient is the Oil which is drawn from the dry Earth or Stone, by a very curious Process, and this, they mingle with another Oil extracted from Lime seven times burnt. There is a very great Art in making this Mixture, for in certain Proportions these Oils will incorporate, but those Proportions vary continually, according to the Nature of the respective Liquors. The great Point therefore is to hit this exactly and when this is done, there results from these two Oils a third, which is the last Ingredient, and serves for a Varnish to the *China*.

In the Manufacture the several Pieces go through different Hands, but the most troublesome Part is preparing the Paste, composed of the two first Ingredients, which are kneaded together upon Tiles, or rather upon Floors made of Tiles, till they become so close and even, that, upon breaking, there does not appear the least Vacuity; for a Hair, a Grain of Sand, the smallest Fragment of any Metal, if taken up in the Paste, will infallibly spoil the Piece into which it happens to light.

When all this is performed, it comes into the Hands of the Potters, who first adjust the Weight of what they are to make, and then raising it in a rough Way, pass it from Hand to Hand, every Man taking that Share of the Work, in which his particular Talent lies; so that one applies it to the Mold, another pares it with the Chiffel to a proper Thinness, a third smooths its Edges, and, in this Manner, a Cup and Saucer shall sometimes pass through seventy Hands. When it is clear of the Potters, it comes to those who give it the Oil or Varnish, and with them it passes from Hand to Hand, according to their various Capacities, and their Address in finishing different Sorts of Work.

The

“ The Body of Painters receive it next, and as slight
 “ as we make of them, for indeed they have no other
 “ Instructor than Nature, yet it is very wonderful how
 “ much Care and Pains they take. One traces the
 “ Border, another gilds it, he who draws the Outlines
 “ of a Flower never colours it, one Hand paints Clouds,
 “ another Water, a third Animals, a fourth Insects, a
 “ fifth human Figures, and so on. Last of all it ar-
 “ rives at the Furnace, and is committed to the Care
 “ of the Bakers; neither are their Tasks less difficult
 “ than those of the other Workmen, for an exact
 “ Knowledge of the Degrees of Fire, how to raise, how
 “ to distinguish, how to heighten, how to reduce them,
 “ are requisite in these People, who possess wonderful
 “ Talents in their Way.

“ Besides the five separate Corps, which make up
 “ what may be filed, the regular Workmen in this
 “ Manufacture, there are a Variety of Branches be-
 “ longing to it, that occupy as great a Number of Peo-
 “ ple, such as those who prepare the several Ingredi-
 “ ents, those that make the several Instruments and
 “ Tools that are required in the Progress of the Work;
 “ those that distil an Oil from transparent Flints for
 “ the superfine *China*, of which none comes to *Europe*;
 “ those that extract and prepare the Colours, who are
 “ also exceeding skilful in their Way, are in-
 “ comparable in their Preparations of Blues and Reds,
 “ and understand perfectly the Art of compounding,
 “ so as by a judicious Intermixture of the primary
 “ Colours, to produce all the rest with Truth and
 “ Beauty. After what has been said, the Reader per-
 “ haps will not think it altogether incredible, when he
 “ is told, that in *Kim te tcbim*, there are not fewer than
 “ one thousand Furnaces or Laboratories; to each of
 “ which belong distinct Companies, of Workmen;
 “ that the settled Inhabitants amount to eighteen thou-
 “ sand Families; and that the Number of Souls main-
 “ tained by, and depending upon this Manufacture in
 “ this Place, is computed to fall very little short of a
 “ Million.

“ If this had been laid down simply, and as a direct
 “ Matter of Fact, without premising any Circumstan-
 “ ces, or bringing the Reader to reflect on the Me-
 “ thod in which these kind of Works are carried on,
 “ it must necessarily appear a very improbable, if not
 “ a very incredible Assertion; whereas now, when the
 “ Thing is better understood, and we have some kind
 “ of Grounds for our own Computations, it will wear
 “ quite another Appearance, and the closer we look
 “ into it, the more we shall incline to believe that those,
 “ who have affirmed this Fact, were neither imposed
 “ upon themselves, nor had any Inclination to impose
 “ upon others.

“ It is allowed, that vast Quantities of this Ware
 “ are exported annually to *Europe*, which, like most
 “ other Branches of their Commerce, must be extremely
 “ beneficial to the *Chinese*, who in Point of Oeconomy,
 “ must be acknowledged the wisest Nation upon the
 “ Face of the Globe: For though they love Magnifi-
 “ cence, are no Enemies to Pleasure, and indulge Soft-
 “ ness and Luxury to a very great Degree, yet what
 “ the *French* call their *Police*, is so extremely well re-
 “ gulated, that these seldom or never create any Diffi-
 “ culties to the State. They encourage and work by
 “ *European* Patterns, from a very wise and judicious
 “ Notion of pleasing their Customers; but besides the
 “ *European* Market they vend vast Quantities of *Por-
 celain* elsewhere; as for Instance, they supply the
 “ whole Empire of *Japan*, they send vast Quantities by
 “ the Caravans into different Parts of *Tartary*, they
 “ supply all *India* and *Persia*; and the *Dutch* and *Por-
 tuguese* take off very large Affortments for the *Eu-
 ropean* Settlements in the *East-Indies*, and for the other
 “ Countries with which they trade.

“ But notwithstanding this, the finest, richest and most
 “ valuable *China* remains in that Empire, and is not
 “ exported at all, or at least very rarely; there is par-
 “ ticularly a yellow *China*, which is destined to the Im-
 “ perial Use, and is prohibited to all others, tho’ we
 “ are told, that the Grand Signior always eats out of

“ this kind of Porcelain; but how he comes by it, is a
 “ Secret I have not been able to penetrate. They
 “ have a kind of *Crimson China*, which is very fine
 “ and very dear, because great Quantities of it are spoi-
 “ led in the Baking. They have another Sort of a
 “ shining White, purfled with red, which is done by a
 “ dextrous blowing the Colour through a Gawse, so
 “ that both the Inside and the Out is equally beautified
 “ with *Crimson Spots*, no bigger than Pins Points, and
 “ this must be excessively dear, since for one Piece that
 “ succeeds, a hundred are spoiled. They have *China*
 “ purfled in the same Manner with Gold, which is
 “ highly valuable for the same Reason. They have a
 “ kind of *China*, which by drawing Lines with a Hair
 “ Pencil, dipped in Oil of Flint, before it is varnish-
 “ ed, looks like *Mosaic Work*, or as if the *China*
 “ had been cracked thorough in a thousand Places, and
 “ was set together again without Cement. They have
 “ a kind of Violet colour’d *China*, with Figures com-
 “ posed entirely of green Specks, which is done by
 “ blowing the Colour at once through a Figure pierced
 “ full of Holes, and this succeeds so rarely, that a very
 “ small Bason is worth two or three hundred Pounds.
 “ They have a kind of white *China*, excessively thin,
 “ with blue Fishes painted on the Metal between the
 “ Varnish, so that they are invisible but when the Cup
 “ is full of Liquor.

“ It is reported that the Secret of making this *China*
 “ is lost, and that vast Sums have been spent in endea-
 “ vouring to recover it. I must confess I doubt much
 “ of this, as well as of another Circumstance universally
 “ believed, which is, that the old thick, and as the
 “ *Chinese* very properly call it, silent *China*, because
 “ though perfectly found it will never ring, is a Curio-
 “ sity not to be attained in our Days. Father *Anthony*
 “ *Solis*, a *Portuguese* Missionary, who resided forty
 “ Years in *China*, and died at *Macao*, wrote a Treatise
 “ which was never printed, though it very well deserved
 “ it of the Frauds of the *Chinese*, and amongst these
 “ he reckons old *China*. He tells us, that no Country
 “ in the World abounds so much with *Virtuosi* as this,
 “ and that these People, by giving high Prices for an-
 “ tique *China*, have brought it into great Credit, but
 “ that by the Help of a yellow Clay, Oils of several
 “ Kinds, some of which are Metallick, and laying the
 “ *China* for some Months in Mud as soon as it comes
 “ from the Furnace, they produce the very same Sort
 “ that is so highly valued by the Vulgar, for being five
 “ or six hundred Years old. But after all, it is a most
 “ high Perfection in this Ware, that it is capable of en-
 “ during so long, not only without Loss, but with an
 “ Accession of Beauty; for though the Lustre of the Co-
 “ lours decay, yet this is more than compensated by
 “ that Softness and Mellowness, which results from that
 “ kind of Fading; and the Art of procuring this De-
 “ gree of Elegance in a short Space, is a wonderful
 “ Proof of the Application, as well as Ingenuity of
 “ this Nation.

“ There is but one Thing more that I shall add to
 “ this Discourse, and that from the same Author; it is a
 “ Description of an ancient Painting making one Side
 “ of a Summer-House, thirty three Foot in Length, and
 “ seventeen in Height, which seems to be a single and
 “ perfect Plate of *China*, though it is certain, that they
 “ can bake nothing of any Thing like that Size in a
 “ single Piece. But upon a strict Inspection, it appear’d
 “ to be a Wall made of *China* Bricks, the Face paint-
 “ ed, varnished, and thoroughly baked by a Fire
 “ raised before it, and kept up a proper Time. It ap-
 “ peared by the History of the Town, that the *Man-
 daryn*, at whose Expence it was done, failed twelve
 “ Times in the Attempt, and that this was the thirteenth
 “ Wall of this kind that had been erected.

“ Every Trade in *China* has its peculiar Deity or ra-
 “ ther Idol, and therefore it cannot be supposed, that
 “ so noble, so gainful a Manufacture should want one,
 “ and yet this was the Case for some hundreds of
 “ Years; at last a bold Potter formed the glorious
 “ Design of deifying himself, and giving his Profession
 “ a Protector, as other Trades had. The Fact happen-

“ ed thus ; A certain Emperor ordered a Number of
 “ Veffels to be made of a Size fuperior to any in Ufe
 “ before his Time, and many Trials were made to no
 “ Purpose ; for notwithstanding they increafed the
 “ Thicknefs of the Plates to feveral Inches, yet when
 “ the full Heat was given, they melted and funk down
 “ into a fhapelefs Mafs. At this the *Chinefe* Workman
 “ was at Length fo much provoked, that growing fran-
 “ tick with Defpair, he threw himfelf into the Furnace,
 “ and was there confumed to Afhes in a Moment ;
 “ and what was furprizing, the Attempt that was next
 “ made fucceeded happily ; and the *Chinefe* Emperor
 “ had, according to his Wifh, fuch *Porcelain* as never
 “ adorned the Tables of his Predeceffors. To reward
 “ the Courage of fo great a Hero, of which by the
 “ Way there are but few in this Country, and to per-
 “ petuate the Memory of fo extraordinary an Action,
 “ it was agreed, that he fhould be honoured as the tute-
 “ lary God of *China*-Ware, and his Idol is to this Day
 “ worfhipped by all the Fraternity of *Porcelain-makers*,
 “ under the Name of *Pou fa*, to which they offer Pray-
 “ ers, cut Paper, and Incenfe, as to the other Idols.

“ We fhall however be much miftaken, if we con-
 “ fider *Pou fa* as the only Martyr of this Trade, for in
 “ Fact there have been many thoufands, or rather Mil-
 “ lions ; for the Fatigues which they endure in every
 “ Branch of the Manufacture, but more efpecially fuch
 “ as attend the Furnace, is fo great, that a quick Suc-
 “ ceffion in their Labours is occafioned thereby. The
 “ Hills which furround the famous Town of *Kim te*
 “ *tehim*, are crouded with the Graves of thefe poor
 “ Labourers ; but though fuch Numbers are buried there,
 “ yet there are far greater Numbers that die fo poor as
 “ not to leave wherewith to bury them at all. For
 “ the Reception of thefe unhappy Wretches, there are

“ vaft Pits dug at the Bottom of the Hills, into which
 “ their Bodies are hurled without either Ceremony or
 “ Covering, except it be quick Lime, of which half
 “ its own Weight is beftowed on every Corpfe. By
 “ this Means the Flefh is quickly confumed ; and once
 “ a Year, the *Bonzes*, from a Principle of Charity, as
 “ they pretend, come and collect the Bones which are
 “ burnt, and the Pit being purified by vaft Fires, be-
 “ comes again a Repository for thefe Relicks of Mor-
 “ tality.

“ Thus we have purfued the Hiftory of this Manu-
 “ facture, and the Manufacturers thereof, as far as we
 “ can well go ; we have feen how long it has been in
 “ Ufe, what Miftakes have been made upon it, how
 “ remote thefe Miftakes are from the Matters of Fact
 “ they were invented to explain, what real Excellencies
 “ belonged to this Trade, what a prodigious Instance
 “ of Industry the State of it exhibits in *China*, from
 “ how many various Quarters Wealth is derived, from
 “ the Sale of this admirable Ware ; while yet the fineft
 “ and the beft remains behind, which fhows the
 “ Wealth of this Country to be by far fuperior to
 “ that of all other Countries with which it engages in
 “ Commerce. Thefe and many incidental Circum-
 “ ftances may ferve to exercife the Thoughts, and ex-
 “ cite the Curiofity of the Reader to a clofer Enquiry
 “ into all the Branches of this comprehensive Subject,
 “ the Heads of which, if we have fo touched as to me-
 “ rit Attention and Pardon, it is all that we expect ;
 “ for as to Approbation and Applaufe, they are the fu-
 “ preme Rewards of Learning, and ought to be be-
 “ ftowed upon Works of greater Labour, and greater
 “ Extent, and which muft be confequently the Product
 “ of a fuperior Genius.

SECTION III.

The Author's Reception at the Court of *China*, the great Civilities paid him there ; the wonderful State and Magnificence of the Imperial Palace ; the Ceremonies of a Publick Audience ; the Person and Manners of the Emperor described. An Account of the Curiofities of the City of *Peking* ; the grand Eftablifhment of the Jefuits there ; Civilities paid by them to the *Ruffian* Minifter ; remarkable Things obferved by him during the Time of his Stay in the Imperial Refidence ; the pompous Ceremonies of his Audience of Leave ; his Return from *China* by Land ; the Accidents attending his Journey ; the many and great Hardfhips he fufained therein, notwithstanding his Intereft in both Empires, and his fafe Arrival, after fo many Hazards, and enduring fo great Fatigues, at *Moscow*.

*From the Original Journal of his Excellency EVERARD YSBRANTS IDES, Plenipo-
 tentiary from their Czariſh Majefties John and Peter, to the Emperor of China.*

1. The Author's Entrance into the Imperial City of *Peking*, with an Account of his Reception and Entertainment there, and the many Civilities paid him till the Emperor was ready to give him Audience.
2. He receives his firſt Audience, is there ſumptuouſly entertained, and eats in the Prefence of the Emperor of *China*, November 16, 1693.
3. The Civilities uſed by his Imperial Majeſty at his Departure. A Deſcription of his Apartment, Retinue, Perſon, and the Behaviour of thoſe about him.
4. He viſits the City of *Peking*, and is ſhown every Thing remarkable therein by the Emperor's expreſs Order.
5. An Account of the annual Feſtival which laſts for three Weeks, as alſo of the Author's Audience of Leave, from which he returns to his own Apartment in a Carriage drawn by an Elephant.
6. He is invited, by the Emperor's Permiſſion, to viſit the Jefuits, who entertain him in a moſt ſplendid Manner. He viſits the Emperor's Stables, and ſees there Abundance of Curioſities.
7. The Author leaves *Peking* on the 19th of February, 1694. An Account of his Journey through the *Chineſe* Territories, and the Accidents that attended

attended it, 8. His Arrival at the River Sadun, where he is joined by a Chinese Envoy, and the great Hazard they run of being burned in their Tents. 9. The Difficulties and Inconveniencies to which they were exposed in this Journey, from the great Scarcity of Provisions and other Accidents, together with the Methods they used to alleviate them as much as possible. 10. They relieve themselves in some Measure by Hunting and Fishing. His Interview with a Tungusian Conjurer, and the Success of an Express sent to Argun for a Supply of Provisions. 11. The long-expected Provisions arrive, by which they are delivered from all their Difficulties. The Ambassador continues his Journey through the Territories of the Czar, and at length arrives safely at Moscow on the First of January, 1695, after having spent two Years and ten Months in his Travels.

1. **A**BOUT Ten in the Morning we approached within half a Mile of *Peking*, and went by several magnificent Country Seats, belonging to the Inhabitants as well as *Mandaryns*; both Sides of the Way were adorned with these noble Buildings; before which were wide Channels, which served to carry off the falling Water, with small Stone Bridges over them opposite to the Houses. The Gardens were most of them fenced with Stone-Walls, and adorned with carved Gates, and very fine Garden-Houses; the largest Paths were planted on each Side with Cypressess and Cedars, which afforded a charming Prospect and Passage through them. The Gates of the finest Gardens were set open, I suppose on my Account. These pleasant Seats continued on each Side the Way to the Entrance of the City. It is also observable, that from the great Wall to *Peking*, at the Distance of about every half Mile, are Watch Towers, in each of which are five or six Soldiers, who Night and Day display the Emperor's Flags and Ensigns, which are yellow: These *Turrets*, like Beacons, serve on Occasion of any Enemy appearing from the East, to light Fires on, to convey Notice of it to the Emperor, which is done so expeditiously, that in a very few Hours it reaches *Peking*.

The Land from the City of *Lania* hither is plain, and good arable Ground, on which grows Rice, Barley, Millet, Wheat, Oats, Pease and Beans, but no Rye. The Roads here are very broad, perfectly strait, and very well kept; for if but one Stone be found on them, it is immediately thrown to the Side by Persons expressly appointed for that Purpose. In all the Villages we saw Pails filled with Water standing ready for the Camels and Asses to drink: And to my no small Wonder, I observed that the great Roads through the Country, were as noisy by the Multitudes of Travellers and Waggon, as if they were the crowded Streets of a populous City. So wonderfully stocked is this vast Empire with Inhabitants.

After I had caused our Caravan with all the travelling Baggage to be dispatched into the City an Hour before, I rode on in order with my Convoy, and those who were ordered to ride before me, making in all ninety Persons, besides several *Cossacks*. The Crowd at the Gates, and the Concourse of People with which the Streets were lined, gave us some Interruption at our Entry into the City. Notwithstanding there were several of the Emperor's Boschy, or Harbingers, appointed to make Way for our Passage; yet they had enough to do to make us bare passing Room; the *Chinese* being very curious to see Novelties. Being come near to the Ambassador's Court, several *Mandaryns* came to meet and compliment me on my Arrival. Both Sides of the Streets were lined with Soldiers as well as the Court. Riding through which, they brought me to my Apartment, where not myself only, but all my Retinue were instantly stocked with all Manner of Provisions and Refreshments. And we every Morning returned Thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult Journey of one Year and eight Months, had at last conducted us safe and well to our desired Place, without the Loss of any more than one Man, whose Death for that Reason has been particularly mentioned.

2. After a Repose of three Days, I expected to be informed when it would please the Emperor to admit me to Audience: And, according to the Custom of this Country, that Day the Emperor's Orders came for me to appear, and receive a Welcoming or Meal. Upon which I prepared myself, and several great *Mandaryns*

were appointed to conduct me up into the Castle, where the Viceroy, *Sungut Doriamba*, Uncle to the Emperor, and four of the greatest Lords of the Empire, received and welcomed me. Here the Floor was overspread with Carpets, upon which having seated myself with them, the Viceroy, in the Name of the Emperor, acquainted me that the Emperor his Master presented me with this Table or Entertainment; and though he could not himself be present, yet desired I would accept this Meal, as a Welcome after such a long Journey. After which the Table was covered with cold Meats, as roast Geese, Chickens, Pork and Mutton, besides all Sorts of Fruit, and Confections; the Table appointed for me alone was about an Ell Square, upon which the Dishes, that were all of Silver, and piled one upon another, amounted as I told them, to the Number of Seventy.

They were entertained with Tea, and I with *Tarafoen* and *Rhenish* Wines. The Viceroy and other Lords diverted themselves by Smoking Tobacco, and he made his Compliment to me in the following Words; He desired, that I would accept of this Entertainment, as a Testimony of the Emperor's Favour, and expect his Orders in a few Days, to bring their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials, and receive my publick Audience; upon which rising up and thanking him for the Emperor's Favours, I return'd to the Ambassadors Court.

On the 12th of November the Viceroy sent some *Mandaryns* to give me Notice to appear with their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials next Morning in the Castle; for which I accordingly prepared myself. At Eight in the Morning three principal *Mandaryns* came to advise me that it was then a proper Time to wait on the Emperor: Besides their common Habit, they were also dressed in Robes, which were embroidered, some with Dragons, others with Lyons, and a third Sort with Tygers and Cranes on the Breast and Back, work'd with Gold Thread: They brought with them fifty Horses for my Retinue. According to the *European* Mode, I advanced with their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials, and was attended by my Retinue in good Order towards the Court.

Coming to the outer Gate of the Castle, there is a Pillar, with some Characters engraven on it, where I was told I must alight, according to their Custom; so that I went on Foot through five outer Courts to the Castle itself. I found a great Number of *Mandaryns* at the Court, all cloathed in their richest Embroidered Robes, such as they wear in the Emperor's Presence, who waited for me.

After we had mutually exchanged Compliments, the Emperor appeared on his Throne; upon which I delivered his *Czarish* Majesty's Credentials, and after the usual Ceremonies, and a short Speech, was conducted back.

On the 16th of the same Month, I was informed that I was invited to eat before the Emperor: Wherefore in the Morning, accompanied with the *Mandaryns* thereto appointed, and the chief Gentlemen of my Retinue, I rode to Court. And in the sixth Court, a great many Lords and *Mandaryns* were standing in Rows in their best Robes; and shortly after an Order came for us to appear above in the Palace. As soon as I entred, the Emperor ascended his exalted Throne, having near him some Persons who played very finely on the Fife, and a Life-Guard of twelve Men with gilt Halberds without any Point to them, but adorned with Leopards and Tygers Tails. As soon as the King was seated,

seated, the Musick ceased, and the Halbadiers seated themselves cross-legg'd on each Side below the Throne. The Emperor's Table was furnished with cold Meats, Fruits and Sweetmeats, served up in Silver Dishes, and the whole covered with yellow Damask. The Viceroy, the Emperor's Uncle, and two other of the principal Nobles stood on each Side of his Imperial Majesty, and I was placed on the Right-Hand of the Throne, about four Fathom distant from the Emperor; who looking very earnestly at me, ordered the Viceroy (who received his Commands on his Knees) to bring me nearer. Upon which he took me by the Hand, and placed me about two Fathom distant from the Emperor, and my Retinue were placed about six behind me. The Emperor a second time sent the Viceroy to me with the utmost Respect, to ask after the Health of their Czarish Majesties; to which I returned the proper Answer. Then he caused his Table to be uncovered by taking off the Damask Covering, and desired me to eat, a Table being spread for me only: The other Lords and *Mandaryns*, about two hundred in Number, took their Places according to their Quality, sitting two at each Table, in the *Persian* Manner, upon Carpets, with their Legs under them; which Custom I was obliged to comply with, as it is not to be dispensed with here.

The Emperor sent me from his Table, a roast Goose, a Pig, a Loin of very good Mutton, and soon after several Dishes of Fruit, and a Sort of Drink composed of boiled Tea, fried Meal and Butter, which looked not unlike Bean or Coffee Decoction: Having received all which, with due Respect, his Majesty ordered the Viceroy to ask me, what *European* Languages I understood? To which I answered, I could speak the *Muscovite*, *German*, *Low-Dutch*, and a little *Italian*.

Upon which he immediately dispatched some Servants to the hinder Part of the Palace; which done, there instantly appeared three Jesuits, who approached the Throne. And after Kneeling, and performing their Reverence to the Emperor, he commanded them to rise. One of these was Father *John Francis Gerbillon* a *Frenchman*; and the two others were *Portuguese*, one of them called Father *Anthony Thomas*. The Emperor ordered Father *Gerbillon* to converse with me; who coming towards me, speaking *Italian*, asked me in the Emperor's Name how long I had been travelling from *Moscow* to *Peking*, and which Way I came, by Waggon, on Horseback, or by Water? To which I return'd satisfactory Answers: On which returning to his Majesty, he informed him; who immediately answered, *Gowa, Gowa*, which is very well. The Emperor then ordered the Viceroy to acquaint me, that it was his most gracious Pleasure, that I should approach nearer the Presence, by coming up to the Throne; upon which I arising, the Viceroy taking me by the Hand, after having led me up six Steps, set me at the Table opposite to the Emperor. After I had paid my most humble Respects to his Majesty, he talked with Father *Gerbillon*, who again asked me, How long I had been on the Way hither? In what Manner I travelled? and, in what Latitude *Moscow* was situate, and how far distant from *Poland*, *France*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, or *Holland*? To all which I observed my Answer proved very satisfactory. Upon which he gave the Viceroy a Gold Cup of *Tartarian* Liquor called *Kumis*, in order to hand it to me; which with due Respect I accepted, and having tasted, return'd it. This *Kumis*, according to the Report of the Attendants, is a Sort of Brandy distilled from Mares Milk. After this, the Emperor ordered my Retinue to advance within three Fathom of his Throne, and entertained them with the same Liquor; which being done, I paid my Compliment in the *European* Manner, and the Viceroy took me by the Hand, conducting me to my former Place, where after sitting for a Quarter of an Hour, I was desired to rise.

3. After this the Emperor arose, and having saluted me, descended from his Throne, and went out of the Audience Hall by a Door on the Left-hand, in order to go to his Royal Apartment. As he was leaving the Hall, he sent the Viceroy to ask me, whether I had heard any News out of *Europe* concerning Father *Gri-*

maldi, who had been dispatched thither on the Emperor's Affairs: To which I answered, that when I left *Moscow*, I was informed that he, with a Retinue of twenty-five Persons, arrived at *Smyrna*, and resolved to prosecute his Travels through *Persia* and *India*. He replied, I am informed he is safely arrived at *Goa*, and is upon his Departure thence in order to his Return hither, and it is seven Years since he left *China*. Hereupon I took my Leave, and retired to my Apartment.

Designing to take another Opportunity to give an Account of what I could observe concerning the Court, I shall at present only describe the Outside of the Palace, and the Throne on which the Emperor sate. The Palace is an oblong quadrangular Brick Building, which is twice as long as broad, and the Roof covered with yellow glazed Tiles, on which were fixed Lyons, Dragons, and all Sorts of Imagery; the Height of this Building to the Roof was about eight Fathom; the Ascent to the Hall was up several Steps, and the farther Part or Entrance of it was provided with certain open Places or Windows, which were not glazed but peaked with Paper. At the Ends of this Hall were two Doors, the Tops of which were adorned with a Sort of carved Work, somewhat like a Crown, which was extraordinary well gilt. This Building hath neither any Room over it, or arched Roof, but the Height of the Room is to the very Top of the Roof, which was composed of curious Pannels, beautifully colour'd; japan'd, and finely gilded. This Hall is about thirty Fathom long and ten broad. The Floor, according to the *Tartarian* Mode, was covered with Carpets, adorned with Landships and Figures.

The Throne is placed opposite to the Eastern Entrance, against the back Wall, and is about three Fathom broad, and as many long; before it are two Ascents with six Steps each, adorned with Rails and Representations of Leaves very well gilt: On the right and left Sides were also Rails of cast Imagery, which some report to be Gold, and others Silver, which are also extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the Middle of this raised Place is a Throne, somewhat like an Altar, which opens with two Doors, and in it the Emperor's Seat, about an Ell high, covered with black Sables, on which he sate with his Legs across under him. This Monarch was then aged about fifty Years, his Mein was very agreeable, he had large black Eyes, and his Nose somewhat rising; he wore small black Mustaches, but had very little or no Beard on the lower Part of his Face; he was very much pitted with the Small-pox, and of a middling Stature. His Dress consisted of a common dark-colour'd Damask Waistcoat, a Coat of deep blue Sattin, adorn'd with Ermines; besides which, he had a String of Coral hanging about his Neck, and down on his Breast. He had a warm Cap on turned up with Sable, to which was added a red Silk Knot, and some Peacocks Feathers hanging down behind. His Hair, plaited into one Lock, hung behind him. He had no Gold nor Jewels about him. He had Boots on, which were made of black Velvet.

Whilst he was at Dinner, such a reverential and profound Silence was observed amongst the *Mandaryns*, that not only no Noise was heard, but they forbore so much as speaking to one another, all sitting very still with modest down-cast Eyes, amongst them the highest Mark of Respect.

4. On the next Day the Emperor sent two *Mandaryns* with fifty Horses for my Retinue, and a Message, importing, It was his Majesty's Pleasure, that if I desired to see the City, all that was worth my View should be shewed me. Pursuant to which, I caused my Horse to be saddled, and rode out with these *Mandaryns*, who, by the King's Command brought me to a Sort of Play-house, or Court of Diversion, which was a very lofty and capacious Building. In it was a great Stage adorn'd with carv'd Imagery, finely painted, which the Players had the Use of for an annual Rent. In the Middle of this Palace was an open Place encompassed with Galleries, in which the *Mandaryns* desired us to sit down on Chairs; and having entertained me

me with Tea and *Tharasin* Wine, I and my all Retinue were treated with a Comedy, and the Diversion of seeing a great many different Sorts of exquisite Juglers, who, by a dextrous Slight of Hand, seem to produce not only all Sorts of Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Grapes, &c. but live Birds and Crabs, and perform all the Dexterities of that Kind practised in *Europe*. Others so nicely play'd with round glass Balls, as big as a Man's Head, at the Point of a sharp Stick, tossing them several Ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really surprizing. After this a *Bamboe* Cane, about seven Foot high, was held upright by six Men, and a Boy about ten Years old crept up to the Top of it as nimbly as a Monkey, and laid himself on his Belly upon the End of it, turning himself several times round; after which rising up, he set one Foot on the *Bamboe*, holding fast to it with one Hand, and then loosing his Hold, clapped his Hands together, and run very swiftly down, and shewed several other Feats of Agility, which were very wonderful as well as highly entertaining.

The Comedies had also a very good Effect, by reason they were acted in the best Manner by the Emperor's Players. They frequently appeared in Changes of very rich Dresses, embroidered in Gold and Silver; and the Plot turned on the Story of a Triumphant Hero, in which was brought in their Idols, and a late Emperor, whose Face was painted of a Blood Colour; which was intermix'd with a Farce, or diverting Entertainment, of two young Women richly dress'd, who stood each on a Man's Shoulder, and nicely play'd with their Fans, bowing to one another, and keeping Time to the Musick as exactly as if they had danced on the Ground. Two little Boys play'd *Hosicki* or *Harlequins*, in very fantastick Habits, and recited their Parts very well. After the End of the whole, I thanked the *Mandaryns* and return'd home. On the same Day the Emperor went out a Tyger-hunting, without the great Wall, pursuant to his annual Custom, and returned in a few Days to *Peking*.

On the same Day I was invited to a Repast by the Viceroy, or *Sungut Doriamba*, with which Invitation I complied, and after some Discourse passing betwixt us, he led me by the Hand out of his Bed-chamber into his best Hall, or Parlour, where several Tables and Stools stood ready; the Tables were adorn'd with rich Tapestry Carpets of Silk and Gold, which were full wrought with Figures. I was seated on one, and the *Mandaryns* on the other Side of the Viceroy. The Tables were also set off with very fine Flower-pots, full of Flowers of all Sorts of Colours, work'd in Silk, which not only looked very beautiful, but very natural; Crimson Velvets, and the most charming colour'd Silks being chosen to make them, it being Winter, when no natural Flowers were to be gathered: On the fore-part of these Tables were also placed Silver Cups, in which was laid lighted Pieces of the fragrant Wood *Kalamba*, which afforded a very good Perfume; next which stood fine Wooden Images, and Variety of small Figures or Puppets, finely painted and gilt. The Chairs or Stools on which the Viceroy and I sat, were, according to the *Tartarian* Fashion, hung at the Back with Leopard and Tyger Skins, which appeared very magnificent; and a larger Dish of Tea than ordinary, in which was put peel'd Walnuts and Hazle-nuts, with a little Iron Spoon to take them out on Occasion, was placed before each Person. After the Tea was drank off, which tasted very agreeably, several little Agate Cups, filled with Brandy mix'd with distill'd Waters, were serv'd about; and after that, several Dishes, or rather Cups, of fry'd or broil'd Fish, cut into small Pieces, were set in Heaps one upon another, garnished with fine Herbs and Flowers, and as an Ornament set on the Fore-part of the Table in a Row; by them were placed six Cups of very agreeable Soops, dish'd up with very fine stew'd Flesh and Fish; and when we had eaten of these, we were regaled with several Courses of the richest Edibles, which were followed by all Sorts of fine bak'd Meats; and after this last Course all Kinds of delicious Confects, as candy'd Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Chestnuts, and Shell'd Nuts.

During our sitting at Table in the Room where we eat, was acted a Play, interlarded with Songs and Dances, by little Boys dress'd in Girls Cloths, who very skilfully measured their Steps in Proportion to the Time of the Song, and play'd on the Flute, withal distorting their Bodies into antick Postures, and playing with a Fan in their Hands. His Lady and Daughter also appeared at the farther Part of the Hall, standing at a Door, which was but half open: They were very richly dress'd according to the Mode of the *Mongolian Tartars*. After I had very agreeably spent three Hours there, accompanied by my Retinue, I rode to my Apartment.

Some Time after I was invited to the House of the Treasurer of the Empire, who is called *Schiloy*, where I was splendidly entertain'd. His Hall was very well furnished according to the *Chinese* Fashion: The Floor of it was laid with a Sort of fine Stone, at three Corners of which, on Ebony Feet, were three extraordinary white Marble Tables naturally shaded with black Veins, which represented beautiful Woods, Mountains, and Rivers: On these Tables were placed high Silver Flower-pots, very naturally adorn'd with all Sorts of fine Flowers. The Pillars, clear up to the Roof, were painted with very fine Colours. While we sat at the Table we were entertained with a Ball, and after this very agreeable Entertainment, I arose and took Leave, extremely satisfied with all the Civilities that were paid me.

When this Lord accompanied and conducted me through the principal Markets, where Silk, Cloath, Gold and Silver, Jewels, and all Sorts of fine Manufactures, were sold, I was desir'd to alight, and conducted to the Emperor's Dispensary, which I was willing to make some Scrutiny into, it being richly stock'd with all Sorts of Roots, Herbs, and Medicines. I was here treated with a Dish of Tea, and observ'd while I staid there, that according to the *European* Custom, several Prescriptions of Physicians were brought in, which were methodically prepar'd. Next to this was a Toy-shop, which I enter'd, and bought what I liked. The Master of it had a very fine Garden-House, in which were all Sorts of Flowers, young Stocks, and Limon-Trees, in Pots: And amongst other Things, he shew'd me a large Glass full of Water, in which were several living Fish about a Finger's Length, which naturally looked as if they had been gilt with the finest Gold; and the Scales of some of them being fallen off, discover'd, to my great Surprize, the Colour of their Bodies to be the most beautiful Crimson in the World.

After we departed from thence, we went through all the Markets; each Shop had a great Board set before it, on which is very orderly written the Shopkeeper's Name, and the Commodities which he deals in. We also went through the Fish-Market, in which are all Sorts of living Fish, but more especially Carps, Carottes, and Water-Snakes, (which they eat here) Crabs, Shrimps, &c. all which stand in Tubs to be sold, in great Abundance. Passing through another Market, I saw great Numbers of Harts, Roebucks, Hares, Pheasants, Partridges, &c. and several other wild Game, to be sold.

5. On the 7th of *January* the customary annual Festival happened, which they observe for three Weeks. It began late at Night with the Appearance of the new Moon, and first the great Bell at the Emperor's Court was rung, and their large Drums, expressly kept for, and used, in their idolatrous Worship, were beaten, and several Cannon discharged; upon which all the People in the City, of what Degree soever, according to their Ability, express'd their Joy by Rockets, Serpents, and all Sorts of Fire-works, to which they also added the Beating of an infinite Quantity of Drums, and, according to their Custom, the Sounding of Trumpets by the *Lama's*, or idolatrous Priests, in their most innumerable Temples and Cloysters; insomuch, that from Ten at Night till next Day Noon, there was as great a Noise, as if two Armies of one hundred thousand Men were in the Heat of Battle one against another. In the Day-

time the Streets were crouded with all Sorts of Processions, with their Idols, which were carried in various Shapes, and the *Lama's* marched by them with Incense-Pots, and Strings of Beads; the Drums and Kettle-Drums beating, Trumpets founding, and other Musick playing, was endless. The carrying of these Diabolical Images, follow'd by a great Train of People, as well as a vast Number of *Lama's* or Monks, which preceded them, lasted three Days, during which Time all the Shops were shut, and all Merchandizing forbidden, on Penalty of severe Punishments. During this Time also the Streets were crouded with People of both Sexes, but more especially Women, who rode on Asses, or Chaises with two Wheels, cover'd all round, only before left open. The Servant Maids which sat behind, sung, some of them, whilst others blew on a Sort of Horn-Pipe; and some Ladies sat publicly taking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Women never appear in Publick thro' all *China*, except in the Province of *Peking* only, and more especially the City, which is inhabited by *Tartars*; the *Chinese* being obliged to live all about the City Wall, and the Suburbs, where all the chief Markets, and publick Places of Sale are.

Some Days after this, the Emperor sent two *Mandaryns* to desire me to be ready to receive my Audience of Leave the next Morning two Hours before Day: And accordingly three Hours before Day, three *Mandaryns* came to me on Horseback, and we rode to the usual alighting-Place; whence being conducted to the third Court, and desired to sit down, I was entertained with a Sort of Bean Decoction or Coffee, usually drank here in the Mornings. In the fourth Court appear'd all the principal Officers in their richest Robes, dressed after the *East Tartarian*, or *Mongolian* Mode. At break of Day I was introduced into the fourth Court, and seated amongst the *Mandaryns*, who, according to the particular Rank of each of them, were placed on the East and South Sides of the Court. After waiting half an Hour, we heard the Emperor approaching, accompany'd with an agreeable Consort of Fifes, and a Sort of Lutes. This was not the Hall in which I had my former Audience, but here was a Throne erected, and hung with yellow Damask, on this Occasion. On each Side of it were two great Drums, curiously gilt and painted, each of which being two Fathom and a half long, they lay upon a Stool made on Purpose for them. After the Emperor was seated, by his Command, the Herald which stood before the Throne, went to the Presence-Chamber Door, directed himself to the Lords which sat without in the Court, and uttering some Words with a shrill Voice, he thrice successively cry'd, *Bow down, bow to the Earth*. Whilst this was three Times done one after another, the Bells were rung, the Drums were beaten, the Lute was touched, and three Pipes, made for that Purpose, were very loudly founded. Then two principal Lords were, by the Emperor, sent to acquaint me, that it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that I should approach nearer the Presence; accordingly they led me by the Hand, from the Place where I was, being about eight Fathom distant from the Throne, where my Retinue were left sitting: And I sat down on one Side, about three Fathom from the Royal Throne, betwixt two great Lords, which were *Wannes* or Princes, and by Birth *Tartarians*; and after having paid a respectful Compliment to the Emperor, his great Bell was rung, and the large Drums on each Side were beaten, which made as great a Noise as a Volley of Guns; the Flutes were also played on, and the beforementioned Pipes nine times founded: Upon which I was desired to sit down; which having done, a Dish of Coffee or Bean Decoction, was presented to me, which I accepted, and drank up. And after I had dispatched the Affairs of their Czarish Majesties, with the Emperor, I rose up, and having paid my Compliment to him, he also arose from his Throne, and went out at the West-Door to his Apartment.

The Emperor's Life-Guard stood in this fourth Court; they were cloathed in red Callicoe, printed with red Figures as big as a Rixdollar; they wore small Hats adorn'd with yellow Feathers, that being the Imperial Li-

very Colour. They were arm'd with Scimiters by their Sides, and fine Lances, with Colours fixt to them, and stood ranked at a Distance from the Throne, on each Side of the Court, where also stood eight white Saddle-Horses for Shew. In the third Court of State, were also placed four extraordinary large Elephants, one of which was white. They were all covered with rich Gold embroider'd Cloaths; and all their Trappings, as Bridles, Cruppers, &c. were covered with Silver, and gilt; and on their Backs was placed a very fine carv'd wooden Castle, or Gallery, spacious enough for eight Persons to sit in. In this Court also stood the Emperor's Waggons with two Wheels, and his Chaises, all hung with yellow Damask Curtains: Besides all which, there were there placed several Stands, or Stools, for Drums, Kettle-Drums, Idolatrous Instruments, &c.

Being got out of the Castle, I mounted one of the Emperor's Waggons and was drawn to my Apartment by an Elephant; on each Side of which ran ten Persons, with a thick Rope in their Hands, fastned to each Side of the Elephant's Mouth, by the Help of which they lead and govern him: On his Neck also sat a Man with an Iron Hook in his Hand, which also contributes to hold him in and guide him. He went but at his ordinary Rate, which put his Leaders to run as swift as possibly they could in order to keep Pace with him.

6. A few Days after I was invited by the Jesuits, with the Emperor's Leave, to visit their Cloyster; pursuant to which, two *Mandaryns*, according to order, attended on, and conducted me thither. I was then introduced into the Cloyster, which was encompassed with a high Stone Wall, and provided with two exquisite regular Stone-Gates after the *Italian* Manner. On the left Side of the Entrance, under Shelter of a Roof, made for that Purpose in the Court, stand the celestial and terrestrial Globes, of an extraordinary Size, each being about a Fathom Diameter. From hence we proceeded on to the Church, which is a very beautiful *Italian* Building, furnish'd with a large Organ, made by Father *Thomas Pereyra*: And the Church itself, suitable to the *Roman* Catholick Usage, was richly adorn'd with fine Images and Altars; and was withal large enough to contain two or three thousand People. On the Top was a Clock and Chimes. Having seen the Church, the Fathers brought me into the *Museum*, which was compleatly furnished with all Sorts of *European* Rarities. After which they conducted me to an Apartment on one Side of it, where being asked to sit down, I was treated with all Sorts of Confections and Preserves: Nor did we forget, according to their Custom, to drink the Healths of all the Christian Princes of *Europe*, in rich Wines: And after a considerable Stay, I rode to my Apartment, very well satisfy'd with the Entertainment of these Fathers.

About this time, two *Mandaryns* came from the *Cham* to invite me to take the Diversion of seeing the City: Accordingly I mounted with my Retinue, and these *Mandaryns* conducted me to the Emperor's Elephant-Stable, where stood 14 of those Beasts, one of which was white: Having thus seen them, that was not enough, but they must shew several Tricks, and at the Command of the Master of the Stable, they roared like a Tiger, so dismally loud, that their very Stable seemed to tremble: Others lowed like an Ox, neighed like a Horse, and even sung like Canary-birds; but which was most surprising of all, some of them imitated a Trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their Respects to me on their four Knees; to lie down first on one Side, then on the other, then to rise up. When they lie down, they first strike out their Fore-legs forward, and then throw out their hind Legs backward, and by this Means lie with their Bellies flat upon the Ground. One of these was not broken, and, by Reason he was very unruly, he was loaden with heavy Chains on two Feet, and, for the whole time he had stood there, had not been removed from his Place; and a great Pit was dug before his Stall, that in case he broke loose, he should fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the Court to do any Mischief. All these Elephants were extraordinary

extraordinary large, and the Teeth of some of them were a full Fathom long. The *Mandaryns* told me, that they came from the King of *Siam*, who annually sends several, by Way of Tribute, to the Emperor of *China*. Their Food was only Rice Straw bound up in small Trusses, which they take up one after another with their Trunk, and convey to their Mouths.

After a satisfactory Sight of what I desired, I rode with the *Mandaryns* to my Apartment; and as we were on our Way, I observed at the Door of a considerable *Mandaryn*, and a great Officer, some Persons fleaving of a fat Dog; upon which I ask'd the *Mandaryn*, wherefore that was done? Who answered, That it was a healthful Sort of Food, especially in Summer, it being very cooling. After I had handsomely treated these *Mandaryns*, they went away.

Next Day the Viceroy sent a Tyger, or Panther, in a Cage, to the Ambassador's Court, to be shewn to me; as also several Juglers with Monkeys and Mice, which had been taught several Tricks. These Apes, at their Master's Command, did really some very strange Things; they fill'd a Basket with Stuff Coats of all Colours, each of which an Ape took out singly at his Master's Command, never missing the Colour which he was ordered to take out and put on, always varying his Grimace with his Habit; after which, he not only danced upon the Ground, but on a tight Rope, in a very diverting Manner. There were also two Mice fastened to their Chains, who, at their Master's Command so entangled themselves in them, and immediately got loose, that it deserved Admiration: But what was most strange to me, was the odd Motions of these Vermine.

The Jesuits once told me, that about three Years past were sent to the Emperor as a Present, from an Island in the Eastern Sea, four Animals as big as ordinary Horses, each of which had two sharp Horns prominent before; and that these Fathers were sent by the Emperor's Order to his Park, about ten Miles from *Peking*, to see these Beasts, in order to inform his Majesty, whether they had ever seen any of them in *Europe*; but returning, they affirmed, that they had never before seen any of that Species. I was indeed very desirous to have seen them, yet it being too far out of Town, and the Time of my Departure approaching, it was impracticable.

After I had sent my Compliment to the Viceroy, I desired that I might be advertiz'd of my Departure eight or ten Days before the Time when it should please the Emperor that I should leave the Court and Royal City, which, pursuant to my Request, was accordingly done some Days after.

7. Upon which, having made all necessary Preparations for such a long Journey, and latterly, according to former Custom, having one Morning in a Week eat at the Emperor's Table, I left *Peking*, accompany'd out of the City Gate with a numerous Train of Great Officers of State, and *Mandaryns*, on the 19th of *February*, 1694, and on the 25th reached the City of *Galgan*, close to the *Daaurian* Wall. From thence we went on to *Naun*, and passed through several *Xixigarschean* Villages, to the *Tartarian* Frontiers, and the great Deserts, where we encamped and lay still several Days, and provided Saddles for our Camels, and all other travelling Necessaries, by reason that to *Argum*, on the Frontiers of their Czarish Majesty's Dominions, I was obliged to provide me with all Necessaries on my proper Cost, which I consider'd when in *Peking*; and Camels and Mules being very cheap there, I carried a good Number of the last loose along with me, they, as well as the whole Caravan, travelling free, at the Expence of the *Chinese*, hitherto, as well as my self and whole Retinue, who eat at the Emperor's Charge thus far.

If I had not made this Provision before-hand, but had depended on the Camels and Horses which I left at *Nuna*, we should have fared but indifferently, for of all that I left there, scarce eight hundred remained, all the

rest, which were a very considerable Number, being killed by the ill Forage and unwholsome Grass.

On the 2d of *February*, being ready to set forwards on my Journey, I treated the *Mandaryn* and his Retinue, who, by the Emperor's Command, had accompanied me thus far; after which, taking very civilly Leave of each other, we parted.

On the 26th Instant, in God's Name, we entered the great Desert, about the River *Sadun* and *Kallar*, being obliged to be on our Guard, by Reason that four *Mungessian Talischis*, or *Lords*, with about three thousand Men, who waited for me, were ready and willing to try their Fortunes with us: Upon which I gave all necessary Orders, and in the Night caused a strong Watch of sixty well armed Horsemen to be kept; but not encountering any thing from that Quarter, we next Day set forwards on our Journey. Reaching the *Talischian* Mountains, we found our Forage grew worse the farther we went, and our Saddle as well as Carriage Beasts began to look thin. Having travelled a whole Day over these Mountains, the Night proved very cold and snowy, and the Grass grew yet worse, being that of last Year, which was dried up in the Field; so that the Camels, but more especially the Horses, though they eat their Fill, were not much strengthened by it. I here deliberated whether I should take the old Way, or a By-way, which was the safest Method that could be taken to escape the *Tartars* who lay in Wait for us, and again proceed on Eastwards; preferring Certainty to an Uncertainty, I pitch'd upon the last, which proved very incommodious, especially for the Cattle.

We travelled but slowly through these steep, mountainous and deep morassy Ways, and that Day twelve Camels and fifteen Horses sunk under Foot, and for sixteen Days after we were obliged to wrestle with these difficult Ways, which daily occasioned several Camels and Horses to sink under their Loads and die; which happened from the heavy Burdens they were obliged to carry, as well as from the sapless and dry Grass, which afforded them no Nourishment. But our Difficulties increased with respect to Forage, for our Cattle had Grass hitherto, which, though dry and not sufficient to satisfy, yet served to keep them alive; but now we came to Fields that were intirely burnt up by the *Tartars*, which forced us, how feeble and incapable soever our Beasts were to perform it, to dispatch two Days Journey this Day, in order to come to a Place where there was some Grass left.

Several of our Merchants, who lost their Saddle-Horses, their others being sufficiently laden with Merchandizes, were obliged to go on Foot; and if many of them had not been provided with spare Horses and Camels, we should have been obliged to have left a great Quantity of their Goods behind in the Wilderness.

8. After various Fatigues and Miseries, with the greatest Difficulty in the World, we at last reached the River *Sadun*, where our Quarters began to mend, in some Measure, and the tender Grass to sprout up a little. We lay still two Days by this River, in order to refresh our Camels and Horses, which were unable to have held out any longer. During this Repose, a *Chinese* Envoy with an hundred armed Men, came up to me, who, by the Command of the Emperor of *China*, was, by the Viceroy of *Tartary*, dispatched from the City of *Merdeen*, with Orders to accompany me to *Nerzinskoy*, there to treat, concerning some Affairs, with the Governor. The Arrival of this Company was very welcome to us, for now we could make out full six hundred Men, and consequently had no Reason to fear any strolling Parties of Robbers. On the 15th of *March* we arrived at the River *Kailaan*, which we forded, the Water being low; and passing about a Mile farther in a Dale, we pitched our Tents there, though there was but little Forage to be found: Yet we passed the Night here, and in the Morning discovered a terrible Smoak to arise out of the North-west, which gave me some Apprehensions, that the *Tartars* having burnt

up the old Grass, lurked under these Pillars of Smoak, in order to obtain an Opportunity to set upon us with great Numbers. To provide against this, I caused the Camels and Horses which were left us in this horrible Desert, betimes, to be drove to a Place where there was some Grass, and which being behind a high Mountain, was securely shelter'd from the Fire. After which I caused an hundred Men to provide themselves with the Felts with which the Camels were covered, and be in Readiness, if the Smoak approached us, to disperse and drive it from our Camp as much as possible. Within the Space of half an Hour, the Air was wholly darkened with the Smoak, and the Fire driven on by a stormy Wind, flew swifter than a Horse could run, into the Vale, where the dry Grass was about half an Ell high; so that it was scarce possible either to escape or quench such a rapid Flame: The Fire flew, or rather flashed by our Camp, as swift as Lightning, so that whilst I turn'd myself round, it was got to the short Grass, and behind the Brow of a Hill: Notwithstanding its speedy Flight, we did not clearly escape it, for the Flame laying hold of our foremost Row of Tents, immediately sent ten or twelve of them burning into the Air: Great Quantities of our Merchants Goods were consumed, and fourteen Men struck down by it which were miserably burnt, and some of them taken up for dead; but after necessary Care was taken for their Recovery, only one *Persian* died. I was myself in great Danger, and if I had not in time run to a Hill where there was scarce any Grass, and been assisted by two Servants, which covered me with a Felt, to keep off the Heat, I should not have escaped better than those above-mentioned.

The Flame was no sooner past us than it visited the *Chinese* Ambassador, who was encamped at some Distance from us, amongst the Hills, where to his good Fortune, there happened to be very little Grass, so that the Fire passed about and over the Hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, so that their Horses Tails only were a little burnt, or rather singed.

Before it was possible to have told two hundred, this Fire had reached the River *Kailaan*, (which was a Mile from our Encampment,) where it was quenched by the Interruption of the Water. After this Burning, the Land, as far as we could see from the Hills, was quite bare of Grass, and every where Coal-black. Upon this Disaster, I sent out my Guide, to try whether he could discover any Place for us to encamp for that Night; he return'd the next Day, with Information, that for two Days Journey all round, there was no Forage, the Fire having consumed it all; for though there were some few scatter'd Places which had escap'd the Flame, yet there was not half Grass enough to satisfy such a Number of Camels and Horses as ours; which was but melancholy News for me and the whole Camp.

Wherefore I consulted, whether it was not most advisable to repass the River *Kailaan*, where the Grass had escaped untouched; but in Opposition to this, the Danger of being fallen on by the *Tartars* which were on that Side of the River, offered itself; so that I rather inclined to chuse the travelling two Days in Want of Necessaries, than once more run the Risk of exposing ourselves to the Inhumanity of these Barbarians.

9. In the Morning then we broke up our Camp, which we pitched late that Night near a great Morass, after having endured a great deal of Misery and Fatigue that Day, by passing through Morasses and over steep Hills; which Hardship fell heaviest on the Cattle, in so much that in this Day's Journey only eighteen Camels and twenty two Horses sunk into, and remained in the Morasses, not being able to stir a Step further, which fell very hard upon us, and the farther we went, rendered us the more uneasy, since we were as unwilling to leave our travelling Necessaries and Provisions behind us, as the Merchants were to throw away their Goods; wherefore the Remainder of the Beasts must necessarily be the heavier laden.

The next Day we also passed through Morasses, Vales, and over steep Hills, and came to the River *Merdeen*,

where the Grass was not burnt off. Having forded this River, and proceeded on our Journey, though in a miserable Condition, as well by Reason of the ill State of our Cattle, which daily sinking under their Loads, obliged us to leave them behind, as on Account of the Scarcity of Provisions for so many Men, our Stock being at present very low, and consisting barely in a few lean live Oxen, which Travellers generally take with them in these Sort of Journeys, but not either Bread, Peas, Barley, or other Provisions, because the Merchants and *Cossacks* wanted Beasts for the Carriage of their Goods, and it would have been too chargeable to lade Camels with Provisions.

There being but a small Number of Oxen in our Camp, the People began to be very anxious, considering it was not possible to reach *Argum* on the Frontiers in less than ten or twelve Days; so that each Person, according to the Company he was engaged in, began to compute how long what they had would last, and contrive how to manage his Share best.

On the 18th of this Month, with great Difficulty and Fatigue, we at last reached the River *Gan*, which at low Water we forded, and on the other Side found fresh Grass for the Beasts, with which we were very well pleased, and mightily encouraged. Here I resolved to lie still three Days, and would have rested longer, if the Merchants, *Cossacks*, and Workmen, had not complained that they were pinched by Hunger, and that there was but a very small Number of Oxen remaining, considering how many hundred Men were to be subsisted by them; and they, by Example, shewed me the best provisional Methods which could be taken to prevent an entire Famine; for as soon as an Ox was killed, they saved his Blood, and boiled it to the Consistence of Liver; this they eat instead of Bread. Others cut the Hides into Slips, shaved the Hair off, and roasted them at the Fire, and this passed at that Time for good Food. Nor were any Part of the Entrails thrown away, so that if the Scarcity had endured longer, possibly their Nature had been changed into that of *Cassers* or *Hottentots*, who eat not only raw Flesh, but even the Excrements also.

10. In this Streight, being informed that the Country all about this River abounded with wild Game, as Harts, Roebucks, &c. I ordered some expert Archers to go a Hunting; which proved so successful, that they shot about fifty Roebucks, which were afterwards distributed to our famish'd Company, who greedily devoured them half dressed and half raw, and gave convincing Proof that Hunger, as 'tis commonly reported to be, is really a sharp Sword; but besides it must be owned that the assuaging it when it hath continued long, and is grown outrageous, is one of the greatest Pleasures of Life; though indeed a tedious Thirst is more intolerable and painful to human Nature.

In this Streight I sent a Gentleman, accompanied with eight *Cossacks* to *Argum* the frontier Place, charged with a Letter to the Governor, requesting that he would immediately send us a Parcel of Oxen, Sheep, Bread, Meal and other Provisions, under Convoy, by Reason we were driven to the last Extremity; and this Message did not prove unsuccessful, though the expected Relief did not arrive so speedily as we wished; each Day on these melancholy Occasions commonly appearing an insupportable Year.

Having dispatched this Messenger with his Orders, I thought it necessary to break up from the River *Gan*, and in the Interim to advance as far on our Way, and struggle as much as possible with our Uneasiness. And after we had travelled three Days, the hungry Complaints of our Company became incessant; the Roebucks were but a morsel amongst such a Number of People, and no Edibles were to be bought for Money in this Wilderness. During which Affliction we were obliged to make a Virtue of Necessity, and bear as well as we could what we were not able to remedy. In this Condition dispirited and faint we arrived at a Brook, which flowed from the Hills, and was richly stored with large Jacks, Trouts, and other Fish, of which we shot many with Bow and Arrow; for in clear Water the *Cossacks* and *Tunguzian*

Tunguzians, of both which I had several, are such expert Archers, that with their double pointed Arrows they very seldom missed the Fish they aim at, and but once touching, generally pierce through them, which instantly causes them to float on the Surface of the Water. This Fishery afforded a very considerable Refreshment to our Camp, which was also increased by some Bucks being shot that Evening and dressed as before.

Our Hunters discovered a Hutt amongst the Hills, where lived a *Schaman* or Conjurer and his Companion. This Magician was Uncle to our Guide, and a *Tunguzian*, which Nation abounds with such Pretenders, as we have already hinted. About Midnight I was waked by a horrible Noise, upon which running out of my Tent, and asking the Centry that stood there, what it was? He told me our Guide was making merry with his Uncle; which excited my Curiosity to that Degree, that led by one of the Centries, I stole thither softly to see what they were doing; approaching the Entrance of the Hutt, I found that they were Conjuring after their Manner; and though the greatest Part of it was over, I yet observed him fitting with an Arrow in his Hand, the Head of which was inclined towards the Earth, and the Point he held under his Nose; after which he rose up, making a louder Outcry, and after leaping all round, laid himself to sleep. In the Morning the *Cossacks*, whom I had sent a Hunting, and whom he had accompanied, told me that this Conjurer came to meet his Nephew, whom he in their Presence conjured out of their Sight, or carried away; which might easily be done without any Diabolical or other Assistance than the Darkness of the Night, and the uneven hilly Ground. My Messenger returned with the agreeable News, that within three Days we should be furnished with all Sorts of Provisions from *Argum*; the Approach of which appointed Time was not a little longed for amongst us.

II. On the 3d Day Heaven favoured us with our promised Assistance, which consisted of twenty five Oxen and Cows, Millet and Bread; but the Sutlers that brought this Convoy of Provisions, made the Merchants pay so very dear for it, that their Relief looked more like Extortion than Charity; they taking a *Rixdollar* for one Loaf, and for all the rest in Proportion; however cost what it would, this Supply was very welcome to us at that Juncture.

Thus invigorated, and also encouraged to find that the farther we advanced on our Journey the Grass grew better, on we went, till through the Mercy of God we got to the End of this barren Desert, in which we had suffered so many Miseries, and struggled with the greatest Difficulties in the World.

On the 27th Instant we joyfully reached the River *Argum*, which with the whole Caravan we passed: And on the 31st arrived very safe at the City of *Nerzinskoy*, returning our Thanks to Heaven, that through so many Dangers we were thus far advanced on our Way, and had got out of the Reach of pinching Necessity.

After having refreshed the Camels and Horses with good Grass, and rested ourselves for a convenient Time, we departed from *Nerzinskoy* on the 5th of *August*, and proceeding forwards by Land along the River-side, came on the 8th Instant to the City of *Udinskoy*; where we furnished ourselves with Barks, and assisted by an ebbing Tide, and a good Wind, in one Night reached the Frontiers of *Siberia*, and on the 12th arrived safe at *Jekutskoy*.

On the 17th we left that Place, and after running a great Risque by wading through the great Quantities of Water which were fallen, arrived safe at *Jenizetzkoy*.

On the 26th we went by Land from this City, and travelled through a Wood twenty Miles long, in which were harboured several wild and ravenous Beasts, that at our Approach took their Flight.

After which we arrived at the Village *Makoskoy*, where finding as large a Store of Shipping as I desired, we all embarked, and driving down the River *Keta*, on the 28th of *September* we reached the Castle of *Ketskoy* on the *Oby*; on which we drove down without meeting any Thing remarkable, and on the 16th of *October* came to the Town *Samorofskoy Jam*, at the Mouth of the River *Jalis*, on which Stream I spent fourteen Days in waiting for Sleds to pursue our Journey by Land. I took the very first Opportunity, so that on the 29th I safely reached *Tobolskoy*, where we rested three Weeks to refresh ourselves, and to provide ourselves with new Cloaths.

After which we set forwards with all possible Expedition, being very desirous to put an End to such a tedious Journey, and once more see the imperial Metropolis.

On the 24th of *November* we travelled through the City of *Wergaturia*, without encountering any Thing observable, and through the Mercy of God, arrived in Sleds safe at *Moscow* on the first of *January*, after having spent two Years and ten Months in these Travels, and endured several fatiguing Miseries, partly occasioned by Scarcity of Provisions as already hinted. We returned Thanks to Almighty God for graciously preserving us in such imminent Dangers, and at last conducting us to the Place from which we were sent by their Czarish Majesties.

SECTION IV.

A very copious and no less curious Account of the North-East Part of *Asia*; comprehending a distinct, particular and authentick Description of all that has hitherto passed under the general Name of *Siberia*, shewing the Extent and Situation of the several Districts thereof, their Climate, Soil and Produce, the Rise and Course of the principal Rivers, Descriptions of all the great Cities upon their Banks; of the several barbarous Nations that inhabit near these Rivers; of the Value of their Furs and Fisheries, with the Manner of their Commerce, and a clear and full Explanation of a Multitude of lesser Circumstances, as well as material Points of Fact, which contribute to the perfect understanding the Condition of this hitherto unknown Country, and all its Inhabitants. To which is added, a succinct Recapitulation of the State of the *Chinese* Empire towards the Close of the last

Century ; with some very impartial as well as judicious Remarks on the Temper, Genius, and boasted Oeconomy of that famous Nation ; with a free Censure of those Hyperbolical Panegyrics, that have been bestowed on the Progress of Science amongst them.

Being the Conclusion of his Excellency EVERARD YSBRANTS IDES's, Travels by Land from Muscovy to China, and of his Return from thence.

1. *The Author's Account of Siberia, the Extent and Situation of that Country, the Motives that led him to think of making a Map of it, the Methods used by him for that Purpose, and the Result of his Pains upon this Subject.*
2. *The Country of the Samojedes described, with an Account of this Nation, their Food, Carriages, Government, Arms, Religion, Marriages, Poetry and strong Disposition to Magick.*
3. *An exact and excellent Description of the Streights of Weygats, how far they are navigable, the Russian Fishery in them, Privileges that Nation formerly enjoyed, which are now taken away.*
4. *An ample and curious Description of the Mountain of Pojas, or Back of the World: Of the South Boundaries of Siberia, and of its principal Rivers, viz. the Jaka, the Tobol, the Oby, the Jenizea, and the Selinga.*
5. *The Source of the River Kugur, Description of the Uffinian Tartars, and their Neighbours, the Nature and Produce of their Countries, the Stature, and Complection, Habits, Language, and Religion of these People.*
6. *Of the Kalmucks or Kalmacks, who inhabit between the Tobol and the Oby. The Lake of Jamuschowa, famous for the excellent Salt it produces. The Country of Barabinsy, its Nature and Produce, the People that inhabit it, their Manners, Customs, Arms, Government, Religion, and Trade.*
7. *Of the famous Town of Tomskoy, its Inhabitants and Commerce, of the short Route from thence to China, and a concise Account of the Country between this City and that of Jenizeskoi.*
8. *Of the Country of the Kirgises, the History of that People, and of their Neighbours: Of the frontier Places belonging to the Mongals, with an Account of the three Princes by whom they are governed.*
9. *Of the Country about the Castle of Argum, of the People who inhabit these Parts, and of the River Gorbisa, which separates the Dominions of the Czar from those of the Emperor of China.*
10. *Of the Rivers Tugur and Uda, and of the Inhabitants of certain Islands that come thither to trade, extremely curious, and which occur in no other Author.*
11. *The City of Kamfatka described, with an Account of its Inhabitants, the Climate about the Icy-Cape, the Fish taken there ; the Manner in which the People live under Ground, and of the vast Mountains of Ice in the Sea.*
12. *Of the River Lena, and the City of Jekutskoi, Capital of the Northern Parts of Siberia, the Fishery there, the Nations that inhabit on the Side of this River, their Customs, Religions, Habits and Language. Of a certain Idolatrous Nation in these Parts. A Description of other Rivers that arise in this Country, and of the Lands they water.*
13. *A Description of the City of Wergolenskoi, the fruitful and pleasant Country about it: An Account of the River Jenizea from its Source to its Mouth, with a Description of the People that inhabit the Banks of that and other Rivers.*
14. *A succinct but curious and exact Description of China, with Remarks on the Genius, Temper and Disposition of the People.*
15. *Of the Author's Conversations with them, in Reference to religious and philosophical Subjects ; with other curious Particulars.*
16. *The Author's Sentiments with Respect to the high Notions that have been entertained in Europe, of the Wisdom, Learning, Policy, Arts and Manufactures of this Nation.*
17. *Observations Historical, Political, and Critical upon the foregoing Section.*

THE great Value of these Travels arises from their Plainness, Perspicuity, and apparent Veracity ; for it is easy to see that our Author had a true German Sincerity, and was far from allowing his Imagination to co-operate with his Judgment in the Composition of this Work ; what he saw with his Eyes, he has faithfully set down with his Pen, without Increment, without Diminution. But upon his Return to Muscovy, and communicating his Journal of his Travels, many Questions were asked him, and many Inquiries made, from which he was convinced, that a most useful and entertaining Supplement might be added to his Work ; and this it was that put him upon writing what composes this Section. It had been a very easy Thing for him, by digesting his Travels afresh, to have brought all his Observations and Remarks into their proper Places ; and this, without Doubt, would have render'd his Performance more elegant, at least if not more useful. His Love for Truth, however, was so great, that he resolv'd Things should appear as they really were, and instead of taking that Step, has given us his additional Remarks in that Order to which he was directed by the above-mentioned Enquiries ; by this Means he was obliged to retrace his whole Journey, which however he has done in such a Manner, as to mention little or nothing that he had given us before, and has taken such a Method, as will enable every attentive Reader to become absolutely acquainted with this great Country never described before,

and of which all Descriptions that have been made since fall very far short of his. Thus much I thought necessary to premise, without taking away any Part of his own Introduction, because I thought it but just to acquaint the Publick with this Author's real Merit, which in Point of Accuracy and Regard to Truth, I look upon as superior to most, and not inferior to any ; and I persuade my self, when he has perused it, that the Reader will be entirely of my Opinion, and will only regret, that in Collections of this Nature, so few Pieces of this Kind can be inserted.

In the past Relation of our Travels, solely aiming at Truth, we have represented her naked, without any hyperbolical or ornamental Illustrations to render her the more agreeable and surprising, according to the common Practice of Writers of Travels, who magnify Trifles, and crowd in various Particulars on the uncertain Reports of others, in order to furbish up the Book. This is indeed what I have all along carefully avoided in the Description of my Journey ; but finding I have not been so methodical as I could have wished ; that I have omitted some Particulars worth the Reader's Cognizance, or at least not related them as they ought ; for the first I beg Pardon, and shall endeavour to make some small Amends for the latter by a short Review.

My Travels then were through the whole Provinces of Siberia and Daur ; the Towns, Countries, and Rivers of which that I have passed through, or over, are already exactly describ'd. The Course of our Journey was from
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the North to the East, that is, from *Weygats* to *Amur*; and from the West from *Uffa Baskiria* to the *Mongolian* Country, and from thence from the West to the South.

As for what relates to the Frontiers of *Siberia* in general, they are every where garrisoned with well armed Forces by his Czarish Majesty, who are not indeed very solicitous to subdue the Southern *Tartars* inhabiting the *Geliseeschian* Plains to his Majesty's Obedience, by reason it would not turn to any great Advantage. The Circuit of this Kingdom of *Siberia*, and the circumjacent Country is very large, as appears by our accurate Map, with regard to which I must acquaint the curious Peruser, that he ought to guide himself only by the Degrees; but as for the Distances betwixt Countries, Cities and Rivers, they are not to be expected exactly placed to a Mile: For this Country having never been travelled by Geographers, much less measured by Miles, I have only, as carefully as I possibly could, taken the Altitudes with a Mathematical Instrument, and from thence marked the Places, leaving to my Successors in these Attempts, the more thorough Search and Discovery of these untravelled Countries. I have indeed broke the Ice for them, being the first *German* that ever went through this vast Country to, and returned from *China*.

I must acknowledge that I am obliged for the first Light of a good Sketch of a general Map of these Lands, to the highly honourable and worthy *Nicholas Witsen*, President Burgher-master of the City of *Amsterdam*, whose Memory will be perpetually revered by all the learned World; he having first discovered to the *Europeans* all *Siberia*, the *Calmuckan*, *Mugalian*, and other Provinces, to the *Chinese* Wall; and described them by a Map. This Map I made use of as a Guide throughout my Journey, and as a Foundation, on which to build that annexed to my own Book. A short Sketch of my Journey is as followeth:

2. First we began our Travels in the North, in the *Samojedian*, which he before called *Sirenian* and *Waguliffian* Countries, which are also under the *Siberian* Government, being subject to the *Waiwodes* of *Pelun*, as far as the Sea. It is observable that there are various Sorts of *Samojedes*, very different from each other in their Language or Expression, as are the *Beresoffskians* and *Pustofersians*, which believe themselves also to be the same Nation: After these are those who live on the Sea-Coast beyond the East Side of the *Oby* to *Truchamskoy*, or *Mangazeiskoy*; as also those which for the greatest Part of the Year reside about *Archangel*, near the River *Dwina*, though indeed in Summer they set up Huts by the Water-side, and in the Winter far in the Woods: This last Sort are the Scum of those People who formerly lived together by the Sea-side, which now are come to this Country.

Besides these, are the *Samojedes* that inhabit all along the *Ice-Coast* of the Province of *Siberia*, which are a People that have not much more to pretend to than a humane Face and Figure; they have but a very small Share of Understanding, and in all other Particulars are very like Wolves and Dogs, for they eat all Manner of dead Carcasses, whether of Horses, Asses, Dogs or Cats, which die a natural Death; as well as Whales, Sea-Cows, Sea-Calves or Horses, &c. which are thrown upon the Shoar by the Ice; nor do they take the Trouble of Dressing these Meats, but devour them raw; and if they had but Wings they would certainly take their Flight to *Greenland*, and diet with the white Bears and Malmucks (a Sort of Birds of Prey) which feed on the flea'd Whales Carcasses: And notwithstanding all this, they inhabit a Country that richly abounds with wild Game, Fish and Flesh; but most of them are too idle to provide themselves with it.

They have a Sort of Governors amongst them, to whom they bring their Tribute, and these are obliged to carry the same to the Cities or Winter Places of his Czarish Majesty. A Gentleman who staid some time at *Postoi Oser*, told me, that their Hart-Sleads were very convenient, and that with them they went prodigiously swift over the Mountains covered with Snow. (The Fa-

shion of these Sleads, their Manner of Travelling, and their Buckskin Habit with the hairy Part outwards, together with their Bow and Arrows, are expressed in the annexed Print.) He added that he had seen the above-mentioned Governors in such Sleads as these, to which were sometimes harnessed six or eight Bucks; the Governors are commonly cloathed in Scarlet-Coats, but their Retinue in the Habit already described. Their Arrows, instead of being pointed with Steel or Iron, are only headed with the Bone of a Sea-Calf, or some other Animal.

They make a very disagreeable Figure all over, inasmuch that I may venture to affirm, that such a shocking ill looked People are not to be found on the Surface of the whole Earth. Their Stature is short and flat, they have broad Shoulders and Faces, flat and broad Noses, great blubber hanging Lips, and frightful Eyes like those of the *Linx*. They are very brown all over, their Hair is dishevelled, some of it being red or pale, but most of it is as black as Pitch; they have very little Beards; their Skin is brown and hard, and they are very swift Runners. The Roebucks, which they use to draw their Sleads in Winter, are horned and shaped like Harts, but have crooked hanging Necks, like those of *Dromedaries*; besides which, what is observed of them is very particular, that they are as white as Snow in Winter, and greyish in Summer: They are fed with Moss which grows on the Ground in the Woods.

These *Samojedes* are gross Idolaters, who have no Notion of any Religion otherwise than that, like the *Persians*, they worship the Sun and Moon, by bowing their Bodies Night and Morning; besides which, they keep near and in their Tents Idols that hang on Trees; some of them are wooden Images representing human Figures; others made of Iron, to which they shew some Respect: Their Tents are cover'd with Birch-barks sew'd together, and when they remove them, as they frequently do in Winter as well as Summer, they set up the Stakes round with the Points together, and upon these they lay the Covering of the fore-mentioned Bark over them, leaving a Hole at the Top for the Passage of the Smoke. Their Fire is made in the Middle of their Tents, round which they lie at Nights naked both Men and Women. They lay their Children in Boxes or Cradles made of Birch bark sewed together, filled with Shavings of Trees which are as soft as Wooll, and covered with Buck-skins.

They marry within the Degrees of Consanguinity without the least Scruple, and buy one another's Daughters for Wives, giving for them Bucks and Hides, and according to the Custom of several Eastern Nations, they take as many Wives as they can keep. When they design a Merry-making, they stand in Couples opposite to each other, throw up one of their Legs, and mutually clap the Soles of their Feet so hard with their Hands that it may be heard at a Distance. Instead of Singing, they make a howling Noise like that of Bears, they neigh like Horses, or chirrup like young Birds. They have a Sort of Conjurers that shew all sorts of diabolical Tricks, most, if not all of which are fraudulent Delusions. But here taking our Leave of these monstrous *Samojedes*, we shall turn our Discourse to another and more pleasant Subject.

Near this Coast, as far as *Weygats* and *Meseem*, are all Sorts of Quadrupeds, particularly Wolves, Bears, Foxes, and Harts, &c. The Fowls are Ducks, Partridges, &c. being Snow-white in Winter, which is so very severe, that about *Samojeda* I have my self seen Rooks and Magpies fall down dead in their Flight, being killed by the piercing Frost.

3. A great deal hath been said concerning the *Weygats*, by *English*, *Danes*, and *Hollanders*, who with Ships have endeavoured to bore through this icy Channel, which hath been done indeed once or twice, but then those who did it were repulsed, and forced to return to their own Country by the vehement Current of Ice in the South or Icy Sea; of which Mr. *Nicholas Witsen*, Burgher-master of *Amsterdam*, treats at large, that Gentleman having obtained an exact Account of whatever is remarkable, from several Persons who have been there; all which Observations he hath incomparably well digested in his Chart of *Weygats* and the Sea-coasts, to the

the River *Oby*; by which it plainly appears, that from *Weygats* to the *Icy* or *Holy Cape*, the Sea is utterly un-navigable with Ships, and should a second *Christopher Columbus* appear, and point out the Course of the Heavens, he could not yet drive away these Mountains of Ice: For God and Nature have so invincibly fenced the Sea-side of *Siberia* with Ice, that no Ship can come to the River *Jenisea*, much less can they come farther Northwards into the Sea. Not to mention the Voyage from the *Icy* or *Holy Cape*, round *Japan* and *Jedzo*, I shall only insert what I have collected from the Informations of the *Russians*, who several Times have failed through the Streights of *Weygats* to the *Oby*.

We go, say they, with our *Koiskt*, (a Sort of Barks fitted for the Sea) to the Streights of *Weygats*, to fish for Sea-calves, and if they do not meet with great Quantities of Fish, we sail directly into the *Weygats*; but if the Wind blows from the Sea, the whole Coast is covered with Ice, and we are obliged to put into some of the Creeks or little Rivulets which run inland, and withal not to venture too far, but stay there till the Wind turns about and blows from the Shore towards the Sea; upon which these Streights are so perfectly cleared of all their Ice, that it soon drives several Miles out of Sight at Sea; and making use of that Opportunity, we sail along the Coast till the Wind turns contrary, when we are again forced in, in Search of a Creek to shelter us; which if we fail of, the Bark is shatter'd to Pieces by the Clots of Ice.

About fifty Years past, the *Siberian Russians* had free Liberty to fetch their Provision, as Corn, Meal, &c. from the Sea-ports, and to carry their *Siberian* Commodities thither through the *Weygats*, supposing that they paid the proper Toll to his Czarish Majesty: But these *Siberians* abused their Sovereign's Favour to a very great Degree, and made use of it to bring in great Quantities of Goods by other Ways and Rivers into *Russia* by Stealth, whereby his Majesty suffered very much in his Revenue; for which Reason, ever since, the Importation of any Goods through the Streights of *Weygats* have been absolutely prohibited; but all are obliged to be brought over *Beresova*, the *Kamenskoy*, or the rocky *Pojas*; which Passages are not attended with small Difficulties, for when they leave *Beresova*, the Carriers are obliged to cut their Boats (which are cut out of a Tree) across in two, and in those half Boats draw themselves and their Goods over the high Mountains, and having spent some Days in this irksome Way of Travelling, till they are come to the North-side, they again fasten their Boats together, stopping the Joints close with Moss, and therewith pursue their Voyage to *Archangel*, or the other Places in *Russia* situated on the River *Oby*.

4. I shall now turn my Discourse to the *Pojas*, or Ridge of the World; which is a vast Quantity of Rocky Hills, that in their parting, according to the exactest Observation, make a Sort of Ridge or *Pojas*. This Ridge begins from *Petzerkay Ofer*, or *Pezerse Lanis*, and extends, without any Division, through the Province of *Wergaturia*, under which is comprised the *Wergatoerschian Wolok*; and this Mass of Hills is no otherwise to be travelled than by drawing over it. From thence it runs Southward by the Castle of *Utka*, to the *Uffinian Tartars* Country, out of which Mountains the River *Ussy*, and Eastward the River *Nitra*, *Tuna*, &c. originally rise, and the last falls North-Westward into the *Kama*. From hence this mountainous Ridge takes its Course Southwards, to the *Kalmuckian Borders*, out of which *Pojas*, the large River *Jaica*, so rich in Fish, rises Westwards, and disembogues itself into the *Caspian* Sea, and the River *Tobol* rises out of the North Side of it. Its Course Eastwards is along the *Kalmuckian* Country, and the Borders of *Siberia*, passing by *Asero Saisan*, and *Oser Kalculan*, two Lakes; from the first of which the vast River *Oby* springs, and from the second *Irtis*. From this great Lake *Oser Kalculan*, this Ridge of Mountains turns off again Southward, where the River *Jenisea* rises, which discharges itself into the *Tartarian Icy Sea*.

Farther Southwards this *Pojas* or Ridge of Hills inclines in the Shape of an Elbow to the North-East and

South. It runs along by the River *Jenisea* Northwards, and Southwards by the *Oser* or Lake *Kofogol*, out of which rises the River *Selenga*, which falls into the Lake *Baikal*. From hence the *Pojas* extends to the *Sandy Desert*, in the *Mongolian* Country, and being interrupted by some Days Journey through the mentioned Desert, proceeds onwards to the South, as far as the *Chinese* great Wall, and then turns off Eastwards to the *Carreeschian Sea*, as is delineated in our Map.

5. But to come to the Description of the People of these Provinces, and to inform the Reader to whom they are Tributaries. The Country from *Pelim* to *Wergaturia*, all along by the River *Zusawaja*, to the Province of *Uffinia*, is mostly inhabited by the *Wogulischian* Heathens, whose Tenets and Manner of living are already above described. The River *Kugur* where the *Uffinian* Habitations begin, rises out of the *Uffinschian* Jurisdiction, betwixt the Rivers *Zusawaja* and *Uffa*, and falls into the *Kama*. On this last River is situate the City called *Kungun*, in which his Czarish Majesty hath a Garrison. These *Uffinschian Tartars*, as also another Sort called *Baskinzians*, inhabit near the City of *Oessa*, and live dispersed in Villages and Towns, all which are well built after the *Russian* Fashion, along the Western Shoar of the River *Kama*, and by the *Wolga* Side, almost as far as the Cities *Sarat* and *Sarapul*, both which are situate on the River *Wolga*, and garrisoned by his Czarish Majesty, in order to the collecting of his Tribute, and to keep the *Tartars* in Awe. This Tribute they pay in Furs and Honey; and are a Sort of People that will not bear being too roughly handled by their Governors, but if so treated by them are sure to rebel, of which there have been several Instances formerly; but for a long Time they have not been guilty of any Disloyalty.

South-Westwards, in the District of *Astracan*, there are also other small Clans or Hords of that Nation, who being an independant People, in Conjunction with the *Kalmuckians* bordering on *Astracan*, rob and pillage in the Province of *Siberia*. Besides which, by Way of supplemental Maintenance, they apply themselves to the Tillage of the Ground, chiefly for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Buck-wheat: And as soon as the Corn is reaped, they prepare a Threshing-Floor in the Field, thresh it out, and stow it in the Barn. This Country as plentifully flows with Honey as any Part of the World. Most of the Men's wearing Cloaths are made of *Russian* white Cloths, the Coat being about the same Fashion with those of the *Muscovite* Peasants, with long Flaps hanging down on their Backs. The Women, when the Season is not too cold, cover the upper Part of their Body with a Shift only, which is curiously stitched with Silk of all Colours by Way of Stripe, from the Top to the Bottom; and about the lower Part of their Body they wear Petticoats, and a Sort of Shoes which not only cover their Feet, but reach above their Ancles. Their Head-dress consists in a Sort of Fillet about a Hand-breadth, which they wear on their Foreheads, and fasten it behind. This Fillet is stitched with Silk of several Colours, and adorned with a Sort of variegated Glass, in Imitation of Coral, which is strung, and hangs dangling near the Eyes. Some have these broader than others, as being full two Spans long, and of one Hand Breadth, and stitched through with Silk; these look like a thin Plank, and are adorned with Corals of all Sorts of Colours, which cover their Forehead. When they go abroad, they cover their Head-dress with a square Linnen Handkerchief, stitched with Silk, and edged with Silk Fringe.

These *Uffinschian*, as well as the *Kaskierschian Tartars*, are a valiant, warlike People; they fit their Horses well, and carry no other Arms than Bows and Arrows, in the Use of which they are extraordinary dextrous. They are vigorous and large Men, their Shoulders are broad, and they suffer their Beards to grow to a good Length. The Hair of their Eye-brows is so very thick and long, that it hangs over their Eyelids, and generally runs so far cross the Forehead as to unite the two Eye-brows. They have a Language peculiar to themselves, yet can partly understand the *Astracan Tartars*. Their Religion

ligion is Pagan, though indeed they partly incline to the *Mahometan*, which they have borrowed from the *Crim Tartars*, with whom they formerly conversed very much.

6. The Country betwixt the Rivers *Tobol* and *Oby*, to the *Jamuschowwa Ofer*, is inhabited by *Kalmockians*. This *Ofer* or Lake plentifully abounds with hard Salt, and lies under the *Kalmockian* Jurisdiction; notwithstanding which about twenty or twenty five *Dochenicks*, or *Russian* Vessels, guarded by a Convoy of 2500 well armed Men, come annually from *Tobolesk*, up the River *Irtis*, from whence they travel by Land to this *Ofer* or Lake, where they dig up the Salt like Ice from the Shore, and load their Ships with it. Indeed they generally have some Skirmishes with the *Kalmockians*, who will not allow of this Practice: But yet, whether they will or not, they are forced to suffer it.

Inclining lower down from this *Jamusawaian Lake*, near the River *Irtis*, lies the City of *Torre*, adjoining to the River *Tara*: This is the last Frontier Place which belongs to his Czarish Majesty, bordering on the Territories of the *Kalmockian* Prince *Bustuchan*. The Inhabitants of which are called *Barabinsky*, and stretch themselves Eastwards from the City of *Torre*, to the River *Oby*, opposite to the River *Ton*, and the City of *Tomskoy*. This Country of *Barnabu* is passable in Summer as well as Winter; but chiefly in the latter: For the *Oby* at *Surgut* and *Narin* being unpassable in the Winter, Travellers generally go this Way to *Siberia*, by *Tomskoy* and *Jenusefsch*. This Nation, which is called *Barabinsky*, consists of a Sort of *Kalmocks* which pay Tribute equally to the Czar, and the *Bustuchan*. They have amongst them three Governors or *Taischi*; the first of which is called *Karsagaz*, the second *Baikisch*; and the third *Baiduk*: These three Lords receive the Tribute of the *Barabinszes*, and bring the Czar his Portion. The *Karsagaz*, the first of them, brings his Part to the City of *Tora*; *Baikisch*, his Portion to the *Russian* Castle of *Telurwa*; and *Baiduk*, the Remainder to the Castle of *Kulenba*: All of these Tributes being paid in Furs. These are an insolent villanous Sort of People; they live in low built wooden Houses, like those of the *Siberian Tartars*; they are not at all acquainted with the Use of Stoves or Ovens, but make Use of a Sort of Chimnies or rather Smoak-holes. When their Wood is burnt, they stop the Smoak-hole, and warm themselves by the Coals as long as any Heat remains in them.

Their Houses are ranged into Villages; they set up high Hutts in the Summer, but in Winter retire into their warm wooden Dwellings. They are tolerably skillful in Agriculture, and sow Oats, Barley, Millet, and Buck-wheat, but are not fond of either Rye or Rye-bread: And though they like the Taste of it well enough, yet they chew it so awkwardly, and roll it upon their Tongues as if they had Dirt in their Mouths, and spitting it out, scrape the Remainder off their Tongue as after a Thing which they cannot swallow. They steep their Barley in Water, dry it a little, and then thresh off the Husk; after which they dry, or rather fry it in a very hot Iron Pan or Kettle; by which Management it becomes as hard as Bone; and this is their Bread which they daily eat, and is so hard and dry, that it crashes betwixt their Teeth. They also eat the *Saranna* or Bulb of yellow Lillies, dried, stamped, and boiled with Milk, as a Sort of Milk-pap. They drink *Kumis*, a Sort of Brandy extracted from Mares-Milk; and *Karaza*, i. e. *Karatcha*, or black Tea, which is brought thither by the *Bucharians*.

Their Arms are those common to the greatest Part of the *Tartars*, viz. Bows and Arrows. They keep great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Horses, Camels, Cows and Sheep: But neither keep or will eat Hogs. Their Country abounds with fine Sables, Martins, Squirrels, Ermins, Foxes, Hyena's, Beavers, Minks, Otters, &c. in which they pay their Tribute. This Country extends from *Tora* to the Rivers *Oby* and *Tom*; is not mountainous but plain even Land, abounding with Woods of beautiful Cedars, Larch-Trees, Birch and Pitch-Trees, which are intersected by several Chrystal-

line running Streams. In the Habits of both Men and Women, they follow the *Numgolschian* and *Kalmockian* Fashion; and marry as many Wives as they can maintain. When they go into the Woods in order to hunt furred Animals, they carry their *Saitans* along with them; which is a rough Image, as well carved in Wood as they can do it with a Knife: This they cloath in a Stuff Dress of all Sorts of Colours, in Imitation of the Habits of the *Russian* Women, and place him upright in a small Cafe, and carry him upon a particular Slead, both made for that Purpose; and to him they offer up their first Capture of what Sort of Beast soever it prove.

When they have killed great Numbers of their Game, they return Home very merrily, mount their Idol in his Cafe, to the highest Place in the House, and hang him behind and before, above and below, with Sables, Martins and all Sorts of Furs, in order to express their Acknowledgments to him for rendring their Hunting so successful; and all these rich Furs must hang there to be spoiled and putrified, they believing it a most unpardonable Crime to take off or sell any of these dedicated Hides; whence it is that we daily see so many fine Skins placed by these Images, that are eaten up by the Worms, which it is indeed a great Pity are not better employed.

7. Crossing the River *Oby* from hence, we come to *Tomskoy*, which is also a Frontier Place belonging to the Czar, situate on the *Buzuk*, and is a very fine and vast large City, strongly garrisoned by *Russian* and *Cossackian* Soldiers, to prevent the Incursions of the *Tartars* into *Siberia*; and in the Suburbs over the River live great Numbers of *Bucharstan Tartars*, who pay Tribute to his Czarish Majesty. This City lies on the River *Tom*, which rises in the *Kalmockian* Territories, and from hence the Subjects of the *Busuchtü Chan*, and the *Bucharstans*, drive a very considerable Trade to *China*, several *Russian* Merchants being concerned and sharing with them. This Way to *China* is very expeditious, it being practicable to go thither in twelve Weeks, and return back in as short a Time; but it is withal exposed to the greatest Inconveniencies and Difficulties in the World; for the Travellers are obliged to carry all Necessaries along with them upon Camels, nay even Water and Wood to dress their Victuals. They go directly through *Kalmockia*, and through *Cokoton*, a *Chinese* City without the Wall. But it is utterly impossible for *Russians* or other Nations to travel this Road, by Reason that it is infested with several Gangs of Robbers, which set on the Passengers, and very often deprive them of all that they have gained by so tedious and fatiguing a Journey.

From *Tomskoy* down to the City of *Janiseesch* is utterly desolate and uninhabited Land; the Country is an even Plain, on which appear some scattered Thickets: Also all about the two Rivers *Kia* and *Zuwin*, to as far as the Cities *Kusnezskoy* and *Krasnajar*, is very little or not at all inhabited, any where besides the Frontiers. The first peopled Country we find here is that of the *Kirgizens*, which are the Subjects of the *Busuchtü Chan*. The City of *Krasnajar* is very large, and defended by a strong Garrison of *Cossacks* placed in it by his Czarish Majesty, and they are always obliged to keep a very strict Guard to prevent the Incursions of the *Kirgizens*, for which Reason twenty Horses both Day and Night stand constantly Saddle and Bridled, in the Marketplace, before the Governor's House: For the *Kirgizens*, though at Peace with the *Siberians*, are a People who are never to be trusted. For frequently when they are not expected, they come in Parties, and steal both Men and Horses under the very Walls of the City, and out of the nearest of the *Siberian* Villages: But the *Cossacks* generally make severe Reprizals on them, by often killing and carrying off, several hundreds of Men and Horses from their *Hords* or Clans.

8. These *Kirgizens* extend their Habitations South-Eastwards as far as the *Mongolian* Districts. They are a warlike Nation, being generally vigorous, tall, and broad-faced Men, somewhat like the *Kalmockians*. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, but they never go out in

quest of Booty without very good Coats of Mail and Lances, which they draw along by the Horse Side, with their Points on the Ground. They generally live in the Mountains, which naturally serve to defend them from Surprise. The greatest Part of their Language is *Kalmockian*, but they also speak a great deal of the *Crim Tartarian* Idiom, which the *Turks* partly understand.

From *Krasnoy* along the River *Jenisea*, as far down as *Jeniseesch*, is inhabited by some *Tungezians*; but chiefly by *Burattians*. This last-mentioned Castle just touches on *Mongalia*, and borders on the Ridge of Rocks between *Tunkinskoi* and the City of *Selinga*. The Frontier Fort butting on *Mongalia* is not large, but provided with a very strong Garrison, chiefly of Horse, in order to defend the Western-side against the *Mongolians*, and their subordinate *Tartars* the *Mirotians*, *Milyans*, and *Burattians*. Near this City grows a Sort of *Santalum* or *Sanders*, which is prodigious hard. The *Burattians*, which are under the Protection of his Czarish Majesty, formerly inhabited the Country all about *Selinga*; but by Reason some of them, at the Instigation of the *Chinese*, began to fly over to the *Mongolians*, the Remainder were, for greater Security, transplanted to the *Baicalian Lake*, round which they now live in the Mountains, and pay their Tribute to his Czarish Majesty in Sables and other rich Furs.

From this City to the Lake *Baikal* runs a continued Ridge of Hills, where are found very fine Sables and Cabardins. From the Lake *Kofogel* Eastward to the Sandy Desert, and from thence to *Dway*, or the *Mongolian Lake*, and so on to the Province of *Argun*, and thence again North-west as far as the Rivers *Onon* and *Sikoy*, is the Circumference and Boundary of the whole *Mongolian Territories*, or, as hath been formerly said, of the Jurisdiction of the Race of *Gog and Magog*, which is governed by three Regents, the Chief of which is the *Kuttucht*, who is also the High-priest of the Nation. The second Brother is the *Aziroi Sain Chan*, and the third is *Eliet*, whose Boundaries border on the West *Tartars*. The first two Brothers inseparably hold together, but the third robs and plunders wherever any Booty is to be come at; and is so bold as to venture sometimes even to the *Chinese Wall* with his Troops, carrying off all that comes in his Way, not sparing even the Emperor of *China's* Money which he sends as a charitable Present to the neighbouring *Tartars*, to engage them to a firm Continuance in their Allegiance. *Kuttucht*, otherwise call'd *Koetoegt*, and *Aziroi Sain Chan* his Brother, though their Country is of vast Extent, have yet put both themselves and that under the Protection of the Emperor of *China*, out of their great Fear of the *Baichitu Chan*, Prince of the *Kalmockians*, from whom they suffered very much in the Years 1688, and 1689.

9. But to stay no longer on the Frontiers of his Czarish Majesty's Territories, and to take a Turn Eastwards of *Ardum* Castle, which Fortrefs is built on the West-side of the River *Argun*, and garrisoned with *Russian Forces*; the People inhabiting all round are *Tungasi Konni*, who pay their Tribute to his Czarish Majesty in Sables, Linx, and grey Ferrets Skins, which there prove very fine. The *Tungusians* are a fierce, warlike People, and can, on Occasion, from these Borders only, bring into the Field four thousand Horsemen armed with Bows and Arrows; insomuch that no roving *Mongolians* dare ride or appear hereabouts, otherwise than by Night, when they sometimes drive away a few Horses and Cattle out of the Field. Their Winter Cloaths are Sheep-skins, and their Boots like those of the *Chinese*. Their Caps are turned up with broad Borders of Furr, which they can turn up or pull down as rainy or fair Weather gives Occasion. They wear about their Waistes a Girdle of about a Hand's Breadth, fasten'd with thin iron Plates, and an Arrow, upon which they make a Sort of piping Musick. In Summer-time they generally ride with bare Heads, shaven all round, leaving only one Lock hanging behind like the *Chinese*. Their Summer-dress is made of blue *Chinese Callico* quilted with Cotton; but as for Shirts they wear none. They naturally have very small, or indeed scarce any Beards,

are broad-faced like the *Kalmockians*, and very strong Men.

When they labour under Want of Provisions, they go in whole Hords or Clans out a Buck-hunting, where they encompass and shoot vast Quantities of them, and whatever they take, they socially divide, and rarely shoot but they hit their Game. The Wives are clothed much in the same Manner as the Husbands, being chiefly distinguished by two plaited Locks which they wear on each Side of the Head, and hang down on their Breasts, and are tied with Silver or Tin Rings. They marry as many Wives as they can keep, and buy them of one another, not being very nicely concerned at their having lived with another Man. They believe and acknowledge a God in Heaven, but they neither pay any Worship, nor address any Prayers to him. In the Night they apply themselves to the *Sutkur* or *Saitan*, by beating of Drums and performing of Exorcisms, especially when they are going a Hunting, or upon any Robbing Design, to enquire whether they are to expect good or ill Success. Their Liquor with which they make merry is *Arak*, a Sort of Brandy distilled from Mares Milk, which they suffer to turn acid. Instead of a Cauldron they draw off this Liquor in two Pots, one set upon the other, and well luted together, there being a wooden Pipe in one of them. This they draw off twice or thrice, and this Operation produces good Brandy; which even Girls, as well as Men and Women, sip to that Excess, that they become insensible and motionless for a long Space of Time. Their Wives and Daughters ride on Horseback, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, as well as the Men. Their Bread is a refined and dried Sort of Flour of yellow Lilly Bulbs, of which they make a Sort of Pap; besides which, they have no other Bread: But they also eat the mentioned Bulbs dry out of Hand, and are utterly unpractised in and ignorant of Agriculture. The Trade or Barter which some of this Nation drive with the *Targasinians* and *Xixigarhians*, which live under the *Chinese* Jurisdiction, is chiefly trucking Furs against blue Callicoes, Linnens, and Tobacco, and proves very advantageous to them, as it generally doth to all who follow it. They believe themselves to be the Descendants of the *Targasinians* of *Daorzi*, with several of whom they keep up an amicable Correspondence.

Near the before-mentioned Castle of *Argun*, about half a Day's Journey from it, amongst the Hills, is a Silver Mine, and it plainly appears, that formerly the People of *Nieuchieu*, or *Daourzen*, had several Foundations and Works there, which are at present run to Ruin. From hence to *Nerzinskoy*, the chief City of *Daour*, it is ten Days Journey by Land with Camels, and is also a fine Country, very conveniently watered with several running Brooks. Upon and betwixt the Hills grow the most charming Herbs and Flowers which Imagination can suggest: And the Vallies are covered with long Grass about half a Man's Height. Tillage is not very much practised here, by reason the Inhabitants are chiefly his Czarish Majesty's *Tartars*.

10. But leaving the River *Argun* again, and crossing over the vast River *Amur*, I come to the River *Gorbiza*, which separates the Dominions of his Czarish Majesty from those of the Emperor of *China*; from the Haven of the *Gorbiza* Eastwards to the Sea being subject to the *Chinese*, and the Western as well as the Northern Side of the said River belonging to his Czarish Majesty. If we steer Eastwards from the *Gorbiza* to the Rivers *Tugur* and *Uda*, which rise Northwards of the *Amur*, and fall Eastwards into the *Chinese Ocean* or *Amoerschian Sea*, we find the Country betwixt those Rivers yields great Quantities of black Sables, and the Shores of these mentioned Streams are inhabited by *Tunguzians*, *Alemurians*, and *Koreizians*; which last Nation seems originally to come from *Coela*, that Country lying not far distant from thence, it being easy to reach it in a short Day, with a favourable Wind. They are reported to have settled along the Banks of the River *Amur*, and afterwards spread themselves farther. Those who live on the Sea-coast depend chiefly on Fishing; but there are many of the Inland People very rich, great Numbers

bers of the best Sables and richest Furs being found here. This Country is subject to the Governor of *Jakutskoy*, and the Woods in this Neighbourhood are all strongly guarded in order to prevent the *Chinese Tartars* from hunting any Sables here.

To the Shores of these two Rivers, there come annually a Sort of People out of the Islands which lie in the Sea, but so near the Shore, that from thence they may be easily seen. These People appear very well dressed in very fine Furr Surtouts, under which they wear silken Coats almost as rich as those of the *Persians*. They are tall, have large Beards, and make a noble manly Figure. They come in small Barks to the *Siberian Tartars*, and buy Girls and Women of them, of which they are very fond, giving for them rich Sables and black Fox-skins; which they report they have in great Quantities on their Islands, and earnestly solicit the *Siberian Tungusians* to come and trade with them. They pretend that the Province of *Jakutskoy* was formerly subject to them; and their Language bears a little Similitude to the *Jakutshian*.

11. Northwards of these two Rivers rises the River *Ogota*, betwixt which and the *Uda*, near the Shore, and all along in the Sea, as far as the *Icy Cape*, abounds with Whales, Sea-horses, and Sea-Dogs. *Kamsatka*, and the Country farther along by the Sea-side, is inhabited by a People called *Xuxi* and *Koeliki*, each of which have a Language peculiar to themselves. Those who live near the Sea are clothed in Seal-skins, and dwell in subterraneous Caverns; but those who inhabit the inland Country are generally rich, and very much accustomed to Hart-hunting; they eat all their Flesh and Fish raw, and wash themselves with nothing else besides their own Urine; and are a very fly, treacherous People, that never keep their Words. Their chief Arms are Slings, in the Use of which they are very dextrous, and can throw a great Way. All hereabouts, near the *Icy Cape*, the Winter Snow lies on the Ground, though it is not very deep, and chiefly falls in the Beginning of the Winter, all the remaining Part of that Season being free from Snow. There is a Gulf which comes up to *Kamsatka*, that affords prodigious Quantities of Sea-Horses, and other Sea Fish, which are also caught in great Numbers.

If we put to Sea at the *Icy Cape*, we find, that the farther out we sail, the Course of the Sea is still the more interrupted by the Multiplicity of Islands; and not far above *Kamsatka* is a Passage which the Seal-Fishers and others make very good Use of. All *Anadjeskoy* and *Sabaliska* are inhabited by the already described Nations called *Xuxi* and *Koeliki*. The River *Salazia* abounds with fine Herrings, Sturgeon, Sterbeth, and Nebna. And in the Inland Country somewhat distant from hence, all along by the *Simaniko*, are several Winter-houses, which are inhabited by his Czarish Majesty's *Cossacks*, who collect his Taxes and Tolls. But notwithstanding that several Sables and Linxes are caught in this Province along by the several Rivers, yet the *Simonikoe* of *Muskoy* yields the most considerable Revenue, the greatest Quantity of Sables being caught there. The Climate of this *Icy Cape*, called in *Muscovite* Dialect, *Swetoinos*, otherwise the *Holy Cape*, is extraordinary cold, it freezing so hard, that the Sea is covered with thick Ice in several Places, which driven into mountainous Heaps by the Wind from Year to Year, increases and sticks so fast together that it seems but one Clot: From which, according as the Wind fits, are sometimes broke off great Pieces, which disperse themselves, and in Process of Time, in a boisterous Sea, become new Mountains of Ice: It sometimes happens that this Sea is frozen up for two or three Years successively, and it was observed that it continued so from 1694 to 1697.

12. From hence let us proceed farther on to the great River *Lena*, which rises out of the South-west near the Lake *Bakail*, where the Provinces of *Siberia* and *Daour* are divided from each other. Upon this River lies *Jakutskoy*, the Capital City of this Northern Province: From which Town in Summer-time, it is customary for small Barks to coast it along by the Shoar

Side, and go through the Cape to *Sabazia*, *Onodjeskoy*, and *Kamsatka*, in Search of Sea-Calves Teeth and Train Oyl, &c. The Neighbouring Heathens, or *Tartars*, make Use of little Leathern-Boats on this River, which are very swift. The Country about the City of *Jakutskoy*, and the River *Amga*, is inhabited by a Sort of People called *Jakutishians*, whose Habit is very particular, their upper Coats being made of various colour'd Furs sewed together, and the Edges bordered all round, with a Border about a Hand's Breadth of Buck's Hair, but in every Thing else made somewhat like the *German* Fashion, and open at the Sides and behind. They have long Hair, wear no Shirts, and believe that there is a great Being above in Heaven, who gave them Life, and lends them Food, Wives, and Children. And they celebrate a great Festival in the Spring, in which they make Offerings of *Kumis*, or *Arak*, distill'd from Milk, to this Being: And during the Continuance of this Feast, they do not drink themselves, but make great Fires, and continually sprinkle this *Kumis*, or *Arak*, towards the East; which is their Manner of Offering. When any one of them dies, his nearest Relation is buried alive with him; from the same Principles that, in several Places in *India*, the Women accompany the dead Bodies of their Husband on the flaming Funeral-Pile, in order to enjoy their Company in the other World.

About one half of their Language agrees very well with that of the *Mahometan Tartars* near *Tobolskoy*, which is derived from the *Bulgarian*. They take as many Wives as they can maintain. Their chief Beasts of Burden are their Stags, upon which they also ride, and thereby in a little Time go a vast Way: They are a valiant and a quick-witted People, and seem to be great Lovers of Truth. When the Governor of *Jakutskoy* proves to be a Person who governs remissly, they do one another all possible Mischiefs, by robbing, pillaging, and all other Exorbitancies: But when they have one that holds the Reins very tight, they are quiet and obedient, and no Outrages are heard of amongst them; but they praise his great Wisdom, and wish he may continue long in that Post. They venture to tell us, that their Ancestors originally came from *Kalmockia*, from whence they were driven by the *Russians*, and forced to take up their Quarters in the cold Parts of this District. They are very much afflicted with the Scurvy, which they soon drive away, by eating raw Fish, and taking of *Deugti*, which is a Sort of Tar.

13. The *Jugogayers*, a Sort of Heathens also which inhabit Part of this Country, usually, when any of their Relations die, cut off all the Flesh of his Corps to the Bones, dry the Skeleton, and hang it with Glass-Corals of all Colours, carry it round their Huts, or Dwellings, and thus pay Idolatrous Worship to the deceased. Along by this River *Lena* are annually found several Mammut Teeth and Skeletons, which fall off from the Mountains, and out of the frozen Earth near this River; these Hills, by the Current of Ice from the high-sworn Waters in the Spring loosing great Pieces, which are tumbled down into the River. The several fine Rivers which descend from the South and fall into the *Lena*, are the *Witim*, *Olekina*, and *Maja*, along which are great Multitudes of fine black Sables, and other Furs: In Winter 1000 Ermins being to be bought of the *Tartars* for three or four Roubels. All about the River *Maja*, as also at the Source of the *Lena*, at *Wergolenkolso* and *Kirenga*, grows all Sorts of Corn, the Land being very fertile, and serving to supply the Province of *Jakutskoy*, and that at so cheap a Rate, that an hundred Weight of Rye-Meal is commonly sold for ten or twelve Pence, and all Sorts of Cattle are proportionably cheap; so that living here doth not cost much, but Money is very scarce.

To take our Progress further along this Sea-Coast, from the *Lena* to the River *Jenisea*, which Extent hath not yet been travelled further by any, either by Water or by Land, than to the River *Tarsida*, by Reason the Sea is too full of Ice, and is utterly unnavigable: Most of the Inhabitants between *Tarsida* and *Jenisea* are found to be *Samojedes*, and a Party of *Tungoeschian Tartars*

and Heathens: What their Opinion is, has been hinted above. But the River *Jenisea* is, all along its Shoars, most-ly inhabited by *Russians*, and rises in the South-part of *Tartary*, in the *Kalmockian* and *Kirgizenian* Territories, and very plentifully abounds with Fish: Three very fine Rivers fall into it, which are the *Wergnaja Tunguska*, *Podkamenna Tunguska*, and the *Nisnaja Tunguska*; on the Sides of all which dwell great Numbers of a barbarous, wild sort of *Tunguzians*, which may very well be ranked with the *Samojedes*, the latter being only larger and stronger than the former. The *Tartars*, whenever they have wounded an Elk with their Bow and Arrows, (all their Arms) follow him by the Tract of his Feet, accompanied with their Wives and Children, sometimes for eight or ten Days, in the Woods, and taking no Provisions with them, but relying solely upon their Capture, they have a Sort of Stomacher, or Breast-Cap, which, by Reason of Hunger, they lace one or two Fingers Breadth closer; and having at last caught their Game, they kill it, pitch a slight Tent, and stay upon the Spot till no Part of the Beast but the bare Bones are left: But in the Interim if they get any Furrs, they immediately repair to the *Russian* Villages and Towns in order to sell them. Here are great Numbers of white and brown Foxes, Multitudes of Squirrels, but very few or no Sables. On this River are situate the two Cities of *Taugviskoy* and *Mungaseia*, both which drive a very great Inland Trade in Furrs, Sea-Horse and Mammut Teeth; and in Summer-time several Boats go from these Places to the Sea-side at the Mouth of the River, in order to catch Sea-Horses or Sea-Calves and Seals.

Believing we have in some Measure attained our End, and performed what we proposed in the Description of our Travels, we shall now subjoin a short, but very accurate, Description of the mighty Empire of *China*, written by a Native of that Country, whom I brought hither with me: This Description, which was never before printed, I have caused to be illustrated with several pertinent Annotations, extracted out of the best Descriptions of that Empire, in order to clear up some Difficulties, and satisfy the Reader; and this was not done by an illiterate Pen.

Notwithstanding which, before I take Leave, I am in some Sort obliged to say something in general, which is the Result of my own Observation, concerning that vast Empire, and was omitted in the Relation of my Travels.

14. The Empire of *China*, so far as I saw of it, to, and in *Peking* its Metropolis, I must indeed acknowledge seems to be a Land peculiarly blessed by Heaven; and I believe, that as this City is the Capital, so it lies under the best and most healthful Climate of all *China*. The Men there are vigorous, healthy, and tall: Corn, all Sorts of Fruits, Herbs, Roots, and indeed whatever is either necessary or convenient to human Life, very plentifully abounds there, except only that no Tea grows in that Province, nor are any silk Manufactures or Porcelain made there. In Winter it freezes so hard here, that the Ice will bear the People going over it; and the Summer Weather is but moderately hot; whereas on the contrary, in the other Provinces, whole Summer Days are useless, by Reason of the intollerable Heat. The present Descendants of the ancient *Chinese* are more sincere than the *Mansures* or *Manichean Tartars*. They live temperately and frugally; are very neat and clean in their Cloaths; are very greedy of Presents, and shameless in their Trade, and have Address enough to suit themselves to all Humours. They religiously observe their ancient Laws, in which appear some Traces of Barbarity. They never alter the Fashion of their Dress, nor suffer the Introduction of any new Laws; and some of their principal Lords told me, that no Chan or King, for the Space of twelve thousand Years, hath been empowered to make even the least Alteration in their Religion, Laws, or Habits.

So that it seems that the present Emperor *Ammologgan Kambi*, is the first who hath discovered a slight Opinion of the old barbarous Customs, and accordingly began a good Reformation of their Religion and Law, when in the Year 1692, he caused publick Proclamation

to be made in all his Empire, That whoever was desirous to become a Christian, had thereby free Liberty to apply himself to the *Romish* Clergy, and be baptiz'd. This was a grievous Thorn in the Eyes of the *Bonzies*, or Idolatrous Priests, but they were yet forced to bear it patiently, and be Eye-Witnesses to the Conversion of Thousands yearly to Christianity; and which is more, the Emperor himself is, in his Heart, a good Christian, but cannot possibly quit any of his 1236 Wives. He is a more absolute Legislator than we hear any of his Predecessors were; for, by Virtue of his despotick Authority, he is so formidable to his Subjects, that he governs them, without the least Restriction, according to his arbitrary Will and Pleasure.

15. The *Chinese* obstinately persist in denying, in their Map of the World, that there is any larger Country on the Surface of the terrestrial Globe, than their own; to confirm which preposterous Assertion, their Maps never mention any more than their own, and one great Sea, in the Middle of which they assign a small Point of Land, which faintly appears to the Eye, like one of the smallest Stars, for the rest of the Earth.

They honour their Prince like a Deity, calling him a *Son of Heaven*, and a *Terrestrial God*. Their Religion is perfect Pagan Idolatry, as appears by their hideous diabolical Images, exposed to View in their Pagods or Temples. They have frequently replied to Questions which I put to them concerning the Immortality of the Soul and eternal Life, That they were utterly ignorant of any such Thing; and that since their Forefathers did not believe it, so they could not. Their chiefest Pleasure consists in keeping several Wives, to which they are extremely addicted. They have no Notion of Sin, but whenever they have been guilty of any villanous Crime, for which they happen to be seized and brought to Justice, they take the Punishment inflicted by the Judge, for only a very small Scandal, without shewing any Remorse for the Wickedness and Dishonesty of the Fact.

Their Administration of Justice, and Judiciary Decisions, and whatever of that Nature which they take to be civiliz'd and reasonable, are indeed but rude and barbarous. Their Manufactures are principally those of Silk Stuffs, Porcelain, and varnished painted Works, which considering their great Distance from *Europe*, are somewhat surprizing. Their Wars are carried on by the sole Dint of Numbers, they very seldom taking the Field before they are two or three hundred thousand strong, as they did when they were engaged against *Bucksutchan* the West *Tartar*, from the Years 1686 to 1693; in which Wars, when their General *Alliganibo* happened to be killed in a Battle, they all fled, and each Man endeavoured to secure his Life by making all possible Haste to his own Home. They carry with them good Field-pieces, and are indifferent expert in the Use of them; but their Hand-arms are very wretched, the best of them being their Bows and Arrows. Their Horses are provided with very good Saddles, but when they ride, they cover them with Pillows, and Mattraffes above them; so that they sit very high and loose from the Horse's Back. In a Word, as their military Affairs are managed in a confused and disorderly Manner, so their Battles being utterly void of all Conduct, they act like wild Men; for they run headlong together with their whole Force upon the Enemy, by which Means they frequently are entirely routed.

16. In short, from my own Observation I conclude, that the great Share of Wisdom, Arts and Sciences, for which they are so highly extolled by many Writers, comes far short of the *Europeans*; though indeed some few *Chinese*, by the assiduous Diligence of the Jesuits, are instructed in the Mathematicks, Astronomy, and other Sciences; and therefore publish their Master's Fame to the World. The present *Ammologgan Kumbi*, or King of *China* and *Tartary*, is an East *Tartar*, or *Mongolian*, born at *Nieuchen*, near the River *Sagalien Oula*, or *Amoer*; he governs his Subjects very well, though he doth not heartily love the *Chinese*, but on all Occasions prefers his own Nation before them: And whenever a *Chinese* solicits to obtain any impor-

tant Post from the Chan, he is obliged to naturalize himself a *Mansur* or *Tartar*. Most of the Inhabitants within the Walls of *Peking* are *Tartars*, and the principal *Chinese* Markets and Goods are kept without in the Suburbs. All rich People keep a certain Number of Slaves for the Emperor's Service, for which they receive an annual Stipend from him; and these Men, in Time of War, are obliged to be kept ready armed, cloathed, and mounted on Horseback. The Jesuits who were at *Peking* when I was there were but eight; of which two were *Spaniards*, three *Portuguese*, two *Frenchmen*, and the last a *Roman*.

The *Chinese*, but especially the Courtiers, retain a very great Respect for these Fathers, and the other Ecclesiasticks; but the *Bonzies* look upon them somewhat obliquely. It must indeed be own'd, that the *Romish* Clergy discover a very great Zeal for the Propagation of their Religion. The *Russian* Nation hath also built a Church at *Peking*, and have converted and baptized several considerable Persons to the *Greek* Christian Religion. I do not think it at all necessary to touch on the Races of the Monarchs which have hitherto reigned in *China*, since the curious Part of the World may find an entire and exact List of them in the *Chinese* Chronology published by *Christian Menzelius*, Councillor and Physician of the Body to the King of *Prussia*, printed at *Berlin* in 1696.

As for what relates to the *Great Wall*, which encompasses Part of the Empire of *China*, I shall only add in short to what I have already said of it, that it is a prodigious Work, but not so much to be valued on account of any extraordinary Art shewn in the building of it, as the surprizing Labour and Expence employed in the erecting of it by the Emperor who raised it; for which the *Chinese* curse him to this Day, by reason he thereby thoroughly ruined the Empire. The Jesuit Father *Alexander* informed me, that by the Emperor's Order he travelled all along by this Wall, from the West where it begins, to the South-east, as far as the *Corfisken* Sea, and found it to be three hundred *German* Miles long, and had it stood all on a Level, it would certainly have stretch'd to four hundred Miles; but it is carried over several high Mountains, and hath four Entrances, viz. the *Leatongian*, *Daourian*, *Lelinger*, and *Tibetschian* Gates; besides which, it is so broad, that eight Horsemen may easily ride a-breast upon it.

I do not think it proper to offer any more Particulars concerning *China*, since my Residence there was not long, but desire the Reader favourably to accept this little, and give me Leave to refer him to the succinct Description annexed, in which he will find several Things very well worth his Attention.

17. It is very remarkable, that even in these Observations our Author very modestly excuses himself from the short Stay he made in *China*, and from his Manner of living there, as to giving any distinct, methodical and regular Account of that vast Empire and its Inhabitants. We very often meet with Writers, who, without having any of these Advantages, presume to enter into particular Descriptions of Countries and Nations, as if it were credible that in the Space of a few Months, a Man should either see, or hear, or read sufficient for that Purpose. There is another Thing no less extraordinary, our Author, though he is so circumstantial in every Thing that he says relating to both his Journeys, and to what passed at his several Audiences of the *Chinese* Emperor, yet he does not so much as drop a Syllable of the Business upon which he went. He says nothing of the Commission given him by their Czarish Majesties, of the Success of his Negotiation, or of the Advantages he procured thereby to the Court of *Russia*; and yet if he had been a vain Man, he might have done all this without any great Injury to Truth. A third Singularity there is which also deserves to be remembred. He acknowledges the Country to be one of the finest in the World; he admits that no body could be treated more politely, or with greater Respect than he was; but for all this he does not suffer himself to be led away with those fond and enthusiastical Notions with which many Travellers are possess'd, and to which the World owes

all those romantick and extravagant Stories they have been told of this Country and People.

The Character he gives of both is very simple, natural, and intilligible, and he gives it not with any Air of Sufficiency or Confidence, but barely as his own Sentiment, the Reception of which he leaves entirely to his Reader, after he shall have examined it with the like Care and Candour with which it was delivered. It must seem not a little strange to such as have read other Descriptions of this Country, to find our Author advancing two Things that seem to be directly opposite to all we have ever heard of this Empire and its Inhabitants. The first is, that the *Tartars* are wiser and more polite; the second, that the *Chinese* have naturally more Probity than the *Tartars*. But notwithstanding this, many Reasons may be alledged in Support of our Author's Opinions, and perhaps it will not fatigue the Reader much if we mention two or three. In the first Place let it be considered, that the *Chinese* were so much attached to their old Laws and Customs, that without regarding either the original Motives upon which they were established, or how far they were agreeable to that Situation of Affairs which the Changes and Revolutions that all Things, great and small, are liable to in this World, bring about, they persisted with inflexible Firmness, or rather incorrigible Obstinacy, in supporting them, without the smallest Alteration, from a Notion that any Thing of this Kind was the highest Instance of Impiety.

The *Tartars*, though they very wisely adopted the *Chinese* Constitution as the fittest for that Country, and by which alone it could be governed, yet they would never submit to this Notion of unalterable Laws; but on the contrary, made no Scruple of changing what either Reason inclined them to think wrong, or Experience had taught them to be so; and to this their Intercourse with other Nations, their opening their Ports to all Strangers without Distinction, and their sending and receiving Ministers, are so many incontestable Instances. Whoever considers these Points with any Degree of Attention, will very plainly perceive that our Author had Reason to prefer the Policy and civil Prudence of the *Tartars* to that of the *Chinese*.

Another, and yet a stronger Argument of the Justice of this Preference, may be taken from the History of the two Minorities which happened in this Empire immediately after the last Conquest of it by the *Tartars*. *Tsong té*, who subdued *China*, died in the Year 1644, almost as soon as he was seated on the Throne, and left the Empire to his Son *Chun tchi*, who was but six Years old, and confided the Care of the young Prince to his Brother *Ama van*. One would have imagined that this must have been fatal to a new and half established Government; and not only our Histories, but even those of the *Chinese*, by which I mean the natural and native Inhabitants of that Country, seem to confirm this. But it proved quite otherwise, the Protector finished the Conquest of *China* in the Space of about eight Years, without the least Prejudice to the Authority of his Nephew, and upon his Death the Administration was put into the Hands of his younger Brother, with the Assistance of a Council, in which it did not continue long.

They perceived very clearly that this kind of Rule was by no Means suited either to the *Tartar* or to the *Chinese* Constitution, and therefore with a Wisdom and Honesty of which there is scarce any Parallel to be met with in History, they laid down the Ensigns of their Power, and desired the young Emperor, who was then about fourteen, to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands. This was another Crisis that would have been fatal in almost any other Country, but it was favourable here, and the Emperor governed for ten Years with great Wisdom and Capacity.

Upon his Death succeeded *Cang Hi* his Son, who was no more than eight Years old, and according to the Direction of the deceased Emperor, the Regency was put into the Hands of four of the principal Ministers, and one would naturally apprehend, that this must have proved the Source of private Cabals, of various Factions, and in a short Space of Time of Discord and

Confusion. Yet nothing like this happened, the Council of Regency acted not only with Prudence and Unanimity, but what was more extraordinary still, with the utmost Vigour; they found that there were some Disorders in the State that needed Redress, that the Power of the Eunuchs was become too great, and that there was just Ground to fear, that the Emperor being a Child, these Evils might increase, or which was worse, might grow irremediable. To prevent which, they without Hesitation, cut off the Guilty, removed all suspicious Persons, and by maintaining a wise and virtuous Conduct at Court, gave a good Example to the *Tartars* and *Chinese* in general. But as this kind of Government is never submitted to in that Country, from any other Motive than Necessity, so this Emperor, like his Father, was very early called to the sole Management of the Affairs of his Empire, to which he showed himself always equal, as well in the tender Years of his Youth, as in his declining Age.

It was to him that our Author was sent, and he governed no less than threescore Years, in which Time he gave all the Marks of a truly great Genius. At the Entrance of his Reign, the *Chinese* rebelled, and it cost a long and bloody War to reduce them. The Emperor appeared in those Days rigorously severe, or rather cruel; he punished the smallest Faults with Death, gave a constant Preference to the *Tartars*, and expressed a strong Diffidence and Dislike to the *Chinese*. Under such a Prince, it might have been apprehended, that the Empire would have been very unhappy; it fell out quite otherwise, his Severity made every Body attentive and circumspect, the *Chinese* were glad to abandon their own and affect the *Tartar* Customs, that they might become agreeable to the Emperor, who in the Midst of his Severity had a strict Regard to Justice. When he saw that the Empire was thoroughly settled, the two Nations perfectly incorporated, and the rising Generation for the most part *Tartars* in Habit; and Manners he let fall his Severity by Degrees, and for the last thirty Years of his Life was acknowledged to be the mildest and justest Prince that ever sat upon that Throne. His Son and Successor proves as extraordinary a Monarch in every Respect, and this by the Confession of the Missionaries, notwithstanding that he has driven them not only from the Court, but in some Measure out of his Dominions. He has taken Pains to reform all the Abuses in the several Provinces of his Empire, applies himself wholly to the Cares of Government, receives every Memorial that is offered to him, reads and gives Answers to them all; such a Succession of Princes does Honour to a Nation. It is almost without Example in the *Chinese* Annals, and therefore it is a convincing Argument of our Author's Penetration, with Respect to the Superiority in Point of political Talents, of the *Tartars* over the *Chinese*.

A third Proof of this may be taken from their Conduct towards Foreigners. Before the Time of their becoming Masters of *China*, it was very difficult indeed, almost impossible for Strangers to find Admittance at the Imperial Court; that is now quite altered, and as these Travels plainly shew us, a Minister from a *European* Court is not only received and treated with Respect at *Peking*, but allowed to negotiate whatever Business he comes about as at any other Court. It is very true, that this is not only contrary to the old Customs of the *Chinese*, but is so very disagreeable to their Humour, that they never cease to oppose it, as much as in them lies; so that nothing but the Emperor's absolute Authority could get the better of their Obstinacy in this Respect, which very strongly confirms the Truth of his Observation.

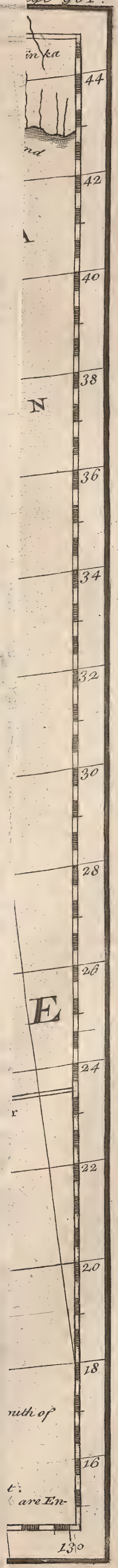
It is remarkable that our Author gives the Title of *Bogdoy Khan* to the Emperor of *China*, but he does not explain the Reason of this, and therefore it is fit we should. The *Russians* called those *Tartars* who are now Masters of *China*, *Bogdoyes*, and therefore it is natural

for them to preserve that Way of speaking, with Respect to the *Tartar* Emperor, though he now resides in and governs *China*. Many of our modern Writers call these *Tartars*, *Manseurs*, which is only a barbarous Corruption of that Appellation, which they have bestowed upon themselves, and which in their own Language is written *Man tcheou*; and this is no more than the proper Name of the Father of that great Conqueror by whose Valour and Prudence they were established in *China*, and is a Mark of the Reverence and Respect which this whole Nation bear to his Memory. We may observe, that this Custom of calling themselves by the Name of some particular Person, from a Principle of Gratitude has been common in most of the Nations of the East, but has been particularly so amongst the *Tartars*, and like many other of their Customs, prevails through all their Tribes, how remote soever in Point of Relation or of Residence.

We have an Instance of this among the *Crim Tartars*, which as it is singular and curious, I will relate for the Amusement of the Reader. The reigning Family in that Country was, about a Century ago, by civil Wars, reduced into very distressed Circumstances, so that at Length there remained only one Heir Male, and he was concealed and bred up privately in the House of a very mean Person. The *Mirza's* or *Tartar* Chiefs, that had thus got rid of their *Khans* or supreme Lords, fell out amongst themselves, and by their Feuds, the whole Country came to be filled with Blood and Confusion. To remedy this, a general Council was called, in which both Princes and People lamented the Loss of the Royal Family, and confessed that they were justly punished by these dreadful Effects of their own Disobedience. The old Man, who had bred up the only surviving Prince in his House, took this Occasion to produce him, and he was immediately acknowledged *Khan*, and his Successors have governed *Crim-Tartary* to this Day: So great a Service demanded an extraordinary Reward, and the *Khan* offered his kind Protector to do for him whatever he pleased. The old Man whose Name was *Guirey*, only desired that his might become the Surname of the Royal Family, which was readily complied with, and all the Princes of the Blood Royal of *Tartary* bear it accordingly.

But to return to the *Tartars* that are in Possession of *China*; they are properly stiled *Moungals* or *Nieucheu Moungals*, to distinguish them from the *Calcha Moungals*. By these Words there is nothing more understood than Eastern and Western *Moungals*, and this in Respect to the Situation of their Countries with Regard to *China*. The former of these Nations, viz. the *Nieucheu Moungals* were, as we have shewn in another Place, once before Masters of that Empire, out of which they were driven by the native *Chinese*, Anno Dom. 1368. At present they have not only recovered the Dominion of this extensive Empire, but have also brought the Western *Moungals* to be dependant upon them, which the old *Chinese* Emperors could never bring to pass.

Our Author, that he might to the utmost oblige his Readers, and make his Work as perfect as they could desire it, thought proper to add to it a Description and History of *China*, written by a Christian Native, one *Dennis Koo*, who was a Surgeon by Profession in his own Country, and had also practised his Profession in several Parts of the *East-Indies*. The Reason that induced Mr. *Everard Ysbrant Ides* to do this, was the Succinctness and Accuracy of that Performance, which, that he might render the more useful, he procured Remarks and Observations upon it, to be collected from the most esteemed Works that were extant, and by this Means, made it, without extending it too much, a very compleat Thing, as we hope the Reader will allow upon perusing it, as it stands in the next Sections, with some additional Remarks, distinguished by inverted Commas.







SECTION V.

A Geographical Description of the extensive Empire of *China*, and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided. In which is contained a succinct View of the Situation, Bounds, Produce, remarkable Curiosities, and whatever else is worthy of Notice in each Province, taken entirely from the Writings of the *Chinese* themselves, and more especially from their authentick Records and natural Histories penned by Direction of the State; with such incidental Accounts of their Antiquities and of the personal History of the most famous Emperors, Heroes, Statesmen, and Philosophers, as have been born or flourished in any of those Provinces through the Course of many Ages.

By DIONYSIUS KAO, a Native of China. Illustrated with many curious Observations and Remarks drawn from the best Authors who have treated of the Affairs of this Empire, both ancient and modern.

1. An Introductory Account of the Author of this Work, and of the Nature, Accuracy, and Usefulness of the Work itself.
2. A general Description of the vast Empire of China, and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided.
3. The Province of Peking, and the Imperial City of the same Name, particularly described.
4. A large Account of the Great Wall, with Remarks thereupon from several Authors.
5. A Description of the Province of Xantung, and of the famous Philosopher Confucius, who was a Native of this Province.
6. The Province of Xanzi, with an Account of the great River Huangó, and other Curiosities in that District.
7. Of the Kingdom of Xienxi, with some Account of the Progress made both by the Christian and Mahometan Religions in that Empire.
8. The Province of Honan described, with an Account of the Manner in which the chief City, and most other Places of Note, were destroyed, and remain still in a ruined Condition.
9. Of the Province of Leatung, and of the original Inhabitants before it made a Part of the Chinese Dominions.
10. An Account of the Conquest of China by the Tartars for the last Time.
11. A copious Description of the Province of Nanking, and of the famous City of that Name, formerly the Capital of the Empire.
12. The Province of Chekiang, and the Cities therein described.
13. Of the Province of Kiangsi, including the History of Porcelain or China-ware, as formerly given by the Missionaries.
14. A copious Description of the Province of Huquang, including several other remarkable Particulars.
15. An Account of the Province of Suchuen, which is the smallest in the Empire.
16. Of the Province of Queicheu, and of the Number of Cities therein, and the Commodities for which the Country about them is famous.
17. The Kingdom of Junan described, with Remarks upon the Accidents that have befallen it.
18. An Account of the Province of Quoangsi, the Manner in which it became annexed to the Empire.
19. A copious Description of the Province of Quoangtung, or Canton, with some very curious Particulars relating both to Civil and Natural History.
20. The noble Kingdom of Fokien described, and the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Chinese.
21. A Digression, containing the History of the Island of Formosa, the Conquest of it by the Chinese Fugitives from the Dutch.
22. The present State and Condition of the Province of Fokien.
23. Of the Boundaries and Distances of the several Kingdoms and Provinces of China; the Division of them into Inland and Maritime, larger and less; the whole intended as a Supplement to the Author's Description.
24. The political Anatomy of the Chinese Empire, from an Italian Manuscript.
25. Remarks and Observations Historical, Physical, and Philosophical, upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

THERE is scarce a Country in the World, that laying all Things together, deserves to be so perfectly known, as this which our Author has described; and for this Reason, without all Doubt, so many Pens have been exercised in making Descriptions; there are, however, three Particulars that seem to recommend this of our Author in an extraordinary Degree; the first is, that being a native *Chinese*, and bred up to Letters, he must have had greater Opportunities both with respect to Books and Conversation, of knowing his own Country than any Stranger, much less any Traveller could pretend to, and at the same Time must be less liable to commit Mistakes, even supposing he set Things down as they occurred to him, than they could be with all the Circumspection and Care in the World. In the next Place, as he had studied Physick, practised as a Sur-

geon, and had travell'd from Province to Province for many Years amongst the Christians, he must have had great Opportunities of seeing Things; that is, must have improved his Knowledge and Judgment very much. Lastly, his Description, after being often reviewed by his Excellency Mr. *Ysbrants Ides*, was judged to be the best he had seen, and seems to have appeared such in the Eyes of others, since it was translated into *Latin* and *High Dutch*, before it was printed in *Low Dutch*, with the Remarks that are now added to it, by the Care, and under the Direction of the famous Mr. *Witzen*. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that it was penned about the Year 1694, and that the Author, who also wrote several other Pieces, was esteemed a very worthy, honest, and pious Man, and appears to have written very impartially without any overweening Fondness for his Countrymen, or slavish Dependence upon the Jesuits.

What

What Additions were necessary have been very carefully added by the *Dutch* Editor himself, and we have also taken Pains to improve these as far as we were enabled to do it from subsequent Accounts, only as to the *Chinese* Orthography we must own ourselves not a little at a Loss, there being as yet no Rules fixed that can enable us to reduce the different Ways of Spelling, to any rational Standard; only this we know, that as the *Chinese* use none Monosyllables, later Writers generally follow that Method, though our Author seems to have neglected it for the Sake of keeping near the *Portuguese* Pronunciation.

2. This extensive potent Empire comprehends fifteen Provinces, which may more properly be called Kingdoms: For before they were united under one Head, above three thousand Years past, each of them had its peculiar King: As at present every Province hath its Viceroy, all which are subordinate to one supreme Sovereign the Emperor. The Province of *Leaotong*, though situate without the great Wall, is also reckoned amongst the rest, and passeth for the Sixteenth.

“*Nieuboff* places this Province within the Wall, in his Map affixed to the Relation of his Travels, and is herein followed by *Martinus Martini*; but are both clearly refuted by the convincing Testimony of our Author. The Jesuits *Le Comte*, *Bouvet*, and *Gobien*, unanimously confirm our Author's Assertion, they all affirming that the Province of *Leaotong* is only separated from part of *Corea* by an Arm of the Sea, and is on that Side of the Great Wall, viz. the Side on which *Corea* is: Though Father *Martinus* the Jesuit, in his *Chinese* Atlas hath not placed it on that Side, but within the Wall, and thereby misled almost all the Geographers since, they having very industriously continued his Blunder.

“Formerly all Authors reckoned but fifteen *Chinese* Provinces; but after the *Leaotungers* assisted the *Tartars* in the Conquest of *China*, that became one of the Provinces of that Empire, and doth accordingly enjoy all the Privileges of that Nation.

“*Le Comte* speaks yet plainer on this Head. The Geographers (saith he) are grossly mistaken in their Accounts of *China*. First they place the whole Province of *Leaotong* on this Side of the Great Wall; though it is certain that it lies not within, but without it; notwithstanding which it always belonged to *China*. This is an undoubted Truth, to be satisfied in which no more is requisite than to have been on the Spot as well as we.

“And yet farther he goes on, I do not take in as belonging to it (he is speaking of *China*) the Islands of *Formosa*, *Hanan*, and several others, which united would make a great Monarchy, any more than *Leaotong*, which lies without the Great Wall.”

These Provinces are divided into North and South.

The North (under which is also *Leaotong*) are *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Xansi*, *Xienshi*, and *Honan*, in all six. And the South Kingdoms or Provinces are the following ten: viz. *Nanking*, *Chekiang*, *Kianshi*, *Huquang*, *Suchuen*, *Queicheu*, *Junan*, *Quoangsi*, *Quoantung* or *Canton*, and *Fokien*.

Besides these, several Kings and Kingdoms are obliged to pay their annual Tribute to the Emperor of *China*: Of which Number are *Tunkin*, *Cochinchina*, *Laos*, *Liukin*, and *Chaoftien*. The two last of these, are Islands, situate very near *Japan*. *Corea*, *Japan*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, were also formerly subject to this Empire, though not at present. I design to describe all these Provinces and neighbouring tributary Kingdoms separately, and geographically, as they butt and bound East and West, North and South, as briefly as possible.

Peking lies East of *Xansi*, as *Xansi* does West of *Peking*, and the Great Wall serves as a Northern Boundary common to them both.

Xantung is Southwards of *Peking*, and Northwards of *Nanking*; it borders Eastwards on the Sea, and Westwards on *Honan*.

Xansi, as is above hinted, lies Westwards of *Peking*, Eastwards of *Xienshi*, Southwards of *Honan*, and bounds Northwards on the Great Wall.

Xienshi the largest of all the sixteen Provinces, is situate West of *Xansi*, Eastwards of West *Tartary*, whence the *Lama's* come; Southwards of *Suchuen*; and Northwards of the *Tartars* at the End of the Great Wall. And the Source of the yellow River *Hoango* is also in the West part of this Province.

Honan is in the Middle of *China*, butting towards the South on *Huquang* and *Kiangsi*; Northwards on *Peking* and *Xansi*; Eastwards on *Xantung* and *Nanking*; and Westwards on *Suchuen* and *Xienshi*.

Leaotong borders Northwards on *Xantung*, which declines Southward from it; Eastwards it is opposite to *Corea*; it extends also Southwards to the Great Wall, and Northwards to *Tartary*.

Nanking is bounded by *Chekiang* on the South, and *Xantung* on the North; it stretches Westwards to *Honan* and *Huquang*, and Eastwards to the Ocean.

Chekiang touches on *Nanking*, from which it lies Northwards, as it doth to the South of *Fokien*; the Sea washes it Eastwards; and Westwards of it lies *Kiangsi*.

Kiangsi borders Eastwards on *Chekiang* and *Fokien*; Westwards on *Queicheu* and *Honan*; Southwards on *Quantung*, and Northwards on *Nanking*.

Huquang is bounded Northwards by *Honan*; Southwards by *Quantung*; Westwards by *Suchuen* and *Queicheu*; and Eastwards by *Kiangsi*.

Suchuen butts Eastwards on *Huquang*; Westwards on *Tibet*; Northwards on *Xienshi*; and Southwards on *Queicheu*, and *Junan*.

Queicheu lies Northwards almost on *Quansi*; Southwards on *Suchuen*; Eastwards on *Huquang*, and Westwards on *Junan*.

Junan looks Eastwards and Southwards to *Quoangsi*; Southwards to *Gannan*; Westwards to *Laos*, and Northwards to *Suchuen* and *Queicheu*.

Quoangsi or *Quamsi* hath *Quoantung* on the East; *Cochinchina* on the South; *Junan* on the West, and *Queicheu* on the North.

Quoantung or *Canton* is bounded on the East and North by *Fokien*, on the West by the *Yellow Sea*; farther Northwards by *Quoangsi*, and Southwards by the Ocean.

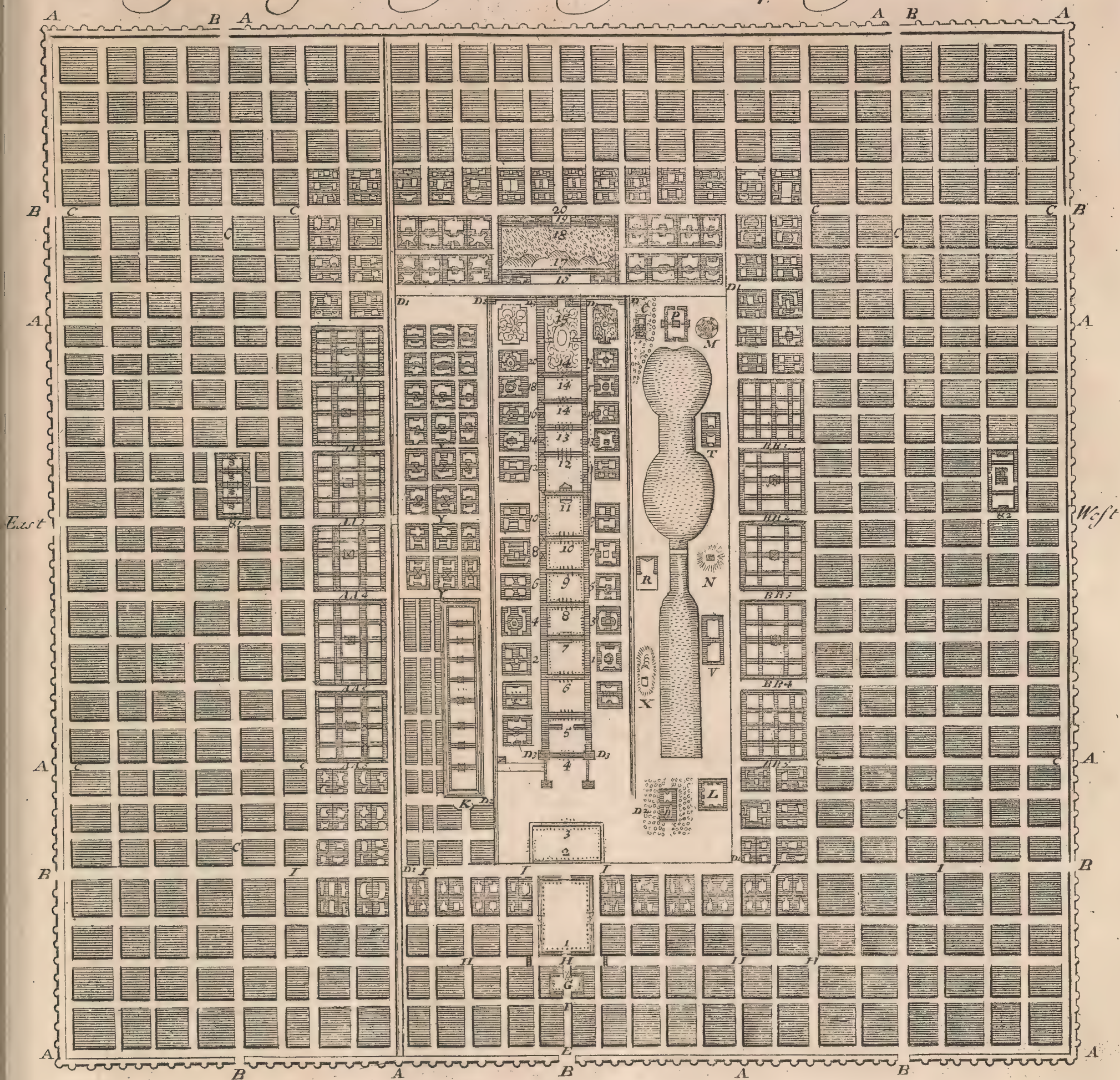
Fokien looks on the East and South-East to the Sea, and the Island of *Formosa*; Westwards of it lies *Kianshi*; Southwards *Canton*, and Northwards *Chekiang*.

3. *Peking* is a Royal Province, subordinate to which are nine lesser Provinces, or great Cities, with their dependant Districts, all which are distinguished by the additional Name of *Fu*. And these nine large have sixteen lesser Cities subjected to their Jurisdiction, which are also distinguished from them by the Appellative of *Cheu*; and the less considerable Places which are under the Government of the last Sort are denominated *Hien*.

The first Imperial City of this Province is *Xuntien Fu*, otherwise called *Peking*; it hath twenty six other Cities subjected to its Jurisdiction.

“*Xuntien Fu* is the ancient and true Name of this City; but since the Seat of the Empire was transplanted from *Nanking* to this Place, it hath assumed the Name of *Peking*; which imports the *North-Court*, as *Nanking* signifies the *South*. We shall speak of the Courts presiding at *Nanking* in our Description of that Province and City. This Metropolis however very justly lays claim to two Names, it being at present grown into two Cities, a new one being built near the old one: For when the *Tartar* established himself on the Throne, he so crowded this Place with such Numbers of his own Nation, that the *Chinese* were necessitated to build a new City without the Walls of the old one. This new built Town is full as large as the ancient one, which last is a perfect Square, of about four Miles Compass, and being inhabited by *Tartars* alone, is called the *Tartar City*: The new Town is as big as the other, but more populous, and is called the *Chinese City*: And both of them take up the Compass of six large Miles about, each Mile being reckoned at 3600 Paces, as appeared when it was measured by the Emperor's

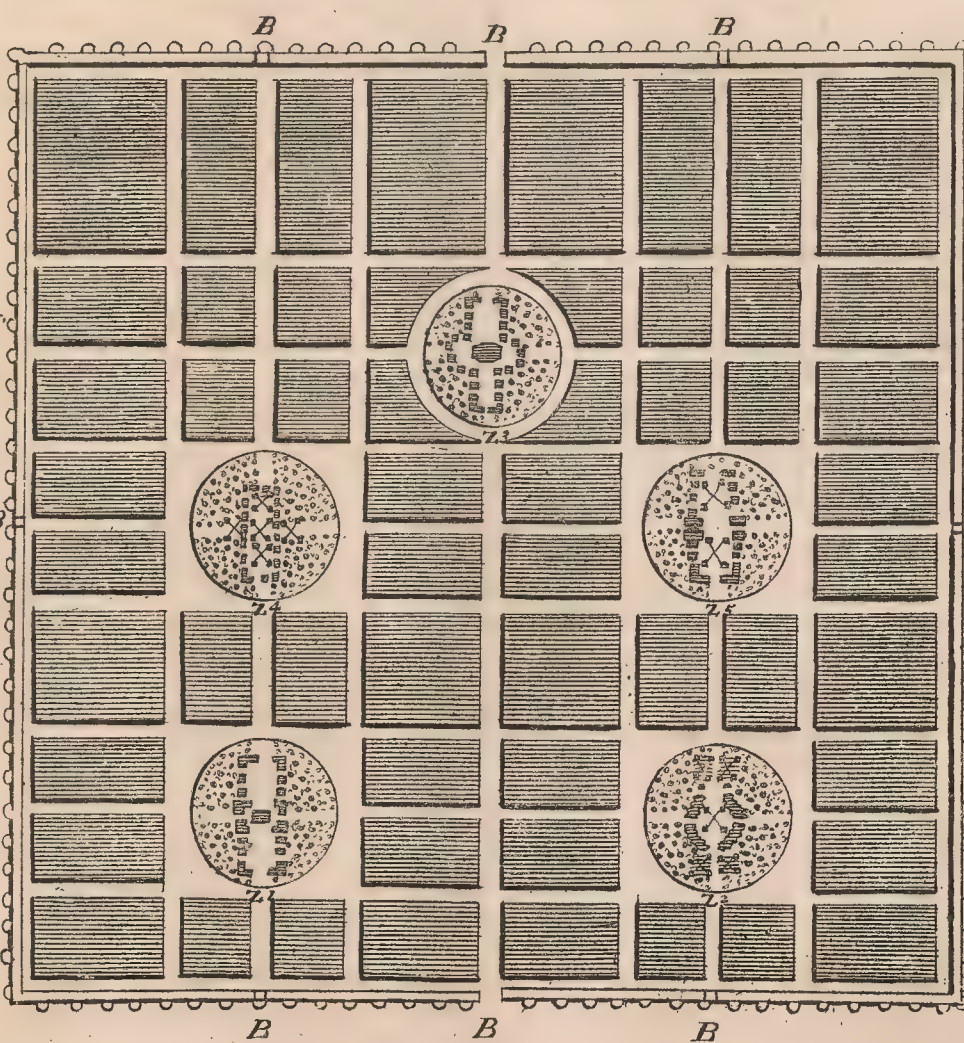
PLANS of the Old & New City of PEKING & Metropolis of CHINA.



A Scale of 10 Chinese furlongs wth amount to 2730 Geometrical Paces one Chinese furlong making 273 Geometrical Paces

An EXPLANATION of the Plans of the City of PEKING

- A The Walls of the ancient City of Peking near 4 leagues in Circuit.
- B The 9 Gates of the same Wall.
- C The Streets of the City.
- D₁ The first Inclosure of the Palace in 10 leagues in Circuit.
- D₂ The second Inclosure.
- D₃ The third Inclosure where the Emperor resides.
- E The south and principal Gate of the City.
- F The first street wth you pass through upon your entrance into the City.
- G A Palace inclosed with a Marble Balustrade.
- H The second street wth two Triumphal Arches.
- I The first Apartment.
- 1 The street of perpetual repose.
- 2 A Apartment wth is the first within the outer inclosure of the Palace.
- 3 3^d called the Portal of the beginning.
- 4 4th The second Inclosure.
- 5 5th Called the Supreme Portal.
- 6 6th Called the supreme Imperial Hall.
- 7 7th Called the Hall thrice exalted.
- 8 8th Called the Supreme Hall in the Middle.
- 9 9th The Hall of sovereign Concord where the Emperor sits in Council wth his Collas.
- 10 10th The Portal of Heaven.
- 11 11th The Mansion of Heaven in wth and 12th next the Emperor lodges himself.
- 12 12th The Beautiful House.
- 13 13th The House which receives Heaven.
- 14 14th Courts and Gardens.
- 15 15th The last of the Inner Inclosure.



- 16 16th The High raised Portal on the south side with a place to manage Horses.
- 17 17th The Park and artificial Mountain.
- 18 18th Consisting of three Houses.
- 19 19th The Portal on the north side.
- 20 20th The Inclosure called 1/2 Portal of repose.
- 21 21st Are 20 particular places belonging to the Emperor for several uses.
- K The first Palace between the two Inclosures.
- L The second Palace.
- M 3 Palace upon the Lake.
- N 4 Palace upon a Mountain.
- O 5 Palace near the Lake.
- P 6 Palace near the Lake.
- BQ 7 Palace.
- R 8 Palace of the Fortrefs.
- S 1 Temple of 4 within 1/2 Palace.
- T 2 Temple.
- V 3 Temple.
- X 4 Temple.
- Y 24 Places for the Mandarin.
- Z 5 Temples in 1/2 new City marked 1 2 3 4 5.
- 8 1 Temple in the Old City.
- 8 2 Temple in the Old City.
- AA The 6 Tribunals marked 1 2 3 4 5 6 wth AA.
- BB The 5 Tribunals of 1/2 military Mandarins.

South

“ peror’s exprefs Command : It is indeed a large City,
“ but not to be compared to *Nanking*.

The Second, *Junging Fu*, hath fix Cities under her Command.

The Third, *Cbinding Fu*, hath twenty fix Cities.

The Fourth, *Quoamping Fu*, prefides over fix Cities.

The Fifth, *Thiemming Fu*, is chief of eleven Cities.

The Sixth, *Funming Fu*, governs fix.

The Seventh, *Hokien Fu*, governs feven.

The Eighth, *Paoding Fu*, ten Cities.

The Ninth, *Xunte Fu*, hath nine inferior Cities.

From this Rule, Superiority, and Power, which the great Cities as well in this, as in all the following Provinces, have over the leffer, though large and populous Cities, plainly difcover the Ability of each Province, and taken together difplay the vaft extended Power of this moft glorious Monarchy.

The Soil of this Province is not very fertile in any Thing but Corn, yet even of this it doth not yield fufficient to fupply its own Neceffities ; but is obliged to be furnifhed with what falls fhort in their own Growth, from other Countries.

Formerly *Nanking* was the Metropolis and Imperial Seat : But the Incurfions and Outrages of the neighbouring *Tartars*, occafioned the Removal of the Imperial Court to *Peking*, in order to be nearer the Great Wall and the Enemy.

“ The Emperors of the laft Race before the *Tartarian Manchou* (the Family or Nation which now reigns in *China*, and of which the prefent Emperor *Canghy* is the third) translated the Seat of the Empire to *Peking*, for the Reason hinted by our Author, that the Troops of the Houfhould being feveral thoufand ftrong, might be immediately ready and near the Enemy : But neither this Precaution, nor the Great Wall, of which we fhall fpeak prefently, could prevent their being forced, or rather hinder Prince *Tfon tè* (who was invited into *China* to oppofe a Tyrant and Ufurper) from eftablifhing himfelf on one of the moft auguft Thrones in the World.

4. This Wall, which is of a prodigious Length and Thicknefs, was built above 260 Years paft, by the *Chinefe* Emperor *Chien Churvoang*, by Way of Provision againft the Incurfions of the neighbouring *Tartars* ; and accordingly it covers the three Provinces of *Peking*, *Xanfi* and *Xienfi*. This Wall, exactly meafured with a Line, in Length is above fix hundred and fifty *French* Miles, or Hours travelling ; (and by the Way the Reader is defired to take all Miles mentioned in this Tract for *French* Miles of an Hour’s March each.) But if all its crooked Windings were meafured it would appear to be above one thoufand Miles long ; it being carried over very fteep Mountains and Rocks. Upon the higheft of thefe it is provided with Fortreffes and Towers, four of which are placed within the Space of every Mile throughout the whole. Befides all which it is full broad enough for eight Horfes to gallop abreaft without any Danger.

“ This Wall is reported to be built by the Emperor *Chius*, about 250 Years before the Birth of Chrift ; to the Performance of which fuch a vaft Number of Men were allotted, that the whole was finifhed within the Space of five Years, and was fo extraordinary firm, that no Nail could be driven into it. To raife Men for this great Work, that Monarch abfolutely commanded throughout his Dominions, that three out of every ten Men fhould work at it, and afterwards two out of every five were compelled to labour at this Undertaking : It is alfo faid, that though the Inhabitants of each Province wrought as near their own Abode as they could, yet either by the Length of their Journey, or the Difference of the Climates, almoft all thofe employed in this Building died fuddenly ; which raifed a Tumult in the Empire, that proceeded fo far as to murder the Emperor and his Son *Agutzi*, in the Fortieth Year of his Reign.

“ The *Jefuits*, who enjoy the Ear and Favour of the Emperor, are very expert in the Art of Menfuration,

“ as their printed Books difcover ; amongst thefe are the above-mentioned *Le Comte*, *Bobet*, and *Gobien*, and they tells us that the moft formidable Enemies the *Chinefe* ever feared were the *Western Tartars* ; wherefore an ancient *Chinefe* Emperor built this Great Wall to keep them off.

“ I have (faith *Le Comte*) four times traced and obferved it, very near Hand, and without any Hyperbole dare aver, that the feven Wonders of the World are not to be compared to it, and that Fame reprefents it lefs in *Europe* than I found it to be.

“ Two Particulars, continues he, furprized me very much.

“ I. That this Wall, in its long Extent from Eaft to Weft, is in feveral Places carried not only directly thro’ vaft and defolate Plains, but alfo over very high Mountains ; over which it feems to advance by flow Degrees, the intermediate Vacancies betwixt being ftrengthened with great Towers, which ftand about two Bow Shot diftant from each other. I meafured the Height of one of thefe, and found it one thoufand feven and thirty Geometrical Feet above the Horizontal Line ; and it is not eafy to conceive how fuch a prodigious Bulwark could be raifed to fuch a Height, in dry mountainous Places, to which Water, Stone, Lime, and all other Materials, muft of Neceffity be brought from Places far diftant.

“ II. That this Wall is not carried on in a direct Line, but in feveral Places winds and turns, according as the Shape of the Hills required, fo that one would be apt to fay, that three Walls inftead of one, cover a great Part of *China*.

He farther faith, “ That the *Chinefe* have exceeded the Antients in Fortification ; that they call this Wall *Vauli Tcham Tchun*, that is, of ten thoufand Furlongs : That its Extent is from the Oriental Sea to the Province of *Xanfi* or *Chanfi* : That though it is certain that it is not fo long as Report makes it, yet all the Turnings and Windings confidered, it cannot be much lefs than five hundred Miles long : That where-ever it feemed moft eafy to be forced, two or three Ramparts are clapped up one behind the other, fo that the hindmoft can eafily contribute to the Defence of the foremoft : That it is carried over the higheft Hills, or raifed or funk in Proportion to the uneven Ground it ftands on ; for (faith he) it is not to be imagined that it is every where level, but that whenever it takes its Courfe over lofty Mountains, it is extraordinary high, but otherwife it doth not exceed the Height of common City Walls ; and notwithstanding Writers fo widely difagree about its Breadth, it is not above five or fix Foot.

He adds, “ That it is built with Brick, but the Work fo good, that though it hath ftood fo many Ages, it is yet found and almoft intire. That as this Undertaking was the greateft in the World, it was alfo the moft ridiculous Attempt that ever was made, for admitting, that Prudence obliged the moft feafible Inlets to be fhut up, and fortified, it is nevertheless abfurd, to raife a Wall to thofe Mountain Tops which are fo high, that a Bird can fcarce fly over them, much lefs could the *Tartarian* Troops climb them, and to leave fome Places fo low and defencelefs as they are. It is indeed to be wondered at, how they found fuch excellent Artifts and proper Instruments, to convey the Materials fo high ; and more Workmens Lives were facrificed in this Building, than the utmoft Outrages of the *Tartarian* Armies would ever have killed them.

5. The Kingdom or Province of *Xantung* lies Southwards of *Peking*, and extends Eaftward towards the Sea ; and through this Province, or that of *Leaotung*, the Inhabitants of *Corea* bring their annual Tribute to *China*. The Soil is fertile, producing all Sorts of Corn and Fruits in fuch Plenty, that one Year’s Crop is fufficient to provide the Inhabitants of this Country for ten Years. All Sorts of Edibles, tending to the Support of Luxury, as well as fupplying Neceffity, bear but a very low Price here ; and this Province abounding with Rivers, Canals, and Lakes, this is the Rea-

son that Fish is here prodigious plenty; as also the Flesh of all Sorts of tame and wild Beasts. Nor are the Silk-worms backward in yielding great Quantities of Silk. But withal, this Country is more infested with Robbers and Thieves than the other Provinces of *China*, and they herd together in such Numbers, that they can raise a small Army. Subordinate to this are six great Cities, distinguished by the additional Appellative of *Fu*, the Signification of which is explained above.

And subject to these six are fifteen lesser Towns, distinguished under the Title of *Cheu*, under which are eighty nine yet lesser, called *Hien*.

The principal City is *Zinan Fu*, which hath under its Jurisdiction four *Cheu*, and sixteen *Hien*, which have again twenty under their Command.

The second large City is called *Junchu Fu*; it hath twenty four *Cheu*, and three and twenty *Hien*.

Tungchang Fu, the third large City, presides over three *Cheu*, and fifteen *Hien*.

Cbinceu Fu, the fourth, hath subordinate to it fourteen *Cheu*, and as many *Hien*.

Tengcheu Fu, the fifth great City, commands one *Cheu*, and seven *Hien*.

Laicheu Fu, the sixth, governs two *Cheu*, and five *Hien*: and these are the six great Cities of *Xantung*.

The most excellent *Chinese* Philosopher *Ciungfusius*, drew his first Breath in this Kingdom or Province.

This *Ciungfusius* or *Confutius*, left several Philosophical Tracts behind him, for which not only the *Chinese*, but also the neighbouring polite and knowing People, express the greatest Veneration, and carefully preserve them, as the most sacred and valuable Writings in the World; he is said to have flourished about five hundred Years before Christ. The *Chinese* so highly reverence him, that they bow down to the Ground at the very Sight of any Table or Plank, &c. dedicated to his Memory, and on which his Name is inscribed. Though indeed this Practice doth not always obtain, but at certain Solemnities, at certain Times and Places, that the Memory of such a learned Man and great Benefactor to Mankind may not die; to preserve which they make an Idol of him.

There are some small Islands which are also dependent on this Province, among which are the following three, *Feuxu*, *Xamuen*, and *Tenneng*, are the most considerable; and the last very remarkable for having five hundred *Chinese* Philosophers murdered there, though it is not so much rever'd on this Account as *Xantung* is for having given Birth to the great *Confutius*. The Story of that singular Massacre is this:

The Emperor *Xius* or *Cbi Hompti*, who built the great Wall (mentioned in the Description of *Peking*) being very much addicted to War, and an accomplished Soldier, but an utter Enemy to all Philosophers, whom he had peremptorily resolved to put to Death; commanded them all to repair from all Parts of his Kingdom to a particular Place, on the specious Pretext of discussing some very important Point; and they all being assembled together, he shipped them off to the mentioned Island, and caused them all to be murdered in a very inhuman Manner, though others say they drowned themselves. He was such an inveterate Enemy to all Literature, that he strictly commanded all his Subjects, on Pain of Death, to burn all the Books in the whole Empire, except only those which treated of Agriculture, Physick, and Necromancy or Magick.

Through this Province runs the River *Luen*, of which the Inhabitants relate very strange Things, many of which are found to be true.

"*Nieubof*, amongst other surprizing Things reports, "That if nine Sticks are thrown into it, six of them "will infallibly drive Southwards, and three to the "North; and that himself tried the Experiment and "found it succeed. *Sed credat qui vult*.

In this and other Provinces, is observed a Sort of Fishing Bird called *Louwa*, which is somewhat less than a Goose, and not unlike a Raven; having also a very crooked Bill towards the End. The Manner of Fishing with them is as follows: The Fishers having rowed themselves in their Boats to a proper Place, throw these Birds over-board, who immediately dive, and the very

Instant they have caught their Game, dart up to the Surface of the Water, when their Masters immediately seize them, and very expeditiously pull the Fish out of their Crops, it not being possible for it to descend lower, because it is stopped there by a Ring fix'd about the Bird's Neck, which is removed when the Sport is over, and the Birds let loose; after which they go a Fish-stealing with open Throats, and having satiated themselves, return to their Boats.

"*John Gonfales de Mendosa* says, they are fastened "under their Wings to a long Rope before they are "thrown into the Water, and that they fish every third "Day in the proper Season, after the Fish have spawn'd.

Near the City of *Cbincheu*, or *Junchu Fu*, a Stone called *Nieuboang*, is observed to grow in the Stomach of the Cows, which some take for a Sort of *Bezoar*, and is very highly esteemed by the *Chinese* Physicians, being an efficacious Remedy against Catarrhs, and other phlegmatick Disorders.

6. *Xansi* lies Westwards of *Peking*, extending Northwards to the Great Wall, and is divided into two Parts by a large rapid River which runs through it, though it rises in the Western Part of *Xiens*, from whence it turns Southwards, shortly after it winds to the North, and lastly inclining again Southwards, disembogues itself into the Sea.

"Writers differ very strangely concerning the Names "of this Province, City, River, &c. Our Author calls "the Province *Xansi*, another calls it *Cbansi*; the chief "City he names *Honang Fu*, others *Caifung*; he calls "the River *Huango*, another makes it *Hoamso*; and "there is also a Difference, though not a very wide "one, concerning its Source. *Le Comte* tells us, that "the *Hoamso* rises at the farther End of those Mountains which cover the West Part of the Province of "*Suchouen*; from whence it throws itself into *Tartary*, "where having run its Course without the Great Wall, "it repasses through it into *China*, betwixt the Provinces of *Cbansi* and *Cbens* (or *Xiens*), after which "it waters the Province of *Honang*, and running through "the Province of *Nanking*, having compleated its "Course of above 600 Miles, lastly empties itself, not "far distant from the large River *Kiam*, into the Oriental Sea.

It runs through four Provinces, beginning with West *Xiens* where it rises, and passes through that Side of that Province; after which it runs through *Xansi*, *Honan* and *Nanking*, where it falls into the Sea. The Breadth of this River in some Places is a French Mile, or a Mile and half, and in others, two Miles over; and by the Violence of its Tide, and Force of this great Mass of Waters, it very much damages the adjoining Lands, by sometimes overflowing not only particular Houses, but whole Villages and Cities, twenty or thirty Miles distant, sweeping before it Men, Cattle or whatever it finds. In the *Chinese* Language it is called *Huango*, which signifies the yellow River, by Reason the Water looks yellow or reddish, which is occasioned by its Passage over, and carrying along with it a Sort of yellow Earth on the *Tartarian* Mountains, that imparts its Tincture to it: For this River runs through Part of *Tartary* without the great Wall, and after taking a winding Course there, re-enters the Wall. It is in many Places very deep, but yet in most Parts of it unnavigable.

"This River hath formerly made vast Devastations, "and obliged the *Chinese* to keep off its Water, by "casting up high and strong Dikes or Banks; which "after all proved insufficient to the securing of the Cities from the ill Effects of its overflowing. Besides "which, the Cities in *Honang*, are all fenced round "about a Quarter of a Mile from the Town, to prevent an Inundation, in Case of this rapid River's breaking through all its Banks, as it did above fifty "Years since. For the Emperor, in order to raise the "close Siege laid to *Caifung*, the chief City of *Honang*, "by the Rebel *Libuang* (who had perfectly block'd it up "from all Relief,) and to confound his Army, caused "the Banks to be cut through. But their Delivery "proved more fatal to them, and did them more Mischief than the utmost Rage of the Enemy could: "For by that Means not only the City itself but al-

"most

“ most the whole Province, and several other Towns
 “ and Villages were laid under Water : So that above
 “ three hundred thousand Men, amongst which were
 “ several Missionaries, who had then a numerous Chri-
 “ stian Congregation in the said City, were all drowned
 “ and destroyed, losing at once both their Church and
 “ their Lives.

“ *Le Comte* saith, I have sailed on several Parts of
 “ this River, and found it every where broad and rapid,
 “ but shallow, and scarce Navigable.”

This Country is very mountainous, and though less
 than other Provinces, yet it is very populous and fertile ;
 its Jurisdiction extends over six *Fu*, eleven *Cheu*, and
 ninety five *Hien*.

The metropolitan City of the first large District is cal-
 led *Thayenfu* ; the second *Pautefu* ; the third *Pingiangfu* ;
 the fourth *Zuganfu* ; the fifth *Funcheufu*, and the sixth
Talingfu.

All these have several small subordinate Cities, which not
 affording any thing very remarkable, to avoid Prolixity
 I shall not enlarge on. But it is very observable, that in
 all Parts of this Province are found fiery Wells, which
 very conveniently serve for the Boiling of their Victuals
 in the following Manner : They cover them close with
 a Lid in which is left a Hole, to set the Kettle or Pot on,
 by which Means whatever is contained in it is boiled,
 without any other Assistance.

The valiant Warriour and great General *Quaninchang*,
 was born in this Province. This Hero had three bosom
 Friends all of them great Lords, who had sworn a mutual
 and inviolable Friendship, and to whom he proved very
 sincere and faithful. They were all three highly esteemed
 by the Emperor, but one of them was his peculiar Fa-
 vourite : And it happening that the Death of the Em-
 peror occasioned a Civil War, this Hero and the others
 endeavoured to set their Friend on the Throne ; in
 Pursuit of this End he several Times proved victorious,
 and won several Battles ; but it happening once that the
 Enemy had carried off his Friends Wives and their At-
 tendants ; the News no sooner reached his Ears, than
 with utmost Haste and equal Bravery, he reduced his
 Men to Order, beat the Enemy, and delivered the Cap-
 tive Ladies, and retired before and in Sight of a vast
 approaching Army, which pursued him close at the
 Heels for two Days and two Nights ; notwithstanding
 all which, he defended and preserved them from all
 Danger, and delivered them inviolate and untouched to
 his Friends. And for this glorious and gallant Action
 he is highly revered by his Countrymen ; in Remem-
 brance of such sublime Virtue they adore him as a God,
 and set up Images in their Idol Temples in Honour to
 him. It is but seldom that they will shew this Image,
 the Face of which is of a very deep Blood-Co-
 lour, like a Hero not debauch'd by *Bacchus*. And
 the military Men highly esteem that Sort of Counte-
 nance ; nay, the whole *Chinese* Nation imagine him
 very propitious to them, and fancy that such a fiery
 flaming Face will inspire them with Valour, and enable
 them to acquit themselves well.

7. *Xienfi* or *Xenfi*, is the largest of all the *Chinese*
 Provinces, and had formerly three Viceroy, though at
 present it hath but two. Its Breadth from East to West
 is three hundred and fifty, and its Length four hundred
 Miles. Its Plains as well as Hills are very fertile, and
 here are vast Herds of Kine, and large Flocks of Sheep.

“ This Province breeds as many Cattle of all Sorts as
 “ any Country in the World ; the Sheep and Goats
 “ come on so kindly, and thrive so well, that they are
 “ shorn thrice every Year, and their Wooll is wrought
 “ into very fine Cloths and Stuffs, fit for Cloathing or
 “ other Uses. This Country also produces great Quan-
 “ tities of Musk, which is extraordinary good, and
 “ grows at the Navel of an Animal like a Hart without
 “ Horns ; their Navels swell most in their Rutting-
 “ time, when they are taken and killed, the Navel,
 “ and what is contained in it is cut, and that proves
 “ the best unadulterated Musk ; a more particular Ac-
 “ count of which, illustrated with a Print, is inserted
 “ in *Mr Ysbrants Ides's Travels to China*.

This Province lies Westward of *Xanxi*, the Great
 Wall terminates in it ; it also borders on *West Tartary*,
 from whence the *Lama's* come, which are *Tartarian*
 Priests that wear yellow or red Habits.

“ The great or chief *Lama*, in their Language *Dalai*
 “ *Lama*, is the Head of their Religion, and him they
 “ honour as a Deity. When the first Embassy, sent by
 “ the *Dutch East India* Company to *China*, was at *Pe-*
 “ *king*, there was also an Envoy from him ; and by
 “ Reason, saith *Nieuboff*, they had formerly lived in
 “ *China* ; but before the *Tartar* had conquered that
 “ Empire, had been by the last *Chinese* Emperor driven
 “ out of it : Their Errand was then to request a Per-
 “ mission for the Return of their banish'd Ecclesiasticks
 “ on the old Foot, and a free Exercise of their Re-
 “ ligion.

This Province also borders on the upper Principality of
Tibet, which extends itself to the Territories of the *Great*
Mogul, from whose Dominions great Numbers of Mer-
 chants come to the vast trading City of *Zunning*, in the
 Kingdom of *Xienfi* : And the Door of Commerce being
 for some Time opened here, and Liberty granted to
 them, as well as *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, to trade there,
 they have with their Wares and Trade introduced the
Mahometan Religion, which, as Weeds grow apace, is
 spread over all *China* to that Degree, that there appears
 more of that accursed Seed than of the true Doctrine of
 Jesus Christ, which from Experience I speak with
 Sorrow.

In this Province are eight large Cities, which have an
 hundred and sixteen under their Jurisdiction. The
 principal City is *Sigan Fu*, which is not only large in
 Size, but also very fine ; the rest are *Hanchang Fu*, *Fun-*
giang Fu, *Pingliang Fu*, *Linxiu Fu*, *Vachang Fu*, *Hingang*
Fu, and *Singang Fu* ; these are the eight, subordinate to
 which, as I above hinted, are all the others.

Not far from *Sigan Fu*, somewhat above seventy Years
 ago, a monumental Table was found, upon which a
 Cross and several Letters were cut, whence the Eccle-
 siasticks prove, that the *Christian Religion* was anciently
 known in *China*, and that *St. Thomas* the Apostle, or
 some of his Disciples, were there.

“ The Jesuits *Kircher*, *Le Comte*, *Gobien*, and others,
 “ speak largely of this Cross and Table ; but I shall
 “ only make a short Extract of the principal Things
 “ which they treat of at full. They say then, that it is
 “ a long Marble Table, on the Top of which is engra-
 “ ven a Cross ; that in the Year 1625, some *Brick-*
 “ *layers* digging the Ground near *Signanfou*, in the Pro-
 “ vince of *Chienfi*, found a long Piece of Marble, which
 “ had formerly been set up as a Monument, but Time
 “ had sunk it under the Earth. This Stone was ten
 “ Feet long and five broad, and was the more narrowly
 “ examined, by Reason a well engraven large Cross ap-
 “ peared at the Top of it ; and somewhat below it a
 “ long Inscription in *Chinese* Characters, with some
 “ strange unknown Letters, which were found to be
 “ *Syriac*. The Emperor being informed of it, caused
 “ a Copy of it to be given out, and afterwards com-
 “ manded the Monument to be kept in a Pagode,
 “ where it is at present about a quarter of a Mile from
 “ *Signanfou*. The Inscription, which is too long to be
 “ transcribed here, mentions the *Messias*, and imports
 “ that an Angel brought the Tidings of his coming,
 “ and that *Olopouen* departed from *Judea* in the Year
 “ 636, and came to *China* ; that he being examined,
 “ his Testimony was found good, and that the Empe-
 “ ror published a Proclamation and Command in his
 “ Favour, in order to the building of a Church, &c.”

8. *Honan* is situated in the Middle of *China*, borders
 Southwards on the Provinces *Huquang* and *Kiansi* ; North-
 wards on *Peking* and *Xanxi*, Eastwards on *Zantung* and
Nanking, and Westwards on *Suchuen* and *Xienfi*. An-
 ciently, before all *China* was subjected to one Monarch,
 and each Province or Kingdom was governed by its own
 Prince, this was accounted the middle Kingdom, and di-
 stinguished by that Name, which is at present given to
China, by reason it is situated in the Middle of several
 Kingdoms : And accordingly the *Chinese* frequently say,
 South-

Southwards lie the Kingdoms of *Tunking* and *Siam*; Eastwards *Japan*, and some other Islands; Westwards *Pegu*; and the Country as far as *Bengal* and *Tartary*; Northwards are the *Barbarian Tartars*, which formerly paid Toll and Tribute as Subjects. Whilst *China* lying in the Middle of all these, is justly called in *Chinese*, *Chung Iwoi*, that is, the Middle Kingdom.

This Province consists of flat Land, without Hills, which is very fruitful, yielding a vast Plenty of Rice and other Corn, all which are to be bought here very cheap; a hundred Pound of Rice being frequently sold for no more than twelve Pence. In this Country was born the famous *Tchcon Tjong*, who, according to the *Chinese Annals*, invented the *Mariners Compass* a thousand Years before the coming of Christ.

It contains eight large Cities, which have subordinate to them an hundred and eight Towns or lesser Cities. The principal City is called *Schaifung Fu*.

This formerly was the Royal Court, but was overflowed and covered with Sand by a great Inundation; and at present a City is built opposite to it. *Quinte Fu*, *HinEte Fu*, *Vecse Fu*, *Vaking Fu*, *Honan Fu*, *Nining Fu*, and *Hojang Fu*, are the Names of the remaining Cities, making all together eight, having Jurisdiction over the above-mentioned hundred and eight.

“By this Inundation is to be understood the cutting of the Banks already mentioned in the Description of *Xanxi*, of the River *Hoanga*, which was done by the Emperor to deliver the City from the Siege which the Rebel *Lichuang* had laid to it, and to drown him and his Army: But alas! it proved the Drowning and Destruction of this chief City, and so many hundred thousand Men. I shall only add, that the Champion Ground of this Province hath continued ever since like a Pond or Morass: Projects have indeed been thought on to drain it, and reduce it to its pristine State; but the Undertaking is almost above human Ability, the Expence is unmeasurably great, nor is it possible to accomplish it; wherefore the Court hath given over all Thoughts of it; yet Time has done much towards it, and Things are now much altered for the better.”

9. *Leaotung* lies Northward of *Xantung*, Eastwards of *Corea*; but Southwards of *Tartary*. Through this Province the present *Tartar* Conqueror came into *China*. In the Reign of the Emperor *Vanli*, about the Year of Christ 1590, the *Tartars* also broke into *Leaotung*, but were repulsed by that Monarch. This was about the Time that Father *Matthew Ricci* the Jesuit came into *China*. This Emperor *Vanli* governed, and peaceably possessed *Leaotung* for forty nine Years: But after his Death the *Tartars*, by the Assistance of some exil'd traitorous *Chinese*, that lived in this Province, the utmost Boundary which divided *China* from *Tartary*; the *Tartar*, I say, assisted by these Traitors who had before behaved themselves ill at Home, again entred this Country. This happened when the Emperor was but young, and all the publick Affairs were directed by his Viceroy and Eunuchs. So they grew more Potent in this Province. And about the Year 1630, one *Lichuang*, a perfidious Rebel, rose up against him in the Province of *Xienfi*, of which he not only made himself Master, but also over several others before the Emperor so much as knew of it; his Eunuch Commanders industriously concealing it, so that the ill News never reached his Ears till it was too late to remedy it, that is, till this Rebel was advanced with his Forces so near *Peking*, that he entred it the next Morning.

“He was the last of the Race of *Taiminga*, whose Name was *Zungchi*: Of which Family *Chu* was the Founder. He drove out the *Tartars* who then lorded it over the *Chinese*; and his Descendants enjoyed the Empire for several hundred Years.

Upon the News of which the Emperor clapt his Hand to his Sword, not out of manly Resolution, but hurried thereto by Despair only, in order to kill his Imperial Consort, Concubines and Daughter, who expressed their Grief in Tears and Lamentations sufficiently pathetick to have moved the most obdurate Heart. Having thus prevented their future Misery by present

Death, himself climbed to the Top of a Mountain, within the Walls of the Imperial Palace, and to provide against falling into the Hands of this base Rebel, chose rather to die by his own, and accordingly hanged himself on a Tree.

After which *Lichuang* ascended the Throne, and established himself in the Possession of the Monarchy, as Sovereign Ruler of the People, but deposed himself like a Tyrant and Usurper: For he began his Reign with Cruelty: He commanded the Father to the Prince and General at the great Wall, and several other Noblemen, to be put to an ignominious and painful Death, for no other Reason than because he could not bring over his Son to the Rebels Side: Who afterwards not only attempted the Revenge of his Father's Death, but also to deliver the Empire from this Usurper.

For he then went to *Leaotung*, and invited the *Tartars* to his Assistance: But they very much distrusted him at first, to remove which he promised them on the Word of a General to be faithful to them, confirming his Promises with an Oath on the naked Sabre. After which he led them as their General, and they boldly followed him. The prevailing Usurper was come without the Wall, and also requested Aid of the *Leaotungers* but in vain.

“From this and what follows, as that *Lichuang* went without the great Wall to request the Assistance of the *Leaotungers*, it clearly appears that *Leaotung* lies without the mentioned great Wall, since this Princely General, by some called *Usangeii*, and by our Author *Vii Sangquei*, who then commanded, went from the great Wall and applied himself to the *Leaotungers* as well as the Usurper, and on the same Account. But in the Beginning of this Tract, to which we refer the Reader, this is so clearly proved, that no farther Evidence is in the least necessary.

This Heroick General bravely faced his Enemy, and in the first Place revenging the Murther of his Father, after an obstinate Resistance, he routed, put him to flight, and pursued him and his flying Army as far as *Peking*, where his Enemy made no Stop, but after he had taken out his hundred and ninety Concubines, and the richest Furniture and Jewels, set Fire to the Imperial Palace. The General pursu'd him accompanied with his own Forces, and some *Tartars*, leaving the rest at *Peking*.

10. The *Tartarian* Chan or Prince, though but invited, in order to assist the *Chinese*, having with him about seven or eight thousand *Tartars*, besides the *Leaotungers*, made Use of this fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of this mighty Empire. This happened about ten Years before the worthy Father *John Adam Schall* settled in *China*.

The General returning from the Pursuit of his Enemy, found the *Tartar*, whose Assistance he had implored, seated on the Throne, and himself obliged to obey him: And complying with Necessity, he consented to become his Relation by Inter-marriage. And the new Emperor created this Prince King of *Junan*.

The Bond of Affinity was yet too feeble, and the Crown of *Junan* too mean, to satisfy and restrain within Bounds this aspiring Prince, who aimed at the Empire itself. And accordingly after the Expiration of a few Years, he rose against the Chan; and stiled himself Emperor, by the Name of *Vii Sangquei*; reduced several Southern Provinces to acknowledge his Sovereignty: And after having carried on a vigorous War against the Chan, and conquered near half the Empire, he at last died, being arrived to a very great Age.

His youngest Son who succeeded him in his Pretensions, was, at the Time of his Death, a Minor, and as it generally happens in Revolutions, an irreconcilable Dissention arose amongst the Princes, which prevented his maintaining his Claim to the Empire: The eldest Son kept his Court at *Peking*, was by Marriage allied to the Emperor, and had three Sons; but though he was thirty five Years of Age, yet he and his three Sons were put to Death. And ever since the whole Empire of *China* hath been subject to one Sovereign, who is the Chan of the *Mantcheou Tartars*.

There

“ There is a Law in Force in *China* which extends
“ the Punishment of Rebels to the ninth Generation.
“ The present Emperor *Cangbi*, who is a mild Prince,
“ and discovers a very great Aversion to Cruelty,
“ found himself oblig’d, in Compliance with the Laws
“ of the Land, to put to Death the Children and some
“ other Relations of *Oufangeii*, by Reason he was con-
“ victed of Rebellion: But to testify his Aversion to
“ any such Practice, he caused Proclamation to be made
“ before-hand, that it was not he that had condemned
“ them, but that he was constrained by the rigid Laws
“ of the Empire, the general Assembly of the Princes
“ of the Blood, and the supreme Courts of Justice of
“ the Land, not to delay the Punishment of any Per-
“ son who was convicted of Rebellion.”

It is indeed true, that not long before some Lords
rose up against the Emperor, and carried on a War
against him, which did not prove successful, by Reason
of their mutual Divisions: Yet incredible Numbers of
Men were killed; some talk of forty Millions, others
say four Millions: Infomuch that human Blood (in
an unheard of Manner) streamed from Mountain Tops;
that the deep Channels were filled with dead Bodies, and
the deeper Vales piled up and levelled with the Hills.
This happened during the Minority of the present Em-
peror *Cangbi*, he being then not much above fourteen
Years old.

As his Father’s Accession to the Throne was not ac-
companied with any Fatigues or Uneasiness, so his Reign
was very peaceable; leaving the greatest Difficulties for
his Son to struggle with, who by his great Wisdom,
heroick Courage, Royal Virtues, and exalted Endow-
ments, hath overcome them all.

We shall now turn towards the Southern Provinces,
and take Leave of these Northern Countries, with say-
ing that *Leaotung* is a very fine though small Province,
containing not above twelve as well large as small Ci-
ties: And adding that in this Province grows the famous
Medicinal Root *Ginseng*, acknowledged by the Phy-
sicians to be an excellent Cordial Restorative. The *Chi-
nese* Doctors use it in Hectic Pestilential Fevers, and
several other dangerous Diseases: It is prepared
by Mixture with several other Drugs. Those of
these Roots which are large, bright and weighty, are
chosen as the best; they wrap them up in Paper, and
keep them in dry Earth, and also in Pepper: They
commonly boil two or three Grains of it minced small,
in Chicken Broth, or in fair Water: But particular
Care must be taken that the Pot be close covered, by
Reason that in an open Kettle a great Part of its Vir-
tue evaporates.

“ The Reader will naturally expect to have some
“ Account of this famous Plant, beyond what our
“ Author, to whom it was common and familiar, has
“ thought proper to set down here. The *Ginseng* is a
“ perennial Root that produces an annual Stalk of the
“ Size of a large Quill, which rises not very high, and
“ opens with five Leaves. Some say, that this Plant
“ bears white and beautiful Flowers; others, that it
“ produces no Flower at all. The Root, which is the
“ Part most valued, is of the Size of a small Parsnip,
“ not very unlike it, and generally divides itself into
“ two. It is held to be the greatest Restorative in the
“ World, and the *Chinese* Physicians have written whole
“ Volumes about it, in which they tell us many Things
“ that seem to surpass all Credit. It is however to be
“ observed, that the figurative Stile, and the very con-
“ cise Descriptions in these Sort of Books, very often
“ hinder *Europeans* from comprehending their true
“ Sense; so that we are apt to reject, as a ridiculous Ro-
“ mance, what with them passes for a well-wrought Al-
“ legory, or a useful Fable. The Missionaries, gene-
“ rally speaking agree that it is both an useful and an
“ efficacious Medicine; that it removes Vapours, raises
“ the Spirits, supplies Strength, and promotes Secre-
“ tions in a wonderful Manner. The Leaves are used
“ as Tea, and have a very great Effect that Way, but
“ the Root is far preferable, and the true Way of using
“ it is thus. Divide an Ounce of *Ginseng* into ten Parts,

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“ by breaking it, for it is affirmed, that Experience
“ shows it loses much of its Virtue by being cut with
“ a Knife: One of these Portions is sufficient for a
“ Dose, and is to be put into an earthen Pot, with a
“ Pint of Water, and being closely covered, must be
“ set upon a slow Fire, till by stewing, it is reduced to
“ about a Quarter of a Pint. This Liquor is to be sweet-
“ ned with white Sugar Candy, and so drank moderately
“ hot. Then half that Quantity of Water may be
“ put upon the same Root and being half consumed,
“ the Liquor is to be taken in the like Manner. The
“ former should be taken in the Morning, fasting, the
“ latter in the Evening, and nothing eat after it. There
“ are various Reasons why this Drug does not answer
“ in *Europe*; one is, that bearing a high Value, we are
“ often cheated, and some other Root sent us, instead of
“ *Ginseng*; another and a better Reason is this, that the
“ Root itself is very apt to corrupt and spoil, so as to
“ lose all its Virtue. I knew a Physician that made
“ Use of a Tincture of it, brought by the *Chinese* to
“ *Batavia*, with great Success, but this Tincture was
“ extravagantly dear, since at the first Hand it cost
“ three Pounds an Ounce. The *Ginseng* commonly
“ grows in woody Places, under the Shade of
“ large Trees. It has been plentifully found in *Canada*,
“ where it was discovered by a *French* Jesuit one Father
“ *Lasitau*. It is also found in *Maryland*, and under the
“ Title of the *Maryland* Plant is very well described by
“ Mr. Ray. There is another Plant more common in
“ *Phylick*, the *Latin* Name of which is *Hepatica No-
“ bilis Tragi*, that is held to be very little inferior in its
“ Virtues to the *Ginseng*, and ought therefore to be
“ more in Use. It were to be wished that some of the
“ Jesuits settled in that Empire were well versed in
“ Chemistry, and then there is no Doubt they would
“ be able to prepare Extracts from this famous Root,
“ that would restore and establish its Credit in *Europe*,
“ and prevent our Physicians from believing, that the
“ *Chinese* Doctors, either through Ignorance or Prepos-
“ session in Favour of their Country, have extolled this
“ Drug far above its Deserts. But till this be done, it
“ would not certainly be amiss to make some Experiments
“ on the *American Ginseng*, of which we might have con-
“ siderable Quantities from *Maryland*; and as to the
“ Liverwort before-mentioned, one can hardly believe
“ that so good a Judge as *Schroder* should commend
“ it to such a Degree, if it had not really some very
“ considerable Qualities; but we are too apt to neg-
“ lect Simples, and leave them entirely to the Vulgar
“ and to Quacks, who very often perform such extra-
“ ordinary Cures by them, as not only raises their Cre-
“ dit, but is prejudicial to that of regular Physicians,
“ who are more enamoured of Botany as a Science,
“ than attentive to its Consequences, as it is a Branch
“ of the Art of Medicine.”

II. Having describ’d the Northern, we come to
speaking of the Southern Provinces or Kingdoms of
China.

Nanking, which we named first, is very large, and
is governed by two Viceroys: The chief City is called
Nanking, or rather at present *Kiamning*, the *Tartars* ha-
ving changed its Name. This was formerly the Me-
tropolis; and the Imperial Court, now kept at *Peking*,
antiently resided here. This is the largest City in
China; and at present is sixteen or seventeen *French*
Miles in Compass; but formerly contain’d three Cir-
cuits. The first or outermost and largest Circuit was
thirty Miles; but since the Translation of the Seat of
the Empire, it is run to Decay, and become so far de-
solate, that its second Circuit contains but sixteen or
seventeen Miles, in which Compass are above thirty
Hills.

“ The Footsteps of these Walls yet remain visible; and
“ seem rather (saith *Le Comte*, to have been the Bounds
“ of a Province than a City: And though *Peking* is
“ large and very populous, and *Nanking* very much de-
“ clined from its former Grandure, it is still more popu-
“ lous than the other. The Reason of the Removal of
“ the Court is hinted in the second Chapter.”

" We should also here add, that this City was within
 " one Night of falling into the Hands of *Coxinga* or
 " *Couesius*; but our Author having mentioned it in the
 " Chapter, where he is treating of *Fokien* and the Island
 " *Formosa*, I refer the Reader thither. And as for the
 " third Circuit, (which our Author barely mentions
 " without any Description) we gather from other Wri-
 " ters, that it was the ancient Imperial Palace, where
 " the *Chinese* Emperors formerly resided in as great
 " Splendor, as at present at *Peking*; it was on the South-
 " side of the City, and encompassed by a Wall, which
 " at present encloses the principal Part of the City.
 " Each of its four Sides were an *Italian* Mile long,
 " and consequently required above an Hour's time to
 " go round it, being by *Nieuboff* compared to *Haarlem*
 " in *Holland*."

This most charming City far surpasses all the rest;
 besides which it is adorned with a lofty Tower of the
 finest Porcelain of various Colours, and set off on the
 Outside with very fine Imagery: It is nine Stories
 high, and within is full of Stone Figures, richly
 gilt.

" The Difference amongst all Authors in the Ortho-
 " graphy, in Writing concerning *China*, is very surpris-
 " ing, they not agreeing in Names, the Sense of them,
 " nor even in Things; one writes *China*, another *Sina*;
 " this *Xanfi*, *Xienfi*, that *Chanfi*, *Chienfi*, and also *Chenfi*:
 " One calls the Emperor *Canghi*, another *Kamhi*; one
 " writes *Ousangouei*, whilst others have it *Usangejus*, or
 " *Vuisonguei*; and all mean the same Thing or Person.
 " So we find the like Difference concerning the Porce-
 " lain Tower, in, or more properly without, *Nanking*.
 " Our Author saith, the Porcelain on it is of the very
 " finest and best Sort; others say, that this Tower is
 " but plastered with Porcelain; and though the Rain
 " and Dust hath decayed the Beauty of it, the Remains
 " are yet sufficient to determine that it was Porcelain,
 " and not the finest, but a coarse Sort. Nor do Wri-
 " ters vary less about the making of Porcelain, which
 " will be treated of in the Course of this Work. But before
 " I take Leave of this Tower, I shall add what *Nieuboff*
 " saith, viz. That Seven hundred Years past this Tower
 " was built, to the great Grief of the *Chinese*, and as a
 " pompous Monument of the *Tartars* being then Lords
 " of *China*, of which they left this Memorial. *Le*
 " *Comte* on the other Side saith, it is about three hundred
 " Years since this Tower and the Temple of Memory
 " were built by the Emperor *Yonlo*: And farther, speak-
 " ing of Towers, saith, That the Spire, which is one
 " of its finest Ornaments, hath fixed on the Top of it
 " a gilt Ball, or Pine-Apple, of an extraordinary
 " Largeness; and *Nieuboff* tells us, that the *Chinese*
 " report this to be all massy Gold. Thus (*Le Comte*
 " goes on) you have a Description of the Porcelain
 " Tower, which some *Europeans* would call a Brick
 " Turret: But indeed the *Chinese* are wonderfully ex-
 " pert in beautifying their Stones with all Manner of
 " Ornaments: And as it is, it is undoubtedly the neatest,
 " most compact, and best Piece of Work at present
 " remaining in the East.

The Streets of *Nanking* are very spacious and wide,
 as well as clean and neat, and there all Sorts of Rari-
 ties and fine Wares are exposed to Sale; but what is
 most amazing is the almost incredible Number of
 Men which are observed to be there. The Inhabitants
 are computed to be eight Millions, Housekeepers or
 Masters of Families, so that the Croud of People there
 seems justly enough said to be incredible to those who
 have not seen it.

Close by, or about the City, runs a River of two
French Miles over, which in the *Chinese* Language is
 called *Tangsku Kiam*, that is, the Son of the Sea, and
 is navigable through all *China*. This River runs by and
 cuts through several Lakes and Rivulets, which all by
 its Assistance are conveyed to, and by that Means dis-
 charge themselves into the Sea: Wherefore this River
 is very richly laden with innumerable Ships, and lesser
 Craft, which are very fine within, and richly gilt
 without; besides this, they are adorned with extra-
 ordinary fine painted Flags, and above Deck provided

with all Manner of convenient Seats, Tables, and
 Couches, for the Convenience of Travellers, and they
 are withal well victualled.

" It is reported to be so deep that no Bottom is to
 " be found; whence proceeds that *Chinese* Proverb,
 " *That the Sea is without Bounds, and the Kiam without*
 " *Bottom*. And some who have been there, affirm
 " upon their own Experience, that no Ground was to
 " be discovered by Sounding. But they also add, that
 " their Line was but fifty or sixty Fathom, and that if
 " they had made use of one of two or three hundred
 " Fathom, they should have given another Account
 " of it.

The Jesuits, who have seen the vast Numbers there
 are of these Ships, say that there are enough of them,
 (proverbially speaking) to make a Bridge from *China*
 to *Europe*.

The Jurisdiction of this Province extends to fourteen
 very large and magnificent Cities, all which are vastly
 rich, and have several small, and they again several les-
 ser subordinate to them, as in the other Provinces.

The second large City of this Province is *Suchen*,
 which is the most illustrious, largest, and most famous
 of all the rest, being a Place of the greatest Trade of
 any in the whole Empire; and Ships, as well as Men,
 appear there as numerous as Sand on the Sea-shore.

The Emperor receives from hence five Millions of
Laens, each of the Value of two Rixdollars, besides the
 Corn, Rice, and Fruit, which is transported from hence
 annually to *Peking*, in nine thousand nine hundred and
 ninety nine Jonks or large Ships; each of which is ca-
 pable of carrying three or four hundred Weight: Nor
 to mention all Sorts of Silks and other Commodities
 yearly carried to the Emperor.

The Ships are six Months on the Way; and as soon
 as they are come to the End of the great Water, they
 come into navigable Rivers, cut by human Labour,
 with a Sluice at the Distance of every *French* Mile, to
 preserve the Water on Occasion.

" Travellers, in the Descriptions of their Voyages,
 " call them Sluices, but represent them widely different
 " from ours; for they are a Sort of Waterfalls, over
 " which the Ships are forced by the Assistance of
 " a great many Hands and Windlasses. It is indeed
 " strange, that the subtle *Chinese* have not yet invented
 " such as ours are, which if they once saw, they would
 " be forced to acknowledge, that we are not such
 " clumsy dull Wretches as they and other Nations re-
 " present us there; and that they themselves seem ra-
 " ther like unthinking People, when they are forced to
 " make use of so many Hands, and are so fatigued to
 " force over their Ships, which we do with the greatest
 " Ease in the World."

The Names of the other Cities are, *Nincheu Fu*,
Thaiping Fu, *Ganking Fu*, *Sun Kiang Fu*, *Chin Kiang Fu*,
Geancheu Fu, *Jungjan Fu*, *Chingan Fu*, *Lucheu Fu*,
Quongte Fu, *Chancheu Fu*, and *Kingcheu Fu*. These
 fourteen, the two former being included, exercise Ju-
 risdiction over a hundred and thirteen other considera-
 ble Cities.

12. The Kingdom or Province of *Chekiang* borders
 on *Nanking*; and the *Chinese* say, that next to that, it
 is the *Indian* Paradise of Arts, and the Paradise of the
 Gods; by reason it plentifully flows with all good
 Things. Throughout this whole Country are deep-cut
 Channels, by Help of which all Parts of this Province
 may be easily travelled over as well by Water as by
 Land. The Bridges have all of them very fine Stone
 Arches; and the Number of Barks or Boats there is
 as vast as that of Men in the great Streets of *Peking*,
 that is, innumerable; which is the less to be wondred
 at, since this Place is frequented by Merchants from all
 Parts of the World.

It contains eleven large Cities, the chief of which is
Hancheu, and is the finest of them all, being provided
 both within and without with deep and navigable Chan-
 nels, and almost all the Corners of the Streets are adorn-
 ed with lofty triumphal Arches. Not far distant West-
 ward from the City Wall, there is a very fine Lake, the
 Circumference of which takes in several Miles; its Wa-
 ter

ter falling into it from the Hills is very bright and clear, and is conveyed into the City by the above-mentioned Channels.

Eastwards also, near the City Wall, there runs a great River called *Zhien Tangkiang*, which at that Place is two Miles over, or as broad as the River *Kiam*, but not so deep, nor doth it extend so far, as passing through but one Province.

The other large Cities of this Province are. *Kiaking Fu*, *Xanking Fu*, *Nimpo Fu*, *Kiuncheu Fu*, *Vencheu Fu*, *Niencheu Fu*, *Chinchem Fu*, *Kingkoa Fu*, *Taicheu Fu*, and *Ninchi Fu*; the whole Number being eleven. They preside over seventy six lesser Cities; to which is added *Vieicheu Fu*, a City not less considerable than any of the rest, and from it are brought very great Quantities of Silk.

13. *Kiangsi* is a large Province, which plentifully abounds with all Necessaries to human Life: It borders on *Nanking*. A Lake or small Sea of three hundred *French* Miles in Bigness, called *Phojang Fu*, takes up the greatest Part of it, and is as navigable for great Ships as the main Sea, and is surrounded by a Multitude of fine Towns and Cities. All the Rivers of this Province flow into this Meer, which discharges itself into the *Nankinsian* River, and by Means of that is conveyed to the Ocean.

This Province contains thirteen large Cities, the chief of which is *Nanchang Fu*, which, though a great City, is now ruined and reduced to a desolate Condition by the Wars. *Vieicheu Fu*, a City where the *Porcelain* or *China* Earthen-ware is made, is also in this Province.

“ That this *Porcelain* is a common Manufacture in
“ *China*, is acknowledged by all; and that the oldest is
“ esteemed the best, few are ignorant, partly on account
“ of its beautiful Whiteness, partly for its Antiquity,
“ and by Reason none so good is at present made; be-
“ cause that the Emperor appoints a *Mandaryn* at the
“ Places where it is wrought, in order to choose for his
“ Use the finest Pieces, for which he notwithstanding
“ pays but a very mean Price; wherefore the Manufac-
“ turers, not being able to set their own Rate, or per-
“ haps being but very ill paid, are discouraged from
“ making it better than ordinary, and will neither take
“ Pains, nor endeavour to shew any great Art in the
“ manufacturing this Ware, without being richly re-
“ warded. Our Author here relates the Manner of its
“ Composition in his usual plain Manner. But others
“ (*J. G. de Mendoza*) tells us, that it is made of Chalk,
“ which being beaten is thrown into a Pond closely
“ walled in, in which it dissolves and boils up, a thin
“ Skum arising, of which the finest *Porcelain* is made,
“ and the coarser of the Remainder; for the nearer the
“ Bottom it grows, it becomes still coarser. They
“ work this into what Shapes they please, in the same
“ Manner as we do, and gild or paint them according to
“ their Fancies, which Colouring, or Gilding never fades.
“ This, saith he, is what we know of our own Observation,
“ and is more probable than that it should be com-
“ posed of Sea Shells which have lain a hundred Years
“ under Ground to putrify, and are taken up, beaten,
“ and then baked. *Nieuboff* saith that it is made of a
“ Sort of Earth which is brought from a certain Hill
“ in the Province of *Nanking*; that this Earth is not
“ moist like Clay or Chalk, but dry like fine Sand;
“ that they dissolve it with Water, but not that of
“ *Hoeicheu* in *Nanking* or the neighbouring Parts, it
“ being impossible to work it in that Water; the Truth
“ of which they have frequently been convinced of by
“ unfortunate Experience; but it is successfully temper-
“ ed with the Water of *Vieicheu Fu*, and the adjacent
“ Places. That having wrought it into Vessels of all
“ Shapes and Sizes at Pleasure, they first dry them in
“ the Sun, before they venture them in the Oven, after
“ which they put them into the Furnace, and let them
“ bake for fifteen Days, and stand fifteen Days after that
“ to cool, before they take it out, &c. *Le Comte* saith,
“ That it is made of a more solid Earth than ordina-
“ ry, which is found in the Stone Quarries of this Pro-
“ vince: That this being cleansed and beaten to a fine
“ Powder, is moistened and made into a Mass, which
“ is long and thoroughly mixed and beaten, in order to

“ clear and refine it: That it is probable this Earth
“ is moulded into several Forms at Pleasure by such a
“ Wheel as is used for that Purpose in *Europe*: That
“ after this it is carefully dried in the Sun, when the
“ Ground and Paint is laid on, and then is put into
“ the Furnace, which is kept to a moderate even Heat;
“ and, that being baked enough, after a long Time
“ staying there, and becoming perfectly cold, it is taken
“ out.”

This *Porcelain* is composed by the Mixture of certain Sorts of moist and dry Earths: The dry comes from the Province of *Nanking*: From these two Ingredients this *China* Earthen Ware is prepared, moulded into several Shapes, dried and baked; and when it is become cold, or rather almost cold, the Colours are laid on, and it is glazed, once more put into the Oven, and baked in the Shape the Artist desires it should remain.

The other large Cities are *Kincheu Fu*, *Suicheu Fu*, *Nanbang Fu*, *Quoangsin Fu*, *Quienchang Fu*, *Linkiang Fu*, *Chungkue Fu*, *Tungcheu Fu*, and *Nangan Fu*.

These large preside over seventy eight lesser Cities.

14. *Huquang*, and *Xiensu*, already described, are the two largest Provinces of *China*. This contains in its Jurisdiction fifteen Cities, and more plentifully abounds with Rice, Corn and Fish than all the rest; being alone very well able to furnish the whole Empire with sufficient Quantities of Corn. For the Space of ten Years, this Province was miserably infested with civil Wars and Discord, which have cut off incredible Numbers of Men.

The factious *Lichuang*, already mentioned in the Description of *Leaotung*, was the Cause of all this Bloodshed when he possessed himself of this Province.

And after an Interval of only a few Years Prince *Vii Sanguei* (who invited in the *Tartars* to his Assistance) made himself Master of a great Part of it, and for the Space of several Years carried on a vigorous War against the Emperor.

There is a Lake in this Province, the Circumference of which is above four hundred *French* Miles, into which several Streams and Rivulets fall: And at the Mouth of it are several Mountains and small Islands, from whence and from its boisterous Waves, it is not unlike the main Sea. It is frequented by an incredible Quantity of Ships, and from it descends a very large River which falls into the famous *Nanquingian* River.

On the four Corners of this Province are situate four Cities: The first of which is called *Jocheu*, and lies at the Mouth of the River, and is very strong, and the Key of all the rest. *Vii Sanguei*, King of *Junan*, took it. The Emperor's Brother, whom he had created King of this Province, assisted by the Imperial Forces, sat down before it with a very great Army, and very closely besieged it, losing a great many Men before it. It happened one Night either in this Streight, to rid themselves of useless People, and unprofitable Mouths, or else in order to convey a great Number safe over the Meer, they embarked on board three hundred Ships; but such a fatal Storm arose, that all the three hundred Ships and fifty thousand Souls were sunk to the Bottom.

But after the Death of *Vii Sanguei*, this City, as well as the whole Empire, fell entirely into the Emperor's Hands. There are in this Province fifteen large *Fu*, subordinate to which are an hundred twenty-five lesser.

Vii Chang Fu, the Principal, is a very large City, which is intersected by a River, frequented by Multitudes of Ships that drive a very considerable Trade here.

Cotton grows here in such vast Abundance, that it is transported from hence to all other Places almost throughout the whole Empire.

The other large Cities are *Hanjiang Fu*, *Huangcheu Fu*, *Gangling Fu*, *Sangiang Fu*, *Juniang Fu*, *Tegan Fu*, *Jangiang Fu*, *Jocheu Fu*, *Changxa Fu*, *Paoking Fu*, *Xincheu Fu*, *Changte Fu*, *Hangcheu Fu*, and *Jungcheu Fu*; the whole Number being fifteen, whose Jurisdiction extends over one hundred and twenty-five other Towns.

15. This

15. The Province of *Suckuen*, which hath been ruined and laid Waste by several Wars, is the least of all the *Chinese* Provinces, and is mountainous. It produces Quick-silver, Tin, Wine, and a considerable Quantity of Rhubarb, all which are exported to other Countries. But the Rhubarb is not esteemed the best, nor are great Quantities of it either used or sent Abroad.

There are in this Country nine large Cities, the chief of which is *Ckingtu Fu*; which is a very great and considerable City, but reduced to a very low Estate by numerous Wars.

The other are *Langan Fu*, *Xunking Fu*, *Hungbing Fu*, *Paoning Fu*, *Chungching Fu*, *Lingcheu Fu*, *Hiengcheu Fu*, *Mabu Fu*, and *Taoy Fu*; the Whole making up the Complement of Nine, which preside over one hundred and three lesser Cities.

16. The Province of *Queicheu* is a mountainous Country, which produces great Quantities of Quick-silver, Copper and Tin; and contains fourteen large Cities, subordinate to which are twenty-four lesser.

Though this Province hath but a very few Cities, its Circumference is very extensive; but it is also depopulated and ruined by destructive Wars.

The chief City is *Queijang Fu*, and the rest are *Gang-xun Fu*, *Tugven Fu*, *Cinquen Fu*, *Laiping Fu*, *Suckuen Fu*, *Sunan Fu*, *Xecang Fu*, *Tungin Fu*, *Pinjung Fu*, *Pinguen Fu*, *Thaiding Fu*, *Veineng Fu*, and *Mesi Fu*; amounting together as above to fourteen large Cities, which preside over twenty-four lesser.

17. *Funan*, the farthermost Province of *China*, borders Westward on the Kingdom of *Lao*; Southwards on the Kingdom of *Tunkin*, and was formerly accounted amongst the *Chinese* Provinces; but now is only tributary to that Empire.

Cochinchina and *Tonquin* also formerly made one Kingdom; but were afterwards divided into two, and distributed to two Brothers, who carried on very bloody and obstinate Wars against each other.

This Province produces Gold, Silver, Copper, and Tin, in great Abundance, and its Mountains, Rivulets and Streams afford several precious Stones, especially Rubies.

This Kingdom is very large, and was formerly, together with the Title of King, and the absolute Power of governing it at his Pleasure, bestowed on Prince *Vii Sanguet*. He also kept his Royal Court, and built a very magnificent Palace there; but after his Death the whole Kingdom as well as the Court fell to Ruin and Desolation. The Country is partly mountainous, and partly even Ground; the Air heathful and temperate, being neither too hot nor too cold; and in this Province is a Lake which is stored with Fish of different Kinds.

This Kingdom comprehends twenty large, subordinate to which are sixty-eight smaller Cities. The chief City is *Funan Fu*, a charming pleasant City, where Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs, and all Sorts of Fruits, are incredibly plentiful.

The other great Cities are *Quongsi Fu*, *Kaiboa Fu*, *Cinsung Fu*, *Chingkian Fu*, *Quagnan Fu*, *Ivenking Fu*, *Chokium Fu*, *Vitling Fu*, *Tali Fu*, *Mangboroa Fu*, *Junchang Fu*, *Li Jikang Fu*, *Hoking Fu*, *Kintung Fu*, *Juning Fu*, *Xunning Fu*, *Xingan Fu*, *Tungoba Fu*, and *Sinkoa Fu*: These are the twenty above-mentioned Cities which preside over sixty eight.

18. The greatest Part of *Quoangsi* is mountainous, but the Remainder very fertile; one Point of it borders on the Kingdom of *Cochinchina*. Abundance of Cinnamon grows here, as doth also a certain very useful Wood to dye Red; which the *Portuguese* call *Sapao*; and which grows also very plentifully in *Siam*. Here are likewise several excellent Sorts of Wood fit for the making of all Sorts of Cabinet, Joiners or Carpenters Work; besides which, great Quantities of Rice are transported from hence to *Kanton*.

There are thirteen large, and eighty lesser Cities in this Province.

Queiling Fu, the chief City, is very agreeably situated in a pleasant Plain. This Province was formerly

governed by a King, who was a Prince of the ancient Imperial Blood; but he dying without any Heir, his Dowager governed it for some Time; but after her Death, the Royal Court was ruined and demolished; in which State it is at present.

The remaining great Cities are, *Pingeo Fu*, *Viichon Fu*, *Zincheu Fu*, *Nanning Fu*, *Taiping Fu*, *Sunun Fu*, *Teucheu Fu*, *Zbincheu Fu*, *Singuen Fu*, *Chincheu Fu*, (near which grows a certain Plant, of which is made a Sort of Stuff that is worth more than Silk) *Suckin Fu*, and *Chingan Fu*: They altogether commanding eighty lesser Cities.

Very good *Porcelain* is also made in this Province; but the Earth from which it is prepared (as we have already shewn) comes from one Place, and the Water from another: Possibly by reason that it is more efficacious, and breaks the Earth finer, or incorporates better with it, or for other hidden, though natural Reasons: Thus one Place borrows from another what it sometimes doubly restores.

As the greatest Part of *China*, so this Province is very populous, being alone capable of raising a Million of Men able to bear Arms, and containing near two hundred thousand Families.

19. *Quoantung*, called by the *Europeans* *Canton*, is the most Southern Province in *China*; is bounded by the Ocean, and is provided with a very good Haven at the End of a River, which is navigable by great Ships up to the City of *Canton*. The whole is a fertile Country, plentifully abounding with all Necessaries, which draws a very considerable Trade hither, as well with the *Indians* as *Europeans*, from which latter above one hundred *English*, *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Ships annually come to and go from hence.

The last mentioned Nation having made themselves Masters of *Macao*, a neighbouring Peninsula, have there a very fine Haven, from whence they drive a great Trade to *Canton*, but are obliged on that Account to pay annually 50000, some say 500000 *Laens* to the Emperor, each *Laen* amounting to two *Rixdollars*.

“*Macao*, saith *Le Comte*, is famous for the vast Commerce of the *Portuguese* formerly carried on there, before the *Hollanders* justled them out of almost all *India*: And at present they are not able to keep many Forces there. Here is a very good Road for Ships to ride; the Haven indeed is very small, but safe and very commodious. All Customs on imported Goods are the Emperor's: And though the *Portuguese* have still a Sort of Government there, yet they are subject to the *Mandaryns* in all Cases which concern the Emperor.”

They have possessed this Island above an hundred and ten Years. (Our Author wrote about the Year 1694.) and they have strongly fortified and built several Churches and Monasteries upon it. The Commodities for which they chiefly trade with the *Chinese* are Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Sanders, (very useful in dying) Callicoes: The Medicinal Wood, *Pucho*; Ebony, Red Dying Wood; Wine and a Sort of Birds Nests found in the above-mentioned Island. These Birds Nests are esteemed a very good Restorative Medicine: They are commonly boiled for a Quarter of an Hour, and not longer in Chicken Broth; for if it be suffered to boil longer, the whole would dissolve: Each Pound of this cost three, and sometimes four *Laens*; and the white is esteemed best. *Arecca*, being the Fruit of a certain Palm, which is hard, bitter and astringent, is also brought hither to be sold: The *Indians* commonly chew it with the Leaves which they call Betel, which washed in a little Lime-water become red: And the Spittle of those who chew it is of a Blood-Colour: And any Person not accustomed to this Usage upon trying of it becomes very red in the Face, and as it were inebriated, or half fuddled.

This Plant is very much used in *India*; both Sexes biting and chawing it the whole Day, as some smook Tobacco in other Places: It is hot and dry, warms the Stomach, and helps Digestion. It is also boiled in Water, and being astringent, is used in Case of Fluxes. There are

are also brought hither Rhinocero's Horns, Ivory, Furrs, and red Lacca, from whence the finest Sticks of Sealing Wax are prepared: This Drug is the Excrement of a Sort of Worms or Ants, which sticks to the Leaf and Wood of the Plants. We shall hereafter treat of the Fruits.

This Province abounds with white and brown Sugar; and great Quantities of Silk are wrought here, of which all Sorts of Goods are made, and transported hence to *India* and other Places. The *Indians* also buy here great Quantities of Porcelain, Tin, Iron, and Copper-work, Paper, and several other Merchandises and Rarities, most of which are paid for in Silver; but on the other Side a great deal of Gold is transported from *China* to *India*.

The chief City of this Kingdom is called *Quangcheu Fu*, an extraordinary fine City: Which is stocked with and trades in all Sorts of *European* and *Indian* Commodities. About four *French* Miles distant from this City is a Village called *Fuxan*, where the greatest Trade in all *China* is drove: For the Inhabitants keep constantly vast Magazines of all Sorts of Manufactures: And it is reported that sixty thousand Families live in this Village.

This Province hath suffered very much by War. In the Beginning of the Revolution of the Empire, the chief City was besieged by two petty Kings, Princes of the Imperial Blood, with a very great Army, and for above the Space of one whole Year, furiously assaulted and bombarded with Cannon and great Pieces of Artillery, by which Part of the Wall was demolished; notwithstanding which it was not taken by that Means, but delivered by the Treachery of a Person, to whom the chief Command of one of the City Gates was entrusted, who, tempted by a great Sum of Money, and larger Promises, let in the Enemy; after which he received the just Reward of his Treason; for instead of the promised Riches, he was stifled in Sand, after the Enemy had cut all to Pieces that came in their Way, and plundered the whole City: And after this they overrun the whole Province.

“ These Princes were afterwards, one of them King of *Quantong*, and the other of *Fokien*: But those “ Monarchies were but of short Duration; nor did “ they devolve on their Heirs; for all these, one after “ the other were accused of some Crime or other; but “ indeed the true Reason of their Fall was, that “ Sons of State would not permit the jealous *Tartar* to “ suffer any Princes of the ancient Race, of which “ the *Chinese* were not a little fond. This was also “ the chief Reason why *Osangouei's* Posterity were killed, whatever specious Pretences were made Use of “ to colour the Barbarity; such were those drawn from “ the rigorous *Chinese* Laws, which directed the Punishment of Treason to the ninth Generation, and that “ they were thereby forced to it.”

This City was computed to contain eight hundred thousand, or near a Million of Families: And without the Fort or Castle is two Miles in Compass.

One of these Princes was made King of this Country, and built a magnificent and Royal Palace in the City; but being afterwards accused of foul Practices against the Emperor, he was deprived of his Life. And the other Prince, in Reward of his heroick Actions, was created King of *Fokien* by the Emperor then reigning.

The first Prince or King being killed, his Family, household Goods, and royal Treasure, by the Emperor's Order were carried to *Peking*. His Treasure indeed very justly deserved the Name of Royal; for that alone amounted to above one hundred Millions, besides other valuable Effects, and the most splendid Furniture of the Court.

This Province comprehends ten large Cities, which exercise a superior Jurisdiction over seventy four, that are subordinate to them. The superior Cities are *Quangcheu Fu*, already described; *Nankiang Fu*, *Xancheu Fu*, *Hoycheu Fu*, *Xanking Fu*, *Kiaochu Fu*, *Luicheu Fu*, *Liencheu Fu*, *Chauchu Fu*, and *Kincheu Fu*, situate on the Island *Ainan*, which is very considerable on Account of the great

Trade driven there with the Kingdoms of *Tonkin* and *Cochinchina*. The Compass of this Isle is three hundred Miles, and on it are thirteen lesser Cities. Here is also a very fine Pearl Fishery; and Aloes are very common. That Plant grows like a Sort of Reed or Flag, about a Finger thick, but forty or fifty Yards in Height, and is a very good Medicine on several Occasions.

“ *Le Comte*, whom we have so often quoted, relates, “ that there is upon this Island of *Anang* or *Hainang*, “ a standing Water, in which Fish petrify. I have “ my self (saith he) thrown Crabs into it, and observed “ the Claws to be consolidated and so far changed, that “ they differed very little from Flints. But these “ Miracles of Nature are not so peculiar to *China*, for we “ meet with them elsewhere (adds he) and withal a “ great many more Prodigies, and occult Qualities of “ Nature are observable there, but yet all the *Chinese* “ say must not be believed; for though there may be “ some Truth in what they relate, yet in the dishing up “ they are too apt to interlard it with so much fabulous “ Stuff, as frequently inclines us to question the Truth “ of the whole Story. However, the Reader ought “ not to doubt of the Truth of the Petrification of “ Crabs and other Things, by reason that he may at “ Pleasure see that, and other such-like Metamorphoses, “ in Mr. *S. Schynvoet's* *Museum* at *Amsterdam*.

20. The Province or Kingdom of *Fokien* hath suffered very much by several Wars; and before the present Viceroy governed it as a Viceroyalty, was ruled by a potent Prince, who when the *Tartar* seized the Empire, would neither surrender his Realm, nor acknowledge any Subjection to him: But being treacherously invited to Court, on the Pretence of treating concerning some important State Affairs there, though he was forewarned and smelt the Design, he resolved to venture thither, leaving the Regency in his Son's Hands; being the less suspicious, as he thought, that having left the Government in the Hands of so brave a Prince as his Son was known to be, the Court therefore would not dare to injure him; and accordingly he went to the Emperor's Residence, but was kept there. The more prudent Son, though daily invited, persisted to refuse that Favour, being at the same Time convinced his Father was become an involuntary Prisoner at Court: At which being highly incensed, he began, and for several Years bravely carried on a vigorous War against the Emperor; who on the other Side being impatient to reunite this Province to the Empire, was not wanting in the Use of all Means tending to compass that End; pursuant to which he raised a vast Army in order to subdue the young Prince: Who seeing this numerous Force approach him, and finding himself unable to resist such a potent Emperor, repulse his disproportionate Force, and gain his Point, though at several Times he gave them very severe Blows, at last resolved to quit his Country and ship himself off. He accordingly prepared a Fleet, embarked with his Forces, and steered with them to *Taijoan* or the Island of *Formosa*; where he landed, drove out the *Dutch*, and made himself Master of that charming Isle. This Prince is by the Natives called *Quoesing*, but by others *Coxinga*.

The *Dutch East-India* Company had possessed this Island, and had very strongly fortified it.

At the Time of the *Chinese* Commotions, and the great Revolution of that Empire, it was utterly neglected and abandoned to the next who pleased to give himself the Trouble to reduce it. The *Spaniards* of the *Manilhas* or *Lusong*, being but fifteen or twenty Miles distant, and being informed hereof, seized, built and fortified a City on it; which was afterwards conquered by the *Dutch*, who becoming Masters of the whole Island, built several other Forts upon it; and designed, on Account of its very commodious Situation, to have made it one of the most considerable Places in all *India*, and the Centre of their Commerce with the adjacent Countries.

21. *Formosa* is indeed a very beautiful Island, which is naturally fruitful, and the Air healthful as well as temperate, very commodiously situated in the Neighbourhood of *Japan*, *China*, and the *Manilhas*, fit for managing Trade both Eastwards and Westwards: it being possible

fible for Ships to come thither, and go from thence, the whole Year round.

When the above-mentioned *Chinese* Prince *Quoesing* or *Coxinga* landed, there were several large as well as small Ships in the Haven; and upon the Island there were settled nine or ten thousand *Hollanders*, who were as rich, and lived as well as any where besides. But notwithstanding the *Dutch East-India* Company was so strong there, the *Chinese* left their native Country, and blocked up the Haven with their Fleet; they bravely attacked the *Netherlanders*, and their Fortresses, and conquered, burnt or destroy'd them: So that at last they took the City, Ports, and the whole Island: They also exercised several Cruelties on their conquered Enemies, of whom they killed several, and cut off the Hands and Feet of some, and the Ears and Noses of others; after which, they sent these miserable Wretches on board three Ships to *Batavia*. This we must understand as taken from the *Chinese* Accounts.

After this Success, they dispatched away an Envoy to the *Spaniards* at the *Manilbas*, in order to demand a Recognition and Tribute of them; threatening withal, if they refused, to treat them as they had done the *Dutch*. But the *Spaniards* slighting their Menaces, peremptorily refused to comply with their Demands. Before we take our Leave of this Subject, we shall relate another Circumstance that happened to this Prince. He had dispatched three Ships freighted with Silver, under the Conduct of some of his Officers, with Orders to unlade it at *Taioan*. These Officers, instead of carrying it where it was bound, bring it to the Emperor of *China*, who appoints them safe Conduct, and praises the Enterprize. But this Prince being very much enraged at the Treachery, raises an Army of above an hundred thousand Men, and equips an innumerable Fleet, on board of which, with the utmost Dispatch, he shipped his Forces, and unexpectedly sailed up the great *Nankingsian* River, beat both Army and Fleet, by Water and by Land, reducing the Places round about the City of *Nanking*. To which he also laid such close Siege, that he plainly saw that it was feasible, and therefore he absolutely intended to master it in a very few Days: Which he had certainly done, had he not declared to his Army, that it was his Pleasure, that a certain Day should be celebrated with all Manner of Mirth and Jollity, in Remembrance of his Birth-Day, which accordingly began with all imaginable Expressions of excessive Joy; but ended with a bitter Farewel; for the *Nankingers* having Notice of it, and being informed of the Negligence of their Guards, (those upon Duty, as well as those who were not, being all drunk) took that Opportunity to make several vigorous Sallies on the Besiegers from all Parts, fell upon them in the Midst of their Debauch, beat them out of their Trenches, and killed the greatest Part of the Army, a few only escaping, who served to carry the News.

The Prince with his small Remainder returns to his Island, and is reported to be so much affected with this scandalous Loss, that running distracted he bit off a Piece of his Tongue, which Wound occasioned such a Flux of Blood, as could not timely be staunch'd, so that he died of it.

His Son, who succeeded him, being young, and very little experienced in Military Affairs, his Father's Loss remained unrevenged; and thus the fairest Opportunity imaginable of taking *Nanking* was irretrievably lost by an unseasonable Rejoicing, and a scandalous Debauch. [Our Author speaks here in the true Language of a native *Chinese*.]

On the other Side, the Emperor could not rest, till, in order to revenge the atrocious Affront offered to him and the late Imperial Metropolis, by this unexpected Incurfion, and to prevent any such Attempt for the Future, had mann'd out a Fleet of four hundred and fifty Sail, and embark'd on board them Forces enough to take *Taioan*, which was entirely encompassed and blocked up by the Fleet. But contrary to all Expectation, the young Prince taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, though he had but forty Ships in all, yet by the Assistance of his excellent Sea-Officers,

he heroically attacked, beat, utterly ruined most and destroyed the Emperor's great Fleet. That Monarch, who thus by dire Experience was instructed not to have too mean Thoughts of his Enemy, soon resolved to take juster Measures: Accordingly he renews his Attempt the next Year, and not only sends more Ships and Forces, but took Care that they should more cautiously encompass and closely shut up all the Avenues to the whole Island, and kept it in this blocked Condition. Mean while the Prince slipping no Opportunity to gall his Enemy, imagining the Coast clear, though provided with a very small Number of Ships, boldly flew at his too powerful Enemy; but was beaten out of the Sea, and forced to fly back to his Island, where he bravely defended himself the Remainder of that Year. But the Coasts being encompassed, and consequently a Stop put to all Commerce; besides which, it was also afflicted with a very great Draught, there having been no Rain for five Years; and no Relief appearing, he at length being driven to the last Extremity by War and Famine, found himself forced to surrender his Country, and submit himself to the Emperor's Mercy, who ordered him to be brought to *Peking*. At Sight of him the Emperor (touched by the tender Years, and the heroick Deportment of the Princely Youth) not only spared his Life, but afterwards made him a Present of the before-mentioned Island, and the Title of King of *Formosa*, which he accordingly at present governs.

Thus the whole Empire of *China*, in the Year 1682, was again subjected to one Sovereign, and the Island *Taioan* or *Formosa* submitted to the Jurisdiction of the Province of *Fokien*, with the additional Appellative *Fu*, and is accordingly number'd amongst the great Cities of that Province.

Its Compass takes in a Circuit of five hundred Miles: Sugar and Buck-skins are the prime Commodities there, and this Island is reckoned about forty Miles distant from the firm Land, or Continent of *China*.

22. *Focken Fu*, that beautiful and large City, is the chief of this Province, and is very famous for its Commerce with the *Japonesse*, *Indians*, and *Europeans*, tho' this of late has declined.

This Province contains nine large Cities, amongst which, as is already hinted, the above-mentioned Island of *Formosa* is reckoned as one. Three of these nine are very considerable and large, to which is added another Island, viz. *Haimui*, which is about eleven or twelve Miles in Circuit, is blessed with the finest Haven in the whole Province, and formerly was possessed by the above-mentioned Prince of *Formosa*, and for a long Time bravely held out against the Emperor; but sometime afterwards it was conquered by one of the two Kings, which, as is before related, governed, the one *Canton*, the other *Fokien*. Both of them were rewarded for their great Actions with Donatives; but the King of *Fokien* rebelled against the Emperor.

This King of *Fokien* at the same Time prosecuted a vigorous War against the Prince of *Haimai* by Sea, and the Emperor by Land; who being too feeble to resist them both, submitted himself to the Emperor, on whose Command being come to *Peking*, he and his Son were put to Death.

In these Civil Dissentions in this Empire, there fell, by the above-mentioned Wars, above Forty Millions of Men. The Names of the remaining large Cities are, *Zhivencheu Fu*, *Hinghoa Fu*, *Chaboen Fu*, *Jenping Fu*, *Quien Fu*, *Tingcheu Fu*, *Changefu*, and *Taioan Fu*, or *Formosa*. These nine Capital Cities preside over sixty others.

The Number of Cities in the whole Empire amounts to seventeen hundred; to particularize the Names of all which would take up too much Time, and tire the Reader, wherefore we have only mentioned the Chief of them. I have barely touched on some Events, the Story of which is very well known, happening mostly within the Compass of our Remembrance, and during the Reigns of the last *Chinese* and the present *Tartarian* Families; for it would have taken up too much of the Reader's Patience, to have descended to Particulars: Wherefore

Wherefore I chose rather to supply this short Description mostly from my own Knowledge and Observation, having in the mean Time, in the acquiring of one, and making the other, suffered great Scandals and Afflictions for Christ's Sake, as well as frequently put up my Supplications to him, and implored his Aid in Time of Need, as also that he would please to make his Grace known to the World, which I hereby do, through his great Mercy; desiring the Reader to give as much Credit to these few Pages, as he would to a Person that chiefly writes the bare Result of his own Knowledge and Observation, by which Rule his Pen hath been guided, as it will be in the future Part of this Tract.

I proceed now to treat of the Distances of Provinces, and at the same Time to describe the People of the Country, the Progress of the Christian Religion; the Rivers, Lakes, Shipping, Bridges, and Walls; the Chinese moral Precepts, Education of their Children, Complements, good Manners, and Learning; their Trees, Fruits, and Vegetables; neighbouring Islands, Provinces, Kingdoms, and People; concluding with the Nations that have been subdued or were annexed to China by the present Emperor Canghi.

23. The Metropolis of the Empire, *Xuntien Fu*, otherwise called *Peking*, is situated two hundred Miles distant from *Leaotung* and *Xantung*; about one hundred and sixty Miles from *Peking*. *Xansi* is one hundred and sixty, *Xienfi* two hundred and fifty, *Nanking* two hundred and sixty, *Honan* one hundred and thirty, *Kiangsi* four hundred and thirty, *Chekiang* three hundred and fifty, *Suebuen* six hundred and fifty, *Huquang* three hundred and fifty, *Queicheu* eight hundred, *Junan* one thousand, *Quoangsi* eight hundred and fifty, *Quantung* eight hundred, and *Fokien* seven hundred and fifty Miles or Hours from *Peking*. This is the Distance of all the Provinces from the Court, computing from the Metropolis of the whole Empire to each Capital City of the respective Provinces.

From *Nanking* to *Xantung* is reckoned two hundred Miles, to *Honan* one hundred and eighty, to *Huquang* two hundred, to *Chekiang* one hundred, to *Kiangsi* one hundred and sixty. This is the Distance betwixt *Nanking* and the mentioned capital Cities.

Xienfi is distant from *Honan* two hundred Miles, from *Xenfi* one hundred and fifty, and from *Suebuen* two hundred.

Huquang is distant from *Chiangsi* one hundred and thirty, from *Honan* one hundred and sixty, from *Suebuen* two hundred, from *Quoangsi* three hundred and sixty, and from *Canton* four hundred Miles.

Chekiang lies two hundred Miles distant from *Kiangsi*, and above three hundred from *Peking*.

Canton is three hundred and fifty Miles from *Fokien*, four hundred from *Quoangsi*, and three hundred and eighty from *Kiangsi*.

Junan is distant from *Quoangsi* three hundred Miles, from *Queicheu* three hundred and thirty, and from the Kingdom of *Laos* three hundred. These are the reciprocal Distances of the capital Cities, computed according to the common Land Measure.

The Maritime Provinces are, *Zantung*, *Nanking*, *Chekiang*, *Fokien*, and *Quantung* or *Canton*.

Nanking, *Chekiang*, *Hucvang*, *Kiangsi*, *Junan*, *Canton*, and *Fokien*, are esteemed the finest Provinces.

Xantung, *Xansi*, *Xienfi*, *Peking*, *Honan* and *Leaotung*, are of the middle Sort.

But *Queicheu*, *Suebuen*, and *Quoangsi* are accounted the worst of all, by reason they are very mountainous, and very much impoverish'd by the Wars.

The largest Provinces are *Xiengsi*, *Huquang*, *Nanking*, *Junan*, *Kiangsi*, and *Chekiang*; each of these larger Provinces is above three hundred Miles wide, and much longer. Compared with these, the middle-siz'd Provinces are *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Quoangsi*, *Queicheu*, *Honan*, and *Fokien*, and so accounted, because they are not above two hundred Miles broad; and also *Quantung*, which is but one hundred and fifty Miles long, but full three hundred Miles broad; by which Rule, *Xansi*, *Leaotung*, and *Suebuen*, are likewise reckoned but small

Provinces, since they are but about one hundred and fifty Miles broad, and one hundred and sixty in Length.

The principal Maritime Trading Cities, Towns, and Places, which are frequented by the *Indians*, *Japonefe*, and *Europeans*, are the following ten, viz. *Canton*, the Isles of *Macao*, *Hainan* and *Chaocheu*; all which belong to, and are dependant on the Province of *Quoantung*; and belonging to *Fokien*, are *Fochen Fu*, and the Islands *Haemui* and *Tajouan*, or *Formosa*; these drive on a vast Trade with the *Europeans* and *Indians*: Besides which, there are also two Cities in *Nanking* and *Xangbai*, and the City *Nimpo* in the Province of *Chekiang*; all which have a very considerable Trade with the *Japonefe*. In the Province of *Xinsi* or *Xienfi* is the great City of *Zinning*, which is a most noble Emporium, being the Centre of a vast inland Commerce with the Western *Tartars*, *Moungalls*, *Tibetts*, and *Russians*.

"The Island of *Macao*, which is mentioned above, belongs to the *Portuguese*; and they have upon it a Fort and City, if that Name may be given to a few Houses, which are not enclosed by any Wall: This Place is famous for the Trade which the *Portuguese* drove there before the *Dutch East-India Company* chased them out of *India*. What they at present possess is by Favour of the *Chinese*, to whom they are obliged to pay servile Obedience, if they intend quietly to enjoy what they hold: All Customs for Goods imported here are paid to the Emperor; and though the *Portuguese* preserve a Sort of Government here, their Power extends no farther than to Cases which do not concern the *Chinese*; for they are otherwise subordinate to the Jurisdiction of the Mandarins of *Quoantung* or *Canton*.

24. It may possibly contribute to the Information, as well as Entertainment of the Reader, to peruse the following very succinct and comprehensive Account of this Empire, written within these few Years, by an *Italian* that has resided upwards of thirty seven Years in the Empire, for the Satisfaction of an illustrious young Prince, whose Inclinations leading him to procure the most certain Intelligence, as to the present State of all Nations, had found Means to request this Favour of one, who of all others, had the greatest Opportunity of satisfying his Curiosity. There is nothing taken from the Piece, except the introductory and concluding Compliments, which having nothing to do with the Matters of Fact, it was thought necessary, for the Sake of saving Room, to strike them out.

"As to the Extent of this Empire, it is not easy to speak of it with Certainty, for with Regard to the *Europeans*, they have no Opportunity of examining the Frontiers on every Side, in such a Manner as might enable them to decide on this Head, with any Degree of Exactness; and as for the *Chinese*, they have fewer Occasions, and much less Abilities for a Work of this Sort. To say the Truth, the Thing itself is scarce practicable, there being nothing more difficult, than to fix the Extent of the Territories of the *Tartar* Princes, dependant upon this Empire, and yet without this, there is no doing any Thing. It is true, the old *Chinese* Writers tell us, that their Empire was formerly much greater than it is at present; that *Japan* was once subject to them, as also the Kingdoms of *Tunkin*, *Siam*, &c. and part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul; but for all this, I am apt to believe, that since the *Tartars* became last Masters of *China*, which is now a compleat hundred Years, the Empire is to the full as large as ever it was. Its Bounds at present are the Dominions of the *Russians* on the North, the Ocean on the East; and on the South, for I look upon the Peninsula of *Corea* as dependant upon this Empire; on the West, they have great Deserts, and the Countries under the *Contaiish Khan*, which stretch as far as the *Russian Territories*; and this is all I am able to say, as to the Extent of this Empire, except that according to a Perambulation that I have seen, the Line of their Boundaries is computed at about seven thousand Miles, which, as far as I am able to judge, does not exceed the Truth.

"I can

" I can speak more particularly, as to the Climate ;
 " it extends from 18 Degrees of Latitude to 55, and con-
 " frequently takes in all the Climates from the third to
 " the tenth, so that the longest Day in the most South-
 " ern Parts is thirteen Hours and a half long, and in
 " the most Northern about seventeen Hours. The
 " Heat is great in the Southern Provinces, and the Cold
 " very severe in the North. As to the former, I have
 " been upon the Coasts of *Bengal*, and I think it not
 " at all warmer than in *China*. I have been also in
 " *Poland*, and did not find it so cold there as in the
 " Northern Parts of *China*, or rather of *Tartary* about
 " the River *Amur*. By this Means they have at *Peking*
 " all Sorts of Fruits, by which I do not mean every
 " Kind of Fruit, but of those different Sorts that are
 " peculiar to the warmest and coldest Climates ; as for
 " Instance, the most high flavoured Oranges and well-
 " tasted Apples ; but there is this Difference between
 " them, that Nature brings the Southern Fruits to the
 " highest Perfection with little or no Culture, whereas
 " those of the North require a great deal, which however
 " the *Chinese* never bestow upon them ; hence therefore
 " three or four Sorts of Apples, and five or six of Pears,
 " is all they can boast ; and as for Cherries, they have
 " them both red and black, but they are neither of
 " them good, though they might have them, if they
 " were at Pains, in the utmost Perfection.

" It is easy to discern from hence, that there are no
 " Kind of Commodities or Manufactures wanting in
 " this Country, and a very few Specimens will convince
 " you of the Truth of this ; they have the very best
 " Silks of all Kinds in the World, and in a vast Abun-
 " dance ; they have very rich Furs, which I take to be the
 " opposite of Silk ; they have also prodigious Quantities
 " of Cotton, and are not deficient in Wooll. They
 " have Metals of all Sorts in great Plenty, except Lead ;
 " they have likewise all Kinds of Wood, Sugar in the ut-
 " most Abundance, and Spices sufficient for their
 " their own Use, and yet they use a vast deal. It was
 " from a true Sense of their own Abundance, that the
 " ancient *Chinese* were averse to Foreign Trade ; and if
 " the *Tartars* permit it, it is upon this Principle, that
 " their Subjects are vast Gainers by it ; for except Toys
 " and Lead, there is Nothing comes to a good Market
 " in *China*.

" At present the Empire of *China*, exclusive of its
 " Dependencies, is divided into fifteen Provinces.
 " Those of *Chenfi*, *Chanfi*, and *Petcheli*, in which last
 " is the Imperial City of *Peking*, are bounded by the
 " famous Wall which divides *China* from *Tartary* ;
 " those of *Chan tong*, *Kiang nan*, in which is *Nanking*
 " the old Capital, *Tche kiang* and *Fokien* lie on the
 " Eastern Ocean ; those of *Quang tong*, *Quangsi*, *Yun nan*
 " *se tcbuen*, lie on the South, and on the West ; *Honan*.
 " *Hou quang*, *Koei tcbou*, *Kiang si*, are Midland Pro-
 " vinces. They divide their Towns into four Ranks,
 " which it is impossible to describe ; the three first have
 " Names, the last are such as are under the Jurisdiction
 " of the rest, and consequently have no particular De-
 " nomination. The great Cities they stile *Fou*, and
 " of these they reckon one hundred seventy three. The
 " larger Towns they call *Tcheou*, and of these they
 " reckon two hundred thirty five. They give their
 " biggest Boroughs the Name of *Hien*, and of these
 " they reckon eleven hundred and seventy three ;
 " as for the subordinate Places, I dare not call them
 " Villages, for many of them are walled, and some of
 " them contain fifty thousand Souls ; these, I say, are
 " without Names, and without Number.

" They pretend to be very exact in their Computati-
 " ons of the Number of their People, and from the
 " best Enquiry I have been able to make, though the
 " Thing must appear romantick and ridiculous in *Eu-*
 " *rope*, I am convinced that they are not much beyond
 " the Truth, in affirming that their Emperor has sixty
 " Millions of Souls in his Dominions.

" One would imagine, that vast Difficulties must
 " arise to the Government, from such a Multitude of
 " Subjects, but it is quite otherwise, for Government is
 " with them a systematical Thing, reduced under cer-

tain Rules, with which, so far as he is concerned, every
 " Man in the Empire is acquainted, and most of them
 " no farther. The Emperor himself has his Circle of
 " Business, which he is obliged to go through, and
 " which cannot be done for him, and therein consists
 " the great Secret of their Policy. He has always the
 " State of some Province or other under his Inspection,
 " and when one is finished, Nobody knows which will
 " be the next ; but all these Inspections are made with
 " great Strictness and Severity. It is true, that in some
 " Province or other, Corruption prevails perhaps for
 " twenty or thirty Years, but it is as true, that some
 " Time or other all this is redressed, and Things are
 " brought back again to their original Institution ; the
 " first Maxim in the *Chinese* System is, that the Em-
 " peror acts as the Father of his People, he may indeed
 " be a bad Father, but he would be soon told of that ;
 " by his absolute Power he might dispatch this Moni-
 " tor, but that would quickly produce more ; there are
 " always many Patriots in *China*, who for the Sake of
 " that Glory, which results from doing good to the So-
 " ciety, are ready to lay down their Lives ; yet after
 " all, Things are seldom pushed to this Extremity, and
 " it is more common to see the Emperor confessing his
 " Faults and Weaknesses in his publick Edicts, which
 " are generally calculated to repair them, and are usually
 " concluded with many fair Promises for the Future.

" It is certain, that the People are very corrupt, and
 " that this Corruption runs through all Ranks ; but
 " their Scheme of Government is so wise, that sooner
 " or later these Corruptions are met with ; so that Vice
 " ebbs and flows, and is driven out of one Province,
 " when it gains Ground in another ; but still there is
 " such a Stock of Virtue, as serves to preserve the
 " whole, and to keep the Machine moving. Capital
 " Punishments are very rarely inflicted, for there are
 " more Executions in a Year in *Naples*, than in all
 " *China* ; one Year with another, there are not three
 " in *Peking*, but there is a kind of Punishment more
 " exemplary, and more useful than Death, that is very
 " common, their Mandarines, even of the highest Order,
 " may be degraded, and he who had Yesterday a Train
 " of twelve hundred Men, shall be To-day upon a Le-
 " vel with the meanest of them, but never without
 " Cause ; for though there is Injustice enough in all their
 " Tribunals, yet the last Resort is pure, and the *Tartar*
 " Emperors have been hitherto the Fathers of their Peo-
 " ple, in almost all ; but in that Respect more especially.

" Their Armies are very numerous, and according
 " to their Mode very well disciplin'd, yet their Fire-
 " Arms are but indifferent ; it is their Numbers that se-
 " cure them from any Danger from their Neighbours ;
 " in one Thing they are singular, their Motions create
 " no Disorder, a Body of fifty thousand Men will
 " traverse the whole Empire without taking an Egg or
 " an Apple by Force. Their Traders are all Cheats, and
 " their being so is no great Inconvenience or Detriment
 " to Commerce, for it makes them all very expert and
 " attentive ; since their Maxim is, that it is not the Per-
 " son who does the Wrong, who imposes upon ano-
 " ther, but he that is outwitted that does wrong himself.
 " As great as their Country is, the Number of People
 " that are in it would soon be reduced to Starving, if
 " every Spot was not cultivated that will admit of it,
 " and every Hand employed that can work.

" This is a short but a true Representation of this
 " Empire, and of those that compose it. It is not
 " like to extend itself, but it will certainly last for
 " many Ages. The *Chinese* will never make Conquests
 " or push their Foreign Commerce beyond its present
 " Bounds. *Ningpo* will be the Center of the *Japonesse*
 " Trade, *Amoy* of the *Indian*, and *Canton* of the *Eu-*
 " *ropean*, as long as they continue a Nation. They
 " have been long free from intestine Commotions, but
 " in succeeding Times they may be exposed to them ;
 " and yet those Revolutions, though destructive to In-
 " dividuals, can hardly be dangerous to the Empire.
 " The Prosperity of their own Government is the sole
 " Object of their Consideration ; their Statesmen, and
 " more especially their Emperors, are far from being

“ so ignorant of Foreign Affairs as is imagined ; they
 “ know enough of them for their Purpose, and they
 “ have neither Leisure, Occasion or Inclination to know
 “ more ; they are naturally civil to Foreigners, but at
 “ the same Time they are naturally jealous of them.
 “ To sum up all, they look upon themselves to be the
 “ Wisest, the Greatest, the Richest, the Happiest, and
 “ the most Powerful of all Nations ; and, exclusive of
 “ their Spiritual Concerns, those who are best ac-
 “ quainted with them, will think them the least mis-
 “ taken.

25. After this concise Detail of the *Chinese* Affairs, it is Time to hasten to the End of this Subject, by giving our Readers the remaining Part of *Dionysius Kao's* Description and Account of his own Country, which is written in so plain, so distinct, and so just a Manner, that it will be easily perceived it differs as much from the Accounts given us by the Jesuits, as it is possible for Pieces to do that are written upon the same Subject, and neither of which can be said to be absolutely void of Truth : For most of the Descriptions given us by the Missionaries, are penned in a high-flown rhetorical Stile ; and every Thing in them is represented so much beyond the Life, that either we do not conceive it at all, or the Notions we form are quite beside the Truth. But what our *Chinese* writes is in an easy, simple, and familiar Way, and in such a Way as leaves us no Doubt that he tells us the Truth, and nothing more or less than the Truth. In his Account, the Reader will observe a Clearness and Candour that is scarce to be found in any other Thing of the like Nature, as well as a Strain of sincere Piety, that has very little in it of Superstition, and nothing at all of that Hypocrisy and Cant with which most of the Descriptions of *China* are burthened. The Contents of it will very fully support and confirm what is delivered in the foregoing Memorial, and afford a Picture at whole Length, of what is there represented only in Miniature.

Before we put an End to this Section however, I crave Leave to make one Observation of my own, which I flatter myself will enable the Reader to deliver himself from a Difficulty that has hitherto been thought almost inextricable. It is this : Some Writers, very well acquainted with *China*, represent its Inhabitants as the most ingenious, the most penetrating, and the most happy in their Inventions, of any People in the World ; while others again, who pretend to know them full as well, positively assert, that their Notions are narrow, their Inventions mean, their Execution very incorrect, and that, in short, they fall full as much below the *Europeans*, as their Admirers would place them above them. Now common Sense seems to teach us, that one of these Opinions must be absolutely false, and yet it is not very easy to distinguish which, since the Authorities on both Sides are pretty nearly equal.

On the strictest Enquiry I begin to think, that both these Notions, properly understood, are reconcileable enough to Truth, and even to one another. If we compare the Arts and Sciences of *China* with those of *Europe*, there is no Doubt that in most Things they fall very far short ; and yet compared with the rest of the Eastern Countries, their Knowledge and their Performances are very extraordinary.

But on the other Hand it is to be considered, that the *Europeans* have had much greater Experience, and much better Masters : For as to the former, it is notorious that we have all the Lights which various Countries and various Ages can bestow, what the *Greeks* left unfinished to the *Romans*, what the *Romans* farther perfected, and what, upon the Revival of Arts and Sciences in *Italy*, was cultivated with that Zeal and Diligence, which is natural when Arts are emerging out of Barbarism, at once excites and directs our Endeavours in these later Times. But besides all this, there is and has been a vast Spirit of Emulation in the different Parts of *Europe*, and what has been first struck out in one Country, has been altered, improved and carried to the highest Perfection in another. By this Means we are become, in most Things, infinitely superior to the *Chinese* ; but if we consider Things in another Light, we must allow them to be superior in their Turns.

They have been always a distinct and detached Nation, having nothing to do with the rest of the World, or at least nothing to do with in this Respect ; all that they have acquired, with regard to Science, all that they perform, in reference to Arts, is solely of their own Invention, Prosecution, and Improvement ; and therefore they deserve in this Sense the highest Praises. If Printing, Artillery, the Use of the Compass, and many other Things, seem very rude amongst them, in Comparison of that Neatness and Perfection to which they are arrived with us ; yet we cannot deny, that they had them long before us ; and after all, there may be many Things said in Excuse of that State in which they are found here ; for their Manner of expressing their Language in Characters, the Method they use in Printing is better than ours ; their Artillery are sufficiently serviceable for any the Purposes to which they employ them ; and as to their Navigation, considering the Maxims upon which their Commerce is carried on, it may be very doubtful whether they wish, and consequently we need not wonder, that they are not solicitous to arrive at any farther Perfection.

Thus I apprehend this Knot is fairly untied, and the Dispute settled, as to the Proficiency of the *Europeans*, and the Ingenuity of the *Chinese* ; if the former excel in the one, so do the latter in the other ; and if we know Things better, we have this Knowledge from others ; whereas they have all from their own Stock, and had all they have much earlier than we.

SECTION VI.

A copious, accurate, and authentick Account of whatever is most remarkable in Regard to Persons or Things throughout the whole Empire of *China* ; more especially the Number of the Inhabitants in general, and of the Christians in particular ; the Rivers, Shipping, Lakes, Bridges, &c. The different Religions that prevail, and have prevailed, amongst the People ; their Manners, Ceremonies, and extraordinary Politeness. Of the remarkable Trees, rich Fruits, and valuable Drugs in this Country ; together with a suc-

and Account of those Kingdoms, that either now depend, or formerly depended upon it.

By DIONYSIUS KAO, a Native of China.

1. An Account of the vast Numbers of People in this Empire, together with Proofs of, and Reasons for, its being so populous.
2. An Account of the Progress of Christianity, and of the Number of the Christians in China towards the Close of the last Century.
3. The Situation and Extent of the famous Chinese Wall; the famous Rivers, and prodigious Quantity of Shipping in this Empire.
4. Of the most famous Lakes, the most remarkable Bridges, and the most celebrated Ports in China.
5. The Religious and Philosophical Opinions of the Chinese, more especially those of Confucius and his Followers.
6. Of the breaking out of a detestable Heresy that still prevails in this Empire, and of the Entrance and Progress of Idolatry amongst the Chinese.
7. Of the Prevalence of Atheism in this Country, the Nature of it, and the pernicious Effects of their superstitious Regard for Antiquity.
8. Of Deism, or Natural Religion, as professed and practised by the wisest and best Sort of People in China.
9. Of the Established Religion among the Tartars, their Lama's or Priests, and of the Dalai Lama, or Living God; with the surprizing Progress of this absurd Superstition.
10. Of the Ceremonious Civilities and Compliments established by Law in China; and of the Rules prescribed to all Ranks of People in Reference to Things of this Nature.
11. Of the Marriages amongst the Chinese; of their Manner of Living in their Families, and other Things of that Nature.
12. Of their Funeral Solemnities, their long Mourning, and the superstitious Honours paid to Persons deceased.
13. Of the Lanthorn Feast, and of other publick and private Festivals observed by this Nation.
14. Of the Trees, Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Drugs, &c. in China.
15. Of the Animals, Mines, Metals and Minerals in this Empire.
16. The Author's Account of Japan, Corea, Formosa, Tunkin, and Laos.
17. Of other Countries formerly dependent on, or that have been lately subjected to the Emperor of China.

I N the Villages and Towns, as well as Cities in China, the People are reckoned not by ten or hundred thousands, but by Millions: Their Numbers are so vast, and China so prodigious populous, that it really seems incredible; and those who have taken a View of this Country from an exalted Place, have always compared the Number of Men to that of Ants creeping in Crouds amongst one another. They are indeed so numerous, that common and very indifferent Houses are charged with five or six Families: And the Roads, Streets and Lanes, are so crouded, that it is scarce possible to pass without jostling one another. All this will appear yet more surprizing, if it be consider'd, that no Woman appears in Publick in any Part of China, except at Peking; they never going on Foot, but are carried in covered Seats or Chairs, wherever they please.

The most populous Cities are Nanking, Hangcheu, Sucheu, Peking, Jungcheu, Canton, Fochien, Viuchang Fu, Chengcheu, and Zuencheu, besides several others. Not to mention the fabulous Relations concerning the first planting and peopling of Countries, I am of Opinion that the first Inhabitants of this Empire were the Descendants of Shem, Noah's eldest Son; for in the Division of the World they seem to be all distributed in Asia, of which China is Part: And at the Confusion of Babel, traversing that Quarter of the World, probably settled here, because they found no Part of it better than this, which is blessed with a healthful Air, temperate with Regard both to Heat and Cold: The Fertility of the Pasture Grounds, which richly feed all Sorts of Cattle, invited their Choice, and in a Manner forced them to take up their Abode here. After which, Experience confirm'd the Happiness of their Choice, by their being amply provided not only with all Necessaries to human Life, but even with whatever Luxury could wish. Industry, Art, and Prudence, improv'd the natural Liberality of the Soil, and engaged the Neighbours to think China the Garden of the Universe, and its Inhabitants the wisest and most polite People in the World; and that those of their Neighbours, who succeeded best in the Imitation of them, were next them esteemed the most intelligent People of Asia. Buoyed up by this vast Reputation, they extended the Limits of their Empire far beyond the Bounds of China: And not only Tunkin, Cochinchina, and Laos, besides several neighbouring Islands; but the Kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, Part of Tartary, Camboja, and Japan, have been

subordinate to them, as may be sufficiently proved by their complying with and continuing to make Use of the same common Customs; which is also confirm'd by the Chinese Empire, being known to be above one thousand Years old, and to have always retained the same Language, Doctrine, Government, and Habit, down to this Time. Though indeed one Exception lies to that General Rule, which happen'd about fifty Years past; and that was the changing their Fashion of wearing their Hair, when the Tartars overpower'd their Monarchy; but that Alteration was a coercive Acknowledgment of their wretched Slavery.

The Chinese formerly wore long Hair, of which they were not a little proud, adorning it with Gold Wire, and firmly believing that they should be drawn up to Heaven by it; which doubled the Severity of the Command that obliged them to part with it, and comply with the Tartarian Fashion; and engaged them rather to sustain the Fatigues of a cruel War, at the Expence of a great many Lives, than suffer their Hair to be cut off: But the Tartar had proceeded too far to be opposed. However, the Prudence of the Emperor, and the Mildness of his Government, permitting the Chinese Men of Quality, called Mandarins, quietly to enjoy their important Posts, somewhat alleviated the melancholy Reflections, occasioned by this Loss, and their Slavery; for the Tartars having subjected China, did not shew themselves solicitous to make any Alteration in its ancient Form of Government; and, as I just now hinted, the Chinese Mandarins remained in the same State and Character as before, only having an equal Number of Tartars added to them: And by these subtle Measures the foreign Power, which they were always jealous of, stole in upon them. And this Maxim was so well observ'd, that all the Courts of Justice, from the highest to the lowest, were equally supply'd with a Tartarian and Chinese Judge; and indeed the whole Government is jointly entrusted in the Hands of Tartarians and Chinese, and to this present Time, peaceably administered in Subordination to the Commands of the Emperor of China and Tartary.

In the Reign of the present Emperor, the Christian Religion is more freely indulged than ever; so that we ought not to despair, but that the whole Empire of China may in Time embrace that Faith which only leads to Salvation. And from the first Entrance of the Missionaries into that Empire, they have continually used their utmost Industry, to engage this subtle Nation to embrace

embrace Christianity, and plant that saving Doctrine, which is at this Time very widely spread in *China*.

Kanghi, the present reigning Emperor, in the Year 1692, granted to the Missionaries and Jesuits, Freedom for all the World to worship God in their Churches, which is the same as to become Christians; and this Edict, pursuant to the Emperor's Pleasure, was ratified by the Supreme Court of Justice of the Empire; and empowered those, who thought fit to cause themselves to be baptized, afterwards freely to exercise the Christian Religious Worship, without the least Interruption, which before that Time was prohibited; a Favour that had long been earnestly desired, and before which the Christians had run through many severe Persecutions: But now by the Divine Goodness, we are delivered from sore Afflictions and Oppositions, for which we continually return our Thanks to Almighty God.

About the Middle of the sixteenth Century, *Francis Xavier*, designing to plant the Gospel here, died in Sight of Land, as he was coming from *Japan*: After him several Missionaries and Priests came into this Country with the same Intent, viz. *Martinus Xerrada*, *Geronimo Marino*, *Michael Rugieri*, *Piedro Alfaro*, and *Matthias Ricci*, besides several others, who a little before the Year 1600, laid the first Foundation of this good Work in the Reign of the Emperor *Vanlie*. Father *Ricci*, whom we named last, distinguished himself above all the rest; he converted several of the Nobility, and acquired a very great Reputation; he perfectly understood, and fluently spoke the *Chinese* Language; and being a sedulous and faithful Labourer in the spiritual Vineyard, made the most successful Beginning, on which Account he hath always been thought the first of the Missionaries.

Whilst this Father *Ricci* was in *China*, and in the Reign of the Emperor *Vaile*, the *Tartars* made an Irupition into *China*, took several Cities, and conquer'd several Countries; but were shortly repulsed by that illustrious Prince; after which he ruled in perfect Peace, and in the Year 1620, the eight and fiftieth of his Age, and forty eighth of his Reign, he died. Not long before, about the Year 1615, arose a furious Persecution, which threatened the utter Extirpation of the Faith that was so lately planted. These exorbitant Cruelties were principally pushed on by *Chinkio*, one of the chief Magistrates of *Nanking*; and by a malicious Cunning the Shepherds were the most vigorously attacked, in order the more successfully to destroy the Flock; but after they had suffered great Afflictions for the Space of six Years, their Persecutor was punished by Death, and the Church recovering her former Liberty, began to increase daily, especially after the Arrival of Father *John Adam*, *Schaal* or *Scaliger*, whose Learning, Mathematical Knowledge, and prudent Conduct, acquired for him one of the chief Places in the Emperor's Favour, and the good Opinion of the whole Court; which furnished him with an Opportunity of farther propagating and confirming Christianity. And though in the Interim the great Revolution happened, which transferred the Crown to the *Tartarian* from the *Chinese* Family, by the Death of *Zunchi*, the last of the Race of *Taiminga*, which had swayed the Imperial Sceptre for the Space of two hundred and eighty Years, and produced in that Time sixteen Emperors; yet the sagacious Father *Adam Schaal* render'd himself so agreeable to the new *Tartarian* Court, that he became President of the Tribunal of Mathematicians, and continued, though not without Envy, the Emperor's Favourite; and after having enjoyed that Post for several Years, died in 1665.

2. *Yamquamsten*, the wicked Instrument of the most cruel Persecution that ever was in *China*, succeeded Father *Adam Schaal* in his President's Charge: But his Reign did not continue long, being opposed by Father *Ferdinand Verbiest*, who clearly demonstrated his Abilities for that Post to be far superior to those of his Persecutor; wherefore he was promoted in his Place, and *Yamquamsten* fell into such a Disgrace, that he narrowly escaped a Sentence of Death, as the Reward of his Perse-

cution against Father *Adam*; a Stop being put to that Persecution by the especial Mercy of the Emperor.

After the Death of Father *Ferdinand Verbiest*, in the Year 1688, which was lamented by the Emperor himself in a Funeral Elegy, he was succeeded in the before-mentioned Charge of President of the Mathematical Tribunal by Father *Philip Grimaldi*, who filled that Post as honourably as his Predecessor, and advanced himself to such a high Place in the Imperial Favour, that in the Year 1689, he was sent Ambassador from the Emperor into *Europe*, to adjust some important Affairs in *Muscovy* with the Czar; his President's Post in the Tribunal being worthily supplied till his Return by the Fathers *Thomas Pereira* and *Anthony Thomas*.

"This is the same Father *Pereira*, who, in Conjunction with Father *Gerbillon*, was twice sent, they being dignified with the Title of *Mandaryns* of the third Rank, as Interpreters in the great Embassy and Treaty of Peace at *Nepchou*, by the *Muscovites* called *Nerzinskoy*, and of whom it is reported, to their great Honour, that they suggested the Measures which render'd the Treaty of Peace betwixt the *Muscovites* and *Chinese* successful. To which Purpose, *Gerbillon* went several Times alone to the *Muscovite* Camp, and so far convinced that Nation of their true Interest, that the Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Empire was ratified and sworn on the 3d of September, 1689."

The Number of Christians daily increased, from the Respect paid to the Jesuits by the Court, and the Emperor's zealous Inclination for the *European* Arts and Sciences, insomuch that the least Number of Christians computed to be in *Peking* was sixteen thousand; in *Nanking* an hundred thousand. In the abovesaid large trading Village or Town *Xanghui*, there were but ten thousand; in the Province of *Chekiang* are reckoned seven or eight thousand; in *Koangsi* they amount to about ten thousand; in *Huquang* there are six or seven thousand; in *Canton* about ten thousand; in *Fokien* about five thousand; and in *Xiensí* about three thousand. The whole Number of Christians throughout the whole Empire being computed to amount to two hundred thousand. But the Number of Shepherds which carefully watch this Flock, and sedulously endeavour the Conversion of others, is not above sixty.

3. The prodigious Wall which covers this Empire, is called by the *Chinese* in their own Language, *Vauli Tcham Tcham*, and was built some Centuries before Christ's time by the *Chinese* Emperor, *Chien Chu Voang*, in order to prevent the Incursions of the Western *Tartars*: For which End it is extended from the *Leaotungian*, or oriental Sea, far beyond the Middle of *Xiensí*, and includes the Provinces of *Peking*, *Xansi*, and almost all the Country of *Xiensí*: Its Length is computed directly as a right Line at above 650 *French* Miles, but reckoned as a Curve Line amounts to one thousand: Whence its *Chinese* Name was derived, which imports a thousand Miles: It is full eight Ells thick, and six high. It is not a little surprizing to see this bulky Wall in a Manner skip over the most terrible and steep Hills, and to observe three or four lofty Towers or Forts within the Compass of every Mile, as well as its having run through so many Ages, and its being in such good Case at present, which is owing to constant Surveys, and timely Repairs. The two principal Rivers in this Empire are, the Yellow River, in *Chinese* called *Hoangso*, and *Yangzu Kiang*, that is the Son of the Sea, so called on Account of its vast Depth and great Breadth, it being full two Miles wide: It is also called the *Nankingian* River, because it runs through the Province, and close by the City of that Name. This last River is navigable throughout the whole Empire; several small Lakes as well as several Rivulets fall into it, which rise in the Provinces *Kiangsi*, *Huquang*, *Quangsi*, *Quoantung*, *Chekiang*, *Suchuen* and *Honan*; and there are besides, Passages cut and rendred navigable from this to the other principal River. The Course of the Yellow River is extended to a very great Length, and runs through several Countries, it is also very deep, broad in some Places and narrow in others: It rises out of the Lake in

in the Western Quarter of *Tartary*, and runs through the Provinces of *Xansi*, *Xienfi*, *Honan* and *Nanking*, where at last it falls into the Sea. This River is scarce navigable by Reason of its prodigious Rapidity, and the vast Floods which frequently descend into it from *Tartary* and the Northern Parts, (through which it runs;) and sometimes prove very mischievous to both Men and Cattle, by carrying away Houses, Hutts, Fields and whatever is upon them, and at other Times sweeping away whole Villages and Cities.

Besides these two Principal there are other Rivers, as *Zbientangkiang* which is very broad, but not comparable to the two former in Length or Depth; running only through the Province of *Chekiang*, and then falling into the Sea. The remaining Rivers, though some of them are large, are much less considerable than these which have been described.

Besides the natural Streams or Rivers, here are several artificial large navigable Channels; most of the Provinces are provided with one of these broad Channels of long Extent, for a Conveyance from one Province or River to another: They are commonly cut in a direct Line, paved with flat Stones, and adorned with beautiful lofty Stone Bridges, the Arches of which afford a very fine and regular Prospect. Some are of Opinion that the Yellow River was cut by human Industry, above three thousand Years past, by Order of the Emperor *Juwoang*: And to strengthen their Assertion, they add, that the Land whereabouts it rises was overflowed by a vast Inundation of Water, and that the Emperor, in order to draw it off, caused a very wide and very long Channel to be dug, which making Way for this Deluge, it broke through, and discharged itself with such Force into these artificial Channels, that it composed the Yellow River. But this meets with a very cool or rather no Credit; it not being possible for the Flux of Waters occasioned by such an Inundation perpetually to supply a River, whose Length is above six hundred Miles, and the Current of which is so strong, besides its vast Depth and Breadth.

There are navigable large and convenient Canals to all Places of the Empire, except only in the Provinces of *Suchuen*, *Queicheu*, *Xansi* and *Xienfi*.

In *China* the Quantity of Ships is innumerable as the Sand of the Sea: Those which carry Corn only to *Peking* amounting to 9999 large Ships, sufficient to carry above thirty or forty thousand Weight: And their Passage from *Nanking* to *Peking*, being seven or eight hundred *Italian* Miles, mostly through artificial Channels, take up full six Months time. Besides these, there is an equal Number of Ships made use of to carry Silk, Stuffs and other Goods thither; so that they are prodigiously numerous, besides the Ships which belong to particular Merchants: So that it is not only feasible to step from Ship to Ship as on a Water-Key, from *Nanking* to *Peking*, but as the Jesuits expressing their incredible Number say, if it were but practicable in other Respects, here are Ships enough to make a Bridge from *China* to *Europe*.

"The same Number of Nine thousand nine hundred ninety nine being before-mentioned, we will explain both Passages here: *Le Comte* saith that the Barges from eighty to an hundred Tuns burthen, make this Voyage once in a Year; but in another Place he tells us, That 9999 are always kept in a Readiness; to which he adds, so runs the common Report of the People, by Reason that such a Sort of Expression in their Language imports a much larger and indefinite Number, which may fairly be construed ten thousand.

"The same *Le Comte* calls it a watry Road, destined for the Transportation of Grain and Stuffs from the Southern Provinces to *Peking*. The Number of Ships (saith he) is so large, that whenever one sees that numerous Fleet pass by, one would be apt to say, they were laden with all the Tribute and Treasures of the East, and of all their Monarchs, and that one of their Returns would furnish sufficient Stores of Provision to supply all *Tartary* for many Years."

Besides these smaller Vessels, there are at *Nanking*, and

also several other Havens of the Empire, Ships which are twice as large as these, being of seventy or eighty thousand Weight Burthen; and these serve to carry Salt to every Port in the whole Country. There are also Abundance of magnificent Barks or Ships which belong to the *Mandaryns*, Governors, and others of the Nobility, which are provided with spacious Halls and Apartments, very richly furnished, as also with Galleries, Rails, Windows and Doors, for Convenience and Pleasure; they are besides finely gilt, lacquered, and beautifully painted with the finest Colours. There are likewise several Pleasure-Boats, made Use of by the *Chinese* only for Diversion and Merry-making; these are also provided with Chambers and Apartments which are finely painted, lacquered and gilt both within and without; so that indeed they deserve rather to be esteemed Floating Houses than Ships: Besides all which, all Parts are abundantly provided with all Sorts of necessary Barks or Boats for Travellers: For there is scarce a City whether large or small, to which there is not a Passage by Water. And what is yet more, here are a Sort of driving Floats, on which whole Families live, by keeping Ducks, or following some other Trade: So that indeed, when one sees such various Sorts of Craft in one Vehicle, they seem strongly to resemble a floating City, in which the Vessels run together like Ants.

4. There are in *China* seven or eight famous Lakes or small standing Seas; three of which are the largest and most celebrated.

The first called *Tungtinghu* is in the Province of *Huquang*, and is four hundred Miles in Circuit.

The second is in the Province of *Nanking*, not far from *Suchen*, and is also about four hundred Miles in Circuit: This Sea is besides very deep, and hath in the Middle of it an Island called *Thaibu*, which is about seven or eight Miles in Compass and very mountainous.

The third is in the Province of *Kiangsi*, its Circumference is about three hundred Miles. These Lakes, by Reason of their towering hollow Waves and Roughness, appear to the Sight like the boisterous Ocean. The other Meers are in *Nanking*, and are about two or three hundred Miles in Circuit. We are told prodigious Stories concerning some Lakes in *China*, viz. That the Waters of that in the Province of *Canton*, annually exchange their Colour; that there is a Lake of green Water in *Fokien*, which transmutes Iron to Copper; that there is also a Palace on the Shore of another and not very distant Lake, where a Ringing of Bells is always heard against ill Weather; and several other like Reports are spread, the Truth of which we entirely leave to the experimental Examination of others, having had none ourselves.

There are great Numbers of fine built Stone Bridges in *China*, which are supported by Stone Arches: Two of these Bridges are the most considerable and extraordinary, being built over an Arm of the Sea: One of them is called *Loiang*, and the other *Fungiang*; and each of them is above an Hour's Journey, or a *French* Mile long. The first contains nineteen Arches, of such an extraordinary Height, that large Ships may sail under them with their Masts up. Each of these Arches is shut by two Stones, each twenty Ells long, above two broad, and three thick. The Jesuits, and other *Europeans*, who have seen and been upon them, are astonished at the Sight of them; nor can they comprehend what Instruments could be used to raise such great, heavy and long Pieces, all which are of solid white Marble, to such an extraordinary Height. The second Bridge, though not so high, is as broad and as long.

There is also a third extraordinary Bridge in the Province of *Quanton*, not far from the City of *Chaoeu*; but this is carried over Land from one Mountain to another, and is as long as the former. And throughout the whole Empire there are several of these Stone Bridges, which though not so surprizing as those already mentioned, are yet very elegantly and artificially built; and are every where carried across the Channels for the Travellers Convenience, that he may come to all Villages and Towns by a straight Road and without going a great Way about.

In watry or morassy Places there are also high Banks or Causeways raised, to serve instead of Roads, and when any Hills or Mountains obstruct these Roads, no Cost or Labour is spared to level, cut through, or render them passable. The Road from *Siquan Fu* to *Hamitcheou* is cut through a Mountain, which was very rocky and steep, and propped up with large Pieces of Timber, so that betwixt the Air and the Mountain, it looks like a pendant Gallery of Clouds, and appears very dismal to those who are not used to travel it: But they have bred and so accustomed their Mules to such Sort of Roads, that they will climb up the most rough, fatiguing and almost inaccessible Ways, as easily as if they were in ever so easy and good Roads.

On the high Ways, at the Distance of every half Hour's Journey, are a Sort of arched Gates about ten Ells high, on which, for the Direction of Travellers, are written in large Letters, the Distance of one Place from another, and an Account to what City, Town or Village that Way tends. In all Parts of *China* there are great Numbers of Marble Triumphal Arches, commonly containing three arched Doors, the largest of which is in the Middle, and the Sides are adorned with great Lions and other Sorts of Imagery; the Gates are every where beautified with very fine carved Images, Trees, and Foliages; and their Number in some Cities mounts so high, that the Streets are rather incumber'd than adorned with them.

China hath also very good Havens. That of *Nanking*, into which the *Nankingian* River falls, is much celebrated on Account of its Depth, Breadth, and the prodigious Quantities of Goods which pass from thence to the City of that Name, and higher up to *Peking*, and all over *China*, but do not pass so close by the City, since the famous Robber before-mentioned besieged, and had taken that City, if he had not been hindred by his own Negligence and Luxury.

The Haven of *Quantung* or *Canton*, on the Ocean, which washeth this Province Southwards. Before the Entrance of the City of *Canton* are a great many small Islands, the most considerable of which is *Macao*, which hath a very good Haven, and is very famous for the great Commerce of the *Portuguese* formerly there, by reason of its Neighbourhood to *Canton*, to which great Ships could easily come, and where all Sorts of Merchandize and Provisions are very plentiful.

Fokien is also provided with a very fine Haven, in which any Ships may safely ride, and come almost close to the Shore, the Sea being very deep, and the Harbour bounded on the other Side by the Island *Emoni*; and a very great Trade is driven here with Foreigners.

The Haven of *Nimpo* or *Ningno*, in the Province of *Chekiang*, is famed for the great Trade which is there driven with the *Japonefe*, because from thence it is but a short Voyage to *Japan*; but no very large Ship can well come in there by reason of Shallows and small Rocks, which render the Passage very difficult.

In the Province of *Zantung*, joining to *Chekiang*, where it runs out Eastward on the great Ocean, there is also an indifferent good Haven and Trade with the Inhabitants of *Corea* and *Japan*; but neither the one nor the other are so large and considerable as the Harbour and Commerce at *Nimpo*, though that Province is very well watered; there being there, as well as in almost all Parts of *China*, very convenient navigable Channels, provided with Sluices and Locks; without which, the Ground not being every where level, and the Water tending downwards, and all these Channels dug, they would soon be dry; which Necessity put them upon inventing those Sort of Waterfalls to let the Water through intermitting Pieces of Land, and keep it at an equal Height, and to wind or pull over them the Boats, Barges, &c. by the Help of Ropes and Wind-lasses.

5. The *Chinese* are perfectly well instructed and trained up in the Principles of their Religion from their Youth. The Parents send their Children to School at the Age of seven or eight Years, to learn Reading, Writing, and good Manners, that is, Rules which teach them to pay the subordinate Respect and Obedience due to their

Parents and Superiors. They begin their Studies and Exercises with the Instructions and Rudiments of their famous Instructor in Wisdom, Policy, and good Manners, *King* or *Confucius*, called in *Chinese*, *Kingfu*, and highly revered amongst them. These first Principles, as we have already hinted, consist chiefly in directing them to obey and love their Parents, to respect and honour those older than themselves, to live honestly and virtuously, to do no Person any Wrong, or what they would not have done to themselves, to give every Person his Due, and suffer him to keep it. All these Lessons are comprized in Five Books, which in their tender Years they are obliged to learn by Heart. After which they diligently learn the Arts of Writing, Arithmetick, and Oratory; in which having made proper Advances, they are questioned and strictly examined in what they pretend to have studied; and then being adjudged capable, they by Degrees become Bachelors, Masters, and Doctors of their highest Knowledge, and are also raised not only to that of *Mandarins*, but the more elevated Dignities of the Empire, in Proportion to their Worth, Learning, and Capacity to serve the Publick, either in the Government of Provinces and People, on the Bench as Judges, or in the Exercise of several Political and Civil Offices entrusted to them.

This learned and venerable *Confucius* lived several hundred Years before the Birth of *Christ*, was born in the Province of *Xantung*, as is hinted before in the Description of it, and died, according to some, in the Seventy-third, or according to others, in the Sixty-third Year of his Age. His Memory is very highly honoured by all intelligent and learned Men. In all Cities and Villages honorary Temples are erected in Remembrance of him; though his Image is not placed in the interior Part of them. His Virtue and honest Principles are very famous, his Precepts are revered like the Word of God, though he is acknowledged to have been but a Man, a Lawgiver and Preceptor; in Honour of whose Memory, the *Chinese* have erected a Pyramid, not of Stone, but in their Hearts, and they annually discover Signs of Gratitude and Acknowledgement. Some of his Descendants are at present living in *China*, who are by Donative endowed with the perpetual Inheritance of a City, with all its Incomes, Rights, and Lordships; and for the more august Preservation of his Memory, their Right of Exemption from all Tolls and Taxes hath been, and is, inviolably observed to this Day. He had seventy (others say five hundred) Pupils, which enforced his Doctrine with the Testimony which they bore in all Parts, that his Zeal was perfect, and nothing was to be added to the Purity of his moral Lessons: Besides which, they sometimes rather esteemed him as an Instructor of the new Law, than a Man educated in the Corruption of Nature.

6. For above two thousand Years past, or, to full five hundred Years before *Christ's* Birth, the *Chinese* have acknowledged the Lord of Heaven and Earth, abstracted from all Idols; which appears from their Histories, and the Books of the above-mentioned illustrious *Confucius*, in which we read, *Kiao xe chi li soy fu xang tie*; which imports, that our Duty obliges us to make Offerings to the Lord of Heaven and Earth; almost and only like the *Jewish* Sacrifices of a Calf or Lamb to the LORD, in the Holy Scripture. Notwithstanding which, their Knowledge and Idea of God was not so clear, but on the contrary much more obscure and confused than that of the *Jews*. But the primitive Knowledge of God declined rather than encreased, and that more especially after *Li Laokim*, a certain Philosopher, and one of *Confucius's* Disciples, appeared in the World: He indeed wrote some good Books, but withal taught, that the Supreme Deity was corporeal, and governed the other Deities as a King doth his Subjects, and that Man might be immortal: It was then that Idolatry crept in under the Shew of good Manners, and corrupted the Minds of Men, and Conjuring, and other Diabolical Arts, came into Request, in order to prevent Death. Temples were built to the Honour of

Li Laokim, and as much was consecrated to his Memory as to that of a Deity, though he died; and every Man, by Covenants with Satan and other devilish Practices, was earnestly bent in Quest of that Immortality which their great Master could not find. Time strengthened the false Doctrine, and increased the Number of its Teachers, who by their seducing Practices, drawing of Lots, and other Frauds, have even to this Day wonderfully possessed the Hearts of the Populace; who being misled to, and strengthened in that Opinion, continually searched for that on Earth, which is not there to be found.

The *Chinese* also relate, that long after that Time, an Emperor named *Fanvang*, dreamed, or was informed by Revelation, that there was a Saint in the West, whose Religion we ought to embrace; and this without wrestling may be understood to be spoke of CHRIST and his Doctrine. They also relate, that this Emperor dispatched a Person thither, in order to bring this Doctrine to *China*; but the Envoy mistaking his Way, fell into the South Country, where he met with the *Bramins*, (a Sort of Idolatrous Priests, which worship the Image of one of their Kings) and having declared the Reason of his Coming, he was so well entertained by these diabolical Engines, that they at once presented him with an Image, and with the System of their hellish Doctrine, both which he brought to *China*, and to which they at present cleave, that Idolatry being firmly retained, and numerous Temples every where erected to that Idol, insomuch that the Number of these wicked Priests is infinite. They are called *Bonzi's*, and pretend to abstain from Flesh and Marrying; but Experience convinces us of the contrary, and that they sacrifice to their Lusts in private; so that now they are not very much revered even by the *Chinese* themselves, though they have ever since that Time worshipped that Deity, and the Images representing him.

"*Le Comte* calls this Emperor *Minti*, and tells this Story thus: That *Confucius* frequently said, That the true holy One was to be found in the West; that this his Assertion was continually in the Mouths of the Learned; and that the Emperor *Minti* being disturbed at these Reports, and excited by the Image of a Man coming out of the West, and appearing to him in his Sleep, dispatched Ambassadors to the West, with Orders to travel that Way till they found this Saint, which Heaven had revealed to him about sixty-five Years after the Birth of our Lord: That these Ambassadors were forced, by the Danger of the Sea, to remain on a certain Island; and that they found there the Idol *Fo* or *Foe*, which had perverted *India* several Years before with his diabolical Doctrine: That these Ministers caused themselves to be perfectly instructed in the Superstitions of that Country, and carried them back with them to the Emperor and his Subjects; and that through those Means, and from that Time, this impious Doctrine was spread throughout the Kingdom."

Anciently they worshipped the Images of several illustrious Men, as in treating of the Province of *Xanfi*, Mention is made of a valiant and potent Hero, which sprung out of that Country, whom they honour and pray to as a Demy-God, which revives their Courage and excites their Magnanimity; and the *Tartar* themselves, at present Masters of *China*, likewise offer up their devout *Oraisons* to it; though indeed this is no Point of their Religion, Faith or Doctrine: But the Idolatrous Worship and Religion of the *Bonzi's* is spread over all *East-India*, through the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Cochinchina*, *Japan*, and all over *Tartary*.

7. Several of the most learned Persons amongst the *Chinese* are Atheists, who believe neither God nor Devil, deny a future State, and in Raillery ask, who hath ever seen or been either in Heaven or Hell? Or once came out of either of them? And boldly tell us they are meer idle and brainless Imaginations. But the Image-worshippers believe a Heaven and a Hell; that the ancient, virtuous, and happy Dead are great Spirits or Souls in Heaven; that placed there as superlu-

nary Princes, they tender and do good Offices to Mankind; whilst themselves abound in Riches and Prosperity, and perpetually divert and entertain themselves with the finest Wines, and all Manner of Delicacies. That on the contrary, the Souls of wicked and impious Men either go to Hell, or transmigrate into other Animals, which are either better or worse, in Proportion to their Merit. So that at present the *Pagan*, *Mahometan* and *Christian* Religions prevail in *China*.

I ought not to omit that in Paganism, the first of these, the Reason of State or Policy is the supream and prevalent Deity in *China*, to which all Principles and Practices are adapted: And whatever does not fall in with the political Interest is condemned as downright Sin, and consequently not to be tolerated. The *Chinese* are utter Enemies to Novelty, and are strangely fond of all ancient Customs, solely on Account of their Antiquity; and absolutely reject, or at least are hardly prevailed with to allow any modern Usage: This Fondness for Antiquity prevails not only in Temporals, in which they dare not presume to alter any Custom without the Emperor's special Command: But more particularly in Spirituals, though it really should be, and they themselves were convinced it was for the better. Hence it is that they reject the *Christian* Religion, because in Proportion to the Antiquity of their Empire it is too recent, and hath too lately appeared in the World, as though Antiquity alone were sufficient to triumph over Truth, and it were a Crime to hinder the perpetuating of those stupid Errors which could only pretend to have prevailed for numerous Ages.

"It is a fundamental Axiom in the *Chinese* Policy, saith *Gobien*, That the Prince is primarily obliged to preserve Peace, Repose, Plenty and Ease; for which the Subjects should acknowledge their Obligations to him, and he cause them to be instructed that they are indebted for all this to him. For all Attempts to keep the Subjects within the Bounds of their Duty would be vain, without the effectual Performance of the primary Condition of Obedience: Since the Laws themselves would be but a weak Bulwark, if opposed to the Force of Arms: And all Instructions would make but small Impressions on the Minds of a People, that are hurried on to disprove them by Want and Misery. And he tells us elsewhere, That the true Foundation of the Authority of the *Œconomical* and State Government consists, with Regard to Families, in the due Obedience and Respect to Parents and to Masters; with Respect to Government, that the Subjects be faithful to the Prince, and that he be tender of his People: A prudent Conduct, the Love of our Neighbours, Virtue and Justice are its Essentials; an exact Observation of mutual Civilities helps to fill up the Measure: But the savoury Laws of a good Government afford Means for compleating the whole."

8. There are besides several other Sects of Religion in *China*; for some of them believe that there is a supreme, eternal and omnipotent Spirit, which governs and directs all Things: This Being they acknowledge for the Lord of Heaven and Earth: And before Idolatry prevail'd, they worshipped him under the Name of *Chami* or the Lord of Heaven: But since the Sowing of that profligate Seed, this Opinion obtains only amongst a few, but those indeed are most of them great Men: The Emperor himself is said to espouse this old Sentiment; and it is not improbable, that it is owing to this, this he is not averse, but rather inclined to the *Christian* Religion and Doctrine, and probably would not reject, but easily be induced to embrace it, if not restrained by political Reasons, and a Fear of creating thereby Tumults and Insurrections in his Empire.

There are others also who acknowledge Nature to be the sole Deity; understanding thereby the Force or Power and natural Operation, which being the efficient Cause of Motion and Rest, produces, maintains and preserves all Things: They look on Dame Nature as the Fountain of all and every particular Being: And that she is able to appoint and to alter the Order of all Things: They take her to be the one Soul which universally informs Matter, by Virtue of which she produces

duces all Things ; thus attributing to Nature, almost all that the Ancients ascribed to Heaven, or we acknowledge in the Deity : They call her a Principle independent of all others ; separating her from the Imperfections and Deficiencies of all corporeal and sensible Matter. Those who encline to this Sect believe, that the World had a Beginning, and shall have an End : But shall afterwards begin and end again as before, and so perpetually and interchangeably renew and perish. And according to their Opinion numerous Worlds have already existed, and those after this to an infinite Number shall successively make Room for one another.

Though these Hypotheses and Opinions concerning Nature are but groundless Imaginations, yet the most learned *Chinese* are very fond of them, as affording Matter for several Speculations no Way disagreeable, which may tend to the Improvement of their Intellectuals.

9. We have already mentioned the *Bramins* and *Bonzi's* in this Chapter ; they are not very different from the *Lama's*, (which are *Tartarian* Priests) in any Particulars besides the external yellow Cloathing, and some peculiar superstitious Ceremonies : Both worship the same God *Fo* ; their religious Worship, Opinions and Faith is very near the same : However the *Lama's* in *China* are only *Tartarian* Priests, but in *Tartary* they act the Part of the *Lama*, God or Gods of the People : It is there that *Fo* has his Throne, it is there he appears in the Shape of an immortal rational Animal, whose Place at least is perpetually supplied by a living Creature ; for as soon as one Man dies, another like him is substituted in the divine Throne in the Temple, in order to keep up and promote the ridiculous Opinion of the Immortality of this God. To this Purpose he is honoured with religious Worship by great Crouds of *Lama's*, whose Number is so large, and the Esteem of this Doctrine (though not for the Priests of it) is so imprinted on the Minds of the People of all *Tartary* and *China*, that it is thought to withhold the Emperor himself from discovering any farther Inclinations to favour the Christian Religion for Fear of a Revolt.

We have already spoken concerning the Christians, the Time of their first beginning to settle here, their planting of the Faith, the bitter Afflictions they have suffered, and in what State Christianity stands at present. It now only remains that we say something of the *Mahometans* ; of whose Principles and Practises I shall only observe, That their Number is not very great in *China*, though they are more numerous than the *Christians*, as having inhabited that Country much longer, that is, above seven hundred Years longer in several Provinces of this Empire, where they were indulged with Liberty, which they neither did, nor do misuse, by pressing others to embrace their Religion, or zealously aiming at the making of Converts ; for they quietly live together, and are mostly allied by Marriage, Interest, or Conversation ; and, in short, live in a Sort of Covenant, like the *Jews* in other Countries. But their Religion is very much spread here since their Original, and hath taken very deep Root, more especially since the free Trade with the *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, *Mogols*, and other Nations. And as Weeds soon sprout up and grow apace, this pernicious Seed of impious Doctrine hath so increased, that the Sprouts of it are, as I have said, much more numerous in *China* than the Christians.

10. The *Chinese* in general are very well bred, and they are observed to be very civil in Words and Actions ; when they entertain any Person, though below them, they always give the Guest the upper Hand, which in the Southern Provinces is esteemed the Right, but in the Northern is taken to be the Left. They also utterly differ from the *Tartars* in their Manner of Sitting ; for the former sit down on the Earth, but the *Chinese* make use of Chairs and Stools. In Visits, the Master of the House, seeing his Guest approach, goes out well dress'd to meet him, and with his Head covered (uncovering the Head being a Salutation never used in *China*) advances half Way of the outer Court before his House, where he and the Visitant meet, and exchange Compliments in the following Manner : The Guest takes the Right

Hand of his Entertainer (or left according to the above-mentioned Difference in the Northern or Southern Provinces) who consequently stands on the other Hand ; then they both very respectfully bow very low three or four Times, lifting up their Hands and Arms, (which whilst they are going they fold in their wide Sleeves) in a Sort of stately Manner, and afterwards as decently letting them fall ; after which they speak to one another in a very civil and engaging *Chinese* Tone : This done, sometimes they change Places, he that was on the Right taking the Left Hand, in order to repay the received Civilities. After which they enter the House, where the visited Person always takes the lower, and gives his Guest the upper Hand. Being entred and sat down, a Dish of Tea, with a Piece of Sweetmeat in it is set before each Person ; he that sits at the upper Hand being first served, and the rest successively in Order. Before they sit down, even betwixt Persons of equal Condition, several ceremonious and engaging Contests arise about the Refusal of the superior Place ; the most worthy and highest esteemed Person is placed uppermost, and he among those of equal Character is the oldest ; but Strangers, and those who come from distant Countries, are set above all the rest.

The Ceremonies at Departure are almost the same with those at the Entrance. The Master of the House, with several Bowings of Head and Body, and moving the Hands, accompanies his Guests, first to the inner Door, then to the Middle of the outer Court, and lastly to the outermost Gate, out of which he also goes ; during all which Time the Visitants are complimenting and thanking their Entertainer with the same Respect ; after which, they either mount their Horses, or get into their Chariots as they came ; then a Servant is sent after them by the Master of the House, to compliment and wish them a good Journey in his Master's Name ; upon which they send their Servants back to the Entertainer, to thank him for his last Civility. The Ceremonies in paying and receiving of Visits amongst great Officers or Persons of Quality, must not be done in their common Cloaths, but in Robes of State ; and in Case the Visitant should fail in this Particular, the Visited would be apt to be disgusted at it, and not give him Entrance, at least before he had changed his own Dress : And in like Manner, if the Master of the House should attempt to receive his Guest in a meaner Robe than he hath on, the other would not enter the House. For which Reason, Persons of Condition always take Care to be provided with these visiting Robes, and cause them to be carried after them, in order to make use of them in Case of any sudden Accident ; for even in chance Meetings, the Compliments are delayed if one of them have his Robe of State on, till the other can put on his. The *Chinese* abound in these and such like Grimaces and Gestures, which they reckon an Honour to their Nation, and say that they are Signs of good Breeding, in which they excel other Nations, as much as Men do Beasts.

In Case of a Salutation or Visit betwixt Persons who have not for a long Time seen each other, they both fall on their Knees, and thrice bow so low as that their Heads touch the Ground. And it is in the very same Manner that even the meaner Sort welcome one another. This is likewise the Posture of Servants speaking to their Masters, and the Populace to the *Mandaryns* or high Officers. The like Bowings of the Head thrice so low, as to touch the Ground, are also used in the worshipping of their Idols.

I forgot to mention, that the Visitant, always before he makes any Visit, dispatches a Servant to the Person to be visited, with a Piece of red Paper in his Hand, in which is written the Name of the Person his Master intends to visit : With this he goes to the House and delivers his Message ; but if the Master of the House be abroad, or engaged, he still leaves that Paper in Discharge of his Order, and returns with the Answer to his Master.

The Ceremonies observed in Feasts and Entertainments are very great ; after the customary Compliments of Salutation, each Person is placed according to his

his Condition at a separate Table, without either Napkin, Knife or Spoon, but is presented with a Couple of long Ivory or Wooden Scares tipped with Gold or Silver, to assist him in the Conveyance of the Edibles, which are all cut in Pieces, to his Mouth; and they are so dextrous in the Use of these, that they can very speedily clear the Dish even to a single Corn of Rice. As I have already hinted, they make use of fine Chairs, Stools, or Benches, quite different from the *Tartars*, who, equally void of Civility and Manners, clap down on the Earth, without any other Gesticulations than what they now observe in the *Chinese*, and begin to learn from the very Alphabet to the Book of Manners. The *Chinese* have also very fine Beds and Couches; but the *Tartars*, on the other Side, having neither the one to lie, nor the other to rest themselves on, make use of a Board or Plank laid flat on the Earth. The first Dish is commonly some Sort of Hash, and a Glass or Cup of Wine, which yet is not so much as tasted before the Master of the House leads the Way; which is followed by the Servants crowding in Dishes and Wine, none of which are taken away, but piled up pyramidically, to the Number of twenty or twenty four, or more. Each Person drinks out of his own Cup, and is sure to follow his Leader; and though the Wine may be very briskly and continually put about, there is no Danger of intoxicating very soon, so small a Quantity being filled into the Cups, and the Wine itself not being very strong. A serious Gravity is always observed at Meals, the *Chinese* disliking all immoderate Laughter. After, and sometimes also during their Meals, several Tumblers, and such like, shew their Agility of Body, several Farces are acted, and other Diversions added: Besides which, they also play amongst themselves, and he that loses is obliged to drink, and is but within the Compass of good Manners rallied by the Company.

11. Marriages in *China* are very splendidly celebrated, and accompanied with Plays and Diversions during several Days. As for the Preliminaries to Marriage, the young Persons who intend to enter into that Estate, have not the Opportunity by conversing together to sound one another's Inclinations; for they are never permitted to come together, but the whole is managed by their Parents, who frequently promise their Children long before they come to be married, regarding Nothing so much as that their Years agree, or at least be not very disproportionate: And though their Sons and Daughters happen to be advanced in Years, yet they make the Matches without so much as the Consent of the Persons to be married. But there is yet a great Difference on this Head, betwixt the Conduct of People of Quality, Midling Persons, and those of the lowest Condition. Amongst Persons of the first Quality, no Marriages are concluded without the Emperor's Consent, great Care being taken that young People are always matched to Persons of equal Descent. Those also of a lower Degree are desirous of allying with and marrying into as good Families as their own; but their Concubines they either take or buy from their mean Parents, and this to an unlimited Number. The lawful Wife is only honour'd as Mother or Mistress of the Family, and respected and attended by all the rest as Chambermaids; and on her Death the Concubines Children are obliged to a three Years Mourning, which they are not obliged to for their own Mothers. The Children of the lowest Rank of People are in like Manner married by their Parents, and the Girls are in a Manner sold; for it is the Husband which gives the Portion, and the Bride hath only a few Trifles, though when she is led to the Bridegroom's House, she seems to bring a large Share of Household Furniture along with her; but all of it is bought before by the Bridegroom; besides which, he gives the Parents a Sum of Money in Proportion to their Character, for their Daughter, whence he is or may be said to buy his Wife. If a Nobleman or Person of Quality dies, the Widow must not marry again; but this perpetual Widowhood is not so much regarded by Persons of meaner Condition, though even amongst them, the Widows, which yield to a second Marriage, thereby lose, or at least lessen, their

Reputations. Though ceremonious good Manners and the Authority of the Parents run so high amongst the *Chinese*, the Children will not yet endure a Father-in-Law, or pay him any other than superficial Obedience; wherefore almost all the Widows end their Days in that State. The mature Years for Marriage are twenty, or two and twenty for the young Men, and eighteen or twenty for the young Women.

The *Chinese* Wives utterly seclude themselves from the Sight of all Men besides their Husbands, not allowing themselves to be seen even by their Father-in-law, their Husband's Brother, or any of the Male Sex, their Husband's youngest Brother only excepted, and that in the Time of his Childhood only: But all her own Male Relations are absolutely excluded from all Sight of or Access to her. Nor do the *Chinese* Women ever appear in the Streets throughout the whole Empire, except in *Peking*, the Metropolis, where they are carried whither they please in cover'd Coaches or Sedans, as we have before observed.

12. The Piety which the *Chinese* express towards their Parents is incredible; which yet on no Occasion shines brighter than at or after their Decease. The Mourning and Funeral Solemnities are very numerous; which consist in the lamenting, keeping the Corps above Ground, burying, and what is afterwards done in Remembrance of them. When they put themselves into Mourning, they differ from other Nations who make Use of black, and wear all white Cloaths; in which Dress they keep a long Time for any of their Relations; and for a Father or Mother they mourn thus three Years. A Wife also continues in Mourning as long for her Husband. But the Husband does not hold it above a Year on Account of his Wife's Death; which is the Term commonly observed by a Brother or Nephew for their respective Brothers or Uncles. Children for at least one hundred Days after the Death of their Father or Mother, are obliged to avoid lying on any Bed, but repose themselves on the Earth, and daily celebrate their Remembrance in Tears; besides all which, they are obliged for three Years to avoid all matrimonial Conversation with their Wives; and if any of them should happen to be pregnant in that Time, they are liable to be punished. They sequester themselves from Treats, Nuptials, and other Entertainments; they confine themselves to their Houses, without ever stirring abroad, and lay down their Offices for above a Year, and some for three Years. Whenever they are absolutely obliged to go Abroad, they cause themselves to be carried in Coaches or Chariots covered all over with close Mourning to the intended Place.

Their Obsequies are not much different from their Conversations, with Respect to Ceremonies: What first appears in the Funeral Parade, is the Representation or Figures of Men, Women, Lyons, and other Animals painted on Paper, which are carried in State; the Bearers of these are followed by several Incense-Carriers, next which comes the Bier and Coffin born by several Men, and is followed by the Sons, and all other Relations and invited Guests: The Sons are dressed all in white, and carry Wands in their Hands; next which come the Women in cover'd Chariots or Chairs, hung with Mourning so close, that no Person can see them. The Graves or Tombs are all without the City, some of them are magnificently adorned with Marble, like a Palace, enclosed on the Outside, and planted with several Trees in the Way to the particular Burying-place: To which being come, the Corps, enclosed in a Coffin of costly Wood, after the Paper Figures and Images are burned, is laid in the Tomb, and upon it are placed some Stone Figures, and an Inscription in Praise of the Deceased. And at certain Set-times of the Year the *Chinese* visit these Tombs, offering there Meat and Drink, Tears and Lamentations, in Remembrance of the Dead.

" There are, say the Jesuits, three Seasons when the Dead are honoured in different Manners in *China*:
 " First, before the Interment, when the Corps are exposed to View, or laid in State, together with a
 " wooden Image with the Name of the Deceased, which

“ is placed upon a Table, with burning Candles and
 “ Perfumes about it: They salute and honour the Corps
 “ by Kneeling and Prostrations, according to the Cust-
 “ tom of the Country. The second Season is observed
 “ from six to six Months, in a particular Chamber of
 “ the House called their Ancestors Apartment, in which
 “ every Spring and Autumn all the richest Delicacies
 “ that could be prepared for a Prince, are served up
 “ in Remembrance of the Dead. The third solemn
 “ Time happens but once each Year, and is observed
 “ at the Tombs; all of which being without the City,
 “ they visit them about *May*, when they pluck up Grass
 “ and green Herbs out of the Earth, express by several
 “ Tokens of Lamentations their Esteem for the Dead,
 “ and then having set their Victuals and Wine on the
 “ Grave, renew their Mourning Feast.”

The *Chinese* observe several Festivals, but none more ceremoniously than that of the New-Year. This Day or Days, for it lasts three Days, are by Persons of all Ranks, pass'd in very splendid Mirth and Jollity; they then dress themselves as fine as possible, visit, and make Presents to each other: There is no End of Plays, Entertainments, and other Diversions, and all are then equally rich and happy. Business is at a Stand, the Posts and Messengers cease, all civil and criminal Courts are shut up, and according to their common Phrase, the Seal shut, as indeed it is enclosed in a Chest: And this Seal is of such Force, and the Judge so far obliged to regard it, that though his Prince fully, satisfied of his Sufficiency should sign his Commission, yet he would not dare to act till he had found the Seal, if once lost.

13. The Lantern Feast observed on the following full Moon (for the new Moon begins with the Year) is not less famous; nor is there one House in all *China* which is not illuminated at that Time; the Lanterns (some of which are so very large as to admit of Theatrical Representations within them, acted by living Persons instead of Puppets) are so filled with Lights, and so numerous and close to each other, that the Cities and Towns seem to be in a perfect Flame; nor are Fireworks and Gunpowder spared to add Flame to Flame: The Clangor and thundering Noise of small and great Shot, mixed with the loud Acclamations, Singing, Roaring and Hollowing of the raving Populace, look as if the whole World rejoiced at that Time.

There are also Festivals observed in Spring and Autumn, in Commemoration of the so much celebrated *Confucius*: The Ceremonies of which consist in Kneeling before a Board erected on a Table, with this Philosopher's Name, encompassed with beautiful Leaf-work, written on it. Kneeling before this Inscription, they nine Times prostrate themselves so low till their Heads touch the Earth, and serve up Wine, Victuals, Fruit, &c. much in the same Manner as is above related, that the genteeler Sort and rich People commemorate their Parents and deceased Friends with Mourning Feasts. Anciently this Philosopher's Image was honoured in this Manner: But the Emperors finding the People fall off to Idolatry, and that they either actually did, or probably would, pray to and adore him as a God, they ordered these Sort of Boards, with the bare Inscription of his Name, to be placed in all the Schools and Colleges, instead of his Image: And the shewing of this commemorating Respect hath occasioned several warm Contentments betwixt the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans*; the latter charging this Practice with downright Idolatry, whilst the other urge in their Defence, that it is barely the Custom of the Country, and a civil Ceremony paid to the Memory of every dead Person; and not only that, but the same is given to the living *Mandarins* of the Empire in common Visits and Ceremonies.

The *Chinese* always observe and pass their Birth-day in Diversions; and as all happy Wishes of numerous Years added to that, Panegyrics, or whatever else can contribute to Pleasure, are not spared on the one Side, so grateful Acknowledgements due to such Compliments on this happy Day are not wanting on the other. In short, this Day is wholly sequestered to civil Entertainments, &c. and ends with good Wishes.

14. The Northern Provinces of *China* do not produce the Fruits which grow in *India*, but the Southern yield them in the greatest Abundance. The common arboriferous or Orchard Fruits are, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs of all Sorts, Grapes, Olives, and several Sorts of Figs, viz. the *Chinese*, *Indian*, and *European*; the *Chinese* are as large as Apples; the Skin is soft and smooth; they are variously shaped, small or large, round or oval. If they are dried in the Sun, they may be kept a long Time good; their Stem is rough and strong. The *Indian* Fig being perfectly ripe, when the Skin is taken off is longish, soft, and of a sweet Taste, though there are indeed various Species of them, and what they grow on cannot be properly called a Tree, but rather a Sort of overgrown Shrub or Plant, not unlike Box, the Sprouts of which are covered with a thin Film, not much different from the Skin of an Onion; the Leaves are extraordinary long and broad; the Trunk bears its Fruit, which hangs by a single Tendril; its Blossom is a Liver-colour'd Flower, of which it is observable, that whenever it appears, like the Infant from the Womb, it bursts and forces its Way from its proper Root; whenever the Fruit is pluck'd, this Plant dies, but is succeeded by fresh Sprouts which shoot from its Root: It is found to grow in the South Parts of *China* only, but in all Parts of *India* it abounds. These Southern Provinces also produce great Quantities of Oranges, sufficiently known in *Europe*, and distinguished by the Name of *China-Oranges*.

“ The *Portuguese* brought this delicious Fruit into
 “ *Europe*. And the very first Orange-Tree from whence
 “ all the rest Sprung, we are told, is yet in Being in
 “ the Earl of St. Laurence's Garden at *Lisbon*.

The *Licia*, a charming Fruit, also grows there; it is red and contained in or fenced with a sharp or prickly Shell; the Kernel is of a bright white Colour, very sweet, warm, and so perfectly agreeable, that it surpasses all other Fruit, not only in Taste, but Colour: The Tree on which it grows is also very fine, large, and full of Branches and Leaves, which render it very agreeable to the Sight: The Fruit, which grows in Bunches, though not crowded together, but on long Stalks, is about the Size of an ordinary Plumb or Nut, and there are also various Species of it. If eaten to Excess it inflames the Body, and raises Ulcers; for which Reason it is generally dried in the Shells, and like preserved Fruit, is served up in a Dish of Tea, and by Reason of its agreeable Acidity preferred before Sugar; the interior Part of the Kernel dissolving like Sugar in the Mouth; for which and other Reasons it is stiled the *King of Fruits*.

The Fruit called *Lungan* or *Onjeu*, is almost like the *Licia*, but not so large, and of a very different Taste; their Kernel is of a shining White, and their Shell of the same Colour; their Taste is agreeable and refreshing, but not so hot as the *Licia*, and not prejudicial to Health even if eaten to Excess: They are also very good dried, though not to compare to the fresh. The Tree which bears them is like that on which the *Licia* grows; and a well tasted Wine is pressed out of this Fruit whilst fresh.

The *Jacca* is a Fruit which grows to the Bulk of forty and sometimes fifty Pounds; but there are also small ones, of an oval Shape, with a sharp prickly Sort of a Shell: The Kernel or Pulp is not firm but fibrous, tastes very sweet, and is of a Gold Colour; and the Shell Green: This Fruit, of the great Sort, grows to the Foot of the Stem or Root, otherwise the Branches (though stiff and strong, the Tree being very large) would be too feeble to bear their Weight. The Shell of this Fruit is so very hard, that it can no otherwise be opened than by a Hatchet: The Inside is full of small Cavities, in which are contained a yellow Juice, and the Nut, which when ripe, eats better than a roasted Chestnut: The Leaves are rough and broad; and at the Branches grows also a Sort of Fruit, more agreeable to the Taste, and more healthful than the *Jacca*: The Ashes of the Shells burned are used by the *Chinese* as a Lye to cleanse Linnen or Woollen.

Anana's are a well-tasted Fruit when ripe; they are yellow or red, and emit a very agreeable Scent: The Plant shoots its Leaves (somewhat like Aloes) to the Height of six or seven Feet; the Leaves are three Fingers broad, also hairy or woolly; and of them whilst tough a Sort of Clothes or Stuffs are made, which in Fineness equals Silks: The Fruit sprouts out in the Middle amongst the Leaves, and when come to Maturity is very near as large as a Man's Head; it is sweet and acid on the Tongue, though very delicious; at a Distance it looks like an Artichoke: On its middle Stem grow several young ones, which are clapped into the Earth, by those who gather the Fruit, and in a Year's Time produce ripe Fruit. The sharp and corrosive Nature of this Fruit is so violent as to work even on Iron and Copper, and it also renders the Throat by swallowing it very rough.

The *Petchi* likewise grows here at the Side of or in the Water; and the uppermost Paring being taken off its Root, there appears a Sort of Whiteness which tastes almost like a Hazle-nut, and is endowed with the Virtue of softening Copper in the Mouth.

Le Comte saith, "That he had an Account of an Experiment made to that Purpose by one of their Society, by rubbing a Copper Coin with this Root; one of us, saith he, which had good Teeth, bit it into several Pieces, but the Fragments still remained hard, which made us apt to think that this Root was naturally more efficacious to the fortifying of the Teeth, than softning of Copper.

The *Cocao-nut* is the Fruit of a Tree which shoots upright: They grow in the Province of *Funan*, on the Island of *Hainan*, and in other Places in *China*, but in *India* they are incredibly plentiful; the Nuts are as big as a Man's Head, the external Part of the Shell is hairy, and the Substance of it ligneous, being in the whole about three or four Inches thick, and in the Core or innermost Part of it full of Juice, which the ligneous Cruft being pierced through, runs out to the Quantity of a Cup-full: The Kernel is white and firm, and being shaved or scraped, and mixed with fair Water, it turns it to a lacteous Colour, not unlike Milk from a Woman's Breast, only a little thicker, as if it had been turned with Rennet; it is also very good Food; it corroborates those who are weary and faint, refreshes Seafaring Men, fatigu'd with the Scurvy and other Diseases after long Voyages; for which Reason they are very fond of it, being well acquainted with its Uses. It is boiled with Rice, or in Flesh-soups: Besides which a very fine Oil is drawn from it, not inferior to that of Almonds, and is not only used in Medicinal Preparations, but eaten as Sauce like Oil of Olives. The exterior Shell is so hard, that the Kernel being taken out, is used as a Cup or Bottle. The Trunk on which the Fruit grows, shoots directly upright to the Height of fifty Feet, like the Mast of a Ship; the Wood is hard, and through it runs oleaginous Veins in the inner Part of it which is spongy: Its Root doth not pierce deep, nor is it large, so that it is very surprizing that such lofty Trees, laden with the heavy Weight of Fruit and Leaves, should not be blown up by the Roots by the Winds. The Branches and Leaves are very beautiful and long, the former being full charged with the latter both without and within; and both regale the Eye with a very agreeable Prospect. No Part of this excellent Tree is useless; the very hairy Covering which encompasses the Nutshell, serves instead of Tow to caulk and stop Ships: Cups and other Vessels are made of the Nutshells; the Leaves are made into Paper and Cloth; the Wood is worked into Masts, Planks, and Rudders, the Bark furnishes Sails and Ropes, and its Fruit lade our Ships, and is useful also in Physick.

Arceka, of which I spoke in treating of the Province of *Canton*, is an *Indian* Fruit, transplanted thence to *China*: The Tree bears some Sort of Similitude to the *Coco*, but is neither so thick, nor loaded with so many Leaves; both Fruit and Tree are called *Arceka*: The Fruit is hard, bitter and acrimonious; it is chewed with *Betel*, and a little softened with Lime, and the Spittle tinctures the Mouth and Lips red. The *Indians* chew

it incessantly, and are mostly followed herein by the Inhabitants of *Quantung*, *Funan*, and *Quoansi*, which is indeed to be wondred at, considering how little the *Chinese* are addicted to Travelling, and consequently the few Opportunities they have of catching Foreign Customs; but finding by Experience that it is good for their Gums, keeps their Mouths clean as well as moist in hot Countries, and besides causes a sweet Breath, hath drawn them into this Custom, as well as several others which they borrowed from the *Europeans*, being now convinced, that they are full as clear sighted, if not more, than themselves.

The Fruit *Jambua* is a Sort of Lemon and Orange blended, as big as a Man's Head; the Peel or Rind is all round a Finger thick; the Fruit is white and red, spongy, and of a bitter Taste; its Inside is almost like that of Oranges, with this Difference only, that the Kernels or Seeds are larger: The Juice of some of them is sweet, and of others sower: The Trees are much larger than Lemon-trees, and their Leaves are broader and rough; they are prickly or thorny like the above-mentioned Lemon-tree, which they also resemble in their Blossom; they afford a very grateful Smell, as hath also the Water extracted from them by Decoction.

The *Indians* call this Fruit *Pampelimans*.

The *Pepper tree* is but a Shrub, which, like Beans or Hops, climbs up Poles or Stakes, and, when got to the Top, like them, inclines downwards. There is a second Sort of Pepper, which is round and long; both of them, whilst green, grow in long Bunches close to the Stalk, but when ripe the Fruit turn black, is stript off and dried in the Sun; and if the black Skin falls off, as it is easily made to do, it is white, and tastes much hotter. The *Long Pepper*, which is more used in Pharmacy than Cookery, grows much in the same Manner, but creeps more on the Earth, and climbs about lower Stakes, wherefore it becomes more moist, and if that Humidity be not dried up, becomes worm-eaten; the long Sort is dearer and harder than the round; and the Leaf of the former differs somewhat, but not much from the latter, which is softer, and of a deeper Green than the other, somewhat like Ivy. The Leaves, Branches and Roots are all hot and dry, enflaming both Tongue and Throat, though not to so great a Degree as the small Corns.

Here grows likewise a Plant or Berry called *Maluei* (in the *Indian* Language *Carambole*;) This Fruit sprouts from large Plants or Shrubs, about three Ells in Height: The Berries are like those of *Palma Christi*; they are a very strong Purge, four or five Grains being a Dose large enough for the most robust Man; they operate on tough Phlegm, and pituitous Humours, and are good against a foul Stomach, cleansing the Entrails: The Leaves, as well as the Berries, are inflammatory to a high Degree; wherefore those who pluck them are obliged carefully to avoid putting their Hands (when gathering them) to their Face or Eyes, which would immediately inflame them. This Plant, mixed with Rice or Dough, and thrown into the Water kills the Fish. It grows in *India* as well as in several Provinces of *China*: It is also preserved in Pots with *Sugar*, and so transported; and by Reason of its cordial Virtue made use of against a cold Stomach or stinking Breath. There are also Nutmeg-Trees, in some Parts of *China*, but they are not near so Plenty there as in other hotter Places in *India*, from whence they are brought thither. This Tree is almost like a Pear or Apple-tree: It sprouts free enough and grows wild. The Nut which follows the Blossom joined to the End of the Branch, is at first green and rough, but when ripe changes its Colour, and becomes pointed all over, and chop'd on the Outside, being very ornamentally encompassed by the Mace, which perfectly ripe, is three or four times annually gathered, and is of several Sorts, and of different Natures with Respect to its Virtue and Worth.

Grinoffel, or *Clove-Trees* are by no Means so plentiful here as in other Places in *India*, from whence they are imported hither in vast Quantities. The Tree on which they grow is, when young, about as large as the former, and so encreases to a great Thickness; the

Leaf

Leaf is longish like that of the *Pear-tree*, and full of Fibres; at the End of which the Cloves grow in Bunches, and out of their Heads sprout the Blossoms, which, as well as the Cloves, afford a very strong Scent; the Blossoms are of various Colours, and like the Fruit change in Ripening; for the Cloves are not black or brown at first, but green; and accordingly the Flower is first white and then red. The Cloves are plucked or beaten off, and then gathered; and if any happen to remain on the Tree, they fall on the Ground without any farther Trouble, and from thence shoot up young Sprouts, which are nourished by the Soil, and thrive without Culture. I shall not say any Thing more of this Tree, because it is very well known all over the World, and shall only lightly touch on the *Cinnamon Tree*.

I have already hinted, that *Cinnamon* grows in vast Plenty in the Province of *Quoangsi*, and not only smells very well, but is also very sharp upon the Tongue. The Tree on which it grows is like that which bears Lemmons, but its Leaves are somewhat like those of Lawrel. This Plant hath a very fragrant Blossom, which afterwards affords us a Fruit like a Plumb; but neither the Fruit, Blossom, nor Leaf, agree in any one Particular with the Bark; which is the *Cinnamon*, and is alone endowed with the spicy and odoriferous Virtue, for besides that, the Tree is a perfect insipid Wood, whose Fruit is of no other Use than to be eaten by the Apes. This Bark, which clings close to the Tree, when the outmost Rind is scaled off, appears green, is dried in the Sun, and after it is cleansed and thoroughly dried, it turns to the known Colour. The Tree being stripped of its Bark, does not die, but, after the Expiration of some Years, obtains a new Bark, and flourishes again.

“The *Indian* Writers tell us, that these Trees grow in such prodigious Abundance in *Ceylon*, that if vast Woods of them were not burned, the whole World could not consume the *Cinnamon* which grows there. And *Nieuboff* adds, that though this Island is so very fruitful in *Cinnamon*, yet neither Clove nor Nutmeg-Trees will take there.”

There is yet another Tree in *China*, which indeed grows more luxuriantly in *Goa*, and is by some called the *Indian Fig-tree*, and it accordingly produces little Figs, full of small Seeds like other Figs, but not very much esteemed, by reason of their disagreeable Taste. This Tree or Trunk shoots up very high, and the Branches afterwards turn down towards the Earth, and take Root again; after which, like the main Trunk, they shoot up, and then down again; so that a single Tree becomes a great Wood, and the first Stem is hardly to be discovered.

The *Fat* or *Tallow-tree* is the most surprizing Plant of all that grows in *China*; it yields a very fine Leaf and Flower; it is of a moderate Height, and its Stem is but low, its Branches thick and covered with long Leaves shaped like a Heart, and its Blossoms white, which are followed by the Fruit; and this, when ripe, resembles a Chestnut or Walnut, with one Cleft. Round about the Stone, which is very like that of a Cherry, is the Grease, or that which in Colour, Smell, and all its Characteristicks exactly agrees with Grease, except only that it doth not fowl the Hands like it; round the Stones (of which each hath three separated by Films) is the Pulp, which melted makes a Candle as white as the whitest Capon, and is supplied with a Weik of Wood run through it instead of Cotton. From the Stone or Kernel, which is full of Moisture, is drawn an Oil, which, by reason of its strong unsavory Smell and Taste, is not eaten, but serves for Lamps. The red Leaves and white Blossoms of this Tree render it very agreeable to the Eye.

Cotton grows here in great Abundance, notwithstanding which, as is hinted a little higher, they do not use it for Candle-Weiks, but make several Stuffs of it. It grows on a very thick, lofty, and crooked Tree, which is not over-loaded with Branches, and its Blossom is a yellowish Flower, from whence proceeds the Fruit not unlike a common Apple, that when ripe opens and discovers the Wool, which when prepared is

transported to all Parts of the World. There are also Shrubs and Sprouts which produce this Wool, and are not very different from this Tree; but their Blossoms are of a deeper Yellow, and their Leaf more rugged; besides which, the Cotton which these last yield is better and finer, and of that are made the white Callicoës. The Stems of these second Sort of Plants, which are like Reeds, run up to a good Height; when come to Maturity, they are cut down, thrown into the Water to rot, and afterwards peeled. The Province of *Fokien* yields prodigious Quantities of this Shrub, of which the best and finest Callicoës are made. Here are also whole Thickets of Canes or tough Osiers, which the *Portuguese* call *Kota*; they grow spontaneously, spread very kindly, and are very tough; of them are made all Sorts of Ropes or Cords, Hurdles, Baskets, Chairs, Stools and Couches, which in Summer are very cool, and for that Reason are very much in Use amongst the *Chinese*.

Sugar-Canes grow in great Abundance in the Province of *Suchuen*, and produce the best Sort of Sugar; besides which, other Provinces yield very good; and this proves a very valuable Commodity.

Bambooes grow here wild, on waste and untilled Lands; and though they are but a Sort of Canes or rather Reeds, some of them grow to such a vast Thickness, that small Boats are made of them, which both the *Chinese* and *Indians* make Use of, and row very dextrously: But the chief Use which is made of the Bambooes is, that of serving for Stakes or Poles for the Pepper to grow up and cling round. When they are young, the ordinary People draw from them a Juice of an agreeable Taste; from whence they prepare their *Achar*, which is a very delicious Sauce.

Though Mulberries are a Fruit universally known, yet the Mulberry-trees in *China* are managed in a Manner absolutely different from all other Countries, for they are kept low, and lopped annually, as the Vineyards are in *Europe*, and the Reason is, because the young Sprouts contribute to the Production of the best Silk; and indeed the Difference betwixt the Silk produced by those Worms, which feed on the first Leaves, and that of the Worms feeding on the latter Growth, when they are much harder, is very considerable.

Though Ginger grows in several Parts of *India*, yet is there no Country produces greater Plenty of it than *China*; nay farther, it yields that Spice in a greater Degree of Perfection than any other Part of *India*. There are two Sorts of it, a larger and a smaller Species; the Leaves and Root of the latter are less than the former, and therefore termed *Male*, whilst the other is called *Female-Ginger*. The slender Stalk, to which it grows, is like a small Reed when it first shoots out of the Ground. And the Roots are not all of one Sort, but the heaviest are the best: Whenever they are dug, one or two of these Roots are left in the Earth, which moderately cultivated, watered, and dunged, spread luxuriantly, and next Year are dug out of the Earth with great Advantage. This Plant is also produced in another Manner, by cutting off the Ginger or Root from the Trunk, and resetting it in the Earth, which by the next Year spreads and sends forth young Shoots. The fresh or green Ginger is not so hot as the dried. It is medicinally used against flatulent Distempers, Fluxes, and other Diseases of that Class.

Tea, the Infusion of which is the common Drink, as well as the entertaining Liquor of *China*, grows there in great Abundance; but since this Plant is universally known, I shall say no more concerning it, nor intermeddle with the Disputes of its Virtue, farther than to inform my Reader of a Matter of Fact, which is, that Rheumatisms and Gouts, the Stone and Gravel, are Distempers which none of the *Chinese* are ever afflicted with. Whether this is owing to Tea, warm Water, or the Nature of the Climate, or Temperament of the People, I shall leave to be discussed by others, and proceed to the Description of several wholesome Roots.

The Root *China*, though it grows plentifully in all Parts of the Empire, yet is not of equal Virtue; for the Province of *Suchuen* produces the best, and the wild

wild Sort thrives every where. The first Sort grows out of a Sap or Gum, which adheres to the Root of a *Pine-tree*, which renders it such an excellent and efficacious Remedy, and so famous on that Account in all Parts of the World. These Roots increase to an extraordinary Size, some of them being as big as a Man's Head. The wild Root, though far short of the Virtue of this, is not less esteemed. We have already described the Root *Ginseng*, and its cardiacal Virtues, in our Account of the Province of *Leaotung*, where it grows; and therefore we refer the Reader thither.

China abounds with great Quantities of Rhubarb, but no Place produces better than the Province of *Suchuen*, as I have already hinted in the Description of that Country.

" There are two Sorts of *Rhabarbarum* or Rhubarb fold, an *Oriental* imported from *China*; and this is ponderous, distinguished by gold coloured and red Veins, bitterish and astringent, sweet scented, rather of a yellow Colour, and being moisten'd stains the Hand with a Colour like that of Saffron, and is much esteemed for its Virtues. The other Sort comes from *Russia*, and is ponderous, and of a darker Yellow, and less valued than the other.

" Rhubarb is a mild and gentle Purger of yellow Bile and viscous and tartarous Phlegm from the Stomach and first Region. It is a Specifick for the Liver, cures a Jaundice, and for its astringent Quality is commended beyond other Medicines; for all Disorders proceeding from Relaxation, as a Diarrhea, Dysentery, and the like.

" This Root was unknown to *Dioscorides* and *Galen*; and therefore some are very erroneous in confounding the Rha or Rheum of the Ancients with our Rhubarb, for the Rheum of *Dioscorides* has less of a cathartick Quality, and wants the Characters of the true Rhubarb, which is a Compact Substance, ponderous and dry, of a bitter Taste, and acrid Smell, of a reddish Colour on the Outside, and of a light Red inclining to Yellow within, with some Veins of deeper Colour, and, being macerated or chew'd, dyes of a Saffron Colour. Rapontic, on the contrary, is not of a close but thin Substance, and not ponderous, but light, and wants the sweet Scent of Rhubarb.

" The Virtue of the Root consists in the Mixture of a subtle and acrimonious Salt, with mucilaginous and earthy Particles; those saline and acrimonious Particles, in Proportion as they are more or less disengaged from the Mixture of mucilaginous and earthy Particles, in which they stuck and were entangled, the more or less they exert of their stimulating Force. Sometimes they excite so great a Commotion, as to press upon the Liver itself, and especially the Gall Bladder, whence may follow a double Excretion of Bile, which proves the Root of extraordinary Efficacy in the Jaundice, as was before observed. Its Cathartic Virtue consists in its Salt, and not at all in its Resin or oleous Particles, as appears from its Tincture, which is extracted with Water.

" Now it is clearly demonstrated from Chymistry, that Water can never resolve resinous nor oleous Substances; and besides, the Tincture extracted by Spirit of Wine is not so potent a Cathartick as what is extracted with Water; nay, the Water itself, after Mixture, does not become milky, as it happens in all other Tinctures which are extracted from oily and resinous Substances; and it is further to be observed, that the saline Principles may be so dissolved or dissolved by the Quantity of Liquids, as to be incapable of exerting their Force. The Root, when it is dried up with Age, loses its Acrimony, and all its Cathartic Virtue, as it does also in Boiling. The Smell of it, in some, provokes to Stool. It is of Service in a *Gonorrhœa*, by allaying the Heat of Urine, expelling the Malignity, and stopping the Flux. It is usually prescribed in Substance, from half a Dram to two Drams; the Dose of the Extract is two Drams, of the Tincture one Dram. The Root

" roasted or dried is astringent, as and effectual in a Dysentery as *Terra sigillata*, and being mixed with Nutmeg and *Laudanum*, proves an excellent Remedy for an immoderate Flux of the Belly, its astringent Virtue diffusing itself into all Parts. *Pecklius* employed it for Hæmorrhages of the Nose, and such like Cases. The Root is sometimes hurtful in a Vertigo; it destroys Worms, and is an Ingredient in many official Compositions.

" *Alexander Trallianus*, in the Opinion of Dr. *Freind*, was the first Physician that mentioned Rhubarb, who recommends it in a Weakness of the Liver, and a Dysentery, though *Monf. le Clerc* tells us, that the *Arabians* indeed, in translating *Dioscorides* and the *Greek* Physicians, confound this Root with the *Rhaponticum*, and ascribe the Virtues which the Ancient have observed in this latter to what is properly the *Rhabarbarum* as may be evident to any who will look into the Description which *Rhazes* gives of it. And I believe *Alexander* himself, though it is plain *Rhubarb* was known in his Time, was in the same Mistake, for he mentions it only as an Astringent, as the elder *Greeks* describe the *Rhaponticum* without the least Hint of its purging Virtue. *Paulus* seems to be the first who takes any Notice of the Purging Faculty in the Rheum (he calls it simply so) and tells us how we may make some laxative Medicines stronger by the Addition of this. And *P. A. pinus* says, that some have observed, that even the *Rhaponticum* would sometimes purge, though in a less Degree than *Rhubarb*.

" The modern *Greeks* gave this Root the Name of *Barbaricum*, not from the Place of its Growth, but from the Place it was imported to, for the Country in the Upper *Æthiopia*, was called *Barbaria*, as *Salmasius* well observes from its lying upon the *Sinus Barbaricus*, in which were many great *Emporia*, particularly *Rhapta* the Metropolis of this Region. This Gulph upon the East, joins with the *Indian* Ocean, and therefore *Æturius*, and after him *Myrepsus*, calls this Plant *Reon Indicon*. No doubt in those Times it was imported this Way to *Alexandria*, and so might be known to these latter *Greek* Physicians. However I must observe, that *Salmasius* does not take Notice of *Alexander's* mentioning *Rhubarb*, but quotes *Paulus* for it, who does not mention it, but only in general speaks of and describes the *Rha*. *Garcias ab Horto*, Physician to the *Spanish* Viceroy, tells us, he had learnt in *India*, that all the *Rhubarb* which was imported thither, and into *Persia*, grew in *China*, that was brought thither by Sea and Land, but that the latter Way of bringing it over *Tartary* to *Ormuz*, was much the best, for by Sea Carriage it was more subject to rot.

15. In Reference to the Animals in *China*, though the Natives relate strange Things of them, yet there are indeed very few so extraordinary in their Kind, as to deserve mentioning. In some of the most mountainous and worse cultivated Provinces of the Empire, there are Troops of very large Apes that live to a great Age, notwithstanding they are often attacked by the Natives, these by observing frequently the Actions of Men, and imitating them assiduously, perform many Things, which to Strangers would appear very surprizing. The *Chinese* call this Animal *Sin Fin*, and from their Description one would imagine, that these were a Race of wild dumb Men, and that perhaps Pains would not be thrown away in endeavouring to reclaim them. After all, the Truth of the Matter is, that the *Chinese* love to magnify every Thing they describe, and above all, every Thing that relates to their own Country, for at the Bottom, the *Chinese* Baboons are as much Brutes, and senseless Brutes, as any other Baboons upon the Earth.

There are also in some of the Woods, on the Sides of high Mountains, a particular Species of Bears, of a most enormous Size, and capable of doing a great deal of Mischief. These, without any View to Raillery or Wit, the *Chinese* call Men-Bears, to express their Superiority and Strength, which however it seems to do but obscurely. As for the Horse-hart, there is nothing in

it wonderful, or even singular, except that it is of the Size of a little Horse; but they have a Kind of Deer that never grow any bigger than an ordinary Dog, which from the Beauty of their Shape, and Closeness of their Hair, are real Curiosities. As to the Horse Tyger, that lives in the Water, and is covered with Scales as thick and as hard as Tortoise-shell, it is a mere Invention, contrived to impose upon weak People, and to make wiser Men laugh. But all these Kind of Tales begin to be exploded, for the *Tartars* are a Sort of People that do not at all affect them, but despise the *Chinese* for believing and telling gravely known Falsehoods and palpable Absurdities.

There are some wild Elephants in *China*, but not many; the Emperor has a Stable of fifteen or twenty of them, which are Presents from Foreign Princes. Their Horses are of middle Size, the strongest and most serviceable come from *Tartary*; there are also Mules and Camels, Oxen, Cows and Buffaloes, also Wolves, Bears, Tygers, and other Beasts of Prey in the mountainous Parts of the Country. Their Sheep are like those of *Turkey* with great Tails that weigh several Pounds. Deers and Hares they have in great Numbers. Their Hogs are black, and have Bellies that reach the Ground, they are esteemed very good Food; notwithstanding the Heat of the Country, for indeed this is made no Objection to of Hog's Flesh in the East.

Geese, Hens and Ducks, and all Sorts of Poultry, are mighty cheap, their Eggs are hatched in Ovens or Dunghills in most Places: As to the Birds of *China*, they have Paroketes extremely beautiful in their Colours, and that are as easily taught to speak as those that come from *America*. They have also a Kind of Hawks, which they call *Hai tsing*, larger than our Falcons and stronger, but these are very scarce, and are seldom seen but in the Emperor's Court. It is very true, that in *Chinese* Writers there are very curious and copious Descriptions of Birds that resemble the Phoenix of the Ancients, but then it is chiefly in this Particular, that though often described, they were never yet seen; so that there is no Need of swelling this Chapter by inserting such Descriptions. The first Missionaries however were very excusable in giving Place to them in their Writings, because it was impossible for them to perceive, but in Length of Time, how little Credit was due to those Authorities. Geese, Hens, and Ducks, as we observed, and indeed all Sort of Poultry, are excessively plentiful, and prodigiously cheap, throughout the whole Empire, and yet there are numberless Families that live by Feeding and Selling them. As for the Ducks, those that deal in them, become almost as much Aquaticks as the Commodity they deal in, for their Houses are fixed upon Barges, and as the Ducks live in, so they and their Families pass their Lives upon the Water, and their Children are often three or four Years old before they set their Feet upon the Land. Wild Fowl are also plenty, and they may very well be so, for with respect to those, as well as to Animals, the *Chinese* eat without Ceremony, eat all that come to Hand, let them breed or feed how they will.

There are Butterflies in *China* of an extraordinary Beauty, and of a very extravagant Size, but they are found only on a single Mountain in the Province of *Quangtung*; and these too are generally sent to the Emperor. They stick upon Trees and Flowers in the Day, immoveable with their Wings close; but if once discovered, are easily taken: Towards Evening they fly about like Bats, and the Extent of their Wings is very little if at all inferior to those of Bats in *Europe*. The Colours in their Wings are beautiful almost beyond Description, finely and regularly variegated with White, Green, Blue and Crimson; the Body, which is almost as thick as a Man's little Finger, is cover'd with a yellow Down as bright and as resplendent as burnish'd Gold. There are a smaller Sort of Butterflies taken in the Mountains of *Sichang*, not far from *Pekin*, which have very vivid Colours, but are far inferior to those

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enormous Butterflies beforementioned, and which make Part of the Furniture of the Imperial Cabinets.

Grasshoppers are exceeding troublesome in *China*, and frequently devour the Fruits of the Earth in some Provinces; there are also several Kinds of Serpents, particularly the *Cobra Capella*, or hairy headed Serpents, which have been describ'd in our Accounts of *India*. Fish abound in their Rivers and Canals, and besides Nets and other Engines, which are used in *Europe* to catch them, they breed up large Fowls like *Hérons*, which are as much under the Fisherman's Command as our Dogs, and Hawks are under the Huntsman's; they keep them perched on the Sides of their Boats, and when they give a Sign, every Bird takes its Flight to look for the Prey, and will divide themselves the whole Breadth of a River or Lake; when they have seized a Fish they bring it to their Master, and if it be too big for one, they will help one another; it is said when they have brought it to the Boat, they immediately take their Flight again in Search for more; but they have a String about their Necks, which prevents their Swallowing the Fish, till the Master thinks fit to leave off his Sport, and then they are suffered to prey for themselves.

There are also all those Kinds of Fish in their Waters, which are met with in *Europe*, and many more, particularly one, which is called the Gold and Silver Fish, which is wonderful beautiful, and kept by the Quality in large Basons in their Gardens. They are about the Length and Bigness of one's Finger, the Male of a fine red, from the Head to the Middle of his Body, the rest with the Tail is of such a bright and glittering Gold Colour, that no real Gildings can come near it. The Female is of a pure Silver White, the Tail of either of them is not flat, but gathered thick like a Nosegay, which is an Addition to their Beauty. They are a very tender Animal, and soon sensible of the Alteration of the Weather; therefore Contrivances are made to shelter them from the Heat, and their Water often changed. And if they are to be removed from one Bason to another, great Care is taken not to touch them, for the least Touch, it is said, will kill them, as will sometimes the Noise of great Guns, loud Thunder, or an offensive Smell, such as Pitch or Tar. But it is needless to insist longer on this Subject, since Numbers of these Fish have been of late Years brought over into *Europe*, and even into *England*, which has afforded the Curious an Opportunity of seeing that, though the *Chinese* often exaggerate, yet sometimes they keep at least pretty near the Truth.

The Mountains of *China* are held to be the richest in the World; some say, on Account of their Mines of Gold and Silver; but perhaps their Character may be maintained, even suppose their Title to these rich Metals could not be made out. Yet this is very far from being the Case; for it is certain there are two Silver Mines open, one in the Province of *Se tchun*, and the other in that of *Yu nan*, which still produce considerably, and were formerly excessively rich. The Emperor *Canghi* caused another Silver Mine to be opened and wrought for some Time, but it was afterwards discontinued. It is believed also that they have very rich Gold Mines; at least it is very certain, that in the Mountains on both Sides of *China* there are very rich *Lavadores*, as the *Spaniards* call them, that is, Places where Gold Sand is washed out of the Rocks. The *Chinese*, who are equally reserved in their Politicks, and in their Books and who in their Conversation speak Truth or Falsehood, just as it suits their Purposes best, affect to say, that though they have rich Mines of these Metals, yet they lie in Places inaccessible, and where it would cost more to come at them, than ever Gold and Silver are worth.

This, however, is but a Pretence, since the very Mine they last wrought was discontinued for being too rich; and the Secret of this Policy lies here: The Emperors of *China* have sixty Millions of Subjects, and at present the Country being perfectly well cultivated, they are plentifully supplied with Necessaries, Conveniencies

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and Elegancies; so that Industry is rewarded by Abundance. But as there is no eating either Gold or Silver; as wearing it is of very little Consequence; and, as there is already enough for all Sorts of Plate and Manufactures; to open Mines therefore would be a Means of diverting the People from their more necessary Labours, would raise the Price of all Commodities, and instead of being a Source of real Riches, would actually become the Cause of Want and of Distress. Besides, in no Country upon the Face of the Earth the true Value, or rather the true Use, of Gold and Silver is better understood than in *China*; and therefore they hold it to be, as it certainly is, much better Policy to draw these Metals into the Empire by Commerce, than to dig them out of Mines; and from these Principles they aim chiefly at two Things, one is to export their Commodities and Manufactures into other Countries, by which they obtain a Balance of Gold and Silver; and the other is, to keep it when they have got it: In both which Schemes, as indeed in almost every Scheme they form, they have been very successful.

Add to all this, that as Indigence creates Industry, so Indigence and Industry, taken together, are the strongest Motives to Obedience. A rich and idle People may be and generally are prone to rebel; but a poor and active People are commonly dutiful and submissive. This is the Case of the Bulk of the *Chinese* Nation, who get wherewithal to live, and live pretty well; yet with all their Sharpness and Dexterity, this is as much as they can get; and to say the Truth, this is what makes them so sharp. But if War, Famine, Inundations, or any other publick Calamity happens, they are presently set a Starving; and in this Situation the Wisdom and Equity of their Government appears, for to the Emperor they apply as to their common Parent, and they never apply in vain. He takes all they feel upon himself; he ascribes their Distresses to his Errors, their Misfortunes to the Judgments of Heaven upon his Sins; and therefore, besides imploring the Mercy of the Supreme Being, and giving large Alms to the Poor and Needy in his Capital; he relieves those who are thus distressed in the Provinces, not only by a temporary Supply of Food and Raiment, but by remitting their Taxes for a certain Number of Years, and creating a Demand for their particular Manufactures by Dint of that absolute Power, so terrible in other Countries, and useful and beneficial in this alone. But to proceed.

The Mountains of *China* furnish prodigious Quantities of Coals, insomuch, that no Country in the World is better served with them, and the Island of *Great-Britain* excepted, perhaps none so well. They have also Iron and Tin in Abundance, and still greater Plenty of another Metal, called, *Tutenague*, which is highly valuable, and of which one Mine produces them Hundreds of Quintals in a Day. They have also great Quantities of Copper, of the ordinary Sort, and besides this they have two very singular Kinds of Copper, which are scarce found, more especially the first of them, in any other Part of the Universe. The *Chinese* call this wonderful Metal *Pe tong*, which is as much as to say, white Copper, and it is very properly so called, for it is as white as Silver, and they make all kind of Vessels of it; the only Fault it has, is its Brittleness, so that in the Hands of careless People, it is apt to break. To remedy this Defect, they employ one sixth Part of *Tutenague*, which makes it tougher, but if they were to use twice that Quantity of *Tutenague*, the Metal would be much better, and the Reason that they do not use it, is because it spoils its Lustre, and not its Colour, as the Jesuits commonly write; for it remains as white as ever, but it is a dead, lifeless, tinny white. Four Parts of this Metal, and one of Silver, makes a Metal equal in Lustre to Silver itself, and is fit for any thing but Money; for upon the Application of a Stamp it cracks. The other Kind of Copper, the *Chinese* very properly call *Te se lai tong*, that is *Self-made Copper*, because it is found like Gold in Grains, or in large Pieces, washed out of the Mines by Torrents; properly speaking it is red Copper and very rich. The *Chinese* have Chemists amongst

them, or rather Alchemists, but their Skill in Metals does not reach ours; for it is certain, that their red and white Copper, mixed with *Lapis Calaminaris*, in a proper Quantity, will produce a Metal as high coloured as Brass, and almost as malleable as Silver.

Their Mountains also afford them most excellent Quarries of various Sorts of Stone, and amongst others a Kind of yellow Stone, so soft, that they work it into any Kind of Vessels, paint it with Vermillion, and sell it very dear. They have also *Lapis Lazuli*, but not in any great Quantities, and Rubies, but they are very small, though very fine, and several Kinds of Agate and Jasper. Rock Chrystal they have in vast Abundance, and they make various Kinds of Utensils of it, which are extremely beautiful, as well as all Sorts of Toys. Marble of several Kinds is common, but they know not how to polish it, at least to such a Degree as is common in *Europe*. As for Stones proper for Building, and Earth fit for Bricks, they have as much as they want, and indeed every thing in this Empire is at a low Price, which is owing to the Wisdom of the Government, and to the Facility of Water Carriage, by which the Commodities and Manufactures of all the Provinces are to be found in every Province, and at reasonable Rates.

So that it may very truly be said, that *China* plentifully yields not only whatever is requisite to the Restauration of Health, supplying the Necessities and sustaining of Mankind; but likewise all Things which can contribute to gratify the luxurious Wishes even of an Epicure: Nor do any of the *European* or *Asian* Countries produce any one Commodity, which is not here to be found; or at least the Deficiency is doubly supplied with equal or much better Substitutes: But to particularize and describe all the Roots, Herbs, Fruits, Shrubs, Trees, Plants, or whatever else of the Botanical Kind, which is either necessary or agreeable to the Tongue or Eye, would be to transgress the Limits of our short Account of this Country; wherefore we have contented ourselves with barely pointing them out, and shall proceed to discourse of what we next promised.

16. *Japan* is justly preferred to all the Eastern Islands: and (though its Natives unwillingly hear it) was formerly subject to *China*: Their Manner of Living is like the *Chinese*, they learn and read their Books; and also eat with two Ivory Sticks or Scares; but sit upon the Ground, wear a different Habit, Leathern Boots, and long Hair.

"*J. D. de Mendoza*, also assures us, that the *Chinese* were formerly possessed of the whole Continent from *China* to the most remote Part of *India*: That of this there are yet several considerable Remembrances on the Coast of *Cormandel*, particularly a Castle called the *Chinese Castle*, by Reason it is supposed to be built by them: That at present in the Kingdom of *Calicut*, there are several Fruit-trees which the Inhabitants own to be planted by the *Chinese* when they governed there, and were also Masters of *Malacca*, *Siam*, &c. He adds, that at the same Time they were Masters of *Japan*, as appears by several Monuments, as well as the common Uniformity betwixt the Manners and some of the Laws of both Nations."

This Island is an independant Sovereignty, governed by a Prince who assumes the Title of Emperor. It is a hundred and fifty or sixty Miles broad, and three hundred or three hundred and fifty in Length. It very plentifully produces Gold, Silver and Copper, as well as whatever can be wished to supply both Necessity and Luxury; it lies amongst and is parted from several lesser Islands, in 34 or 35 Degrees of Latitude. The Natives are very subtle and fraudulent in their Dealing, and thoroughly versed in the Art of Politicks: They are very jealous of their Liberty, and treat all other Nations with the utmost Suspicion; pursuant to which, they are so very cautious of any Thing that barely seems to contribute to their Strength, that they unrig and take away the Rudders of all foreign Ships in their Havens. They are very neat in all Particulars, and rally the *Chinese* on that Head, believing themselves very

very much to exceed them. Before the cruel and outrageous Persecution which fell upon the Faithful, almost half the Natives were converted to Christianity, but at present no one Person who is but suspected to be a Christian, is suffered to enter any Part of that Empire, before he hath trampled upon a Crucifix, as a Testimony that he is not of that Religion. Notwithstanding which, we are told that there are some who privately retain that Belief in their Hearts, and confess it to God alone. But the very Name of Christian is here so detestable, that, even those of that Religion which do but trade here are obliged to conceal it; and the *Hollanders*, which drive a great Trade here, being asked by them whether they are Christians, never fail to reply that they are *Hollanders*, by which indirect Answer they shun the dangerous Rock, that would shipwreck their Hopes of Gain.

The second Island or Peninsula, (for it is doubted whether it be separated from the firm Land) is called *Corea*, but the *Chinese* Name it *Caoli*; it annually pays a Tribute to the Emperor; and lies Eastwards of *Peking* and *Xantung*. When the *Coreans* carry the above-mentioned Tribute to the Imperial City, they most commonly go by Way of *Leaotung*, but very rarely through *Xantung*. In their Habit, Writing, &c. the Natives follow the old Customs of the *Chinese*; but they differ from them in their common Conversation with Respect to Women, who are here allowed to come freely into the Company of Men; on which Account the *Chinese* ridicule them as a barbarous and unpolite People: And this Difference also occasions another in their Marriages, which are here the Effects of Choice. This Country is larger, but not so rich as *Japan*: It plentifully produces all Sorts of Corn, and according to the Report of the *Chinese*, is four hundred and sixty Miles long, and one hundred and sixty broad. Though this Country is very commodiously situated, and richly provided with all Things, yet its Inhabitants at present drive no considerable Trade with any other Nations than the *Chinese* and *Japonefe*. Here are very rich Gold Mines, and the Root *Ginseng*, of the Virtue of which I have already spoken, grows here; as also the red Colour which the *Chinese* call *Cil*, or *Sandaracha*, the best Sort of which is prepared here by Expression out of the Bark of a certain Tree, and is of a Consistence like Pitch or Glue; whatever it is laid on with a Brush is tinged red, and shines as bright as a Looking-glass; fine Pencils and Paper are likewise made of it.

Besides this there are two Islands situate near *Japan*, one of which is called *Chaofien*, and the other *Linkin*: The Princes of both which Kingdoms pay Tribute to the Empire of *China*, though in Habit and Manners they approach much nearer to the *Japonefe* than *Chinese*: These Islands are large, but not to be compared with *Japan*.

The Island *Taion*, otherwise called *Formosa*, is also subject as has been said to *China*, and is accounted one of the nine great Cities of the Province or Kingdom of *Fokien*. The Island *Hainan* lies South of the Province of *Canton*, and as is already said, is numbered amongst the Cities of that Province: It is two hundred and fifty Miles in Circuit.

There are also several other Islands, which are Dependents on or Members of the Province of *Canton*, as that of *Sanciam*, where *Francis Xavier* died and was buried: *Macao*, where the *Portuguese* have a Fortification and Port; together with the three Islands under *Xantung*, one of which was famous or rather infamous for the lamented Destruction of the *Chinese* Philosophers, as has been mentioned. These, besides several others, are subject to this vast Empire, all which united under one Dominion, would by themselves amount to a very potent Monarchy, and furnish Matter for a particular Description. But we shall content ourselves with barely naming them as they lie in our Way, and conclude this Chapter with an Account of some subordinate and adjacent Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Tunking* lies Westward of *China*; and formerly was subject to and a Province of that Empire: But is at present only tributary to it; and is divided into the two Kingdoms of *Tunking* and *Cochin-*

china; subject to their respective Kings, who are two Brothers, that continually make War against each other. And though this Kingdom, or more properly these Kingdoms, are very distant from *Japan*, they yet follow the Fashions and Manners of the *Japonefe*: They are instructed by and read *Chinese* Books, which they, like the *Japonefe* and *Coreans*, are very well versed in. Several Christians live amongst them; and the *English*, *French*, *Dutch* and others, trade very considerably with the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Laos* borders on the Province of *Yunan*; and is also tributary to *China*: Its Metropolis is *Lanchang*: It borders Southwards on *Siam*, and Westwards on *Pegu*: But is a Country of no Manner of Commerce.

Siam is a very large Kingdom, which has been frequently infested with Foreign Wars and Domestick Confusions: It was formerly subject and tributary to this Empire, but taking Advantage of its distant Situation, and the various Revolutions of the *Chinese* Monarchy, that Kingdom hath, like *Pegu*, shook off the Yoke. This is a Kingdom of very wide Extent, but the Land is waste, untilled and uninhabited; and its People living mostly in Woods and Wildernesses, behave themselves rather like wild Beasts than reasonable Creatures. They build or erect Huts made of Hides, and the whole Country abounds with Woods, which harbour Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Buffloes, wild Oxen, Tygers, Bears, and several other wild Beasts. Here are great Herds of Apes as big as Children. The Woods are very closely crowded with lofty Trees, of the Height of forty or fifty Ells; some of which are also so thick, that seven or eight Men holding Hands can hardly begirt them, and one Trunk is large enough to hew out a Boat. Here are innumerable Crocodiles, which devour Men alive, and are four or five Ells long; which renders Travelling, either by Water or Land, very dangerous in all Parts of this Country; as it is also in *Pegu*, *Laos*, *Camboja*, &c. The Inhabitants of all which Countries wear the same Sort of Habits, and very nearly agree in their Customs and Manner of Living; but differ in their Language and Way of Writing. They are all Heathens, and extravagantly reverence or rather idolize their Priests. Their Pagods or Temples are all of Brick, but very numerous and ornamental; their idolatrous Images are large, beautiful, and finely gilt, some of them being about ten Ells high. The Streets and several spacious Places are adorned with large Turrets about fifty or sixty Ells high, gilded all over on the Outside. These Idols were brought by the *Bramins* (so their Priests are called) out of *India*.

The King keeps his Court at *Jutia*, which is also called *Siam*; this is a large, and upon an exterior View, seems a very fine City, but is very far from being so within. The *Dutch* have a House or Factory at the City of *Ligor*, and the *English*, *Portuguese*, *Mogols*, *Persians*, and *Chinese*, trade very considerably here; nay, several *Portuguese* live in the City. Formerly the *Europeans* enjoyed great Immunities here, but are now abridged of some of them, and this on the following Occasion.

One *Constance*, a *Greek*, that had long resided amongst the *English*, came to *Siam*, and became such a Favourite of the King's, that, in a short Time, he got into the best and most honourable Posts, and climb'd to the highest Step in the Administration; the King left the whole Government of his Realm to him, and he consequently became the Spring of Action. During this Time the News happen'd to reach the King's Ear, that *France*, then at War with the *Dutch*, had obtain'd a great Victory over the States; upon which that Prince, who look'd on the *Hollanders* with jealous Eyes, as a People that might one Day do him an Injury, resolved to send an Ambassador to the King of *France*. And he accordingly dispatched one of his *Mandaryns* on that Errand in 1677, on board a *French* Ship; but it is to this Day unknown what became of either the Ambassador or the Ship, nor was the least News of them ever heard. The King, however, pursuing his first Design, sent other Ambassadors, in a *French* Ship, to the Court of *France*, where they safely arrived, and were very well

well received. They, by Order of their Prince, entertained the *French* King's Friendship, as well as made Protestations of their Master's tender Regard for his Most *Christian* Majesty; and withal requested, that he would please to send him some Forces to remain in his Country for the Defence of it. And after the Expiration of several Years, the King of *France* sent Ambassadors, and three Ships to *Siam*, where they safely arrived, and were very well received and splendidly entertained; besides which, large Privileges were granted to the *Christians* on their Account; for besides the Ambassadors, in the three Ships, there came over with them a *French* Bishop with several Monks, which, together with three or four hundred Men designed for the Defence of the King and Kingdom, were by the Ambassadors left behind.

This very much disgusted the Populace, but more the Priests; and several of the Chief of the Nobility look'd awry at it; as did the *Mahometans*, who gave the King Poison, of which he sicken'd and died.

After which, the General and others rose up in Arms against the Regent or Administrator, mastered the City, and cut the above-mentioned *Greek* to Pieces; and the King dying without Heirs, leaving only one Daughter, and this General having forcibly got into the Throne, designed the immediate Destruction of the *French*; but they perceiving his Intention, retired to a strong well-fortified Place, which they so bravely defended, that he was obliged to permit them to depart freely, and furnish them with three Ships for their Voyage.

17. *Tartary* borders North and North-west on *China*, from which it is divided by the Great Wall: These Nations are divided into *East* and *West Tartars*; the latter conquered *China* at the latter End of the Twelfth Century; but about eighty Years afterwards were driven out of that Empire; and the *Eastern Tartars* are at present possess'd of it, having seated themselves on the Throne in the Year 1643. They are called *Eastern Tartars*, not with Regard to *China*, of which they lie Northwards, but with respect to the other *Tartars*, which lie West of them, and are called *Western Tartars*.

The *Eastern Tartars* were separated from *China* not only by the Wall, but by the Province of *Leaotung*, which was not a *Chinese* Province before the *Tartars* came through it into that Empire; but being situated without the Wall, it lay as a Barrier against the Incursions of the *Tartars*; and before it became a Province of *China*, was a Place of Exile, whither all banished Persons were either ordered or fled of their own Accord for Refuge. These and other Exiles assisted Prince *Oufangouei*, who, with the Help of the *Tartars*, drove the Usurper *Li* or *Licoung* from the Throne, which the *Tartars* then ascended. After which, the Province of *Leaotung*, in grateful Acknowledgment of its introducing the said *Tartars* into *China*, was incorporated to the Empire, and declared the sixteenth *Chinese* Province, enjoying the same Rights, Privileges and Immunities with the fifteen ancient Provinces; all whose Tribunals and superior Courts of Justice are supplied by an equal Number of *Tartars* and *Chinese*, as are also all the Presidentships.

Since the *Tartar* conquered *China*, he hath extended the Frontiers of his Dominions in *Tartary*, for being formerly but one of the petty Kings of the *East Tartars*, he hath not only obliged the other *Eastern* Princes, but even the *Western Tartars*, to submit to, obey, and for the most Part, acknowledge him their Sovereign Prince. And the Union of these two mighty Kingdoms and Nations, has swelled this Empire to an extraordinary Bulk, and rendred it one of the noblest Sovereignties in the World. By Means of this wide Extension of this Monarchy, *China*, or more properly *Tartary*, stretches its Borders to *Muscovy*, by which it is bounded Northwards. And by the Peace betwixt the Czar and the Emperor of *China*, concluded in the Year 1689 at *Nipchou*, by the Ambassadors of both Emperors, it appears that the Borders on both Sides are fixed by Agreement in the Latitude of 55 Degrees; which appeared very surprizing even to Geographers themselves, they scarce believing

that *China* and *Muscovy* were become Empires confining on each other by the Addition of *Tartary*. And the Ambassadors could not reach the before-mentioned Frontier City, situated on the utmost Borders of *Muscovy* from *Peking*, in less than six Weeks Time, the Distance being three hundred Leagues.

The Empire of the *Great Mogul*, and several other Monarchies, were in like Manner formerly Provinces obedient to the *Chinese* Empire, as is amply evinced by the present remaining Monuments in several Parts of *India*: But either their distant Situation, political Interest, or the *Chinese* Seditions, have long since torn them from that Monarchy. The Empire of the *Great Mogul* extends over all the Kingdoms and Countries betwixt the Rivers *Ganges* and *Indus*, to the Gulph of *Bengal*. The Inhabitants of *Cambay*, *Bengal*, and other subordinate Countries, drive a very great Trade with the *Chinese*, and have also with their Merchandize introduced their own, that is, the *Mahometan* Religion. The Metropolis, where the *Great Mogul* keeps his Court, as also the Province in which it is situated, is called *Delli*; the Countries subject to him are very fertile, and what by reason of the Gulph or Arm of the Sea, and the Rivers which on both Sides run by it, very commodiously situate for the Transportation of the Produce of that Country. Besides vast Plenty of Corn and Fruit-trees which that Land yields, it affords also great Quantities of Wax, Frankincense, Spices, and Drugs, as well as Diamonds and other precious Stones. The Number of Elephants is here so great, that they are not computed by Hundreds, but Thousands; and according to the Custom of this Country, the Horse and Foot capable of taking Arms, and which upon a short Warning may be raised, are reckoned by Hundreds of Thousands. The Commodities with which they chiefly trade in *China*, are rough and other Diamonds, Jewels, Elephants Teeth, Wax, &c. The Emporium to which they and other *Indians* coming out of the West resort, as is already hinted, is *Zunning*, a very great and commodious trading City, frequented by all Nations; for though anciently no Foreigners were permitted to come to or trade in *China*, yet the wiser *Tartars* regarding their own Interest much more than obsolete Customs, have allowed almost all Nations to trade amongst them. All the *Indians* are swarthy, and go naked, except only a Cloth, which both Men and Women wear about their Waistes.

It was thought best to insert the Whole of our Author's Account of the Kingdoms, anciently and at present depending upon *China*, just as it stands in his Book, and without any Remarks, that the Reader might perceive at once what the Situation of Things was at the latter End of the last Century. We may very easily discern from his Manner of Writing, that he was a very warm Friend to the Glory of his Country, and very desirous of representing it as infinitely more glorious in former Times than it is now. It is not easy to say, what his Sentiments would have been, of an Opinion that prevails amongst some very learned Men, if he had been acquainted with them, viz. that the *Chinese* themselves are but a Colony from *Egypt*. On one Hand indeed, this Notion derogates much from their Glory, as it makes them appear so far below what they esteem themselves, and of which they continually boast, that they are an original Nation; that many Nations have descended from them, and that before the Conquest of their Country by the *Tartars*, their Race was in a good Measure unmixed; yet considered in another Light, this Notion seems to do them Honour, for if we reflect on the Accounts given us by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient Writers, concerning the Government, Customs and Manner of Living amongst the original Natives of *Egypt*, they must be owned for one of the wisest and most polite People of whom there is any Record in History.

In Matters of this Nature, however, it is not enough to assert, there ought likewise to be some kind of Proof, and those who give into this Sentiment, endeavour to sustain it by three Arguments. The first is, that the ancient *Egyptians* positively assert it, their having

having sent, in the most early Times, vast Armies into the higher *Asia*, who left behind them considerable Colonies, of which, however, the *Greeks* tell us rather Fables than any Thing that can be called History, as to the Remnants they met with in *India*. So that supposing the Travels of the *Egyptian Bacchus* to have some Thing of Truth, though buried under a Load of Fiction, we may likewise suppose that he penetrated into *China*, and in that Country, rather than in *India*, left his Colonies. The second Argument is deduced from the great Conformity between the two Countries, for if *Egypt* has its *Nile*, *China* has its great River of *Nanking*; if the former abounds with Canals and Cutts of Water, from Town to Town, for the Sake of an easy and commodious Communication, so does the latter; and if in *Egypt* there are many Monuments of great Antiquity, the like are also to be found in *China*. The third Argument is taken from the Resemblance of their Governments, and the Maxims upon which they are founded; the Likeness between the ancient Hieroglyphicks, or rather sacred Character of the *Egyptians*, and that of the *Chinese*; the Aversion and Contempt which both Nations have for Foreigners, flowing from an arrogant Opinion of their own Superiority in Science, and in every Thing else; the Notions the *Egyptians* had of the Excellence of their Country, which is exactly copied by the *Chinese*, and in fine, the pacific Dispositions of both Nations, springing from the Principles of their Policy, immutable through the Course of many Ages. How far these Arguments reach towards establishing the Probability of this Sentiment being true, we pretend not to determine, it being our Aim only to give the Reader as short and clear Account of the Sentiment itself that was in our Power; and having done this, we leave it entirely to his Decision.

But it may not be amiss to add, that the *Japonese*, the *Simoesse*, and other Nations, mentioned by our Author, have actually such a Tradition amongst them as he contends for, and are so far from denying that they were formerly under the same Dominion with the *Chinese*, that on the contrary, they boast of being descended from them as a very high Honour, and appeal to their Customs and Manners for the Proof of it, supposing that their Learning and Knowledge of what Nature soever it may be, could be derived to them only from that People, who they esteem the wisest and most polite Nation in the East. We are not therefore to regard what our Author says, as the pure Effects of Vanity, but as an Opinion that is current amongst the several Nations of which he speaks.

It must look very strange after what has been said, that these Countries are no longer under the Dominion of the *Chinese* Emperor; for it should appear extremely easy to preserve Territories, the Inhabitants of which have a Pride in being Subjects; but the Riddle is not hard to be disclosed, and as the Solution is neither unprofitable nor unpleasant, it may not be amiss to insert it. The *Chinese* Monarchs of the last Race, before the Country was subdued by the *Tartars*, were desirous rather of keeping than of extending their Dominions; and for this Reason they chose the natural Bounds of Seas and Mountains, together with the artificial Fortification of the Great Wall, which had been raised by their Ancestors, and raised from that very Maxim which they now pursued.

By this Means the fifteen Provinces of *China*, though of such a vast Extent, were perfectly well covered from foreign Invasion. On the East or South they could be attacked only by a maritime Power, and a Power capable of attacking them, they very well knew subsisted not in that Part of the Earth; so that their Coasts were perfectly saved, even supposing they had not been so defensible as they really are. To the South-west they have a long Chain of impracticable Mountains, on the other Side of which lie the Kingdoms of *Laos*, *Tonkin*, *Cochinchina*, and *Siam*; from the People of which they knew by Experience they had nothing to fear; and they were wise enough also to know, that it would be much easier for them to assist these Nations in Case they were attacked, than to defend their respective Countries as Pro-

vinces. On the West they are likewise covered by Mountains, and on the North by the famous Wall, beyond which they have the Country of *Leontong*, which they kept as an Outwork against the *Mantcheou Tartars*.

This Policy of theirs was sound and good, and must for ever have secured *China*, if their own civil Diffentions had not opened a Way to that Revolution which the *Tartars* compassed by superior Skill rather than Force. As Things now stand there is Reason to believe, that on the one Hand the *Tartars* will be easily dispossessed, because their Force daily increases in Comparison of the native *Chinese*; and as to any Attempts of other Nations, they are less to be feared than ever, because the *Tartars* heretofore, their most formidable Enemies, are now become a kind of Out-guards, as willing and more capable to defend them than the proper Subjects of the Empire.

As this Observation is obvious, and as the *Chinese* have Penetration enough in this Respect, we have Reason to wonder that our Author has taken no Notice of it, but a little Reflexion will discover the Cause. He was not of *Tartar*, but of *Chinese* Extraction, and therefore if this Notion occurred to him, he would certainly suppress it as destructive to the Honour and Reputation of his Country, which it is visible enough from his Manner of Writing he meant to raise as high as he could. At the Time he wrote, the *Tartars* had not been Masters of *China* above fifty Years; and it is very natural to believe, that the *Chinese* still retained Hopes of being some Time or other able to throw off the Yoke; and in such Cases, those who are well versed in the Dispositions of Men, which are pretty much the same in all Countries, will easily conceive, that all Things must appear to them in false Lights, because on one Side, the flattering Expectation of becoming once more free and independent, heightened the Opinion of their own Strength; and on the other, their Aversion to Foreigners hindered them from perceiving that the *Tartar* Power was continually increasing, and at the same Time, their Ability of resisting declining apace.

But to despair, and to despair in so capital a Point as this at that Time, must have been thought by every *Chinese*, was what he must wish to avoid, and whatever Men wish with Regard to speculative Points being always in their Power, they seldom fail of bending their Belief to their Wishes. We have various Instances of this in other Countries than *China*, and Instances that in Point of Time reach very far beyond that wherein they have even now been Subjects to a foreign Power; a Circumstance every where alike hateful, and which therefore amongst all Nations will ever have the like Effect, till such Time as the Cause imperceptibly wears out, that is, till those who were considered as Strangers become Natives, and so the Will to expel them is gradually lost. In all human Probability this Time is already come in the Country of which we are speaking, and if we had a History of it written by a *Chinese* at this Day, we should find him place the Subject that we have been discussing, in the very same Light that we have done.

We must not however dissemble that there are various Passages in his Accounts which might be corrected, and some which without Prejudice to his Performance might have been omitted, but it is to be considered, that these Mistakes are not very considerable, either in their Nature or in their Number, that he wrote at a Distance of Time, when Slips of the like kind would have been very pardonable, even in an Author on this Side of the World; that there is something useful in seeing what mistaken Opinions gain Ground in those Parts, and lastly, that there is not the least Danger that a Person, who has perused the former Volume of this Work, should be misled by what he says. Add to all this, that as we have hardly seen any *Chinese* Writer before, so it would not become us to play the severe Criticks now. The Knowledge our Author had, like that of his Countryman, was all of his own acquiring, and what he has communicated, is written with that Freedom and Ingenuity, that it is highly reasonable we should afford it a favourable Reception, and make many Allowances for

the many Disadvantages he must necessarily labour under.

The same Excuses, though perhaps in a more extensive Degree, must be likewise offered for what still remains of his Account, which it is very possible may not be altogether so exact as the modern Accounts of the Jesuits, but at the same time, they are very well worth preserving for many Reasons. He had a Mind to give the People of *Europe*, a very short Account of the two great Revolutions that had happened in *China*, since they became acquainted with that Country, and also an impartial View of the State that Empire was in at the Time he left it; this very Design has since employed the Pen of a very celebrated *French* Jesuit, and yet upon comparing their Works we may safely affirm, that though our Author is not a tenth Part so long, it contains as much Matter, many Circumstances that are not to be met with in his, explains the Causes and Consequences of these Revolutions as clearly to the full, and affords a better Picture of the reigning Emperor, than that drawn by the *French* Father.

It was for these Reasons, that after mature Deliberation, we gave it a Place here, so that the Reader has now the intire Work of *Dionysius Kao*, and in a better Dress than it has hitherto appeared. Some of our Readers indeed might possibly expect a larger History of *China*, but besides that, this would have run us into much too great a Length, it would have been also foreign to, and quite beside our Design; for all we aim at, is to give our Readers a just Idea of Countries as they stand at present, and if we sometimes step back into more remote Times, it is only with a View that from the Accounts we give of these, the present may be the better understood.

Taking Things therefore upon this Footing, what our Author has delivered is precisely what we wanted it is a Sketch of the *Chinese* History, within that Period of Time which falls immediately under our Notice, and accounts for the principal Events which have happened since it was visited by *Marco Polo*, the first *European* that ever wrote about it, and whose Travels are inserted intire in our former Volume. One Thing more is to be observed upon this Subject, before we leave it, and it is this, that whatever Dislike our Author might have for the *Tartars*, he found himself obliged to speak of the Emperor reigning at the Time he wrote, in as high Terms as it was in his Power to invent; from whence we discover two Things of some Importance, with an equal Degree of Certainty; the first, that the Monarch of whom he speaks, really deserved the high Character he gave him, for otherwise it is impossible that so many Writers of different Nations and Interests, should agree in it. The second, that it plainly appears from hence, that our Author had a just Regard for his Protestations, and did not suffer either his Fondness for his own Country, or his Aversion to the *Tartars*, to misguide him from the Paths of Truth. From this extraordinary Instance therefore of his Veracity, of which we have the fullest Proof, we learn what Credit is due to the rest of his Performance, and that it is not without Reason we have commended his Writings so much, to which it is now high Time to return.

Tho' the *Chinese* Empire is by all the learned of that Nation, without the least Scruple, positively asserted to have continued for above the Space of four thousand Years, under the Government of two and twenty Imperial Families; and others believe it possible to trace its Origin five hundred Years higher; yet to this Day, or rather to the Middle of the sixteenth Century, the *Chinese* have not made any Alteration in their Humour, Morals, Learning, Habits, Manner of Government, or Language. It is indeed true, that Seditions, Civil Wars, Insurrections and Revolutions have happen'd, which have made a temporary Alteration of the exterior Form, but they soon disappear'd, and all Things returned to their former State: For one while the Empire was divided into one hundred, nay three hundred Parts, then reduced to seven, afterwards to three; and at last re-

turned to the primitive State of an entire Empire, subject solely to one Sovereign.

According to the *Chinese* Chronology, the above-mentioned two and twenty Royal Families have produced two hundred and thirty six Emperors, computed to extend to the present Monarch, and beginning with the first Emperor *Fohi*: Which Prince, agreeably to this Chronology, and the unanimous Attestation of all learned Men, is acknowledged for the undoubted Founder of the *Chinese* Sovereignty. This is particularly confirmed by those appointed to examine into it by the Emperor himself, and his chief or most able Ministers: We are told that this Emperor was a Prince of an exalted Genius, great Courage and Experience; that he projected their Laws, declared good Education and good Manners to be the best Foundation of the Publick Good, and bestowed his utmost Praises on those who by virtuous Means pressed forward to the highest Degree of Wisdom; whilst on the other Side, he banished all Sloth, and set a very high Value on those, who by their Parts and Industry distinguished themselves from the rest of Mankind. His illustrious Reign, crown'd with venerable Age and Experience, transmitted to his Descendants such a strong Impression of his real Excellencies, that his Maxims, Instructions, and Laws, are regarded as divine Precepts, and those who have studied them, have found them so superlatively excellent, that they have justly deserved as well as retained their exalted Fame amongst the *Asiatick* Nations.

Fohi was succeeded by *Chumming*, and he by *Hoangti*, who was succeeded by *Xao*, and several others in order, which according to the same Chronology were elective Kings; and being as long liv'd as the *Noachian* Patriarchs, each of these is said to have reigned above one hundred Years; though like the *Antidiluvians* mentioned in holy Writ, they declined in Proportion to the Time of their Flourishing. The same Chronologies assign *Yous* as the first Monarch which followed these elective Kings, and whose Son and Race succeeded to the Crown; since which Time it has remained hereditary to this Day.

The present reigning Monarch of the House of *Tai-cin* or *Taicou*, (as we have already hinted) is the third *Tartarian* Emperor; whose Grandfather, after the Death of *Zunchi*, the sixteenth and last Emperor of the Race of *Taiminga*, which had swayed the Scepter for the Space of two hundred and seventy six Years, seized or rather rushed into the imperial Throne, after the Defeat and Expulsion of the traitorous Usurper by Prince *Ousangouei*, assisted by the *Tartarian* Forces.

The same Writers inform us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Xunus*, the *Tartars* made their first Incursions into *China*, but that Prince bravely repulsed them, and settled the Empire in a quiet State: So that this Event, which happened long before Christ's Time, was rather an Incursion, than a War of any Duration. But in the twelfth Century, the *Tartars* conquered this Empire in the Reign of the last Emperor of the House of *Sung*, which Family had then reigned four hundred Years: They then entered and seized the Empire, by the traitorous Assistance of *Zinghay*, one of the Nobility: For this Traytor, watching his Opportunity, introduced the *Tartars* during the Emperor's Minority; and they quietly enjoyed the Empire about eighty Years: But in Process of Time, the Peace, Ease, and Plenty in which they wallowed, debauched that warlike Nation to the luxurious, soft, and lazy Way of living of the *Chinese*: Valour and Order were displac'd, and Reputation vanished: The Soldier became leud, and transgressed his Orders with Impunity: And the great Remissness of the Commanders occasioned the greater Mischief, of Robberies on the Highways, and in the Streets, and Murthers; which Current of Crimes running high, Fear of Punishment produced Conspiracies, extending to whole Battalions, which at first sculking and dispersing themselves throughout the whole Empire, rendred all *China* very dangerous either to live or travel in: Especially when they grew strong enough to appear in the Field in Troops, and at last in small Armies.

The

The *Chinese* tired with this foreign Power, which grew to insupportable Tyranny, as appears by what followed, murmured at it, and raised Commotions throughout the whole Empire, but none of the Nobility stirred in it, notwithstanding which they were delivered from the *Tartarian* Yoke in the following Manner.

A certain Boy, born in the City of *Fajangfu*, in the Province of *Nanking*, that had lost his Parents by the Plague, to escape that raging Distemper, as well as through Want of Bread, and in Hopes of bettering his Fortune, left his native Place, and retired to a Pagod, or idolatrous Temple, and put himself into the Service of the *Bonzi's*, which are their Idolatrous Priests: But they treating him somewhat severely, he ran away from them, and became a Herdsman; and in Process of Time, being advanced to maturer Years, he lifted himself a Soldier amongst the Robbers before-mentioned, which were now grown to a formidable Body: And what contributed to his continual and gradual Advancement amongst them was, that one of their principal Commanders was his Uncle, who finding him acquit himself well, took Care to raise him: And becoming himself a General, he died sometime after, and was succeeded by this Nephew: Who had not been long General before (having encreased his Forces to his desired sufficient Number, and being assisted by the *Chinese*) he so expeditiously, vigorously, and successfully made War against the *Tartars*, that in the Space of seven or eight Years, he obliged them to evacuate the whole Empire of *China*. He fixed himself on the Throne, was proclaimed Emperor, kept his Court at *Nanking*, and died after having reigned thirty three Years, assuming the Name of *Hunguil*, i. e. the Excellency of Arms. He was the first of the House of *Minchao*, (or *Tamincha*) which governed that Empire about two hundred and eighty Years. His Son succeeded him in the Empire, and removed the Imperial Seat from *Nanking* to *Peking*, in order to be nearer the *Tartars*, upon whom he fell with all his Force, and pierced through all *Tartary*, destroying all to which Side soever he turned his victorious Arms, and sparing Nobody, pursuant to the Resolution he had made if possible to extirpate all the *Tartars*; but finding none able to oppose him, he returned to *China*, where after a long and peaceable Reign he died; and his Descendants continued in the Throne till in or about the Year 1644, at which time the Reign of that Family ended in the Emperor *Zunchi*, who by his miserable End made Way for the *Tartar* to ascend the Throne. It is indeed remarkable, that the very Family which about three hundred Years before had drove out the Western, was driven out by the Eastern *Tartars*.

Before we enter upon the present Government and Revolution of the Empire, we shall by the Way only hint, that the *Tartars* in the Reign of the Emperor *Vanli*, one of the last of the *Taiminchian* Race, who died in 1620, aged 58, after a Reign of forty eight Years, made an Irruption into *China*, and were repulsed by him: And that about the Year 1580, in the same Emperor's Reign, the Christian Religion began to be received in *China*. *Francis Xavier* attempted first to travel thither from *Japan*, in Hopes of promoting the Kingdom of Christ; but died on his Way in the Isle of *Sancham*, a Place dependant on the Province of *Canton*. Then the Fathers *Herrada*, *Marino Alfaro*, and some *Franciscans*, viz. *Martin Egnatio*, *Rogero*, *Pasio*, *Ricci*, and other Fathers, undertook this Work with the same ardent Zeal; but Father *Ricci* proved the most successful of any of them, for having long resided at *Macao*, having studied the Religion, Laws and Customs of that Empire, and being very well versed in their Language, these Accomplishments gained him the Esteem of the Emperor and the whole Court, and rendered his Mission successful; he obtained a Grant of buying a House and a Burying-place, as also Leave to settle there, which was the first Foundation of the spreading of the Gospel here. But the Lord's Vineyard at *Macao*, was once very near an utter Extirpation by a cruel Persecution, if the Hand of God had not stopped it by punishing the Persecutors.

After the Death of the Emperor *Vanli*, reigned his Son *Taichan*, a valiant Prince, who by raising a great Army against the *Tartars*, that began to be in Motion, discovered his earnest Desire of heroically attacking them, but his Design was frustrated by his sudden Death, after a Reign only of four Months. He was succeeded by his Son *Tbienski*, who not in the least degenerating from the Valour of his Ancestors, as soon as he was on the Throne, assisted by his Allies, beat the *Tartars* out of *Leaotung*, in which Province they had made an Irruption and mastered several Cities, and after a Reign of about seven Years Duration died in Peace, and was succeeded by his Brother *Zungchi*, a mild negligent Prince, who, fond of Ease, reposed too great Trust in his Officers, who instead of a faithful Service repaid his Credulity with Treachery, and after an unfortunate Reign brought their Master to a miserable End, which was followed by the Empire's falling into the Hands of a foreign Family.

"The Causes of the Revolution in *China*, and the utter Extinction of the last Race of *Chinese* Emperors, besides those alledged by our Author, are by several Writers observed to be: That the Court (or the Emperor) was plunged in luxurious lazy Ease; his only Care being employed how to pass his Days with the greatest Pleasure, with the beautiful Virgins which were selected for his Use all over the whole Empire: For the Prince being absolute, it was forbidden to marry any young Women before they were proffer'd to him. This Course has ruined more Courts than one, it naturally administering Occasions for Insurrections within, and Foreign Invasions, whilst the Emperors, drowned in ridiculous Pleasures and Diversions, never trouble themselves with the Government, but entrust it in the Hands of worthless Eunuchs. Others add, that this Prince was also very covetous."

The *Tartar* was driven out of *Leaotung* and *China* by the above-mentioned Emperor *Tbienski*, and besides made a Tributary to him; but the Sparks of civil Dissention were not so extinguished as to prevent their breaking out into a more raging Flame, which was kindled by the *Chinese* Governors exorbitantly treating and plundering the *Tartars* and *Tartarian* Merchants, and not in the least scrupling the Practice of any Manner of Injustice against them, in order to exasperate that Nation, and oblige themselves with the Opportunity of fishing in troubled Water. The Merchants and others that were abused by the Governors, petitioned against them; but the Emperor and the Court turned a deaf Ear to all their Complaints. The *Tartarian* King, in Resentment armed himself, and at the Head of his Army dispatched a Letter to the Emperor, before he had Recourse to coercive Means, or backed his Words with his Sword. He laid before him the unjust and partial Practices of his Governors and Officers; and set forth, that all the Remonstrances of his Merchants were slighted at Court; desiring the Emperor would be pleased to punish his Governors and exorbitant Robbers, and provide against such pernicious and corrupt Practices for the Future, and excuse him his annual Tribute, in order to reimburse him the Military Expences he had been at; upon Refusal of which he declared, that he should be obliged to take such Measures as the continual Complaints of the Violence and Injustice daily exercised upon his Subjects should oblige him to. The Emperor, instead of examining into this Affair, utterly discharges himself of it, and leaves it to his Council; who, keeping him blind, play'd their Game according to their own Pleasure, and without any great Opposition suffer'd the *Tartar* to seize Part of *Leaotung*. After the Conquest of which, he endeavour'd to subdue the whole Province, but was interrupted in his Career by a too vigorous Resistance; and the War betwixt the two Nations lasted a long Time, Victory sometimes inclining to one, and at other Times to the other Side: But at last the Strife ended in a Peace, in Favour of the *Tartar*, the Emperor being obliged to leave him in the quiet Enjoyment

ment of his Conquests ; by reason that the Robbers and several of the Nobility had made such a formidable Insurrection, that the Emperor seemed to apprehend more Danger from them than from the *Tartars* themselves : Which was indeed afterwards confirmed by the Event ; for the Robber *Licoung*, after taking several Cities and whole Provinces, grew so insolent as to presume to attack even the Emperor himself in *Peking* his Metropolis, which he knew to be empty of Forces, or at least, that those there were commanded by those who would betray their Prince. The Emperor finding himself betray'd on one Hand, and deserted on the other, being unwilling to fall into the Robber's Hands alive, after he had killed his Daughter with his Sword, ended his one miserable Life with a Rope.

The Conqueror attempted to fix himself on the Throne ; but Prince *Ousangouei*, who commanded the Army at the Great Wall, and kept a Watchful Eye on the *Tartar*, designing either to fall on him with his great Force, or engage him on his Side, gained over to his Party the *Leaotungers*, and all those who were either banished, or had fled to that Province ; but though they were added to his Army, he did not think himself strong enough to deal with the almost infinite Numbers, and consequently superior Force of the Usurper : Wherefore he, by a Treaty with *Tsonte* or *Zunte* the *Tartarian* King, obliged him to join his Forces against the Usurper, in order to revenge the Death of his Father, whom the Robber had cruelly murdered : He succeeded in his Design, and after a bloody Fight pursued him ; and it is at present utterly unknown where *Licoung* perished. During this Pursuit of the Robber, *Tsonte* enters the Empire, in order to support Prince *Ousangouei* on Occasion, to clear the Empire of *Licoung's* Followers, and disperse the Conspirators. He advanced to *Peking*, where finding the Coast clear, and the Throne empty, he ascends it, and, assisted by his *Tartarian* Forces, caused the *Chinese* (whose Hearts he had already won by his engaging Deportment) to proclaim him their Emperor, without making any other Alterations in the Government, than putting it in the Hands of an equal Number of *Tartars* and *Chinese*, and introducing the *Tartarian* Habit and Hair, to which he had in a Sort inured and engaged the *Chinese* by dressing them in that Manner, by a martial Stratagem, in order to deceive the Enemy, and the easier to beat *Licoung*.

“ What *Nieuboff* relates of this Prince is very remarkable, and conduces to the Illustration of this Story. This Prince (saith he) seemed naturally endowed with all Manner of Perfections, and if he had any vicious Inclinations, he very artfully corrected them by Practice. Before he ascended the Throne, he gave plain Indications of his Excellencies. In his tender Age his Father sent him in *Chinese* Habit into *China*, under the Direction and Care of some of his Counsellors. He there learned not only their Language, which his apt Capacity soon mastered, but became so tinctured with their politer Manners and Morals, that he seemed utterly to have forgotten the *Tartarian* Roughness and Barbarity. As soon as he was got into full Possession of the Throne, he changed the rigid Manner of governing into a milder, knowing very well that the former would prevent his gaining his Ends on the *Chinese*. He so established himself on his new Throne, rather by his Tenderness and good Manners than by Arms, which endeared the Hearts of his Subjects to him. He caressed the *Chinese* that came over to him, as much as his own Countrymen ; those he took Prisoners, if they pleased, he entertained in his Service, and suffer'd those who were unwilling, to depart, dismissing them with obliging Expressions and a safe Conduct ; thus he won their Hearts, and tender'd a kind Refuge and Protection to the Exiles, or those who had before fled out of their Country ; and they indeed were very assiduous to him in gaining the Empire. There were also some amongst them, which had distinguished them-

“ selves in his Service ; these he rewarded with Places or Presents that far exceeded their Expectations.”

After this, *Ousangouei* returning from the Pursuit of his Enemies, finds the *Tartar* upon the Throne, and, pursuant to the Treaty concluded betwixt them, the Empire being now in Peace, and the Rebel totally defeated, desired him to return to *Tartary*, tendering him the Presents promised for his Assistance at the Beginning of the War. To this the Emperor putting on an obliging Air, answer'd, that it was yet too soon, since the Rebel was not so enfeebled, but that hearing of his Departure to *Tartary*, he might possibly attempt a fresh Insurrection, and carry all before him ; which he should not be able to prevent, as not being at Hand to help them ; wherefore it was much better first to destroy utterly the Rebel and all his Adherents, and revenge on him all the Evils which he had drawn on his Kingdom as well as the *Chinese* Empire ; and withal, to reduce them to so low a Condition, that it should be impossible for them to make any new Attempts. The Prince either was or pretended to be satisfied with this Answer, and applied himself to the Destruction of the Rebels, which he so warmly pursued, that he did not leave the smallest Body of them together, but restored the Peace of *China*.

The Emperor *Tsonte* was scarce well settled on his Throne before he died, in the Year 1644. He was the first of the Race of *Taicim*, who annexed the Imperial Crown of *China* to his Royal one ; and govern'd both his own Nation called *Mantcheou's* and the *Chinese*, thereby tracing out a Way for the greater Glory of his Descendants.

He left a Son named *Chunchi*, who was but six Years of Age, to succeed to his Crown, and committed the Care of his Person and Education, as well as the Government of the Empire, to his Brother *Amavang* ; who was as careful in the farther Subjection of the refractory Provinces on one Side, as *Ousangouei* was in the Pursuit of *Licoung*, in order to take his just Revenge of him on the other : And we are accordingly told by some, that in an Engagement *Ousangouei* himself cut *Licoung* to-pieces, in Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Father.

Amavang, to whom was entrusted the supreme Direction and Administration of the War and Empire, acquitted himself with so much Honour in all his Undertakings, that the Reduction and Maintainance of the Empire is to be ascribed to him as much as his Brother : He gave continual Proofs of his Wisdom and Prudence in the Direction of the State, and Forbearance of his Enemies : As he did also of his Valour and amazing Vigilance, in Beating of Thousands of his Enemies ; but he gave yet greater Evidences of the true Sense of the most exalted Honour which animated his elevated Soul, utterly untainted with any sinister Ends, or private Interest, in surrendering as willingly and freely the Empire to the young Prince as soon as ever he came of Age, as he had reduced, governed and preserved it to that time. This Action alone is sufficiently famous, because there are very few parallel Examples can be produced.

Chunchi's Reign was but short, for he died in 1662, and after his Entry upon the Government, met with very few other Difficulties than those common to the Exercise of Sovereign Jurisdiction, and the Care of the State. In his Intervals of Relaxation he discovered a strong Propensity to Arts and Sciences, particularly to those which were Mathematical : It was this that engaged him to promote Father *Adam Schaal* to be President of that Tribunal, and graced him with his Favour, notwithstanding that he was a Stranger, and a Christian ; this gave Encouragement to hope that the Christian Religion would encrease ; for when Princes begin to bestow their Favours on its Teachers, it opens a Door to their ingratiating themselves not only with the Commonalty, but with the Nobility themselves.

“ *Le Comte* saith, that the Emperor *Chunchi* came in Person to visit Father *Adam* above twenty times within the Space of two Years, that he granted him Leave

“ to

“ to build two Churches in *Peking*, and consented to
 “ every Thing that might contribute either to the Estab-
 “ lishment or Propagation of the Faith; insomuch
 “ that prodigious Advances would have been made, if
 “ a too violent Passion had not made an Alteration, by
 “ depriving us of this Prince, at a Juncture when we
 “ most wanted his Protection. He died, saith he, of
 “ Grief for the Death of one of his Concubines, who
 “ so strongly enclined him to the Service of the false
 “ Gods, that he would not hear of any other; upon
 “ which followed a severe Persecution, the Ground of
 “ which was laid by this Mistress. Nor did she strike
 “ at the *Christians* alone, but her Resentment was also
 “ fatal to the *Bonzi's*, who narrowly escaped utter De-
 “ struction by her Means.

His Son *Cambi*, or *Canchi*, which signifies *Peaceable*, succeeded him, being but eight Years of Age when his Father died. This is the present Emperor, whose Reign is crowned with such universal Elogies. He is a Lover of Arts and Sciences, and hath indulged to the *Christians* such great Immunities all over *China*, that it is to be hoped this mighty Empire, may in Time, through the divine Grace, be wrought upon entirely to quit their erroneous Pagan Doctrine, and embrace the saving Faith of Jesus Christ; which the good God grant.

His Father saw in his Infancy his excellent Endowments, and therefore passing by all his elder Brothers, declared him his Successor in the Imperial Throne. During his Minority, the Christian Church was in a suffering Condition, the four Regents being bitterly incensed and prejudic'd against that holy Religion; and then the *Christians* were obliged to try their Patience. Father *Adam Schaal* was thrown into Chains, and condemned to Death; but mercifully delivered by the wonderful Hand of God; and he died not long after, full of Years and Honour; whilst his Enemies fell into Disgrace, and some of them being caught in their own Traps, died shameful Deaths. After his Decease Father *Verbieft* came into the Favour of this present Emperor, and held the same Place in his Grace to his last Hour, as well as that of President in the Mathematics. And after his Death Father *Grimaldi* succeeded in his Stead, and to the Favour of this Prince, whose Praises are below his real Merit.

For if those Persons may be believed, which speak their own Experience, and nothing but what they are Eye and Ear-witnesses of, he is a Monarch of whom it is much better to be silent, than to say but little. His Virtues are too great to be comprehended in a narrow Compass, and my Pen too mean to do him or them Justice. Wherefore I shall by my Silence excuse myself from this too difficult Task, and only repeat and sum up the Lives of the Princes of his Race, that have ruled the Empire. His Grandfather *Tsongte* scarce enjoyed his new Acquisition so long as was requisite for him to travel through it, and died in 1644, leaving to succeed him *Chunchi*, a Prince of six Years of Age, but great Endowments, who died in 1662, after that he had declared the present Emperor his Heir, the greatest Action that he ever did, or could do. He was eight Years of Age at the time of his Father's Decease. *Canchi*, or *Peaceable*, is his Name, who now quietly enjoys and rules his Empire, and is equally honoured, feared, and loved by his Subjects. In the Beginning of his Reign he struggled with several dangerous and rough Seas, which most young Princes are obliged to break through before they reach a safe Harbour. Shortly after, and when he had scarce reached the Age of twenty, Prince *Oufangouei* rose up in Arms and carried on a vigorous War against him; and *Canchi* being by Descent a *Tartar*, and on the other Side *Oufangouei* a *Chinese*, and consequently more agreeable to the Populace, they the more blindly followed him, and such Numbers crouded to join him, that it was not a little surprizing, that having already one half of the Empire, he did not carry the Remainder. But the young Emperor, by his extraordinary Qualifications, so engaged the Hearts of his Subjects, that he at last concluded an honourable Peace with this Prince, which held several

Years; and after his Death the Emperor was wise enough to allure his Sons to Court, and make a proper Use of their Weakness to his own Advantage; and thus by one Means or other he again subjected all Parts of this Empire under one Head, and is now their sole Emperor. The Kings of *Canton* and *Fokien* also took Advantage of *Oufangouei's* Insurrection, and began to make War against him; but he knew how to draw off their Forces, and to raise Discord amongst these three Princes, (to which *Coxinga* may be added as a fourth) to divide them, and make them help to pull down each other; whereas possibly if they had all drawn one Way, how brave a Soldier, and how accomplished a Statesman soever he is, he had been defeated, dethroned and expelled. Thus by his wise Conduct, and great good Fortune, gaining of Time, and outliving his Enemies, he hath possessed himself of their Kingdoms. After the Death of their Fathers, alluring the young Princes to him, or subduing them as ill Neighbours, he clear'd his Field of all the Seed that might infest it, and thereby reaped a full Harvest of Obedience.

Having reduced his Empire to a peaceable State, he applied himself to the perfect Regulation of it; to which End he chose the best Men for his Ministers and Officers, honouring those that did well, and punishing those who misbehaved. He shewed them, by his own Example, how great his Aversion was to Idleness, and how well-disposed he was to Industry and Action. After the dispatching of State-affairs, he employs himself either in Hunting, Fishing, or the Study of the Sciences; for being a learned Prince, he protects and favours those who excel in the learned Arts, whether his Subjects or Strangers, preferring them to the highest Dignities, and not disdaining to make use of the *Europeans* in the most important Services, and to bestow on them the greatest Posts; nor is he ashamed to learn from them Astronomy, and other Mathematical Arts, Anatomy, Medicine, and Natural Philosophy; in all which the *Jesuits* are his Instructors, from whom he daily condescends to receive Lessons; *Grimaldi*, *Gerbil- lon*, and *Pereira*, are three of that Society whom he has made use of in Embassies. The first of them was sent alone to *Muscovy* in 1686, and the two latter were added to the great Embassy which proved so successful by their Negotiations in 1689, for the adjusting all Differences betwixt the Great Czar and this Emperor at *Nogovium* or *Nipchou*. The Fathers *Schaal*, *Verbieft*, and some of the above-mentioned, he hath distinguished by the honourable Charge of Presidents of Tribunals, and the Dignity of *Mandaryns*, and himself as well as the Prince his Son, always heard them discoursing of Arts and Sciences with the utmost Pleasure.

This mighty Emperor is not content personally to excel in Arts and Sciences, but endeavours to implant them in his Children, especially *Hoangtaise* the Prince, his Heir apparent, whom he himself particularly instructs. And the Education of Children, and reverencing their Parents, being one of the fundamental political Maxims of the *Chinese*, this great Prince pleases himself with it; and the Son discovers such pregnant Signs of a good Genius, that far from degenerating from his illustrious Father, he gives just Reason to hope that he will make as great Advances in Wisdom as his so great Predecessor.

Whence it is, that if it should please God, that the *Christian Religion* should ever take Root in the Hearts of this great Father and Son, it might reasonably be hoped that *China* would soon submit to the Obedience of the Cross. The Learning of the *Jesuits* furnishes them with an Opportunity to endear themselves not only to these two Princes, but likewise several others, who by the Respect paid to these Learned Men, grow into a favourable Opinion not only of their Persons, but of their Doctrines, which is heightened by their Abilities manifested in both the former *Muscovite* Embassies, which was the Foundation of the favourable Edict promulgated in 1691, (about three Years before the writing of this) relating to the *Christian Religion*; by which a Door is opened without Distinction to all Persons of all

Degrees, to embrace that holy Faith. And what enhances the Value of this Favour is, that if *China* could be converted, with the Blessing of God, we may unquestionably expect the Conversion of all *India*, and all the more remote and distant Nations; of which *China* being the Head, the lesser Members, as Politicians observe, would of Course follow; to which the Lord give his Blessing.

In this Manner our Author concludes his Work, written in the true Patriot Spirit of a *Chinese*, and with all the Piety of a Christian, showing himself equally concerned for the Prosperity of his Country, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in his Country, which is a new Argument in Favour of his Writings, since publick Spirit, and religious Zeal, without Views of Interest, which closely considered, will be found to be very near the same Thing, are the true Springs of the most noble and heroic Conduct, as well as the most candid and ingenuous Writings; and though these may be sometimes dissembled, yet to do this, so as to deceive, requires a much greater Measure of Art, than our Author seems, from his Book, to have been endowed with by Nature, or to have acquired by Practice. It remains to compleat our Author's View, and the Design of this Section, to continue this History as low as we can, that the Reader may be acquainted, as near as possible, with the *Chinese* History down to the present Times.

This great Emperor *Canghi* reigned about twenty seven Years after the Conclusion of our Author's History, and in that Space of Time, had several Disputes which were terminated by as many Negotiations with the late Czar, *Peter* the Great. The Designs of these two mighty Monarchs were in a Manner opposite; the *Chinese* Emperor was desirous of preventing the Encroachments of the *Russians* upon his Territories, and on the other Hand the Czar proposed to himself the establishing a regular Commerce in *China*. It was in order to accomplish this, that by a new Treaty he regulated the Confines of the two Empires, upon Condition of a free Passage for the Caravans from *Russia* to *Peking*, which subsisted, tho' not without some Interruptions, during the Reign of *Canghi*, who, directly contrary to the *Chinese* Maxims, admitted a *Russian* Resident to remain constantly at *Peking*. The *Sieur de Lange* who had that Character, has published his Memoirs, but they contain nothing that is very material; on the contrary, they consist chiefly of his Disputes with the Emperor's Ministers, who on the one Hand disliked the Trade by Caravans upon the old Principle of despising all foreign Trade, which produced a Balance in Favour of Foreigners, and on the other were in a Manner distracted at having a *Russian* Minister in their Capital, who sometimes had Audiences of the Emperor, whose Notions with Respect to these Matters were not at all agreeable to his Ministers, that Monarch foreseeing, that without some Concessions in Favour of the *Russian* Trade, he should sometime or other be exposed to a War with a Prince, capable of giving him infinitely more Trouble than the rest of his Neighbours; of which however the *Chinese* Mandarins, wedded to their old Maxims, and presuming on the irresistible Power of their Armies, had not the least Conception.

All this Time the Emperor of *China*, was engaged in an obstinate and bloody War with the Western *Tartars*, which was ended by a compleat Victory gained in the Year 1720. in Consequence of which the far extended Country of *Tibet*, and all its Inhabitants submitted to and acknowledged him for their Sovereign, by which Peace was established on that Side. This was a Thing of prodigious Consequence to the Empire, as well as an Event remarkably glorious for the reigning Monarch. In the succeeding Year, the *Chinese* Inhabitants of the Island of *Formosa*, resolved to make a brisk Effort, in order to shake off the Yoke of *Tartars*, in Hopes that lying at a Distance, they might be able to preserve their Independency, and by the Accession of their Countrymen from different Provinces, become powerful enough to establish themselves in the Dominion of that and the adjacent Isles. In Consequence of this wild and ill concerted Scheme, they made a sudden Insurrection, murdered all the *Mandarins*, and drove the Imperial

Troops out of most of the Cities in that Island. When the News of this Revolt was brought to *Peking*, the Ministry would have persuaded the Emperor; that the People had been excited to it by the *Dutch*, and this with a View to irritate him against Foreigners, but he was too wise to entertain any such Notions, and immediately ordered Part of the Forces in the Provinces opposite to *Formosa* to be transported thither, which in a very short Space of Time extinguished the Rebellion, by extirpating the greatest Part of those who had any Concern in it, and forcing the rest to fly for Shelter in the Mountains, where they lived by Rapine and Plunder, till by Degrees they were rooted out as Robbers and Thieves; insomuch that this, like all Rebellions, that are suppressed, served only to fix the Government, they intended to throw off, more strongly. The Year after the Suppression of this Rebellion, the Emperor being at his Country Palace, mentioned by his Excellency Mr. *Isbrant Ides*, and going according to his usual Custom to hunt early in the Morning in a very rigorous Winter, he found himself suddenly struck with a Chilness, which disabled him from continuing on Horseback, so that returning to his Palace, he took his Bed immediately; and his Physicians declaring that his Blood was coagulated, and that there was no Hopes of his Life, he ordered his principal Ministers to attend him, and appointed his fourth Son to be his Successor in the Government, soon after which he expired. This happened on the 9th of September 1722. according to our Style, about eight in the Morning, in the seventieth Year of his Age, and the next Day his Corps was transported to *Peking*.

The new Emperor, who was about forty five Years of Age, took the Name of *Yong Tching*, which signifies, settled Peace, and from the Day of his Accession, discovered not only great Abilities, but a very steady and resolute Temper; he found the Imperial Family very numerous, and many of his Brethren were possessed of the first Employments in the Government, in which relying on the paternal Tenderness of the late Emperor, they had not behaved with so much Circumspection as they ought, more especially the ninth Brother, who had the Direction of Part of the Publick Revenues, him the Emperor called to a severe Account, and not satisfied with his restoring Part of what he had embezzled, he caused him to be banished into *Tartary*, where he died not long after. Another of his Brothers, who was at the Head of the Army, had likewise the Misfortune to incur his Displeasure, was deprived of his Post, and otherwise punished. These Acts of Justice, his constant Application to Business, and his great Tenderness to his Subjects in general, gained him universal Reputation, and procured him the strictest Obedience. In his Father's Life-time he had never shewn any Liking to, or Confidence in the Missionaries, but on the contrary, behaved towards them with great Coldness and Reserve, and yet the Jesuits themselves confess, he was as great a Lover of Learning as his Father, and as much inclined to protect and promote the Sciences as any of his Predecessors.

There is a great Probability, that the Reason of his Dislike to the Christian Fathers was owing to their Influence over the deceased Monarch, and of his observing that they made Use of that Influence, not only in regard to publick, but even to Family Affairs, and a Jealousy perhaps they were averse to, and had employed their Intrigues for preventing his Succession. We find this asserted by one who was in the Train of a *Russian* Minister at his Court, and it is the more probable, because an *Italian* Monk, of great Simplicity of Manners, of exemplary Piety, and who amused himself with Painting, continued still in his good Graces, and was not removed out of the Palace. Nay, Father *Kegler*, who was President of the Tribunal of Mathematicks, enjoyed also his good Graces, and was treated not only with all the Respect due to his Character, but even promoted to a superior Rank; which shews that he distinguished between Religion and Manners, and knew how to set a just Value upon worthy Men, notwithstanding they were of a different Religion.

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Whatever the Cause might be of his Dislike to the Jesuits, it was not long before it became fatal to the Christians in general; and yet this did not immediately spring from his own Will and Pleasure, but from a Memorial presented to him by one of his chief Ministers, setting forth abundance of Enormities of which these Men had been guilty, more especially in the ill Use they made of their Favour with the late Emperor, and of the Influence they had over their Converts, which they represented as highly prejudicial to the State, and dangerous too, if not destructive of their ancient Constitution. This Memorial was followed by several others of the same Nature, and not long after by a much warmer Paper, transmitted by the Viceroy of *Fokien*, containing his Reasons for expelling the Missionaries out of that Province; and concluding with a Request, that the Emperor would issue his Orders for exiling them out of all the rest of the Provinces, and send them either to Court or to *Macao*.

This last Memorial was referred to the Tribunal of Rites, and by their Advice the Prayer of the Petition was complied with, notwithstanding all the Endeavours the Jesuits could use, and the Intercession of their Friends and Patrons, who in this unlucky Situation could do them no farther Service than to procure a small Alteration in this Measure, which was to substitute *Canton* instead of *Macao*; and accordingly all the Missionaries throughout the Provinces were obliged to abandon their respective Places of Residence, and were either sent to the last mentioned City, or to *Peking*. Not long after this a Prosecution was commenced against a Prince of the Blood and all his Family, purely on the Score of their being Christians, which notwithstanding it was very numerous, and descended from an elder Brother of the Founder of the Empire, was carried so high, that by the supreme Tribunal of the Empire they were condemned to suffer Death; which however the Emperor was pleased to commute, and sent them into perpetual Exile, as some say, or as others assert, directed them to be kept Prisoners during Life.

One would imagine from these Accounts, that the Emperor *Yong Tching* was of a very severe Disposition, and had either conceived some frightful Idea of the Christian Religion, or thought he had good Grounds to secure himself against any Attempts that might be made to the Prejudice of his Authority by some of his own Family. Yet nothing of this Kind ever appeared, for with respect to the Christians that made use of *Chinese* Priests, and performed their divine Worship without Ostentation, he allowed them much the same Kind of Indulgence they had under his Predecessors; so that it seems it was not the Precepts of the Jesuits, at least in a Religious Sense, that he feared, but their Dominion over Consciences, their secret Intrigues and hidden Practices. As to the Imperial Family, he behaved towards such as were in a private Condition, with all the Respect and Tenderness due to his Relations; but in regard to such as were in publick Stations, he expected from them as clear and as candid Accounts as from others in the like Employments, and if these were wanting, he punished them without any Respect to their being of his Blood, which he considered only as an Obligation on them to be more circumspect in the Discharge of their Duty. An Instance there was which put the Rectitude of his Behaviour entirely out of Dispute. The next Brother to him had been thought of for the Succession, being a Prince of great Wisdom and Prudence, and he was set aside only from his affecting a sedentary Life. Yet the Emperor his Father admitted him into his Cabinet Council, took his Opinion upon all Matters of Importance, and very seldom or never acted contrary to his Advice. This Brother, when *Yong Tching* came to the Throne, he made the Partner of his Cares and of his Power; he did nothing but according to his Counsels, and was so constant in this Respect, that he seemed rather his Brother's Minister than his Prince.

When he died, which was in the Month of *June*, 1730, *Yong Tching*, according to the Custom of the Country, shewed his Reverence and Esteem for the Deceased, by the Solemnity of his Funeral, and the Length

of the Mourning, both of which rather suited the Companion of his Throne than the Prince of his Blood. After the Death of this Prince, the whole Weight of Affairs devolved upon the Emperor, and he attended to them with Patience beyond Example, and behaved, whenever he gave Audience, with an Affability beyond the Reach of Description. The Jesuits at *Peking*, who would have been glad to have discovered any Mistake in his Conduct, or Error in his Policy, very freely acknowledge this, and that instead of indulging his Ease, or pursuing his Pleasures, he was temperate in the highest Degree, and dedicated more Hours to Business than almost any Man in his Dominions. He made use of his Revenues purely for the publick Service, and in Case of Dearth, or any other publick Calamity, he was sure to prevent any Applications for Relief by an early and adequate Assistance. He gave an extraordinary Instance of this paternal Affection for his Subjects on the happening of an Earthquake, *November* 19, 1731, by which a great Part of the Imperial City of *Peking* was demolished, and upwards of a thousand People buried in the Ruins. He was at the Time it happened at one of his Palaces in the Country, not far from that City, and was taking the Air in a Boat upon one of the Canals, from whence he had the Mortification to see the greatest Part of the Buildings, which had cost his Predecessors immense Sums, subverted in an Instant. Upon this he immediately went a-shore, prostrated himself upon the Ground, implored the Mercy of the Great God of Heaven and Earth for his Fellow Creatures, and besought him, if that Punishment was due to any Crimes of his, that he might rather be removed, and become the Object of the Divine Vengeance, than that it should fall upon an innocent People, criminal only from their being his Subjects.

As soon as the Danger was over, forgetting the Ruin of his Palace, he appointed Commissioners to enquire into the Losses which the People of *Peking* had sustained, relieved the Families of those who were killed, and issued a prodigious Sum of Money for repairing the Houses, and rebuilding the publick Edifices that had been thrown down, and which is a very strong Proof of his having no Pique or Prejudice to the Christian Religion; being informed that the great Church of the Jesuits was in a Manner totally ruined, he sent for the Missionaries, treated them with great Humanity and Tenderness at their Audience, recommended to them the Repair of their Church as soon as possible, and made them a Present of one thousand Taels in Gold, which amounts to 666 *l.* of our Money, for that Purpose.

We need not wonder that a Monarch, who reigned so worthily, should be beloved and revered, as well as obeyed with the utmost Submission by all his People; and it is universally allowed, that the *Chinese* shewed their Duty to this Prince in a Manner suitable to the Obligations which he daily conferred upon them, and testified upon all Occasions as sincere and tender Affection for him, as if he had been their natural Parent. We have no certain Accounts since these, except only the Misfortune that befel the Christians in 1732, when the Missionaries that had been hitherto allowed to remain at *Canton* were of a sudden ordered to retire to *Macao*. They had this Notice given them on the 6th of *August*, and on the 9th they were embarked, to the Number of thirty Persons, and those who accompanied the Missionaries, were treated with the utmost Indignity; the only Reason assigned was, because, contrary to the Emperor's Orders, they had endeavoured to propagate the Christian Doctrine. But various Disputes having arisen between the *Dominicans* and the *Jesuits* residing in *China*, and several Books having been lately printed in *Popish* Countries relating to these Disputes, we may from thence in some Measure gather what have been the Motives to this new Persecution.

In order to set a Matter so obscure, in a Light as distinct as may be, it will be, in the first Place, right to observe, that it is not absolutely certain, whether it can be, with greater Propriety asserted, that the *Jesuits* have taught the *Chinese* a new Religion, than that the *Chinese* have taught them one; it is very reasonable to believe, that

that the first Missionaries, even of this Order, studied the *Chinese* Literature very innocently, and only with a View to enable themselves to preach the Faith of Christ more effectually. But by Degrees, it seems, they have taken such a Liking to the *Chinese* Philosophy, and the *Chinese* Manners, that they indulged their Disciples in Practices, which they stile idle Ceremonies, but which the *Dominicans*, who seem to have no farther View than barely doing their Duty, consider as rank Idolatry. This has occasioned a long and warm Controversy at *Rome*, which has been at last decided against the *Jesuits*, who notwithstanding proceed still in their own Way, without paying that Respect to the *Roman* See, of which they boast so much in *Europe*.

In a Word, the *Jesuits* finding that the Study of the *Chinese* Learning was the high Road to Preferment in that Country, and that these Ceremonies were necessary to the acquiring it, could not find in their Hearts to block up either their own or their Disciples Way to Power, to Credit, and Court Interest. Their Politics, to be sure, were right; but the Question is, Whether they were consistent with their Religious Interests; or whether it would not have been full as well for Christianity, if they had been more solicitous about teaching the People the Path to Heaven, and less careful about their Success at Court? Certain it is, that the great Influence this Order always have over the temporal Concerns of those to whom they become spiritual Guides, is sufficient to awake Attention, and even to alarm any Government, and more especially a Government so watchful and suspicious as that of the *Chinese*. Their particular Applications to Women also, and that Itch which they too frequently discover of gaining Wealth to the Church, cannot but be prejudicial to them in the Opinion of all sensible People, more especially when they find it so apparently repugnant to the Principles of that Doctrine they pretend to teach.

We may be allow'd also to observe, that the Propensity of these Fathers to a Relaxation in Morals in Favour of those who are intirely at their Disposal, is another unlucky Circumstance in Regard to the Propagation of the Gospel, which has always prevailed most, where Men's Lives have been strictly agreeable to its Precepts, and where the Converts to the Faith have shewn themselves rather solicitous of obtaining the Blessings of another Life, than the Conveniencies of this. At least two Things are very certain; one, that, by pursuing their particular Plan of promoting a temporal as well as spiritual Interest, that Persecution was brought on in *Japan*, which extinguished Christianity, and therefore a like Consequence may be justly feared in *China*. The other is, that in *Paraguay* the *Jesuits* have actually established, under Colour of promoting the spiritual Interest of the Natives, a temporal Dominion so absolutely independent of the Crown of *Spain*, that it is very doubtful whether the People have the least Notion of their being his Catholick Majesty's Subjects. Now whatever Motives that Monarch may have to wink at this Behaviour of the *Jesuits*, and to suffer them to maintain such a distinct Kind of Government in *America*, it cannot be conceived, that the *Chinese* Emperors will ever enter into any such Notions of false Policy, or permit the Obedience of their Subjects to be withdrawn in this World, under Colour of consulting their Happiness in the next.

These Hints will very probably lead the Reader to the Knowledge of the true Causes of the sudden Change that has happened in the Condition of the *Chinese* Christians, and will account for a Persecution, by a Monarch, who even those whom he thus persecutes, acknowledge to be a Prince of great Equity and Moderation, and neither an Enthusiast nor a Bigot.

To speak impartially, the *Jesuits* themselves do not much dissemble these Things in their Memoirs. We see throughout, that they are charmed with their Court Life at *Peking*, the Respect shewn them by, and their Influence over the Emperor, the Titles with which they are honoured, the great Employments to which they are advanced, their living within the Walls of the Palace, and being admitted to the Imperial Presence, at the

Seasons, when so great a Monarch is most disengaged, the Preceptors of his Studies, the Companions of his literary Amusements, the Persons (who as Foreigners) are chiefly called upon to fill up the Vacancies in his leisure Conversations. All these Particulars they relate at large, with a long Train of Circumstances, and in Terms which most evidently shew their Sensibility with Regard to the Things which they relate. So that on the whole, we cannot help seeing that all the loud Boasts of the Popish Writers, as to this Mission of the *Jesuits*, are built upon a very sandy Foundation, and that the Conversions they make are very precarious Things, resembling rather the Gaining Men over to a Faction, than reconciling them to a new Religion, and consequently tending to awaken the Suspicions and Jealousies of the most dark, subtle, and designing People on the whole Earth, except it may be—the *Jesuits* themselves.

As it is impossible the Gospel Doctrines should be effectually spread by these Missionaries, who are so much taken with the Kingdom of this World, so it is not at all likely, that the *Chinese* Trade will ever become beneficial to this Part of the World, till it falls under some new Regulation. In Reality, Nobody trades there upon a free or equal Footing, but in a submissive slavish Manner, by the Grace and Favour, as it were, of the Emperor, and upon such Terms precisely as he is pleased to prescribe; by which such Advantages are secured to his Subjects, that the Profits of a *China* Voyage result entirely from the Sale of the Goods returned, and consequently are gained, by *Europeans* from *Europeans*; a very considerable Balance on each Cargo being in the first Place left behind in *China*. These are plain and unquestionable Facts, and therefore deserve to be maturely weighed, and thoroughly considered, by such as look upon Commerce as a Thing of the utmost Importance. If the *Dutch* had remained Masters of *Formosa*, or if we had continued our Factory at *Chusan*, Things might have changed their Face, and the Trade to these Countries been carried on in a more advantageous Manner.

As it stands at present, I will venture to hazard a Thought of my own, which I desire may not be despised, till the Arguments I offer in Support of it are clearly refuted. It is this, I am apprehensive that while we are contending about the Balance of Power, and sacrificing each others Trade to a Spirit of mutual Jealousy, Trade itself will remove to the North; and when it is too late we shall perceive, that not only the *French* and *Spaniards*, but the *English* and *Dutch*, have been doing the Business of the Nations bordering upon the *Baltick*, and putting it in their Power to become rich and potent at our Expence. For to me, it is a Thing past all Doubt, that if the *Swedes* had not an actual and immediate Benefit accruing to them annually from the Trade with *China*, they would not carry it on, since *Sweden* is a Country that cannot afford to export great Quantities of Bullion, as all the other Nations engaged in this Trade actually do; and if by the bare vending their own Manufactures, they can make this Trade turn to Account, it must be visible to all who have a true Insight into Commerce, that sooner or later they will become entire Masters of this Branch of Traffick, or at least, whatever Share we have in it, must be a dead Weight upon us, as furnishing the Instruments of Luxury only in Exchange for our Coin; and when once this comes to be the Case, we may please ourselves with the Thoughts of the *China* Trade, but considered in a national Light, it would be better for us that we had none.

There is nothing more common, than for such as are actually concerned in Commerce, to smile at and despise Speculations upon that Subject; but I believe it would on due Search be found, that though Companies of Merchants and private Traders may be enriched by pursuing their own Schemes, and contriving to make the Management of them an impenetrable Mystery; yet with Respect to National Advantage, the Notions of speculative Men have been, generally speaking, right. It is agreed on all Hands, that Trade is a Thing of a nice and delicate Nature, that from secret and imperceptible Causes it

it ebbs and flows, is possessed now by one Nation, and then by another; and that when it is once lost, it is very hard to be regained. If therefore we obstinately persist in the old Road till the Northern Nations actually become possessed of this and other Branches of Traffick, and in Consequence thereof, of a great Naval Force, it will be to no Purpose to look back, or to consider by what Means this might have been prevented. There is a natural Vigour that attends an increasing and growing Trade; and there is also a natural Supineness and Negligence which accompanies the Declension of Trade; so that when Nations in these different Circumstances come to contend with each other, it is no difficult Thing to perceive which must go to the Wall.

We well know, that there was a Time when we had very little Trade, that it was with great Difficulty we first raised and then extended it, and that our doing this, made Way for the Declension of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Trade, which have never recovered since. We also know, nay we even remember, when the *Swedes* and *Danes* had little or no Trade, and when themselves considered it as impracticable for them to interfere with us, or the *Dutch* in the Trade of the *East-Indies*; but we now learn from Experience, that they are able to do it, and we cannot but be sensible, that the greatest Obstacles to such Endeavours are felt at the Beginning; and that when these are once got over, as in Respect to them, they are already got over, Things go on a-pace, that is to say, Exportation increases, Navigation is extended, Wealth rows in, Shipping multiplies, and a naval Power is suddenly raised. The Business therefore is to reflect in Time, and to make Enquiries into the properest Means for preserving what we have got, while it is yet in our Hands. Opportunities once slipped, are never to be retrieved; we are still a naval Power, and a great naval Power; but if we imagine that this depends upon the Nature of our Government, upon the Supplies granted for the Navy, and the Orders issued from the Admiralty, we shall very soon become sensible of our Mistake. *Philip II.* of *Spain* fell into this Mistake, he fancied that naval Power might be maintained, as well as employed, by Policy; but what followed? In 1588, the Efforts of *Spain* were terrible to *Europe* in general, and to us in particular; in less than twenty Years the Returns from the *Indies* became absolutely precarious, the *Spanish* Fleets were the Contempt of their Enemies, and in half that Time both we and the *Dutch* insulted the Coasts of *Spain*. The Source and Support of a naval Power is Commerce, and if we cannot keep this, we must lose that, let the Administration in this Country be ever so honest, or so wise; from whence my Conclusion is, that though there may be other very important Concerns, yet the most important of all is our Trade; and may Providence incline us to see this in Time!

But that we may not seem to be always complaining, and never thinking of any Means of removing the Evils of which we complain, let us consider a little with ourselves, if somewhat may not be thought of, which may afford us rational Hopes of preserving the Commerce we have left, and even of extending it. Such an Attempt as this would be serviceable many Ways; it is peculiarly adapted to our present Situation; we have a rich and powerful Company, who are intrusted with the Commerce in these Parts, and who might be excited by the Desire of expressing their Gratitude to the Publick for what they have received, to try what might be achieved on this Side.

We have in the former Volume mentioned somewhat of the Possibility of venturing once more into the Island of *Japan*. But if that should be thought too hazardous, what can hinder some of our Ships from visiting *Formosa*? a fruitful, pleasant, and well situated Island. Are there not a thousand Pretences that may be suggested for putting in there? and if the Vessel that makes this Attempt be a Ship of Force, and well manned, is there any Reason to doubt, that she would be able to procure that Respect

which would make way for Trade? It may be replied, that the *Chinese* Laws are so strict, that there is no Trading in *Formosa* without the Emperor's Leave. To which I reply, that it is very well known the *Chinese* insist upon their Laws in the most peremptory Manner, where they are sure they have Force enough to support and carry them into Execution. On the other Hand, where this is not to be done, they are very slow in coming to Extremities, and had rather bate some of their Punctilio's, than run the Hazard of a Dispute that might be attended with bad Consequences.

In Times past, the *Dutch* made the Conquest of this Island, or rather the *Dutch East-India* Company made it, and kept Possession of it in Spite of the whole Force of the *Chinese* Empire. I am very far from saying, that this should become a Precedent to our *East-India* Company, or that they ought to attempt either a Conquest, or a Settlement by Force; all I contend for is, that if the *Dutch East-India* Company conquered it, the *English East-India* Company might find a Way to trade there. They would find their Account in it, and the Nation would find their Account in it; and though it might cost some Time and Trouble to bring it about, yet this very Time and Trouble would for so long a Space, exclude other Nations, and we might perhaps find a Means of putting the Trade there on such a Foot as to keep it wholly and for ever to ourselves.

If we never try, it is certain we shall never succeed; and if the *Swedes* or *Danes* had been discouraged by such Obstacles, there is no Doubt that they had never brought that Trade to bear which they now enjoy. Besides, when our *Drake's* and *Cavendish's* undertook those perilous Voyages in the Dawn of our Navigation, they had much greater Difficulties to struggle with, and much less Assistance to hope for, yet they overcame them all; and to their Boldness and Intrepidity we owe that Figure we have since made as a Maritime Power. If therefore a Spirit of this Kind could be raised, or rather revived, why should not we expect some such-like Effects? or why should we rest satisfied with the present State of Things, and lay aside all Thoughts of improving or extending our Commerce, when we see other Nations, far less able and powerful than our own, and under much greater Difficulties than we have any good Grounds to fear, making such Attempts, and making them with Success?

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, and to set the Thing in so clear a Light that every Reader of tolerable Understanding may be able to judge of it, I have added another Section, which relates to a Country that hitherto we have little or no Knowledge of, with which we never attempted any Trade, and to which, notwithstanding there is the highest Probability that an advantageous Commerce might be carried on. Whether this be practicable or not; whether it will be ever attempted by this Nation; or whether the Hints here given may prove useful to some more confident and enterprising Nation, must remain in the Womb of Time.

Yet till this shall be disclosed, I shall have the Satisfaction of knowing that I have done my Duty; and that with infinite Pains and Trouble I have collected and reduced into their proper Order, all the scattered Hints and Passages relative to a very large and fruitful Peninsula, not less wealthy, not less populous in Proportion to its Bigness, than *China* itself, and of which there is not hitherto extant any regular or tolerable Description in any Language; so that if I should miss in my great Aim, and which ought to be every Man's Aim, that of doing good to and improving the Trade of my Country, I shall at least succeed as an Author, by enriching with a new and curious Section this great Work, which I commit to the Perusal and Consideration of Posterity, and more especially of those heroick and enterprising Spirits destined to strike out of the common Path, and to acquire immortal Glory by bringing new Advantages to Mankind.

SECTION VII.

A curious and concise Description of the Country, History of the Inhabitants, and Account of the present State of the Kingdom of *Corea*, together with some Hints of the Ease with which Commerce might be established in its Ports, the Benefits that might be expected from thence, the great Likelihood of Gaining an Entrance from thence into *Japan*, or at least an Intercourse with the *Japonese*; and many other entertaining and instructive Particulars relative to this Subject, and the Trade that is or might be carried on in the Dominions and Dependencies of the Emperor of *China*.

Collected chiefly from Memoirs hitherto unpublished, and compared with all the printed Histories and Travels, in which any Mention is made of this Country, its Commerce or Inhabitants.

1. Of the Situation, Extent, Climate, and Boundaries of the Kingdom of *Corea*, with Remarks and Observations.
2. Of the History of this Country, as delivered in the Chinese and Japonese Authors, which, for any Thing that is hitherto known, are the only Writers upon that Subject.
3. Of the Soil, Produce, Commodities, Manufactures, and Riches of this noble Peninsula.
4. Of the Provinces, Cities, Ports, Fortresses, &c. in *Corea*, and of the Islands that lie upon its Coasts.
5. Of the Inhabitants, their Stature, Complexion, Habit, Customs, Manners, Temper, Learning, Diversions, &c.
6. Of the Commerce of the *Coreans* with the Chinese, the Commodities they import and export, and the Reason why the last mentioned Nation are so excessively jealous of them.
7. Of the Commerce of the *Coreans* with the *Japonese*, the Commodities and Manufactures they export and import, and of the natural Aversion between the two Nations.
8. An Enquiry into the Probability of the *Coreans* trading by Stealth into other Countries, and some Conjectures of the Countries to which they trade, and the Commodities for which they deal.
9. Reasons why it is not at all impossible to enter into a Trade with the *Coreans*, as also why this Commerce might answer, notwithstanding any Umbrage it might give to the Chinese.
10. Some Arguments tending to prove, that a Trade with *Corea* is the most probable Method of recovering some Degree of Intercourse with *Japan*; with a few Hints of the Means by which this might be effected.
11. A succinct Representation of the Advantages that might result from such a Commerce as this, with Reference to the Discovery of unknown Countries, that are probably richer than any to which we trade at present.
12. A Hint that we may receive Satisfaction this Way, as to the Possibility or Impossibility of finding a North East Passage.
13. Miscellaneous Remarks and Observations on the principal Points mentioned in this Section.

1. **T**HERE are two different Methods by which Commerce may be promoted, the one derived from the Improvement of the Lights afforded by Experience, which is indeed certain and sure, but generally speaking slow, and producing only a moderate Profit; the other arising from Science, and the endeavouring to strike out a new Road to fresh Markets, by a comprehensive Knowledge of Cosmography, Navigation, and the Manner of conducting foreign Trade. In Reference to the first, the *Spaniards* resolved to attempt a distant Navigation, after the Example of the *Portuguese*; the *Dutch* when oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and denied a Share of the *India* Trade in *Europe*, resolved to attempt a Passage thither themselves; and in like Manner, when we perceived the Advantages resulting to *Spain*, from her Colonies in the *West-Indies*, determined to try what might be done in the same Way. In Regard to the latter, *Columbus* was the first, who had the Courage to propose going in Quest of all those Islands and Continents, that his own Sagacity had discovered on the other Side the Globe, and we very well know, what mighty Things followed from the Queen of *Spain*'s accepting his Proposal. In like Manner, *John Cabot* first formed a Notion of a North-west-Passage, which hitherto has not, but I persuade myself will, sometime or other, be discovered. *Ferdinand Magellan* was happier in his Project of going to the *Indies* by a South Passage, which he accomplished; all these were with

Respect to the human Species in general, and with Regard to the Inhabitants of *Europe* in particular, very great and important Discoveries, and those chiefly that in the Eye of important Reason set this Part of the World in a much fairer and better Light than any of the rest.

But notwithstanding the manifest Advantages resulting from this high Prerogative of visiting and commanding in all the other Quarters of the Globe, it seems in this last Century to have been less regarded. Far from prosecuting that noble Plan, which in the Midst of such Obscurity our Ancestors had the Wisdom to draw, and the Courage to carry into Execution, we are disposed rather to make the most of what they have left us, and even to quarrel with each other about our Shares; so that *Asia* and *America*, instead of wondering, as they were wont to do, at the Boldness of our Voyages, and the Expertness of the *Europeans* in whatever relates to Traffick, are justly astonished at our Feuds, and see with Amazement, that we labour to destroy Settlements already planted, instead of making new; that we employ our Pains in decrying and discrediting each other, in publishing our Imbecilities and Misfortunes, and in exciting the *Indians* to shake off that Fear, which the Exploits of the *Europeans*, in the two last Ages impressed, and to exert that Power, which themselves always possessed, but hitherto have been afraid to employ, in thrusting out those, who, not contented with trading, have ventured to play the Masters so far from Home.

If instead of so weak, so rash, and so impolitick a Behaviour, we had forborn every kind of Dispute, supported each others Settlements, and gone on in making Discoveries, we had been in a much better Condition by this Time than we are. These distant Countries would have furnished us with Places enough to have discharged those useless Hands that we have employed, not to terminate, but to continue our Disputes with each other. By their Labour, our Power, our Wealth, our Fame might have been extended, and those Countries that are now poor and desolate, might have been then rich, populous and happy; it is some Excuse for Barbarians, that they live in continual Enmity against, and in perpetual Wars with each other; but in us who pretend to have Policy that teacheth us better, and profess a Religion that requires a Conduct opposite from this at our Hands, it is as impious and iniquitous as it is ridiculous and absurd. We disclaim by this Behaviour, all Title to Wisdom, Moral or Divine, and put ourselves upon a Level with the Savages; we descend to, or rather sink ourselves beneath them, by doing precisely those Things, for which we esteem them Savages and despise them.

The only Apology we ever hear made for so irrational a Practice, is a very ill grounded Pretence of Necessity; our Ancestors, it is said, have done so much, that there is nothing left for us to do; they discovered, they conquered all, and thereby made Way for our Disputes with each other about Titles; in short, they were fortunate and glorious, and we unhappy, and precluded from acquiring Fame.

But these are all the simple Pretences of Indolence, or the false Colours of Avarice, which when we come to examine with impartial Strictness by the Light of Truth, will totally disappear. Amongst other Discoveries of our Ancestors, we may reckon this as none of the least important, that they discovered, that after all they had done, much more remained to be discovered. What a Scandal is it then to us, that having not only their Example to encourage us, but their Conjectures to instruct us, we have neither followed the one, nor made use of the other. They left us an exact Survey of the best Part of *America*, and we have left the rest totally unsurvey'd. They saw Reason to believe that a South-west Passage might be found to the *East Indies*; they attempted and discovered it; they left us better Reasons to prove that there is a North West Passage, and though by Fits and Starts we have made Trials, yet still it remains undiscovered. If we set down and consider with Attention, in how short a Tract of Time, from the finding a Passage by the Cape of *Good Hope* to the *East Indies*, all the subsequent Discoveries were made, how suddenly they stopt, and how long it is since any thing has been done of this Kind; it must induce us to believe that we either fall very far short in Point of Courage and publick Spirit of our Forefathers, or that there is some secret Reason why we are so backward in spite of the Encouragement we have received. This secret Reason is no other than our managing our Trade into these distant Parts by exclusive Companies, such as the *East India*, the *African*, the *South Sea*, and the *Hudson's Bay* Companies, the Discoveries under the Auspices of all which, may I presume be contained in a Volume of no exorbitant Size. It may be asked, Do our Companies restrain the rest of the World? To which I answer, No: But their own Companies do, and that Discoveries are attempted in no Kingdom in *Europe* by an old Company, but either where there are no Companies, or by a Company expressly erected for that Purpose.

Now to shew that something may be done without any mighty Hazard towards extending our Trade and our Knowledge at the same Time towards the North East, I have, by the Assistance of Lights and Memoirs communicated to me from Abroad, composed the following Description and History of the Peninsula of *Corea*; from whence it will appear, that it is a fine and fertile Country; that it is exceedingly populous, and inhabited by a civil, humane, and courteous People; that they are much given to Commerce, and would in all Probability rejoice at and encourage any Attempt

made by us to commence a Trade with them; that this Trade might be made highly beneficial to the Nation; that it is far from being improbable it might procure us both *Chinese* and *Japan* Goods at a more reasonable Rate than we have them at present; and last of all, that it must open a Passage to Discoveries of much greater Consequence than any that have been yet made.

2. The *Peninsula* of *Corea*, so little known to, and therefore so little considered by the *Europeans*, is one of the largest, and in all Respects one of the finest, noblest, and best situated *Peninsula's* upon the Globe. The *Tartars*, who are at present possessed of *China*, and who, before they conquered that Empire, were Masters of the Country of which we are speaking, call it in their Language *Solbo Kouron*, which is as much as to say, the Kingdom of *Solbo*. There is no Doubt that they have some sufficient Reason for this Appellation, though for Want of being acquainted with the *Tartar* Historians, we are able to say no more, than that they are reported to call it so by the *Chinese* Geographers. As for this last mentioned Nation, they have been pleased to bestow upon this Country the Name of *Kao li koue*, which we shall endeavour to explain as well as we can. This *Peninsula* was originally inhabited by various Nations, each governed by its particular Chief, untill they were all reduced under the Subjection of one Monarch, whose Name was *Kao*. As for the Word *li*, it has many different Significations in the *Chinese* Tongue, and amongst the rest, it implies obeying, being subject to, or under the Obedience of. The Word *Koue* is properly translated by that of *Kingdom*; so that taking this Title as it stands in the *Chinese* Maps *Kao li koue* altogether, it may be very faithfully rendred thus, *the Kingdom ruled by Kao*, or, in our Manner of speaking, *Kao's Kingdom*. It is true, that in the modern Records of the *Chinese* it is called *Tchao ssien*, from another Prince, or rather from another Race of Princes; but however this Name has never grown into common Use; but the *Chinese*, when-ever they mention it in Conversation, or in Writing, call this *Peninsula* *Kaoli*, which they pronounce in such a Manner, that from thence by Corruption the Word *Corea* has been formed, by which it is universally known in *Europe*.

After adjusting as well as we can the Name, let us proceed to say somewhat of the Nature of this Country, which has been variously represented to us by different Authors, some treating it as a Kingdom distinct from, others, as a Part of *China*; many affirming it to be an Island, but the best modern Writers asserting it to be what it really is at this Day, a *Peninsula*. At first Sight these Differences seem to be the Effect of Ignorance, but at the Bottom there is some Colour of Truth for every one of these Representations. According to the most ancient *Chinese* Histories, though the Thing is not affirmed in direct Terms, yet it may be fairly inferred, that *Corea* was once joined to *China* on the West-side, though it is now divided from it by a large Gulph. For those Histories say, that the Ocean broke in with great Violence on that Side, and overwhelmed a vast Tract of Country, and when this happened, it is not at all improbable, that *Corea* became an absolute Island. For the same Histories say, that a very ancient Emperor, whom they call *Yu* the Great, formed a Design of recovering at least a Part of these Countries, by drawing Canals to a vast Channel, and by piercing a Mountain, opened a Passage for the great River *Hoang ho*, which finding by this Means a Vent into the Sea, carried off a great Part of the Inland Waters, and thereby left the Northern Country dry, which now connects *Corea* with the Continent; and in this Manner we are told it became a *Peninsula*.

This Country in the State it now is, is bounded on the North by the Country of *Nieucheu*, or the ancient hereditary Dominions of that *Tartar* Monarch, who is now Emperor of *China*; on the West it has the Gulph of *Leao tong*, which separates it from the Provinces of *Pe tcheli* and *Chan tong*, which are Part of *China*; on the East lies the Sea of *Japan*, and on the South it is washed by the Ocean. It extends from thirty four Degrees
thirty

thirty Minutes, to forty two Degrees thirty Minutes, of North Latitude, and from one hundred and forty two, to one hundred forty seven Degrees of Longitude; it is in Length from North to South, four hundred and fifty of our Miles; in Breadth from East to West, about three hundred; the Form of it is that of a Parallelogram, the upper Part towards the North being somewhat narrower than the Southern Part of it. It is from hence apparent, that it lies in the fifth and sixth temperate Climates, the most Southern Part of it being in the same Parallel with *Persia*, *Cyprus* and *Barbary*, and the most Northern in that of *Portugal*, *Sicily*, and the *Madera's*; the longest Day in the South is fourteen Hours and a Quarter, and in the North about fourteen Hours three Quarters.

The present Capital of it *Han ching*, is in the Latitude of thirty six Degrees North, and in the Longitude of ten Degrees East, from the City of *Pekin*, the Capital of *China*. It is represented by all the *Chinese* Geographers, as a Country full of Mountains, more especially towards the North, or rather towards the North-west, where there is a Ridge of high Hills that separates it from that Part of *Tartary* which depends on *China*, and these Hills are rocky and barren, but the other Mountains, more especially those towards the South, are of easy Ascent, covered with a fine Turf, shaded by beautiful Groves, and refreshed by a Multitude of pleasant Brooks. It is also furnished with several large and navigable Rivers, of which we shall take particular Notice only of four; the first is the *Yalou* on the North-west Side of *Corea*, which falls into the Yellow Sea, or that which divides this Country from *China*; the Mouth of this River is in the Latitude of forty Degrees North, and is there about thirty Miles over. The River *Li* falls also into the Yellow Sea, and is a large, beautiful and navigable Stream; the *Tatong* falls into the Eastern Sea, or the Sea of *Japan*, and at the Mouth of it there is a noble Port; the River *Han* is in the South Part of *Corea*, and falls into the Ocean, and is also large and navigable; in a Word, when we consider that this Country is washed by two great Seas, and by the Ocean, and that its Coasts are fifteen hundred Miles in Extent, we cannot Doubt of the Excellency of its Situation.

3. It is very certain, that the People of *Corea* are much inclined to Letters, and that they have very ancient and very authentic Histories, and some Books still more ancient, but these are full of Romances and Fables. They are very sensible of this, and say that they contain some instructive Truths disguised, of which having lost the Key, they are no longer able to decypher them. Those which they regard as true Histories, go between two and three thousand Years higher than the Birth of *Christ*, and yet are said to contain nothing in them that carries the least Air of Fiction or Falshood. They assert that their Country was at first inhabited by three or four different Nations, which however they admit to have been of *Tartar* Original; that these in a long Course of Years, and after various Wars with different Success one against another, were at last reduced under the Power of one Monarch. That his Posterity degenerating from the Virtues of their Ancestors, behaved themselves so ill as to occasion civil Wars, which weakened the Country to such a Degree, that it fell under the Dominion of the *Chinese* Emperors, who sometimes governed it as a Province, and at others, appointed Kings, from whom they received only an annual Tribute.

It is remarkable that these ancient Histories speak of the Capital of this Kingdom, a thousand Years before *Christ*, as situated in *China*; from whence it seems highly probable, that this must have been before the Inundation, that has been mentioned, for otherwise it is not easy to conceive, why this Prince, even supposing him Master of that Part of *China*, should chuse to reside in a narrow Slip of Country, divided by a wide Sea from the rest of his Dominions. The same Histories speak of a Country lying to the North-East, but still on the same Continent, from whence one would imagine, that some Alteration has happened on that Side,

and that some Earthquake or Inundation separated *Corea* from the Land of *Yedso*, which is no other than the Southern Part of that great Peninsula, known to the *Russians* by the Name of *Kamkatka*. The greatest Part of their History is taken up in accounting for their Disputes with the *Chinese*, from whom they often revolted, and were as often reduced; and in them likewise they give a large Account of their having attacked and subdued the *Nieuchieu Tartars*, or at least a Nation that formerly inhabited their Country.

Towards the latter End of the fifteenth Century, the *Japonefe* invaded *Corea*, and were at first very successful, driving the King from his Capital, and becoming Masters of the greatest Part of his Dominions; but he having Recourse to the *Chinese*, they, after a long and bloody War, drove out the *Japonefe* from all except two Provinces. Soon after this, another great Army landing from *Japan*, the War was carried on with greater Vigour than ever, but at last the *Coreans* and their Confederates had so much the better of these Invaders, that they concluded a Peace, and agreed to quit the Country, which they did. Before this Time, the *Coreans* and *Japonefe* had always lived, not only in Peace, but in perfect Harmony with each other, inso-much, that many of both Nations were respectively settled in the others Country; but these Wars occasioned such an implacable Spirit of Resentment, which sometime after the Conclusion of the last, the *Japonefe* took an Opportunity of massacring all the *Coreans* that were settled in their Dominions. All these Events, and many more are found in the *Japonefe* Chronicles, and are briefly set down in the Histories of that Country, written by the Christian Missionaries, which is a very strong Confirmation of the Veracity of the *Corean* Histories.

About the Beginning of the last Century, the *Manchou Tartars*, after they became Masters of *Leontong*, attacked and reduced the Kingdom of *Corea*, that is, obliged the King to acknowledge their Khan for his Sovereign, and to pay him Tribute; which the *Coreans* resented as the most grievous Indignity, having as we observed before, been once Masters of this Country themselves; but since these *Tartars* have reduced *China*, the *Coreans* no longer consider their Subjection as a Disgrace, but remain well satisfied with their Condition, as indeed they have good Reason, since it has preserved them for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years, in a State of constant and settled Peace. All the Marks of Submission required from them, is, to send annually an Ambassador, or rather an Embassy, for sometimes there are three or four Persons charged with equal Powers to *Pekin*. These have also a Commission in Reference to Trade, are intrusted with all the Commodities and Manufactures which the *Coreans* are allowed to transport into *China*, and are impowered to settle and receive the Price or Equivalent for them.

The only sensible or uneasy Mark of Dependance which this Nation feels, arises from the Usage this Ambassador and his Retinue meets with, for they are assigned a Dwelling-Place in *Pekin*, which the *Chinese* are pleased to call a Palace, but from its Outside Appearance, and the Care with which it is guarded, it might better pass for a Goal; there they remain from the Time they come, to the Time they leave this Capital of the *Chinese* Empire, without so much as stirring, except to Audience, and without seeing any but such as are first examined by their Guards. The Reason of all this Jealousy, which of late Years has increased rather than abated, is the Dread the *Chinese* are under of the *Coreans* coming to have any Intercourse with the *Russians*, who are their very near Neighbours, and might find an easy Access into their Country, in Case they had Notice of it, and of the Advantages that might accrue from their settling a Trade with these People.

The *Chinese* are the more uneasy about this for two Reasons; first, because they know that the *Coreans* are naturally hospitable, desirous of seeing Strangers, and very willing to entertain and trade with them; and secondly, because this would place the *Russians* on both Sides their Empire, and in some Measure between them

and *Japan*, which is what they could not bear, and must be attended with a long and dangerous War, to remove an Evil of which they are so apprehensive. It was for this, and no other Cause, that they insisted so peremptorily on making the River *Amur* the Northern Boundary of their Dominions, because they judged that this would effectually cut off all Communication between the *Russians* and the *Coreans*, or rather all Possibility of a Communication, as by Land it really does. But they made use of a very plausible Pretence, which was, that the *Russians* disturbed them in their Pearl Fishery in that River, a Thing in itself of no great Consequence to either Nation, and which therefore the *Russians* readily gave up in Hopes of a settled and quiet Trade with *China*. This was also the Secret and true Reason, why the *Chinese* Ministers would not long endure the Presence of a *Russian* Resident at *Pekin*, notwithstanding that they kept him in full as great Restraint, as they do the *Corean* Embassadors, and at last led them to insist upon the sending away the *Sieur du Lange*, who had that Character from the Czar of *Muscovy*. But after all, these Precautions need be no Bar to the *Russians*, whilst the Passage is open and easy by Sea, and as will be shewn hereafter; the *Coreans* themselves making Use of it to carry on a small and inconsiderable Trade with the Subjects of *Russia*, without knowing from what Country they come, or of what Nation they are.

4. The Reader has been already told, that there is Reason to believe, this Country made formerly quite a different Appearance from what it does at present; and that the whole Gulph, which separates *Corea* from the opposite Coast of *China*, and which extends to full seven Degrees of Longitude, was formerly dry Land. The Reader has been also told, that in the most ancient and authentick Histories, this Country is said to have been inhabited by various Nations; and in the Accounts we have of the Provinces into which *Corea* is now divided, we are told to which of these ancient Nations they belonged; but at the same Time we find the Names of other Nations whose Dwellings are not to be found, and who from the Actions recorded of them appear to have been all settled on the West Side of the *Peninsula*, which affords another Argument to prove, that a vast Tract of Country was anciently either subverted by an Earthquake, or overflow'd by the Sea.

Our present Business is with what remains, and with the Kingdom of *Corea* as it stands at this Day, when it is divided into eight Provinces; the first of these is *Hien king*, which is as much as to say, *the prosperous Court*; it is the North-east Quarter of *Corea* stretching all along the Sea of *Japan*, which by the Way is almost as close shut up as the *Black Sea*; and this is the Reason that when there are any Kind of Winds, the Navigation is extremely dangerous, the Waves running excessively high, and beating with prodigious Fury upon the Coasts, which is but bleak and inhospitable, except at its very Extremity where it is divided from the Country of the *Man tcheou Tartars* by a very large River, on the Banks of which are several good Towns, and the Districts round them are very well cultivated. This Province was the native Seat of the *Kaskiuli*, a Nation that in Process of Time overcame all the rest, and stretched their Sway over the whole Country. It is from this Province, that the Inhabitants in their small Vessels glide along the Coast under a Notion of Pearl Fishing, but in Reality that they may trade with their Northern Neighbours, and sometimes with the *Russians*, who take them for *Japanese*.

The next Province to this is that of *Ping ncan*, which makes the North west Side of *Corea*, or, strictly speaking, of the Continent of *Corea*, for this with the Province before-mentioned, lie to the North of the *Peninsula*, and make a Part of the great Continent of *Asia*. This Province, the Name of which signifies *the peaceable Land*, or *the Country of Quiet*, is bounded on the West by the Province of *Leaotong*, and on the South by the *Yellow Sea* or *Corean Gulph*. It is through this Province that the River *Yalou* rolls its Course, till it falls

into the *Yellow Sea*, and it may not be amiss to observe, that according to the *Chinese* Custom of distinguishing their Rivers by its Colour, this has received the Name of *Yalou Kiang*, that is as much as to say, the *Green River*, from the Tincture of its Waters, which are supposed to be mineral, and are therefore seldom drank till they have been boiled, and have stood so long as to precipitate a Kind of yellow Sediment. This is a very large, populous, and well-built Province, which is chiefly owing to the River, that is navigable above ninety Miles, and has several large trading Towns upon its Banks. It was the ancient Habitation of the *Tchao sien*, which, as we have heretofore observed, is the Name now bestowed in the Records of *China* upon the whole Country of *Corea*.

The Province of *Kitang yuen* lies on the North-east Side of the *Peninsula*, and the Name signifies the River's Source; it stretches along the Sea of *Japan*, and has under its Jurisdiction a great Number of small Islands, inhabited chiefly by Fishermen. The Climate of this Country is remarkably pleasant, being neither excessively cold in the Winter, nor scorching hot in the Summer. It is finely diversify'd with Hills and Plains, and the best Timber in *Corea* for House and Ship-building grows here. It is very populous, but the People live mostly in Villages and small Towns, as being addicted chiefly to Pasturage, Tillage, and Fishing. In the Time of the Wars between the *Japanese* and *Coreans* this Country was the principal Scene of Action, and consequently suffered extremely; and therefore to this Cause we may reasonably refer there being no Cities, and but very few great Towns within its Limits; and perhaps to this likewise is owing the Activity, Hardiness and martial Genius of its Inhabitants, who are all well disciplin'd, and remarkably skilful in military Exercises. This Province is likewise famous for a good Breed of small but serviceable Horses.

The opposite Province, or the North-west Side of the *Peninsula*, is stiled *Hoang hai*, which is as much as to say, *the Yellow Sea*, from its stretching along the Coasts of it. It extends Northwards as far as the Mouth of the River *Yalou*, and stretches from thence Southwards for the Space of two hundred Miles. It is for the most Part a flat and fruitful Country, abounding with People who live in Cities and large Towns, and are much addicted to Trade and Manufactures; on the Coast there are several very large Islands, particularly, *Tshao tong* and *Tsiang hoa*, the latter deriving its Name from a great City, the Inhabitants of which are chiefly employed in making a Kind of Stuffs that are very thin and light, but withal very close and warm. This was anciently the Seat of a Nation called *Mahans*, tho' they ought rather to be regarded as a Tribe, for the true Name of the Nation was *Han*, the largest of all those separate People that originally inhabited this Country, and therefore divided into three Tribes, inhabiting as many different Districts.

The middle Province is called *King ki*, the former signifying, as we have often before observed, a *Court*, the latter a *Region*, *Province*, or *District*; and it is so called, because the City of *Kingki tao*, which was the ancient Capital of this Country, stands therein. This is the only Inland Province in *Corea*, and lies precisely in the Heart of the Country, being about two hundred Miles from North to South, and near an hundred from West to East. There can be hardly imagined a Country more pleasant, more fruitful, or better peopled than this is, full of large Towns and almost innumerable Villages, and containing besides several great and well-built Cities. The Inhabitants are remarkable for Learning and Politeness, and the Buildings in this Country are little, if at all inferior, to those of *China*, even in its best Provinces. The King has in this Country many noble Palaces, adorned with fine Gardens, and spacious Parks well stocked with Game. The People of this Province are a Mixture of all the Nations that formerly inhabited *Corea*, and it appears from their Histories, that this is a new Province taken out of the rest, and peculiarly subject to the Tribunals of the Royal Cities, from whence Mandarins are sent to govern the several

Districts into which it is divided; but the chief Cities are under the Direction of particular Mandarins, and the Troops both here and in the rest of the Provinces, are commanded by the Nobility or Persons of Estates, who raise them amongst their Vassals, holding most of their Lands from the King by a Sort of military Tenure. The Corn and Fruits that grow in this Country are the best in *Corea*, which perhaps is chiefly owing to the great Care taken in their Cultivation.

The South-east Province of *Corea* is called *Kin chan*, which is bounded on the East and on the South by the Sea of *Japan*, abounds with Cities and great Towns, and there are five large and commodious Ports in this District; the Southern Extremity, which is directly over-against the two great Islands that form what we call *Japan*, is distanced from thence about one hundred Miles, and there are Vessels that pass regularly from one Country to another thrice in a Week. It is necessary to observe, that in these Streights which separate *Corea* from *Japan*, there lie two small Islands, *Key* and *Dor*, which are as it were in the Middle; from the Mountains, in both of them, the Coasts of each Country are very easily discovered. These Islands are small but very fruitful, and it would be no difficult Matter to erect on either a Fortrefs capable of resisting any Force that these People could employ against it; so that if any *European* Nation should settle themselves here under the Direction of a wise and prudent Governor, and with a competent Body of seasoned Troops, he might maintain himself, and provided he attempted Nothing upon the opposite Continents, might very soon compass a free Trade with one, if not both Nations.

The Province of *Tchu sin* occupies the South-west Side of the *Peninsula*, lying over-against the Province of *Chan tong* in *China*, from whence the North-east Extremity of it is distant about forty Leagues, whereas the South-west Point of it is full two hundred Leagues distant. The Name of this Province signifies *Ever Faithful*, and also *without Blemish*; and it was so called, because in the Wars with the *Japonefe* it was never conquered. The Air here is soft and temperate, for the most Part, and though their Summers are pretty hot, the Soil is very fruitful; it is watered by several fine Rivers, and besides a Multitude of Villages, and a great Number of good Towns, there are in it four great Cities. The People are very industrious, not only in the Cultivation of their Land, but also in Manufactures, in Navigation and Fishing, which makes them very stout and hardy, so that the best Infantry in *Corea* are those raised from thence. There are several considerable Islands along the Coast, and at the Distance of about ten Leagues from the South-west Corner is the great Island of *Fong* or *Fong ma*, which is near seventy Miles in Circumference, and upon which, if the *Europeans* could make a Settlement, it would lie conveniently enough for the Trade of *China* and *Japan*, as well as *Corea*, since it is not above eighty Leagues from the former, and not quite sixty from the latter.

The eighth and last Province in this Country is *Tsuen lo*, which lies between the two Provinces last mentioned, and takes up the Middle of the Southern Extremity of the *Peninsula*, the Ocean washing its Coasts, which extend about one hundred and fifty Leagues. It was anciently the Country of the *Pien han*, which was the third Tribe of that Nation, and is at present inhabited by a very robust and industrious People, who are naturally civil and courteous to Strangers, and much addicted to Commerce. The whole Course of this Country is, as it were, covered with Islands, some of which are rocky and uninhabited, others equally fruitful and populous. There are many great Towns, and two large Cities, in this Province, and it is generally believed that there is more Shipping belonging to it than to any of the rest. The Island of *Kelpaert* lies about twenty four Leagues due South from its Coasts, and is much larger than any of the Islands hitherto mentioned, but notwithstanding this great Distance, it is in a Manner united to *Corea* by an *Archipelago* of Islands that lie to the North-west of it, and reach to the very Shore. We shall have Occasion to mention this Island here-

after, and shall not therefore dwell any longer upon it here.

Thus the Reader has as clear and distinct a Geographical Description of the whole of this Country as we have been able to give him, after comparing together a Multitude of different Accounts, some of which were written above an hundred Years ago, when it seems that *Corea* was better known to the *Europeans* than it is at present. Within the Compass of these eight Provinces they reckon forty Cities, to whom *Mandarins* are sent directly from the Court, and of which there are generally three in each. Besides these, there are thirty three great Towns of the first Order, like those which in *China* are called *Fou*, upon which are depending sixty of the second Order, equivalent to those which the *Chinese* call *Tchou*, and no less than seventy *Hien*, or Towns of the third Order, every one of which has at least six or seven, some of them upwards of twenty Villages in their Districts. The Northern Provinces are mountainous, and the Air sharp and cold, notwithstanding which they produce all the Necessaries of Life, have Woods of most excellent Timber, in which are Abundance of wild Beasts that produce Furs, little if at all inferior to those of *Siberia*; and on the Frontiers of those Provinces towards *Tartary*, the greatest Plenty of *Gin seng* is found, of which they make a great Profit by selling it to the *Chinese*. There are also Mines of all Sorts, and even of Gold, of which a considerable Quantity is annually sent to *China*. The Southern Provinces, that is to say, the three last mentioned, are as rich and fruitful in Grain and Corn as any in the World.

The Reader is to observe, that when we speak of Corn, it is to be understood, in the Northern Parts, of Barley, and in the Southern Parts of Rice; and though they want not other Grain of various Sorts, they have also excellent Roots, some of which in Taste resemble the Potatoe, but are of a much larger Size. As for Fruits, they have those of *Europe*, such as Apples and Pears in the Northern Provinces, and the richest Fruits of *China* in the Southern. As for their Timber, it consists of Oak, Chestnut, Pine, Fir, and of several Sorts that are not known in *Europe*. Silver and Lead they have in great Plenty, but the latter is not so good as that of *Europe*, which in all Probability is owing to their Want of Skill in managing the Oar, for its Defects consist in being hard and brittle. Horses and Cows are in vast Abundance, and they make use of Oxen to plough their Land, and to draw their Carriages; in the Woods they have Bears and Foxes, Zibbelins and Castors, wild Boars in great Numbers, a good Breed of tame Swine, chiefly black. Their Rivers are well stored with Fish, and would be much better stocked if they were not infested with Crocodiles, and those too of a most enormous Size, some of thirty Foot long. They have also great Plenty of all Sorts of Fowl, such as Swans, Geese, Ducks, Storks, Herons, Pidgeons, Woodcocks, Pheasants, and tame Fowl, that are excellent. They have likewise Eagles, Falcons, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, and many Kinds of very beautiful Birds, which are not known in *Europe*, some of great Value, with party-colour'd Feathers in their Tails which are three Foot long, and these are commonly either exported to *China* or *Japan*, and make also Part of the annual Present sent to *Pekin* for the Emperor.

5. The Inhabitants of the Northern Provinces are generally tall, active, well shaped, healthy, robust People, with very little about them of the *Tartar*, but those of the South are of a more sickly Complexion, weaker Bodies, and in their Persons and Temper very much resembling the *Chinese*. In the Northern Provinces, Most People wear a Kind of Furr Caps, silk Vests, which in the Winter are lined with Lamb-skin; and the Women wear their Jackets and Petticoats flounced and fringed with Gold Lace. Most Persons of Quality affect to have their Robes of Violet-colour'd Silk; in the other Provinces both Men and Women are drest in painted Linnen or Chinces, but are, generally speaking, adorned with Silver and Gold Ornaments notwithstanding. As they have Hemp and Flax in the Northern

thern Parts in Plenty, they make vast Quantities of Cloth, but none of the Memoirs that I have seen make any Mention of Cotton. They are very neat in their Dress, and the better Sort affect Magnificence, yet they are far from being vain, and can be hardly said to have any Fashions amongst them. Their Cities are walled and fortified, but neither so strongly nor so neatly as in *China*; their Houses are commonly no more than one Story, with a Kind of Cock-loft over them, in which their Merchants keep their Goods; and in private Families they serve for their Fruit. In their Villages they build with Earth, but in all their great Towns and Cities with Brick; but they thatch every where either with Straw or Reeds, which is the only Kind of Covering they have. The People are courteous, modest, and well behaved, yet their Morals are not quite so regular as in Times past, when Robbery, Murder, and Adultery, were Crimes unknown amongst them. They have common Women amongst them as in *China*, and none of their young Men are ashamed of conversing with, or being seen in their Company. They allow their Wives much greater Liberties than in *China*; and for this Reason the *Chinese* esteem them *Barbarians*, though in all other Respects they speak of them not fairly only, but with Reverence.

In point of Learning they fall little, if at all, short of the *Chinese*; and here, as well as in *China*, none but Scholars are preferred to Employments. They bestow Degrees once in three Years, and all who are Candidates for them undergo a very rigorous Examination; so that it is very difficult to obtain any Promotion but by Merit. With Respect to Religion, People of Distinction are generally bred up in the Sentiments of *Confucius*, and are a Sort of moral Deists, who make an uncorrupted Probity their Point of Honour. The common People are Idolaters of the *Indian* Sect, and have amongst them a vast Number of *Bonzes*; they have also Monasteries of both Sexes, where People lead single Lives, but are restrained only by their own Choice, for they may marry if they think fit, and sometimes they do.

As to their Estates, the King has the sole Property in the Land, which is granted out to every Man in Proportion to his Family, but personal Estates descend from Father to Son. The *Mandaryns* have also Lands assigned them for the Support of their Dignity, which they let out in Farms, but receive their Rent in Kind and not in Money. The Monarchs of *Corea* are absolute, except the Homage they pay to the Emperor of *China*, from whom they receive the Investiture of their Dominions by their Ambassadors; and though the Heir apparent enter immediately on the Administration from the Decease of his Predecessor, yet neither he nor his Consort assume Regal Titles till they have the Emperor's Consent, which is always given; and as the whole Ceremony upon this Occasion is very exactly regulated, as well as the Tribute paid, which amounts to eight hundred Taels; so there never happens any Disputes.

Each Province maintains a certain Number of Horse and Foot, except that in which the Capital City stands, and which is exempted on the Score of maintaining the Court. The Troops of each Province serve annually about the King's Person, so that he sees the whole Force of *Corea* once in seven Years; but proportionable Detachments are sent from every Province to guard that whose Forces are about the King. They are remarkably mild in their Punishments for common Crimes; they are bamboo'd or bastinado'd, but with more Modesty and less Severity than in *China*. Adultery, Murder, and Treason, are punished by Beheading; and for other Offences capital in their Nature, the Criminals are banished into the adjacent Islands.

Poetry and Musick are their principal Amusements, more especially publick Spectacles, such as Comedies, Tragedies, and Operas, in the Performance of which they spare no Expence. It has been surmised that they were very ignorant, because they fetched their Kalendars annually from *Pekin*, but in Reality this is a Point of Submission to the *Chinese* Court, which is also paid by the Inhabitants of every Province of that Empire

from political Considerations, and they go in the tenth Month of every Year to receive their Kalendars for the next. The People of *Corea* are the most dutiful in the World to their Parents; it is said that Disobedience is capital by the Laws, but that there has been no Instance of any Punishment of that Sort, the very Law preventing any such Offence. They mourn for their Fathers and Mothers three Years, during all which Time the Corpse is kept embalmed in their House; at the End of that Space the Body is interr'd, and the Wearing Apparel, Horses, Dogs, and whatever else belonged to the Person of the Deceased are distributed among the Relations at the Funeral. The Mourning for a Brother lasts in the same Manner for three Months.

The common People are plainly clad, and so are their Soldiers, who carry a Pole-axe, a Firelock, and have a Sabre at their Sides; they live, generally speaking, soberly, though they have great Plenty of every thing, and make very good Ale, or if you please to call it Wine of Rice, from whence also they distill Arrack, which is preferable to that of the *East Indies*, being a clearer and stronger, as well as a better flavoured Spirit. Tea is much drank in the Northern Provinces, but less used in the South, where their Rivers are bright and clear, so that they have every where good Water, which is wanting in *China*, and of which there is also a Scarcity in *Japan*.

6. We have observed, that the Subjection of the *Coreans* to the *Chinese*, is very far from being burthensome to them, but this must be understood of their Condition in their own Country; for in Reference to the Deputies that are sent once a Year into *China*, and who are generally accompanied by about threescore Merchants, they are certainly treated with as much Severity and Indignity as People well can be. The Months in which they travel are *March* and *August*; in the former they sometimes cross the Gulph of *Corea* upon the Ice with their Carriages; but in *August* they come in pretty large Vessels, and having debarked their Cargoes, convey them by Land to *Pekin*. The Commodities they bring are principally these that follow:

A coarse Kind of Paper made of raw Silk, very thick, smooth, even, and strong, which is made Use of in *China* instead of Glass to cover their Windows. A very fine, thin, white, and smooth Paper for Writing. A third Sort of Paper thick like the first, and smooth and fine like the last, with large Figures embossed in Gold and Silver, made use of for Hangings. It may not be amiss to observe here, that eight hundred Years ago the *Chinese* had that black shining Stick Ink, which they now make themselves, from the *Coreans*, and they acknowledge that they were three hundred Years before they arrived at the Art of making it in the same Perfection. Umbrelloes of all Sorts, very strong and very neat. Fine Mats, beautifully wrought and of many Colours. Tobacco of a small Cut for smoaking; this they had from the *Japanese*, to whom it was brought by the *Portuguese*; it is of the *Brazil* Kind, and the *Chinese* esteem it much more than their own. Striped Cottons of several Kinds, Furs of various Sorts, dried Fish, which are taken out of large Shells in the Sea of *Japan*.

They bring with them likewise vast Quantities of Silver and Gold, Part in Ingots, and Part in *Spanish* Pistoles. They are close shut up, as in a Prison, all the while they remain at *Pekin*; and the *Mandaryn* who has the Guard of them, sells the Liberty of trading with the *Coreans* to the Merchants who give most; and yet these have not the Liberty of conferring with them but in the Presence of a Soldier and two Interpreters. Whenever they stir abroad they have a Guard about them with Whips in their Hands, who lash any that come near, or offer to speak to them.

The Goods they purchase are fine Silks in prodigious Quantities, but raw; a Kind of Damask, which they take off also in great Quantities; a Sort of very thin Silk for Linings, which the *Chinese* call *Fansa*; Tea and China-ware, white Copper Vessels of all Sorts, vast Quantities of Cotton, Part of which they manufacture in such a Manner, that they bring it back and sell it in *China* at a high Price.

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The *Coreans* likewise bring as Curiosities, fine Pencils made of the Hair of their Wolves Tails; a Sort of yellow Varnish that shines like Gold, made of the Gum of a Kind of Palm-tree, as also several Iron and Steel Wares. Once in three or four Years, when the Season affords them a safe Passage over the Mountains, they bring their Caravans by Land, and in them great Quantities of Silver, that they may buy up the more raw Silk, which they manufacture for their Trade, though the *Chinese* prohibit them dealing with any foreign Nation whatever, and have a *Mandaryn* at the King of *Corea*'s Court to see that this Prohibition is observed; and he is very careful in this Particular in all Cases but where he is largely paid for not being so.

It is not easy to enter into the Reasons why the *Chinese* are so excessively jealous of the *Coreans* having any Commerce with Strangers, except the Dread they have of Foreigners establishing themselves in that Country, from whence they might so easily pass over into *China* itself. But of all Nations they most dread the *Russians*, and it is not so much through Ignorance as Cunning, that all their Maps of the Frontiers of *Corea* are so incorrect. But this Kind of Precaution can only be of Use in deceiving the *Europeans*, for as to the Natives of *Corea*, they have so much of the *Chinese* in them, that they have falsify'd their Maps and Charts likewise, and represent the North-east Coast of their Country as utterly innavigable, on Account of Shallows, Rocks, and Banks of Sand, which is only with a View to cover their Trade on that Side, in which they employ a great Number of Vessels under the Pretence of the Fishery. For in the *Japonesse* Sea there are Shell fish of a most enormous Size, which being broke so as to get out the Fish, they hang up and dry it, sprinkling it from Time to Time with Salt Water; this dried Fish, which in Taste resemble Codfouns, are held a great Delicacy in *China*, and are sold at a pretty good Price; but the *Coreans* will tell you that they get Millions by them, which alludes to their clandestine Trade, that is chiefly covered by Presents of these Fish made to the *Chinese Mandaryn* resident in *Corea*.

7. In ancient Times, as has been already observed, the Intercourse between the People of *Corea* and of *Japan* was very great, and highly beneficial to both Countries; and we have likewise shewn how this Intercourse was interrupted, and the Means by which it was followed with Hatred as implacable on both Sides, as their former Friendship was cordial and sincere. In Process of Time however, and by a Suspension of Injuries on all Sides, this Enmity is again in a great Measure wore out, at least among the People of both Nations, for the Governments still keep at their old Distance, the *Japonesse* from political Jealousy of all Strangers, and the *Coreans*, because the Court of *China* has strictly forbid all Traffick between them and the *Japonesse*.

But for all this, the Commerce is constant, regular, and even publick enough between the two Nations, and the Manner in which it is managed is this: There is a pretty large Island between *Corea* and *Japan*, but nearer to the Coasts of *Japan*, which in our *European* Map is called *Susima*, but by the *Coreans* *Tui la tao*; and this by the *Japonesse* Government has been yielded to the King of *Corea*, with an evident Intention to facilitate the Trade between their Subjects, notwithstanding the Prohibitions on both Sides. In this Island, the Property of which, as we have observed, belongs now to the *Coreans*, the *Japonesse* Merchants have vast Magazines, so that all Ships that come hither are very speedily laden; and on the other Hand, the *Coreans* have their Magazines at *Tsin tchion*, in the Province of *Tsuen lo*, from whence they are brought by two navigable Rivers, one of which falls into the other, and the Mouth of the latter is directly over-against the Island of *Tui la tao*, at the Distance only of eighteen Leagues.

It remains now to give an Account of the Merchandize in which the Traders of both Countries deal; and first with Regard to the *Japonesse*; their Magazines are constantly full of Pepper of *Sapan*, and other sweet-scented and fine Woods, Boufflers Horns, which the *Coreans* burn, and use the Powder in making their Ink; of

Deer and Goat-skins, and of various *European* Commodities, which they purchase partly from the *Dutch* in their own Country, and partly from the *Chinese*. The *Coreans*, on the other Hand, barter with the *Japonesse*, Tyger Skins, Furs, Lead, Ginseng, several Sorts of Varnish, and the Balance of this Trade, generally in Favour of the *Japonesse*, is paid in Ingots of Silver. They likewise change their Ingots for *Spanish* Ducats, upon which they receive a Premium of Six or Seven per Cent. and the Design of this is to carry these Ducats to *China*, to conceal the better that Plenty of Silver which they have of their own; but the Ducats produced by this Trade are believed not to amount to a tenth Part of what the *Coreans* carry to *China*; and how they come by the rest will be explained hereafter.

Besides this Trade with the *Japonesse*, they carry on a Sort of smuggling Commerce at the Island of *Kelpraet* or *Quelpaet*, where there are also Magazines of both Nations, but not near so great as those of *Tui la tao*; for, as we shall hereafter inform the Reader, this Island is chiefly remarkable for a Kind of Smuggling or contraband Trade, for which there never was a Place better situated or disposed by Nature, as having convenient Ports on all Sides. Some modern Writers say, that the *Coreans* exchanged this Island with the *Japonesse* for that of *Tui la tao*, which is a Point that hitherto is not supported by sufficient Evidence. The *Dutch* Seamen that were shipwreck'd here in 1662, and whose Account of *Corea* is almost the only one published, make this a Place of much too great Consequence to be exchanged; and as other Accounts we have from the *Philippines* admit there are great Numbers of *Japonesse* settled here, perhaps this may be thought Foundation enough for such a Report.

It is indeed very certain, that the printed Relations of all these Countries are very superficial, and are to be read with great Caution; the Missionaries in *Japan* were able to give no Account of *Corea*, but as they met with it in *Japonesse* Books; since they fairly acknowledge, that none of their Fathers ever went there, and if they had, perhaps they would not have learned much more than those who went to *Jedzo*, and yet were not able to say whether it was a Continent or an Island. The last of the Missionaries Account of *China* admit, that what is contained in the *Chinese* Maps and Books concerning *Corea*, cannot well be depended upon. His Excellency Mr. *Ysbrants Ides*, who with vast Pains and Difficulty made a large Map of his Travels, which he sent to Burgomaster *Witzen*, and who settled his Geographical Faith upon it, though he is very accurate in describing the Countries through which he passed, is miserably mistaken in all those that he has ventured to lay down from Information. As for *Corea*, he makes it a small Island, with a Strait to the North between it and *China* almost as broad as the Gulph, by which it is really divided from that Country on the West; and as to the North-east Continent of *Asia*, it is laid down within the same Longitude with *Corea*, whereas the Country of *Kamskatska* stretches several Degrees to the East, and if produced, would lie in a Manner parallel to *Corea*, as the Peninsula of *Corea* lies parallel to the Continent of *China*. The *Dutch*, while they were possessed of *Formosa*, had great Opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Coast of *Corea*, and accordingly by the Favour of a very worthy Person, I have seen several remarkable Passages in the Journals of a Person in a distinguished Station at *Formosa*, which are vastly clearer than any Thing published of late Years, tho' written above a Century ago.

As far as I know, there is Nothing of this Sort printed; and as for the Shipwreck of the *Dutch* Seamen on *Quelpaet*, it will be a useful Thing to those who have read this Section, because they will then see the Reason of the Treatment those Seamen met with from the *Coreans*, and of the great Dread these People had of the *Tartars*, by whom they had not then been subdued full thirty Years. We might expect some tolerable Account of these North-east Parts of *Asia* in the *Spanish* Histories of the *Philippines*, if there were any such, of modern Date, but we know only of one, and that printed at *Madrid* in 1733, and suppressed for Reasons

Reasons of State. The Truth of the Matter is, that the *Spaniards* are as suspicious and jealous of that Colony as the *Chinese* are of *Corea*, and with some Reason, for *Manila* is incredibly rich, and the Trade driven there is not of a Nature to be disclosed, as appears from some Memoirs lately transmitted from *Batavia*, in which we are told, that if this Country was in the Hands of any but the *Spaniards*, it would produce as much Benefit to *Europe*, as all the other trading Settlements in the *East Indies* put together.

8. After what has been already said of the many Difficulties that occur in obtaining Accounts that may be depended upon of the Commerce of the *Coreans*, the Reader will, no Doubt, be pleased with whatever can be rationally given him upon this Subject, though it is not quite so full, so clear, or so certain as either he could desire, or we could wish; but upon this he may depend, that we shall set Things before him in a just Light, and leave that to his Decision, which perhaps some Writers would have delivered with a greater Degree of Confidence, and consequently less Respect to Truth. In the first Place, we lay it down as a Thing absolutely certain, that notwithstanding all the Precautions of the *Chinese*, the *Coreans* carry on a very large Trade; which appears thus:

They purchase vast Quantities of raw Silk in *China*, beyond the Degree of Consumption in their Country, which they must manufacture and dispose of somewhere, otherwise their Trade with *China* would have declined, whereas it increases. They take off large Quantities of manufactured Silks in *China*, more especially of that Sort of Damask, which from its being chiefly in Demand from them, the *Chinese* call *Kao li Toanza*, i. e. *Corean Damask*, very little of which however is worn by them. They pay for most of their Goods in *Spanish Silver*, which *Spanish Silver* must be acquired by Trade. They purchase no *European* Commodities at *Pekin*, and yet they are common enough all over *Corea*; they must therefore have them some other Way. They purchase some small Quantities of *Russian Furs*, when they are to be had, in *China*, and yet the finest *Russian Furs* are commonly worn by Persons of Distinction in *Corea*, which therefore they must obtain by some other Channel. They have Spices and other *Indian* Commodities amongst them, though none of these are bought from the *Chinese*; and they have also Amethysts and Emeralds, which is a Proof of their having Correspondence with some Nations that trade to *America*. We will endeavour to give a probable Account of the Manner in which they come by all, or at least most of these Commodities and Manufactures, and in several Instances we shall confirm our Conjectures by indisputable Testimonies, which in a Matter of this Nature is all that we pretend to do, and is much more than has hitherto been done.

The Country of *Corea*, or to speak with Strictness and Propriety, the *Peninsula* of *Corea*, excluding the two Provinces that belong to it upon the Continent, is very carefully laid down in the modern Maps of *China*; but the same thing cannot be said of the adjacent Countries to the East and North-east, as will appear to any competent Judge who will compare the several Maps of those Countries that are extant, hardly any two of which are alike, and consequently, tho' it is very possible they may be all false, yet it is impossible they should be all true, and more than probable the greatest Part have no Resemblance to Truth.

In the *Sieur Bellin's* Map, of the last Discoveries made by the *Russians*, there is a large Gulph which he calls the Gulph of *Kamschatska*, which separates that Country from the Continent to which *Corea* is joined, and from this Map it appears to be very easy for the *Coreans* to sail along the Coast as high as the River *Amur*, the Mouth of which is there laid down in the Latitude of 46 Degrees, and passing up this River they trade with the Subjects of the *Russians*, and sometimes with the *Russians* themselves, as appears from what Mr. *Tsbrant Ides* tells us of People who come thither dressed in Robes of blue Silk, with long Beards, who pretend that they dwell in an Island lying North-east of that Coast.

Now, in the first Place, we know that the *Coreans* actually dress in this Manner, and on the other Hand it is very certain, that the Inhabitants of any Island lying to the North-east of the River *Amur*, could not well have Silk of their own Growth, or purchase it in *China* without our hearing of them.

The Reason why the *Coreans* make use of this Method to deceive the *Russians*, is to prevent their Commerce coming to be made known to the *Chinese*, which they are very studious to avoid, as the *Chinese* appear to be much more jealous of the *Russians* than of any other Nation. It may be enquired, how it is possible for them to avoid a Discovery, since the *Chinese* Dominions are now extended to the River *Amur*? To which the plain Answer is, That these Countries do not belong to the Emperor of *China* in that Quality, but as he is the Sovereign of the *Man tchou Tartars*, and these People are not of so jealous and suspicious a Nature as the *Chinese*, and therefore content themselves very probably with such Accounts, as for their own Conveniency the *Coreans* are pleased to give. It is also not at all unlikely that they may trade with the Inhabitants of the opposite Coast of *Kamschatska*, but what Commodities they obtain from them we cannot pretend to say.

After having thus shewn how they obtain rich Furs, and other Northern Commodities, we will endeavour to describe their Trade to the South, in reference to which the Reader is to observe, that under Colour of sailing to the Island of *Quelptraet*, they take in from the Magazines there full of *Chinese* Commodities, a proper Cargo for the *Philippines*, and passing behind the Island of *Formosa* by the Help of the proper Trade Wind, they come safely to the Port of *Manila*, where they trade under the Name of *Chinese*, and by this Means it is that they obtain such Quantities of *Spanish Silver*, without which they would find it very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry on their *Chinese* Trade. Here likewise they purchase Spices and other *Indian* Commodities; nor is it at all improbable that they trade in their Passage home with the Inhabitants of those Islands that lie between *Manila* and *Formosa*.

It may be asked, What Certainty we have of this? To which I answer, That since we are certain they have *Spanish Silver*, and since we are as certain that no *European* Nation trades with them in their own Ports, we may be sure that they have it this Way, because they can have it no other Way. Besides, I am sure they did carry on this Trade above an hundred Years ago, and this from the Lights given me by some Papers relating to the melancholy Massacre at *Amboyna*, several of those who were stiled *Japonese*, and who suffered with the *English* for their pretended Conspiracy against the *Dutch*, were in Reality *Coreans*. If therefore they were expert enough to enter into this Navigation then, what Reason is there to doubt that they carry on the same Commerce now; more especially since we know, that so late as the Year 1702, their Merchants brought a large Quantity of *Spanish Silver* to *Pekin*.

It may also be enquired, how the *Coreans* escape being discovered by the *Chinese* at *Manila*? And the Answer to this is very short and easy. The Trade to *Manila* is as much a contraband Trade to the *Chinese* as to the *Coreans*, and therefore it would be impossible for them to discover such an Offence to their Government, without confessing themselves guilty of the same Crime; and every body knows that the *Chinese* are much too cunning to do that. I foresee also that it may be demanded, why, if they trade to *Manila*, they may not also trade to *Batavia*? To which I can only say, that there are no Proofs of it, nor any great Probability, whereas with Respect to their other Commerce we have both Evidence and Probability.

I have already observed, that we are far from having distinct Accounts of the Commerce at *Manila*, we only know in general Terms, that Vessels from almost all the Countries in the East resort thither, not only for the Sake of trading with the *Spaniards*, but with each other. It may indeed be said, that *Macao* lies more conveniently for the *Coreans*, and that they might be furnished there with *European*, and per-

haps also with *Indian* Commodities. But when it is considered that this Place is under the Power of the *Chinese*, who have a *Mandaryn* constantly residing there, it will appear no proper Port for *Corean* Vessels; and therefore their not making use of it, cannot be esteemed an Objection of any Weight to the Truth of what I have delivered; neither am I conscious to my self of having concealed any thing that might make against the Account which I have given, and which therefore I hope will be thought to deserve Credit, at least till we can obtain a better.

9. The Pains taken to describe this Country, to digest the scattered Remains of the History of its Inhabitants, to explore their Manners and Customs, and to investigate the Nature and Circumstances of their Commerce, might pass for a very rational Amusement, even supposing no higher End to be proposed, than that of supplying the Deficiency of other Writers; and placing in a tolerable Point of Light a Subject that had remained in the Dark before. But I must confess this was not my Motive, or at least it was not my only Motive; and when I say this, I persuade my self that the Reader will be not at all at a Loss to discover what was my Motive. At the Time when an Application to Parliament was designed for altering the Method of collecting the Duties upon Tea, which since that has in some Measure taken Place, I remember, among other Suggestions, this was one, that for many Years past our Trade to *China* was declining; and this first put me upon enquiring whether there might not possibly be some Method found of supplying this Deficiency in our *India* Trade; and this Hint produced the Thoughts of carrying on a Commerce on the Coasts of *Corea*; for which I sought and procured Materials, with an Intent to have published them by themselves; but after engaging in this Work, I thought they might be better preserved here.

The Reasons which induced me to think a Scheme of this Sort practicable, were chiefly these: The Situation of the Country, which being a *Peninsula* with a vast Extent of Coast, made it probable that some convenient Port might be met with to which *British* Ships might resort. If upon Trial this should be found either impracticable or difficult, it appeared to me, that as the whole of this Coast was surrounded by Islands, some of them might afford such a Port, without the Hazard of navigating a Coast which I know some of the *Dutch* Charts represent as very dangerous, though I am not altogether certain that these Charts are to be absolutely depended upon. Something of this Kind might undoubtedly be undertaken, for as these Islands are very numerous, it is not to be conceived that in none of them a good Port, a tolerable Bay, or a safe Road should be found; because Experience shews us, that there is no such Thing to be met with in the rest of the habitable World. When I found, upon Enquiry, that the *Coreans* were much addicted to Trade, and very desirous of corresponding with Foreigners, which obliged the *Chinese* to take so many Precautions to prevent their Deputies from indulging this Propensity during their Stay at *Pekin*; I concluded, that if an Attempt of this Sort was made with proper Care and Diligence, it could not well fail of succeeding; and that though very possibly the first Trials might not be attended with any great or any extraordinary Profit, yet they must of Necessity afford us great Lights, and enable us by Degrees to open a new Branch of Trade, which in the End must tend greatly to our Benefit.

I was confirmed in these Notions, by considering, that the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of this *Peninsula* live in a very cold Climate; for all the Writers of Credit, in relation to the Affairs of *China*, agree, that the upper Part of the *Corean* Gulph is entirely froze over almost every Year; that therefore the People might very probably be pleased with some Kind or other of our Woollen Manufactures; and I was the rather induced to entertain this Opinion, when I found that we formerly sent considerable Quantities of Cloth to *Japan*. It occurred to me farther, that as the *Coreans* had a great many valuable Commodities and Manufactures much esteemed in *Europe*, the Returns could

not but be valuable in Case such a Trade could be brought about; or if we found ourselves disappointed in that Respect, as it is certain that these People have amongst them Plenty both of Gold and Silver, we could not fail of being very well paid, in Case our Commodities and Manufactures could be introduced. I was indeed aware of the Umbrage this might give to the *Chinese*, and that very possibly it might put them upon taking every Measure in their Power to distress, and even to destroy this Trade; but on the other Hand, when I reflected, that in Spite of the Endeavours of the *Chinese*, the *Coreans* were in actual Possession of a considerable domestick, and no very despicable foreign Trade, this did not appear any formidable Objection, there being no Reason why the *Chinese* should exert themselves with greater Vivacity to hinder the *Coreans* from trading with us than with the *Japonefe*, which they tacitly permit, though they openly prohibit; and as they are a very subtle Nation, I could not help thinking they might be rather induced to connive at our Trade, in Hopes of its destroying, in a great Measure, the Inclinations which the *Coreans* are known to have for carrying on a Correspondence with the *Russians*.

It is very easy to penetrate the Causes that alarm the Government of *China* upon this Head; and as they have been before set forth, there is no Occasion for repeating them here; but whoever considers them, must at the same Time discern, that our Trading upon the Coasts of *Corea* would be attended with none of those Inconveniencies. It could not be feared that we should aim at discovering in order to conquer the Country; it could not be apprehended that we should excite the *Coreans* to revolt; it could not be so much as suspected, that under Pretence of Commerce we should attempt any thing to the Prejudice of those Rights which for a long Course of Years the *Chinese* Emperors first, and the *Tartar* Monarchs since, have established over this Kingdom and its Inhabitants. I am well enough acquainted with the *Chinese* Government, to be very sensible that Nothing of this Kind can be suggested by any Ambassador in our Favour; but I know very well, that whatever we may imagine in *Europe*, there are no Resolutions taken in the Cabinets of the *Chinese* Monarch till the Consequences are thoroughly considered; and therefore we have good Reason to believe, that amongst other Circumstances attending a new Trade, these might fall under their Cognizance; and as the Inference I make is drawn from their own Maxims, there is Nothing absurd in supposing that they may see it as well as we; but I must desire the Reader to observe, that what I contend for is not a Permission, or a Toleration to trade to *Corea* in the same Manner as we do to *Canton* in *China*, but a bare Connivance only, founded upon prudential Motives, which to be sure the *Chinese* will not think proper to declare, and into which it will be as little necessary for us to enquire. But besides all this, let us but remember a little what passed in former Times. The *Dutch* actually possessed themselves of *Formosa*, when it was more strongly connected with *China* than *Corea* is at this Day; nor does it appear from any thing recorded in History, though I must confess that we are pretty much in the dark as to what passed in this Island, that the *Chinese* Government ever made any considerable Attempt to recover it out of the Hands of the *Dutch*; but it was taken from them at last by a Multitude of desperate Persons, who when they were themselves driven out of *China*, were to seek for a Habitation, and resolved to fix themselves here, which however not with great Difficulty they did.

It is indeed true, that we have some imperfect Accounts of an Attempt made by the *Dutch* to fix themselves at *Amoy*, on the Continent of *China*, in which they were repulsed with considerable Loss; but as the Point I am labouring is not at all of this Nature, and as I do not apprehend there is or will be any Occasion for proceeding to Force in order to fix a Trade, or even an Establishment in one of the Ports, or on some of the Islands about *Corea*, there will be no Danger of a Quarrel with the *Chinese*, though if there were, I presume that their naval Force, which never appeared terrible

terrible to any other *European* Nation, would not very much alarm us; and yet nothing but a naval Force, and that too, acting at some Distance from their Ports, could be employed to dispossess us of this Trade, in Case we were once possessed of it.

Taking therefore the whole of this Matter together, there is nothing visionary, romantick or absurd, in supposing that it might be worth the while of our *East-India* Company, to make an Experiment of this kind, in which if they succeeded they could have no Cause to repent; and if they did not succeed, we shall hereafter shew, that the Discoveries with which such an Attempt must be attended, would very well compensate the Expences which such a Tryal would require. I likewise beg leave to add, that it would be no bad Policy for a great trading Company to make now and then such an Attempt, for the Sake of National Advantage; because it would be a just and rational Recommendation of their Interests to this, as to a trading Nation, and take off in a great Measure that Load of Envy, which has long sat hard, and must otherwise continue always to sit hard upon every exclusive Company.

10. Whenever a Design of this Sort shall come to be maturely weighed, in order to its being put in Execution, it will be natural to endeavour at deriving from it all the Advantages that are possible, and amongst these I apprehend, there is none more obvious, than the reviving thereby in some Measure our Commerce with *Japan*, which has been now interrupted for a long Series of Years, and I believe was never so much as thought of, at least as a Thing any way practicable since the Reign of King *Charles II.* We have already shown how the Trade is carried on between *Corea* and *Japan*, and from thence, I think there naturally arises a Prospect of no less than three different Methods of making an Attempt of this Sort, favourable to so important a Scheme. In the first Place, we might hope for something by establishing a Factory upon the Island of *Quelpaert*. It is very true, that the *Dutch* lost a Ship there, in the Year 1653. but according to the Description given us by those that escaped that Shipwreck, there is a tolerable Harbour on the South-side of that Island, and more than one good Road on the East-side towards *Japan*.

If therefore we could introduce a Trade there, we might in all Probability either enter into a direct Commerce with the *Japonese* who frequent that Island, or at least purchase many of their Commodities from the *Coreans*, out of their Magazines. This I say is the first Method, and we are pretty sure that no great Difficulties could attend it, for by the Help of the *Dutch* Charts, and we might possibly have the Help of *Dutch* Seamen too, this Navigation either is or might be very soon tolerably well known, and therefore I should imagine, that this might be first tryed. The second Method is attempting the Island of *Tui la tao*, which as I have shewn, is the direct and capital Seat of Commerce between the *Coreans* and the *Japonese*, and if upon this Island we could make a tolerable Establishment, there can no Doubt arise, that we should be from thence able to carry on both the *Corean* and *Japan* Trade with equal Advantage, and this without giving any Umbrage either to the *Chinese* or to the *Japonese*. For with Respect to the former, they have never hitherto pretended to consider this Island as dependant upon them, and therefore could not take any just Colour of Offence at any Nation's trading thither, and as for the *Japonese* they seem to consider this Island in the same Light, and as a Place that affords their Subjects an Opportunity of gratifying their Desire for foreign Commodities, without Danger to the State; one might therefore hope, that from the same Views we might establish a Factory there, without being at all exposed to those uneasy and mortifying Circumstances that attend the Commerce of the *Dutch* in *Japan*, and which perhaps have been the chief Causes, that for so long a Tract of Time, no other *European* Nation has ever judged it expedient so much as to attempt interfering with them.

The third Method by which we might possibly come to a good Conclusion in this Affair, might be by settling upon one or other of those two little Islands, that lie to the Eastward of *Tui la tao*, and which in the *Chinese* Maps are stiled, *Doro sima* and *Key sima*. These are indeed very small Islands but withal they are very conveniently situated, are within a Day's Sail of one of the best Ports in *Corea*, in less than a Day's Sail of the *Japonese* Coasts, and so near *China*, that it would be very easy to detach an annual Ship from those that are constantly sent to *Canton*, and for that Ship to join the Companies Vessels from that Port at *Macao*, in order to return in Consort to *Europe*. With Respect to this third Method, I do not think it difficult, though at the same time, I must confess, I should not advise it to make a Descent upon, and a Conquest of which ever Island should be held most convenient. We have already mentioned more than once, the *Dutch* Conquest of *Formosa*, which in Comparison of either of these Islands, is much the same as *Jamaica* and *St. Christophers*, or of *Ireland*, and the Isle of *Man*; so that methinks, if the *Dutch* Company could undertake and maintain such a Conquest as the former, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing we might be able to achieve the latter. Besides the smaller our Acquisition was, the less Umbrage it would give, and the easier it would be to keep.

It may indeed be objected, that if any Thing of this Kind was practicable, it is highly probable the *Dutch* would have long ago undertaken it. At first Sight, there is something in this plausible enough but; when thoroughly examined, this Objection will be found to have very little in it. For the *Dutch* have no Temptation to a Thing of this kind, as they are already possessed of a settled and profitable Trade with *Japan*; and we are too well acquainted with the wise Maxims of that People, to suppose that they would risk a Certainty for an Uncertainty, or quit the Monopoly, which they now enjoy, for a kind of Trade in which they might be rivalled by some other Nation. But this is not at all our Case, we had formerly a Share in this Trade as well as they, from which we are now excluded, and are like to remain forever excluded, unless we should make some such Attempt as this to recover it; and though perhaps at first, the *Japonese* might be a little intractable, and forbid their Subjects holding any Correspondence with us, yet by Degrees, and in Process of Time, we might very well hope to overcome their Jealousy and Aversion; for when they found that we aimed at nothing farther than a Settlement for the Sake of Trade, and did not propose any Encroachment upon their Dominions, they might be brought to consider us in the same Light they do the *Dutch*, and admit, for their own Sakes, a regulated Commerce, under certain Restrictions; at least there are two Things morally certain, first, that if we were so established, we might be able to subsist by our Correspondence with the *Coreans*, who have a natural Propensity to Trade, whether we had any Intercourse with the Inhabitants of *Japan* or not; and secondly, that lying thus at a Distance from their Coast, we should be in very little Danger from the whole Force of the *Japonese* Empire; which was not the Case, when we were actually settled on the Continent by their Permission, and under their Protection.

We may likewise add, that the Case of the *Portuguese* at *Macao*, is a kind of Parallel to such an Establishment; and though it is very true, that in its present Situation, that must be allowed to be both a very mean and a very precarious Settlement, yet it was not always such, nor is the Force of the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies* at this time any way comparable to ours; so that if they, even with the little Power they have, are still in a Capacity of maintaining themselves on the Coast of *China*, we who have a much greater Power, might very well hope to compass and support a better Settlement upon the Coasts of *Japan*. At least, there is no Harm in thinking of it, in stating the Arguments in Favour of such a Thing, or in looking into and enquiring after the Advantages with which it might be attended.

If the *Europeans* had never entertained much bolder and more romantick Schemes than these, we had never known more of *Japan*; than what was handed to us in *Marco Polo's Travels*; and why our Ancestors in Cock-Boats, in Comparison of our Ships, and with few or none of the Advantages which we possess, should attempt Discoveries, establish Colonies, and make Conquests that we ought not so much as to entertain any Thoughts of, is paying so high a Compliment to them, and throwing so depreciating a Character upon ourselves, as with all our Faults I think we can hardly deserve. But suppose we did take it for granted, that we were such mean spirited dastardly Creatures as this Comparison would make us, let us not expect that our Posterity must follow our Examples, or that we are to decline and grow downwards to the End of Time. If softened by Luxury, if enervated by Corruption, if hampered by private Interests, and the Chains of exclusive Companies, the present Generation dare act nothing that is great and noble, let us at least preserve our Thoughts free, and discover, settle, and conquer in Imagination; nor need we debar ourselves the poor Pleasure of hoping that those who come after us may be better than we, as well as those that went before us.

II. When such a Race of Men shall arise, the Advantages that we have already proposed will in all Probability appear sufficient to engage them either to chuse one of these Methods which we have offered, or to think of some other which may be preferable to any of them, and which at the same Time may do Honour to their own Invention. They will also in all Probability push Things still farther, and entertain Hopes of new Discoveries, when they once find themselves settled on the Frontiers, as it were, of the known World. I beg my Readers will now reflect, that I speak of those who shall live when we are no more, and that I do not pretend to expect any modern Supercargoes, who can make great Fortunes in two or at most three Voyages, Factors at *Buenos Ayres*, *Panama* or *Jamaica*, who in the Space of a few Years can rise from Indigence to Opulence, though now and then their Practices may plunge the Nation in a seven Years War or so; or those active and busy Spirits, who know how to fish golden Treasures out of the troubled Waters of *'Change-Alley*; I say, I do not expect that these should so much as relish my Proposals, much less concern themselves in their Execution; indeed I should be sorry if they did, for I should then have the Mortification to see the Trade to *Corea* made a Bubble; or, the Revival of our Commerce to *Japan*, a Jobb. No, I please myself with the Prospect of a new Race of Men, who when our Confusions are over, and our Animosities buried in Oblivion; when Parties, Factions, Intrigues, Corruption and Stockjobbing shall be no more, may inhabit under a new Heaven as it were on a new Earth.

It is from these Men, full of the good old *English* Spirit, that sent *Drake* and *Cavendish* round the World, that inspired the great *Sir Walter Raleigh* with the View of peopling *Virginia*, and even in our degenerate Times, excited another Gentleman I need not name, to an Attempt which will be the wonder of future Ages, as the Neglect of it will be the Reproach of ours; from these Men, I say, I expect that when they have fixed such an Establishment as I have been speaking of, that they would consider what it is makes the *Japan* Trade so dear to the *Dutch*, in Spite of the Dangers, the Difficulties, and the disagreeable Circumstances with which it is attended. They will find, that it is the rich Copper they receive from thence, by which they always make fourscore, and sometimes *Cent. per Cent.* that it is the Silver of which they likewise make a Profit, and that a great Part of the former, and almost all the latter, come to the *Japonesse*, from Countries to the North-east of their own, and of these Countries wherever they lie, I make no Doubt but such *Englishmen*, upon these Informations, will go in Quest.

These Countries must be inhabited, otherwise their Mines could not be wrought, and from the Climates in which they lie, the People must stand in Need of warm

Cloathing, so that without Question, our woollen Manufactures would be very acceptable to them; when these Countries are found, they will lead to the Discovery of new, for Countries without doubt there are, from *Japan* to *California*; and as the wise *Columbus* rightly foresaw, that a West Course, must of Necessity carry Men from *Europe* to the *East-Indies*; so with equal Security we may pronounce, that this North-east Navigation will sooner or later bring them to that North-west Passage, which whenever it is discovered, will set the Name of *Dobbs* on a Level with that of *Magellan*. I do not wish that these Discoveries should lead to Conquest, or that the *English*, like the *Spaniards*, should employ their Force in subduing the Natives, and bury Millions in digging to support their Luxury. No, from such Men I expect better Things, and that they will place their Glory in what all-wise Providence has made their Interest, in civilizing the Savages they may find, in teaching them Humanity, and the Truths of the Gospel, and in Exchange for the Blessings their own fruitful Countries enjoy, bring back the Tribute of those new discovered Lands.

These are high and noble Sentiments, which however slighted and despis'd by such as have no Principle but Gain, and no God but Gold, are those that tend to make a People truly great, and to establish that Greatness upon a Foundation never to be shaken. If the modern, narrow and selfish Notions had prevailed in former Ages, the *East-Indies* and the *West* had still remained unknown; and if they had not been propagated in succeeding Times, there would not remain at this Day a full third Part of the habitable Globe to be discovered. At the same Time that we know this with as much Certainty as it is possible, that a Thing of this Nature should be known, we cannot but be sensible that it is ridiculous to complain of Want of Trade, while so many Branches remain unopened; we likewise know, that within a short Time after their being first discovered, Trades are the most profitable, and are at the same Time easiest kept, as appear'd by our preserving for a long Time our Commerce with *Russia*, in Consequence of our finding the Route thither by *Archangel*, and our quiet Enjoyment of the *Hudson's Bay* Trade, in Virtue also of our being the first Discoverers.

To such Men as I have described, to those who have sound Heads and honest Hearts, these will be persuasive Arguments; and far from considering the Revival of the Trade to *Japan*, as the utmost Limits of their Hopes and the *British* Commerce, they will embrace every Opportunity to carry their own Knowledge, and the Commodities of their Country farther, and try every Method that can Art dictate, or Genius can devise, for gaining fresh Information. Nor will they have any Apprehensions that their Labours may prove fruitless, or their Discoveries ineffectual, since this will be suspecting Providence, and supposing that God would create Countries, and place Men in them beneath the Notice, and unworthy the Conversation of their Fellow-Creatures; which, impious as it is, may be agreeable enough to the Pride of corrupted Minds, but must seem equally absurd and shocking to every well seasoned Understanding. Besides, Experience tells us, that never any Discovery was yet made, which proved utterly useless, ineffectual, or when properly pursued.

The Coast of *Guinea*, when first visited by the *Portuguese*, did not promise any mighty Things, and yet it proved the Way to the *Indies*. The Country about the Cape of *Good Hope* was deserted by more Nations than one, as absolutely worthless and incorrigible, and yet in the Hands of the *Dutch* it is a kind of terrestrial Paradise. We may say the same of the Shores of the *Magellanic Straits*, which are inhospitable to the last Degree; but they open into the *South-Seas*, and are, if I may be allowed the Expression, the Gates to a new World. As these are Wonders disclosed by past Discoveries; they may well provoke Men of high Spirits and true Courage to prosecute the same Road, and endeavour, by fresh Expeditions of the same kind, to rival

val the Reputation of old Discoveries, by the more surprizing Scenes they unfold, in making new.

12. It is a very just Observation of the wise Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, that there are many People, who chuse to put the most material Part of their Letters in their Postscripts; I must confess, I do not enter into the Reason of the Thing; though without adverting thereto, I have fallen into the Practice, of which I shall give the Reader very sincerely and without Reserve my Motives. When I undertook to give this History of *Corea*, and to recommend an Establishment upon the Coasts of it, I proposed to spare no Pains in order to recommend it to my Countrymen, as a Thing highly advantageous, and that could not possibly fail of amply rewarding their Endeavours; but at the same Time it was my Intention to have concealed the capital and strongest Reason, which had induced me to press this Matter so warmly, not out of the least ill Will or Jealousy of my Countrymen; not from any private View to my own Advantage, but because I was apprehensive, that the disclosing this Matter might give other Nations an Opportunity to profit, by an Invention which I could wish to see in the Possession of the *British* Nation alone. This I the rather apprehended, because of that supine Indolence, which for many Years has locked up our Faculties, with Respect to Discoveries, while other Nations that we seem to despise have crept so fast into Naval Power, as already to tread upon our Heels; for the *Swedes* this very Year have destined thirty five thousand able Seamen for the Service of their Navy, and at the same Time have renewed the Charter of their *East-India* Company for twenty Years, and dispatched two large new Ships to *China*.

But being well informed, that those worthy and publick spirited Men, who were at the Expence of the last Expedition, for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, continue in their Resolution to prosecute that Design, which sooner or later I am convinced will be attended with Success; I was from thence determined to alter my Plan, and to acquaint the World, fairly and truly with the Secret of this Business; and the principal Reason of my contending so much, not only for the Expediency, but even for the Necessity of making an Attempt on this Side, and securing a solid Establishment on some or other of the Islands between *Corea* and *Japan*. The setting this Affair in a clear and proper Light will take up some Room, and require a little Attention; but every ingenious Reader, I am confident, will allow me the one without complaining, and gratify me in the other with Pleasure, since what I have to offer, carries along with it the prevailing Charm of Novelty, at the same Time that it is equally curious and important.

The Hopes of discovering a North-east Passage have been long laid aside, from a great Variety of Reasons, but chiefly on Account of those advanced by the last Adventurer for that Discovery our Countryman Captain *Wood*, who like many other great Navigators, having failed in his Expectations, consoled himself for that Disappointment, by labouring to take away Expectation itself. I must confess, that this Method, however common, is very far from being satisfactory to me, inasmuch that I could wish it was disused, and that such as are for the future employed in any Expeditions of this Kind, would content themselves with the Vindication of their own Conduct, in giving a fair Detail of their Miscarriages, without laying it down as a Thing certain, or even probable, that no Man should ever succeed where they failed. But notwithstanding all the Disappointments, and, I must confess there have been many of them in attempting this North-east Passage, the Reasons for believing it remain yet unanswered, and particularly a Matter of Fact which belongs properly to the Subject of this Section, and therefore I will report it in the Author's own Words.

The Person, whoever he was, that wrote an Account of the Shipwreck of the *Dutch* Sailors on the Island of *Quelpraet*, has added a short Description of the Kingdom of *Corea*, in which he has the follow-

ing very remarkable Passage. "On the North-east it is bounded by the vast Ocean where there is every Year a great Number of Whales taken, some of them found with the *French* and *Dutch* Harping-Irons, those People using to follow that Fishery. There are Abundance of Herrings also catch'd there in *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*. Those taken the two first of these Months, are as large as ours in *Holland*, but what they catch afterwards are smaller, and like those in *Holland*, called Frying Herrings, which are eaten in *March* and *April*. Hence we infer, that there is a Passage above *Corea*, *Japan* and *Tartary*, which answers to the Straights of *Weigats*. For this Reason we often asked of the *Corean* Seamen, who use the North-east Sea, what Lands were beyond them, and they all told us they believed there was nothing that Way but a boundless Ocean."

This very Passage is alledged by Captain *Wood*, as one of the seven Reasons which induced him to attempt finding this Passage; but as at the Time of Writing his Book, he had two very different Objects in View, viz. the Showing that he did not venture upon the Expedition without good Grounds; and the Proving that, notwithstanding their fair Appearance, these were in Effect no Grounds at all; he is so far from citing the Passage as I have done, that he gives a very inaccurate, I might say, false Account of it; for he says, that the *Dutch* Writer reports, that in a certain Bay of the Kingdom of *Corea*, dead Whales drive in with *English* and *Dutch* Harping-Irons in them; which if true, he owns had been a great Argument of a Passage.

The Reader may see, that the *Dutch* Writer says no such Thing, and if he had said it, the Absurdness of these dead Whales floating so far, would have rendered the Passage ridiculous; and this, very possibly, Captain *Wood* intended by making the Change. Of the Herrings he says not a Word, and therefore giving him up the dead Whales for his own Use, I presume the living ones, and the Herrings, may still pass for two very strong Arguments of such a Passage, and in its proper Place, I have produced these and many more. If therefore there be any such Passage, it is very manifest from hence, that making such a Settlement as I contend for, is the likeliest Method to find it. For supposing that we had a good Colony, or at least a strong Fort and Factory, upon the Island of *Tui la tao*, we might from thence annually endeavour to discover along the Coasts of *Kamschatka*, at the most favourable Season of the Year, and thereby obtain a fairer Opportunity than has yet offered, of getting round into the *European* Seas; for as *Dampier* very rightly said of the Northwest Passage, that it was more likely it should be found by those who attempted it from *California*, than by such as sought it from *Hudson's-Bay*; so I may say, with Regard to this Discovery, that they have infinitely a better Chance, who seek this Passage from *Japan*, than those who prosecute it from the North of *Scotland*; and for the very same Reason, because this is proceeding from the Unknown to the Known, and making the latter Part of the Voyage safe and easy, which in the other Way is always dangerous and incertain; to which we may with much Probability, attribute most of the Disappointments that have been met with.

But if contrary to all Appearances, if in Spite of all the Reasons, Physical, Philosophical and Cosmographical, that countenance this Opinion, and which hitherto remain altogether unrefuted, there should, after all, be none such, we should make this negative Discovery earlier, and with greater Certainty than other People, and even from hence there might very great Advantages arise, that have not hitherto been considered; for though it would be impossible to transport Goods, yet Letters and Intelligence might be carried over Land; a Sloop in the Space of three Weeks, with a fair Wind, in much less Time, might proceed from *Quelpraet*, up the River *Amur*, and so the Packets might be conveyed to *Nipchou*, from whence there are frequent Opportunities of sending to *Moscow*, and by this Means, in the

Space of six Months, Letters would reach *Hamburg*, from a Factory upon the Coast of *Japan*; in this there is nothing dark or unintelligible, nothing that rests upon Supposition or Conjecture, the whole is just as certain, as that the Dominions of the Czarina border upon those of the Emperor of *China*.

Thus then, whether a North-east Passage, or no Passage, such a Settlement would be highly useful, highly advantageous, and highly convenient. But I have something farther to say, such a Settlement as this might be of Use, if not to the Discovery, yet to the Preservation and Improvement, even of a North-west Passage; for though I am not so sanguine, as to imagine, that those who shall be so lucky as to make that Passage, would afterwards have the Courage to make such an enormous Stretch, as from *California* to *Japan*; yet I presume, that in Process of Time, such a Discovery being once made, Endeavours might be used on both Sides, by discovering to the East one Way, and to the West the other, to facilitate a Junction in some middle Port; for to me it appears a Thing certain, that there are Countries, at least Islands all the Way. This double Discovery would lay open the Whole, in half the Time that would be otherwise necessary, perhaps in less than half the Time, for in both Cases our Seamen having reasonable Hopes of reaching an *English* Port, would make infinitely greater Efforts than could be expected from them in a State of Uncertainty, and proceeding constantly through unknown Seas, without any View of being safe at last.

It is to be observed, that all I have advanced under this last Head, is absolutely independant of what was said before; so that if the Advantages first proposed are such as may encourage the attempting such a Settlement, by proving the great Probability there is of its being advantageous to the *British* Nation, then these additional Considerations ought very much to strengthen and confirm the Resolution of doing something of this Sort in Time, and before any other Nation lays hold of what we neglect. To some possibly this may appear highly improbable, but to remove that, as I would willingly do every other Objection, I beg Leave to take Notice of three Things, which, in my Apprehension, are sufficient to shew, that a Suspicion of this kind is not altogether groundless, much less chimerical. In the first Place then, I presume Nobody will doubt, that if we are so happy as to find the North-west Passage, it will excite a great Spirit of Emulation, in all the trading Nations of *Europe*, more especially, if we should, as there is great Probability we must; reap very great Advantages from that Discovery. Now to balance this, the most natural Expedient they could recur too, would be attempting the Discovering of the North-east Passage, towards which, the finding the other would be the strongest Encouragement.

But, supposing this to be utterly impracticable, yet without any greater Knowledge than they have already, the *Russians* might be tempted to make Use of the Advantages they already possess, in order to be beforehand with us, in opening a Commerce with *Japan*, and thereby precluding us from those Benefits, which from a little Industry and Pains we might now secure to ourselves against all other Nations, at least for a considerable Space of Time, during which we might establish ourselves so effectually, as to preserve those Advantages for ever, in Spite of any Attempts to dispossess us.

My second Observation is, that the *Russians* have this very Point already in View, that it is what they aim at by all the Discoveries they have been for many Years making; that this is confessed in all the Accounts, that they have hitherto published of their Progress; that it is the true and only Reason of their not making their last Discoveries as publick as they did those of Captain *Behring*; and though I am very far from saying, that we have any Right to take this ill, or to be offended with the Conduct of the *Russians* in this Particular, yet I cannot help thinking, that it is worth our Observation, and that there is full as good Reason we should make Use of the Experience and Advantage, derived to us from our *East-India* Trade, as the *Russians* of the Situa-

tion of their Territories, and the Discoveries which they have made by that Means.

In the third Place, I must remark, that ever since the *Swedes* succeeded in their Attempt of opening a Communication with the *East-Indies*, they have had something of this Kind in their Head, I mean making a Settlement upon some Island near the Coast of *China*, or to the East of it; nor are we at all certain, that the Ships which have sailed from *Gottenburgh*, while this very Section was printing, may not have Instructions to make, or at least attempt making such a Settlement. Why then we should sit still with our Arms before us, while other Nations, more especially the Northern Nations, who are avowedly and earnestly endeavouring to render themselves maritime Powers, use so much Vigilance and Activity to compass their Ends; or why, according to the old, but true and sensible Proverb, *We are to take no Care of the Stable-Door, whilst the Steed is unstolen*, I am at a Loss to comprehend? Sure I am, that whatever Reception these Remarks may meet with at present, it will not be many Years before the World will see, that I am not altogether mistaken in my Estimate, and that the rich Goods of *Japan* will find their Way to *Europe* in some other Bottoms than those belonging to the *Dutch East-India* Company; and I am satisfied, that the *Dutch* themselves will not blame me, for wishing, that in such a Case they might be freighted in *British* Vessels.

There is a natural Connection between the Interests of the maritime Powers in the *Indies*, as well as in *Europe*, and though it is certainly true, that as Trade is our common Mistress, we must in many Cases be considered as Rivals; yet it is no less true, that if our Interests be well understood, we ought to avoid Quarrelling even upon that Account; for though it may be in our Power to destroy each other, yet we have this Comfort, that if it is never in our Will, we may preserve our Commerce and our Naval Force in Spite of all our Enemies; and this is a Topick that can never be too much preached upon, either in *England*, or in *Holland*; and as a Proof of this we need only consider, that such as are Enemies to both, never fail to insinuate the contrary. Whoever looks into the Pamphlets, published here in the Reign of King *Charles* the II^d, and whoever has read, and remembers the celebrated Letters of *Van Hoey*, cannot but acknowledge the Truth of this Observation, which I the rather make, because in some Parts of this Work, I have expressed myself very freely, in Regard to the Practices of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; but I desire that it may be understood, that I distinguish between the Servants of the *East-India* Company, and the Subjects of the *States-General*; for though they are the same Men, they are under different Directions, and this Distinction is none of my coining, but one I learned from my old Master *John de Witt*, whose Maxims first gave me a true Notion of Trade, and taught me to look upon it, not in the narrow Light of a Scheme to acquire Wealth, but as a generous System, of distributing through all Climates the Blessings bestowed by Nature, and thereby promoting the common Happiness of Mankind.

13. After having thus finished the Business of the Section, with the Readers good Leave, we will take the Liberty of making a few Remarks and Observations upon it. It consists in a Description of *Corea*, which is entirely new, and consequently cannot be thought either useless or unentertaining. It shews from the Description laid down of this Country and its Inhabitants, that there is nothing improbable, in supposing that we may become better acquainted with them; it is true, we lie a great Way from them, but we visit the *Chinese* very often, and these same *Coreans* live but at next Door: It exhibits also some Reasons that may induce us to think of calling upon them, and amongst others, that of opening by their Assistance the Way to renew our Acquaintance with the *Japonesse*, with whom we had Dealings in Times past. It farther lays open some additional Advantages that may result from our entering upon this Commerce; and finally it brings to Light some very curious, and if they were well weighed, some very cogent Reasons for our not sleeping over

an Affair, which, if well managed, may be attended with so many good Consequences.

The Plan, it is true, is very extensive, and I will readily grant is much sooner conceived and thrown out upon Paper (though that too has cost a good deal of Time) than carried into Execution. But it may be a very good Plan for all that, and I have the better Opinion of it, because it may be executed Step by Step, and be made to bear its own Charges into the Bargain. If the Trade to *Corea* should be found practicable and profitable, I should certainly incur no Blame for pointing it out; but say, that Experience should justify the former only, and not the latter: In that Case I should think we might eke out Matters from *Japan*, not in two or three Years perhaps, but in half a Score much might be done; and in the mean Time some Trials might be made towards other Discoveries. The old Proverb says, that *Rome was not built in a Day*, and this Proverb was never better verified than when applied to Trade, to Settlements, and to Colonies. They are, to be sure, neither adjusted, fixed, or rendred beneficial in a Moment; but in Matters of this Nature, Time and Patience will do all. Let us look at *Virginia* and *New-England*, those Sister Plantations, that have grown up to be fine comely Personages, though they were somewhat difficult in the Rearing; and let us remember how often this Nation was told, while they were at her Breasts, that it was all Labour in vain, and that they would never live to go alone. But Thanks be to God, we were not terrified by these old Womens Prophecies, we continued our Care of them notwithstanding these untoward Prognostications, and we have had no Cause to repent of it; the young Women, as they grew up, thrived apace; they have been long since able to get their own Living, and have made us very grateful Returns for the Pains we took in nursing them.

The Danger is not so great in undertaking extensive Projects, as that which arises from the Folly of abandoning them too soon. We ought most certainly to examine Things maturely before we resolve upon them; as I said once before, I am not vain enough to imagine, that I have pointed out all the Methods, or even the best Methods for accomplishing this Design, but if upon Trial it should be found that I have been ever so much mistaken, and that the Thing must be gone about in quite another Way, it will not afflict me much provided the Thing can be done. That, and that alone, is my View, let the Project be decried, let the Projector be thought a Fool, if his Folly proves an Instrument to his Country's Good, and his Countryman's Glory, that Fool will be happier than all the *Indies* could make him. The Vanity of knowing much, the Ambition of making a Figure in the learned World, the aspiring Hopes of striking out new Paths, are Weaknesses without Doubt, but they are Weaknesses that are often beneficial to Mankind, and in that Light are excusable. I desire this may be considered in no other, though in Truth I am not much concerned in what Light it is considered, if it is but productive of any Good.

Extensive as the Plan is, yet we see plainly that it consists of Parts; though it is proposed at once, yet it may be effected by Degrees. We are told that *Milo*, a famous Lubber of Antiquity, began with carrying of a Calf, and was able to jog about with it upon his Shoulders when it grew up to be an Ox, which he afterwards knocked on the Head with a Blow of his Fist; and then I think the Story says, he eat it, not at a Meal, I presume, but in Joints. This shews us, that Time and Application will achieve Wonders, and provided we make an Essay to take up the Calf all in good Time, we may come to have many a good Dinner out of the Ox. But we must set our Shoulders to it, that was *Milo's* Beginning, and it must be ours. If we can but carry the Calf, and do not fling it down in a Passion, there is no doubt of its becoming an Ox, or that our Strength and his will keep Pace, and that we shall be able to carry him when he is an Ox. The Comparison is familiar and coarse, but it is very apt, and if I was sure that the Criticks would not be angry, I

would say that *Homer* himself has made use of some that are not a bit more clumsy or less cleanly.

It may be farther objected, and indeed I cannot deny, that though I stile it a single Proposition, yet there is a great Variety of Objects pointed out; but if from this Concession it should be said that any Distraction arises, against that I shall enter my Protest. It is very certain that one Machine may answer a Variety of Purposes, and therefore because a Man affirms, that if a certain Thing be done, it may prove the Means of doing many other Things, it does not at all follow that what he proposes is the more difficult, much less that it is impracticable. To judge of this, we must consider the Relation between the Means he proposes, and the Ends which he affirms may be answered by them; for if there be a proper Connection between them, he may be still in the right, tho' at the first Appearance he may seem to promise large. To apply this general Doctrine. When I say that *Corea* is happily situated for Trade, the Reader need only turn to a Map to know whether I speak Truth. When I affirm that the Inhabitants are addicted to Commerce, he may have Recourse to the Authorities I have cited, and upon due Examination the Witnesses will be found to speak my Sense. When I lay it down that there are Islands very conveniently situated between *Corea* and *Japan*, I mention also their Names, so that it may very easily be seen, whether I imitate that Painter, who to gratify his Wife that did not love to see so much white in one part of the Globe, sprinkled a few Islands through it, which are called the Painter's Wife's Islands to this Day. When I hold forth about Countries beyond *Japan*, I must confess I am a little ashamed to appeal to Father *Charlevoix* and his Brethren the *Jesuits*; but however, if their Testimony should be rejected, I believe I could produce some Protestant Witnesses to the same Facts. And lastly, when I talk about a North-east Passage, there is Captain *Wood* will bear me out in all that I have advanced. Thus I reconcile my Means to all these several Ends, or at least I put it into the Reader's Power to see whether I reconcile them or not.

In the next Place it is to be observed, that I do not pretend to say, that the Moment a Settlement is fixed, it will fulfill all that I have promised in its Behalf, or that it is requisite we should attempt to fulfill them the very Instant that we have made such a Settlement. This I am so far from affirming that the principal Reason of my introducing this Remark, is to shew that it ought not to be expected. I maintain that there is a Connection between this Settlement and all the Ends I have alledged it may answer; but we must touch but one String at a Time, otherwise we shall produce Discord instead of Harmony. We must take each in its Order, and if we do not immediately succeed, we must drop that Design for a Time, and drive only the Nails that will go, and thus by Degrees there is no Room to fear we shall come to drive them all at last.

When the *Canaries* were first discovered, and tossed about from Hand to Hand, whoever thought that from thence a new World might be discovered? Why truly *Columbus*. And what then? He proposed it to the *Portuguese*, who were thought to be the best Judges of such Projects, and they rejected it as an idle Dream. But as good Judges as they were, they mistook the Point, and as much as they thought him mistaken, he hit the Mark. Not at once indeed, but gradually; he first reached the *Bahama* Islands, then the Continent of *America*, and as soon as he heard of a *South Sea*, he pronounced that the *Indies* he sought lay beyond that. By Degrees every End was answered, and the Spices brought home in *Magellan's* Ships, though many Years after *Columbus's* Death, proved that his first Conceptions were right; and give me Leave to say they would have been just as right if *Magellan* had not succeeded in his Voyage. All the Ends of a Proposition may not be answered in a very long Tract of Time, and yet they may be all truly laid down. We have not yet squared the Circle, but the *Dutch* Mathematician that had a Line and half of Decimals inscribed upon his Tomb went very near it.

Without

Without doubt many a one will say, that the Scene is laid at a prodigious Distance, that there are a Multitude of Obstacles lie in the Way, and that it would be a wild Waste of Wealth to undertake any of these enormous Schemes, which are out of the Reach of any but whimsical People's Observations. As to the Distance, I protest I can't tell what to say. It is most certain, that I can't bring *Corea* nearer, but where it is there Providence placed it; and if it had been placed any where else, it would have been so much the worse, for all the Ends that I have proposed, and I must even have had Recourse to any other Country that stood in its Room. But then if a North-east Passage should be discovered, though it would not bring *Corea* nearer, or shorten the Distance a Yard, yet we should get sooner there by very near two thirds of the Time. Well then, there is something in Alleviation of the Distance, and as to the Difficulty why that is not much greater than must be got over to get at a Pound of Hyson Tea, and not so great as is actually got over, before *Europeans* can make themselves Masters of a *Japan* Tea-board. Whence I infer, that any Body who ever drank Tea upon such a Tea-board must allow that the Thing may be done.

King *Philip* the II^d, who was a very wise Man, framed far more extensive Projects, and durst think of encountering Difficulties, to which all that I have mentioned are but Mole-hills. He conceived an Idea at least of universal Monarchy in *Europe*, and a Monarchy as universal on the Ocean. He knew all the possible Passages to the *Indies*, and resolved to be Master of them all; with a View to this he actually attempted to fix a Settlement, and build a City on the miserable Coast of the Straights of *Magellan*, where one of our Men of War's Boats Crew could not subsist during their Passage; and it fell out with Respect to his Colony, as might be expected, that is, such as did not drown or hang themselves were fairly starved. He had it likewise in his Head to put it out of every Body's Power to look either for North-east, or North-west Passages, by reducing the *English* and *Dutch*, the only Nations that had thought of such a Thing. Nay to such a Degree did he carry this kind of Imperial Madness, that he was even for locking up the *Baltick*, and with that View actually took Measures for making himself Master of the Sound.

These were prodigious and impracticable Projects, and yet they enter'd into a very wise Man's Pate; they were pursued with the utmost Vigour, and with the Assistance of as much Power as *Europe* ever saw, and yet they miscarried. But all this happened by assigning to their Accomplishment the Life of a single Man. Had *Philip* contented himself with framing his Plan, executing any one Part of it, and by cultivating the Arts of Peace, raised the Power of his Subjects to a Degree proportionate to the next Branch of his Scheme, what he left unaccomplished, might have been performed by his Posterity, supposing them to have made no more Haste than good Speed in compleating this stupendous Fabrick, which like the Tower of *Babel*, being consecrated to the Use of Slavery, the divine Justice of Providence tumbled to the Ground. Thus the Reader sees, that there are great Projects practicable, and greater Projects impracticable; that wise and powerful Kings may be mistaken and defeated, and that an Adventurer, like *Columbus*, without a Freehold as big as his Hat, or Half a Crown in his Pocket, may bring his Desire to bear, even when that Desire was so seemingly improbable, as to look for a new World. But after all, the Difficulty in this Case is not so great as to exceed the Power even of the *East-India* Company; they can do much more than I have proposed, that they will do it, though I am bold enough in prophecy, I shall not venture to foretel.

There is another Thing that I apprehend may be called in Question, and that is the Stress I lay upon the Expeditions made by the Northern Nations to the *East-Indies*. What does this Fool mean, will some great Politician say, by being in such a Panick about the *Swedes* and *Danes* sending now and then a Ship to

China? Will erecting an *East-India* Company establish a Maritime Power? Truly I can't say that, but this I will say, and can prove, that no Nation ever carried on a Trade to the *East-Indies*, but became a maritime Power. I have written half a Folio Volume to evince this, and I defy all the Men in the World to shew the contrary. Within the Compass of these last five hundred Years, did not the *Venetians* and *Genoese* become maritime Powers by the *East-India* Commerce, though they carried it on at second Hand. What made *Portugal* a maritime Power, but the *East-India* Trade? What made *Spain* a maritime Power, but the Desire of the *East-India* Trade, which threw the *West-Indies* in her Way? it is true, she stood still to pick them up, but then she went on, as the *Philippines* will bear me Witness? What made us? What made the *Dutch* maritime Powers? This very Trade. And when have all maritime Powers declined? When they lost their Trade to the *East-Indies*. Judge then Reader for yourself, whether my Conjectures be rash or vain, or whether I have not too good Grounds to suspect, that those who have overcome greater Difficulties, than in Respect to Navigation was opposed to other Nations, will in a short Time become maritime Powers also.

I may be mistaken, and should be glad to be mistaken; I say no more, and I wish I had never had Occasion to say so much. Yet even this affords a Justification of my Scheme; for if I point out the Disease, I have likewise prescribed a Remedy. If there be any Maxim in Politicks, certain it is this, that if a maritime Power does not increase, it must quickly decline. We are every Day complaining that our old Branches of Trade fail, that one turns to no Account, that in another we are supplanted, that a third is quite wore out. What Medicine then so natural, and at the same Time so easy as to strike out new Branches? We have Strength and Power enough to do that, but whether we have Force sufficient to abet such an Attempt as that of King *Philip's*, I mean to restrain all the rest of the World from Trading, I suppose, I need not say; but if we really had, that very Force would sink and crumble to Pieces in the Attempt. This Remedy then or none must cure us; it is the Tar-Water of the State, and if it will not help us, we may die according to the regular Practice, as other maritime Powers have done before us.

These are melancholy Considerations, but however they may lead to a merry Purpose. There is a Time for every Thing, and we must be sometimes grave as well as gay; and if heretofore we had no Rival but the *Dutch*, we must not now flatter ourselves that we have no other Rival, when every *Dutch* Mail that bring us Papers and Letters from the North, show the contrary. I might say somewhat of the *Prussian* Pretences, but I don't care to talk of Lovers in Leading Strings, or pretend to think of strangling a hopeful Babe in its Cradle, for fear when he grows up he should prove our Rival too. Yet it may not be amiss to observe, that there is a strange Spirit gone Abroad, and that while every Body is looking after Trade, it becomes us who subsist by it, to look about it too. This indeed is a very obvious Remark, but the more obvious it is, the more necessary; if none but a blind Man could miss seeing it, what must he be who misses the right Use of it? The Question is easily answered, and it is the Answer that I will recommend to the serious Consideration of our Superiors.

One Observation more and I have done; some Objection may be made as to the Season in which I made this Proposal; we are engaged in a dangerous, doubtful and destructive War, this therefore cannot be thought fit Time for thinking of new Schemes, or for aiming at Discoveries. But alas, I am sorry this is so easily answered; we have already lost a great deal of Time, and it is our own Fault that we did not think of these Things sooner, that we should not chuse such a Time as this I will readily agree; but it is not left to our Choice, the Situation of Things has made it necessary, and as Necessity, in Fact, has no Law, so Necessity in Argument will admit of no Answer.

It is indeed true, that in a Time of War the Thoughts of our Statesmen are much occupied, and Money is not easily found for Expeditions of this Sort, where neither immediate Necessity, nor instant Gain seem to require or excite them. But Men who see further will perceive, that notwithstanding these and some other Inconveniences that might be pointed out, yet upon the whole a Time of War may be esteemed the most proper, because Ships of Force may be dispatched into those Parts, first without Suspicion, and next without any Loss; for the Situation of Things is Reason sufficient to account for our sending Ships of Strength to the *Indies*, without leaving it in the Power of any to discover what our true Intentions in sending them may be; and next they may actually render such Service to our Commerce in those Parts as may effectually indemnify us for our Expences in fitting them out, even if we should be so unlucky as in the first Trial not to succeed. Besides, whatever Acquisitions we make in Time of War, may be fortified and secured by a subsequent Treaty of Peace, since none of our Neighbours are so much interested in those distant Parts as to refuse to accomodate us, if in Return we gratify them in Matters in which they have a nearer Concern, and which it is very possible, may not affect us, or at least not so much.

For though, without Doubt, we have a very high Interest in the Balance of Power, and therefore ought to be careful in securing it, yet there is no Means so sure for compassing this as enlarging our Trade, and thereby extending the Foundation of our Naval Force. Whatever therefore tends to this Point is our highest Concern; and if there be any thing that merits more than ordinary Expences, even at a Juncture when we have so many good Reasons to be frugal, most certainly Projects of this Sort ought to be regarded in that Light. We should be the more sensible of this, if we would but consider seriously, and reflect frequently upon what first gave us that wide Power, that high Credit, that great Influence amongst our Neighbours, of which we have been so long possessed. It was not most certainly the deep Schemes of our Ministers, for these have been seldom laid, and when-ever they were laid, have been commonly disappointed; for though no Nation has a greater Proneness to talk Politicks than the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, yet since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, we have had no great Reason to boast of very refined Statesmen; nor at the Bottom, perhaps, has this been any Misfortune to us, any more than to our Neighbours. It was not our military Exploits that raised us to this envied Station, for though the Bravery of *English* Troops was never contested, yet we have seldom seen it employed so much in our own Service as in that of our Allies. But the Foundation both of our Grandeur and of our Glory has been, on the one Hand, our great maritime Force, which, generally speaking, whether well or ill employed, has maintained its Superiority; and on the other, our immense Wealth, accruing from an extensive Commerce, of which indeed we have seen many, and some very large Computations made, and yet I am convinced, that none of them exceeded the Truth, from this plain Reason, that as yet we are not undone, after wasting in other Folks Quar-

rels such a Proportion of Wealth, as Nothing but foreign Trade, superior even in Profit to what it was ever thought, could possibly have supplied.

This then should be our great Concern, for if we ever hope to discharge our Debts, to lessen our Taxes, and thereby recover those Branches of Commerce that have been lost in *Europe*, it must be by opening new Channels, through which, notwithstanding the Burthens they have upon them, our Manufactures may be carried to Markets where we may set upon them what Value we please. This Point is of all others that of which we ought to be most jealous; for if our Neighbours should get the Start of us in this, we should find our Misfortunes grow upon us, and our Prosperity decline apace. It is necessary therefore that we should be very strict in examining what others may do, and what it is in our Power to do, while we have yet a superior Naval Force; for to provide early, and to prevent Mischiefs, is the Part of a wise and of a prudent People; but to stay till they come upon us, is the very Reverse. It is very evident, that notwithstanding the vast Profits of our Commerce, we have been compelled to run in Debt; and it is as plain, that other Nations, fully possess'd of Naval Stores and valuable Commodities, are now setting up Manufactures, and launching into a Commerce more distant from them than *Japan* is from us. Does it not then become us to weigh the Consequences of such a Conduct, both with Regard to them and to ourselves? Would it not be right to prevent the Effects of their Industry by resuming our own? Is there any Thing that can better employ the Thoughts of such as are at the Helm? Can they answer it to their Country, if they neglect Matters of such high Consequence, for the Sake of Things that are nearer, but at the same Time inconsiderable when compared to these? Or can we have any Right to blame them, if from a senseless Spirit of Faction, a groundless and unreasonable Opposition, we keep them continually upon the Watch for their own Safety, and leave them not either Time to contrive, Power to provide, or Means to execute what is required for the publick Good? How many Nations have been undone by some or other of these Mistakes? And if we pursue their Errors, what Reason is there to expect, or even to hope, that we should escape their Fate?

I must indeed acknowledge, that in Point of Composition I have offended greatly, by recurring so often to Remarks of this Kind; I am sensible that in this I have acted weakly, ridiculously, absurdly, as an Author; but alas! what is my Character in that Respect to the Duty I owe my Country? Perish all private Advantages, all Views of Interest, all Hopes of Fame, when it comes in Competition with a Nation's Good. Let every Man who has the happy Fortune to gain the publick Ear, in any Measure, in any Manner, or upon any Terms, strive to turn that Attention to the publick Benefit. Let his Endeavours at least speak him a Patriot, whatever his Success may do; and let me have Leave to remember by Way of Excuse, for what may be accounted my Failing, the Answer of the *Athenian* Philosopher who was charged with the same Fault, *I repeat, said he, over and over again my Admonitions, to a People, who commit over and over again, the same Faults.*

SECTION VIII.

A distinct Account of Part of the North-east Frontier of the *Russian* Empire, commonly called the Country of *Kamschatka* or *Kamschatska*, including the Voyages of Captain *Behring*, for discovering towards the East; with many curious and entertaining Circumstances relating to those distant Countries and their Inhabitants; and also an Enquiry into the Probability of the Country which he discovered, being connected with *North America*; with a Variety of other Points of great Consequence in Relation to the Designs now on Foot in various Parts of *Europe* for making a thorough Discovery of the superior Parts of the Northern Hemisphere, which would be of the utmost Consequence to Trade and Navigation in general, and to those of *Great Britain* in particular.

Collected from the best Authorities both Printed and Manuscript.

1. A general Introduction, in which is shewn the wonderful Change made in the Affairs of Russia by the Czar Peter the Great, and his having first conceived a Notion of opening a Trade between his Country and North America.
2. A Description of the Country of Kamichatska, as described by the Russians in the Time of Peter I. shewing its supposed Situation, Boundaries, and Extent.
3. The Motives of Captain Behring's Expedition, his Departure from Petersbourg, Feb. 5, 1725, and Journey through Siberia.
4. An Account of the Preparations and Expeditions made for furthering his Discoveries in the Year 1726, with various other Circumstances relating to the Produce and Inhabitants of the Countries through which he passed.
5. A Detail of the many Miseries and Hardships sustained by this Gentleman, and the Inferior Officers and Soldiers under his Command, to the Time of his Arrival at Kamschatska.
6. A large Account of the Country, the Russian Settlements, Fortresses and Garrisons there at the Time of Captain Behring's Arrival.
7. His Preparations in order to prosecute his Discoveries to the East; and an Account of his Discoveries and Return to Petersburgh.
8. Some Account of this Gentleman's subsequent Expedition, and of the Discoveries that have been since made on that Side by Direction of the Russian Court.
9. A Representation of the new Hypothesis said to be built upon these Discoveries, collected from the Memoirs of the Royal Society.
10. The Improbability of that Hypothesis fully shewn, from a great Variety of Circumstances, which amount to a Proof, that nothing advanced on this Subject ought to prejudice our Hopes of finding a North-west Passage.
11. Historical, Physical, and Critical Remarks upon the principal Points in this Section.

THERE could not be a more proper Subject chosen for the shutting up a Collection of this Kind, than the History of the Discoveries made by the *Russians* in the Northern Parts of their Dominions. In Point of Matter they are far more important than any which have been attempted within our Memory, the finding out a North-west Passage only excepted. In Point of Time also they are later, for the last Account of their Discovery is, if I may be allowed so familiar an Expression, dated but the other Day, and these Discoveries are still prosecuted, perhaps with greater Skill and Constancy, and with more Vigour and Industry than has been commonly imagined.

It is generally looked upon as the Foible of inquisitive Minds, that they are apt to make such Excursions into the Realms of Fancy, as sometimes to fall under the Power of Superstition, and to be enslaved by Enthusiasm at others. I am very much afraid I shall run the Risk of one, if not both Imputations, from what I am going to say; but that gives me little Concern, for I had rather be laughed at for speaking what I take to be Truth, than applauded for dissembling it.

There seems then to me to have been a very singular Kind of Providence discernable in all the Discoveries that have been hitherto made, by which I mean, that from their Consequences they appear to have been conducted by another Spirit than that of human Wisdom;

for in Proportion as the Nations who made Discoveries have abused the Advantages they derived from them, those Advantages have gradually sunk, and that Spirit of Discovery has been lost, of which I could give various Instances, if it was not wholly unnecessary, since upon the bare Mention of the Fact the judicious Reader will instantly recollect them.

It is from the considering Things in this Light, that I am led to apprehend the late Czar *Peter the Great*, of glorious and immortal Memory, was one of those signal Instruments, raised up by the immediate Power of the Divine Ruler of all Things, to fulfil the great Purposes of his unsearchable Providence. Before his Reign, the People who inhabit the vast Country of *Russia*, were very little or scarce at all known to the rest of the World by their Actions or Performances. It was owing to that Spirit of Discovery which reigned here in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Importance of their Situation came to be at all considered. The *Dutch* indeed quickly followed the Lights we gave them, and converted to their own Advantage that Route which with infinite Pains and Hazard we first described.

But this great Monarch was born to be not only the Governor, but the Legislator of his People; his Genius was the Gift of Nature, or to speak with greater Piety, and at the same Time with more Propriety, the Gift of the great Author and Lord of Nature, and appeared



appeared with all the Lustre worthy of its Author. That knowing, that well-meaning, that Patriot-Monarch of the North, drew, or rather forced his Subjects out of that Obscurity in which for many Ages they had remained. He enlightened them by his Exhortations, he animated them by his Example, he compelled them by his absolute Power to shake off the Chains of Barbarity, to come forth out of a State of insensible Ignorance, and to appear upon the bright Theatre of the Universe, not only as a great and powerful Nation, but as one of the greatest and most powerful Nations that have been the Object of History.

He it was that made the World know the Importance of the Country he possessed, and this in Spite of Obstacles that would have amazed and terrified an Inferior, that would have tired and overcome a less vigorous Genius. It was this wise, this active, this heroick Prince, that raised his People from being the lowest to the highest of the Northern Powers. It was he that taught them to triumph by Land, and opened them a Passage to the Sea; In short, it was he that conceived and executed the amazing Project of making them a Maritime Power, and this too in a surprizing Extent.

From a People unacquainted with a Vessel bigger than a Bark, and who knew no Navigation but that of their own Rivers, he not only taught them the Use of Ships, but put it into their Power to build and to equip them; nay, he did more than all this, he was not content with opening Ports on one Side only, he opened them on all; his Frigates, secured him the Possession of the *Caspian Sea*, his Men of War surprized with their Appearance the Nations inhabiting the Coasts of the *Black Sea*, and even the supine Pleasures of an Eastern Prince were disturbed by the Thunder of his Cannon, that alarmed the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*; after trying these Experiments, he aspired to still greater Things, and not only built the City of *Petersbourg*, but opened various Ports upon the *Baltick*, which he covered with his Fleets, and came in Person as their Admiral to *Copenhagen*, where not some Ages only, but some few Years before, they would have as soon expected a Visit from the Emperor of *Japan*.

His Predecessors hardly comprehended the Extent of their Dominions, but the Czar *Peter* not only discover'd that his Dominions were the most extensive in the World, but that he had a Mind more extensive than these. He saw the Advantages that might be made of every Province, every Port, and every River in his Empire, and in the Course of a short Reign, a very short Reign indeed, compared with the great Events to which it gave Birth, he convinced his Subjects, his Neighbours, and all the considerate Men in every Part of the World of the Truth of this; and that he perfectly knew how to have pushed his Greatness on all Sides, if the pushing it had not exceeded the Strength and Limits of a single Life.

But within the Compass of that single Life what did he, or rather, what did he not! He exhausted the Power of *Sweden*, the only Means of taming the lion-like Spirit of his Enemy *Charles XII.* he put it out of his Power to conquer, for to conquer him was not even in *Peter's* Power. He protected *Poland*, to which before his Time his Empire was inferior. The *Tartars*, to whom his Predecessors were Tributaries, he frightened into Quiet. He encountred alone, and when they had no other Enemy to deal with, the Forces of the *Turks*. He extended his Dominions on the Side of *Persia*. He sometimes encroached upon their Territories, he sometimes sought to conciliate by Concessions, the Friendship of the *Chinese*.

He did more than all this, for after making himself first known, and then admired in all Parts of the civilized Earth, he began to look beyond the Bounds of the habitable World itself, and to propose after showing his Subjects so many new Seas and new Countries, to point them out the Way to the *East Indies* and to the *West*. Such were the Cares that occupied the Thoughts of this great Prince, while other Monarchs were complimented with high Titles for disturbing the Peace of Mankind about Trifles, for stealing little Provinces, and buying now and then a Town.

It is very true, that he did not live to perfect his last great Design, but that he framed it was sufficient for his own Glory, and to amaze all who are capable of forming a competent Judgment of the Circumstances that must attend the perfecting this Design when-ever it shall be brought about. To shew that this is no Chimera, but a very wise and well laid Scheme, and which sooner or later will be certainly carried into Execution, is the Business of this Section, in which we are to speak of the North-east Limits of the *Russian Empire*, and of the Country of *Kamtschatka* or *Kamtschatska*, for it is written both Ways, of which, though we have but lately heard, it imports us as much to be well acquainted with as any Country upon the Face of the Globe; for though we cannot boast much of the Figure it makes at present, yet as it is the Possession of this Country that put it more in the Power of this Nation than any other to make Discoveries, and as the most important Discoveries that ever were made, may very probably be made from hence, we must be content to take a little Pains in the Explanation of this Point, and in becoming Masters of a Subject, as curious and entertaining as it is useful and important; so that however great they may be, we shall have no Cause to regret the Labour they cost, to think our Time ill bestowed, or our Trouble not well laid out.

2. It is not easy to discover at what Time the *Russians* became acquainted with that Part of their own Dominions which borders North-east upon the *Icy Sea*; but it seems very evident, that though the Name of *Kamtschatska* was given to some very remote Parts of their *Asiatick* Dominions, then commonly included under the general Name of *Siberia*, yet were they very indifferently and very indistinctly known at the Close of the last Century, as appears by the Map of Mr. *Ysbrant Ides*, which is very far from agreeing with later Discoveries. But after the Czar *Peter* had travelled, and had acquired a competent Knowledge of Cosmography and Geography, he began to be extremely desirous of having these Parts more thoroughly examined, as having now some Notion of their Importance. He took great Pains to make himself well acquainted with the Route to *China*, and also caused a very accurate Map to be drawn of the Countries lying about the River *Amur*, as far as the Peninsula of *Corea* on the South, and as high as he had any certain Accounts of his own People to the North.

He likewise directed the strictest Enquiries to be made into the State of *Nova Zembla*, and the Country about the Straights of *Wygatz*, and so along the *Icy Sea* as far as possible to the East; and of these also he had Maps, in which the Mountains and Rivers that had been carefully examined, were laid down; but the whole was not compleated at the Time of his Death; so that he enjoyed not the Satisfaction of beholding a distinct Representation of his Dominions on that Side. He had the Pleasure however of discoursing frequently of the Discoveries that might be made, and of the Trade that probably might be carried on from these Countries, bounded by the Sea of *Japan*; and as he would sometimes discourse of these Matters a little hyperbolically, which was however no more than necessary to awaken the Curiosity and Attention of his Countrymen and Subjects; so by Degrees it had Effect, and many of his Ministers, especially Prince *Menzikoff* and Admiral *Apraxin*, entered pretty well into his Sentiments, and endeavoured all they could to push their Colonies as far as *Kamtschatska*.

It was however with infinite Difficulty that they prevailed, and the Relations that were transmitted from thence seemed to destroy all Hopes of doing any thing there to the Purpose; for the Soil was represented the most sterile that could be possibly imagined, the Climate severe beyond Expression, binding not only the Brooks and Rivulets, but even the Earth itself in such Icy Chains, that it was as practicable to dig a Rock, as to make a Spade enter it. It was said that Wild-fowl were frequently killed by Cold, and that sometimes even the wild Beasts perished by the excessive Severity of the Weather; neither do the very latest Accounts

that

that we have received contradict this, though they lay the Scene of these tragical Effects of Cold on Countries to the North-east of *Kamschatska*.

The first Accounts of *Kamschatska* that had any Appearance of Clearness or Certainty, reached this Part of the World about the Year 1723, and were brought by an *Englishman*, whom the Czar *Peter* had employed in erecting a Glass-work; and they amounted to no more than this, that it was a vast Tract of Country, extending from the Polar Circle down to sixty Degrees of North Latitude, I make use of the Person's Words from whom I had it; that it contained thirty Degrees of Longitude; and that the North-east Extremity was either a Promontory shooting into the *Icy Sea*, or the Beginning of a long Ridge of Mountains that were supposed to run out Eastward, and join the Continent of *North America*.

Wild and extravagant as this Account may seem, I am very certain it was the best that at this Time could be given by the most experienced Persons in *Russia*; and that from this Account, and the Conjectures founded upon it, a Resolution was taken for pushing their Discoveries on that Side in Hopes of some beneficial Consequences. It was allowed, that no Country could be more wretched than this, that it produced only a few Roots, that no Kind of Grain would grow there, and that a small insignificant Colony of *Russians*, that had been forced thither in Obedience to the Czar's Orders, subsisted entirely upon Fish, and such small Supplies of coarse Rye Bread as could from Time to Time be sent them; that it was certain they had not any Black Cattle, Horse, or Deer, but that however some Animals they had, of the Skins of which they made their Cloathing. This was the Sum total of what was known of this Country before the Expedition of Captain *Behring*; upon which we are next to enter, and of which I shall give as clear and plain an Account as it is possible.

3. It was in the last Year of the Life of *Peter* the Great, that Captain *Behring* received Orders from Count *Apraxin*, Admiral of *Russia*, to traverse the vast Country of *Siberia*, to penetrate its utmost Extremities to the East or North-east, in order to obtain a distinct Notion of its Bounds, and of the Distance between them and the Continent of *North America*. The better to enable him to fulfil these Instructions, which were given him in the Month of *February* 1725, a Lieutenant was dispatched with twenty-five Men, and such Baggage and Tools as could be carried upon twenty-five Horses before him; and as soon as he could make the necessary Preparations, the Captain followed with a Retinue of about thirty-three Persons. He came up with his Lieutenant at *Wologda*, and continued his Journey to *Tobolsky*, which is looked upon as the Capital of *Siberia*, where he arrived on the 16th of *March*.

The Season being too far advanced for him to make an immediate Progress, he continued there for two Months, and then having received a considerable Reinforcement, he proceeded on his Expedition on the River *Irtish* till it falls into the River *Oby* or *Obb*, and then remounted that River as far as the Town of *Narin*. All the Country through which he passed was inhabited by the *Ostiacks*, formerly *Pagans*, but a little before converted to the Christian Faith by the Care of the Metropolitan of *Tobolsky*. He proceeded from thence to the Monastery of *Makofsk*, and from thence went by Land to the City of *Jenisciski*. He embarked there with thirty Persons on board of four small Barks, in order to continue his Voyage on the River *Jenisa*, and afterwards on that of *Tunguska*; from whence with much Difficulty he reached *Ilinski*.

There he determined to winter, and to send his Lieutenant to make the necessary Preparations for continuing their Voyage upon the *Lena*, directing him to employ his Time in constructing a small Squadron of Barks for that Purpose. The Captain himself, during the Winter, took all the Care he could to inform himself of the Countries that he had still to pass through, before he reached that which was the proper Object of their Enquiries. And the Accounts that he received, were such as gave him to understand that a more difficult

Task could scarce be imposed on any Man than that which had been lain upon his Shoulders. The Country where he now was belonged to the *Tungusees*, a Nation of *Pagans*, who lived very miserably along the Sides of the great Rivers, which they navigated in small Boats, or rather Canoes made of the Barks of Trees. When the Severity of the Season was a little over, he resolved to prosecute this tedious and dangerous Expedition with all the Diligence and Caution in his Power.

4. In the Beginning of the Spring he began to descend the *Lena* with his small Squadron of fifteen flat-bottom'd Boats, and arrived safely at *Jakutsky*. Both Banks of the *Lena* below the River *Witem*, are inhabited by the *Jakuts* and some few *Tungusees*. As for the former, they are well provided with Horses, and have great Herds of Black Cattle, that is to say, such as are in a tolerable Situation in the World; and as for the poorer Sort, they maintain themselves as well as they can by Fishing. As for their Religion, they are *Pagans* and gross Idolaters, worshipping the Sun and Moon, and some Kind of Birds, such as the Swan, the Eagle, and the Crow. They are famous for having many Conjurers among them, and for praying to a Sort of diminutive ugly Idols, called in their Language *Saitans*. In other Respects they reckon themselves, and are esteemed by others, a Tribe of *Tartars*. Upon his Arrival at *Jakutsky* the Captain demanded a Reinforcement, and having obtained it, he gave Instructions to a Lieutenant to proceed with the best Part of his Troops and all the heavy Baggage upon the *Lena*, to its Confluence with the River *Aldan*, in order by remounting that, and the Rivers *Maya* and *Judoma*, to reach *Judomska Kresta*, that is, the little Fort of *Judomska*, and by this Route he was in Hopes of lessening the Fatigue of so long and troublesome a Passage.

As for himself, he set out on Horseback, attended by the few People that were left about him, and some Horses laden with Provision, to go by Land to *Ochotski*, though the Road was very far from being tolerable. The Captain also left a Lieutenant at *Jakutski*, with Orders to pass the Winter there, and to follow him at the Beginning of the Spring over Land to *Ochotski*. Upon his arriving in Person at that Fortress, he found it in a very poor Condition, and no more than ten *Russian* Families residing there or in its Neighbourhood. About the End of the Month of *December* he received Advice from his first Lieutenant, importing that he had been surprized by the Ice at his Entrance into the River of *Gorbea*, distant above one hundred Leagues from *Judomska*; and that this obliged him immediately to construct some long and narrow Sledges for the Carriage of his Provisions and Baggage; but as for himself and his Men, they continued their Route on Foot. Upon receiving this News, the Captain thought proper to advance from *Ochotski* to relieve his Lieutenant, carrying with him a Convoy of Provisions laden upon large Dogs. By this wise Precaution he brought his Lieutenant and the Remainder of his Detachment safe to *Ochotski*, upon *New-Year's-Day* 1727.

5. The Account which this Officer gave him of the Miseries they sustained in their March was equally melancholy and sincere. They quitted the River of *Gorbea* on the 4th of *November*, and not being able to carry with them a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, were very quickly constrained to feed upon the Flesh of their dead Horses. They afterwards burnt off the Hair from their Skins with Lime, and then converted them into Coats and Shoes. They were forced to abandon their Baggage in three different Places, and had certainly perished at *Judomska Kresta*, if it had not been for a small Quantity of Meal which the Captain had been obliged to leave there by Reason that some of his Horses died. The Nation of *Jakuts*, who inhabit the Banks of the *Lena*, dwell also on those of the Rivers *Aldan* and *Maya*, but on the Sides of the River *Judoma*, and in the Neighbourhood of the Fortress of *Ochota*, reside the Nation *Lamutki*. These People have tame Rain-Deer, which they employ in drawing their Carriages, as well as to furnish them with Cloaths and Subsistence. In the Neighbourhood of the Lakes and of the

the Sea, dwell the *Tunguses*, for the Conveniency of Fishing. These People are as barbarous and as much Idolaters as the *Jakuts*.

In the Beginning of the Month of *February*, the Captain dispatched a Lieutenant and 90 Men, with some Dogs, to fetch off the Baggage that had been abandoned in the Manner before-mentioned; he returned with a part of it in *April*; and another Detachment being ordered on the same Service, they brought the rest back in *May*. In this Country the Snow falls in such prodigious Quantities, that it commonly lies about two Yards thick, and sometimes more, upon the Ground, which obliges People, for three or four Months, to travel on Foot, and to drag their Baggage on little Sledges, which will carry 6 or 700 Weight. In this Manner the Lieutenant marched that came to *Ochotski*, and during his whole Passage, the poor People had no other Relief in the Night-time, or when the cutting icy Winds blew, than to cover themselves as deep as they could in the Snow. This is practised on the Coasts of *Hudson's-Bay*, and in other cold Countries as well as here; and if Credit may be given to several Narrations written by those who have visited these frozen Climates, it is a very convenient and effectual Screen from the extreme Fury of the Weather, which will be the less wonder'd at, if we consider, that both Gardiners and Husbandmen acknowledge very discernable Heat in Snow, by which Corn, Fruit and Flowers, are defended from the Rage of Winter, in the Earth, and are enabled by this kindly Covering to push out and discover that they are alive in the Spring.

On the 30th of *June* the Captain ordered Lieutenant *Spanberg* to cross the Gulph to the Mouth of the *Balchaia rerka*, or Great River; he was to perform this Voyage in a new stout Vessel built by their own Workmen, and had Orders to carry over with him the second Architect, and a sufficient Number of Men to cut down Timber, and to build a new Vessel there, which when they had performed, they were instructed to give the Captain Notice of it at *Ochotski*. While they were thus employed, the other Lieutenant *Creziboff* returned, bringing with him 2300 Poud of Meal, that is about 800 Weight, which was immediately embarked on board the new Vessel that was return'd from *Kamtschatska*. The Captain then ordered all the heavy Baggage and Provisions to be embarked without Delay, and on the 21st of *August* he went on board himself for the Port before-mentioned. He left behind him a Pilot, and a small Number of Persons, with Instructions as to the recovering and securing the Provisions that had been left behind, which they were to bring with them if they could, but if not, they were to deliver them to the Government of *Jakutsky*, and to take a Discharge for them; after which, the Pilot, and those under his Command, were to join the Captain, and bring with them a small Supply of Provisions, Iron, and Tar. However, he saw nothing of them till the Year 1728.

The Captain being come to the Mouth of *Bolchaya rerka*, transported his Provisions and other Necessaries to *Bolchay reeski ostrog*, or the Habitation of the great River. The heavy Baggage was from hence conveyed in small Boats, that were drawn against the Stream for 120 Wersts, to the higher Settlement in *Kamtschatska*. This Journey they performed themselves by Land, making use of the little Sleds before-mentioned, that were drawn by Dogs, for the Carriage of what was necessary for them during the Journey. On this Occasion, they had thorough Experience of the extreme Rigour of the Climate, being obliged to have Recourse to the Method before-mentioned, that is to say, towards Night, or when-ever they had a Mind to rest, they ran a very deep Trench or Ditch through the Snow; at the Entrance of this Trench they hung up Deer Skins, and then lay down under the Snow, either to sleep or to take Repose. The Intent of hanging up the Skins, is to prevent those sudden Storms which are common in these Parts, and to which they give the Name of *Purgi*, from being fatal to them, as they often are to less cautious Passengers, by bringing with them such prodigious Quantities of Snow as bury these unfortu-

nate Victims under it, past all Possibility of extricating themselves or escaping.

As we have now conducted the Reader into that Country which is the proper Subject of this Section, and which, for any thing that is yet known, seems to be the very Extremity of the Continent, on this Side, tho' there is a very wide Country behind it, extending directly North for above 15° of Latitude. I say, as we have followed him hither, the next thing is to see what Account he gives us of this strange Place, which lies so far out of the Reach of the rest of Mankind, and which could never have been visited, much less planted and possessed by any but the *Russians*, and even these had not been long fixed there at this Time.

The *Russians* have three Settlements, or to speak with greater Propriety, have occupied three Posts in this Country. In the Fortress which is in the upper *Kamtschatska*, there are seventeen, in the lower Fortress there are about fifty *Russian* Houses, exclusive of those that are about the Church, which may be about fifteen in Number. At the Mouth of the River before-mentioned, there were at this Time fourteen Houses. In these three Posts there were about 150 Soldiers in Garrison, and the principal Point aimed at by fixing them here, was to collect the Tribute from the neighbouring Nations. The Captain, to reward those that had assisted him in transporting his heavy Baggage, his Stores and Ammunition, and who had likewise furnished him with Carriages, gave them about an hundred Weight of Train Oil, which he extracted from a Whale the Sea left upon the Coast at the warm Season of the Year; and with this and a little *Chinese* Tobacco, they were better contented than if he had given them Money. To the South of this Country inhabit the Nation of the *Kuriles*, and to the Northward dwell the *Kamtschadales*, the Languages spoke by these Nations are so different, that they hardly understand each other; some of them are addicted to Idolatry; amongst others there are no apparent Signs of any Religion; and to say the Truth, hardly any convincing Tokens of Humanity.

The *Russians* that are settled in *Kamtschatska*, as well as the Natives or original Inhabitants, are destitute both of Cattle and Corn; instead of the former they make use of Dogs, which are very large and strong; and by the way, this is likewise the Custom in *Groenland*, and in the Countries bordering upon *Hudson's-Bay*. As to Provisions, they live chiefly upon Fish, Roots, and Pears; they have likewise Carrots and Beans, and in some Seasons of the Year tolerable plenty of Wild-fowl. As to their Cloaths, they are made of Dogs-skin; it is however worth observing, that in the Country about the Convent of *Pakusska*, which is not far from the Church, they have a little Barley, as also some Hemp and Radishes, and in the Plantations about the *Russian* Houses, they have Turnips of a prodigious Size, that is to say, of five or six Pounds Weight a piece. The Captain, while he was there, caused some Rye and Oats to be sowed, but he did not stay long enough to see whether they came up. The Frost sets in here very early, and the People, who are tributary to the *Russians*, pay their Taxes in several Sorts of Furs.

The Customs of these People are barbarous in the highest Degree, of which a very few Instances may be sufficient to convince the Reader. If a Woman happens to have two Children at a Birth, one of them is destroyed as soon as it is born, and it would be esteemed a Crime to preserve it. Nor are they cruel only to Children, for if the Father and Mother of a Family happens to fall sick, tho' the Disease does not appear to be mortal, yet they drag them away presently to a Wood, let the Weather be what it will, and there they leave them, not indeed without Provisions, for they commonly carry them as much as will serve them for a few Days, but they very seldom hear any more of them. When People die so suddenly that they cannot be thus removed, they drag the Body into the Woods, and leave it there to be devoured by the Dogs. There seems to be a good deal of Superstition in this, for some of them will quit the Place of their Residence, if a Man happens to breathe his last in it. The Nation

of the *Koratskes* burn their Dead, and though they have been often admonished to leave off this Practice, yet hitherto there has been no breaking them of it.

Since the Time our Author wrote, it appears from several Books that have been published at *Petersbourg*, that this Country, at least the *Russian* Settlements in it, have been greatly improv'd; so that in the Latitude of 56, and even higher, they have Barley, Oats, and Rye, in tolerable Plenty. The Number of Houses also are greatly increased, and the Fortresses are in much better Order, which is owing to the Hopes that are still entertained of opening on this Side, some Time or other, a very advantageous Commerce. We have been promised, and were in Hopes of receiving a large and accurate Description of this Country in its present Condition, but as yet it has not been published; many People may possibly think, that considering the Rigour of the Climate, the Barrenness of the Soil, and the Thinness of its Inhabitants, that it is no great Matter whether it be ever published. Yet notwithstanding all this, it is not impossible, or even improbable, that in Process of Time Things may change their Face here, for the Country now called *Kamtschatska*, is not that vast Northern Continent that extends from 60 to 73 Degrees of North Latitude, which was formerly included under that Name, but the Peninsula only which extends from the Latitude of 51 to 60, and lies between 80 and 95 Degrees Longitude East from *Tobolski*; so that if a sufficient Number of People were sent thither to cut down the vast Forests with which it is incumber'd, and enabled to till, manure, and cultivate the Earth, it might be render'd a Place far enough from being despicable; and then the great Importance of its Situation would very quickly appear. But to return to our Narrative.

7. Upon the Captain's Arrival at the lower Fortress, he found Wood enough cut for the building a Vessel, which was put upon the Stocks *April 4, 1728*, and was entirely finished the 10th of *July* following. It is certain that a properer Person could not well have been employed, since he thought nothing a Difficulty, nor was afraid of any kind of Hardship or Danger that stood in the Way of the Execution of his Orders, but with infinite Address, and almost incredible Patience, got over those Difficulties, that to another Man would have appeared unsurmountable. All the Timber that was used in Building, was conveyed to the Place where his new Vessel was constructed, upon Sledges drawn by Dogs, and consequently with infinite Pains and Trouble. The Supply of Tar he expected not being arrived, was another great Inconveniency, but the Captain, who had a Brain very fertile in Expedients, observed a Tree there, called by the Natives *Lisniskink*, which he fancied would supply them either with Tar, or something like it; accordingly he caused great Quantities of it to be cut and burned, and, as he expected, the resinous Matter that run from it answered the Ends of Tar, if not perfectly, at least tolerably.

The Vessel being built, the next Thing was to victual her, and that for a Voyage, the Length of which was altogether uncertain; and to do this in a Country in a Manner destitute of Provisions, was none of the easiest Undertakings. The Captain however went about it, and, in the first Place, having collected a vast Quantity of Plants and Herbs, he distilled from them a pretty strong Spirit, upon which he was pleased to bestow the Name of Brandy, and of this he laid in a plentiful Stock. Instead of Meal or Corn, he furnished himself with Carrots or other Roots. By boiling the Seawater, he procured as much Salt as he wanted. Fish Oyl served instead of Butter, and dry and wet Salt-fish took the Place of Beef and Pork. These Provisions, such as they were, he embarked in such Quantities as would serve his Crew, consisting of forty Men, for a whole Year.

Thus equipped, he undertook the Execution of the Instructions given him by his Sovereign *Peter the Great*, under his own Hand, and of which the following is a Copy taken literally from his Journal.

I. You shall cause one or two convenient Vessels to be built at *Kamtschatska*, or elsewhere.

II. You shall endeavour to discover, by Coasting with these Vessels, whether the Country towards the North, of which at present we have no distinct Knowledge, is a Part of *America*, or not.

III. If it joins to the Continent of *America*, you shall endeavour, if possible, to reach some Colony belonging to some *European* Power; or in case you meet with any *European* Ship, you shall diligently enquire the Name of the Coasts, and such other Circumstances as it is in your Power to learn; and these you shall commit to Writing, so that we may have some certain Memoirs by which a Chart may be constructed.

On the 14th of *July*, having recommended himself to the Protection of Almighty God, he sailed out of the River of *Kamtschatska*. On the 8th of *August* he found himself in the Latitude of 64 Degrees, 30 Minutes, and being perceived by the Inhabitants on Shore, eight Men put off in a Boat made of Skins, and came to the Vessel, that is to say, to the Side of it, where they enquired whence he came, and to what Purpose. After he had answered them, they acquainted him in their Turn that they were *Tzuktshchi*, which is the Name of a Nation with whom the *Russians* have been for some Years acquainted. It was with some Difficulty that he got one of them to come to him, but he was soon followed by the rest. They informed him that the Coast, for a considerable Extent, was inhabited by their Nation, and that the Land tended to the West. They likewise gave him Information of an Island that was not far off, which he accordingly found on the 10th of *August*; and as that is the Feast of *St. Lawrence* in the *Russian* Kalendar, he thought fit to bestow that Name upon the Island. He sent an Officer on board a Shallop of four Oars thither twice to examine it, but he could not find any Inhabitants, though there were some Houses upon it; which sufficiently shewed that it was inhabited, though the People, out of Fear, or from some other Motive, thought proper to conceal themselves.

He continued his Course to the 15th of the same Month, when he found himself in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and conceiving that he had now fully executed the Emperor's Orders, as he saw no Land, either to the North or to the East, he resolved to return, as thinking it to no Purpose to continue his Voyage towards the West, or to run the Hazard of being driven by a contrary Wind beyond the Possibility of getting back during the Summer to *Kamtschatska*, and to winter in a Country where he was sure of meeting with little or no Wood, and which might very possibly be inhabited by some Nation, Enemies to the *Russians*, was, in his Opinion, running a very great, and, at the same Time, unnecessary Hazard.

From the Mouth of the River *Kamtschatska*, to the utmost Point of their Voyage, they saw nothing upon the Coast but great Ridges of Rocks, the Tops of which were covered with Snow, though it was Summer. They traversed, according to their Computation, about ten Leagues of Latitude, and thirty of Longitude, that is to say, the farthest they sailed East, was 372 *German* Leagues. On the 20th of *August*, in their Return, they saw forty Persons on board four small Boats rowing towards them from Shore with all their Force; they lay by for them, and upon their coming near them, they concluded them, from their Appearance, to be of the Nation called *Tzuktshchi*. They had with them a good Quantity of dry'd Flesh, Fish, and Water contain'd in Whales Bladders, 15 Fox Skins, and four Narval's Teeth, which they sold, or rather exchanged for Pins and Needles with the Seamen. These People told them, that their Nation travelled with Rain Deer as far as the River *Koblina*, which runs into the North Sea, but that they never had attempted any Passage by Sea. That their Nation inhabited a very long Tract of Country upon that Coast, and had been possessed of it for many Years; one of them particularly said, he had been at the Fortress of *Anadirski*, where they had traded with, and been very well treated by

by the *Russians*. They had very great Hopes of obtaining considerable Intelligence from this Man, but notwithstanding all the Questions they proposed, they could gain from him no more than a Confirmation of what they had formerly learned from the *Tzuktshi*.

On the 29th of *August* they met with a great Storm, attended with a thick Fog, by which they were driven upon the Coast of some Country East of *Kamschatska*, and where they were oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Upon their endeavouring to weigh it the next Day, their Cable broke; however, they were so lucky as to escape with no other Loss than that of their Anchor. On the 2d of *September* they arrived safely in the Mouth of the River of *Kamschatska*, where they landed, and having secured their Vessel in a Creek, went to the lower Fortrefs, where they passed the Winter. There they met with the rest of their Companions, who brought them a considerable Supply of Provisions, which, after the Fatigues they had sustained, were very acceptable. In this Place they spent the Winter, without meeting with any thing worthy of our Notice. On the 5th of *June* 1729, they repaired their Vessel and put to Sea, steering due East from the Mouth of the River *Kamschatska*, in Hopes of discovering that Land, which the Inhabitants affirm'd might be seen in a clear Day; which, however, they were not so happy as to meet with, though they continued that Route for 30 Leagues, and then meeting with a Storm at East-North-East, they were obliged to return to the Mouth of the *Bolschay reeschbi*, after having passed round the South Point of *Kamschatska*, which was a Voyage that was never performed before. They went from thence by Sea to the Fortrefs of *Ochotsky*, where they delivered up their Stores of Provision, consisting of Flour, dry'd Flesh, and Salt, to the proper Officers. On the 20th of *July* they arrived at the Mouth of the River *Ochota*, where they delivered up the Vessel, with the Materials and Tools on board her, to the Governor. The Captain then hired Horses for himself and Company, to go by Land to *Judomska kresta*; thence they proceeded by Water in small Boats and Rafts, along the River *Aldan* to the Passage of *Beloya*, and thence they went on Horseback to *Jakutski*; all this they performed exactly in a Month, arriving there on the 29th of *August*.

On the 20th of *September* they left that Place, and went in two Vessels up the River *Lena*, as far as the Village of *Peledun*, where they arrived on the 10th of *October*, and there they were obliged to stay for about ten Days, because the Rivers began now to be covered

with Ice. The Snow falling in great Quantities, and the River being thoroughly froze, they set out on the 29th of *October* for *Ilimski*, and from thence by the Rivers *Tungus* and *Jenesi*, which were now covered with Ice, they came to the Town of *Jenischiski*; from that Town, passing through several Villages of *Russians* and *Tartars* newly converted, they reached *Tomski*, and passing over the great Deserts of *Bambinski*, they reached *Tara*, and from thence mounting the River *Irtisch*, they came to *Tobolski*, *January* 10, 1730. In this City they remained till the 25th of the same Month, and then set out by the Road before described, for *Petersbourg*, where the Captain safely arrived on the first of *March* following.

This Detail which we have given our Reader, is not barely copied from the Accounts that have been published in *German*, *Low-Dutch*, *French*, and other Languages, but hath been compared with a Copy of Captain *Behring's* original Journal, which has been of very great Service; we have also examined his Map very carefully, and considered, at the same Time, how far it was consistent with prior and with posterior Discoveries, of which more shall be said hereafter. At present I will crave Leave to add here, from a Manuscript Copy of the Journal, a very curious Table of the Places mentioned therein, with their Latitudes and Longitudes from *Tobolski*, the rather, because it has never been published, at least so far as I know, and because it will serve as Kind of Test, by which all subsequent Accounts may be tried with respect to their Veracity; for I make no Doubt at all, that this Table was framed with the utmost Care and Circumspection, because I find it was transmitted by the Author to the *Russian* Court in 1728, immediately after his Return from his Voyage for Discovery, and while he remained at the Lower Fortrefs of *Kamschatska*.

It is also necessary to take Notice of the Meaning of the *Russian* Words made use of in this Table, which, as they are but very few, cannot burthen the Reader's Memory. *Krepost* signifies a Fortrefs, *Ostrog* a little Fort, *Slaboda* a Borough or Place bigger than a Village, *Monasteria*, a Convent or Monastery. It is true, we might have avoided these, and have given the Places in plain *English*, but as the Design of this whole Section is to facilitate the understanding such Accounts as may be hereafter received of the *Russian* Discoveries, I thought proper to preserve the Names for that Reason, as well as because we find them frequently occur in the Maps. These Points being premised, the following Tables will be very plain and perspicuous.

Names of the Remarkable Places.

	Latitude.	Longitude from Tobolsky.
The Town of <i>Tobolski</i> , which is the Capital of <i>Siberia</i> ,	58 5	—
<i>Samarofsky Jam</i> , upon the River <i>Obb</i> ,	60 17	— 30
The Town of <i>Surgut</i> upon the River <i>Obb</i> ,	60 51	5 18
The Town of <i>Narim</i> upon the same River,	58 48	14 35
<i>Keetsky Ostrog</i> ,	58 19	16 60
<i>Lofnojariski Monastir</i> ,	58 17	22 —
<i>Makowski Ostrog</i> ,	58 3	23 13
The Town of <i>Tenriski</i> upon the River <i>Tenisci</i> ,	58 20	25 12
<i>Caschin Monastir</i> ,	58 37	32 —
The Town of <i>Timakin</i> , near the Mouth of the River <i>Ilim</i> ,	57 25	35 16
The Town of <i>Ilimski</i> ,	56 40	36 44
<i>Utkutsky Ostrog</i> ,	56 40	38 28
<i>Kirinski Ostrog</i> ,	57 50	41 1
The Town of <i>Jakutski</i> upon the River <i>Lena</i> ,	62 8	57 53
<i>Ochotski Ostrog</i> , at the Mouth of the River <i>Ochota</i> ,	59 13	76 7
The Mouth of the <i>Bolschoyan Retfchka</i> in <i>Kamschatska</i> ,	52 48	89 51
<i>Wereknoi Kamschatska Ostrog</i> ,	54 48	91 —
<i>Nischuvvi Kamschatska Ostrog</i> ,	56 11	98 30
The Mouth of the River of the Apostle <i>Thadeus</i> and the Cape,	56 3	96 10
The Elbow of the River <i>Swetoi Krest</i> ,	62 20	111 32
Eastern Point,	65 35	115 15
The Elbow of the <i>Swetoi Preobrazensky</i> ,	65 1	120 30
The Eastern Point of <i>Suchotski</i> ,	64 25	122 55
The Island of <i>St. Lawrence</i> ,	64 —	122 55
The Island of <i>St. Demetrius</i> ,	66 —	125 42
The Place from which the Captain returned,	67 18	126 7
The Southern Point of <i>Kamschatska</i> or <i>Oskoi</i> ,	51 10	89 51

It may perhaps contribute to make this Matter somewhat easier to the Reader, if we observe that *Tobolski* is 86 Degrees of Longitude East from the Island of *Fero*, and about 68 Degrees East from *London*; so that to find the exact Longitude of any of the Places mentioned in the Table, there is nothing more necessary than to add the respective Numbers before-mentioned to those which he has set down. As for Instance, the Place from whence he returned, is, in his Table, 126 Degrees 7 Minutes East from *Tobolski*; if therefore we add to this 86 Degrees, we find the Longitude from *Fero*, which is 212 Degrees 7 Minutes, and in the same Manner by adding 68 Degrees, we find that Place to be 194 Degrees East from the Meridian of *London*.

It will not appear to one who barely peruses this Account, without weighing and considering it attentively, that there is any thing in it very extraordinary; and yet to speak impartially, there is hardly any thing more so in the Compass of this Collection; for, in the first place, this Gentleman was charged with a most arduous Employment, that of conducting a Number of Men over the greatest Tract of Land that is perhaps in the World; in doing which he was to undergo the greatest Hardships, as he actually did, and arriving at his Journey's End, found himself in one of the most inhospitable Spots upon the Globe, there he was to build a stout Vessel, where hardly any but himself could have found Materials, and victual it in a Country where there was not a Dust of Meal, or any other Animal but Dogs; and in this Vessel, when finished, he was to make Discoveries on an unknown Coast through an unknown Sea. It is very evident that he did all this with the utmost Spirit and Vigour, and without the least Loss of Time, and yet it was somewhat more than five Years before he reached *Petersbourg* again; which, exclusive of the Difficulties he met with in Travelling, will appear less strange, if we reflect, that going and coming his Journey was very little short of eighteen thousand Miles.

He has likewise given us a Table of the Nations inhabiting the Countries through which he travelled, that is very curious, and which is a Circumstance of still greater Value, seems to be very accurate and authentick, and therefore I shall give it the Reader in the best Manner I am able, and as a Thing that may be of Use towards explaining any future Discoveries that may be made on this Side, the Credibility of which, as I hinted before, ought to be regulated by their Consistency with his Accounts.

Table of the several Nations inhabiting the Countries between Tobolski and Kamtschatska.

Ostjaks, living in Villages from *Tobolski* to the *Slaboda Domianska*.

Different Tribes of the same People on the Banks of the River *Irtisch*.

Different Tribes of the same People in the six Villages on the Banks of the River *Oby*, from *Surgut* to *Narim*.

Different Tribes of this Nation intermixed with others as far as *Jenischiski*.

Tunguses in one large Town, and twenty little Villages as far as the River *Tongus*.

The same Nation, amongst whom there are two Fortresses, one Monastery, and thirty Villages of several Sizes to the Mouth of the River *Ilim*.

The same Nation, inhabiting one large Town and twenty-seven Villages, as far as the Town of *Ilimski*.

The same Nation, inhabiting forty-three Towns and Villages, of different Sizes, as far as *Kermya*.

The same Nation and the *Jakuts*, amongst whom there are two large Towns, two Fortresses, two Convents, and thirty Villages of different Sizes, along the River *Lena* to *Jakutski*.

Tunguses, *Jakuts*, and *Lamutski*, from thence to the *Ochotski Ostrog*.

Kamshales and *Kutiles*, amongst whom are two Fortresses on the River *Kamtschatska*.

From the Mouth of the River *Kamtschatska*, steering North-east, the Coasts are inhabited by the several Nations of *Kamtschadales*, *Kurackes*, and *Tzuktchys*.

The North-east Cape is distant from *Tobolski* ten thousand five hundred and twenty-nine Wersts, twelve thousand nine hundred and seventy eight from *Moscow*, and thirteen thousand one hundred and eighty-eight from *Petersbourg*.

We see from hence the true State of these vast Countries, and may from hence form to ourselves, at least, tolerable Ideas, as well of what they produce at present to the *Russian* Government, as of the Improvements of which they are capable, in Case *Kamtschatska* should be more fully settled, and the Discoveries made from thence render'd some way or other useful in respect to Trade. It is very possible, that within a few Years we may have very extensive Histories, or at least very copious Geographical Descriptions of all these Countries made publick with the Stamp of Authority, and then by comparing them with these Tables, we may be very well able to decide whether they have also the Sanction of Truth, since at the Time Captain *Bebring* wrote his Journal, the Scheme of concealing Discoveries was not adopted.

8. We need not at all wonder, that after the Return of this Gentleman, and the Relation of his Discoveries was made publick, it occasioned much Speculation and a great Variety of Enquiries at *Petersbourg*, in Consequence of which, it is said, that they obtained certain and distinct Accounts of coasting Voyages made by Sea from the Mouth of the River *Lena* by Cape *Suetonios*, or, as I find it laid down in Captain *Bebring's* Map, Cape *Shelleginski*, which he places in the Latitude of 72 Degrees 30 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 112 Degrees from *Tobolski*, and so down to the Coasts which he had visited. Upon some Memoirs of this Kind, I mean of these Voyages from the Mouth of the River *Lena*, the *Sieur Bellin* published at *Paris* in 1735, a Chart of these Discoveries, which the Reader may find in Father *Charlevoix's* History of *Japan*; but upon a strict Examination, I think a proper Judge of these Matters will agree, that there cannot be any thing more romantick or incorrect. Instead of that vast Continent that Captain *Bebring* lays down to the North-east of *Kamtschatska*, we have this Peninsula enlarged vastly beyond its due Bounds, and hardly any thing of that Continent appears; and whereas Captain *Bebring* positively lays down the most Southern Point of that Peninsula round which himself sailed, in the Latitude of 51°. 10 Minutes, in this Map it is brought as low as 41, and by that Means appears to be the same Country heretofore called the Continent of *Jesso*, divided only by a narrow Channel from *Nippon*, the largest of the *Japan* Islands. As this Peninsula is produced ten Degrees farther South than it ought to be, so the Continent is removed 12 or 14 Degrees Westward farther than it ought; and, in short, the whole of this extraordinary Piece, notwithstanding the Accuracy that is pretended to, is equally absurd and chimerical. It must however be allowed, that it was not possible to discover this without the Assistance of Captain *Bebring's* Voyage, and of some later Discoveries; and therefore the Author of that Chart is the more excusable, and all the Conclusion I mean to draw from what I have advanced, is, that we ought not to be too hasty in giving Credit to such kind of Performances, for there is a very wide Difference between Charts drawn from Conjectures, and those laid down by Men like Captain *Bebring*, from their own Experience. But if the Reader will be directed to a better View of these Countries, I would recommend him to the Northern Hemisphere published by Mr. *William DeSile*, in which these Countries are very accurately laid down.

Before I speak of the second Expedition of Captain *Bebring*, it may not be amiss to observe, that if there be any Truth in the Accounts of Vessels sailing from the Mouth of the River *Lena* in the Manner before-mentioned, it amounts to a direct Demonstration, that the

the Dutch Ships employed to discover a North-east Passage in 1670, advanced far enough to have made that Passage; nor is it possible to admit one Fact and deny the other, which may deserve Consideration, since I think at this Day the North-east Passage seems, without any just Reason, to be treated as a Thing known to be impracticable; and as from the Discoveries made by Land, we may in a great Measure perceive, that this is a Judgment made at Random; so there is the highest Probability, that if Discoveries by Land were properly pushed, the very same Thing would appear with respect to the North-west Passage. The sudden Alterations of Government that have happen'd in *Russia*, may be look'd upon as the principal Cause why these important Discoveries have not been prosecuted to the utmost; and yet it must be allowed that they have not been altogether neglected, as appears from the sending Captain *Bebring* back into those Parts better supported than before.

It is not in my Power to say at what Time this was done, or to give any distinct Account, either of his Instructions or his Expedition. All we know of the Matter amounts to no more than this, That in the Month of *January* 1740, an Account arrived at *Petersbourg* from Captain *Spanberg*, who served as a Lieutenant under *Bebring* in his former Attempt, and who commanded a Vessel now, importing, that at the Close of the Summer of 1739, he had discovered, after sailing fifteen Days, thirty-four Islands, some large, and others small; that upon his approaching them, the Inhabitants sent six of their Vessels to observe them; that however he came to an Anchor, and they suffered him to land without any Resistance; that in other Respects he met with a tolerable Reception; but as he knew nothing of their Language, so he was able to learn very little from them by Signs, only they shewed him considerable Quantities as well of Gold as of Copper Coin; and some Pieces of the latter he obtained from them, and sent by the Courier who brought his Dispatches to *Petersbourg*.

Mr. *Swartz*, who was then and is now Minister from their High Mightinesses the States General at that Court, gave at that time the following Account, in a Letter dated from *Petersbourg*, Jan. 13, 1740, O. S. "On *Saturday* last arrived here an Express from *Kamschatska*, with the News, that Captain *Spanberg* having failed from thence with four Ships, after being sixteen Days at Sea, discovered thirty-four Islands of different Sizes, the Inhabitants of which sent six Gallies to reconnoitre him, notwithstanding which they suffered him to land, and received him with great Affability; but as he understood not their Language, he could not converse with them; however, they shewed him a considerable Quantity of Gold Coin. This was all that Officer would communicate to Commodore *Bebring*, desiring to come hither himself, in order to discover to her Imperial Majesty Things of the last Importance, which may be highly advantageous to her Interests, and which he was resolved to discover to no other Person. Upon which the Commodore suffered him to return, and he is expected here in the Spring. It is believed that these are Islands belonging to *Japan*. The Courier has brought hither with him some of the Money of this Country, of which I have seen a Piece; it is of red Copper, round, and about the Size of a *Holland* Doit, but a little thicker, surrounded by a small flat Border, and in the Middle there is a little square Hole, on each Side of which, upon the Face of the Coin, there is imprinted a Chinese or *Japan* Character; but on the Reverse it is quite smooth.

Captain *Spanberg* at the same time wrote to one of his Friends, and the Reader will, no doubt, be glad to see an Extract of that Letter, which however is without a Date, and conceived in the following Terms. "I employed all the Month of *August* in the last Year in cruizing upon the Sea of *Great Tartary*. Amongst the Islands I discovered, there were many that were only full of wild Beasts. I anchored however near one that seemed more considerable than the rest.

"There we thought fit to go on Shore, and soon after met with Inhabitants, who from their Figure and Dress appeared to be Savages. As soon as they saw us they made their Escape into a Wood. We did all that was in our Power to surprize some of them, but found it impossible to succeed in that Design. When they saw themselves pursued, they fled into the thickest Part of the Wood and set up the most dreadful Cries. The Inhabitants of some of the neighbouring Islands were more communicative, as I have shewn in former Relations. I found the Country every where extremely fertile, and embarked on board my Ship large Quantities of the Fruits and other Productions of those Islands. The Journal which I shall publish of my Discovery, will contain Matters very satisfactory to the Curious, at the same time that it will render it evident, that the Commerce of the *Russians* with the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*, will receive great Benefit thereby."

It is probable, that after this Captain returned to *Kamschatska*, Commodore *Bebring* continued his Voyage, of which all that we know is this, that he sailed Southward to the Isles of *Japan*, and from thence Eastward about eighty Leagues. At that Distance from *Japan* he discovered Land, which he coasted Northwest, still approaching towards the North-east Cape, without going ashore until he came to the Entrance of a great River, where sending his Boats and Men ashore, they never returned, being either lost, killed, or detained by the Natives, which made his Discovery incomplete, his Ship being stranded; and he afterwards died in an uninhabited Island. Without doubt, the *Russians* are endeavouring to improve and extend these Discoveries, and we very well know that Members of the Academy, Persons of great Knowledge, and animated by the Desire of Glory, and supported by whatever Assistance they can desire from the Government, have been employed in this far distant Country; and, as I have before observed, Descriptions of it thus obtained have been actually composed, and may very probably be published at *Petersbourg* before this Time.

There is no Question that this is a very right, as well as a very regular Method; for without knowing exactly the Situation and Bounds, the Climate and Soil, the Mountains and Rivers, in any Country, it is simply impossible that any just Notion should be formed of the Means by which it may be render'd useful; but that notwithstanding all this Care and Caution, and notwithstanding all the Lights they may have received from thence, and from any Accounts they may have had of subsequent Attempts, they are not yet very far advanced in respect to real Discoveries, may be easily shewn from the Notions that they still entertain about them (supposing them in earnest in what they say) which may be clearly demonstrated to be altogether vain and chimerical; even from the very Lights that they themselves have afforded, and from the Facts which they insist upon as Proofs in Support of those Notions.

We know from a Multitude of Instances, that there is no Weakness to which the human Mind is more subject, than to run into new Errors by running away from the old, notwithstanding that both Reason and Experience teach us, that Truth seldom lies in the Extremes, but generally speaking, in the Middle. When first the *Russians* began to enquire carefully into the Extent of that Part of their Empire which lies in *Asia*, they found it went much farther to the East than they had ever imagined; and the further and the more carefully they searched, the greater Certainty they obtained of this Fact, and were still carried farther and farther. In order to understand this clearly, it may not be amiss to observe, that according to the best Maps of *Russia* made thirty Years ago, the Town of *Jakutski* upon the River *Lena* was placed in the Latitude of 64 Degrees 50 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 120 Degrees, the first Meridian being placed in *Fero*; but according to the latest Observations, this Place actually stands in the Latitude of 62 Degrees 8 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 143 Degrees, 53 Minutes. It was at that Time believed, that Cape *Noss*, or the Icy Cape, laid down in

the Map by the Name of Cape *Suitenos*, extended very far to the North-east, and, as has been before hinted, might possibly be joined to *America*. In Process of Time however, this was discovered to be a Promontory only, and was placed in the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and in the Longitude of 160; but in the Chart of Captain *Bebring's* Voyages and Travels, where it is called Cape *Scheleginski*, it is laid down in the Latitude of 72 Degrees 38 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 198 Degrees 30 Minutes; so that it appears to be almost six Degrees farther North, and 37 Degrees and a half farther East than it was imagined.

But after all, this is not the farthest Stretch of the *Asian* Continent; for the North-east Cape, discovered by Captain *Bebring*, runs almost 14 Degrees farther, lying, as he found by a very exact Observation of a Lunar Eclipse, in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 212 Degrees 7 Minutes. This altered the Notions of the Mathematicians at *Petersbourg* extremely, since it appeared from hence plainly and certainly, that their Empire extended 48 Degrees farther East than it was held to do thirty Years ago, that is, upwards of 384 Leagues, and more than a thousand Miles, which greatly strengthened the Opinion which they had before entertained, that the Extremity of their North-east Frontier was at no vast Distance from the Continent of *North America*. They were indeed thus far right, that from these Discoveries it was put out of Dispute, that the North-east Cape was much nearer to the Coast of *California* than had been formerly imagined; but still the Distance was very great, and not the least probable Ground to believe that there was only a Passage of inconsiderable Breadth between them. Yet as this was the original Suggestion of the Czar *Peter* the Great, who very probably had no other Reason for giving it out, than to excite the Desire of his Subjects to co-operate with his Views of discovering on this Side, by making them imagine they might by this Means become Masters both of the *East Indies* and of the *West*; they remained fixed in their Belief of it, seeing, as they thought, such strong Reason brought from these Discoveries to support it. They flattered themselves, perhaps, that as such an enormous Mistake had been made in settling the Geography of their own Country, it was not impossible but that a like Mistake might be made as to the North-west Continent of *America*; and this indeed might have lessened the Distance very considerably. Yet if they had reflected, that the nearest Coast of *California* had been visited and examined by Strangers, whereas their own North-east Coast was totally unknown to every other Nation but themselves, and but a little while before unknown to them too, they would have seen just Reason to reject such a Supposition.

But so natural it is to see clearly what makes for our own Hypothesis, and to see whatever makes against it, either doubtfully, or not at all, that we need not be much surprized at this Turn of Mind in the *Russian Virtuosi*. That this is really so, and that from hence there is a great Probability of their concealing most Part of their Discoveries for the future, will sufficiently appear to any attentive Reader, from the following very curious Extract printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N^o 482. Page 421. being Part of a Letter from Mr. *Leonard Euler*, Mathematical Professor, and Member of the Imperial Society at *Petersbourg*, to the Reverend Mr. *Charles Wetstein*, Chaplain and Secretary to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, dated from *Berlin*, Dec. 10, 1746, which I shall take the Liberty of entirely transcribing.

"As you are desirous to hear something more particular concerning the *Russian* Expeditions to the North, and North-east of *Asia*, I will here give you an Account of all that has come to my Knowledge relating to the same. But as I should, on the one Hand, be very glad that these Observations might give any Light concerning the Passage now sought through *Hudson's Bay*; I should, on the other, be very sorry, if Mr. *Bebring's* Opinion, who believed that the new Land he had discovered was joined to *California*,

"should rather lead us to doubt of the Success of that glorious Undertaking. I wish however, that a happy Experiment may soon inform us certainly of the Truth. In the mean Time, you will not be sorry to be acquainted with the Reasons upon which Mr. *Bebring's* Suspicions were founded, notwithstanding the Objections you have been pleased to make, and to communicate to me upon that Head.

"First, This new Land which he fell in with at the Distance of 50 German Miles from *Kamschatska* towards the East, was followed by him and coasted for a great Way, though I cannot say how far: From whence alone it will appear, that an Abatement must be made in the Distance of 30 Degrees, or thereabouts, which you suppose to be between the last known Headland of *California* towards the West, and the farthest Extremity of this new discovered Land towards the East. Secondly, Captain *Bebring* having had the Opportunity of observing an Eclipse of the Moon at *Kamschatska*, concluded from the same, that that Place lay much farther off to the East than is expressed in any Map; and that to represent it truly, it ought to be transferred into the other Hemisphere, as its Longitude is more than 180 Degrees East from the Isle of *Fero*, for this Reason, Captain *Bebring's* new Land will be considerably approached to the last known Part of *California*, and will not indeed appear to be many Degrees from it.

"What we have therefore still to hope, is only that in this unknown District there may be found some Streight, by which the *Pacifick Sea* may freely communicate with *Hudson's Bay*; but if it shall appear that there is no such Passage, it must then be concluded, that whatever further Progress may happen to be made through *Hudson's Bay*, the Opening at last must only be into the Frozen Sea, from whence there could be no passing into the *Pacifick Ocean*, but by the Neighbourhood of *Kamschatska*; and this Way would, without doubt, be too long and too dangerous to be mastered in the Course of one Summer.

"I very much doubt, whether the *Russians* will ever publish the Particulars of their Discoveries, either such as have been made from *Kamschatska* towards *America*, or such as have been made upon the Northern Coasts of *Asia*. And indeed it is but very much in general that I know the Success of this last Expedition. What I do, was communicated to me by Order of the Court from the College of Admiralty, for me to make use of it in the Geography of *Russia*, with which I was at that Time charged.

"They passed along in small Vessels, coasting between *Nova Zembla* and the Continent at divers times in the Middle of Summer, when those Waters are open. The first Expedition was from the River *Oby*, and at the Approach of Winter the Vessels shelter'd themselves by going up the *Jeniska*, from whence the next Summer they returned to Sea in order to advance further Eastward, which they did to the Mouth of the *Lena*, into which they again retired for the Winter Season.

"The third Expedition was from this River to the farthest North-east Cape of *Asia*. But here they lost several of their Boats, and a great Part of their Crew, so as to be disabled from proceeding, and from making the whole Tour so as to arrive at *Kamschatska*.

"It was however thought, that a further Attempt was then unnecessary, because Captain *Bebring* had already gone round that Cape, sailing Northward from *Kamschatska*.

"The *Russians* have not attempted the Passage round *Nova Zembla*, but as they have passed between that Land and the Coast of *Asia*, and as the *Dutch* did formerly discover the Northern Coasts of *Nova Zembla*, we may be now well assured that that Country is really an Island."

There are several Points in this Letter that are very well worth our Observation. In the first Place, it is very evident, that from Captain *Bebring's* Discoveries, the *Russians* look upon it as a Thing certain, that a short Passage may be opened from their Dominions to *North America*;

America; and that the Sense they have of the great Advantages that may be derived from thence, is the Reason that induces them to think of concealing what may be discovered for the future, esteeming such Lights as they may receive thereby as Secrets of State, to which no Strangers have a Right to be admitted. In the next Place we may observe, though the Professor speaks very modestly, that he looks upon Captain *Behring's* System as absolutely destructive of our Scheme for discovering a North-west Passage through *Hudson's Bay*; which indeed is so far well founded, as that granting his Premises, and that the new discover'd Country of *Behring's* lies contiguous to *California*, cannot be denied. Lastly, It may be observed, that though he speaks very cautiously, and therefore indeterminately of the Position of the North-east Cape, which he says ought to be carried into the other Hemisphere, as indeed it ought, yet he plainly enough insinuates, that if this be duly considered, it will overturn the Arguments formerly offered in Favour of the North-west Passage. So that on the whole, if we attend to the Spirit rather than the Letter of this short Discourse, we must plainly discern, that the *Russians* look upon themselves as in full Possession of that great Secret, so long and so ineffectually sought by the Northern Maritime Powers, of a short Passage to the *East Indies* and the *South-Seas*, and that too exclusively of other Nations, from a Persuasion, that by discovering this Passage, they have discovered also that the North-west Passage, by which only we could interfere with them, is impracticable.

10. But in the next Number of the *Philosophical Transactions*, viz. 483. Page 471. there is a very curious Letter from the ingenious *Arthur Dobbs*, Esq; to the before-mentioned Mr. *Wetstein*, in which all this Reasoning is very fully and fairly refuted; and it is chiefly from the Arguments advanced therein, that I shall be enabled to make good my Promise to the Reader, by shewing, that in the first Place, there is no Reason to apprehend that Captain *Behring* has made any Discovery at all, at least with regard to the Point we are examining; by which I mean, that he has given no new Light whatever as to a new Continent, which may be reasonably presumed contiguous to *California*. Secondly, That the Argument drawn from the advanced Situation of the North-east Point of *Asia*, is absolutely inconclusive, and does not at all prove so much as the Probability of there being any such Continent as the *Russians* seem to be satisfied they have found. Thirdly and Lastly, That taking every Thing they have advanced, as through this whole Section, I have taken them for indisputable Truths, yet the North-west Passage by *Hudson's Bay* remains not only as probable as ever, but is in reality rendered more probable than ever from these very Discoveries. All this I hope to make out to the entire Satisfaction of the ingenious, inquisitive, and impartial Reader, so as to leave not the least Scruple upon his Mind in reference to this *Russian* System.

As to the first Point; as there are no Longitudes or Latitudes mentioned in reference to Captain *Behring's* second Voyage; all we can possibly know of it amounts to this, that he sailed South from *Kamschatska*, as low, or perhaps lower than 50 Degrees, and there found Land 80 Leagues North-east from *Japan*, for otherwise by coasting it North-west, as it is expressly said he did, he could not possibly have approached the North-east Cape; to do which, had it lain due East from *Japan*, he must have sailed North-east. Now there is the highest Probability, not to say an absolute Certainty, that this is the very same Land that was discovered by *Gama* so long ago, and is likewise that very Land to which *Martin Heritizoon* of *Uriex* gave the Name of the *Company's Land* in the Year 1643, making the West-side of the Straits of *Uriex*, which lie seven or eight hundred Leagues West of any known Land in *America*, and above a thousand Leagues West of any Land in the Latitude of *Japan*; and consequently, whether Continent or Island, there is Room enough for a very large Passage between this Country and *America*; neither did Captain *Behring* coast it so far as to come at any Kind of Certainty whether it was Conti-

nent or Island; all therefore that can possibly be collected from this Account, is no more than a Confirmation of the two former Discoveries, and perhaps of a third; for, as Dr. *Cromwell Mortimer* has very judiciously observed, the *Japoneses*, in their Maps, have laid down two Islands, each as large as *Ireland* in this very Tract, as appears from the Map Dr. *Kempfer* brought from thence in 1666, and which is now in Sir *Hans Sloan's Museum*.

Taking therefore the whole of this together, what we learn from Captain *Behring's* second unfortunate Voyage, is so far from shewing that he discovered a Continent contiguous to *America*, or that probably might be so, that, on the contrary, he only touched upon a Country which several *Europeans* had visited before, and which there are very strong Reasons to believe is not a Continent, but an Island. Neither is this said with any View of disparaging the Industry or Abilities of that adventurous, brave, and indefatigable Person, whose Memory ought always to be revered, and to which I have raised the best Monument I was able; but in Things of this Nature, Truth is to be regarded before any other Consideration; and there can be nothing plainer than this Truth, that his Discovery does not warrant any such Supposition, as that the Country he touched was a great Continent making Part of *North America*; and if in any Accounts he left behind him, he furnished any thing like this, he must have been mistaken.

As to the second Point, the Argument drawn from the Proximity of the North-east Cape, and the most western discovered Coast of *America*, is easily discussed; for though, as has been already observed, the Discoveries and accurate Observations made by Captain *Behring* in his first Voyage, have really altered the Face of Affairs extremely, and shewn us Things in quite a new Light, by proving that the North-east Part of *Asia* is a Country of much larger Extent, than, till it was thus examined, was ever suspected, or would ever have been supposed true, if it had been ever so strongly asserted without Proof; yet for all this, the North-east Continent of *Asia* has some Bounds, and Captain *Behring* has very accurately fixed those Bounds, by assuring us, that the most North-east Cape of the *Asiatick* Coast is in the Latitude of 194 Degrees East from the Meridian of *London*. There might indeed have been some Dispute about this, as Captain *Behring* did not examine the Coast any higher than to the Latitude of 67. 18 Minutes, if the Account which Professor *Euler* has published had not plainly proved him in the right, by assuring us that his Observation was confirmed by those who sailed round Cape *Suitonos* to the North-east Cape of Captain *Behring*, by which it is rendered perfectly certain, that he has fixed the Longitude of the Extremity of the *Asiatick* Continent.

If therefore we add to its Longitude from *London* the Longitude of *Churchill River* in *Hudson's Bay*, which the ingenious Captain *Christopher Middleton*, by a very accurate Observation fixed at 95 Degrees West; I say, if we add these two Longitudes together, they will amount to 289 Degrees; and if we subtract this Sum from 360, there will remain 71 Degrees of Longitude, which is the Distance between the North-east Cape and that Part of *Hudson's Bay*. In order to reduce this into Leagues, we may compute a Degree of Longitude in the Parallel of 65 Degrees at the Rate of eight of those Leagues, of which 20 make a Degree of Latitude; and from thence it will appear, that there are 568 such Leagues, or upwards of 1700 of our Miles between the Extremity of the North-east Continent of *Asia* and *Hudson's Bay*; and this surely is Space sufficient for many larger Islands, and a considerable Passage between the nearest Coast of *America*, and the most Eastern of those Islands, supposing all these Lands to lie in that Parallel, which however is a Supposition we are not obliged to make, there being not the least Shadow of Proof of any Countries or Islands hitherto discovered so far to the North.

But farther still from the settled Longitude of the North Cape of *Japan* in 40 Degrees Latitude, which is pretty exactly known from the Observations made by the Jesuits at *Peking*, and is about 150 Degrees East from *London*, and from the best computed Longitude of *California* in 40 Degrees North Latitude, it lies in 130 Degrees Longitude West from *London*, making together 280 Degrees, leaves 80 Degrees for the Distance of *California* from *Japan*, allowing 17 Leagues to a Degree of Longitude, in 40 Degrees North Latitude, the Distance would be about 1360 Leagues: By the same Calculation, *California* must be at least 7 or 800 such Leagues from the North-east Cape of *Asia*; so that in so great a Space there may be very great Countries or Islands, without supposing the new discover'd Country continuous to *California*, and might well allow of an open Channel or Sea from 50 to 100 Leagues wide between the discovered Coast and *California*.

The two Insinuations, of which we have undertaken the Disproof, have a visible Connection with each other; and if either of them had been well founded, it might have been urged as an Evidence in Support of the other. But examining them separately, we have shewn, that the Country discovered by Captain *Bebring* in his second Expedition, whether Continent or Island, does not render it at all probable, that the Land of which it makes Part, is continued to the North-west of *America*, and joined there either to *California*, or to the Continent lying farther to the North-west of that Country, now known not to be an Island, but Part of the main Land. What we have urged upon this Subject, is farther supported and rendered more credible by the Disproof of the second Suggestion, viz. That the Distance is but very small between the North-east Cape of *Asia*, and the North-west Part of *America*; for with respect to this we have proved, and that from Captain *Bebring's* own Observations the direct contrary, and have not only made it evident that the Space between them is very great, but have likewise shewn what that Space is; so that the Reader can decide for himself as to the Probability of this Position, that there is only a Passage by Sea between *Asia* and *America*, near the Confines of the *Russian* Dominions, and that the rest of the Space is taken up by the North-west Continent of *America*, Part of which was coasted by Captain *Bebring* in his second Voyage.

But we have undertaken to do still more than this, and to make it appear that the *Russian* Discoveries are so far from yielding any Colour of Proof as to the Probability of that Supposition that has been advanced from them, that in reality they rather prove the contrary, and add Weight to the opposite Opinion, which is a Point of very great Consequence, because it removes that Bar which has been thrown in the Way of our discovering a North-west Passage, which is a Thing of the highest Importance to us as a trading Nation. Of which, if we stood in need of Arguments to prove it, this alone is no inconsiderable Reason; that almost all foreign Nations are inclined to represent it as a Chimera, which is a Notion dictated to them by their Interests, and therefore ought to contribute to make us sensible of our own. When I say this, I have not the least Intention to represent such an Insinuation as the Sentiment of the Professor *Euler*, who speaks as an indifferent Person, and in the Language of a Gentleman, and a Man of Learning; for I am only labouring to refute those after whom he speaks, whose Objections he has heard and repeats, and to which he shews himself very willing to hear what can be said in Answer. To come to the last Point, and to shew that these Discoveries of the *Russians*, instead of justifying their Notions of a North-east Passage only, of which they look upon themselves in Possession, rather favour the opposite Sentiment, and afford probable Grounds to believe, that the Space between the North-east Cape of *Asia* and the opposite Continent of *America*, is filled up by broken Lands, and consequently that there is also a North-west Passage, I shall make use of several different Methods.

In the first Place then, I must observe, that the concluding Paragraph of the Professor's Letter evidently proves that he is of the same Opinion with me, in respect to a North-east Passage, that is to say, that from the Expedition of the *Dutch* Ships in 1670, the coasting Voyages of the *Russians* from the Mouths of the Rivers *Obi*, *Jenisca*, and *Lena*, and from the late Discoveries made by Captain *Bebring* in his first Voyage, there is an incontestable Proof of such a Passage. Now from hence I make two Inferences; the first is, that if the North-east Passage, so long ago given up, and that too, if Captain *Wood's* Arguments had signified any thing upon what might be called direct Evidence, as chimerical and impracticable, be at this Day known to be real and practicable, since every League of it has been sailed over, I should be glad to know, why even without the least Degree of Evidence, it is to be thought reasonable to conclude in the like hasty Manner, against a Possibility of finding a North-west Passage? It is an usual and a very just Method of Argument, that after detecting one great Mistake, one ought from thence to be doubly cautious of committing another of the same Kind; but it is a new and strange Reasoning to conclude, from the Detection of a Mistake, into which Men were drawn by some kind of Evidence, that they may, without Danger of mistaking, conclude the same Thing with Regard to another like Point, and this without any Evidence at all. My second Inference is, that as the same kind of Reasoning is applied, I mean with respect to Cosmographical Topicks, to the North-west as to the North-east Passage, and it is now found by Experience, that those Arguments were well and rightly applied with respect to the Oeconomy of Providence in reference to one Passage; this should therefore be taken, not as Evidence indeed, but as a very probable Indication that the same Arguments have not been wrong applied in regard to the other Passage. It is indeed true, that Nature effects the same End, when aimed at under different Circumstances, by several Means; and this shews at once the Wisdom and the Power of Providence, but in like Cases she generally takes the same Means; and therefore this being considered, our having a Certainty of a North-east Passage, which Certainty is derived from these Discoveries, becomes a strong analogical Argument for there being a North-west Passage.

I shall now beg Leave to offer quite another Method of Argument, and that shall be taken from the Nature of the Whale-fishing, or to speak with greater Propriety, from the Nature of the Whale. Those Fish resort at a certain Season of the Year from warmer to colder Climates, and the Reader is very well acquainted that it was urged as a strong Reason why there should be a North-east Passage, that Whales were thrown upon the Coast of *Corea* with *Dutch* Harpoons in them. We now see that this was a just and a right Argument; for Captain *Bebring* tells us, that he met with Whales cast ashore on the Coast of *Kamschatska*, and I suppose no body can doubt that these Whales went thro' the North-east Passage, now that such a Passage there is known to be. But Whales are found, even in the latter End of the Summer, in the *Welcome* in *Hudson's* Bay. Instinct being an unerring Principle, I should be glad to hear where these Whales must be going at that Time of the Year, if not into the *South-Seas*, and if into the *South-Seas*, whether there must not be a Passage between the North-west Continent of *America*, and the Countries, whether Continents or Islands, between that and the North-east Cape of *Asia*. For to suppose that these Whales should go round such a vast Continent as that must be, if the new-discovered Land was continuous to *America*, and were to enter by that Passage in which Captain *Bebring* was, is a palpable Absurdity, because in the advanced Season of the Year, and in so high a Latitude, those Seas would be frozen. This Argument I must insist upon to be in a Manner decisive; we know there are Whales upon the Coasts of *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*; we now know that these Whales go through the North-east Passage, and so descend into the warm Seas of *Japan*; we know that

Whales

Whales are found in the North Part of *Hudson's Bay*, and not in the South, why then should we not think, or rather, how can we avoid thinking that they also find a Passage round into the warmer Seas?

Another strong Motive there is to believe that this Country, upon which Captain *Bebring* touched in his second Expedition, must be an Island, and not any such Continent as he is said to have imagined, is this, that being so near *Japan* as himself places it, it is impossible the Subjects of that Empire should not have been long ago acquainted with it, and with its Inhabitants; yet we are well enough versed in the *Japonese* History, to be thoroughly satisfied they know of no such Continent; but on the contrary, have laid down two pretty large Islands in this Tract, one of which, in all Probability, Captain *Bebring* coasted. If all the Space between the North-east Continent of *Asia*, and the opposite Continent of *America*, is partly Sea, and partly Islands of several Sizes, we may very easily account for their remaining so long unknown to the *Spaniards* in *America*, and in the *East Indies*, as well as most of them are to the *Japonese*; whereas if the Continent of *America* extended in such a Manner as the *Russians* seem to imagine it does, it must appear almost an Impossibility that it should not have been long ago discovered, considering how often, in a long Series of Years, the annual Ships from *Manila* to *Aquapulco*, must have been driven out of their ordinary Route (which it must be confessed is not calculated for Discoveries) either outward or homeward bound. Yet nothing of this Kind has been ever heard of; but all the flying Stories we have of Discoveries made in these Transits, relate only to Islands, and those too none of the largest, as appears from the Difficulty of meeting with them again.

One might add to all this, that the Consideration of the vast and enormous Extent of this new Continent, which upon this Supposition would contain 140 Degrees of Longitude, renders it highly improbable, and this more especially, if we consider the Disposition of other Parts of the Globe, and particularly that Part of *America*, the Coasts on both Sides of which are perfectly well known. It was this uniform and wise Distribution of Sea and Land, that first induced Men of penetrating Parts and great Experience to expect, that so many different Passages might be found from one Part of the Globe to the other; and as we see that these Expectations have been perfectly answered in respect to the Passage into the *South Seas* by *Cape Horn*, and are now convinced that there is a Passage by the North-east; so till they are absolutely certain of the contrary, it cannot be supposed that the ablest Cosmographers will be dispossessed of the Notions they have entertained of finding a Passage by the North-west, to which I hope I have fully shewn, that these new Discoveries are so far from raising an insuperable Bar, that on the contrary, they have made it more probable than it was before. For it must be observed, that the Advocates for a North-west Passage are very far from disputing any of the Points that are actually settled by these Discoveries, and are only engaged in a Controversy about the Probability or Improbability of this imaginary Continent, which is no Part of those Discoveries, but a Supposition raised in Consequence of them, without any just Grounds.

If it should be enquired, why, considering the Industry and perfect Understanding of Captain *Bebring*, with respect to Matters of this Nature, he should be so desirous of setting up a Fiction, like this, without any just Foundation or Authority, the Answer is not very difficult. He was instructed to find such a Continent as we have already seen; so that he set out upon his first Expedition, with a Prepossession that perhaps he could never get over. We have already seen in the Beginning of this Section, that before the North-east Coasts of the *Russian* Dominions were thoroughly known, a Notion prevailed, that possibly they might be continued in such a Manner as to join and make the same Continent with *America*; and when this was found to be false, notwithstanding their extending so far into the other Hemisphere, then his other Opinion was taken up;

and because Captain *Bebring* had fully discovered that there was an open Passage round the North-east Continent of *Asia*, by his first Expedition, and the Consequences that attended it; and because in his second Expedition he discovered new Land still farther to the Eastward, it was from thence presumed, that this must be Part of that Continent he was sent to look for, because had it been so, he would have fully executed his Instructions, and have found what the Court of *Petersbourg* were desirous he should find. This is a very clear and candid Account of the Matter, and what I am inclined to flatter myself, will satisfy every sensible and impartial Reader.

But to make it still plainer and more satisfactory, if possible, I will beg Leave to cite a parallel Case, which has been frequently mentioned in the Course of this Collection. The great *Christopher Columbus*, as wise a Man, and as experienced a Cosmographer as he was, when he first framed his Scheme of Discovery, proposed nothing more than to find out a new Route to the *East Indies* by sailing West, and when he met with the *Bahama* and *Lucaya* Islands, he flattered himself that he had obtained what he sought, that he had performed what he promised, and that he had put the Crown of *Spain* in Possession of a Part of the *Indies*; and from this Persuasion, when the Error was discovered, the Name of the *West-Indies* arose, to distinguish these new-found Countries from the old, of which they now appear to be no Part. Thus we see how *Columbus* was deceived in imagining, that by sailing directly West he could not fail of meeting that Eastern Continent, which was then the Object of the Wishes and Searches of all Discoveries, by which indeed he made a great and glorious Discovery, that will and ought to perpetuate his Name; but at the same Time that he did this, he discovered his Mistake, and that he was very far from having reached those Countries for which he originally sought. Yet he still retained his first Purpose, and in some Measure his first Notion; for when he heard of a great Continent lying still West from those Islands, his Hopes revived, but it was not long before he perceived that he was again mistaken, and then finding there was a narrow *Isthmus* which connected the Northern and Southern Parts of this Continent, he flattered himself there might be still a Passage, and under this Persuasion he died.

Now, as the Criticks say, there is something divine even in the Dreams of *Homer*; so in respect to the Sentiments of *Columbus*, of whose Memory I never speak but with the utmost Reverence, there was always something great and noble; and if I might be indulged so bold an Expression, I would venture to say that there was somewhat of Truth in his Errors, and of Wisdom in his Mistakes; for notwithstanding he was wrong with respect to Circumstances, he was right in the main; for had there been no such Continent as *America*, he might undoubtedly have failed, as he proposed, from *Spain* to the *Indies*, though hardly with such Vessels as those in which he made his first Discovery. However, it was upon his Thought that succeeding Discoverers built; it was from his Discourses they collected those Lights that led them to all they afterwards performed; and it was from the Scheme of *Christopher Columbus* that *Sir John Cabot*, (for he was the Knight, and not his Son *Sebastian*) took the Hint of a North-west Passage, which is yet undiscovered; that *Sebastian Cabot* framed his Design of finding a North-east Passage, which has been but of late known to be possible; and that *Ferdinand Magellan* gathered those Observations from whence he has so confidently undertook, and so happily accomplished, the finding a Passage to the *Spice Islands* through the *South Seas*.

In Matters of this Nature, as it is very easy to mistake, as well as very hard not to mistake; so there is nothing shameful or injurious to a Man's Reputation, who from real Discoveries falls into erroneous Suppositions; the only Danger is, that the Fame and Credit of the Discovery should give Weight and Authority to such Suppositions; and this makes it both necessary and laudable to examine them with the strictest Atten-

tion, which must be my Apology to the Reader for the Pains I have made him take upon this Occasion, in order, through all this Mist of Obscurity, to bring him out again into the Light, and to enable him to make the proper Use of Captain *Bebring's* most admirable and most important Discoveries, without being led away by that vain and idle Delusion to which they have most unaccountably given Rise. We may from this Examination of the Matter, very easily, and with some tolerable Degree of Certainty, perceive, what will be the Issue of this Design, in Case the *Russians* should continue, as in all Probability they will, to prosecute these Discoveries. What I mean by this, is, that in the Course of a few Years, they will very probably find out all that is yet to be found on that Side, and pass from one Island to another, till they have obtain'd an absolute Certainty as to the Situation, Size, and Nature, of the Countries that Providence has placed between *Asia* and *America*, amongst which, I will not presume to allege there may not be one more considerable than the rest, and extending much farther to the North, which in that Respect may deserve to be stiled a Continent; neither will I dispute, than when this shall be done, it may be both possible and practicable for the *Russians* to obtain a Share in the Commerce of *America*, though for many Reasons, some of which I shall hereafter mention; this seems to be a Thing far enough from being probable.

We may likewise discern from what has been said, how very little the rest of the World have to apprehend, from any Pains this Nation may employ to conceal their Discoveries; for, in the first Place, if they should prove considerable in themselves, and advantageous in their Consequences, that will be a Thing absolutely impossible; for whether they derive those Advantages from Conquests, or from Commerce, they cannot be hid; and if we once learn that these Advantages are derived to them, the Manner in which they are derived cannot long remain a Secret. On the other Hand, if they proceed slowly in these Discoveries, and reap no great Profits from them, they need not take much Pains about the Matter, since no Secret is so easily kept as that which is hardly worth the knowing. But as we have already explained the true Cause of that erroneous Notion of the Continent of *America* being at no great Distance from the North-east Coasts of the *Russian* Dominions, so it will be no hard Task to find out whence this other Sentiment of the Possibility of concealing Discoveries has its Original; the *Russians* have, for the two last Ages, employed themselves in making Discoveries and Conquests to the North-east, and these they have taken great Care, and not without considerable Success, to conceal, which they might very easily do, since it was not possible for any other Nation but themselves to reach them. Yet while they were thus concealed, they proved of no mighty Consequence to them; and the only Fruits of their Industry, in that Respect, at least so far as we can learn, were Want of real Improvements, or so much as acquiring a just Notion of their Importance. When the Czar *Peter* came to have right Ideas, in respect to Government, Power, and Commerce, this little narrow unprincely Scheme of concealing was immediately banished, and he not only took all the Methods possible to make himself and his Ministers thoroughly acquainted with the remotest Parts of his Dominions, but with equal Care and Industry published the Results of his Enquiries to all the World; and from thence it was that he not only raised a just and never-fading Reputation, but likewise reaped many Advantages, in a very short Space of Time, that otherwise must have cost whole Ages in the Form of slow and silent Methods to attain. By this Means principally he reached the great Point at which he aimed, and came to have right, distinct, and thorough Notions of the Value of the Discoveries made in the Reigns of his Predecessors, which were not known to them from their being addicted to that barbarous Policy of hiding and making a Mystery of what must be useless in the very same Proportion that it is concealed.

This shews the Folly and Absurdity of such a Principle, while confined to Discoveries upon the Continent, in which it was very possible it might be pursued with Success; but there is nothing easier than to shew, that it is not barely ridiculous, but absolutely impracticable, with respect to such Discoveries as are made by Sea. We already know enough of their Discoveries not to be much, if at all in the dark, as to the Sources of any Advantages they may reap from them hereafter; and, as I observed at the Close of the former Section, so long as we preserve our Naval Force, it will be always not only practicable, but a very easy Thing for us to acquire a Share of these Advantages, let them be what they will, in spite of any Pains, or any Means they can possibly use to prevent it. For it will be always possible for us, while we have such large Possessions in the *East-Indies*, to fit out Ships; or if it was necessary, Squadrons of Ships, and that with as great or greater Advantage than can be done by the *Russians*, and with these we may at any Time retrace all their Discoveries, and make them our own, in Case there shall appear any good Cause to expect that Expeditions of this Kind may turn to our Profit.

Neither is it Reason alone that teaches us this; for the same Lesson may be learned in the School of Experience. The *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese* were the original Discoverers of *America* and the *East Indies*, but how long did they remain the sole Proprietors of those valuable Possessions? And yet they were possessed of an Advantage which the *Russians* have not, and which it is in a great Measure out of their Power to attain; that of being the greatest Maritime Powers in *Europe*, indeed almost the only Maritime Powers in *Europe*, at the Time they made them. Therefore if with this singular Advantage, and when making Discoveries was a Thing new, those Nations found it impossible to conceal their Discoveries, or to exclude Strangers from sharing with them, how should the *Russians*, who on this Side of their Dominions neither have, nor in any reasonable Space of Time, can raise any formidable Naval Force?

Yet after all that has been said, I must confess, that if the *Russians* continue to proceed in these Discoveries, with that Vigour which their great Importance deserves, and which the Success they have lately met with may well encourage them to do, they may possibly make a Discovery of the highest Consequence, and perhaps conceal it too, and that to the great Advantage of themselves, and the great Detriment of the rest of the World, and of the *British* Nation in particular; and to this I attribute all that Air of Darkness and Mystery that has been of late thrown over most of their Relations. In short, I apprehend, and am very sure, that I have good Reason for my Apprehensions, they are already pretty well satisfied; or rather, the few judicious Heads amongst them, are convinced, not of the Possibility or Probability, but of the Reality of a North-west Passage; and this it is that makes them so very desirous of promoting a Belief of the running out of the two great Continents, till they almost meet each other, and hath also put them upon the Scheme of stifling their future Discoveries, that they may make the most of what they have already discovered, and not lead others to the Knowledge of a Route, which would make them Masters of these Discoveries, and of many more.

XI. After having examined as thoroughly as possible these *Russian* Discoveries, which have made so much Noise in the present Age, and which it is not impossible may make still more Noise in the next, let us proceed to a few Observations on what has been said in order to render it more useful and more intelligible to the Readers. It is now about two hundred Years ago, since our finding out the Navigation to *Russia*, was considered, as a more surprising Discovery, than any of which the *Russians* are now in Pursuit; but then it must be considered that they had no Dominions upon the *Baltick*, nor hardly any Intercourse with their Neighbours, except the *Poles* and the *Swedes*. It was presently foreseen, that from *Archangel*, which was the Port frequented

frequented by us, a Passage might be conveniently sought round *Nova Zembla* to the *East Indies*, and accordingly various Attempts were made that Way, as in its proper Place has been shewn. It could however hardly be foreseen, that so long a Series of Years should elapse, before the *English* Nation received any Certainty as to the North-east Frontiers of this spacious Empire, and yet it is purely owing to the great Wisdom and superior Genius of the Czar *Peter* the First that we are acquainted with them now, so late have we been instructed as to the real Boundaries of that Part of the Globe, with which, during so long a Space, we have had almost a constant Correspondence.

But now we are acquainted with them, let the Question be put, What are we the wiser or the better for this Piece of Knowledge? For that is the Touch-stone of all Acquisitions of this Sort; since if our Knowledge serves only to amuse the Learned, and to surprize the Ignorant, it is of very little Consequence, and indeed hardly deserves the Name. If, on the other Hand, it gives us a juster Notion of Things than we had before, delivers us from the Mists of ancient Errors, affords us a Prospect of new Truths, and enables us, by these Helps to decide judiciously of our own Interests, and those of other Nations; then, without doubt, our Enquiries are to some Purpose, and the Issue of them may be well stiled useful and solid Knowledge.

In the *first* Place then, we are now able to rectify our Mistakes, which to be sure were great enough concerning the Country of the *Russians*. We considered them heretofore as a rude and barbarous Nation, thrust up into a Corner of the Globe, of little Consequence to their immediate Neighbours, and who were almost in a State of Inability of making themselves so much as known, much less respected and feared by the rest of the World. We see them now in quite another Light; we see, that in Point of Extent and of Compactness, no Empire, either ancient or modern, can enter into Comparison with that of *Russia*, which is at once equal to any *European* Power, and superior to that of any Potentate in *Asia*. We see, that instead of being unknown or disregarded, even by her Neighbours, she has made herself courted as well as respected by the greatest Powers in both *Europe* and *Asia*, as being equally formidable to the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, the *Persians*, the *Chinese*, and, it may be, the *Japoneses*, on one Side, and to all the Powers in the North, on the other.

We may from hence learn how easy such Mistakes are, and how much Time and Pains it costs to rectify them, which ought to render us more careful in other Respects, how we suffer ourselves to be imposed upon by crude and indigested Opinions, or how we give into that common Source of great and dangerous Errors, the hasty rejecting as weak, absurd, and chimerical, such Propositions, of which, from their Novelty and the Want of present Lights, we cannot immediately see the clear and distinct Grounds. Of this I shall presently give a very strong, and hitherto unnoticed Instance with respect to this very Nation, and the Consequences of our Correspondence with them. It is very well known, that but a few Years ago, an Act of Parliament was obtained in Favour of the *Russia* Company, to enable them to carry on, through that Empire, a Trade with *Persia*; and that this was not obtained without Opposition, though the Advantages of such a Trade were then set in a very clear Light, and have been since felt by Experience, notwithstanding the unforeseen and inevitable Difficulties to which this new Trade has been subjected by the great Troubles and frequent Revolutions in the Country last mentioned. It would be no difficult Thing to shew, that Projects of the same Kind had been many Years ago set on Foot in *Italy* and in *France*, but I believe it will be News to most of my Readers, that it was with a View to an Establishment of this Sort, that King *James* the First proposed to send Sir *Thomas Overbury* into *Muscovy*; and that some who looked upon themselves as very penetrating People, and above the ordinary Rank of Politicians, valued their own Sagacities in seeing through this Project, as they imagined, and treating it as a Thing altogether im-

practicable, and fit only to amuse the Minds of Speculators; by which, very probably, the Nation was defrauded of a Branch of Commerce that might have proved highly beneficial.

I am too well acquainted with the Temper of the present Age to advance so strange, and, to most People, so unheard-of a Thing as this, without Proof; and therefore I shall cite a Letter from Mr. *John Chamberlain* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, preserved among that Gentleman's State Papers, who was afterwards Secretary. It is dated May 6, 1618, and the Writer having first observed, that it was the urging Sir *Thomas Overbury* to go to *Muscovy*, that drove him to that peremptory and unmannerly Answer for which he was committed to the Tower, he proceeds thus: "Indeed we have great Doings in Hand, and strange Projects for that Place, which I doubt will all prove Discourses in the Air, for they be grounded upon certain Speeches of some of the Nobility to an *English* Merchant about two Years since; but *tempora mutantur*, and the Case is much altered there since that Time. Yet the King apprehends the Business very earnestly, and hath caused Sir *Henry Nevile* to confer with some of the Council about it divers Times, wherein, they say, he hath shewed great Sufficiency, and discoursed at large what Commodity might arise by bringing the whole Trade of *Persia*, and the Inland Part of the *East Indies* up the River *Hydaspes*, and so with a short Cut down the River *Oxus* into the *Caspian* Sea, and then up the River *Volga* to a Straight of Land that will carry all into the River *Dwina*, that runs down to St. *Nicolas* and the Town of *Archangel*, the ordinary Port and Station of our Shipping in those Parts. These are goodly specious Discourses of Things not so easily done as spoken." If we have found a nearer, shorter, and more expeditious Method of carrying on and improving this Trade, it is because, as our Author says, *Tempora mutantur*; and that with regard to us and the *Russians* also, we are no longer under the Necessity of making the long Voyage to *Archangel*, nor are they obliged to take the Course before laid down for bringing *Persian* Commodities into the Heart of their Empire. Yet for all this, it is no hard Matter to discern this Project was both very possible and very practicable at that Time, and might have been attended with very great Advantages to both Nations.

We may learn from the Contents of this Section, more especially if we compare them with those of the foregoing Sections, what are the true Reasons why, with all the seeming Advantages of which the *Russians* are now possessed, they make, notwithstanding, but a very small Figure in Commercial Affairs. It is very true, that from the advantageous Situation of their Empire, they have a Variety of different Prospects of extending and promoting their Trade; but perhaps this Variety has been, and still is rather detrimental than beneficial. We find them sometimes intent upon establishing their Navigation on the *Black Sea*, and in a few Years this is dropped, and their Efforts are made upon the *Caspian*; then the Trade by Land with *China*, and the supposed Advantages that may be derived from regular Caravans ingrosses their Thoughts, till on a sudden they are turned to more distant Discoveries and a Naval Correspondence with *Japan*, which is again dropped for the Sake of pursuing, a still more distant, and more uncertain Scheme of opening a new Route to the Coasts of *America*.

Thus by running from one Thing to another, and by a preposterous grasping at many Things, Nothing is attained, if we except this, that from these Attempts it has been made very apparent, that all, save the last, might have been attained. For while *Peter* the Great was possessed of *Asoph*, he not only opened to his Subjects the Commerce, but, as we hinted before, established a Naval Force in the *Black Sea*, and thereby terrified the Grand Signior in his Seraglio, but this however inspired the *Turks* with a Resolution of depriving him of that Fortress, and of the Power of making him uneasy on that Side; which they had the good Luck to accomplish; yet there may come a Time, when, if the

the *Russians* should be content to prosecute one Point at once, they may again become Masters of *Asoph*, and of that advantageous Commerce that might be carried on from thence. Nay, it is not at all impossible that they may conquer *Crim Tartary*, which, with respect to Trade and Naval Power, would be the most important Acquisition they could make; but it would require much Time and no small Application to render such a Conquest as advantageous as it might be made to their Empire, and indeed to the Christian World in general.

On the *Caspian* also *Peter* the First built Vessels of various Sizes, and conquered some of the most valuable Countries in *Persia*; he likewise formed Projects of Discovery in the most distant Part of that Sea; where, for the Encouragement of his People, he gave out there were Gold Mines; but all these Projects, partly by other Accidents, but chiefly by his Death, came to nothing. The same great Emperor actually opened a Trade by Land to *China*, of which we have given a large Account, and of the Reasons of its Declension. Reasons that still subsist, and will always subsist, while the *Chinese* Government is carried on in Conformity to the Maxims that having prevailed there for many Ages, are not likely to be laid aside in haste. It remains that we should examine the Causes that have hindered the Accomplishment of the two last Designs.

With respect to these, there is nothing clearer than that the vast Distance of *Kamschatska*, the present Condition of that Country, and the great Difficulty of establishing any certain and easy Communication between it and the western Provinces of the Empire, are Obstacles of such a Nature as must render it very hard to surmount. On the other Hand, we are very well apprized of the settled Aversion which the *Japoneses* have to any Correspondence with the *Europeans*, which there are good Grounds to believe may rise higher with regard to the *Russians*, whom, notwithstanding their vast Dominions in *Asia*, they will always consider in that Light. I say, that we have good Grounds to believe, that their Aversion will rise higher against them than any other Nation, because their Apprehensions, in respect to their Power, will be greater and better founded. Thus we see that there is no great Cause to be surprized, that the Court of *Petersbourg* has not been able to make any great Progress hitherto in that Commerce, of which Captain *Spanberg* gave them such mighty Expectations.

Yet great as these Obstacles are, they seem to be still inferior to those that lie in the Way of this so much wish'd-for Commerce with the Northern Continent of *America*; for which, as we have shewn, they are utterly unqualified, until such Time as *Kamschatska* is much better improved than we have any Reasons to believe it is at present; because, as we have already shewn, the Space is much larger between the two Continents than they apprehend; and if it were much less, it is not very easy to conceive either with what Commodities they would trade from *Kamschatska*, or where they would find Men to undertake any thing in the Way of Conquest. The Reader will observe, that I state these only as very great Difficulties, which it will be hard, but not impossible to overcome. The Method they are now in of surveying these Countries, diligently inquiring into their Produce, and framing from thence natural Histories, tracing the several Rivers from their Sources to their Mouths, bringing the barbarous Inhabitants under Obedience, and using every other Means possible to come at an exact Knowledge of their vast Dominions, though very slow, is out of Comparison the surest to attain Success.

It is not at all improbable, that in Process of Time they may find either Mines or Drugs, or some other Commodities of Value, that may make the Plantation and Improvement of these Places, at least bear the Expences, and so by Degrees extend their Settlements and Fortresses in a regular Manner from *Tobolski* to *Ochotski*; and then, no doubt, the peopling and improving *Kamschatska* will be found far easier than is generally imagin'd; for, as I hinted before, there seems to be good Reason to believe, that there is nothing, either in the Climate

or the Soil, so incorrigible, as to take away all Hopes of making it a tolerable Habitation. It is indeed true, that some Hints have been given of taking a shorter Way, by settling a Port at the Mouth of the River *Lena*, and opening the Navigation to *Kamschatska* by Vessels of considerable Burthen. I might object to this, what *Ysbrant Ides* tell us of the Northern Seas being choaked with Ice for several Years together, so as to render such a Passage absolutely impracticable; but as I am strongly inclined to doubt the Truth of this, I cannot think it fair to alledge any such Thing. But supposing the Passage to be always practicable in the Summer, which is the utmost that can be contended for, yet the thorough settling of *Kamschatska* will remain a Thing absolutely requisite before any Discoveries of Importance can be undertaken with any tolerable Advantage on that Side, since after so long a Voyage as that round the North-east Cape, it cannot well be imagined that Vessels should be in a Condition to proceed, without putting into some Port for Refreshment.

If therefore this could be done at *Kamschatska*, and proper Magazines of Provisions and Naval Stores were erected there, no Doubt need be made, that in the Course of a few Years, Things in this Part of the World would change their Face, and a Commerce of very great Consequence might be soon settled. Whenever this shall be effected, and such a Navigation from Practice and a perfect Knowledge of the proper Seasons made common, if not convenient, I cannot help hazarding a Conjecture, that the Court will call to Mind a Project formerly set on Foot for reviving and restoring the Trade of *Archangel*. It may be said, that to suppose the Possibility of an easy Passage to the North-west of *Nova Zembla*, which must be the Course from any Port established at the Mouth of the River *Lena*, is absurd and romantick, but this is easier said than proved; the *Dutch* Ships that were sent in 1670 for the Discovery of the North-east Passage, actually passed round *Nova Zembla* the other Way, and therefore it is very plain the Thing is not at all impossible; and to People who inhabit the Country that borders upon the Sea, have an Opportunity of making Choice of the fittest Season, and may have such Assurances from the Nature of their Government, as cannot be expected in Places, where not only the Climate, but the Laws are milder; this may, in Process of Time, and that no very long Time either; be render'd very practicable, and *Archangel* become once more the Centre of the *Russian* Trade, as in former Times. The Reason that the Czar *Peter* the Great, who delighted so much in Improvements, made it in some Measure a Point to ruin *Archangel*, by withdrawing the Trade from it, may be very easily learned. In the first Place, it had been insulted by the *Swedes*, which made him apprehend, that the richer this Port grew, the more likely it would be to tempt his Neighbours to make it such Visits. Besides this, he was very intent upon whatever might contribute to the establishing, enlarging, or enriching of the new City of *St. Petersbourg*, which he was building, and which he was equally desirous of rendering the Centre of Commerce, and the Capital of his Empire.

Both these Reasons are, in a great Measure, taken away; for with Regard to the Power of the *Swedes*, and the Safety of *Archangel*, there are no longer any Apprehensions, or indeed the least Grounds for them; and with respect to *Petersbourg*, it will always remain the Center of the *Baltick* Trade, as well as the Western Capital of the *Russian* Empire; so that instead of suffering, it would in reality receive great Advantages by the Revival of the Commerce at *Archangel*; and still greater, if such a Communication could be opened, as that which I have described. We were heretofore very well acquainted with that Port, as having a regular as well as constant Navigation thither; but of late we speak less of it, and consequently are so much the worse Judges of its Consequences, which is in reality very great, since there is no Place in the whole Dominions of *Russia* that lies so conveniently for uniting the Commerce of the most distant Countries in the East with
that

that of *Europe*. Of this a remarkable Specimen has been given from our own History, and that too in a most extraordinary Period, as I could very easily shew, if it was proper at this Time; another I have exhibited from my own Conjecture, in Case these Discoveries to the North-east should be prosecuted with Effect; and a third shall be taken Notice of hereafter, but in the mean Time, I believe it may contribute to the Amusement and Relief of the Reader, and at the same Time prove no great Interruption to the Course of our Reasoning, if we insert a very ingenious and lively Description of this Port, when in its most flourishing Condition, written upon the Spot by Sir *Dudley North*, a Man of remarkable Abilities, and no less distinguished for his Accuracy in observing, and his Veracity in relating whatever he met with worthy of Notice, in the many Years that he spent Abroad.

This Gentleman after a very pleasant and humorous Description of this Voyage, which not being to our Purpose I pass by, proceeds thus in setting forth the State in which he found the Port that is now under our Consideration. "We went ashore to live in Houses built with Trees laid along one upon another, and let in at the Ends, the Streets are paved with Trees, and the Houses covered with Birch Bark. The Ground where the *English* are appointed to dwell, is paved round with great Trees set upright; the like there is for the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers*. The Emperor of *Russia* sends down every Year a Governor, and a Gort or Judge to keep the Peace, and decide all Differences. Their Law is in their Heads, and what comes out of their Mouth is without Controul or Appeal. So that whatever Difference ariseth between one Man and another, it is sure to be fully decided in less than an Hour. After the Parties have once spoke, he gives the decisive Stroke, and there's an End.

"Now this is a fine Place to live in, Victuals of all Sorts plenty, and brave Sunshine Weather: As we sailed along the Coast of *Norway*, I fancied the Clouds, though lost in the Horizon, were but a small Distance from us, which this place confirms, else one place could not be so very serene, and another so cloudy, and that almost constantly. For at the North Cape it is rare to see the Sun, and here at *Archangel*, about two hundred Leagues distant, not a Cloud to be seen for several Months together; when we were two Leagues distant from the huge Mountains on the Coast of *Norway*, we could plainly discern the Clouds to pass between the Mountains and us.

"One of the Inconveniencies that lie on those who dwell in this Country, is, that the People are so given to Nastiness, that nothing can be eaten out of their Hands; you shall have perhaps four Brothers and as many Sisters, with their Father, Mother, Husbands, and Wives, all dwell in one hot House, (*Wisbe*) they call it. They have nothing but a little Straw strewed on the Ground to lie upon. They wear loose Garments above, with Linnen Drawers, which go down to their Heels, and a short Shirt underneath like a Coat. To this in the Winter, they add a Cassitan as they call it, which is an Under-Coat, the Upper they call a Shube. And for their Boots, and huge thick Stockings, and double Mittens for their Hands, they never alter but continually wear them. The Women I think are the most deformed Creatures that ever were seen, generally short, and by Reason of their lying in Wisbies and Bastoes, very swarthy. Their Wear is for the labouring Women, Boots, but for them that keep House, neither Shoes nor Stockings; they wear a Linnen loose Garment next their Skin for the most part, without any Thing else, but sometimes they have another of blue Callico over the former, but that is all.

"The Men account it a Sin to have either long Hair or a short Beard. They are extremely superstitious, every Man has his Object of Worship, but some twenty or more. They are Commodities sold in the

"Marker, and they will not sell any to a Stranger, or suffer him so much as to touch them. These are Pictures of the Saints, and that of our Saviour. The great Men burn Lamps before them Day and Night, and adorn them richly with Gold and Pearl, but when these are worn out, and they cannot see any Thing of them, they hold it not lawful to burn them, but in a solemn Manner carry them to the Sea, and there set them a-drift to shift for themselves.

"These People are generally Thieves from the first to the last, and steal not only from Strangers, but Neighbours; and Possession is all the Law they have among themselves. Drinking is their only Pastime, and he that is not drunk on a Holiday, or Sabbath-day, is not either a Friend to their God, or Emperor. They are all left to get their Livings the best Way they can. He that is a Carpenter To-day, is a Labourer To-morrow. Every Man breeds up his own Sons, and it is a Shame to be wiser than their Forefathers.

"This Town of *Archangel* stands on a Bog, and if you offer to walk out of Town, (except one Way, which is by the Water-Side, leading to a small Grove of Trees, that are of a competent Height, and mostly Pine, Fir, and Birch) if the Way be not paved with Planks, as ordinarily is done, to make a Passage from the Town to some Windmill, you are presently over Shoes and Boots. Among the rest of the Islands, some are very good Grounds, and bear Corn of all Sorts, which after it is turned Colour, as it will in five Weeks after it is put in the Ground, they cut down and lay in the Sun to ripen or harden, and thus they often have two Crops in a Year.

"You shall not see in all this Country, one hundred Acres of good Ground without a Monastery or two or three in Sight of it; who will may shave himself a Fryar, but it is seldom done unless in Sickness, for they think, whoever dies without the last Unction cannot be saved, and he that recovers, and lives after he hath received that Sacrament is a Friar all the rest of his Life.

"In this Country the Husband is the sole Commander of the Wife, who differs very little from his Servant. Many will marry their Sons very Young to lusty Baggages, on Purpose to gain able Servants.

"I shall add (though not very material) the Process of making Tar, the Product of this Place. They dig a Hole in the Ground of a competent Size, some two or three Fathom deep, and a little lower than the middle they make a Platform of Wood, and thereon heap Earth about a Foot deep, except in the Middle, where an Hole is left in the Form of a Tunnel. Then they fill the Pit with Fir Billets, piled up from the Platform, and rising about a Fathom or more above Ground, which part they wall about with Turf and Clay to keep in the Fire. They command the Fire by quenching, for which Use they make a *Lixivium* of the Ashes of Fir. When all is ready they set Fire a-top, and keep the Wood burning, but very leisurely, till it comes within a Foot or two of the Partition, and then they heave out the Fire as fast as it is possible, for if it once lay hold of the Tar, which is settled down into the lower Pit it blows all up forthwith. These Tar-Pits occasion a great deal of Trouble, and require many Men to tend them during the Time of their Burning, that the Fire may descend even and leisurely, whereby the Tar may have Time to soak out of the Wood, and settle down into the Pit. As it comes from the Wood it is pure Tar, but in the Pit it mixeth with Water, which issues from the Wood also, therefore it must be clarified from it once or twice.

"The Manner of their Bastoes or Baths is worth Notice. They are made as a square Room, in one Corner of which is built a Sort of Oven, the Top of which is covered with great round Pebble-Stones,

“ Stones laid very thick one upon another, without any
 “ Mortar. In this Oven they burn an Arm-full or two
 “ of Billets, and, during the Fire, leave the Door open
 “ for the Smoke to go out, which else could not pass
 “ for the Closeness of the Room. When the Fire is
 “ out, and the Stones thoroughly hot, you go into it
 “ stark naked, and the Heat is so extraordinary, that
 “ in less than a Quarter of an Hour the Sweat shall
 “ run from you like Water, and the Heat almost stifle
 “ you. There are several Benches, which are the De-
 “ grees of Heat; on the Ground it is tolerable, but
 “ very few are able to hold up their Heads to the Top
 “ of the Room, or stand upright. They heat the
 “ Room to what Degree you please, by dashing cold
 “ Water upon the Stones, which doth wonderfully
 “ augment it. These Bastoes are such common Things,
 “ that there is scarce an House, however poor, that
 “ wants one. They seldom or never lie with their
 “ Wives but in the Basto; the Women are always
 “ brought to Bed in it. It is common to see Men
 “ stand at the Church Door, not daring to enter, be-
 “ cause they have not washed since they lay with their
 “ Wives, so nice is their Devotion.

“ All the Tools they work with about Wood is an
 “ Hatchet, and all of a Bigness, so that the largest
 “ Trees, and smallest Pieces of Wood are wrought
 “ upon with the same Tool. I believe they are the best
 “ Hatchet-men in the World, for except a Shave, they
 “ have no other Tool to do all Manner of Work.
 “ Most Houses in the Country are of Wood, and have
 “ no Sort of Materials else about them: And some
 “ again, as at the City of *Moscow*, for Prevention of
 “ Fire, have not a Stick of Wood about them, the
 “ very Doors and Windows are of Iron. Most of our
 “ Warehouses here have Fire-houses under them; it is
 “ a perfect House under Ground, built as others are,
 “ and covered with great Trees, with a Fathom of
 “ Earth laid over it. The Door is deep and laid
 “ round with Brick. When a Fire happens, the
 “ Goods are flung down at that Door, and there al-
 “ ways stand ready about a Dozen Barrels of Sand,
 “ which serve to dam up the Door. Then the House
 “ may be burnt to the Ground, and all the Goods re-
 “ main safe.”

This short and entertaining Account demonstrates to us sufficiently the Possibility of rendring *Archangel* a very commodious Place, a good Port, and a well fortified Town; so that in all these Respects it might very well serve as a middle Place for the Reception of the Commerce of *Europe* and *Asia*; and if the *Russians* can tell how to bring it thither, of all the Islands between *Asia* and *America*, and even of *America* itself. It has been before hinted, that another Proposition has been made for settling the Trade of the East here of late Years, that is, in the Reign of the Czar *Peter*, of a different Nature from either of those which the Reader has yet met with; the former, he must remember, went upon this Supposition, that the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies* might be brought through *Persia* to the *Caspian Sea*, and so by various Rivers to *Archangel*. The other suggests a Possibility of carrying on a Trade from *Kamschatska* to the Islands near *Japan*, to *Corea*, *China*, &c. and carrying the Produce of this Trade round by Sea to *Archangel*.

This other Proposal goes upon the old Supposition, that a North-east Passage was impracticable; and therefore two Merchants laid a Scheme before the Senate, to make a Communication between several navigable Rivers and Lakes, by the Means of which, the *Russian* Merchants might carry their Goods from *Archangel* to the Eastern Ocean, and so by an easy and short Way trade to *Japan* and the *East Indies*, to the incredible Advantage of the *Russian* Dominions. The Connection was to be by the Rivers *Dwina*, *Fasta*, *Irtis*, *Oby*, *Keta*, *Tenisra*, *Angur*, the Lake *Baikal*, the Rivers *Schulka*, and *Amur*, the latter of which runs through *Dauria* into the Eastern Ocean. It would perhaps be no difficult Thing to shew, that though this Scheme is not impossible or impracticable, yet it would be much harder to accomplish, than that of opening a Communication by

Sea; and the only Reason I mentioned it was to shew how many different Methods have been contrived to transfer the *East India* Trade, at least in a great Measure to the *Russians*; according to all which, *Archangel* has been the Port preferred; so that some Time or other, perhaps, it may obtain what has been so long sought, in different Times, by different Heads, and from such different Ways.

To conclude this Subject, and to shew how great a Sacrifice was made in the establishing of *Petersbourg*, I shall present the Reader with a Memorial, shewing the Inconveniencies that would arise by transferring thither the Trade from *Archangel*. It was drawn up by a Committee of Merchants, who were the best acquainted with the Interests of *Russia*; and of the rest of the Nations in *Europe* trading thither, and though it had no Effect, yet the Facts contained therein are very curious; they were briefly these:

1. That at *Wologda* only, a Town situate between *Moscow* and *Archangel*, there are three *German* Merchants, who at their own Charge maintain 25000 Persons and upwards in dressing and preparing Hemp to be sent to *Archangel*, and from thence into foreign Countries: But should they be obliged to keep such a Number of People at *Petersbourg*, where every Thing is five Times as dear as at *Wologda*, that Trade not only would turn to no Account at all, but they would even be Losers by it.
2. That the greater Part of the Exportation of *Archangel* is of the Growth of the neighbouring Country of *Wologda*, from whence those Commodities are with a great deal of Ease carried by Water to *Archangel*; whereas were they to be transported to *Petersbourg*, it must be done a great Way over Land, and with far greater Expences to the Merchants.
3. That the Soil at *Petersbourg* is such, that the Hemp cannot be kept there a few Months without growing damp.

It is hoped, that from these Remarks and Reflexions, the Reader will be led to a perfect Acquaintance with the Consequences of the *Russian* Discoveries, the Nature of the several Projects that have been formed for improving and extending the Commerce of that Empire, and the Effects that these must necessarily produce upon the Trade of *Europe* in general, in case they should ever be brought to any tolerable Degree of Perfection, than which it would be hard to find a Subject more useful or more entertaining to such as are desirous of acquainting themselves with the real and substantial Knowledge that is, the Result of Enquiries into the past and present State of distant Countries, and of learning from the Comparison of the Situation and Products of the several Parts of the Globe, how they may be best connected and made useful to each other.

But it may possibly be objected, that all these Things are at a very great Distance, in as much as hitherto the *Russians* have scarce entered into any Kind of Commerce with other Nations, or at least with other Nations who inhabit Countries lying at a Distance from them; so that to consider them in the Light of a naval and commercial Power, seems a little premature; and considering also the Vicissitude of human Affairs somewhat chimerical. But to this it is very easy to give a full and satisfactory Answer. It is scarce half a Century since this Nation became thoroughly known to the rest of *Europe*, that is to say, known as an independent and great Power, capable not only of holding the Balance of the North, or rather of prescribing to the Powers there, but also of having a considerable Influence upon the general System. Yet within this short Space, and notwithstanding several Revolutions in their Government, they have acquired, and that very justly, a very high Degree of Reputation, as well by a successful War against the *Turks*, as by their important Conquests from the Crown of *Sweden*; and exclusive of this, have twice within the last twenty Years, given Check to the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, and Peace to *Europe*, by marching their Troops into *Germany*, exactly in the same Manner, as when the over-grown Power of the House of *Austria* engaged the *Swedes* in an Enterprize of the like Nature, and with the like Success. If there-fore

fore it cannot be denied, that in so short a Time, and notwithstanding the many Obstacles they had to surmount, this Nation has carried its Power to so unexpected a Height, and render'd its Authority and Influence so very extensive, why should we doubt, that upon turning their Thoughts to the promoting of Industry, encouraging Manufactures, and improving their Trade, all which, it is very certain, are Points that have for some Years occupied their Thoughts. I say, why should we doubt, that in Process of Time they should become as successful in this, as in the aggrandizing themselves by their military Expeditions, and their political Negotiations, for both which they were thought infinitely more incapable, but forty or fifty Years ago, than they can be now, with respect to Improvements in Trade and Navigation?

I know very well, that it has been esteemed the Foible of this Nation, that they esteem themselves absolutely Masters of any Science, by that Time they have acquired the first Principles of it, and are apt to boast of Things as accomplished almost as soon as they have formed a Design of undertaking them; but as this is natural to all Nations, upon their first emerging out of a State of Barbarity, it may be probably concluded, that this is in some Measure worn off, and that in Consequence of their being more familiar with the Sciences, and having a greater Intercourse with other Nations, they are become both more knowing and more polite; which if it was at all necessary, might also be made good with respect to Facts, and that from the most authentick Evidence. But supposing they have still some Remains of this Humour sticking upon them, as has been before admitted in the Case of Discoveries, where, without question, their Conclusions have been a little too hasty, and their Expectations not a little too sanguine, yet this is no kind of Proof that they shall not succeed by Degrees, or that they may not acquire a very profitable and extensive Commerce, though not quite so profitable and extensive perhaps, as they have flattered themselves.

For if we reflect, that notwithstanding the Rigour of the Climate, and the Sterility of the Soil in some parts of their Territories, yet there is within the Dominions of *Russia*, not only as rich and fertile Countries as any in *Europe*, but a much larger Quantity of rich and fertile Ground than in the Possession of any *European* Power whatever, we shall surely see some Cause to alter our Opinion. Another strong Argument to this Purpose, may be drawn from the Staple Commodities of *Russia*, which are very numerous, of general Use, and of great Value; they have Hemp, Flax, and Timber; Tar, Wax, Hides, Tallow, &c. in vast Quantities; and if their Lands were improved, they might have as great Abundance of Corn as any Nation in the World; neither are the worst part of their Dominions unproductive of very rich Commodities, such as vast Quantities of the finest and most valuable Furs, Iron in the greatest Plenty, Salt, and many more Things than we have not either Leisure or Necessity to enumerate, since enough have been already mentioned to prove that they are in a Capacity of exporting as many and as valuable Commodities as their Neighbours, from the immediate Produce of the several Provinces of their vast Empire.

But farther still, a third and no less weighty Argument may be advanced from their Inland Commerce, which is very considerable, as will appear from the Places in which their great Custom-houses are erected, and which are become so many Staples for different Branches of Trade. As for Instance, there is a Custom-house at *Kiow* in the *Ukrain*, to which City there is a prodigious Resort of *Turkish*, *Tartarian*, *Polish*, *Armenian*, and *Rascian* Merchants. At *Tomski* in *Siberia*, there are likewise great Magazines of rich and valuable Commodities, brought thither by all the various Nations inhabiting the Heart of *Asia*, and with whom no other *European* Nation have any Intercourse or Trade. Thither also and to *Tobolski* are brought the Commodities and Manufactures of *China*, *Corea*, and of all the Nations which inhabit to the North and North-east of the River *Amur*. The City of *Astracan* is the Center of the *Per-*

sian Trade; and of what is derived from other Nations that inhabit either on or near the Shores of the *Caspian* Sea; and from all these Places there is a constant and prodigious Resort to the great City of *Moscow*, where a very large Traffick is driven by Merchants of all Nations. I say nothing of the *Lapland* Trade, which centers at *Archangel*, or of what is still carried on at *Novogorod* from *Courland*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and other Places; from all which it manifestly appears, that exclusive of their own, the *Russians* may be able to export very large Quantities of foreign Commodities and Manufactures, which they procure in the Way of Exchange, and may consequently enlarge their Trade that Way.

It may be indeed objected against what has been advanced, that as Luxury increases as fast or faster in *Muscovy* than in almost any other Country, the Balance of Trade is not like to be much in their Favour; but to this it may be answered, That the general Notions about Luxury are very false, both with respect to the Thing it self, and in regard to its Consequences. In common Speech, we take Luxury for the Desire of enjoying many Things that are not absolutely necessary; whereas in Truth, Luxury only consists in the Abuse of Things, whether necessary or not necessary; and tho' it be true, that Luxury taken in either, or in both these Senses, impoverishes and brings to Destruction particular and private Families, yet it may be justly questioned, whether Luxury is highly destructive to a Nation; for if we consider it seriously, it will be found, that such as assert this Talk in a Circle, and having first confounded their own Notions, labour next to disturb those of others. For what is it that encourages and promotes Industry amongst the lower Sort of People, but the Luxury of their Betters? What has been the Source of all fine Manufactures at Home, of importing rich Goods unmanufactured or manufactured from Abroad, but Luxury? Or what Justice is there in reproaching a Nation as barbarous, that in their Entertainments, Cloaths and Buildings, fall infinitely below their Neighbours, and then charging them with Luxury for endeavouring to live like their Neighbours?

The Truth of the Matter is this, that if the *Russians* confine themselves to the bare Search of Necessaries, they may find them with very little Trouble, and remain as poor, as idle, and as barbarous as before the Reign of *Peter* the Great; or suppose they would confine themselves to the bare Pursuit of Conveniences, these also may be had without any great Dealing with their Neighbours. But if in Consequence of travelling abroad, of receiving Foreigners hospitably at home, and of imitating such as pass for the wisest and most polite Nations, they come to enlarge their Circle of Conveniences, and thereby create innumerable Wants that they never knew before, what will the Consequences of this be? Not living in Huts, leaving their Lands untilld, and spending their Lives in eating dry'd Fish, and drinking Malt Spirits, or Mead, as they were wont to do; but in setting themselves to improve their Country, to increase its Produce, to bring their Commodities to Light, to vend them to Strangers, and thereby acquire those Goods that they want, or which is exactly the same Thing, those Goods they think they want, from Strangers. That Spirit of Luxury therefore that is said to prevail in *Russia*, is so far from being an Impediment to their becoming a trading Nation, that in Reality the Prevalence of this Spirit will make them so.

Another Argument which plainly proves that this Nation begins to have a Turn, and that a very serious one too towards Commerce, is the several Treaties they have concluded both with *European* and *Asiatick* Nations, for the encouraging, securing, and promoting it; of which Treaties many Instances might be given. It is true, that by their last Treaty with the *Turks*, they are restrained from Trading in the *Black Sea*, except in *Turkish* Bottoms; but this is only an accidental Restriction arising from the Circumstances of their Affairs at the Time the original Treaty in which this Clause is inserted, was concluded. Before that Time, the Czar *Peter* had no less than 200 Sail of Men of War, Gallies and Brigantines of his own upon that Sea, and we need

not

not doubt, that the *Russians* preserve the Memory of this, and will take the first Opportunity that offers, of recovering a Trade which they once prosecuted with great Diligence and Spirit.

I will add to these Arguments but one more, and that is, the prodigious Pains taken, and the immense Expence the Czar *Peter* and his Successors have been at in the Improvement of Roads, cutting Canals, rendring Rivers and Lakes navigable, purely for the Sake of facilitating the Communication of the different Provinces of their Empire with *Petersbourg*, and each other. These are manifest Instances both of the Rectitude of their Conceptions on this Head, and of the Sincerity of their Intentions, which have been also attended with surprizing Consequences; so that at present there is hardly a Country in the World where Carriage is either cheaper or more expeditious than in *Russia*; and this in Winter more especially, when by the Help of the Snow, their Sledges make an easy Passage from *Petersbourg* to *Moscow* in four Days, tho' the Distance between these two Cities is between four and five hundred *English* Miles, a Thing that would be scarce credible, if it was not supported by as authentick and indubitable Proofs as any Fact whatever; so that as the Summer is favourable to their Navigation and foreign Commerce, the opposite Season of the Year is no less so to their Inland Traffick, which is a very great Advantage; and tho' it is already much improved, is still capable of being rendered more commodious.

But there may be another Objection started, which will at first Sight seem subversive of all that I have been saying, and that is taken from the Nature of their Constitution, by which their Nobility, and indeed all Persons of Property, are absolute Lords over their Peasants, who for that Reason abhor Industry, considering it as an Obligation to Labour, not for their own Profit, but that of their Masters. In Support of this Objection, it may be likewise urged, that these Lords, who have such a boundless Power over the miserable People that live upon their Estates, are in their Turns exposed, upon very trivial Offences, to feel the bitter Effects of the Resentment of their Government; so that from this double Consideration it cannot be reasonably expected, that either the Peasants should alter their Course of Life without any Encouragement, or that the great Lords, from a meer Principle of Beneficence, should put their Dependants upon a better Foot than themselves.

But tho' it must be confess'd, that there is much more in this than in any other Objection that can be made upon this Subject, yet it is very far from being unanswerable. For by Degrees, as a new Spirit prevails in the *Russian* Government, and among the *Russian* Nobility, new Maxims must also of Necessity take place; and as, on the one Hand, the great Men will find it requisite, from no higher Principle than that of Interest, to deal more kindly, or at least more humanely with their Vassals; so on the other Hand, the Government also will relax in its Severity; for in Proportion as the great Lords come to employ themselves in attending to their own Affairs, managing their Estates, and taking Measures to live decently at home, and magnificently at Court, they will contract new Habits and new Notions, that will hinder them from running into Conspiracies or desperate Designs, and will consequently contribute to fix their Government upon a firmer Foundation; and this by Degrees will beget a milder Administration, and in Process of Time produce a better Constitution.

Those who are acquainted with the present Situation of Things in *Russia*, are very sensible that considerable Alterations have been made already, and that the Clemency of the present Reign has had very singular Effects, more especially if we consider, that as yet it has been of no long Duration. One Thing is particularly worth observing, that the Government is now altogether in the Hands of the Natives, from whence several Inferences may be drawn. First of all, that evil Spirit which reigned among the People, and made them so averse to all Kinds of Improvement, from a Notion that it served only to subject them to Strangers, is in a

great Measure worn out, and their natural Readiness to pay an implicit Obedience to their Superiors, provided they are of their own Nation, makes them cheerfully undertake those Things to which they were formerly dragged with great Violence. In the next place it is evident, that the *Russian* Nobility also have got pretty well rid of their Prejudices, begin to embrace other Notions, and to act upon Principles very different from those by which they were governed in former Times. *Thirdly* and *Lastly*, The happy Consequences that these Alterations have produced, as well by establishing great Regularity and a new Face of Things at Home, as by rendering them esteemed and respected abroad, may be very well supposed to have raised so strong a Barrier against their ever relapsing into their former Estate of Barbarism, that we may rather expect to see them animated by a warm Ambition of carrying to the utmost Degree of Perfection that new Stile of Life, if I may be allowed so Metaphorical an Expression, from whence they have already received so many and so considerable Advantages.

It may perhaps be alledged, and that with some Foundation of Truth, that there are still many great Obstacles to be got over in their Manners, Policy, and Views, both in private and publick Life; but when one considers how much greater Difficulties have been already overcome, and how much easier a thorough Reformation is effected when once well begun; then the slightest Alterations made, while a People are universally barbarous, we cannot suffer ourselves to be much moved by any such Representations. Besides, it is very well known, that the Impressions given us of the *Russians*, by some who have remained several Years in that Country, in reference to these Points, have been falsified by Facts; for it is not a long Time ago that such People insisted very positively on the absolute Incapacity of the Government to march any considerable Body of Troops out of their own Territories, and this, notwithstanding an Instance to the contrary fresh in every body's Memory, which has however proved an absolute Untruth, that large Body of Auxiliaries having marched with greater Ease and Expedition, with more Cheerfulness and Alacrity, and with better Discipline than the like Body of Men of almost any other Nation could have done, the Season of the Year and other Circumstances considered.

It is therefore better to found our Opinions upon Facts, than upon Conjectures; and we shall be less liable to be misled, if we form our Sentiments of what this Nation may hereafter do from what they have already done, than from what Statesmen or Travellers may believe, or pretend to believe, they can or will do.

But now it is high Time to collect from all that has been said, some few Conclusions that may be applied to certain useful Purposes. It has been shewn, that notwithstanding that Spirit of Discovery which has of late appeared in *Russia*, and which in many Instances has been prosecuted with Zeal, Industry, and Vigour, yet there is little Reason to suppose that any great Progress can be made in such Discoveries during our Times, and that for a Variety of strong Reasons which have been already given. That tho' from the Situation of this vast Country there result many, and those too very considerable Advantages with respect to Commerce, yet there are many Difficulties that lie in the Way, and must render the turning these Advantages to any great Account, a Work of Skill, Time, and Labour. That notwithstanding all this, there is a very high Probability these Difficulties will be got over, and that the best Use may be made of many, and in Length of Years, of all these natural Advantages, so as to render the *Russians* by degrees a trading People, and that from these gradual Improvements, as well of the interior State of the Empire, as of its Intercourse with Foreigners, the Face of Affairs will be continually altering for the better.

It is indeed no way impossible, that either from foreign Wars, or domestick Commotions, these Improvements may suffer short Interruptions; but it seems to be a Thing absolutely improbable, that the *Russians* should ever fall back into their former State of Obscurity,

rity, or relinquish that high Rank to which they have raised themselves amongst the Powers of *Europe*. Now if this shall be the Case, the present System of the Commercial World will be entirely altered. The bringing *East India* Commodities through *Russia* into *Europe*, would as effectually ruin the Commerce now carried on by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, as the Discovery of this demolished the *Venetian* Trade by the Way of *Alexandria*, after it had subsisted in the Hands of different Nations for the Space of several Ages, and for the very same Reasons. When this is reflected upon a little, it will appear at once both evident and certain.

For first, with respect to the Evidence of it, whatever Method is taken, and I have shewn there may be three several Ways employed, two of which are not in the least incompatible with each other; I say, which ever of these Courses are taken, the Consequence will be, that the Commodities and Manufactures of *India* will come at a more moderate Price at any Mart the *Russians* shall establish, than in the Way they are now brought into *Europe*, except, it may be, Spices, and a very few other Things hardly worth mentioning; and therefore, as the *Portuguese* first, and the *English* and *Dutch* since, have supplanted the *Venetians* and the *Genoese* in this most valuable Commerce, those who first fall into a Way of dealing with the *Russians* for the Produce of *China* and the *Indies*, will in all Probability get the Start of other Nations, and thereby procure great Advantages to themselves, notwithstanding that the *Russians* must also find their Account in this Manner of Dealing.

It may be indeed surmised, that all the Methods I have mentioned being attended with many and great Difficulties, and requiring a considerable Space of Time to be spent in Carriage, this will go near to render the Time of the Passage as long as that which is now in Use. But when we come to examine this Objection closely, it will not be found near so strong as at first Sight it seems; for if this Trade can be carried on entirely by Sea, it would be no difficult Thing to prove, that Commodities might be transported from *Kamschatka* to *Archangel* in one Summer; and in Process of Time, by raising proper Magazines in that Country, Supplies might be annually brought to *Archangel*, from whence the Passage is far from being long to certain Countries that I shall have Occasion hereafter to mention. But if instead of taking this Method, they should be brought, by embarking them on different Rivers to *Moscow*, and from thence to *Archangel*, there will appear no Kind of Absurdity in supposing this may be done in thirteen or in fifteen Months at the most; and after this Commerce shall be effectually settled, much sooner. We must likewise consider the Cheapness of Carriage through this Empire, and that Ease and Expedition with which the Court can bring any thing to pass that is practicable, and may be attended with Profit.

I might upon this Occasion take Notice of the Possibility there is, that the *Russians* may one Day become Masters again of *Asi*, or perhaps may conquer *Crim Tartary*, or at least secure a Fortress and Port there, which would open to them a new Channel for this Trade, as was shewn in the former Volume, in speaking of the different Methods by which the Trade to the *Indies* is now, and has been formerly carried on. I presume the Reader will easily grant, that if any one of these Attempts met with Success, it would be an Encouragement to make more, and not only so, but would likewise furnish the Means of making them, as well as raise the Spirits of the *Russian* Court, and induce it to bestow greater Attention upon Projects of this Kind, and make stronger Efforts for carrying them into Execution than it has hitherto done.

But it may be said, To what Purpose is all this? Why should we trouble our selves with foretelling or foreseeing these Things, in regard to which, in the first place, there is great Uncertainty; and in the next, it is Time enough to concern ourselves about them, when they shall actually come to pass. To this I answer, That whoever has well weighed what has been advanced

from the best Authorities, in this Section, will very plainly see, that the pretended Incertainty refers only to Time; for that the *Russians* have turned their Thoughts this Way already, and that they have actually Variety of Means in their Hands to bring almost any Schemes of this Sort they can form to bear, are Points out of Dispute. All that is in Doubt amounts to no more, than whether they shall fall into a Share of the *India* Trade within these ten Years, or whether another ten Years shall elapse before they obtain it. This, I say, is the single Question upon that Head, and I refer it to the Consideration of those who make it so much a Question, whether the Improbability of their attempting and succeeding in this Way, is near so great as that the *Swedes* should attempt and succeed in the other Way, which we see they have actually done, and that their Trade to *China* is every Year increasing.

Besides all this, let it be remember'd, that two new *East India* Companies are on the very Point of being set up, one at *Embsen* in *East Friesland*, under the Auspice of his *Prussian* Majesty, now become Sovereign of that Country; and the other at *Leghorn*, under the Protection of the Emperor in Quality of Grand Duke; and that it is no Secret there are Adventurers enough ready and willing to advance large Sums of Money for the Support of these Undertakings. Shall we imagine then, that so many Examples will not rouse the *Russians* to look about them, and to put in their Claim, where they have at least as good a Title as any; or shall we imagine, that those who have the greatest Advantages, shall be the only Parties in such a Struggle that will meet with Disappointments? No, certainly, whenever a Design of this Sort is heartily undertaken and vigorously pursued, it will not only succeed, but succeed sooner, and in a higher Degree than can be easily imagined.

Now to the most material Point, which is to shew how far this touches us, and why we ought to interest ourselves therein, so far as the early Consideration of these Points may be called interesting ourselves rather than our Neighbours, tho' in Fact perhaps that may not be our Case, since we have not been of late over-ready in seizing Commercial Advantages that lay more immediately in our Way, than I must confess this does at present. I say then, it behoves us to be very attentive to what passes of this Kind in *Russia*, for this plain and strong Reason, *viz.* that we have better Grounds to hope we might avail ourselves of such a Change in the Commercial System than any other Country in *Europe*.

In the first Place, the Situation of our Island renders it very easy for us to carry on a large Trade with that Empire with mutual Advantage to both Nations; and in case it became very considerable in Comparison of what it now is, we might very easily provide for the carrying it on successfully, by enlarging and improving the Ports we have in the North-east Part of this Island, by opening new ones, and by establishing Magazines in proper Places, which by extending Navigation, promoting Industry, employing Thousands of our Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects in several Ways beneficial to the Publick, who are now either idle and useless, or if at all employed, are in the Service of our Enemies, would turn to the great Profit of this Island, and to the inconceivable Advantage of its Credit and Influence. For there is Nothing we want so much as a due Distribution of Trade and Manufactures, that Wealth may circulate freely through every Part of the Island, and thereby diffuse a kindly Warmth and lively Spirit, for Want of which, some distant Parts seem cold and useless, like decayed Limbs, which has tempted some Quack Politicians to talk of cutting them off, without considering that such Amputations in the Body Politick are as absurd and ridiculous as they are impracticable and unsafe.

Another Reason we have to expect that we might be preferred to most other Nations in such a Case as this by the *Russians*, is the many Years that not only a fair Correspondence, but a close Friendship has subsisted between the two Nations; for from the Reign of Queen *Mary* to these Times, that is, from our first opening a

Passage to *Russia* till now, we have dealt with its Inhabitants on the Foot of perfect Amity, except during the Usurpation that followed after the Murder of King *Charles I.* when out of their Abhorrence of that Fact, all Intercourse with this Empire, was suspended. But after the Restoration, our Commerce with that Country again revived, and has continued ever since with little or no Interruption. It was here that the great Czar *Peter* acquired the Rudiments of Ship-building, and from hence he drew most of those Artificers which he employed in that and other Arts; not to mention the high Respect paid him by King *William*, and the many good Offices done to himself and his Family, by the Possessors of this Throne ever since.

We may indeed, with great Justice, mention our Naval Power as a third Argument in Favour of what has been asserted; for, without all Question, this must ever intitle us to be very highly consider'd by such as administer the Affairs of that Empire, in as much as Experience has shewn what great Effects the Appearance of *British* Fleets have had in the *Baltick*, and how sure that Cause is to triumph which they espouse. As there is nothing clearer, than that the most certain Method of obtaining the constant Assistance of *Great Britain*, is to favour her Commerce, which *Sweden* heretofore, and *Portugal* has lately felt, so we may reasonably presume, that a Thing of such Notoriety must be well known to the Politicians of *Russia*, and cannot but have a proper Influence on their Councils, more especially if we remember, that as *Russia* has all things to hope from our Friendship, so she has nothing to fear from the aggrandizing our Power.

This will be another Motive to increase her Readiness to share her present and future Advantages with us, because it is impossible, from any Alteration of Circumstances, or as far as can be foreseen from any Vicissitude to which all sublunary Things are liable, that ever our Interest should come to clash with theirs; which is more than can be said for almost any other Power in *Europe*. For this is one of the many Benefits that we draw from our being an Island, viz. that our Interests, as a great Power, must always be the same with our Interests as a trading Nation. It is indeed very possible, that ambitious enterprising Statesmen may sometimes pretend to divide these, and may perhaps find their Account in it; but as it is impossible the Nation should, so it is at least highly improbable that such unnatural Notions should long prevail. The *Russians*, who have Sense enough to know, and who have hitherto shewn Spirit enough to adhere to their true Interests, cannot fail of being sensible of this, and of affording due Weight to a Circumstance of so great Importance which concerns them so nearly, and is of so permanent a Nature.

As Reason teaches this, so it has been hitherto justified by Experience, since in the several Revolutions that have happened there in our Times, every Government and every Administration have made it their first Care to renew their Engagements with *Great Britain*; and as they have always hitherto found their Account in so doing, we may from hence infer, that it will become a settled and unvariable Maxim in their System of Politicks.

Lastly, in Conjunction with these there is another, and that no inconsiderable Argument, to induce the *Russians* to grant us, rather than any other trading People, a Participation in whatever Advantages may accrue to them from the future Advancement of their Trade, or Improvement of their Dominions; and it is this, that we are most likely to take all their Commodities off their Hands, at the same time that we are able to supply them with whatever they can want or wish in Return. This is the natural Consequence of that extensive Commerce which we already possess, and which puts it fully in our Power to accommodate them with all those Things which either Necessity requires, Convenience renders valuable, or Luxury desirable; and all these too, supposing them enriched by a Correspondence with the *East Indies*, in Exchange for other Commodities and Manufactures, without draining them of their Specie, and consequently to the reciprocal Benefit of each Nation. Any one of these Arguments taken singly, might

afford us very rational Hopes of attaining all that is proposed; but if we take them all together, I think it will be very difficult for any one who is well acquainted with the true State of Commerce in general, and of these two Nations in particular, to avoid yielding to the Force of this Reasoning, or not to confess that we have much to expect, and very little to apprehend from any Progress that the *Russians* may make in the enlarging and Improvement of what Intercourse they have at present with the Eastern Nations.

Yet I do not deny that some plausible Objections may be made to this System; and to shew that I have thoroughly considered it, and to prevent the Reader's being much moved when-ever he shall hear them mentioned, I will briefly state and remove them; yet I do not apprehend that any System, well supported by affirmative Arguments, ought to be rejected and treated as chimerical, even if there should be some Difficulties incapable of a conclusive Answer; which however, in the present Case, I will be bold to say there are not. For it must be granted me, that all the Objections that can be made to this will either arise on their Side or on ours. I will begin therefore with such as may be taken, or rather such as may be suspected, from the System of Power in *Russia*, or from the natural Disposition of the Nation.

In the first Place it may be said, that if ever this comes to pass, it will be a vain Thing to expect that the *Russians* will take the Pains, which from what is laid down in this Section, it is apparent they must take, in order to obtain the Commerce of the *Indies*; and then from a Notion of Friendship and Alliances, transfer the Benefit of this hardly acquired Traffick to another Nation, which by exporting they might keep to themselves. Now in Answer to this it may very well be observed, that as it must be a Work of Time, Application and Labour, for the *Russians* to obtain this Trade, so the obtaining it will very fully employ their Endeavours, and leave them without either Leisure or Abilities to attempt another and yet a harder Scheme to accomplish, of opening a Trade to the other Countries of *Europe* at the same Time. Besides, the one is very natural and agreeable to the People, who without stirring beyond the Limits of their own Territories, may convey all that is brought to them by their Subjects or their Neighbours to *Moscow*, *Archangel*, *Petersbourg*, or some other Mart; where, no doubt, they will be glad to receive from another Nation such Commodities and Manufactures as they really want or very much esteem, in Exchange for the Superfluities of the Eastern Commerce, which would otherwise lie heavy upon their Hands. We ought likewise to reflect, that tho' the Multitudes of barbarous Subjects they have, may be easily led, or if that should be requisite, without much Difficulty, be compelled to assist in promoting such an inland Traffick, yet it will be a Thing morally impossible to make Seamen of these Savages, or to think of dragging them out of their Deserts, which however horrible to others, are most desirable to themselves, in which, as a Matter of Fact, all Travellers agree.

In the next Place it may be suggested, that there is no Quality for which the *Russians* are more remarkable, than their Jealousy and Suspicion of Strangers; and that therefore it is highly improbable they should make it their Choice to deal exclusively with any one Nation, which I must confess seems to have much greater Weight than the former Difficulty. However, when it is maturely considered, it will be found to open a fair Answer to it self. For, let the Jealousy and Suspicion of the *Russians* be ever so great, it can only determine them not to deal with Nations that may be capable of turning what they acquire by their Trade to the Prejudice of their Interests, and to encourage the Commerce of any Nation that is in a Capacity to assist, and never can be under a Temptation to distress them, which we have already shewn to be precisely the Case of the *British* Nation. This therefore, whatever it may be in Appearance, is in Reality and at the Bottom so far from being a conclusive Objection against my System, that in Fact it is a good Argument in its Favour; so that the better founded it is, the more Reason we have

to believe, that their Success, in regard to the *Indian Trade*, may become very beneficial to us, unless we are wanting to our selves.

The last Objection that I can foresee, must be taken from the Nature of their Government, and in Reference to this it may be surmised, that there is no guarding against the short Turns that may be made by a very selfish and a very arbitrary Power, and in support of this, I know that several Matters of Fact may be urged, such as, that *Peter the Great*, when he made his last Journey to *Holland*, ordered all the *Russia* Leather to be delivered to his Factors at a certain Rate, and then sold by them at a set Price to such as would pay for it in Bills drawn upon *Amsterdam*. But this was in the first Place a very singular Thing, and if we stay till a *Russian* Sovereign makes such another Journey, it is not very likely to happen again. In the next Place it is very certain, that the *Czar* himself soon found the Inconveniency of that Proceeding, and revoked his Order, so that allowing it to be a Precedent, it appears at the same Time, a Precedent not like to be followed. Some certain Commodities there are which belong to, and are entirely appropriated to the Sovereign, who sells them to the highest Bidder. This will hardly be the Case of *Indian* Commodities, for that would cramp the Trade, and turn to the Prejudice of the Sovereign. The new Trade to *Persia* has been already once suspended, which looks like a Case in Point. But when we remember, that this last Suspension was occasioned by an *Englishman's* entering into the Service of *Shah Nadir*, and undertaking to build Ships of Force for him upon the *Caspian* Sea, we shall not be much surprized at such an Event, or fall into any Fear of our Countrymens traversing *Siberia*, and the Countries beyond it, or transporting themselves from *Kamschatka*, into *Japan*, and creating Disturbances there. Without doubt Difficulties may happen in this and in all other Trades; but for all this, Treaties of Commerce wisely made, and punctually executed on our Part, will secure us from any real Danger, in case we are once possessed of this Traffick, from ever having it taken out of our Hands.

Thus far we have insisted only upon the Reasonableness of Things, but there would be no Difficulty in shewing, that Experience is also in our Favour. In Reference to the first Objection we ought to reflect, that the *Swedes* and *Danes* actually dispose of all their *Indian* Commodities to Strangers, and consequently so must the *Russians*. If we do not buy from them, it is because it is not our Interest, and if we should deal with the *Russians*, it has been shewn, that it must be our Interest to buy, and theirs to sell. As to the second Objection, Treaties of Commerce have been set on Foot between *Russia* and *France*, and between *Russia* and *Spain*, but the Jealousy of the Ministers at *Petersburg*, and the Inconveniencies that were foreseen, and in some Measure felt from those Treaties, have rendered them ineffectual, whereas nothing of that Kind has happen'd to us. With Respect to the last, we are towards the Close of the second Century of our Correspondence with this Empire, and in that long Space, have not experienced any considerable Inconveniencies, from the short Turns made by their arbitrary Government, and consequently there is the less Room to fear for the Time to come; more especially as the *Russians* are so much altered, as their Customs are so much changed for the better, as the Interests of the two Nations are so thoroughly conciliated by repeated Alliances, and as we have all the Reason in the World to apprehend, that their Ministers will consult the Interests of their own Country, which while they do, they must be always Friends to ours.

We will now take a View of those Objections that it may be supposed may arise on our Side, and as I have stated the former in their full Force, so I shall do the same Justice to the latter, as I have no other Thing in View, than to find Truth, and to point it out to others. It is not at all impossible, that, notwithstanding all that has been or can be offered upon this Subject, the old Objection will start up, and we shall be told, that such a Trade as this, would be altoge-

ther unnecessary, that the Nation has no Need of it, that little Profit could be drawn from it, and that therefore it is wild and chimerical to talk about it. As this is absolutely begging the Question, I might very fairly dispense with giving any Answer to it at all.

But as I desire to leave nothing unanswered, I shall not make Use even of this allowable Advantage, but shall consider it, as far as it is possible, such a Suggestion can be considered. We have already explained the Causes from whence it is probable, that, if ever a Trade is established from *Russia* to *China*, or the *Indies*, the Produce of that Trade will come cheaper than in the present Course of Things, and I presume, it will be no difficult Matter, for an intelligent Reader to perceive, that it will behove us to think of finding out the cheapest Market, when so many new Companies are set up, by which it will be put out of our Power to vend the Commodities we bring directly from the *Indies* at a high Rate. An Opinion is propagated with great Warmth, that however is altogether erroneous, which is this, that the *Swedish*, *Danish*, and other new Companies are under very great Difficulties for the Want of Settlements, that this renders their Trade very precarious, and has also a great Effect in diminishing its Profits. All this is very plausible, and serves to give us hope, that these new Companies cannot long subsist, but in Reality the Case is far otherwise. The Want of Settlements is so far from being a Disadvantage in Respect to National Commerce, that it is quite otherwise. We know very well, that the *Ostend* Company, so long as it subsisted, made large Dividends; we know that the *Swedish* Company have sometimes divided near Forty per Cent. and if this is thought at all incredible, or if credible, that there is something of Art in it, let the inquisitive, impartial, and judicious Reader, consult the Table of Dividends of the *Dutch East-India* Company, inserted in the first Volume of this Collection, and he will find, that in the same Proportion the *Dutch* Company became potent in the *Indies*, their Dividends to their Proprietors have lessened. My Inference from this, is, that when there comes to be a real Competition in Trade, the new Companies will be able to undersell the old Ones, and then I suppose the Necessity will pretty plainly appear, of having Recourse to the cheapest Market, if we intend to preserve this Trade at all. Now it has been shewn, that whenever the *Russians* can bring their Designs to bear, they will have very great Advantages over their Neighbours; for either they will not be obliged to make any Settlements at all, or if they are obliged to make them, they will be made in their own Dominions, that is, either at the Mouth of the River *Amur*, or upon the River of *Kamschatka*. In either of these Cases, the Expence will not be very large, and whatever it may be, as it will be entirely laid out amongst themselves, it will in Effect be no Expence at all, as to the Nation. These Circumstances therefore maturely considered, will I presume, go a great Way towards satisfying the candid Reader, that there is nothing chimerical, in supposing that before the End of the present Century, the *Russians* may divert to themselves, a very large Proportion of the *East-India* Trade, and when this comes to be the Case in Fact, which is now so only in View, what I have advanced upon this Subject, will be thought very well worth the Reading.

The second Objection that may be raised in respect to ourselves, will be taken from what is stiled a Fundamental Law in respect to our Commerce, by which I mean the Act of Navigation, which I very readily admit, is directly in the Teeth of what I propose, since the *British* Subjects are restrained by this Act, from importing Goods from other Countries, than those in which they grow. Now in Answer to this, I do not pretend to say, that the Act of Navigation ought to be repealed, or that the Principle upon which it was made was wrong in it self, or mistaken by those who made it; but this I say, that all Laws made upon a general Principle, are ever liable to some necessary Exceptions, as this Act has often been, and for that very Reason has been dispensed with. As for Instance, in the first *Dutch* War, under

under the Reign of King *Charles II.* that King by Proclamation gave Leave for all Foreigners to import Artillery, Ammunition, Timber, Hemp, and Flax, and in short, all Sorts of Military and Naval Stores, in their own Bottoms; which if he had not done, that War could not have been carried on; and therefore this is among the Number of the few Actions in that Reign, which we find approved and commended by Mr. *Roger Coke*, who certainly was no Flatterer, either of that Monarch, or any of his Family. I might add to this several other Instances, but that I look upon them as unnecessary, since there is an unwritten Law in regard to Commerce, as truly fundamental as the Act of Navigation, *viz.* That whatever will promote it, either is lawful, or ought to be made so. It is an absurd Notion to suppose, that while Trade remains a fluctuating Thing, which it ever was, and ever will be, there can be any Laws made about it that it ought to remain invariable.

It is indeed true, that with respect to the Act of Navigation, as with regard to every other Act made upon right Motives, and with due Deliberation, we ought to be very cautious in making Alterations; but provided they are made with Caution, no doubt such Alterations should be made when they appear necessary, or which is the same Thing, advantageous. This has been always thought allowable in Time of War, when done by the Royal Authority only, notwithstanding the just Apprehensions that have been entertained of allowing too great Latitude to the Prerogative; but with sensible People the Laws and the Prerogative both will stand upon the same Foot with regard to the publick Good; that is to say, it will be expected, that either, or both of them should give Way upon such an Occasion, and the proper Judges of this Occasion, are, without doubt, the Legislature. The Humour therefore of giving a peculiar, and, as it were, sacred Authority to particular Acts, and treating them as superior in their Nature to the rest of our Laws, is, to say the best of it, no better than political Enthusiasm, which may be attended with very bad, and can be very seldom productive of any good Consequences. There is no Doubt, that while Things remain in their present Channel, or any thing near it, and while there is no Danger that any of our Neighbours may supplant us, by drawing to themselves the Distribution of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures brought into *Russia*, it would be very absurd and chimerical to make any Change in the Act of Navigation relative to this Point by Way of Precaution. But on the other Hand, if ever such a Trade through *Russia* should become practicable, it would be to the full as absurd and ridiculous to pretend that no Alteration ought to be made in this Law, but that we must still remain tied down to the old Method of carrying on this Commerce, though ever so much to our Disadvantage.

I dare say, that no body will dispute this with me at present, but will as readily grant the latter as I do the former; neither is it impossible, that some may think it is to no Purpose to dwell upon this Head, which of itself is sufficiently clear. So for any thing I know it may be, but when the Passions of Mankind are moved, when their Prejudices are thwarted, and both these happen when-ever their particular Interests are ever so lightly touched, all Things change their Faces, and what before was thought as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, begins to be obscured, and in a very little time is not so much as discernable. So many Instances of this Sort have happened within the Compass of my own Observation, that I cannot help providing against them; and I must desire my Readers to observe, that whatever Concessions are made me now, will remain just as reasonable, when some People, for Causes that will be then visible enough, may take it in their Heads to retract them, and set up once more this Notion, that the Act of Navigation is a fundamental and constitutional Law, no Part of which is to be repealed or altered on any Pretence, or for any Reason whatever.

The third Objection on this Side, will in all Appearance arise from the Privileges of the *East India* Com-

pany; and indeed, this I think by much the most formidable Objection of all, because it is the most reasonable. It will be said that this Company hath great Merit; that it has rendered great Services to the Nation; that its Proprietors are a very considerable Body; that they have received high Immunities from the Favour of the Crown; and that these have been confirmed to them by the Legislature. To all this it might be answered in general, That all Privileges, those of exclusive Trade not excepted, are granted in Trust for the publick Benefit, and that tho' this may not be express'd, yet it is always to be presumed and understood; for a Law made for private Advantage to the Detriment of the publick, is void in itself; neither is this any Impeachment of the Power of the Legislature, because it must be supposed that it was obtained by Deception, that is, by giving false Colours to Things, to which the highest Tribunals may be subject, because the highest human Assembly cannot be infallible. Upon these Topics, I say I might insist, in order to furnish a general Answer; but I declare I do not rely upon them, tho' at the same Time, I am very far from admitting that they are not just and reasonable, for the Good of the whole ought certainly always to take place, and no Body of Men, however considerable, can have a Right to any Thing that is either dangerous or destructive to the Nation.

Yet the Answer I depend upon is this, That in such a Case, Expedients are to be sought for that may reconcile the Interests of the Company to those of the Nation; neither will it be difficult to find such Expedients, for when such a Trade shall be found beneficial, Care may be then taken, first to fix it by a Treaty of Commerce, and then the Benefit of that Treaty may be made over to the Company, provided always due Care be taken that this Privilege shall not be abused, or so managed, as to turn to the Emolument of that Company, and the Prejudice of the Publick.

Thus I have taken the Liberty of discussing this Matter thoroughly, not from any presumptuous Opinion of my own Judgment, or from a Desire of dictating in a Matter of so high Importance, but merely because I think any Man may speak and write freely as to a Case that he thinks may happen, and which others, who are perhaps wiser than he, will conclude may never happen. One of the most judicious Historians of Antiquity thought his Time not thrown away in examining a Matter still more chimerical than this, which was, Whether *Alexander the Great* would have succeeded, if he had attempted to subdue the *Romans*? Some great Criticks have imagined, that all he meant was to pay a Compliment to his Countrymen. I should be glad to have the same mild Censure fall for the present upon this Discourse, in which I think it is most evident that I can have no private Views, and therefore hope it will be no inexcusable Piece of Vanity, if I flatter my self upon this Occasion, with, having thought for the Publick.

If after all I have said, it should fall out that nothing of this Kind ever happens, why then it is plain, that whatever I have advanced can do no Hurt. But if, on the other Hand, my Conjectures should happen to hit the Mark, or even to come near it, no body will deny, that the previous Consideration of the Subject may be of Use; for these Arguments, how little Authority soever they may derive from their Author, must necessarily carry with them this Weight, that they proceeded purely from a Spirit of Reasoning, and were not dictated from any particular, private, or selfish Consideration. I must also desire it may be remember'd, that I have already consider'd the Point of securing, improving and promoting our *East India* Trade in many other Lights, which evidently shews my sincere Desire that we may avail ourselves of our own Skill, our own Lights, our own Naval Power, and our present Circumstances, rather than wait, till by our Indolence and Neglect we come to fall under the Necessity of being some way beholden to others. Until such Time as this shall become the Case, there is no Need of recurring to this System; but if ever it should become the Case, there will be no Harm in having this System recur

recur to, and in all Probability it will not then be thought a Crime that such Notions as these, once upon a Time, enter'd into a speculative Head, for the Benefit of those who confine their Thoughts intirely to Things present, and care not to look forward into Futurity, or to trouble themselves with contriving Schemes for the Service of Posterity.

However I shall conclude this Section, with a full Proof, that I am far enough from being bigotted to any System of my own. For after all that has been advanced from Matters of Fact, from the Consideration of *Behring's* Discoveries, from the Hints that we have received of subsequent Discoveries, and from the Consequences that we might rationally conclude may attend them, it must be acknowledged, that if we continue to prosecute that Design, which is the Glory of the present Times; I mean, the endeavouring to discover a North-west Passage, we shall infallibly deliver ourselves from all Apprehensions of seeing either the *East* or the *West-India* Trade ingrossed by any other Nation, but on the contrary, may have well grounded Hopes of extending our Commerce, and preserving our naval Power to the latest Times, and as long as we shall continue a Nation.

That there have been probable Motives to establish the Belief, and consequently to encourage our Endeavours for finding out a North-west Passage, I have shewn at large in its proper Place, have occasionally insisted upon them elsewhere, and particularly in this very Section; that all the Disappointments we have hitherto met with, ought not to destroy this Belief, or deter us from carrying our Enquiries as far as they will go, has I think been very clearly made out by others; but whether all that has been done and written upon this Subject, will be sufficient to keep up that Spirit, which in the End must bring this long-hid Secret to light, is in the Womb of Time. However, as no Man wishes more to see it disclosed, or has done more within the narrow Sphere of his Capacity towards the promoting of it, without any Motive of Interest than myself; I cannot but think it my Duty, though it may seem a little out of the ordinary Manner of Writing, to finish this Section, by giving the Reader notice of some new Arguments, perswading the Possibility, Probability, and Reality of this North-west Passage.

For who can tell into what Hands this Book may fall? Part of it has already travelled to the last discovered Parts of *Hudson's Bay*, and served for an agreeable and not useless Companion to the Gentleman who carried it. It may be, that what I have farther to say, will be no less fortunate, perhaps more so, for what is there impossible, in supposing it may amuse the leisure Hours of him, who is so lucky as to make the Discovery? At least this I will hope, and in the Warmth of that Hope, set down those Reasons, that, to the best of my Knowledge, have, in the long Course of this Dispute been wholly omitted.

To begin then with an Argument of the Possibility of such a Passage, that learned Naturalist, and most candid Enquirer after whatever had any Relation to rational Cosmography, Mr. *Ray*, in his excellent Discourse upon the Deluge, assures us, that *East-India* Fruits have been found washed on Shore, on the North-west Islands of *Scotland*. Now if this be a Fact, as I believe indisputable Evidence might be brought to prove it such, then I presume, it may be stil'd an Argument for the Possibility at least of such a Passage. Whoever considers how reasonable and how natural it is to suppose, that these Fruits, of whatever Kind they be, are washed from the nearest *Indian* Coasts, to that upon which they are found, will readily confess, that a North-west Passage is the most likely Way for them to come. If we should suppose that many Islands, great and small, are scattered in the Space between *America* and *Asia*, then it might be more probable, because such Fruits might be presumed to grow in those Islands, and being driven to the Coasts of *California*, be forced by the high Tides that are now known to flow there into the Passage, and so round to the North-west Islands before-mentioned.

I treat this as an Argument of the Possibility only of such a Passage, because there are other Ways, by which these Fruits may be supposed to come; but then there are infinitely greater Difficulties that lie in the Way of supposing other Passages than can be possibly objected to this. I will name only one. There can be no Reason in the World assigned, if they come by any other Passage than this, of the North-west why they should not be found in other Places, and that in the same Plenty, or rather more so, than in these Islands of *Scotland*, which is however a Fact, that I never heard so much as pretended. But be that as it will, and allowing that there are other Passages by which they may come, it is at most but possible they should come by these Passages, and I think no Man that is a Judge of the Subject, will deny, that till we have full Evidence of there being no such Thing as a North-west Passage, it is likewise possible they may come that Way. Now though in itself, this is no very weighty Argument, yet in Conjunction with others it may become so; for in all Enquiries of this Nature, the first Step in the most regular and certain Method, is to prove that the Thing sought for is possible, and the next, that it is probable.

In Reference to this also, I think, I can offer another Argument, that is in a good Measure new, and it is this. The most judicious Cosmographers are unanimously of Opinion, from the wise Distribution of Land and Water, in the Structure of this Globe, that not only the Centre of Motion, and the Center of Gravity, but the Center of Magnitude also is very nearly the same, and consequently that the Center of the Convex Superficies of the Sea is the true Center of the whole terrestrial Sphere. It was from this Argument, that before any Discovery was made of a Southern Continent, of which a large Account has been given in the former Volume, it was judged highly probable, that such a Continent there might be, and as we now very well know, that such a Continent there is, it certainly adds both Weight and Strength to this Way of Reasoning.

Before it was known that the Continent of *Asia* extended so very far to the North-east, we might with equal Probability have conjectured, that either it really was so, or that the Continent of *America* projected very far to the West, in order to form a due Proportion between Land and Sea. But now that the Thing is put out of Dispute, on one Side, and we have all the Certainty that can be desired, that the North-East Continent of *Asia*, extends above thirty Degrees of Longitude into the other Hemisphere, there is the highest Probability, that the Balance of Sea is preserved on the *American* Side, and that there is no such projecting of that Continent, as till this Discovery was made, might with equal Reason have been presumed. From this Consideration therefore, one hath as good Cause, as the Nature of the Thing will allow, to assert, that the Space between *America* and *Asia* is chiefly Sea, as we actually know it to be, between *America* and *Europe*, on the other Side.

This will appear still the more probable, if we consider the vast Breadth of *America* from the Coasts of *Canada*, or of *Hudson's Bay*, to *California*, and how strangely disproportionate this would be, if the Continent should be still extended farther on that Side towards *Asia*. I cannot tell what Degree of Evidence this may carry to other People, but I confess, it weighs very much with me, and I flatter myself, that whoever will seriously consider the Figure of the Globe, with the new Discoveries of the *Russians* properly laid down thereon, will incline to think as I do, and see plainly, that the Supposition of such an extended Continent would in a great Measure destroy that Proportion between Land and Sea, which, for the Causes before assigned, we have the greatest Reason to believe should be always preserved. If therefore this be so, it cannot be thought, that I carry Things too far, in alledging that this is a probable Argument in Favour of a North-west Passage.

To this I beg Leave to add another Consideration, which will carry the Thing much farther. The greatest Philosophers have differed, at least heretofore, about the Origin of Rivers; but in this I think they all agree, that as Rivers fall at length into the Sea, so from thence they are in a great Measure derived, whether by secret or subterraneous Passages, and the Percolation of Waters through the Earth, by the condensing of Vapours, or the falling of Rain. I say, which ever of these Ways we suppose Springs, Fountains, and Rivers, to arise, or by a Conjunction of them all, still the Vicinity of the Sea is necessary; and it is observed, that the Size of Rivers depends, in a great Measure upon the Extent of the Country thro' which they run, and of the Disposition of the Seas in respect to that Country of which *America* is a very pregnant Instance, for that Continent having a vast Ocean on each Side the *American* Rivers, are the largest in the World.

If therefore the Continent of *America* should be so extended as to join to that Land which was lately seen by Captain *Bebring*, and before him by others, it would not be easy to conceive how such a Continent as this should be furnished, in any Proportion, with Rivers, in as much as there would be but a narrow Sea between that and *Asia*, and its Distance from those that we stile the North-Seas, would be prodigiously great. But if the Case, as I suppose it to be, is quite otherwise, and the Space between the two Continents is a great Ocean, interspers'd with Islands of different Sizes, then the Disposition of this Part of the Globe will correspond perfectly well with the Disposition of other Parts, and these Countries may be at once as rich, as beautiful, and as pleasant, as any that are hitherto known, either in the Old World, or in the New.

Thus I have assigned two probable Reasons in Favour of this Passage, or rather, I have supported one good Argument by another; for in Reality, this second Reason is no more than assigning the Reason of the first. When we say that the Globe is so disposed as to form a Ballance between Land and Sea, because this seems to be necessary, or at least expedient to preserve the Equability of the Earth's diurnal Motion, we give a Reason that respects the World in general; but when we say that Continents must be of a moderate Size, in order to render them convenient Habitations for Men, we give a Reason that accords to, and agrees with every known Portion of the Globe, and consequently is more capable of being thoroughly examined and perfectly understood. I might add to this, as perfectly consistent and agreeable to my Notions, the Observations made by those who were last sent to discover in *Hudson's-Bay*; who finding the Rivers there short in their Course, and of no great Breadth, very judiciously concluded that the Country could not be very broad, or the Rivers of a greater Length that fell into the *South-Sea*. I say, I might insist upon this, but as I have promised to dwell only upon new Arguments, I shall content my self with the bare Mention of it.

From possible and probable Arguments, we will proceed, with the Reader's Permission, to such as actually prove a Passage, for such there are, and those likewise new, and hitherto not insisted upon. It was long ago observed, that the Tides in the Northern Parts of *Hudson's-Bay* were so high, as put it out of Doubt that they could not be propagated from the *Atlantick* Ocean; it was then pretended by those who opposed the Sentiment of there being a North-west Passage; that these extraordinary Tides were raised from a Communication with *Baffin's Bay* and *Davis's Streights*; in Answer to which, it has been shewn, that the Tide in the *Welcome* rose 17 Feet, and not above 9 Feet in *Davis's Streights*; from whence it is justly concluded, that supposing such a Communication, it would by no Means prove what it is brought to prove, because the Effect would be then superior to what is supposed to produce it.

Thus, I say, the Case has hitherto stood in reference to the several Opinions that have been advanced upon this Subject. For my Part, upon mature Deliberation, I am inclined to a Sentiment different from all these;

for I think that there is a Communication between *Hudson's-Bay* and *Davis's Streights*, and that the Height of the Tides in the latter is not otherwise to be accounted for, than by allowing a free Passage into the *South-Seas* near the *Welcome*. I shall endeavour to prove this to such as are Judges of the Thing, and well acquainted with the Facts, in very few Words. Captain *Baffin*, in his Letter to Sir *John Wolstenholme*, observes, that the Tides in *Davis's Streights* keep an equal Course, and rise to about eight or nine Feet. Now this being the Fact, I say it is impossible that this Tide should come from the *Atlantick* Ocean; for at *Cary Swan's Nest* it rises but six Feet, and therefore in *Davis's Streights* ought not to rise above three or four. Neither is it at all likely that it should come from any Northern Ocean; for upon the Coast of *Nova Zembla* the Tide rises but one Fathom, or six Feet, and not above half so high at *Spitzbergen*.

This equal and regular Tide therefore up *Davis's Streights*, declining gradually till it rises only a single Foot in *Baffin's Bay*, is as much out of the ordinary Course of Things, as the high Tides in the *Welcome*. As therefore such extraordinary Effects must have a proportionable Cause, and as we have hitherto looked on every Side for such a Cause in vain, it remains that a Passage by the North-west into the *South-Sea*, is that Cause, for that will fully and perfectly account for both these Appearances. It ought, according to the known Law of Tides, to make them in the *Welcome* at the Time in which they are found to rise, and if they are propagated from *Hudson's-Bay* by any Communication into *Davis's Streights*, they may very well enter from the Southward, that is, through some Passage on the West-side of *Davis's Streights*, and ought to rise and to decrease in the very Manner which they are found to do; and if this will not pass for an actual Proof of a North-west Passage, I am at least intitled to expect from him who denies it, to give a more satisfactory Account than I have done, of the Tides both in the *Welcome* and in *Davis's Streights*, for till this is done, I shall continue to look upon this Argument as unanswerable.

As to the common Affectation of treating this Matter as a Chimera, and behaving towards those who think it otherwise, as if they were either very credulous or visionary People, ready to rely upon any Authority, or apt to be led away by whatever has so much as the Appearance of an Argument. I must say, that it is either an insolent, or disingenuous Way of treating them. Insolent, if it comes from those who have not ever looked into the Merits of the Cause, or are not competent Judges if they have; or disingenuous, if being competent Judges, they haughtily reject an Opinion supported by strong Reasons, without deigning to refute those Reasons, which they ought to do if they are able, and if they are not able, they ought to confess it.

But I now hasten to a Conclusion, and so to leave the Reader in Possession of all the Arguments that I can offer him in Support of this, which I am not ashamed to own, is a favourite Opinion, because I look upon it as equally tending to promote the Honour of Science, the Welfare of Mankind, the Extension of Commerce in general, as well as the Glory and Good of this Country in particular. How far soever this latter Consideration may move us, who have, or ought to have, an extraordinary Zeal for whatever may turn to the Benefit of the Place of our Birth, yet I presume it cannot be supposed that foreign Writers can lie under any Influence or Bias of this Kind, and therefore I shall crave Leave to mention a very singular Matter of Fact, inserted by the very curious, and no less learned Father *Charlevoix*, in his Chronological Series of Discoveries, prefixed to the first Volume of his History and Description of *Japan*; in which he tells us, that in the Year 1609, he has read in some Memoirs, that a certain Ship sailing from the Port of *Acapulco*, in the Kingdom of *New Spain*, in order to proceed in the usual Course to the *Manilas*, being an annual Ship, was surprized almost as soon as she was out of Port by a Tempest, that

that lasted long, and with such Violence, that her Crew were forced to give her up to the Mercy of the Winds, which in two Months Time brought her upon the Coast of *Ireland*, and into the Harbour of *Dublin*; from whence she safely returned to *Lisbon*, where, by Order of the King of *Spain*, all the Pilots Journals were taken from them and burnt, in order to prevent Strangers from becoming acquainted with so short a Cut into the *South-Seas*. I have not added or altered, magnified or diminished this Relation in the least, but have reported it exactly as I find it in my Author.

It is indeed to be wish'd, that we had a better Account of the Memoirs from which this Fact was taken, because in them, perhaps, there might be other Circumstances worth knowing, and which might be of Use to fix the Matter of Fact beyond Dispute. In the mean time I must observe, that this has no Correspondence whatever with the Relations heretofore published of Persons who have made that Passage. The *Portuguese* Pilot *Martin Chacke*, who published in 1573, an Account of his Return from the *East Indies*, through the same Passage to *Ireland*, from whence he went to *Lisbon*, places his Voyage in the Year 1567, and therefore it is absolutely impossible that these two Voyages should be confounded, as at first Sight might be imagined, from the Circumstance of their both putting into *Ireland*, and returning from thence to *Lisbon*; on which, for the Reader's Satisfaction, it may not be amiss to insist a little farther.

In the first Place, There is a very wide Difference in the Place from which the Ships sailed, the former from the *East Indies*, the latter from the *West*; the Size of the Ships also are very different; the *Portuguese* Vessel was of the Burthen only of 80 Tons; the *Acapulco* Ship near ten times as big; the *Portuguese* Pilot sailed in Company with four Ships of very large Burthen for *Europe*; the *Spanish* Ship sailed alone for the *East-Indies*; the *Portuguese* did not put into *Dublin*, but into a Port on the North-west of *Ireland*, from whence he returned to *Lisbon* a Month or five Weeks before the other Ships in Company with which he sailed from the *East Indies*: And besides the great Difference in Point of Time, which is no less than two and forty Years, it is very remarkable, that the *Portuguese* Pilot returned home, and published his Book under the Reign of *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*; whereas at the Time the *Spanish* Ship arrived at *Lisbon*, the Kingdom of *Portugal* was under the Power of the Crown of *Spain*; of all which Circumstances the Reader may be convinced, by comparing this Relation with the Certificate relating to the *Portuguese* Voyage, inserted in this Volume, Page 401.

I must further observe, that if there be a North-west Passage, there is nothing incredible in the Voyage being performed in so small a Time; for from the *Welcome* in *Hudson's-Bay* to *Ireland*, is a Voyage only of three Weeks; and if there be a Passage, the like Time might have sufficed for their coming through it from *Acapulco*. I might take Occasion to add to this, what is mentioned by that great Mathematician Mr. *Henry Briggs*, of a *Spanish* Captain reported to have sailed this Way to the *Moluccas*, in the Service of the Emperor *Charles V.*; but, as I am persuaded, that he only made such an Offer, and did not really attempt to perform it, I shall say no more of it. Upon the whole, having shewn the Possibility, Probability, and Reality of such a Passage, by Arguments as conclusive as the Nature of the Thing either require or will admit, I have Nothing more to add but my good Wishes, that the Spirit lately raised for Discovery may not be allowed to sink, or the Light we have already obtained be left to extinguish, before this Matter be prosecuted to the utmost Extent, and all the Places thoroughly searched, where, with any Degree of Probability, such a Passage may be look'd for. The Success of such an Undertaking would indeed contribute effectually to raise our Hopes, and efface our Apprehensions, by opening not only a new, short and easy, but a commodious, pleasant, and wholesome Passage to the *East Indies*, which would at once contribute to encourage and promote our Industry at Home, and

extend our Commerce abroad, as well as increase our Shipping, and improve our Navigation.

Besides all this, we have great Reason to hope, that so fortunate an Enterprize would recover us out of that State of Supineness and Luxury into which we are fallen, and inspire us with a noble Desire of transmitting Wealth and Reputation to our Posterity, rather than live as we do at present upon the Riches derived to us from our Ancestors, and the Credit that their known Success in Trade has given us with all our Neighbours. These are Considerations truly important, such as ought to make Impression on the Minds of all who have the Interest of their Country at Heart, who wish to see her thrive beyond, and yet not at the Expence of other *European* Nations. These are Considerations that relate alike to all Ranks and Degrees of People, because all Ranks and Degrees will receive Benefit from it, if properly weighed, carefully attended to, and push'd with Spirit and Success, these Considerations would lead to the only effectual Methods of repairing past Mistakes, and opening a wide Prospect to future Advantages, the Consequences of them would speedily enable us to discharge our Debts, and thereby afford the Means of taking off our Taxes; they would also extinguish Party Animosities, dissipate Faction, and by opening suitable Employment to every different Genius, afford a proper Scene of Action to all, without giving Disturbance to any.

It may be therefore justly presumed, that those whose peculiar Interest it is that their Countrymen may be made rich and happy by their Wisdom and Care, and transmit the Memory of their glorious Administration to latest Times, will have a just Regard to whatever hath a Tendency to promote such a Disposition as this, which is always necessary, and which, however, may be said to be more especially necessary at this Juncture, when we receive repeated Accounts of the Pains, every where taken, to point out the Benefits of Discovery, to magnify the Advantages of Commerce, and to kindle a Spirit of Industry amongst those who have been remarkable for the Want of it through a long Series of Ages. How possible it is to enlighten even the cloudiest Heads, how practicable to warm even the coldest Mind; and how soon such an heroick Flame gathers Force and Strength enough to carry all before it, the former Part of this Section has fully demonstrated. Neither would it be near so hard a Task to shew how easily Commerce may decline, how certainly Virtue may wear out, and how speedily Frugality and Industry may decay, if not warm'd and cherish'd by proper Attention and due Encouragement, which are full as requisite to preserve them as Food to Animals, Fuel to Fire, or Exercise to Health.

Thus after a long but not unpleasant Excursion, I return again to my Subject, and having largely shewn when and how the first Notions of Discovery rose, and how they have been conducted in *Muscovy*, by what Hopes they have been promoted, how far they have been carried, what they have really brought to Light, what lies within, and what without their Reach, why they have been so much retarded, whence, at other times they have been advanced, what Improvements are practicable, and what Schemes of Extention are at Bottom but Chimeras; where the Assistance of their Government may be applied with Effect, and where all the Force that could be exerted would fail, what other Nations have to apprehend from this new Turn of their Temper, how probable it is that we are not amongst the Number; and that on the contrary, we might share in whatever Profits they obtain; I have, last of all, set before the Reader, the only Means of anticipating their Views, by bringing the Riches of both the *Indies*, by a shorter Route to all the Markets in *Europe*, than they can pretend to do, even if all their Efforts, should be crowned with all the Success they can wish; yet be it far from me to mingle with these Reflections any Spirit of Peevishness, Prejudice or Partiality; they have a Right, no doubt, to all the Acquisitions they can make, but then we have the same. I repine not at their Power, their Projects, or their Progress; all I aim at, is to make a right Use of their Example, in order to hinder my Countrymen from changing Place with the *Russians*.

C O N C L U S I O N.

A retrospective View of this whole Collection, in which its particular Advantages are explained, and an Account given of the Uses to which the Contents may be applied.

I. *A general View of the whole Work, its End and Intention, and a Method proposed for discovering how far this has been answered, not only in the Gross, but in every Part separately, throughout the Performance, as a Key to the Uses of the Book.* II. *The Plan of the History of the Circumnavigators, intirely new, and absolutely comprehensive; Advantages derived from that History thus chronologically digested; and the Reasons for rejecting two Works, that seem at first Sight to come within the Plan.* III. *The Scheme of the History of the East-Indies, briefly and fully represented; the Probability of a late Suggestion, that the Arabians first opened this Commerce, shewn, and a short Review of the Principal Points regarding the Commerce of the Ancients in the East.* IV. *The Uses that may be drawn from this regular Series, how they contribute to fix the Excellencies and Deficiencies of the Ancients compared with the Moderns; together with a curious Remark as to the Riches of Spain in ancient Times.* V. *The Care taken to relieve the Reader's Attention, by interspersing the Description, Natural History, and most remarkable Curiosities of those famous Countries; the Benefits resulting from that Method, and the great Help it affords of bringing much useful Knowledge within a little Room.* VI. *The Manner in which the History of Commerce is pursued after the Declension of the Roman Empire, and the sinking of that of Constantinople; Digression as to the Rise, Progress, and Decay, of the Republicks of Venice and Genoa; and Remarks on their present State.* VII. *How the modern History of the East-Indies is conducted; the Rules by which the Choice of Materials has been made; Difficulties and Deficiencies common amongst our latest Writers; what might be reasonably expected from them, and an Example given of the right Method of reporting Facts.* VIII. *A succinct View of the Uses arising from the Matters treated of in the first Volume, to Persons in different Ranks and Stations, and a political Disquisition as to their Importance to the Nation in general, more especially at this critical Conjuncture, when so many Attempts are making in all Parts of Europe for erecting new Companies to trade to the East-Indies.* IX. *A Review of the second Volume of this Collection, in which is first shewn what was proposed in treating so particularly the Discovery, Conquests, and Settlements made by the Spaniards in America.* X. *A short Representation of the Use of our History of the subduing the Empire of Peru, the surprizing Boldness and amazing Success of that Attempt, with the famous Sir William Temple's admirable Survey of the Laws and Government of the Ynca's, the old Sovereigns of Peru.* XI. *The Manner in which the other European Settlements in America are treated, more especially those of the English and French, with an Acknowledgment of Communications receiv'd, and Approbation shewn of this Part of the Work, and an Apology for some Freedoms taken therein.* XII. *The Contents of the second Book explained, the Rules established in selecting the Voyages and Travels necessary to give a competent Idea of the Northern Parts of the Globe in general, and of the particular Countries in Europe, and the Reasons of those Rules set in a clear Light.* XIII. *The Scope of the third Book, and a distinct Detail of the several Pieces that regard the Description, History, and Commercial Concerns of the Asiatick Empires; the Authorities on which they are founded, the Motives on which they were admitted, and the Means of applying them so as to answer the great End of this Collection.*

I. **W**E are now arrived at the Close of a very large Work, undertaken upon a Plan more regular, and of far larger Extent than was ever proposed, either in our own, or any other Language; and of the Execution of which many have despaired in the Progress of its Publication; but by the Blessing of God it is now finished, and finished with the very same Spirit with which it was begun; for I am persuaded, the most critical Reader will allow there has been as much Pains taken with the last Section, as with any in the whole Collection. What now remains, is to cast our Eye back a little, in order to discover what all this Enquiry, Labour, and Expectation, has produced.

A large Work of this Kind may be very well compared to a publick Structure erected for the Service of Society, as well as at the common Expence, and of the Value of which we may, with tolerable Certainty judge, by considering the Scheme or Ground-plot, that is to say, the Plan upon which it was erected, the End proposed by it, and the particular Advantage that every Peruser may expect from it. With regard to the original Scheme, there were never many Objections made to it, except that the Bounds were too large, the Materials hard to be acquired, and the Labour of putting them together a Thing scarce to be effected; so that speaking with Propriety, these could not be said to re-

late to the Work, but to the conducting of it; and our Business here is not to say only, but to prove, that if the Outlines were drawn as they ought to be, the Edifice has been finished according to the Draught.

The great End proposed, was reducing within a tolerable Compass the Substance of a Multitude of Books, well written upon useful Subjects, in order to render them thereby more easily purchased and read. Now it is hoped that this has been also done in as great a Degree as the Size of this Collection, and it is no small one, would permit; and that due Care has been taken to make such a Choice of our Materials, as that by the Perusal of this single Book, the Reader may acquire the practical Knowledge of Cosmography, obtain a perfect Notion of the Situation of different Countries in all Parts of the Globe, together with their Relation to, and Distance from all other Countries, the Manner of their Correspondence, the Commodities furnished, and those wanted by them.

In reference to the more particular and immediate Business of the *English* Reader, which we may suppose to respect the Interest and Commerce of his own Country, it may with great Truth be affirmed, that so much upon that Subject, and that too in so many different Lights, is not to be met with elsewhere, since within the Compass of this Collection lies all that has occurred within the Space of twenty Years, to one who has had his

his Head ever turned that Way, and has likewise had it no less at Heart, which will appear particularly from his never espousing the Cause of any Party, but regarding the Independency, commercial Concerns, and Naval Power of *Great-Britain*, as her most essential Interests, which, if well minded, all other incidental Matters will fall in happily of Course. Thus much as to the Work in general; we will next consider the Parts of which it is composed, from whence its Correspondence with the Plan proposed will manifestly appear.

II. The first Thing designed and executed, was the History of the *Circumnavigators*, which the best Judges of Works of this Kind had always represented as equally important and necessary; so that it had been greatly desired, often attempted, but never in its full Extent performed, in any Collection extant in any Language, which was owing to certain Difficulties that are occasionally taken Notice of in the Progress of that Part of the Book, and therefore not necessary to be repeated here. It is sufficient to observe, that this History is absolutely compleat, and that all the *Circumnavigations* in the Space of 225 Years, are particularly, circumstantially, and impartially written.

The Merit of first forming this Design of sailing round the Globe, is justly attributed to the great *Columbus*, and it is fully shewn, that to him of right it belongs, tho' he was not so fortunate, tho' very fortunate in other Respects, as to execute it. The Reasons that induced him to think it practicable, and the Motives that lead him to attempt it, are fully explained from the most authentick Memoirs, and the Obligations which Mankind owe him in that Respect, are set in a true Light. The particular Advantages arising from the Discoveries made by each of the *Circumnavigators* are constantly attended to, and from thence the gradual Extension of Commerce, and with it our most perfect Acquaintance with the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are manifestly shewn. But as it fell out that various of these Discoveries, which were only touched upon in these general Voyages, afforded afterwards Occasion to closer Enquiries, and more distinct Description of Countries very far distant, by particular Expeditions undertaken with that View, the most accurate and considerable of those Expeditions are thrown in as Appendices in their proper Places, to render the great Point in View as clear and as perspicuous as it was possible, so as that the Reader may be perfectly informed of what has been found, what there is good Reason to believe may be found, and what still remains absolutely unsurveyed and unknown.

In some Cases, the Memoirs of *Circumnavigators* were so involved and confused, that their Names were ever hardly heard of as such; as for Instance, the Officers in the *Nassau* Fleet, that sailed from *Holland* in the Year 1623, and Captain *John Clipperton*, who sailed from *Plymouth* in the Year 1719, these we have drawn out of the dark, assembled all the Circumstances relating to them, the best we could, and have given them as entire as it was possible, under such Difficulties, to collect them. As for the Voyage of *Commodore Roggewein*, which, take it altogether, is one of the most entertaining, curious and instructive Pieces that was ever published, it never appeared in our Language till now, and never in any Language so fully as in this Collection, as we had an Opportunity of consulting a very candid and knowing Person, who made that Voyage upon every Part of it, and who was very desirous that the Publick should receive as ample an Account of it as possible.

We have likewise given, so far as was necessary, and so far as we could come at, with any Degree of Certainty, the principal Points of the personal Histories of all the *Circumnavigators*, which cannot but be very satisfactory to the inquisitive and judicious Reader, since there is nothing so natural as to desire to know, what became of a Man who so remarkably distinguished himself as by conducting an Expedition of this Sort, of which there have not been more than fifteen in the whole, from that of *Ferdinand Magellan*, who sailed from *Seville* in *Spain*, August 10, 1519. to that of the

present Lord *Anson*, who sailed from *St. Hellens*, September 18, 1740.

The Disposition of all these Voyages, in their regular and natural Order, renders them infinitely more useful, than when read separately, as they reflect reciprocal Lights upon each other, and at the same Time afford an Opportunity of throwing out many needless and useless Repetitions. It was upon these Principles that two Pieces, which from their Titles might seem to claim a Right of being considered in that Part of our Work, were, after mature Deliberation, rejected.

The first of these is the Voyages and Travels of Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, a very large Work, already translated into our Language; so that the judicious Reader will easily judge of the Solidity of those Arguments upon which it was left out. In the first Place, what-ever the Title Page may say, this cannot, strictly speaking, be considered as a Circumnavigation, since the Author went from Place to Place by Land, and embarked as his Occasions required, or his Inclinations led him, aboard several Vessels which carried him from Port to Port, and the Sum total of these Travels and Voyages, is what he is pleased to call a Tour round the World. All our *Circumnavigators* were other Sort of Men, and made their respective Voyages on board the Vessels they commanded, or of which they had the Direction, so that each Account is the History of a distinct Expedition, and not a Detail of Adventures by Land and Sea. In the next place, the Doctor is a very voluminous Writer, and takes in such a Variety of Matter, beyond what it was possible should fall under his own immediate Knowledge and Inspection, as render'd his Performance very improper to be ranged with those in which there is little or nothing related but from the Authority of Eye Witnesses. Lastly it has been asserted by Authors worthy of Credit, who inquired upon the Spot in *China*, more especially, as to the Opportunity the Doctor had of seeing those Things which he relates, as very particularly examined by himself, that they were thoroughly informed that he took them upon Trust. Besides, there is Nothing to be met with in all his large Work, which is not to be found in this Collection, digested in its proper Place, from the Memoirs of Authors of undisputed Credit.

The other Piece is in *French*, written by Mr. *de la Barbinais le Gentil*, and printed at *Paris* in 1728. The Author embarked at a *French* Port, and in a *French* Vessel, August 20, 1714, but for some Reasons which he does not disclose, he conceals both the Name of the Port, and of the Vessel. He proceeded to *Chili*, and after making some Stay in *South America*, embarked on board another Vessel, in which he went to the Port of *Amoy* in *China*, from whence he returned into *Europe* in the Year 1718, touching by the Way at the *Brazils*. The whole of this Relation is digested into fifteen Letters, written in a very pleasant and entertaining Style, agreeable to the Design of the Author, who travelled only out of Curiosity, and of which we have made the best Use we were able, by extracting every Thing that is curious, and inserting it in the Accounts we have given of *Chili*, *Peru*, *China*, and the *Brazils*, which appeared to be more suitable to the Nature of our Design, than making a professed Translation of a Piece, which the Author himself acknowledges to be made up of occasional Remarks and cursory Observations; which he thinks is a sufficient Reason for its being defective in other Points, that had however been absolutely necessary to intitle him to the Honour of being a *Circumnavigator*, in the strict and proper Sense of the Word.

There is no Doubt, that after all much is wanting to render this Kind of History compleat; but to make it absolutely perfect, future Discoveries must contribute; and there is no Doubt that *Circumnavigations* by new Routes, that is, by the North-east and North-west Passages, will afford a noble Supplement to what has been already done. Yet the most important, the most curious, and the most entertaining Circumnavigation would be through both those Passages, for we should

then have a distinct Account of the Countries that lie between *Asia* and *America*, with which the Inhabitants of *Europe* are most desirous of being acquainted, and towards obtaining of which we have done all that lies in our Power, by labouring to shew, that such a Circumnavigation is not either impossible or impracticable, notwithstanding what has been alledged by some very understanding Persons to the contrary.

III. The Plan upon which the *HISTORY of the Commerce of the INDIES* is written, the Publick must be satisfied is entirely new; and as it is very extensive, taking in the Accounts of the remotest Antiquity; so, upon reviewing it, there appears to be some Room for Emendation. There is not the least Doubt to be made, that the first Mention we have of *Indian* Commodities, is the Traffick carried on in *Spices* by the *Idumeans*; and we have said in general Terms, that they carried on a Trade with *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, from which we have no Reason to depart; but perhaps that Matter is not quite so clearly explained as it might be, and as the best Lights that can be obtained from History confirm it, so there is much Probability in the Conjectures offered upon this Subject, since the Publication of this Work, that the first Traders by Sea in the World were the *Arabians*. We will therefore lay hold of this Opportunity of inserting a very curious Passage from a late Treatise on Trade and Commerce, which will very much illustrate, though it does not in the least contradict what is advanced in the third Section of the second Chapter of our first Book; that Passage runs thus:

"It is a Point as yet undecided by the Learned, to what Nation the Invention and first Use of Commerce belonged; some attribute it to one People, some to another, for Reasons that are too long to be discussed here. But after mature Reflection, I must confess it seems most probable to me, that the Inhabitants of *Arabia* were those that first made long Voyages. It must be allow'd, that no Country was so happily seated for this Purpose as that which they inhabited, being a *Peninsula* washed on three Sides by three famous Seas, the *Arabian*, *Indian* and *Persian*. It is also certain, that it was very early inhabited, and the first Notice we have of any considerable Trade, refers it to the *Ismaelites*, who were settled in the higher Part of *Arabia*. To them *Joseph* was sold by his Brethren when they were going down with their Camels to *Egypt* with Spicery, Balm and Myrrh.

"It may seem strange to infer from hence, that Commerce was already practised by this Nation, since Mention is here made of Camels, or a Caravan, which certainly implies an Inland Trade; and it must be likewise allowed, that Balm and Myrrh were the Commodities of their Country. But whence had they the Spicery? Or how came *Arabia* to be so famous in ancient Times for Spices? Or whence proceeded that Mistake of many great Authors of Antiquity, that Spices actually grew there? Most certainly because these People dealt in them, and that they dealt in them the first of any Nation that we know of, appears from this very Instance: *Strabo*, and many other good Authors, assure us, that in succeeding Times they were very great Traders; they tell us particularly what Ports they had, what prodigious Magazines they kept of the richest Kinds of Goods; what wonderful Wealth they obtained; in what prodigious Magnificence they lived; and into what Excesses they fell, in respect to their Expences, for Carving, Building, and Statues. All this shews that they were very great Traders; and it also shews that they traded to the *East-Indies*, for from thence only they could have their Spices, their rich Gums, their sweet-scented Woods, and their Ivory, all which it is expressly said that they had in the greatest Abundance. This therefore proves they had an extensive and flourishing Commerce, and that they had it earlier than any other Nation, seems to me evident from their dealing at that Time in Spices.

"Besides, there is much less Difficulty in supposing that they first discovered the Route to the *Indies*, than

"if we ascribe that Discovery to any other Nation; for, in the first place, they lay nearest, and in the next, they lay most conveniently; to which we may add, Thirdly, That as the Situation of their Country naturally inclined them to Navigation; so by the Help of the *Monsoons*, they might make regular Voyages to and from the *Indies*, with great Facility; nor is it at all unlikely that this Discovery might be at first owing to Chance, and so some of their Vessels being blown by a strong Gale to the opposite Coast, from whence they might take the Courage to return, by observing the Regularity of the Winds at certain Seasons. All these Reasons taken together, seem to favour this Opinion, that Commerce flourished first among them; and as to its Consequences in making them rich and happy, there is no Dispute about them.

The same Author having mentioned the *Phenicians* in Terms perfectly agreeable to what we have said of them, proceeds to shew what Uses were made of their great maritime Skill by *Solomon*, and takes Occasion from thence to confirm what he had before advanced in reference to the *Arabians*; the Passage is not long, and withal equally curious and instructive, it runs thus: "It is very certain, that *Solomon* made use of their Assistance in equipping his Fleets at *Elatb* and *Ezion Geber*, and it is very probable that they put him upon acquiring those Ports, and gave him the first Hints of the amazing Advantages that might be derived from the Possession of them, and from the Commerce he might from thence be able to carry on. These Ports were most commodiously situated on the *Arabian* Gulph, and from thence his Vessels, manned chiefly by *Phenicians*, sailed to *Ophir* and *Tharsis*, where-ever those Places were. Some Writers will needs have them to be *Mexico* and *Peru*, which is certainly a wild and extravagant Supposition; others believe, that we are to look for *Ophir* on the Coast of *Africa*, and *Tharsis* in *Spain*; but the most probable Opinion is, that they were both seated in the *East Indies*.

"By this adventurous Navigation he brought into his Country, Curiosities not only unseen, but unheard of before, and Riches in such Abundance, that as the Scripture finely expresses it, He made Silver in *Jerusalem* as Stones, and Cedar Trees as Sycamores that grow in the Plains. The Metaphor is very bold and emphatical; but when we consider that it is recorded in this History, that the Return of one Voyage only to *Ophir* produced 450 Talents of Gold, which make 51328 lb. of our *Troy* Weight, we cannot doubt of the immense Profit that accrued from this Commerce. It is also observable, that the Queen of *Sheba* or *Saba*, which lies in that part of *Arabia* before-mentioned, surprized at the Reports that were spread of the Magnificence of this Prince, made a Journey to his Court, on purpose to satisfy herself, whether Fame had not exaggerated the Fact, and from the Presents she made him of 120 Talents of Gold, of Spices in great Abundance, and precious Stones, we may discern the true Reason of her Curiosity, which proceeded from an Opinion, that no Country could be so rich as her own. And there is another Circumstance very remarkable, and which seems strongly to fortify what we have advanced in the Beginning of this Discourse, it is added, *neither was there any such Spices as the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon*; which seems to intimate, that the *Arabians* had penetrated farther into the *Indies* than even the Fleets of this famous Prince, and brought from thence other Spices (perhaps Nutmegs and Cloves) than had ever been seen before.

"It was by his Wisdom, and by his steady Application to the Arts of Peace, all of which mutually support each other, as they are all driven on by the Wheel of Commerce, which supplies every Want, and converts every Superfluity into Merchandize, that this Monarch raised his Subjects to a Condition much superior to that of any of their Neighbours, and rendered the Land of *Israel*, while he governed it, the

"Glory

“ Glory and Wonder of the East. He made great Acquisitions without making Wars; and his Successors, by making Wars, lost those Acquisitions. It was his Policy to keep all his People employed, and by employing them, he provided equally for the Extension of their Happiness and his own Power; but the following Kings pursued other Measures, and other Consequences attended them. The Trade of *Judea* sunk almost as suddenly as it rose, and in Process of Time they lost those Ports on the *Red Sea*, upon which their *Indian Commerce* depended.”

After this, there is nothing dark or intricate in that Part of the History of the Commerce of the Ancients, of which we have undertaken to treat. It appears very clearly, that from the earliest Times, even the remotest Countries of the East have been the Sources of all the Advantages derived from Trade, and the Possession of this particular Branch of Traffick has constantly given the Ascendant to the Nation in whose Hands it was. In tracing this History we have made it apparent, that the most considerable Points in the System of Commerce, considered as a Kind of Science, were both very well known, and very steadily practised in ancient Times, and produced exactly the same Consequences then that they do now; or, in other Words, enabled People to heap up immense Riches, induced them to encourage Arts and Sciences, by rewarding plentifully such as excelled in them, propagating Magnificence and Luxury, from whence, in Process of Time, arose Indolence, Effeminacy, and a total Depravation of Manners, which made Way either for foreign Conquests, or such a Declension of Morals at home as produced Ruin and Poverty, and from which hardly any of the ancient States ever recovered.

We have shewn the true Source of that incredible Wealth, for which, in the earliest Times of which, History affords any Record, the *Egyptians* were renowned; and we have shewn also how all this was transferred to the *Persians*, in Consequence of their becoming Masters of *Egypt*, and of the Means by which its Inhabitants amassed such prodigious Wealth. This leads us to consider the Conquests and the Views of *Alexander* the Great, in a Light very different from that in which they have been hitherto seen, and from which it is unquestionably evident, that he was a much greater and wiser Prince than he has been represented, not by Historians only, but by Panegyrists, that his Views were of quite another Nature than are commonly imagined; and that his Notions were incomparably more just and more extensive than that of any other Conqueror, either ancient or modern, since he did not barely aim at establishing an universal Monarchy, but was also desirous of making this turn to the universal Benefit of Mankind, by settling a constant and regular Intercourse amongst all the Nations he subdued, and rendering them thereby useful to each other; to facilitate which, he formed Projects impracticable indeed with Regard to their ultimate Intention, but which, notwithstanding, were designed with wonderful Sagacity, and from their Consequences in such Parts as could be executed, fully answered all that he expected from them.

It was by making use of the Lights afforded him by this great Monarch and his indulgent Master, that *Ptolemy* erected a *Greek Empire* in *Egypt*, which in point of Strength and Duration, as well as Magnificence, so much exceeded all the rest that were formed out of his Conquests. We have had many large and well-written Histories of that Empire, considered in a political Light, but there was still wanting a Commercial History of *Egypt*, which we have endeavoured to supply, and from the attentive Perusal of which the Reader will see, that nothing can contribute so much to the Power and Splendor of Sovereigns, and at the same Time to the Welfare, Happiness and Tranquility of a People, as commercial Maxims well applied. All the other Successors of *Alexander* lived as it were upon the main Stock, and only wasted in fruitless Projects, and wild and extravagant Expeditions, the Riches which they extorted from their Subjects, and which they continued to extort, till by totally exhausting them, they were no longer able to maintain that Power which was

requisite to support their Tyranny. Whereas *Ptolemy* and his immediate Successors, by following in their Dominions the judicious Maxims of *Alexander's* Policy, kept their Countries full of People, and by providing for the Happiness of those People, were able to keep up larger Armies, to maintain greater Fleets, and to live with infinitely more Magnificence than those Monarchs, whose Dominions were much larger, and who, till they ruined them by their Excesses, might have been more powerful and considerable, and might have made their Empire as permanent as his.

It is true, that at length the Government of *Egypt* sunk and fell into Confusion from its falling under the Dominion of weak Princes, and from the prevailing Corruption of Manners, against which Accidents human Policy affords no Defence. Yet it appeared great even in Decay, and its Magnificence was apparent in its Ruin. The *Romans*, when they became possessed of it, were very soon made sensible of its Importance, and of the Wisdom of those Maxims by which its Monarchs ruled in better Times. They therefore adopted those Maxims, and not only pursued but improved the Methods formerly employed to make this Country the Center of Commerce, and the great Magazine of the civilized part of the World. All these Points we have at large explained, by which it appears, that the Splendor and Glory of the *Roman Empire* was chiefly built upon this important Conquest, and the Consequences that attended it. That in Proportion as the *Roman Affairs* were wisely and prudently, or weakly and indiscreetly managed, the Concerns of *Egypt* were attended to or neglected; and that the great Blow given to the real Power and internal Force of the *Roman Empire*, was transferring this Province to the Princes that reigned in the Eastern parts of that Empire, and fixed their Seat at *Constantinople*.

We have described, tho' very concisely, what were the Effects of this Change, and how the Imperial Residence last mentioned became so large, so beautiful, and so immensely rich as it was, by drawing thither, in a great Measure, the Trade of the whole World. The gradual Ruin of the Eastern Empire, and the Growth of the *Arab* or *Saracen* Power, did not make a greater or more universal Change in the political Affairs of *Europe*, than in the commercial; for *Egypt* falling early under the Power of those Barbarians, since however learned they became afterwards, they certainly deserv'd that Title, when they subdued *Egypt*, all Thoughts of Commerce were laid aside. At that Time War was their Trade, and they knew no other Way of making Acquisitions than by the Sword. The Countries of which they became Master, were exceedingly rich and populous, and they had no Views beyond seizing the former by Force, and imposing Slavery upon those whom they had deprived of their Property. But by Degrees, Experience, which is the proper Mistress of such Sort of People, taught them, that Force and Violence were not the surest Means of maintaining Empire, and therefore they had Recourse to Learning and Arts; and though they did not apply themselves to Trade, yet they encouraged and promoted that of their Subjects, and allowed Strangers to deal with them, but upon such Terms as were highly advantageous to these Conquerors, who were never at a Loss how to squeeze the Money out of the Purses of their Subjects, provided they had any to be squeezed out.

IV. This regular Series of History is extremely useful in a great Variety of Cases, and is at the same Time exceedingly entertaining; it at once raises and satisfies our Curiosity, it informs us of what is to be found in the most distant Countries, and the Uses that have been in all Ages made of this Propensity to visit other Countries, and to bring back their Produce to our own. But above all, it serves to destroy those weak and vulgar Prejudices, by which Men are inclined to fancy, that in former Ages Mankind were absolutely deficient in Learning, Politeness, and above all, in understanding the Nature, and consequently acquiring the Advantages deducible from Commerce. But upon examining this History, we see precisely in what the Ancients excelled,

in what they came up to, and in what they were defective, when compared with the Moderns. From hence also we discover; to what all this was owing, what were the natural, what the accidental Advantages they had over us; and, on the other Hand, what we really and certainly possess, which were inaccessible to them. To give a few Instances of both.

The Ancients seem to have carried the Art of cultivating and improving Countries to a Height of which we have hardly any Comprehension. In the earliest Times *Egypt* was wonderfully cultivated, admirably improved, and exquisitely adorned. We cannot form a Notion of an Agriculture more perfect than what was practiced by the ancient *Egyptians*; their Temples, Palaces, and other publick Structures, were magnificent in the highest Degree; and if we incline to doubt the Veracity of the Records that relate to them, the very Ruins that still remain afford us Testimonies that are absolutely incontestible. The Contrivances made use of for supplying Water, and the Conveniency of Water Carriage, not only to all the great Cities, but to every Town and Village, surpass any thing that is to be seen at this Day in the most civilized Part of the World, unless perhaps we except *China*. This shews that the Ancients excelled also in Policy, or the Art of establishing right Rules for the Government of Mankind, which are best discovered from their Effects, the true Criterion of Government being the Exercise of human Industry about useful Things, for without Question that Nation is best governed where Individuals are best employed, that is, where, on the one Hand, the Laws provided suitable Encouragements for the active, and by a right Direction and Distribution of Authority, prevent any from being idle. The Ancients excelled also in all the Sciences that depend either on the Quickness of Parts, or the Solidity of Judgment, and in all the Arts that furnish the Necessities, procure the Conveniencies, or exhibit the Elegancies of Life; the Proofs of all which are to be found in their Writings, in the History of their Manners, and in the Remains of their Buildings, Utensils, Coins, Curiosities, &c.

On the other Hand, they were certainly defective in those Sciences that depend upon Experience, as well as Sagacity and Genius. Their Cosmography was equally narrow and erroneous; the same may be said of their Astronomy, which was not either accurate or well applied. Hence it came to pass, that their Navigation was uncertain, slow, dangerous, and confined. Neither had they any Notions of managing Commerce by Factories or Settlements. In these and many other Things we certainly surpass them, but then it must be also allowed, that they could, and we cannot do without them, which perhaps is the real Cause of their Defects, as well as of our Proficiency.

But there is one Advantage they had, which is very little attended to, and yet it was the principal Source of that Wealth, the very Relation of which appears to us almost incredible, I mean that amazing Fertility in valuable Commodities which several Countries enjoyed, and of which there are scarce any Traces to be met with now. Several Instances of this, with regard to the Regions of the East, occur in our History of them; but because we had no Opportunity of mentioning it elsewhere, it may not be amiss to set down a Testimony here that is very well worth Consideration. The *Phœnicians* considered *Spain*, and with very good Reason, in the very same Light that *Spain* now considers *Mexico* and *Peru*, that is to say, they drew from thence in Return for Merchandize of small and inconsiderable Value, immense Quantities of the richest Metals, and of Silver more especially.

If we may credit *Aristotle*, they not only found wherewith to load their Ships, but when that was done, they forged Anchors, Bolts and Bars of Silver, to supply the Place of Iron, that they might carry away the more of it. *Diodorus Siculus* assures us that it was chiefly owing to the prodigious Riches they drew from *Spain*, that the *Carthaginians* were able to set on Foot such numerous Armies, to equip such potent Fleets, and to raise such stupendous Fortifications, as made them at once the Wonder and the Terror of their Neighbours.

In a Word, one might produce good Authorities to prove, that there was hardly a maritime Province in *Spain*, from *Algarve* and *Andalusia*, to *Galicia*, *Asturias*, and the *Pyrenean* Mountains, but what abounded in Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, or some other valuable Metal. Yet except a Silver Mine in *Portugal*, of which the Reader has had a very particular and authentick Account in this Volume, there is not the least Sign or Token of these vast Treasures, exclusive of the Appearances that yet remain of the Works that were carried on for maintaining them.

V. But though we have attended closely to the Commercial History of the *Indies*, yet we have not neglected or omitted what might be thought as useful or more entertaining. We have drawn together, from the best and most authentick Writers, whatever would contribute to the true Representation of the Religion, Government, History, Laws and Customs of the several Nations of *India*, and have been more especially solicitous in setting forth the Learning, Discipline, Offices, Way of Living, and peculiar Privileges of the *Brachmans*, now called *Bramins*, and have taken the Pains to set forth the principal Doctrines of their Theology and Philosophy. We have been as solicitous about the natural History of the *Indies*, and have compared what ancient Authors have recorded, with the Remarks made by modern Travellers upon that Subject.

By this Means we have given the Reader, in a very narrow Compass, and in such a Manner, as that Things of a like Nature are all placed together, what would have cost very great Labour to assemble out of the different Books in which they are dispersed, and yet to preserve, as far as possible, all the Advantages that arise from a Variety of Reading, we have, generally speaking, made use of the Author's own Words, and have cited the Places where they are to be found in the Notes. We have very frequently taken Occasion, from this Manner of handling the Subject, to distinguish Fables from true History, and to shew sometimes, that there is a great deal of true History in what many hasty Critics have rejected as Fables. For if, on the one Side, it be true, that Ignorance is the Mother of Credulity, one may very much doubt, whether Incredulity be not her Daughter also. This will be the more easily apprehended, if we consider that there is a Kind of Similarity between Extreams, and that different Deviations from Truth may very well arise from the same Cause. For, after all, what is Credulity, but believing without Evidence? And what Incredulity, other than believing against Evidence? And whence can either of these arise more naturally than from Ignorance. If this mean and detestable Vice occupies the Breast of one of a mild and placid Spirit, he believes without examining whatever he hears; and again, if Ignorance be coupled with Obstinacy, there is hardly such a Thing as driving Belief into a Mortal, whose Mind is over-run with such Maladies.

It is very possible, that notwithstanding all the Care we have taken, some Mistakes may be discovered in this Part, by those who have been so happy as to obtain better Lights; but a diligent Enquiry, and a strict Examination, were the only proper Methods to be employed to prevent such Mistakes, and they were employed to the utmost of our Power. We may add to this, another and a very just Apology, that in this Tract we were without any Guide, all who had gone before us chusing rather to save their own Pains than that of the Reader, and to heap up Relation upon Relation, Extract upon Extract, by which they multiplied their Volumes, and neither represented Things distinctly themselves, nor left it in the Power of a Reader, who had not uncommon Leisure, to form any distinct Notion of what was really worth knowing, in that vast Load of Materials that they exhibited to his View. In short, we saw very plainly, what was amiss in the Compilations that went before us, and we were very willing to take Warning by their Miscarriages, which put us upon pursuing another Method, and if we have missed of Perfection in that, we have at least this to plead, that we meant well, and have done our best.

VI. After

VI. After shewing how Commerce was in a Manner totally overwhelmed in the East, we proceed next to point out the Methods by which it was in some Measure revived by the Subjects of the two trading Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*; and we have taken great Pains to discover the different Ways, by which, at several Times, and under various Circumstances, the Commodities and Manufactures of the East were brought into *Europe*. But as the Manner of our treating that Subject would not allow us to digress there, so far as to give any Account of the Rise of those two celebrated States, it cannot be amiss, in this Review of our Performance, to supply that Defect in as concise a Manner as it is possible.

When the Western Part of the *Roman* Empire was over-run by *Barbarians*, and Arts and Sciences sunk with that Power which had cultivated and protected them; Commerce also visibly declined, or to speak with greater Propriety, was overwhelmed and lost; for in Times of Confusion and publick Desolation, when the Giant War stalks abroad, overturns great Cities, tramples down the noblest Improvements, and lays whole Countries waste, it is impossible that Trade should continue; or rather, it is highly probable, that on the very Approach of these Dangers she must have already fled. It is a common Saying, that Riches are the Nerves of War, rather, I think, the Food of it; and therefore where War devours, there Commerce cannot subsist, which is a perpetual Reason why all Trading Nations should avoid offensive Wars; for by those that are absolutely defensive they can never be hurt. But to keep to the Point; when that Irruption of various Nations had driven the *Roman* Policy out of the greatest Part of *Europe*, some straggling People, either forced by Necessity, or led by Inclination, took Shelter in a few straggling Islands that lay near the Coast of *Italy*, and which would never have been thought worth inhabiting in a Time of Peace.

This was in the Sixth Century, and at their first fixing there, they had certainly nothing more in View, than living in a tolerable State of Freedom, and acquiring a Subsistence as well as they could. These Islands being divided from each other by narrow Channels, and those Channels so incumber'd by Shallows, that it was impossible for Strangers to navigate them, these Refugees found themselves tolerably safe, and uniting among themselves for the Sake of improving their Condition, and augmenting their Security, they became in the Eighth Century a well settled Government, and assumed the Form of a Republick.

Simple and mean as this Relation may appear, yet it is a plain and true Account of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the famous and potent Republick of *Venice*. Her Beginnings were indeed weak and slow, but when the Foundation was once well laid, her Growth was quick, and the Increase of her Power amazing. She extended her Commerce on all Sides, and taking Advantage of the barbarous Maxims of the *Mohamedan* Monarchies, she drew to herself the Profits of the *Indian* Trade, and might in some Sense be said to make *Egypt* a Province, and the *Saracens* her Subjects.

By this Means her Traffick swelled beyond Conception, she became the common Mart of all Nations, her Naval Power arrived at a prodigious Height, and making use of every favourable Conjuncture, she stretched her Conquests not only over the adjacent *Terra Firma* of *Italy*, but through the Islands of the *Archipelago*, so as to be at once Mistress of the Sea, of many fair and fruitful Countries, and of Part of the great City of *Constantinople* it self. But Ambition, and the Desire of Lording it over her Neighbours, Passions equally fatal in publick and private Life; to States and Empires, as well as to great Men, and to great Families, brought upon her those Evils which first produced a Decay of Trade, and then a Declension of Power. General Histories indeed ascribe this to the League of *Cambray*, when all the great Powers in *Europe* combined against this Republick; and in Truth, from that Period the sinking of her Power is truly dated; but the *Venetian* Writers very justly observe, that though this Effect fol-

lowed the League, yet there was another, a more latent, but, at the same Time, a more effectual Cause, which was the falling off of their Commerce.

Her Subjects were become less frugal, and less wealthy, and, at the same time, more ambitious and more profuse. It was impossible, in such a Situation, that the State should maintain it self when so warmly attacked; a Man in a Consumption cannot struggle with the same Force as in Health; and though By-standers may attribute the Fall he receives to the Strength of his Adversary, he cannot help knowing, that it proceeds solely from the failing of his own Strength. This was the Case of the *Venetians*, and they have ever since been more indebted to their Wisdom, than their Power, to the prudent concealing of their own Weakness, and taking Advantage of the Errors of their Enemies, than to any other Cause; for their keeping up that Port which they still bear, and which had been lost long ago by any other Nation but themselves.

At the same Time that *Venice* rose, as it were, out of the Sea, another Republick was erected on the Coasts of *Italy*, there could not well be a worse Situation than the narrow, marshy, unprofitable and unwholesome Islands in the *Adriatick*, except the rocky, barren, and inhospitable Shores of *Liguria*; and yet as Commerce raised *Venice* the Rich, on the one; so she erected *Genoa* the Proud on the other. In Spite of ambitious and warlike Neighbours, in Spite of a confined and unproducing Country, and which were still greater Impediments, in Spite of perpetual Factions and successive Revolutions, the Trade of *Genoa* made her rich and great. Her Merchants traded to all Countries, and thrived by carrying the Commodities of the one to the other. Her Fleets became formidable, and besides the adjacent Island of *Corfica*, she made larger and more important Conquests. She fixed a Colony at *Caffa*, and was for some Time in Possession of the Coasts on both Sides of the *Black Sea*.

That Emulation which is natural to neighbouring Nations, and that Jealousy which rises from the Pursuit of the same Mistress, Commerce, begat continual Wars between these Rival Republicks, which after many obstinate and bloody Battles, was at last terminated in Favour of *Venice*, by that famous Victory of *Chiozzi*, gained by her Doge *Andrew Contarini*, from which Time *Genoa* never pretended to be Mistress of the Sea. These Quarrels were fatal to both; but what proved more immediately destructive to the *Genoese*, was their Avarice, which induced them to abandon the fair Profits of Trade, for the Sake, by that vile Method of acquiring Wealth by Usury.

This leads us to mention another Subject that has a close Connection with Commerce, and that is, the Business of Exchanges. This, tho' in many Cases useful to Commerce, concerns also many other Things, such as Transactions of State, and of War, the Removal of Families, or the Descent of Successions upon Strangers; all of which create the Necessity of removing Money from one Country to another, which sometimes cannot be done at all, and in most Cases must be attended with Inconveniency, if practised in the plain Way of Transportation. The *Lombards*, one of the many Nations that established themselves in *Italy* after the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, and who have bestowed their Name on one of the finest Countries in it, devised a Method for removing, in a great Measure, this Inconvenience; for they observed that Money was very often wanting reciprocally in several Countries, and therefore they imagined, that if a Way could be found to establish a Correspondence capable of supplying their mutual Wants, it might prove very advantageous to the middle Persons, and this produced that Kind of Practice now known by the Name of *Exchange*; which, as it was invented by, so it continued long in the Hands of the *Lombards*. For this Purpose, they settled themselves in most of the great Cities in *Europe*, and having a strict Correspondence one with another, they managed this new Branch of Business, of drawing and remitting Money with vast Advantage to themselves; and to do this the more effectually, they enter'd into Partnership, kept

large Houses, and had vast Capitals, which were stiled *Banks*; and as it was their Custom (as indeed it was of all Sorts of Merchants) to live together, so the Street in which they resided in this City, acquired from thence its Name; and tho' Things are long since changed, yet it is still inhabited by *English* Bankers, and retains its old Title of *Lombard-street*.

We may discern the wonderful Effects of Industry in this Invention, for the *Lombards* inhabiting an inland Country, drew by this Means to themselves a very considerable Profit out of foreign Trade, and made *Milan* and other great Cities in which they resided, populous and opulent, by their becoming the Center of their Exchanges. But when the *Genoese* fell into it, they began to carry it farther, for they not only drew and remitted Money, but lent it also, and by this Means, as their Profits increased, they began to slight their foreign Trade, or rather their Capitals, however large, becoming unequal to the double Demands of Commerce and Banking, the former gave Way to the latter, as the most secure, if not the most profitable; and by this Alteration Individuals became immensely rich and great, while the State grew weak and poor; and thus the Republick of *Genoa* dwindled into a low Condition, and by Degrees was obliged to pawn almost all its Revenues to its own Bank of *St. George*, which amidst a long Series of foreign Wars and domestick Seditions, remained unhurt and inviolable, till the last taking of that City by the *Austrians*, when the Bank of *St. George* met with the same Fate with the Common-wealth, and whether either of them will recover their former Lustre, is a Problem that must be left to Time to resolve.

While the *Venetians* were able to maintain their Commerce in *Indian* Commodities, and while the *Genoese* had any Kind of foreign Trade, they maintained a considerable Naval Force, and frequently made Attempts to retrieve, at least in some Measure, the Figure they had formerly made; but in Process of Time, as other Nations pursued the Route discovered by the *Portuguese*, new Maritime Powers arose, and the whole System of Commerce in *Europe* was thereby changed in such a Manner, as to leave hardly any Hopes of Recovery to these *Italian* States. I do not say absolutely that they are without Hopes, for if ever the *Russians* should make themselves Masters of the *Black Sea*, but more especially if they should ever conquer *Crim Tartary*, this may alter Things again, and prove the Means of reviving the Trade of *Italy*.

VII. The new Commerce to the *East Indies* by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, takes up the remaining Part of the first Volume; by Way of Introduction to which, we have given the Reader the Travels of *William Rubruquis* and *Marco Polo*, which gave this Part of the World the first Knowledge of *Tartary*, *China*, and *Japan*. We intended likewise to have given the Travels of our Countryman Sir *John Mandevile*, but finding that these ancient Accounts were thought very dry Reading, we desisted from that Design. To say the Truth, his Travels are rather Matters of Curiosity than of Use; for though it is very certain, that many Circumstances of his Narration may be so explained as to justify them from being absolutely fabulous, yet he is not, upon the whole, a Writer that deserves to be commended, because of that strange Propensity he had to represent every thing as marvellous, and to make his Book rather a Collection of Wonders than of Travels. It is nevertheless certain, that from the Peregrinations of adventurous Persons by Land, the *Portuguese* received those Lights that enabled them to find their Way to the *East Indies* by Sea; and therefore it is of great Importance where Discoveries may be prosecuted by Land as well as by Sea, to make use of both Methods; upon which Subject we shall have Occasion to say something very curious hereafter.

The Voyages we have given by the Way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, are the best that we could select, and in Conjunction with those that are contained in the first Book, will afford the Reader as clear, as copious, and as comprehensive an Account of the past and present State of those Countries as he can reasonably desire; and

therefore it would have been to little or no Purpose to have swelled our Collection with a greater Number of Voyages and Travels, which must unavoidably have made Way for numerous Repetitions, equally fatiguing and distasteful. Instead of these, we chose to insert an authentick, regular, and compleat History of the *Mogul* Empire, from the earliest to the present Times, which though much desired, was still wanting. By this Means we had an Opportunity of shewing the Progress of that extensive Empire, together with the Means in, and the Manner by which it has swallowed up many of those small Kingdoms that were heretofore famous in these Parts of the World. Yet it is not at all impossible that the next Age may see that Empire dissolved, and either the old Kingdoms revived, or new ones erected out of its Ruins. For it is visible enough from this History, that the *Mohametan* Power declines greatly in the East, and that the Native *Indians* begin to retrieve their Strength, and to affect an Independency, which they will find it the more easy to establish, if they continue to apply themselves, as they have done during the current Century, to the Cultivation of a Naval Force.

It is indeed very highly to be regretted, that we have not so much as a tolerable Account of the present Princes of *India*, whom we affect to treat with Contempt, and who are generally represented in modern Travels as Robbers and Pyrates; whereas if we would but consider that they are the native Proprietors of the Countries which they inhabit, and have as much Right, at least, to retrieve what has been taken from them, as those who took it have to keep what they have got, we should, in all Probability, change our Notions. There was indeed, some Years ago, an Account of Mr. *Mathews's* Expedition into the *East Indies*, published, in which something of this Kind was contained, but it was written by a common Sailor, and the proper Names more especially, so terribly disfigur'd, that it was a difficult Matter to pick out any thing from it with Certainty, of which I will leave the Reader to judge from one singular Instance only. An *Indian* Prince, well enough known in better Books by the Name of *Seva Rajah*, he is pleased to call throughout the whole of his Relation, the *Sow Roger*, and in the same Manner he confounds every Thing else. We have been promised by the *French* more distinct Accounts of these Matters, and some little Histories we have had from them that are, though of an ancient Date, very curious and entertaining.

But our People have so many more and better Opportunities, that if some of them who have Abilities and abundant Leisure, would attempt it, they might certainly give us a better *Indian* History than is yet extant in any *European* Language. Mr. *Frazer*, who is at present in the *Indies*, and to whom we are indebted for an excellent Account of *Kouli Kan*, would be the properest Person in the World to undertake a Work of this Kind; and one would imagine that if he did undertake it, he might meet with proper Encouragement. That we are at present but very indifferently instructed as to the Temper and Disposition of many Eastern Nations, and therefore ought to be willing to get better Accounts, is out of all Doubt, and might be fully demonstrated from the very latest Books that are published.

Our Writers commonly represent the *Arabs* on the Sea Coasts as Pyrates, just as our Travellers, when they speak of them by Land, treat them as a whole Nation of Thieves; but Men of Candour and Sense speak otherwise from their own Experience, as may be seen from the following Relation of a Person who spent many Years in the *Indies*, and did not affect to treat all as Barbarians whom he conversed with there. The *Muskat Arabs* (says he) are remarkable for their Humility and Urbanity. I had one Instance of their Civility. As I was one Morning walking the Streets, I met accidentally the Governor of the City, by them called the *Waahy*, and, according to my Duty, I went into the Door of a Shop to let him and his Guards have the Street, which generally are narrow; but he observing by my Complexion and Garb that I was a Stranger, made his Guard to go on one Side, and beckoned me to

to come forward, and stood still till I passed by him. And for an Instance of their cool Temper in hearing Debates, and rectifying Mistakes between Parties disagreeing about Commerce, a Person of my Acquaintance was Commander of a Ship from *India*, and had freighted her to *Muskat*. The Freighter, who was a *Mohamedan*, delay'd paying the Freight long after it was due by the Tenor of the Charter-party; upon which he being in a Passion with the Freighter for his continued Delays, went to the *Waaly* to complain. He observing by the Gentleman's Countenance that his Mind was discomposed, answered him, That being at that Time very busy about some of the King's Affairs, he had not Time to send for his Freighter, but desired that he would come some other Time, and he would hear him and order the Payment. The Delays still continuing, the Captain went again in an angry Mood to make his Complaint, but was still put off with gentle Excuses; but at last, addressing the *Waaly* with Coolness, he was desired to sit down, and he would send for the Freighter; which accordingly he did, and on his Appearance, the *Waaly* ask'd him, why he did not comply with his Contract as was stipulated by the Charter-party? And his Excuses being thought insufficient, he was ordered to make Payment forthwith, or go to Prison; but the Freighter chose rather to bring the Money, and end the Dispute. The Captain ask'd the *Waaly* why he did not do him Justice sooner; who returned for Answer, That it was his own Fault for coming drunk to make Complaint. The Captain protested that he had not been drunk in many Years; but the *Waaly* replied, That he saw him drunk with Passion, which was the most dangerous Sort of Drunkenness. This sufficiently shews of what Nature those Accounts are which we really want, as well as the just Reason we have to complain of too many of those that we have already.

VIII. The Detail we have given of the History of the Affairs of the *Europeans* in the *East-Indies*, is the first Attempt of its Kind, and is as methodical, regular and copious, as we could make it. It shews at what Time each *European* Nation entered the *Indies*, what Success they met with, where and how they established themselves, and what subsequent Fortune has attended their Commerce and their Settlements. All this is undoubtedly of very great Importance in reference to the acquiring with Facility an extensive Circle of intrinsic and useful Knowledge. We shall be the more sensible of this, if we consider how many different Sorts of Persons may reap considerable Benefit thereby.

In the first Place, for surely his Station intitles him to that, the Statesman will be the better for our Labours. This is a Subject of which he will be obliged often to think seriously, and may sometimes be obliged to enquire into it carefully. Now what we offer to his View, may be esteemed a general Introduction to all that can be known upon this Head; and if he afterwards examines Projects for Improvement or Discovery, he will be the better able to judge whether they are chimerical, grounded upon private Interest, or really calculated for the publick Good; and he will likewise be able to form a shrewd Guess whether they are practicable or not. If he is under a Necessity of examining Treaties, or the Pretensions of different Nations, he will receive such Lights as may render them perspicuous without much Trouble; or if it imports him to learn what is the true State of Things in that Country, and how Power, Possession and Commerce are divided amongst the Nations interested in the *Indies*, he will find a Scheme of all this ready drawn up to his Hands.

A young Adventurer, who is on the Point of being sent into these Parts to raise his Fortune, will, doubtless, wish to go thither with some general Notions of what he is to expect, what may merit his Attention, and what may deserve his Enquiries. Here he will find all these Matters drawn together to his Hand, and ready digested for his Perusal; so that without any Loss of Time, he may acquire a larger Stock of useful and applicable Knowledge, than he could possibly have fish'd out even from a well chose Collection of Voyages and

Travels, which however are not easily made, more especially by a fresh Man, or one who has but just turned his Thoughts to so extensive a Subject. Not to multiply Instances, a Gentleman who desires to gain, with as little Trouble as may be, a competent Notion of those Topicks that enter frequently into Discourse, will find in this History what will effectually answer his End, and set him upon a Level at least with most other People in reference to these Matters which ever were, and ever will be thought of great Importance. Besides all this, we perceive every Day new Causes and new Inducements to attend to Things of this Sort, from beholding what Effects they have upon the wisest Heads in other Nations.

It is a Thing so recent, that few People can have forgot to how great a Degree the Affairs of *Europe* were influenced by the Emperor's setting up an *East-India* Company at *Ostend*, which actually produced a total Change in the System; and as it began with an Alliance between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, so it brought about a Conjunction as extraordinary between *France* and the Maritime Powers. This Conjunction indeed proved too hard for the Alliance, and brought about at length the Subversion of that Company; but this only removed, it did not eradicate the Evil with respect to the Maritime Powers, since the *Swedish* and *Danish East-India* Companies rose up instead of this of *Ostend*. If they affected us less at the Beginning, it was so far from being an Alleviation, that in Reality it was an Aggravation of our Misfortune, because it hindred the Maritime Powers from perceiving immediately the Consequences of these Establishments. It was indeed alledged, that the Remoteness of the Navigation, their Inexperience with regard to Commerce, and Disappointments they had already met with in Schemes of this Sort, would make them very quickly weary of such Kind of Projects, and consequently deliver the Maritime Powers from all Apprehensions of this Sort for the future.

We see however, that these Allegations were without Foundation, and the Event forces us, whether we will or not, to discern that these Obstacles are not insurmountable, and which is still more, that this Trade has precisely the same Effects in those Countries, that it had when first engaged in by the *English* and *Dutch*, that is to say, it has put the *Swedes* and *Danes* upon erecting Manufactures, opening other Branches of Commerce, and enabling them thereby to become Maritime Powers.

The History of all this, which will become every Day more and more worthy of our Cognizance, is to be found here, and here only; for hitherto Collections of this Kind had been made, rather with a View to Amusement than Instruction, and were better calculated to entertain the idle, than to instruct the Industrious, which in a Nation like this, that derives its Grandeur, Independency, and Influence from Trade, was equally melancholy and surprising. We may add to all this, that whatever we may think of the Matter, who in Fact are most concerned to think of it, if the Welfare and Prosperity of our Country be at all our Concern, the Success of these new Companies have made a very sensible Impression upon other Powers, in so much that the King of *Prussia* is meditating the Establishment of an *East-India* Company at *Emden*, which, if carried into Execution, as what is there that he has contrived and not carried into Execution, will infallibly diminish the *East-India* Trade of the United Provinces, not without some Detriment also to ours.

It is moreover no Secret, that his Imperial Majesty, in Quality of Great Duke of *Tuscany*, has likewise a Design of setting up a new *East-India* Company at *Leghorn*, which will very sensibly affect our *Italian* Commerce, not only by furnishing immediately and directly all the Countries bordering on the *Mediterranean*, with *East-India* Commodities, but still more by its remoter Consequences in promoting and encouraging the speedy Erection of new Manufactures in those Countries, which cannot but lessen very greatly our Exportations, and circumscribe our Trade in a Manner easily apprehended, and which at present it is needless to describe.

But if upon this Occasion it should be demanded what Remedy there is for these Things, we can only answer, that all the Remedy in the Power of private Persons, is to foresee and point out the Causes of such Evils; and by acquainting their Countrymen with the real Importance of this Commerce, to awaken and excite their Diligence, to preserve what is yet left, and if possible, to open new Channels, which may balance the Deficiencies that must naturally arise from the losing those Branches of Trade, which, by these new Attempts, are likely to be cut off. All this the Reader will find regularly digested to the utmost Extent of our Power, and throughout the several Sections which relate to them, interspersed with a great Variety of probable Expedients, by which these great and important Ends may be attained.

It is not at all in ours, or indeed within the Compass of private Peoples Abilities, to carry Things of this Nature any farther; but the Rectitude of carrying them thus far, and of publishing and making manifest the mighty Advantages that would result from directing our Councils to the Improvement of our Commercial Concerns, rather than the settling the Interests of other Nations upon the Continent, which perhaps the better they are settled, the less it may tend to our Benefit, since we see that the first Consequence of their Independency and Security is to prosecute Projects for the Benefit of their own Trade, and to the Prejudice of ours, is put out of all Dispute.

Those who affect to treat these Things either as Chimeras or Trifles, Points of inconsiderable Moment, or remote and uncertain in their Consequences, are either really or affectedly Ignorant; and which ever they are, so far as they can carry their Opinions and Influence, the most dangerous and most destructive Enemies to their Country; for to propagate Notions of Security, and to rock us as it were in the Sleep of Indolence, while other Nations are awake and full of Attention to the Means of improving Traffick, and laying the Foundations of Maritime Power, is to enervate and destroy us, more especially, if at the same Time we are exhausted by Taxes, which necessarily render our Manufactures dear, and give thereby great Advantage to our Rivals, and oppressed with Debts, a very large Proportion of which being due to Foreigners, must speedily and infallibly draw the last Shilling out of these Kingdoms, if fresh Supplies of Wealth are not regularly and constantly brought in by foreign Trade.

These are the Subjects chiefly insisted upon in the first Volume of this Collection, diversified by a great Variety of pleasant and entertaining Reading, so disposed as to heighten Instruction, and not to distract the Mind, by aiming at no useful or perceptible End. We come next to speak of the Contents of the second Volume, and to shew how far they are likewise calculated to answer the same useful, important and national Purposes.

IX. As an Intercourse and Commerce with the *East Indies* was the great Concern both of the Ancients and Moderns, to the Time that AMERICA was found out, so that DISCOVERY, and the great Consequences that have attended it, have been the just Subjects of the principal Attention of the trading Nations in *Europe* ever since; and hence the examining every Thing relating thereto in its proper Order, became naturally the next Object of our Care. We begin with a copious and circumstantial Relation of the several Expeditions of the great *Christopher Columbus*, in which we have fully explained the Motives upon which they were grounded, the many Discouragements he met with, and the various Difficulties he encountered before he was able to bring Things to bear. In treating these Subjects, we have taken the Liberty to intermix some Reflections on the Detriments that *Spain* received from the early Interposition of Statesmen in the Management of the new Colonies, from whence many Mischiefs arose, and the Profits of those early Establishments were very much lessened, and their future Progress greatly checked.

We then proceed to the intermediate Expeditions between those of *Columbus*, and the Conquest of *Mexico*

by *Ferdinand Cortes*, which affords the Reader an ample Prospect of the mighty Difficulties that Men will go through from the Hopes of Gain, more especially, when it is to come immediately to themselves, and they are not circumscribed either by the unreasonable Power or particular Views of Companies, to which alone is to be ascribed the rapid Progress of the *Spaniards*, in those Countries where their Conquests in our Times, when nothing is done but at an immense Expence of Time, Men and Money, appears incredible. The Passage being now open, we go on to the Conquest of *Mexico*, and to shew from the best Authorities, how a very great and powerful Empire, governed by a wise and brave Monarch, and supported by numerous Armies of faithful Subjects, was nevertheless successfully attacked, and in the End totally over-turned by a very handful of Men, and those too all the Time caballing, conspiring, and quarrelling amongst themselves, so that the prosperous Event of that marvellous Expedition, is entirely due to the incomparable Abilities, indefatigable Labours, and singular Virtues of the Commander in Chief; to whom however there was but very little Gratitude shewed by his Countrymen, who reaped all the Benefits of that most important Conquest.

After recording his Actions, the Reader will find a succinct Account of the Manner in which the *Isthmus* of *America*, and the Country adjoining, were subdued, and of the Disputes that arose amongst the *Spanish* Officers, or rather Adventurers that undertook and effected those Conquests, which, how fatal so ever they might be to themselves, turned notwithstanding, as much, or more, to the Benefit of the *Spanish* Crown and Nation, as if they had proceeded with all the Harmony and good Understanding possible; so valuable a Principle is Activity, and so advantageous to the Publick a busy and enterprising Spirit, when employed at a Distance, whether well or ill conducted, by which very often prodigious Conquests are made abroad by those of restless and turbulent Minds, that very probably had stirred up Rebellion and Confusion, if they had staid at home. We may enter farther into the Truth of this Observation, if we consider how little has been done in these Parts in so long a Course of Years, in Comparison with what was then done in so few; from whence it is visible, that as Example excites and encourages vigorous Measures, so it likewise countenances Indolence, and by degrees fixes and establishes it by Habit.

X. The Conquest of *PERU* was not at all the Effect of any deep laid Scheme of Policy, or of Measures taken in Consequence of Orders from *Spain*; on the contrary, it arose from a Kind of Agreement or Compromise between two or three enterprising Adventurers, and those too in desperate Circumstances. All the Force they could muster up was so insignificant, as scarce to exceed a Modern Independent Company; the Vessels on which they embarked, were still meaner than the Forces they carried; and as for the Funds which were to defray the Expences of this Expedition, they were equally insignificant in Money and in Credit. What is still more extraordinary than all this, these Undertakers had little or no Intelligence; they knew that the Country they were to attack was very large, and well peopled, but they knew very little of its Government, and still less of the Customs and Manners of those People. We are not to imagine from hence, that the Inhabitants of *Peru* were wild and barbarous Savages, or that they were defeated and subdued for Want of a Constitution, Laws and Policy; for this was so far from being the Case, that Sir *William Temple*, than whom there hardly ever was a better Judge of Things of this Nature, has given us, within a very narrow Compass, a most excellent System of the *Peruvian* Empire, which having had no Opportunity to insert elsewhere, it cannot be displeasing to our Readers, upon this Review of the whole Work, to find it here, more especially, as it is justly esteemed the Master-piece of that polite Writer, who has therein given us both Facts and Observations that might very well furnish Matter for a considerable Volume. "The Empire of *Peru* deduced its Original "from their great Heroes *Mango Copac*, and his Wife "and

“ and his Sister *Coya Mama*, who are said to have first appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake, which is still sacred with them upon this Occasion. Before this Time, the People of these Countries are reported to have lived like the Beasts among them, without any Traces of Order, Laws, or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees, or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Provision than for present Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houses but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be secure from wild Beasts; or on Tops of Hills, if they were in Fear of fierce Neighbours. When *Mango Copac* and his Sister first came into these naked Lands, as they were Persons of excellent Shape and Beauty, so they were adorned with such Cloaths as continued afterwards the usual Habit of the *Ynca's*, by which Name they called themselves.

“ They told the People who came first about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the Sun, and that their Father taking Pity of the miserable Condition of Mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial Lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such Laws, Customs and Orders as their Father the Sun had commanded these his Children to teach them. The great Rule they first taught, was that every Man should live according to Reason, and consequently not either say nor do any Thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them, because it was against all common Reason to make one Law for our selves, and another for other People; and this was the great Principle of all their Morality. In the next Place, that they should worship the Sun, who took care of the whole World, gave Life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good as to spare no Pains of his own, but to go round the World every Day to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two Children down on purpose for the Good and Happiness of Mankind, and to rule them with the same Care and Goodness that he did the World.

“ After this, they taught them the Arts most necessary for Life, as *Mango Copac* to sow *Mayz*, or the common *Indian* Grain, at certain Seasons, to preserve it against others; to build Houses against Inclemencies of Air, and Danger of wild Beasts; to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families; to cloathe themselves so as to cover at least the Shame of Nakedness; to tame and nourish such Creatures as might be of common Use and Sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to spin and weave both Cotton, and certain coarse Woolls of some Beasts amongst them. With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great Numbers of People, observed and obeyed like Children of the Sun sent down from Heaven to instruct and govern them.

“ *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long and five Inches round. He said that his Father the Sun had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he should, every Time he rested, strike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the first Stroke it should go down to the very Top, he should there build a Temple to the Sun, and fix the Seat of his Government. This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cusco*, where he founded that City which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*. Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the *High Cusco*, and the other the *Low*, and began here to be a Law-giver to these People. In each of these were at first a thousand Families, which he caused all to be register'd, with the Numbers in each. This he did by Strings of several Co-

lours, and Knots of several Kinds and Colours upon them, by which both Accounts were kept of Things and Times, and as much expressed of their Minds as was necessary in a Government, where neither Letters, nor Money, or consequently Disputes or Avarice, with their Consequences, ever entered.

“ He instituted Decurions through both these Colonies, that is, one over every ten Families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thousand; and to this last they gave the Name of *Curaca*, or Governor. Every Decurion was a Censor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in small Controversies among those under his Charge. They took care that every one cloathed themselves, laboured and lived according to the Orders given them by the *Ynca's* from their Father the Sun, among which one was, That none who could work should be idle, more than to rest after Labour; and that none who could not work by Age, Sickness, or Invalidity, should want, but be maintained by the others Pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long Race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known; and no Woman ever so much as went to see her Neighbours but with their Work in their Hands, which they followed all the Time the Visit lasted. Upon this I remember a Strain of refin'd Civility among them, which was, that when any Woman went to see another of equal or ordinary Birth, she worked at her own Work in the other's House; but if she made a Visit to any of the *Palla's*, which was the Name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as *Ynca's* was that of the Men, then they immediately desired the *Palla* to give them a Piece of her own Work, and the Visit passed in working for her.

“ Idleness sentenced by the Decurions, was punished by so many Stripes in publick, and the Disgrace was more sensible than the Pain. Every Colony had one supreme Judge, to whom the lower Decurions remitted great and difficult Cases, or to whom, in such Cases, the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of those under his Charge above a Night and a Day, became guilty of it, and liable to the same Punishment. There were Laws or Orders likewise against Theft, Mutilations, Murders, Disobedience to Officers, and Adulteries, for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women as he could. The Punishment of all Crimes was either corporal Pains or Death, but commonly the last, upon these two Reasons which they gave; first, That all Crimes, whether great or small, were of the same Nature, and deserved the same Punishment, if they were committed against the Divine Commands, which were sent them down from the Sun: Next that, to punish any Man in his Possessions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in Strength and Liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incensed or necessitated to commit new Crimes.

“ On the other Side, they never forfeited the Charge or Possessions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonstrated to him the Guilt and Punishment of them for his Warning or Example. These Orders had so great Force and Effect, that many Times a whole Year passed without the Execution of one Criminal. There is no Doubt, but that which contributed much to this great Order in the State, was the Disuse of other Professions than what were necessary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their first great Hero or Legislator, which seemed to have been intailed upon their whole Race in the Course of their Reign: So as in the whole Length of it, it is reported among them, that no true *Ynca* was ever found guilty or punished for any Crime. Thus particular Qualities have been observed in old *Rome* to be constant in the same Families for several hundred Years, as Goodness, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerii*; Haughtiness, Pride, Cruelty

" Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the
 " *Appii*; which may come from the Force of Blood,
 " of Education, or Example.

" It is certain, no Government was ever established
 " and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and
 " Severity, nor gave ever any greater Testimonies, than
 " the *Ynca's*, of an excellent Institution, by the Pro-
 " gresses and Successes, both in the Propagation and
 " Extent of Empire, in Force and Plenty, in Great-
 " ness and Magnificence of all publick Works, as
 " Temples, Palaces, Highways, Bridges, and in all
 " Provisions necessary to the common Ease, Safety, and
 " Utility of human Life: So as several of the Jesuits,
 " and particularly *Acosta*, are either so just or so pre-
 " suming, as to prefer the civil Constitution of *Mango*
 " *Copac*, before *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other
 " Lawgivers, so celebrated in the more known Parts
 " of the World.

" To every Colony was assigned such a Compass of
 " Land, whereof one Part was appropriated to the
 " SUN, a second to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old,
 " or maimed, a third to the peculiar Maintenance of
 " every Family according to their Number, and a
 " fourth to the *Ynca*. In this Order the whole was til-
 " led, and the Harvest or Product laid up in several
 " Granaries, out of which it was distributed by Offi-
 " cers to that Purpose, according to the several Uses
 " for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out
 " at the Season for the new Tillage. Every Decurion,
 " besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that
 " likewise of a Patron or Solicitor, for Relief of the
 " Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge.
 " They were bound to give in to the publick Register,
 " an Account of all that were born, and of all that
 " died under their Charge. None were suffered to
 " leave the Colony or People he was born in without
 " Leave, or to change the Habit commonly used in it
 " (by some Parts or Marks whereof those of each Pro-
 " vince was distinguished); none to marry out of it, any
 " more than the *Ynca's*, out of their own Blood.

" The *Ynca* that reigned was called *Capa Ynca*,
 " which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Semor*, or *Only*
 " *Lord*. He ever married the first of his Female Kin-
 " dred, either Sister, Niece or Cousin, to preserve the
 " Line the purest they could. Once in two Years he
 " assembled all the unmarried *Ynca's* Men above
 " Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years old, and
 " there in publick married all such as he thought fit,
 " by giving each of their Hands one to the other.
 " The same was done among the Vulgar by the *Ca-*
 " *raca* of each People. Every Family at their Time of
 " Meals, eat with their Doors open, so that all might
 " see their Temperance and Order. By these and such
 " other Laws and Institutions, *Manga Copac* first settled
 " his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cuz-*
 " *co*, which were in Time multiplied into many others
 " by the willing Confluence and Recourse of many se-
 " veral People round about him, allured by the Divine
 " Authority of his Orders, by the Sweetness and Cle-
 " mency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that
 " lived under it; and indeed the whole Government of his
 " Race of the *Ynca's*, was rather like that of a tender
 " Father over his Children, or a just, careful and well-
 " natured Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or
 " Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they
 " came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like
 " Sacrilege for any common Person so much as to
 " touch the *Ynca* without his Leave, which was given
 " as a Grace to those who served him well, or to new
 " Subjects that submitted to him. After the Extent of
 " his Kingdom into great Compasses of Territory
 " round *Cuzco*, by voluntary Submission of the People,
 " as to some Evangelical rather than legal Doctrines
 " or Institutions, *Manga Copac* assembled all his *Ca-*
 " *raca's*, and told them that his Father the SUN had
 " commanded him to extend his Institutions and Orders
 " as far as he was able for the Good and Happiness of
 " Mankind; and for that purpose, with armed Troops
 " to go to those remoter Parts that had not yet received

" them, and to reduce them to their Observance. That
 " the SUN had commanded him to hurt or offend none
 " that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the
 " Good and Happiness that was offered him by such
 " divine Bounty, but to distress only such as refused,
 " without killing any that did not assail them; and then
 " to do it justly in their own Defence.

" For this Design he formed and assembled Troops
 " of Men armed, with offensive, but chiefly with de-
 " fensive Weapons. He cast them into the Order of
 " Decurions, in the same Manner as he had done the
 " Families, to every ten Men was one Officer,
 " another to fifty, and another to one hundred, a fourth
 " to five hundred, and a fifth to a thousand. There
 " was a sixth over five thousand, and a seventh as a Ge-
 " neral over ten thousand, of which Number his first
 " Army was composed. With this and other such Ar-
 " mies he reduced many new Territories under his
 " Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the
 " same Things he had done first to those who came
 " about him near the great Lake; and offering them
 " the Benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he
 " had instituted, the Protection he had given his Sub-
 " jects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Those
 " who submitted were received into the same Rights
 " and Enjoyments with the rest of his Subjects. Those
 " who refused, were distressed and pursued by his For-
 " ces, till they were necessitated to accept of his Offers
 " and Conditions.

" He used no offensive Weapons against any till they
 " attacked them, and then defensive only at first, till
 " the Danger and Slaughter of his Men grew otherwise
 " unavoidable; then he suffered his Forces to fall upon
 " them and kill without Mercy, and not to spare even
 " those that yielded themselves after having so long and
 " obstinately resisted. Those who submitted after the
 " first Threats or Distresses, or bloodless Opposition, he
 " received quickly into Grace, suffered them to touch
 " his sacred Person, made great and common Feasts
 " for them and his own Soldiers together for several
 " Days, and then incorporated them into the Body of
 " his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloaths to
 " wear, and Corn to sow.

" By these Ways and such heroic Virtues, and by the
 " Length of his Reign, he so far extended his Domi-
 " nions as to divide them into four Provinces, over
 " each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy,
 " having many Sons grown fit to command, and in
 " each of them established three supreme Councils; the
 " first of Justice, the second of War, and the third of
 " the Revenue, of each of which an *Ynca* was likewise
 " President; which continued ever after.

" At the End of a long and adored Reign, *Manga*
 " *Copac* fell into the last Period of his Life; upon the
 " Approach whereof he called together all his Children
 " and Grand-children, with his eldest Son, to whom he
 " left his Empire, and told them, that for his own
 " Part, he was going to repose himself with his Father
 " the SUN, from whom he came; that he advised and
 " charged them all to go on in the Paths of Reason
 " and Virtue which he had taught them, till they fol-
 " lowed him the same Journey; that by this Course
 " only they would prove themselves to be true Sons of
 " the SUN, and be as such honoured and esteemed.
 " He gave the same Charge more especially and more
 " earnestly to the *Ynca* his Successor, and commanded
 " him to govern his People according to his Example,
 " and the Precepts he had received from the SUN, and
 " to do it always with Justice, Mercy, Piety, Clemen-
 " cy, and Care of the Poor; and when he the
 " Prince should go in Time to rest with his Father the
 " SUN, that he should give the same Instructions and
 " Exhortations to his Successor. And this Form was
 " accordingly used in all the Successions of the Race of
 " the *Ynca's*, which lasted 800 Years with the same
 " Order, and the greatest Felicity that could be of
 " any State.

" I will say Nothing of the Greatness, Magnificence,
 " and Richness of their Buildings, Palaces, or Tem-
 " ples,

“ ples, especially those of the SUN, of the Splendour
 “ of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their
 “ Huntings and Feasts, their military Exercises and
 “ Honours. But as Testimonies of their Grandeur,
 “ mention only two of their Highways, whereof one
 “ was 500 Leagues, plain and levelled through Moun-
 “ tains, Rocks and Vallies; so that a Carriage might
 “ drive through the whole Length without Difficulty.
 “ Another very long and large, paved all with cut or
 “ squared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each Side,
 “ and set with Trees, whose Branches gave Shade, and
 “ the Fruits Food to all that passed.

“ I shall end this Survey of their Government with
 “ one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that tho’
 “ the Vulgar worshipp’d only the SUN, yet the *Amanta*’s,
 “ who were their Sages or Philosophers, taught, that
 “ the SUN was only the Minister of PACHACAMAC,
 “ whom they adored in the first Place, and to whom a
 “ great and sumptuous Temple was dedicated. This
 “ Word is interpreted by the *Spaniards*, *Animador del*
 “ *Mundo*, or, He that animates or enlivens the World,
 “ and seems to be yet a more refined Notion of
 “ the Deity than that of the *Chineses*, who adored
 “ the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle
 “ of their Religion, as all the others of their Govern-
 “ ment and Policy, it must, I think, be allowed, that
 “ human Nature is the same in these remote, as well
 “ as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the
 “ World.

“ That the different Governments of it are framed
 “ and cultivated by as great Reaches and Strength of
 “ Reason and Wisdom as any of ours, and some of
 “ their Frames less subject to be shaken by the Passions,
 “ Factions, and other Corruptions, to which those in
 “ the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Asia* have been so
 “ often and so much expos’d. That the same Causes
 “ produce every where the same Effects; and that the
 “ same Honours and Obedience are in all Places but
 “ Consequences or Tributes paid to the same heroick
 “ Virtue or transcendent Genius, in what Parts soever,
 “ or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to
 “ appear.”

This may satisfy the most critical Reader, that the old
 Inhabitants of *Peru* were far enough from being Barba-
 rians; though at the same time it must be confess’d,
 that they were very much degenerated before they were
 delivered up by Providence to that severe Correction
 they have received from the haughty *Spaniards*, under
 which they still groan, and suffer their Slavery with in-
 finite Grief and Pain of Mind; neither have they for-
 got the Splendor of their ancient Empire, but in cer-
 tain Songs set to melancholy Tunes, deplore its Down-
 fall and Ruin. After describing the capital Settlements
 of the *Spaniards*, we proceed to examine how they spread
 themselves into the remotest Parts both of the Northern
 and Southern Continents, set forth the Regulation and
 Dependency of their several Governments, compare
 the Value of their ancient and modern Revenues ex-
 tracted from *America*; lay down the Manner of their
 working their Mines, give a true Account of the
 Commerce carried on amongst their Settlements, as well
 as of that to *Europe*, and the contraband Trade.

We have likewise omitted nothing that might give
 the Reader intire Satisfaction as to the present State of
 Things in that Part of the World, and of the true
 Sources of that Feebleness and Decay which is incon-
 testably visible in all the *Spanish* Settlements, and which
 is gradually increasing; so that if a Stop is not quickly
 put to this Declension by an absolute and thorough
 Change of Measures, which however is hardly to be
 looked for, the whole of their Power must crumble by
 Degrees, at least in the Extremities and in the Islands,
 and leave those Countries in other Hands better dispos’d
 to make a right Use of them.

XI. In the Execution of the remaining Part of our
 Plan, we give the Rise, Progress, and present State of
 the Settlements of all the other Powers that are now
 fixed in that Part of the World, viz. the *Portuguese*,
English, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*. With respect to

the first, we have drawn together out of an infinite
 Number of Books in which they are scattered, the Ma-
 terials that are requisite to form a succinct History of
 the great Country of *Brazil*; and this obliges us to en-
 ter into the Detail of the Conquest of that Country,
 once made by the *Dutch*, a Thing of very great impor-
 tance, and yet never thoroughly treated in our Lan-
 guage; we have also shewn, how the Recovery and Im-
 provement of this Country became the principal Cause
 of the Declension of the *Portuguese* Power in the
East-Indies; that Nation finding it too hard for
 them to combat so great a maritime Power as the
 Republick of *Holland* was become; in both *Indies*
 at once. We have also endeavour’d to set in a clear
 Light the present State of that Country, which is of so
 great Importance, not only to its present Masters, but
 to all the trading Nations in *Europe*; and though in
 the Course of the whole Work there was nothing that
 gave greater Trouble, yet it is hoped that it now ap-
 pears in a tolerable Light; and that with respect to the
 Gold and Diamond Mines especially, much more has
 been said than will be easily met with elsewhere, for
 which we are greatly indebted to the Communications
 received from several Persons to whom we are not per-
 mitted to make any more particular Acknowledge-
 ments.

As to the *British* Plantations, both on the Continent
 and in the Islands of *America*, we have been almost as
 copious as the Subject required, and have laboured
 with indefatigable Diligence to set the prodigious Ad-
 vantages derived from them, and their very high Im-
 portance to this Crown and Nation in a true Light.
 To speak freely, there is no Part of this Collection that
 we had so much at Heart, or in the compiling of which
 we proceeded with greater Industry, Care, and Free-
 dom of Spirit, without having the least Regard to any
 private Interest, or the Sense of this or that Body of
 Men, who might be oblig’d or offended by our Manner
 of treating certain Subjects one Way or other. We
 were sensible that the Interests of the Publick ought to be
 dearer to us than any other Consideration whatsoever;
 and we dare confidently affirm, that to the utmost Ex-
 tent of our Knowledge, and to the best of our Skill and
 Judgment, these Subjects have been treated with the
 utmost Zeal and Impartiality; and as they have had the
 Honour to be commended and approved by those who
 were best acquainted with our Plantations abroad, and
 those who have most at Heart the promoting their
 Welfare here at Home; so we look upon this as the
 highest Reward, as indeed it was the only one sought
 by this Performance, which if at present or hereafter it
 shall any Way contribute to the Ease, Security, or Be-
 nefit of those distant Parts of *Great Britain*, for so they
 ought ever to be esteemed, will afford us infinite Sa-
 tisfaction.

The *French* Power in the *West-Indies* has been of late
 Years the Subject of much Discourse; one would wish
 to say that it had been likewise the Object of much
 Care and Attention, which it most certainly deserved,
 as it is more likely to clash with our commercial Inter-
 ests than any other. It is for this Reason that we
 have represented it as fully and as truly as it was pos-
 sible; that we have shewn its Advantages and Disad-
 vantages, the Probability there is that the former may
 be promoted, and the latter removed; the Methods ne-
 cessary to be employed in both Cases, and the Remedies
 that may be applied to prevent the Consequences of
 those Improvements from becoming prejudicial to our
 selves. In doing this, we have likewise taken Occasion
 to mention the Precautions that may be used to secure
 our Settlements from running any Risk from the Vi-
 cinity of these ambitious, enterprising, and dangerous
 Neighbours; neither have we omitted to set in a just
 Light our present Superiority, that it may appear we
 are not in so much Danger, either from the Power or
 the Capacity of our Rivals, as for Want of Circum-
 spection, Unanimity and Prudence in our own Conduct;
 and that consequently, if we do suffer, there will be no
 body so much to blame as ourselves.

Neither

Neither have we been afraid to profess our Sense of the Chimericalness of some Apprehensions, and the too great Sanguineness of others, or of assigning our Reasons for both; whence we hope it will be sufficiently apparent, that nothing but unexpected and unexampled Vigour and Vigilance on their Side, and inexcusable Indolence and Inattention on ours, can possibly cause any great Alteration in the present Situation of Things between the two Nations in that Part of the World during our Times. All which is delivered, not with the least Intention to render us careless and secure, but to keep up the Spirits of our People, and to introduce and maintain a right Opinion of our own Strength and Capacity of maintaining and extending our Commerce, notwithstanding the Growth of that of *France*, and the Pains taken to improve and encourage it. This we conceive to be a Spirit that ought to be excited in our Plantations, as of all other the most capable to enliven their Hopes, invigorate their Conduct, and give Success to their Endeavours.

The Possessions of the *Dutch* in the *West Indies*, are in themselves far enough from being considerable, and yet through the Industry of their Inhabitants, and that Wisdom and Dexterity with which they manage their clandestine Trade with the *Spaniards*, they are of no small Consequence, as we have largely shewn. It is indeed true, that since the Writing of that Part, we have been assured from very good Hands, that the Colony of *Surinam*, which we gave them in Exchange for their Settlements at *New York*, is very much improved, and is improving daily; nor can there be much Doubt of this, if we may believe what the *French Gazettes* have told us of the Value of the Prizes taken by their Privateers in that short Space that actual Hostilities were exercised between the Subjects of the two Powers, which according to those Accounts amounted to between two and three hundred thousand Pounds; and this too in the actual Commodities and Manufactures of that Colony. This is the more surprizing, because there has been a general Opinion, though I doubt not very well grounded, that the *Dutch* were not very expert in making Settlements in that Part of the World; however it must not be concealed, that the modern Improvements of *Surinam* are said to have been in a great Measure owing to the Planters receiving great Assistance from the *English* and *French*, that from *Cayenne* and the *Leward Islands* have come and settled amongst them, and have taught them new Methods of manuring their Lands, of raising Sugar, and other valuable Commodities.

The Court of *Copenhagen* has for two Reigns applied it self with so much Attention and Diligence to commercial Affairs, that we cannot at all wonder at the Reports which are daily spread of the *Danes* having an Intention to extend their Commerce in the *West Indies*; but considering that the small Island of *St. Thomas* is all that they possess there, and is in itself incapable of being render'd much more beneficial than hitherto it has been, we cannot easily apprehend, how any Pains that can be taken about it, will be brought to yield any adequate Returns, unless there should be some Truth in what has been likewise intimated from *Denmark*, that there is a Scheme on Foot for reviving their *African* Commerce, with a View of transporting their Negroes to the Isle of *St. Thomas*, and supplying from thence the *Spanish* Plantations. Time will shew whether this Project has any Foundation, and also whether it is possible for the *Danish* Government to bring it to bear.

XII. The second Book consists of a Description of the Northern Parts of the Globe, and of Travels thro' most of the Countries in *Europe*. We have handled the first Part of the Subject very largely, and that chiefly for this Reason, because it had been very much overlooked and neglected by others. We have also taken the Opportunity of giving very compleat Histories of the Attempts made for discovering the North-east and the North-west Passages. With respect to the first, it was our Misfortune not to receive any certain Intelligence with respect to the *Russian* Discoveries, till long after that Part of the Work was finished and pub-

lished; but we have endeavoured to supply that Defect, as far as possible, in the last Section, as, being willing to run the Hazard of some Impropriety, rather than bury in Oblivion those curious and important Passages that came so lately to our Notice.

In reference to the North-west Passage again, we were still more unlucky, as not having an Opportunity to see the Account of the last Voyage, made with a View to that Discovery, till many Months after that History had been in the Hands of the Publick. But it gives us great Pleasure to find, that the Event of this last Voyage is so far from destroying the Credibility of what we have advanced upon that Head, that it agrees in all Respects with what we have delivered, and adds much greater Strength to our Conjectures than we could well have hoped for or expected. This too has encouraged us to add some farther Thoughts upon that important Discovery in the last Section, which we flatter ourselves will not be disapproved by our Readers, and which, we have little Doubt, will be also confirmed by the Event of the next Voyage, when-ever it shall be undertaken, which for the Honour and Welfare of our Country, we hope will be very soon.

As to the Voyages on the Coasts of *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Muscovy*, the Accounts of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, and the Remarks upon them, they will be found to give as much Light into the present State and Condition of the Countries to which they relate, as any thing that could be extracted from what has been published about them; and if any who peruse them think that we have carried Matters a little too far, with respect to that very extensive View which we have given of the commercial Improvements in the North, all the Favour we desire is, that they will suspend a decisive Judgment for some Time, and we shall then both readily and patiently submit to any Censure that shall be grounded in Reason.

Of the Travels thro' the middle Parts of *Europe*, particularly the *United Provinces*, the rest of the *Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Switzerland*, &c. we can only say, that they are such as were possessed of the publick Esteem long before they enter'd into this Collection; and as we have given them very faithfully, and with no other Corrections than what relate to their Style, and some Part of their Disposition with a View to prevent tedious and needless Repetitions, we have no Cause to fear any Strictures upon our Conduct in relation to them.

The same Care and Fidelity was shewn in the other Travels through *France*, *Spain*, &c. and some Merit we assume from recalling to the Eye of the World, the Travels of Dr. *Edward Brown* through *Hungary*, *Austria*, and other Countries, even to the very Frontiers of *Europe*, which, without Question, are in all Respects as worthy of Attention and Credit as any Thing of their Kind in our Language. What Additions we have made, more especially in regard to the present State of *France*, and the reigning System of Policy in that Kingdom, will be found very agreeable to Truth, and not at all unworthy of the Reader's Notice.

The great End of this Sort of Reading, is the very same that is sought by actual Travelling, that is to say, the shaking off those narrow Notions; and, if I may be allowed so familiar an Expression, those clownish Conceptions which such People have, as have never suffered either their Bodies or their Minds to make any Excursions beyond the Limits of their own Countries, or to acquire a general Idea of the principal Nations about us, as well as some tolerable Notions of the Countries they inhabit; the Manners, Customs and Policies of the one, and the Climate, Soil and Produce of the other.

Such Books therefore as were most likely to answer these Intentions, were fittest for our Purpose, and were therefore taken into this Collection in Preference to such as were written perhaps in a more elevated Style, and were fuller of that Kind of curious Learning which renders them the Delight of Antiquaries and *Virtuosi*; not that these are not also valuable in their Kind, but that they are less fit for general Reading, less useful to the

Bulk

Bulk of Mankind, and less likely to invite the Perusal, and then to fix the Attention of those, who, it is probable, will reap the most Benefit from this Kind of Reading, and who may afterwards, if they think fit, peruse those more refined Travels with much greater Satisfaction and Pleasure.

XIII. The *third* Book, and, as Things stand at present, the last in this Collection, takes in the entire Description of *Asia*. In order to effect this, we have made use of those Writers that have the highest Character in Point of Accuracy, Sincerity and Abilities; and, wherever the Subject required it, or the Helps received from later Writers put it absolutely in our Power, we have improved, explained, and continued their Performances down to the present Times. Thus in Reference to the Customs, Manners, Laws, Policy, and present Condition of the *Turks*, we have augmented the Author from whom our principal Collections were made very considerably, and this for two Reasons, first, because it was impossible that in the short Space of Time which a Man spends in his Travels, or even tho' he resides a little longer in a Place, he should enter deeply into the Concerns of a great Nation; and secondly, because at the Time Mr. *Thevenot* travelled through the *Turkish* Empire, the *Ottoman* Power was far greater than it is at present. We have therefore to his Remarks, joined those of a most worthy and intelligent *Turkish* Merchant, who resided a long Time in that Country, and many Years at *Constantinople*; and we have also, after proving that the Opinion of the Declension of the *Ottoman* Force is well founded, pointed out the real Causes of that Decay, and assigned the Reasons which render it very probable this Empire is sick of a mortal Disease, from whence it is scarce possible it should recover.

The Travels of the Reverend and learned Mr. *Maundrell* through the *Holy Land* are superior to Correction, and all we could do was to bring them within proper Bounds, so as to suit with our Design; in order to which, we have done little more than was necessary to reduce the Copiousness of the Style, that we might bring the Matters of Fact closer to each other.

The Travels through *Persia*, and the very full Description of that extensive Empire, was drawn from several Authors, but the best Parts of it from the incomparable Writings of the late Sir *John Chardin*, the last *French* Edition of whose Travels is certainly one of the best Books of its Kind that ever was published. The succinct History we have given of that Empire, was in some Measure without our Bounds, and ought to be considered as a Present made to the Publick, not the less valuable for being voluntary. It happened that while this Part of the Work was in the Press, the famous *Shah Nadir*, better known by his old Name of *Thamas Kouli Kan*, was murdered, and thereby a new Revolution brought about in that Country. This excited the Curiosity, and awaked the Attention of the Publick, we were willing therefore to gratify the one, and do our utmost to satisfy the other. At the same Time we did this, we afforded a Specimen of the Possibility of bringing a modern History, even for a long Series of Time, and fruitful of great Events, within a very moderate Compass. In this, and in the other Parts of the Collection relating to these oriental Regions, we have not failed to keep in View our primitive Purpose, of giving, from the best Materials we could obtain, an Account of their Commerce; and if this is not altogether so accurate or so ample as we could wish, it cannot but prove acceptable, since for the most Part it is entirely new, at least in regard to our Language, and the Fruits of those generous Communications which the Concern we expressed for Things of this Nature, drew from several Persons of as great Candour and desity, as of Knowledge and Experience.

The Description, the History and Trade of the *East Indies*, and more especially of the *Mogul* Empire, having been explained at large in the preceding Volume, there was no need of our repeating any Thing here, which is the Reason of our passing directly to those

Travels that lead us to the great Empire of *China*. Yet not so directly, but that we take the vast Countries between *Russia* and *China* in our Way, those Countries which have been hitherto the least known of any in *Asia*, except the North East Regions within the Arctic Circle, and which however deserve to be as well known as any, notwithstanding those Reproaches of Stupidity and Barbarity which the Nations that inhabit them lie under, and which perhaps arise full as much from our own Prejudices as from their Ignorance.

The Description of these Countries we owe to the indefatigable Pains of his Excellency *Ysbrant Ides*, Ambassador from the late Czar *Peter* the Great, in the Beginning of his Reign, to that famous *Chinese* Emperor, equally remarkable for the great Length of his Reign, the Equity and Moderation of his Temper, and his Contempt of those invariable Rules the *Chinese* Policy prescribes, even to their Emperors, by which the most absolute Sovereigns are kept, as it were, in Chains. As the Account of *China* by that illustrious Traveller is very short, he, and we following his Example, have subjoined an ample Description of *China* by a Native; and have also interspersed throughout the Whole, such explanatory Remarks as were either communicated to us, amongst which we acknowledge that excellent Dissertation upon the making of Porcelain, or that we had an Opportunity of collecting from other Writers. We have also given many curious and entertaining Accounts from the Journal of the *Sieur du Lange*, who resided for a long Time in *China* with the Character of Envoy from the Court of *Petersburgh*, not that short and meagre Journal which had been formerly published in *English* by way of Appendix to the present State of *Russia*, but from the Author's own original Memoirs, in which we have a far better Account of the interior and exterior Commerce of that Empire, than are to be met with elsewhere, the great Collection of Father *Dubalde* not excepted.

The Description, History and Discourses relative to the *Peninsula* of *Corea* are entirely new, and are not to be met with either in our own, or in any other Language, so that it is hoped they will be found as pleasant and entertaining as they are useful and important; more especially as they tend to excite a Spirit of making new Discoveries for promoting Navigation and improving our Commerce. The last Section, in which the Reader has an Account of the latest *Russian* Discoveries, compleats the History of *Asia*, and of the whole trading World.

It is true, that in preparing it, we trespassed not a little on the Patience of the Publick; but when it is considered from how great a Distance Part of the Materials were to be expected, and how much Care and Caution were requisite in disposing and digesting them, we shall stand in some degree excused; more especially, if now, when they are all put together, they should afford the Generality of the World a Variety of new Lights in reference to the Possibility of opening fresh Channels of Trade, and thereby in a great Measure changing the whole Commercial System.

There are indeed some who think this Point drive rather too far, and that we have carried our Respects for Trade beyond its due Bounds. But if these Criticks imagine that this proceeds from a particular or overweening Fondness for a Favourite Subject, they are at least in that Circumstance very much mistaken. In the Dedication prefixed to the first Volume of this Work, we have at large assigned the Reasons why Commerce ought to be considered in the Light that we have placed it. We have there shewn, that it procures most of the real and substantial Blessings which Mankind can either hope for or enjoy; and that the only Way to avert the Evils and Miseries to which we are exposed, is to cultivate and promote it. As there is in every Man a Spark of Ambition, there is and must be the same in Nations. Now this natural Desire of Greatness and Fame, can be gratified only by an incessant Application to War, or by a constant and uniform Regard to Commerce. The former may indeed, though it seldom does, render a

Nation rich and powerful by the Spoil of others ; but then it carries the Seeds of Destruction in the very Principles of its Greatness ; for where Military Power is the Source of Grandeur, there must be perpetual Hazards, not only as to the Issue of Foreign Contests, but from the frequent Convulsions of intestine Troubles, as not only Reason teaches, but Experience vouches. Most of the ancient Empires were subverted by this Means. That of the *Greeks* lasted but for a single Life ; the great Captains of *Alexander's* Army thought they had the same Title to be Kings, that he had to rule over Kings. The *Roman* History is, at the Bottom, no other than a Record of foreign Expeditions, to gratify the Thirst of Dominion, and of Civil Wars arising from the same Cause. But an Application to Commerce cannot be charged, at least not justly, with any of these Inconveniences. We may trade with People without subduing them, and we may become potent, rich and happy, from the Effects of our Industry, without injuring ; but, on the contrary, exercising our Beneficence towards our Fellow Creatures. It is indeed true, that some, or to speak the whole Truth, most trading Nations, have pursued a contrary Conduct ; but as in this they desert the Principle that we recommend, so it affords no real Objection to what we have advanced, nor are we under any Necessity of defending them. Factories are very necessary, and in distant Countries so are Fortresses ; but the Humour of subduing those with whom we trade by Force is rarely beneficial. In Countries thinly inhabited, or by Savages, Plantations may be made agreeable to the Law of Nature ; and these will be found equally honourable and profitable to the Nations that make them. By a due Distribution therefore of Factories, Fortresses, and Plantations, and by a just Regard to Maritime Power, a Nation wisely governed may preserve a Correspondence with every Part of the Globe, without Injury to the Subjects of other Powers, and without Danger to their own Independance ; which Plan comes the nearest to political Perfection of any that has been laid down. Providence has disposed large Chains of Mountains, and other natural Fortifications, to check warlike Ambition, but the Seas are every where open to promote Commerce between the most distant Countries ; and navigable Rivers, or artificial Canals, serve in civilized Nations, to nourish and

maintain Trade amongst themselves, as the Notion of communicating with each other, and thereby reciprocally removing Want, is the very Source of Civility itself. Conquerors we may be, and Barbarians still, but a Race of barbarous Traders is at once a Scollicism in Language, and an Absurdity in Nature.

Thus, by giving the Reader first a succinct Detail of the Scheme, the End and the Aim of this Work, and by proceeding afterwards to an express Enumeration of its several Parts, and exhibiting their Relation to and Connection with each other, we have put it in his Power to judge how far we have executed what was originally proposed and promised, and that too within the Bounds which were assigned it by the Proprietors Stipulations with the Publick. He will also see what the peculiar Advantages are which arise from the very Nature of this Collection, and from the known Characters of the several Pieces of which it is in a great Measure composed, he will farther enter into, and it is hoped, will at the same Time approve, the Reasons from which such Pieces as are of dubious Authority, contain Matters of mere Amusement, are filled up with extravagant and uninstrutive Adventures, and have nothing to recommend them but Liveliness of Thought and Vivacity of Style, have been rejected ; to which we may add, that he will be also sensible of the great Usefulness of the Introduction, in which the Principles of those Sciences, some Tincture of which was absolutely necessary, to the understanding both the Historical and Argumentative Part, of this large Collection, are laid down with such Plainness and Perspicuity, as to render them obvious to every Understanding.

These Considerations, as they were of continual Weight with us in the compiling, disposing, and adjusting that great Variety of Treatises which in Whole or in Part have been admitted into this Performance, it was equally reasonable and requisite they should be brought to the View of every Peruser ; which being done, there remains nothing farther but to wish the great Purposes that have been honestly pursued in the Execution of this Design, may be successfully promoted thereby, and that the Publick will afford a kind Reception to Labours that have been most steadily, as as well as most sincerely, dedicated to their Service.

F I N I S.






A

GENERAL INDEX

OF THE

Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Cities, Fortresses, &c. Together with the most remarkable Proper Names that occur in both Volumes of this Work.

N. B. For the Sake of Brevity, c. stands for Cape, f. for Fort, h. for Hill, isl. for Island, Intr. for Introduction, and the Numerals that follow stand for the Pages therein, l. for Lake, m. for Mountain, p. for Province, r. for River, t. for Town.

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